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2. CRAFT, OWNERSHIP, AND IDENTITY: MAKING, THINKING, AND BEING (TOGETHER)

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Making is part of human nature, and in our contemporary world, ‘crafting’ can be understood in many different ways.¹ While the value of humans’ capacity to make things is uncontested, numbers of craft practitioners have dwindled since the industrial revolution, and more so with the advent of digital production and automation. And yet making is a key component of human identity, one that is embedded in individuals, in communities and institutions, and in society at large. We only need to think of how closely we are identified with what we do for a living: when asked to introduce ourselves, we say we are archaeologists, rather than mentioning our nationality, the fact that we are (or not) parents, or hobbyist swimmers. In this paper, we take the stance that making intrinsically connects social and economic entities with the bodies and minds of artisans. We argue that the craft experience plays a pivotal role around which the identification of craft practitioners revolves, whether this is self-motivated and reflected through craft communities, or through society at large. In other words, the act of making brings the maker a sense of self, of ownership. It allows them a partial but crucial construct of identity, one that is reflected and enhanced through exchange with society. The acknowledgement of this role of making implies a necessary appreciation of creative skills. The importance of these skills thus resides not only in the lines of production and the objects that result from them, but also in the key value they play in the functioning of human communities.

¹ We specifically like the way Adamson 2010 defines crafts as: ‘a set of concerns that is implicated across many types of cultural production: a pervasive, “everyday” activity, implicated in the contingent flux of life’. It ‘entails irregularity, tacit knowledge, inefficiency, handwork, vernacular building, functional objects and mysticism’ and it is associated with gendered, ethnic, and local identities.

This paper aims to explore the dynamic and complex relationship between making and its value to society through a range of topics connected to crafting and making. Through a series of past and current case studies we look into the situatedness of crafting in wider social and economic spheres of life, a topic that has been well studied in previous scholarship.² At the heart of this exploration are three interconnected themes:

- a. self-identification through craft,
- b. the embodied practice of craft that gives crafters a sense of control over their environment,
- c. the role of place and space, in particular crafted space, in communities.

These themes are separated under different headings in order to be able to write this paper in its two-dimensional form, but they are, in reality, difficult to disentangle. Together, they inform first, the socio-economic value of craft practice, or the role and status of craft and craftspeople in wider communities, whether these are communities of fellow crafters or of entire cities. Second, and on a more individual level of craft practitioners, we explore how these three themes of making shaped craftspeople’s views of themselves and their immediate surroundings. Some relevant factors in this respect are skills acquisition and craft hierarchies. To do justice to these themes, they cannot be neatly separated from each other because making includes a wide and continuous range of levels of practice which can be connected to different spheres in society in a sheer endless number of combinations, whether economic, political, social, religious, gendered, geographical, or even time-related. Thus, while

² For instance, Ingold 2013; Korn 2013; Miller 2005; Sennett 2009; see also in particular Cheung, Murphy, and Russell in this volume.

this chapter is structured along thematic lines, our aim is to uncover the complex and entwined relations, both on societal and personal levels, between the themes of self-identification, embodied craft practice, and the role of the places and spaces of craft.

While we mainly discuss archaeologically based case studies, modern examples in the shape of actions such as the DIT movements, Transition Towns, and Craftivism (see section one) strongly resemble ancient craft activities, not in how handicrafts are traditionally understood, but as sociologist Richard Sennett describes them.³ Crafting to him is about making, thinking, and 'being': 'The action of making and its outcome connect: they connect people, materials, places, communities, landscapes, and generations'. Handmade objects, old or new, have a story to tell, or, in Ingold's terms, they *are* the story to be told.⁴ They have been touched, manipulated, hammered, thrown, blown, sewn, and carved by human hands and, in being joined up, they become the story as they gather time. This can be illustrated by the example of a construction site, where the architect, as well as the carpenter, mason, roof tiler, glazier, plasterer, plumber can all tell their grandchild that they were the ones who built a given housing estate. Each artisan/crafter at their own time, and sometimes shoulder to shoulder with each other, have put into the building complex their time, skills, knowledge, expertise, they manipulated materials to fit the whole and each fulfilled a crucial role without which the building estate would not be complete or even liveable.⁵ To Sennett, a craftsperson is both maker and thinker, and both are part of a unifying process in which crafting is exploring, problem-finding and solving, and constitutes a social process.⁶ Crafting becomes the making of personal self-identity as well as citizenship, whether the craftsperson is an activist, seamstress, potter, cook, web designer, or gardener, whether they work for a clientele or themselves. In making things, people construct, affirm, confirm, and negotiate their identities. We provide examples from archaeological and some contemporary contexts below.

The underlying principle of this process is what psychology calls 'ownership'. In a review of psychological ownership, Jon Pierce and colleagues describe an innate tendency of people to 'develop feelings of ownership

to a variety of objects, both material and immaterial in nature'.⁷ They appoint three factors that determine why this should happen and what form it takes. The first is self-identity: possessions serve as dual symbolic/material expressions of the self and individuality. They can help people to learn about and to develop their sense of self, as well as to negotiate self-identity with others, and maintain the continuity of self over time, reaching back into the past as well as into the future, where the things may express self even beyond a person's lifetime. A good example of this lies in people's relation to gravestones, heirlooms, or the passing on of tools or even workshop buildings through generations. The second factor of ownership is what the researchers call efficacy and effectance.⁸ This regards the desire to have control over, and an impact on, one's environment: 'possessions are important to individuals because they are instrumental for exercising control over the physical environment and over people [...] Because of the innate need for feelings of efficacy and competence, individuals are propelled to explore and manipulate their environment'.⁹ This connects to the third factor, people's sense of belonging grounded in place. Certain spaces and possessions in them can make one feel at home, providing a sense of belonging in that location.

Research on these three factors of ownership shows a close connection between objects and self-identification. That is not to say there is no difference between owning an object and producing it oneself. Making something adds an active and creative aspect to the mix of the three ownership factors. A study that illuminates how this works presented an experiment on the impact of labour on value perception of objects.¹⁰ In the experiment, children were given a ball of unworked clay, which they had to hand over to another person. Two situations were then compared: one where the second person only held the clay, and one where s/he worked it into some other shape. This experiment demonstrated that the invested labour justified a transfer of ownership in the opinion of the children, while simply holding the material, even for a considerable time, did not. In short, creative change to materials is considered a justification for ownership even if that means that the person who assigns this ownership loses it themselves. Moreover, this notion devel-

³ Sennett 2009.

⁴ Ingold 1993.

⁵ Many thanks to Floris van den Eijnde for his version of this example, which we based ours on.

⁶ Sennett 2009.

⁷ Pierce and others 2003.

⁸ Pierce and others 2003, 86–94.

⁹ Pierce and others 2003, 89.

¹⁰ Kanngiesser and others 2010.

ops in early childhood and persists in adult life; and the results were similar in studies conducted in non-Western culture.¹¹ Since ownership fuels self-identification, the sense of efficacy and effectance, and spatial feelings of belonging, it is significant that it is increased by creative manipulation — in other words, by making.

Beyond psychological studies, the universal nature of crafting and making has been observed in many contexts: its relevance to any age group, gender, social background, and region of the world, in any time frame thinkable it is well established.¹² Observing the importance that young children may already attribute to making, it is no surprise that some of the most creative and unique handmade projects come from the hands of younger members of society. A few years ago, AB witnessed the effortless production of a sizable cardboard house, made of a box of household packaging refuse. The maker, a seven-year-old girl, wanted to protect her stuffed dog from getting wet on a rainy day so a house had to be produced. The rationale was that she had her own house, everyone around her had their own house, but the dog did not and, as a member of her family, he should own a house as well. With cardboard, packaging materials, scissors, ribbons, buttons, glue, and tape, a two-floor house was constructed (Fig. 2.1).

When AB came back later to watch the progress, the young girl was having tea with the dog because she was invited to his new house. Not only did she create, in no time, an entire house according to her own house concept, but in doing so, she also extended her social world beyond her own by allowing her dog to have his own house to which she was the first invitee. Boundaries were drawn and crossed upon invitations. Through the production of the dog house, she had recreated her own understanding of social values and boundaries and interacted with the dog according to her culturally known social and crafting skills. Besides that, she had established her own identity to the outside world not only as a responsible dog owner, but as a builder. Through her innate human tendency to make things, she had practised efficacy, developed her own identity, and created a sense of place, not just for her pet but for herself as well.



Figure 2.1. Dog house made by child with recycled materials.
Photo: Ann Brysbaert.

These three characteristics of ownership as outlined above, are thus especially relevant in the context of making and crafting. Viewed through the lens of making, all three factors of self-identification, efficacy and effectance, and belonging in a place acquire additional layers of meaning. These enriched factors form more than the sum of their individual parts: meaning making does not just sit in each individual factor but also in each interaction between the layers. As a result, meaning making in this case works exponentially rather than incrementally, especially when anchored in the broader context of artisans' societal environments. This hypothesis will be illustrated with examples from archaeological case studies ranging from the Aegean prehistory to late antiquity. Structurally, efficacy and effectance seem to correspond well with what crafting and making is and what it does, now as well as in the past: skilled manipulation of materials brings objects into the world that have a range of social, emotional, and economic consequences. Identity formation, both self-identity and that formulated by others about an individual, connects to making through bodies of knowledge, materials, and aspects of embodiment. Finally, since possessions can make people feel at home in a space that can, therefore, be called a one's own, we will argue that *making and creating* place can give a sense of belonging to the producers as well as the owners — if they are not the same people. Based on the premises of the three factors of ownership in the context of making and crafting, we will explore how the meaning of making instils craft with an indispensable

¹¹ Kanngiesser and others 2014.

¹² On learning to craft: Lave and Wenger 1991, Ingold 2013, Korn 2013; on learning while making during social interaction: Stout 2002; spatial differentiation during crafting: Pigeot 1990; the role of apprenticeship: Wendrich 2012; gender and apprentice issues in pottery making: Wallaert 2012.

value to ancient communities through time and place. Throughout this chapter we provide examples both from the ancient world and from the present day in order to demonstrate what many theorists of craft have held true before us: that craft practice is and always will be, a necessary marker of the human condition.

What It Is and What It Does: Self-Identification through Craft

In asking the question what it is that people make or made and why it matters, Adamson asserts that we can define craft in a simple open-ended manner as 'the application of skill and material-based knowledge to small-scale production' because it allows us to draw connections across a much wider range of activities than only the 'crafts' themselves.¹³ In adhering to Adamson's understanding of crafting, we see that this definition resonates with cross-craft interaction in which past or current crafts, their material outcomes, and aligned social practices, do not stand on their own.¹⁴ Instead, they are interwoven at multiple stages, through material scouting and acquisition, through their supply and production lines, their consumption, reuse, and recycling, and their final discard and disintegration.¹⁵ At each and every moment when people and materials converge, craft practices are at hand and identities are being constructed and (re)configured. Even now, people's identities are very closely linked to their working activities. For example, in contemporary contexts a set of services in which raw, or partially processed, materials are transformed by a pair of hands into something usable or reusable can conjure up a crafting club, or DIY scenes in which 'the guys' meet up and share experiences on fixing motor bikes and house parts, while 'the girls' get together in knitting or drawing and colouring clubs. Such stereotypical imagery of engendering activities seems to affirm classical masculine and feminine identities.¹⁶ Crafting and associated identities of course move well beyond gendered boundaries.

The 'Do It Together', or DIT movement (<http://interactioninstitute.org/do-it-together-dit/> and <https://hbr.org/2010/02/from-do-it-yourself-to-do-it-t.html>)

emphasizes the collaborative character of crafting and working together and, in doing so, breaks through some of the gender codes and creates a sense of community and belonging. This movement believes that *everyone* can reverse-engineer through production processes to find out how something is made, and many people make a living from such activities. Fab Labs, Repair Cafés, and Fab Academies bring together people of all ages and backgrounds world-wide with common interests in producing things and turning ideas into material realities that sometimes sustain them economically as well.¹⁷ These current artisans/crafters do not seem interested in protecting their invested labour economically and, instead, share skills, materials, and know-how across the entire range of their activities. This stands in stark contrast to medieval guild-membership structures wherein people strongly protected their accumulated knowledge and the transmission of their skills, and in which they set up practical restrictions to unwanted sharing with outside competition.¹⁸ However, the context-specific nature of these processes makes it crucial not to overgeneralize; we come back to this point later.

Another important contemporary concept is the Transition Movement which has principles very similar to those of DIT but deals with broader ecological, economic, and sociopolitical issues. Their community-organized aim is to make a difference in current times when resources run out and our natural environment is endangered. Those involved are very much aware of their impact on their environment and resources and how craft practice can help them have a positive effect on decisions concerning this impact. In establishing the Transition Towns, the Movement does not wait for governmental agreement, but instead decides to work on the problems they face together. Craftivism, a movement with a political, social, or ecological activist character is also geared towards acting, through crafting, but takes their (re)activist stance one step further than the Transition Movement. In craftivism, crafting is employed to pursue a political agenda.¹⁹ People involved in these activities make objects that symbolize their opinion on political, social, and ecological issues and problems and distribute or wear them in strategic places to let their voice be heard, through the products of their working hands

¹³ Adamson 2010, 3.

¹⁴ See n. 1. Compare also Becker 2005, who presented this notion in the form of Art Worlds.

¹⁵ McGovern and others 1989; Vickers and Gill 1994; Brysbaert 2007; 2011; Brysbaert and others 2020; see also Murphy in this volume.

¹⁶ Adamson 2010, 10; Sterling 2011, 67.

¹⁷ Gershenfeld and Charny 2011.

¹⁸ E.g. Larson 1977, 232; Davids and De Munck 2014; less strictness in guild regulations in Park 2014. Cf. also Sennett 2012, 110–14.

¹⁹ Poole 2019.

and craft skill. The Pussyhat project is perhaps the best known craftivist project known today and wearing one shows one aspect of your identity. Its website (<https://www.pussyhatproject.com/>) states: 'The Pussyhat Project™ is a social movement focused on raising awareness about women's issues and advancing human rights by promoting dialogue and innovation through the arts, education, and intellectual discourse. The Pussyhat™ is a symbol of support and solidarity for women's rights and political resistance. 'Make a hat! Give a hat! Wear your hat! Share a hat!'

In the past, crafting linked to identity formation also manifested itself in name-giving. One of the first questions that is often asked when one meets someone new is, what do you do (for a living)? So many people's surnames are linked to professions they conducted: Baker, Butcher, Carpenter, Mason, Smith, Gardiner, even Craft or Croft itself. Craft-based surnames can also be found across languages: Smith, De Smit (Dutch), Forgeron (French), Schmidt (German), Seppä (Finnish), and Σιδεργης (Greek). Even in the Linear B tablets, the first written Greek dating back to the Late Bronze Age, people's professions were mentioned. These artisans were given ratios of produce as a form of payment for their work, for example, the copper or bronze smiths.²⁰ References to professions in classical Greek contexts often come from first fruit dedications or from funerary inscriptions.²¹

As these examples show, humans' identification with their crafts governs behavioural patterns in the past and present; it is based on multiple perspectives, such as the way one portrays oneself to others, and how the world sees someone in relation to the activities conducted. This does not stop at occupations but extends to people's more general social behaviour: someone with 'a helping hand' is always appreciated (e.g. DIT, repair cafés) and, as a moral judgement, is part of self-identifying empowerment beyond the strict craft itself. Moreover, such expressions and the name-giving process point to a deep social embedding of the practice of crafts and how one conducts the work in relation to one's surrounding community members. Any personal or professional name-giving is a social act of identity formation and confirmation, of ownership of the skills, knowledge, and practices that come with that craft: someone is a good cook versus a not-so-good baker, and we reap social status, prestige,

economic gain, and social standing from this process. By viewing crafting in this light, and by understanding crafted objects as identity markers, these points demonstrate the economic and social entanglements that these crafts embody in their relation to humans. They also illustrate in telling ways the long-term evidence for the human tendency to define self through work, and especially through the mastery of practical skill.

In a recent paper, Kuijpers suggests a four-tier set of names to call different levels of artisan skills to provide more nuance to the term 'specialist' which, to him, models social craft organization in Marxist terms.²² This understanding of specialist, Kuijpers states, solidifies the concept around economic, rather than material concerns: increased material specialization (through increasing levels of compensation) is assumed to lead to increased economic specialization as Kuijpers sees it in scholarship.²³ In outlining, thus, four new analytical units (amateur, craftsperson, master, and virtuoso), the socio-economic emphasis of the terms should be shifted to one on materials instead. While this is not the place to discuss whether that is indeed the case, we argue here that the four new terms also bring along new problems. For instance, this categorization of craft expertise, while enlightening in some ways, obscures the fluid nature of skill acquisition and expertise levels, as is outlined in the examples below.

A case study carried out in a LBA Mycenaean workshop highlights that objects require different levels in quality of skilled performance and that such objects can be made by one and the same person within a given workshop.²⁴ In LBA Tiryns (eastern Argolid, c. 1300–1200 BC), many ceramic sherds were found in workshops on the site. Lorenz Rahmstorf recognized something odd about a certain number of these and called them 'circular modified sherds'.²⁵ These broken pieces were modified by clipping or hammering off their edges into a roughly circular shape. Apparently, after having been broken, they had been reappropriated, and with minimal work were given a new use-life as spindle whorls, or lids of containers. Such practices were already common on Crete in the Early Bronze Age and continued into Roman times.²⁶ It shows how creative people

²² Kuijpers 2018, 550–51, 566.

²³ Kuijpers 2018, 552; *contra* the Marxist conceptualization of specialist, through intensity, compensation, and skill, Costin 2001, 275–79.

²⁴ Brysbaert and Veters 2010; cf. also Olausson 2008.

²⁵ Rahmsdorf 2008.

²⁶ Pers. comm. S. Todaro, for Early Bronze Age Phaestos;

²⁰ For example in the PY Jn series: Jn 729: Smith 1992–1993, 179–80, 211.

²¹ Hochscheid 2015, 273–74 and 290–97; see also below.

may have understood the functionality of even broken materials, no longer useful in their original context of use, but, with a minor adaptation, functional again in a different configuration. Such creative ways of making the most of the available resources illustrates effectance and efficacy very well. Economically, recycling may also save time and materials and, in some cases, aesthetic awareness turned such reworked items into something attractive.²⁷

What was perhaps most striking in LBA Tiryns was that these simple materials were in use in a palatial workshop where expensive raw materials were modified to produce exotic goods.²⁸ Exotic raw materials such as amber, glass, ivory, and gold were all foreign to the Argolid, and many were not worked into typically Mycenaean items. What the evidence in this workshop highlights is not only recycling, but also active amalgamation of purely local and completely exotic production processes by the artisans. What is more, some of these production lines cannot be characterized as one *or* the other. It may be possible that the more advanced and experienced workers of this workshop focused on the production of exotic goods and that apprentices worked on the circular modified sherds, but we have no means of ascertaining this. Even then, the workshop artisans were likely a close-knit team, relying intensely on each other for many actions and production processes.

Furthermore, this example highlights that care needs to be taken in assigning the label of 'specialist' to a producer (and thus providing her/him with a social identity), on the basis of what we, as archaeologists, deal with as source material: objects. This label may need to be revised in relation to the practices of this workshop, especially where cross-craft interactions were clearly recognized. The more likely scenario is that people with very high levels of skills *equally* conducted less specialized work in order to be able to produce enough to earn a living the year round, and that the apprentices helped out wherever they could: to learn, and out of necessity. People's social status, for example, as a master artisan or to a lesser extent an apprentice, may, therefore, not always have dictated the work they carried out. Based

on their know-how, their short- or long-term built-up expertise, their demonstration of these crucial skills in producing objects at various levels, and even on their personal preferences, their status was forged.

That the boundaries between crafts, as well as between different levels within a craft, are often presented as clearer than is warranted is also reflected in later evidence. The building programme on the classical Acropolis in Athens is a prime example of efficacy and effectance — control over and impact on one's environment — by the Athenians on their own urban landscape. However, locating the main source of this impact, i.e. the main agent responsible, is far more complex a task. While we attribute this agency to Iktinos and Kallikrates, to Pheidias, or to Mnesikles, the chances that even Pheidias would have carved any wall block or column drum are negligible. While for the chryselephantine Athena, the work is far more directly tied to Pheidias, establishing the level of control he exerted over the architectural sculpture is notoriously difficult.²⁹ The sculptors listed in the building accounts are hardly ever identifiable with artists in ancient sources like Pliny.³⁰ That does not imply that they were anything but master sculptors. But the division of labour between them and the head designer of the sculptural scheme of buildings like the Erechtheion or the Parthenon is all but clear, and so is the division of labour between master sculptors and their co-workers mentioned in the accounts. In fact, it is even difficult to establish whether the latter would have been family members, apprentices, or slaves, a circumstance to which we will return in the next section.³¹

Blurring of boundaries that defies archaeological classification categories also comes to the fore in the evidence of workshops from Athens. The great variety of crafts plied in close proximity to each other, in what Young once called the Residential-Industrial District, south-west of the classical Agora, is well known.³² However, the focus on monumental crafts such as stone

Warner Slane 2011 for Roman period, especially 101, fig. 7. On the difference between reuse and recycling, see Brysbaert 2003; 2011. See also Van Wijngaarden and Munro in this volume on the role of reappropriation and recycling.

²⁷ See also Munro in this volume. For a modern example: Binns 2013, 92–95.

²⁸ Brysbaert and Veters 2013.

²⁹ Lambert 2000; Shear 2016; cf. also Palagia 2010. For work processes on the chryselephantine Athena see Lapatin 1997.

³⁰ Rare exceptions in Lambert 2016, 4. Cf. also Randall 1953; Lambert 2000, 148; Epstein 2010; Hochscheid 2020, 212–13, for identifications of workers in the Erechtheion accounts and in other inscriptions.

³¹ Cf. Epstein 2008; 2010; Hochscheid 2015, 227–28; Hochscheid 2020; Lauter 1974, 12–13.

³² Young 1951; Tsakirgis 2005; Hochscheid 2015, 197–223; 2017; for craft throughout the city of Athens, and an exception to the comment below that non-sculpture crafts are underrepresented

carving, the wish to find the workshop where famous sculpture was produced by famous master sculptors, and the high visibility of marble-carving waste, have all led to an identification of four or possibly five marble workshops in this area, while other crafts also represented in the archaeological record have been rarely discussed. For example, buildings with traces of pigments, possible glue production, bone-working, blacksmithing, and a terracotta 'factory', all found in the excavations of the Street of the Marble Workers, are underrepresented in scholarship. The need for such other crafts for the completion of both private commissions and architectural sculpture is a good example of cross-craft cooperation.³³ Yet when a signed marble *stylus* was found in a sculpture workshop a little further at the south-west corner of the Agora itself, the conclusion was that the name must belong to the sculptor rather than the bone worker.³⁴ While it would be exciting to know the name of the first sculptor who worked in this workshop, such a conclusion is perhaps more informed by the habit to rank sculpture higher than less archaeologically visible professions such as bone-working. It is entirely likely that in fifth-century Athens a sculptor would buy *styli* from a specialist shop: there are enough indications that the level of craft retail was quite advanced.³⁵

Workshops like these offer good evidence that individual craftspeople worked at a range of levels and different tasks, and while there was some correlation between status and the type of work an artisan usually engaged with, a straightforward and exclusive equation of the master with the most visible parts of the work, or the highest-status craft products, is unwarranted. Self-identification played out in more complex patterns, as suggested in the evidence from individual workshop sites and wider craft contexts such as the area south-west of the classical Agora at Athens. But these sites also provide clues to the ways in which craft contributed to efficacy and effectance, or in other words: the ways in which crafters controlled and manipulated their environment — the structures they worked in, the things that they made — and how this control gave them a sense of ownership of their surroundings, as well as pleasure and pride.

in the literature on the Residential-Industrial District, Sanidas 2013, 41–110.

³³ Cf. Hochscheid 2017; see also Munro in this volume.

³⁴ Shear 1969, 389.

³⁵ Harris 2002; cf. Tsakirgis 2015; Hochscheid 2017. For the sculpture angle Nolte 2005, 252–57.

Crafting, or making, is a thoroughly embodied social practice. The acknowledgement that objects, whether they are tangible things or practices, are deeply connected to people's construction of identity and self-differentiation is not a new one.³⁶ Cognitive studies have proposed that people define who they are in interaction with everyday objects: material culture's 'ability [...] to implicitly condition human actions becomes the primary means by which people are socialized'.³⁷ An example by Ian Hodder is people's use of the external world to jog our thinking, for instance, when we prompt our neural pathways through rearranging scrabble tiles over and over to find that word that will fit.³⁸ This tendency of humans to think in embodied practical ways is beautifully illustrated by craft practice. But more than that, it straddles the self-identity that is our focus in the current section and the efficacy and effectance in the next one. The skilled making of an object, or performance of a practice, the physical experience and knowledge that this involves, all these are markers that can set people apart from others; markers that those others, as well as the person him or herself, use to shape identity of individuals in their respective contexts, and to identify the kind of value that they have in the community.

Embodied Knowledge: Making as Effectance

The basic human tendency of making is the foundation on which most, if not all, craft learning and craft practice stand. The ingrained embodiment of making is not something for crafters alone, but instead is inherent in human nature. In view of this, crafting or making something, is not divorced from who is involved in the production, nor from who consumes it, but actually blurs the production–consumption dichotomy. Consumption takes place all along the production process: an experienced maker may evaluate (thus consume) work in progress during the making process, a potential customer may carry out intermittent evaluations of an order placed with an artisan, and the different stages of production are consumed by apprentices for learning purposes. Crafting may connect generations: younger members of society learn from older experienced ones

³⁶ Miller 2005, outlining scholarship on this topic.

³⁷ Miller 2005 quoting Bourdieu 1977; similar in Hodder 2013, 35–36; Malafouris 2013.

³⁸ Hodder 2013, 37.

by doing the various parts of the craft process.³⁹ Learning itself is thus inherently social and is embedded within a specific context and environment; learning is situated, and new skills and knowledge may be appropriated through apprenticeship.⁴⁰ Learning is equally social because it does not just result in developing dexterity, endurance, memory, and skills but also in developing and learning the culturally appropriate behaviour while crafting: ‘becoming a human being’ within the community.⁴¹ Correct behaviour while crafting could mean respect for an elder who teaches someone younger. In the Dowayo communities, specified correct behaviour was expected from young trainees when they received potter’s training and they were punished when behaviour was incorrect.⁴² An equal appreciation from trainer to apprentice is crucial as well: recognizing differences in skills and qualities allows for openness, maturing, and thus embodied and empathic learning.⁴³ Learning such practical and social skills becomes embodied over time and is part of people’s cultural transmission and reproduction, together with a sense for habits, rituals, taste, and styles in production.⁴⁴ Understood in this way, learning is a clear process of embodying new knowledge, of appropriating new matter and new social discourse in multiple ways, not only by craftspeople, but also by the wider community they work in. This interaction constitutes a cyclical exchange and reinforcement of ideas and feelings about the relation between what we consider place where the knowledge of making resides, and our levels of appreciation for it. Education plays a key role in this process. While university degrees nowadays represent the acme of knowledge, learning *any type of skill* is crucial, whether it is historical research, IT, or hands-on practical work. Equally important is taking time to develop these skills and be creative, and for people, of any age, to feel and take ownership of, and responsibility for, such training. This responsibility is intertwined with individuals’ development into mature adults, both in the context of the developed skill, and in a wider social context. Specifically, this learning takes place in the relation of apprentices with their teachers.

³⁹ Cf. Ingold 2013, 1–2; Sennett 2009, 177–93.

⁴⁰ Lave and Wenger 1991; cf. Ingold 2013, e.g. chapter 8 for different theoretical models of the craft learning process and their implications.

⁴¹ Wendrich 2012, 3; also Korn 2013, especially 15–46.

⁴² E.g. Wallaert 2012; also Wendrich 2012.

⁴³ E.g. Wallaert 2012.

⁴⁴ Korn 2013, 58–62; also see the *habitus* concept by Bourdieu 1977.

In terms of ownership, this process of growing embodied knowledge in individual craftspeople is equivalent to a growing feeling of efficacy and effectance, or in other words, the feeling of competence to manipulate materials, and of satisfaction at having achieved the designed or imagined change in those materials. In doing so, artisans work on what may be called bodies of raw materials, and transform these into newly created ‘bodies’. Sturt described this beautifully while working together with a village wheelwright in the 1920s.⁴⁵ The latter expressed each part of the vehicle he produced as body parts: the face, shoulder, foot, belly, back. As many different materials (wood, metal, glue, textile for upholstery, leather), and levels of skills are integrated in making an object like the vehicle described above, many different people could be at the basis of this final product, making it into an multi-authored object and illustrating the cross-crafting clearly.⁴⁶ This is also noted already much earlier on for the production of chariots in the Late Bronze Age and based on textual evidence from the Linear B tablets.⁴⁷ These describe, as Sturt did above, the different parts and materials needed to produce a complete chariot. These parts and materials must have come all together in the chariot workshop, but the artisans in that workshop will not have been responsible for the entire *chaîne opératoire* of each part of these chariots. More likely, they will have assembled ready-made parts into final versions. Such assemblage productions are clear illustrations of cross-craft interaction, not just of the materials coming together in one place but also the people involved who, inevitably, will have learnt something new along these ‘routes of production’.

A later example of cross-craft learning potential is the increasing organization of the marble supply in classical Athens. Sometime in the fifth century BC, the quarries at the Pentelic Mountains were made accessible with a built slipway, or *lithagorgia* road, that was provided with posts for a braking mechanism and a paved surface running all the way to the city as well as to the Piraeus. The construction of this road, thoroughly investigated and presented in the research of Manolis Korres, would have had considerable impact on the day-to-day working of craftsmen who were involved in stonework, be they sculptors and

⁴⁵ Sturt 1993 [1923].

⁴⁶ For this type of approach, involving many consecutive contributors at different stages of production of one final object, see Harris 2002 on labour specialization; Hochscheid 2015, 157–65, 197–224; cf. more generally Becker 2005 [1982].

⁴⁷ Schon 2007, 136; Palaima 1989, 88, 93.

masons, or the quarrymen who extracted the stones and roughed out the blocks to prepare them for transport.⁴⁸ These are what one might call the usual suspects; but the specialization of transporting the stone, a risky affair where expertise and experience were essential, would have been transformed by the presence of specialized infrastructure. In other words, expertise would have had to evolve into new forms. Moreover, marble could now be transported at similar costs throughout the greater part of the year, while without a paved slip road, winter rains would have made this nearly impossible.⁴⁹

Other effects were greater speed at which stone could be delivered to the city, and lower cost. This availability of more and cheaper stone may well have been the driving force behind the surge in marble gravestones and, to a lesser extent, votives, in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC. But this surge then meant that other crafts had to pick up speed, too: smiths producing dowels or tools, ore traders in various metals, glass producers, pigment makers and possibly painters, even gilders. An increase in marble allowed for increased sculpture production, which, in turn, required raw materials as well as partially processed ones, and tools, in greater quantities than before. In some cases, as with stone transport, it required new or adjusted skills. And this range of effects resides in the realm of marble sculpture alone, while a large percentage of sculpture in classical Athens was in bronze, and so many more crafts and trades were plied in the city.

This evolution of craft knowledge that requires continuous learning, because of the context in which the work takes place, neatly connects the focus of craft skills with the wider community in which they stand. In his recent work on the connectivity of making, David Gauntlett points out that making connects in three different ways. First, several materials or ideas or both need to be put together when making something, so engagement with ideas, learning, and knowledge sits *within* the practice of making. Second, making is thoroughly social as it connects us to other people, e.g. suppliers, customers, family, and other makers. Third, through making and sharing things, we engage more frequently with our social and physical environments; it gives a sense of being alive within the process.⁵⁰ Thus, making something involves thinking and reflecting about what to make and how to make it, discussing plans and materials, asking for

help.⁵¹ It is followed by transforming these thoughts, feelings and trials into something (in)tangible, while continuing to interact and reflect. It actively involves the appropriation of what has been originally in the mind or hands of someone else. The artisan learnt something new from this person and took this into his/her own body of knowledge: making it his or her own.

Understanding the practice of crafting in this way resonates with Sennett's and Ingold's emphasis on thinking and making as part of the same embodied practice in which routine actions, such as sawing a plank, still need constant physical adjustments as the work goes on. As crafting can be seen as performing, it implies the possession of skills and knowledge, and it implies the possession of an identity, one that is rooted in the ownership of, and self-identification with, the skills and the knowledge of how to manipulate materials into specific items.⁵² It equally implies a series of contrasts and (hypothetical) social tensions: a potter might think 'I am an excellent potter', but this is always 'in contrast to an excellent smith, which I am not'.

Gauntlett's understanding of making as being creative, but also as sharing and collaborating, is so thoroughly social that he comprehends 'social capital' as 'the community-glue made up of friendly connections with others' within a system where value is embedded in having collaborative projects in everyday life.⁵³ This leads back to the social aspect of efficacy and effectance. The satisfaction derived from the ability to make things of all kinds, to have control over the materials needed for them, is a socio-technical process both because the resulting objects can be shared (or withheld) and because the process of making them sits in the web of friendly connections that Gauntlett describes. Similar to the concept of effectance mentioned earlier, his 'social capital' emphasizes the satisfaction one has in making something useful and beautiful, a satisfaction not purely personal, but related to an audience, be that clients, friends, colleagues, or apprentices.

That collaboration is social is without question, but several recent papers indicate that friction, contrasts, even outright aggression, and exclusion and inclusion on the basis of crafting can be just as creative and innovative as friendly collaboration can be.⁵⁴ Ownership,

⁴⁸ Korres 1995; also Nolte 2005; Burford 1969; for the Roman stone trade, see Russell 2013.

⁴⁹ As in Epidaurus, see Hochscheid 2015, 144–45.

⁵⁰ Gauntlett 2011.

⁵¹ Korn 2013, 50–53, 90–96.

⁵² An autobiographic description of this process in Korn 2013, especially 68–82.

⁵³ Gauntlett 2011.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Ravetz and others 2013, especially Kettle



Figure 2.2. Consecutive stages of the Sculptor's Workshop at Aphrodisias. Image credits: New York University Excavation at Aphrodisias.

especially an individual's ownership, is linked here to taking responsibility for one's actions and one's performances, and what one produces.⁵⁵ In this respect,

and others 2013 and Adamson 2013. In an example from Kazuo Ishiguro's 1986 novel *An Artist of the Floating World*, the protagonist as a young apprenticed painter refuses to work in the style of his teacher any longer, and so is forced to leave and found his own workshop.

⁵⁵ See also Pesch 2015.

an interesting if perhaps apocryphal anecdote from the ancient world relates the accusation and imprisonment of Pheidias over the allegation of theft of precious metals from the production of the chryselephantine Athena, brought by a fellow sculptor, one of Pheidias's assistants called Menon.⁵⁶ Doubt and friction within collaborative groups are an ancient phenomenon as

⁵⁶ Plut., *Per.* xxx1.3–4.

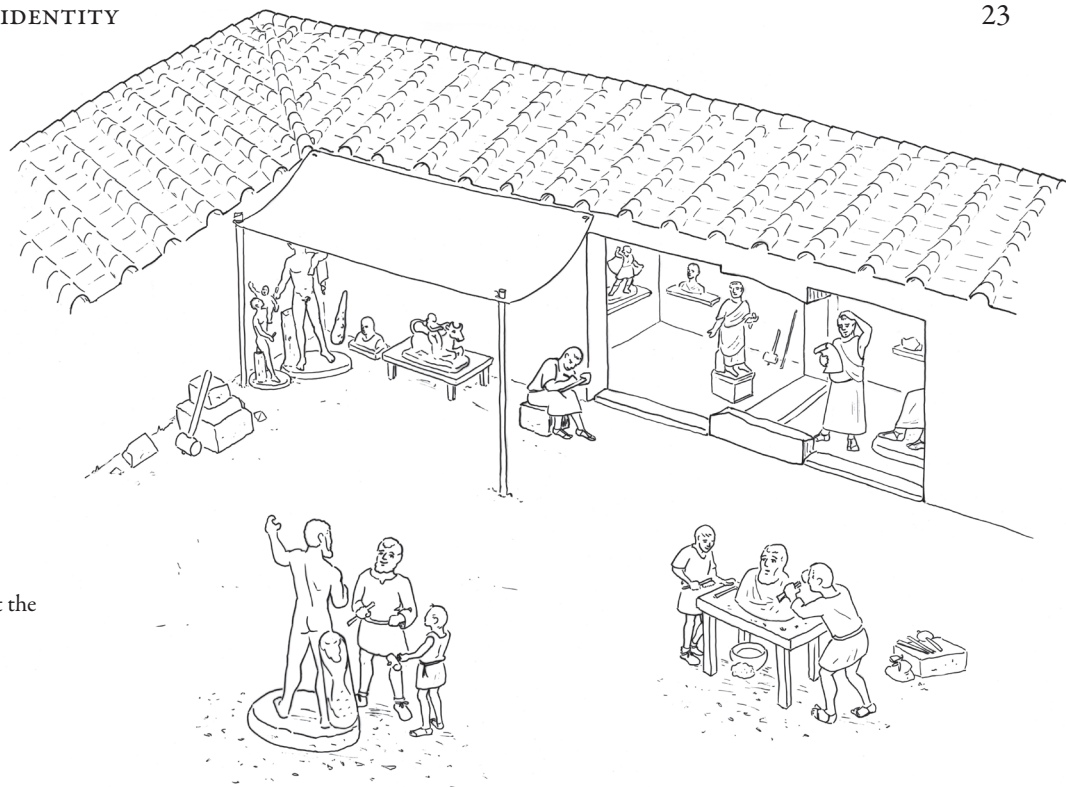


Figure 2.3. Reconstruction of work at the Sculptor's Workshop at Aphrodisias. Image credits: New York University Excavation at Aphrodisias.

well as a modern one. Adamson also equates friction and resistance in collaborative relations to those one encounters when working with materials: stones may not give in to the axe or chisel when the tool is not used correctly, or when the stone is much harder than the tool can handle.⁵⁷

To conclude this section: the human propensity to live with and through things, means that making those things is a core process in human societies. The contrasting entities of makers and consumers are in this view redundant, as living our lives through things entails that not only craftspeople make things, but also those who purchase, borrow, or steal them; and not only 'consumers' consume things, but also makers do so while they are making. If such an approach to making is accepted, the value that societies place in this fluid, circular sphere of different varieties of making lies in the uniquely enhanced ability of experienced crafters to manipulate materials into an object of preconceived design. The experience, practice, and talent that are required to achieve outstanding levels in craft were acknowledged by craftspeople as well as their communities in the ancient world. Both their identity in the community, and their self-image, were informed by the acknowledgement of their outstanding skill in providing a necessary service or product to that community.

⁵⁷ Adamson 2013, 249; also beautifully explained in the work Jack tries to achieve as a mason apprentice in the *Pillars of the Earth* book by K. Follett 2008.

Belonging in Space, Place, and Self

Making and crafting, then, connects us to others; but as much as things are key to human thinking and communities, so are places. In connecting to places we may blur the boundaries between the physical environment and a newly made thing while place is also a strong component of ownership. 'Craft is discussed as a belonging, as a possession and a possessiveness of identity and a means to articulate location as local, dislocated or foreign'.⁵⁸ Without a location or context, nothing takes place. A specific place may be crucial since 'inhabiting places and using tools may create a more profound connectedness between people and their world'.⁵⁹ To Thomas, space is bodily experienced and, subsequently, the significance of places is created through acts and performances played out in and with specific locations.⁶⁰ The workshop, or any professional working space, as a crucial place to the formation, negotiation, and maintenance of identities thus warrant in-depth exploration since these places themselves have identities that are constantly in flux, as much as human identities are. Space and time are actively linked and through making and crafting, people's activities, performances, and practices are imbued

⁵⁸ Kettle and others 2013, 189.

⁵⁹ Thomas 1996. Similar views on the role of place, even in the mythical past, are expressed in Malkin 2015, 20–23.

⁶⁰ Thomas 1996.



Figure 2.4. Fieldwork participants in the 3D recording of Tiryns fortification walls. Each team member needs a certain amount of space to be able to record the wall and, simultaneously, not to overlap with the work of the others. Photo: Ann Brysbaert.

with interconnected meanings. Humans will test a workshop's potential over time, find their boundaries, try to surpass these in shaping and adapting existing or new spaces and, if not possible, adapt in co-existence with that space. An example lies in the ways in which the Roman-period Sculptor's Workshop at Aphrodisias was once a public office, but was later converted when a new council house blocked the square at which it was located (Fig. 2.2). It subsequently was expanded by the demolition of some redundant walls, and, next, used for hundreds of years for the production of both newly carved and recycled monuments (Fig. 2.3).⁶¹ Sculptors produced new sculpture in an older style that had come back into fashion, in a space that had once been part of a public building complex that now housed workshops and shops; beyond this reapplying of old styles, they lit-

erally converted old sculpture into new monuments by recarving them. The performance of these things in their workspace, ties together location, time, and craft in the daily practice of the workshop users.

Spaces, and by extension architecture, shape people and afford their communication, not just in monumental and public architecture contexts but also in settlements and mortuary spheres, and in workshop contexts.⁶² To Maran, architecture is perceived as an active force or an actor in social relationships.⁶³ Space is the area with its (sometimes fluid) boundaries in which a certain activity is 'taking place': the activity literally 'takes' its place. And it has to: without the needed space, work cannot be conducted (Fig. 2.4), as work is always a contextual activity. In asking and taking the space needed, the artisan delineates and extends his needs to make things into the spatial realm since making things transforms materi-

⁶¹ Van Voorhis 2018, 15–24 on the chronology of the building; passim on the various types of sculpted monuments and their creation and adaptation.

⁶² After Brysbaert 2014.

⁶³ Maran 2006a; 2006b.

als, configures materials, and thus requires a new reconfiguration of space. The artisans owe it to the new thing to give it the needed space to come into being, and they thus need to have either access to or own that needed space. Equally, the boundaries of that space delineate the workshop which is associated with a specific set of activities. The activities, processes, and practices taking place in that workshop and carried out by the artisans thus own the space versus activities that *do not* have anything to do with the making of specific items that identify the specific workshop.

However, in archaeological contexts, not all activities are equally well represented in their material form. And even if they are, the dominant evidence may overshadow other important activities. Archaeologists who investigate workshops, for example, aim to provide a realistic picture of what took place in these specific contexts, even if this does not fit existing interpretations.⁶⁴ For example, a LBA lapidary workshop identified in Building XI, located in the north-east corner of the Lower Citadel in Tiryns, may turn out to be much more complex after the reinvestigation of every single tiny piece of evidence found there.⁶⁵ Precisely this realization makes archaeological work more comprehensive, and it allows for richer interpretations beyond existing models.⁶⁶ Such socially informed studies illustrate a larger compatibility with the complexity of people's existence, and how they operate with each other and their material world. Moreover, both Høgseth and Ingold illustrate how artisans take up space even during repetitive actions as they gradually shift around the available space while repeating specific actions of which no repetition is exactly the same as the action before.⁶⁷ As such, space, processes and practices, tools, materials, and their maker(s) are intrinsically interwoven in the focal point of the workshop. In fact, people, materials, tools, and spaces both form *and* restrict each other.

Next to typological and functional material object studies, by recording in minute detail every item recovered in excavations, archaeologists may be able to reconstruct the biographies of objects as imprinted in their material make-up, breakdown, disappearance, and resurfacing, irrespective of their size.⁶⁸ A bronze ingot, found

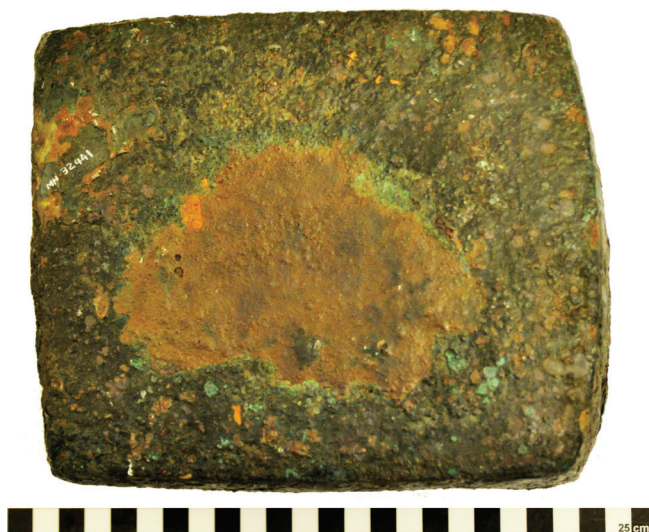


Figure 2.5. Bronze ingot from Room 215, Middle terrace house, Tiryns Lower Citadel. Photo: Ann Brysbaert.

in the south wall of Room 215 of the LH IIIB Middle terrace house which formed a workshop space, can illustrate this (Fig. 2.5).⁶⁹ Apart from the discussion on the timeline and the places involved in shaping this bronze ingot — likely before it arrived at Tiryns — its hidden nature in the wall adds to its biography and to the active role of built features. Since bronze was not a local material, a 20 kg ingot was quite a chance find and illuminates how this item had been forgotten in the past in its hiding place within the wall. In studying objects like this and the features of their find-spots from both empirical and social perspectives, we may weld technologies, meanings, practices, and histories together into meaningful and contextualized narratives about people's pasts.

In several cases the physical environment is imprinted in, *incorporated* into the newly made thing, or even is or *becomes* the newly made thing, especially if its shape and location are entirely integrated in the newly made thing. In the LBA Argolid, people actively rearranged the physical environment around them until it fitted them perfectly. The Athenian Acropolis and its Mycenaean Cyclopean fortification walls, built on rocky outcrops and made from that very stone, show this clearly, as do other fortifications and landmarks of settlements in other places and periods. The wall and rock together become one and the same security body. Specifically at Tiryns, the western staircase, as one of the last constructed parts of the final palatial fortification wall pro-

⁶⁴ For example, Tournavistou 1995; Hasaki 2002; 2011; Sanidas 2013; Brysbaert and Vetters 2010; 2013.

⁶⁵ Brysbaert and Vetters 2010.

⁶⁶ Brysbaert 2014.

⁶⁷ Høgseth 2012, 102–03; Ingold 2011, 51–62.

⁶⁸ E.g. Kopytoff 1986.

⁶⁹ Kilian 1988, 130, 133–37, and fig. 36; discussion of its biography: Brysbaert and Vetters 2013, 185–86.

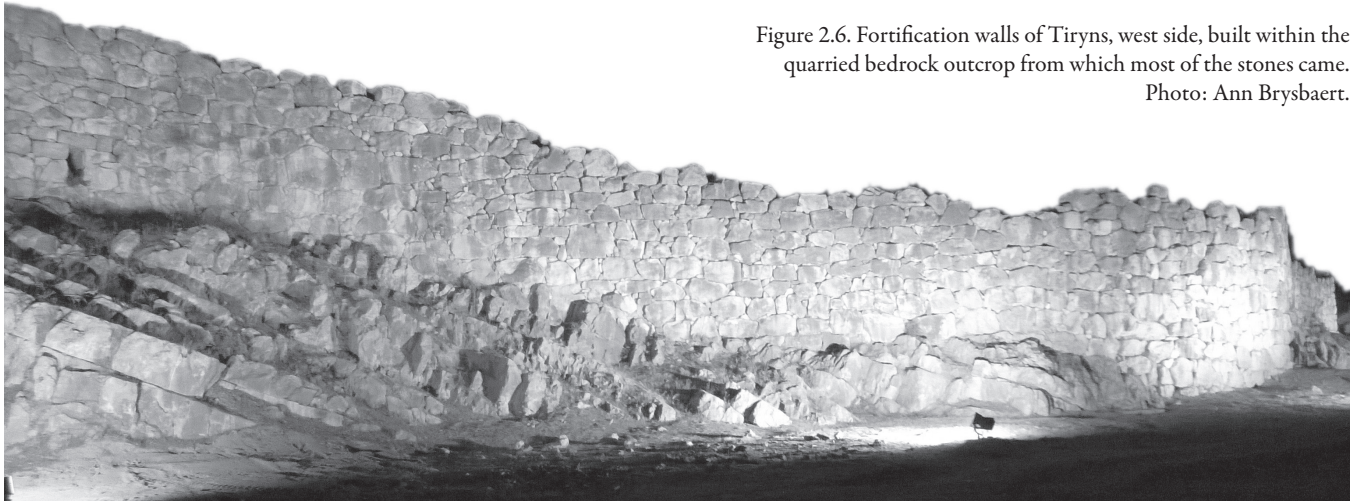


Figure 2.6. Fortification walls of Tiryns, west side, built within the quarried bedrock outcrop from which most of the stones came.
Photo: Ann Brysbaert.

gramme (Fig. 2.6), was built on the spot from which workers had extracted stone blocks earlier on in the construction process at the citadel. This quarry became a protected staircase-inside-wall.⁷⁰

In other cases, specific spaces also draw people back in after an absence. This is very well illustrated in the workshop located inside the north-eastern corner of the Tiryns Lower Citadel wall. As discussed elsewhere, the artisans who set up the post-palatial workshop after a gap in craft activity of about two generations, did so on exactly the same spot, even using the same outer walls, of an earlier existing workshop in that exact locale.⁷¹ Very likely, the walls were considered practical by the later artisans: no additional building was needed. They changed the internal structure of rooms into a much more open workspace configuration to suit their current needs where perhaps less (palatial) control was in place. Moreover, they may have known, through oral transmission, of the workshop that was there some time earlier, perhaps having an excellent reputation on the basis of its produced luxury goods. It is not out of the question that the people who set up the later workshop were the rightful heirs of the plot and the building and could thus claim that space upon their return. By returning or settling afresh, the later artisans must have valued not only the place itself as being suitable for a workshop, acknowledging the value of place, but they likely also valued the reputation of the previous craftsmanship produced there, connecting themselves and the place to the past.

⁷⁰ Certain sides of the rocky hills on which the Mycenaean fortifications of Midea, Mycenae, and Teichos Dymaion were perched were steep and inaccessible enough that no additional walls on those sides were needed.

⁷¹ Brysbaert and Veters 2010.

Continuity in workshop use is also attested in later periods, as the examples of the house of Mikion and Menon at the edge of the Athenian Agora (Fig. 2.7) and the sculptors' workshop at Aphrodisias demonstrate. These examples connect places with craft over time, by way of the activity of the artisans. In votive and funerary practices, similar connections occur. First fruit, or *aparche* dedications from the Athenian Acropolis, for instance, that celebrate the dedicants' professions, mark their success and skill by claiming not only a literal place for the monument, but also time — the expression of self-identification of the dedicant into a future that may exceed the person's lifetime. As patronymics are common in votive inscriptions, the monument reflects the patron's place in the family that stretches into the past and into the future. Many of the patrons of early fifth-century votives from the Acropolis whose names are preserved are craftsmen and, in some cases, craftswomen; and interestingly, this is also the time from which the most artists' signatures survive.⁷² Gravestones display similar concerns with artisans' identity, and their professional identity in particular, anchoring it in time and place, while at the same time reaching out to the past and future. Mentions on gravestones of various occupations, skills, or service roles of the deceased are often combined with depictions of children, or parents or children are mentioned in the inscriptions.⁷³ In combination with the rise of *periboloi* as family grave plots, these crafters' monuments emphasize what making has meant for their identity and self-image, and likely for their families and the communities they lived in as well.

⁷² Hochscheid 2015, 171–96, 290–97.

⁷³ For instance, Xanthippos the shoemaker and other examples, Hochscheid 2015, 295–97.

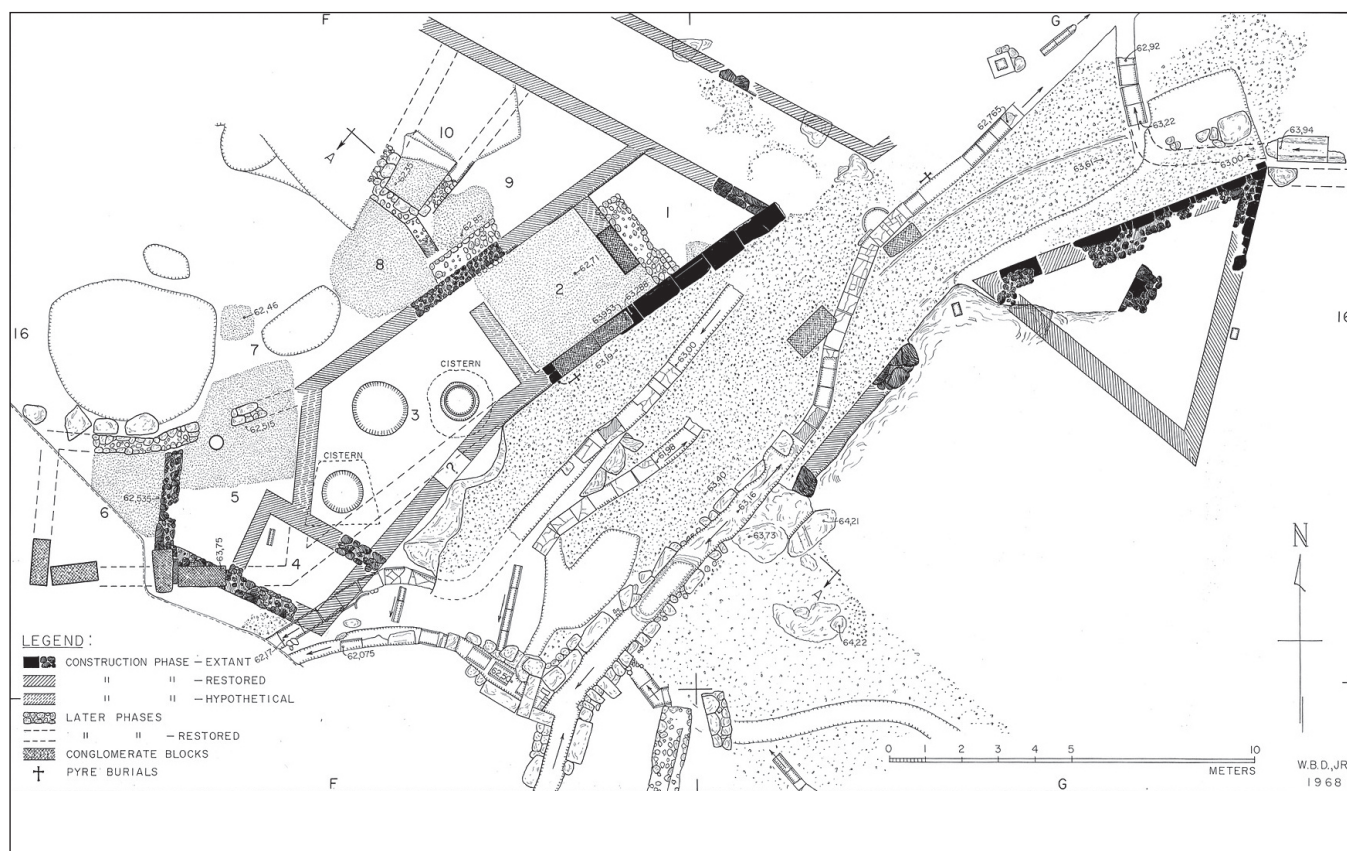


Figure 2.7. House of Mikion and Menon. Copyright: courtesy of the ASCA/Agora excavations.

As private votives and gravestones do this for individuals, so do the Athenian building inscriptions tie together place and community, time and craft. Even though the function of building records is the accountability of the officials in charge of the finances for the projects, the effect was much more encompassing than a mere settling of accounts. The full building accounts, set up for all to see, not only made insightful the financial outlay, but mentioned every worker who was paid for a particular job, including their family ties (through a patronymic), their place of residence (through a demotic), and their status (free or slave, through a genitive form of the owner's name).⁷⁴ The example of the building estate mentioned above, where the carpenter, the architect, the plasterer, the welder, and so on, can all come to the site with their children to proudly show what they have made, is literally carved in stone in the building accounts. Not only that, the Periclean building programme is an expression of Athenian identity *par excellence*, worked out in exquisite, rather scholarly detail. It binds the Mycenaean walls to the new fortifications, including the

remains of the temple destroyed by the Persians.⁷⁵ This is not the place for a thorough analysis of all the ways in which the fifth-century Acropolis drew together the past, present, and future into a unified symbol of identification, but that it does so few will contest. Coming back to the building accounts, for those who partook in this effort, and there were many, the record of their work and of the payment they received for it must have done more than simply boost their self-esteem. It connected them positively to Athens, even if they were not Athenians, and even if they were not free. And the cause of this positive connection was their craft skill, skill that would be, and is, remembered.

Crafting Value

Through training and life-long practising, people may become highly skilled in what they do for a living and thus develop differently than those who do not specialize. Such added value comes to be through the triple charac-

⁷⁴ References above in n. 31.

⁷⁵ For a recent overview of all the literature on this topic, see Sioumpara 2018.

teristics of ownership. Enhanced by not just the possession of an item (or of resources that precede an item), but also by the making and the production of it, artisans add value to the materials they manipulate, the processes and practices they initiate and carry out, and to the completed item or feature. They come to effectance, a lasting impact on their environment, in a creative process that is highly appreciated by humans from a very young age. This takes place in dedicated spaces, craftpeople's spaces or workshops, built and arranged to support these processes. In doing so, these places themselves acquire a different meaning in two ways. They are the places where artisans belong, where they are at home, and where they work best. But also, the workshop becomes known as *the* place for quality tool production, or excellent gravestones, or comfortable shoes. Such an accolade naturally also holds meaning for those who work and get trained there. In this way, a sense of place and belonging mingles with self-identity and professional identity assigned by others; and with effectance and efficacy, both in the manipulation of materials ongoing in the workshop, and the products of that process that spread in the community. All three of these elements strengthen each other as time moves on, as people carry out more work, as experience and reputations grow, into an upwards expanding spiral in each of the three respects, separately as well as together.

We have shown above that more specialized artisans may not always carry out work that demanded the top of their skills. Nevertheless, socio-technical distinctions are logical consequences of practising and skill-developing, and lead to value attributions at various levels. Social status within the person's household or workshop, among people within and beyond their community, as well as in their 'communities of practice', become more and more apparent as individuals' craft skills increase. Value attribution may be linked to specific skills and knowledge, but also to other personal characteristics, such as, for example, artisans' physical and emotional approachability, their willingness and sensibility to help beyond the usual, kin-based relationships, or the size and make-up of their peer networks.

The concept of value in crafting is socially constructed and defined by its context; and so, value-making in craft seems mostly a relational practice. The presence of appreciation for craft, and its increase or decrease in the communities it was practised in, may not be easy to recognize in archaeological contexts. Nevertheless it is important to explore, as it is the foundation for the perception of value of someone else's work, and thus indicative of the real attitudes towards that work which are

difficult to derive from other sources. Linear B tablets clearly show that work was valued economically since people received food rations for their work and in some cases the amount was linked to their level of skill and how the work was ranked according to its importance to the palatial authorities. A supervisor or master of the building craft in Pylos received, in some cases, more than others.⁷⁶ In classical times, building accounts indicate quite decent wages for construction workers, and sculptors are known to have had good wages too.⁷⁷ But these economic considerations, though revealing, tell little of the position of makers in ancient societies.

To Papadopoulos and Urton, the value of objects 'lies at the interface between individual and collective tastes, desires, sentiments and attitudes that inform the ways people select one thing over another'.⁷⁸ Value ascription differs according to social groups and may be both inclusive and exclusive. Acquiring exotic goods, charged with high symbolic meaning and value, may only be possible for a specific elite class in specific contexts. In the east Mediterranean LBA, this social group may want to attach beauty, rarity, distance, ritual connotations, technological virtuosity, and labour intensity, or any *combination* of these, as exclusively requested value 'constructors' to the items they acquire.⁷⁹ The object's age, its trajectory in time and space, and the mutually understood perceptions of these, may add to an object's rich biography before it is valued as a new possession. Heirlooms are the perfect example of this. Such items may also be linked to socio-cosmological ideals, which again might only be shared among that peer group. Such peer groups, or 'virtual communities' are people who have access to this same sort of information, share these same ideas and values, and yet do not need to be physically close.⁸⁰ Another example lies in the values expressed in the iconography of temples in archaic and classical Athens, which are clearly and directly connected to notions of Athenian-ness, through depictions of ancestral mythologies like the birth of Athena or early kings of Athens like Kekrops or Theseus.⁸¹ A modern comparison

⁷⁶ Nakassis 2010, 275–78.

⁷⁷ On wages: Hochscheid 2020; Seaman 2015.

⁷⁸ Papadopoulos and Urton 2012.

⁷⁹ See e.g. M. Feldman 2006 on the possession and use of luxury items in elite contexts of the Eastern Mediterranean LBA.

⁸⁰ Crielaard 1998.

⁸¹ A full discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of this paper, but recent analysis that sparked controversy in Connelly 2014. Cf. also Blok 2009, 150–54.

would be royal courts and the luxuries they employ to be *and remain* an exclusive peer group.

However, communities do not have to be virtual to share ideas and values, knowledge, materials, and perhaps also tools and workspaces. Regional or local artisans and their ‘communities of practice’ may transfer knowledge and skills by means of passing them on, from one generation to another, or horizontally through travel when large projects required more skilled craftsmen.⁸² Combinations of both global and local communities with the same interests, goals, and even material outcomes exist as well: the Pussyhat community mentioned earlier shows this non-virtual material sharing. Currently, many craftivist movements are both locally strong and globally widespread; clear processes of globalization are at work in these movements.⁸³ What they share beyond the above-mentioned values and knowledge are similar emotions around the reasons why these movements started: a vested and deeply shared interest in more equality, democracy, and an appreciation of the knowledge people across the globe have and pass on, locally and beyond. They share knowledge and values centred on the craft activities and the reasons for these activities to take place. As such, they may surpass the knowledge divisions between the world regions under the influence of Enlightenment ideas (our current Western world expressed in contrasts such as: crafts versus arts, knowledge versus know-how), and those people that ground knowledge in doing and making, and passing this on as an intrinsic part of knowing, as a social obligation within the community.

Technologies, which are always value-laden and interwoven with all aspects of society, will also be more socio-economically acceptable if the values embedded in the production processes are incorporating social and economic values of the given community in which these technologies develop. No technology is neutral, since artisans produce and reproduce values with both positive and negative effects on that society.⁸⁴ This basically means that the maker carries responsibilities to the society in which s/he functions and works, in upholding the values laid down in that society. Moreover, technologies can shape people’s actions and decisions in various ways and can impact on all layers of society in varying

levels.⁸⁵ For example, a decision to construct monumental Cyclopean-style architecture in prehistoric contexts, extensive building programmes in classical *poleis*, or a huge army and fleet for a military operation, had a large impact on the communities who were doing the making, as they had to combine construction with food production for themselves and their families, seasonally fixed agricultural work, and ‘ordinary’ production for their local markets.⁸⁶ It is little wonder that craftsmen often travelled from their home base to places where large projects recruited extra workers.

Perhaps the most useful in crafting for the community are the values embedded in both producing *and* consuming something, in exchanging one thing for another, as these actions and things are connectors between producer and consumer. Value linked to aspects of exchange is well known through the work of M. Mauss and others after him.⁸⁷ His anthropological approaches to exchange make it obvious that value goes far beyond the economic, and that rare, transformed, live, or inanimate items of high value were crucial in marking high status and maintaining it. Highly valued items, especially if they came from afar and were produced by highly skilled people, embodied these far distant, unknown, dangerous, and unstable places, and linked their characteristics to the heroic and mythical picture with which elite groups wanted to portray themselves. When such items arrived as gifts, they were never free. In Maussian terms, the giver created obligations towards the receiver who was now indebted to the giver to give at least the same or more in return, in number or in mutually understood values. This resounds in the notion that the gift economy personifies the object: the given objects take on the qualities of the people involved and may increase or change the objects’ value. In contrast, the commodity economy establishes an equivalence of value between objects.

That this equivalence is not identifiable in a straightforward manner with the social status of the owner of the object is clear. Despite ancient authors’ objections to manual labour, one could argue that to a community at large, the skills of their crafters were more valuable than the objects that resulted. Parts of the community would of course try to distinguish themselves through specific craft items, but often the specific paths that this ambition took are extremely difficult to establish in archaeological

⁸² Seaman 2015; Hochscheid 2015, 147–49; Massar 2020. See also the chapters by Cheung and by Massar, and by Russell in this volume.

⁸³ See Brysbaert 2019 for examples and references.

⁸⁴ E.g. Pesch 2015, 926–27; cf. Sennett 2009, 21–24.

⁸⁵ As suggested in Ihde 1990.

⁸⁶ Brysbaert 2013; 2020; (*forthcoming*); Shear 2016; also Massar in this volume.

⁸⁷ Mauss 1925.

contexts. Moreover, as we discussed earlier in this chapter, humans appear to develop appreciation for making early on in life, and even human socialization processes are dependent on and intertwined with things. Valuable or rare objects would affect such processes, but, for example, a child's play with an expensive toy made of rare materials is arguably not fundamentally different from such play with a very ordinary toy. For adults, such distinctions may be more pressing, but what exactly a community appreciates in exceptional artefacts differs not only for various groups within that community, but also changes over time. While the group's value-making thus varies in different ways, the need for craft skill remains much more stable. We can trace expressions of the value of making as well as of the things made, in a community's workshop usage, impact on the landscape through buildings or monuments, reassignment of the meaning of those buildings, and in other artefacts like pot sherds or entire statues. All these examples show the inextricable engagement of self-identity, efficacy and effectance, and a sense of belonging in place, through the embodied use of objects both in their making and consumption. Each individual item or object, irrespective of its similarity to others, thus carries an intrinsic multiple set of meanings. It was valued and owned, by at least two people (assuming they were not one and the same): its maker and its owner. For such objects, their ongoing spark that lets us think not only about them, but also *with* them, demonstrates that the making of their value continues.

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