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Research Article

# Domestic Space Structure and Abandonment Behavior: The Ye Family Complex at Baomei, Tong An District (Fujian, P.R. China)

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**Anthropological archaeology strives to recover, understand, and explain past social dynamics. It relies on the uncovered material record to highlight past behavior patterns. For such a research agenda to be successful, one needs to fully understand all aspects of the processes involved in the formation of the archaeological record. It is undisputed that "Abandonment" is the condition *sine qua none* for the formation of archaeological sites. Fieldwork conducted at the Ye Family high-ranking Qing Dynasty office-holder housing complex outlines the "use-history" of the investigated architectural complex and its adjustment to China's recent contemporary history. The housing complex shifted from an initial prestigious imperial office-holder family to a "commune" housing for disadvantaged families during the Cultural Revolution, to be finally either progressively abandoned and/or re-cycled as a storage complex. Combining informant input and field archaeology methodologies, the study of an abandoned elite traditional vernacular house provides the opportunity to decipher abandonment processes and contribute to the theoretical agenda of anthropological archaeology.**

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## Introduction

During the last 50 years, with the accelerated pace of modernization of China's housing industry, traditional vernacular houses have been significantly impacted. In major cities, most of the individual old family houses were destroyed to make space for modern buildings and high rises. Modern housing templates, with all their living amenities - kitchen, bathroom, toilets, air-conditioning - are clearly more convenient. In the countryside, through the program against extreme poverty, new modern constructions are generally built next to the old family houses, which are turned either into chicken-duck coops/animal pens or simply abandoned and exposed to the elements.

The structure of domestic space, as materialized in traditional vernacular Chinese family houses, features some variations all over China. Depending on families' size and wealth, however, the "traditional family house" with its hip-and-gable roof style, also known as the *xieshan* style, is basically articulated on a combination of courtyards, ancestors' shrine, and diverse arrays of rooms and activity areas on parallel sides of the central axis. The different components of the house living space are set according to more or less strict geomancy [*Feng shui*] requirements. Feng shui, defined as the "way of wind and water" and geared to achieve

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harmony and balance, is an ancient Chinese art of arranging objects, space, and buildings in the environment. Daily life activities and families' demographic changes may require alterations and changes in the articulation of domestic activity areas up to the definitive abandonment of the traditional family houses. Built features' abandonment is the *sine qua none* condition for the formation of the archaeological record. Abandoned houses, depending on their states of decay, are accordingly *de facto* [proto] archaeological sites in the process of formation.

The research conducted at the Ye family complex at Baomei, Ting Xi township in Tong'an district of the Fujian province (Southeast China) in Summer 2022 aimed at investigating the structure of an early Qing Dynasty high-ranking family traditional house, the arrangement of its activity areas, as well as patterns of its abandonment exclusively from a materialist archaeological perspective. Because of the existence of very sensitive periods in China's contemporary history and strict censorship, oral history and witness testimonies tend to be partial and often unreliable.

## 1. Theoretical Perspectives

Domestic space tends to be structured according to a combination of factors, both immaterial and material, that vary from one context to another. Chinese traditional house size, orientation, spatial arrangement, and activity space allocation pattern are more or less culture-specific and tend to depend on the specific cultural area, family's size, wealth, and demographic structure. Abandoned houses provide the opportunity to model the formation of the archaeological record at all times and places. Daily life activities are carried out within the domestic space in a patterned frame. Distinct spaces are allocated to food processing, cooking, and consumption, storage, sleeping, sharing, entertainment, etc., with some of these activities requiring specially made installations. Depending on circumstances, however, some of these activities may shift from one space to another, and/or overlap, thus generating palimpsests. "Activity area analysis enables two things: the reconstruction of single activities at one specific point in time, and the reconstruction of a structure of repetitive activity generating a specific pattern of objects in the archaeological record"[1].

Activity areas research is accordingly articulated on a 3-step process:

1. The recording of archaeological indicators of activity that may include refuse, installations, objects in active and/or passive postures.
2. The identification of the nature of depositions that may be destruction, construction, use/re-use, deterioration, maintenance, or abandonment.
3. And finally, the identification of kinds of assemblages, either refuse or active/passive inventories.

Abandonment, a *sine qua none* condition for the formation of archaeological sites and focus of intense and productive debates in the 1980s, is part of a broader interpretative scheme dealing with formation processes of the archaeological record[2][3][4][5][6][7][8][9][10][11][12][1][13][14][15][16][17][18]. Most archaeological reports and narratives take material culture items recorded in the archaeological record for granted. Data are collected, processed, analyzed, and published without any attempt at figuring out why they came to be where they are found in the archaeological contexts. A genuine anthropological archaeology agenda has to integrate the decipherment of archaeological record formation in its theoretical tool-kit.

The investigation of formation processes of the archaeological record, pioneered by L. R. Binford[3], M. B. Schiffer[13] and Stevenson[19] to mention but a few leading scholars, resulted in an elaborate systematics that includes sets of crucial and important concepts. Accordingly, "the archaeological record of a particular cultural system is developed primarily by a finite set of activities which contributes materially to its formation. These activities are known as "cultural formation processes transform materials from a cultural systemic context to an archaeological context"[2]. Grasping formation processes thus offers the "inferential bridge between the static patterns of the archaeological record and the dynamic patterns of ongoing actual behaviors. Before artifacts enter the archaeological record, they participate in the behavioral systems called systemic context"[15].

Formation processes of the archaeological record systematically combine cultural (C-transforms) and natural (N-transforms) processes. C-transforms can be partitioned into: (1) cultural deposition; (2) re-use; (3) reclamation; and finally, (4) post-depositional disturbance. N-transforms include: (1) erosion; (2) sediment accumulation; and finally, (3) differential preservation. Abandonment that presides over the shift from systemic to archaeological contexts is not a singular event but a multi-facetted complex process[5][6][10][18]. The effective operation of abandonment, either slow and planned or rapid and unplanned, determines the bulk, richness, and diversity of material

culture items that enter the archaeological record. Spencer[15] singles out 5 main variables that can explain variations in the refuse found in archaeological contexts, notably: rate, anticipated return, means of transport, distance to the next site, and season of abandonment[16].

### *Abandonment hypotheses*

The nature of the implemented abandonment process significantly influences the composition of the archaeological assemblage to be found in the investigated sites.

1. Few curated items and little *de facto* refuse are to be found in the case of planned abandonment without anticipated return. Equally, few artefacts and features in the process of maintenance, use, and/or manufacture are expected to be absent.
2. Localities and places abandoned under sudden unplanned abandonment are expected to feature a larger amount of *de facto* refuse. "Significantly more refuse and perhaps more concentrated arrangements of refuse would accumulate within enclosed living areas on sites undergoing planned emigration with no return"[15].
3. Finally, if return to the site or locality is planned, much less refuse would be accumulated in the enclosed living spaces.

The fieldwork conducted at the abandoned Ye family complex at Baomei during the 2022 summer aimed at documenting activity areas and the structure of domestic space in an elite habitation unit and deciphering the implemented abandonment behaviors.

## 2. The Ye Family Complex

The investigated Ye family house complex, made of two units, is found at 24° 47' 362" North and 118° 05' 587" East, at 39.1 m above sea level. It is located in the village of Baomei in the Tingxi township of Tong'an district in coastal Fujian, People's Republic of China. The investigated units belonged to a high-level government official during the Qing Dynasty. Significant land and social reforms were implemented by the new government after the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. The ancient nobility and land-owner classes were disowned of most of their power and properties. Land reforms were implemented, and the newly established regime tried to solve housing problems faced by disenfranchised families and groups.

There are critical segments of contemporary Chinese national history that are very sensitive and generally willingly omitted. This is the case for: (1) - "the Great Leap Forward" - 大跃进 – (1958-1961), which intended to accelerate the transformation of the country from an agrarian to a communist industrial society; (2) – the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" -无产阶级文化大革命 – (1966-1976), launched to cleanse Chinese communism of capitalism and remnants of traditional social practices with targeted assaults on the "Four Olds": 'old ideas', 'old culture', 'old customs', and 'old habits'[20][21][22]; and finally, (3) – the Tiananmen Square Protests (April 15-June 4, 1989). For well-known reasons of censorship, Chinese informants tend to shy away from these considerable upheavals in China's contemporary national history.

## 3. Brief oral history of the Ye Family Complex

According to the oral testimony on the studied Ye family mansion collected by Zhang Yuwei (Field notes) during the Summer 2022 fieldwork, the complex was built by a county magistrate named Ye in the early Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). The property was shared with his five brothers (fig. 1 and 2). The social standing of the complex owners as high government officials is supported by the presence of their symbols of office, the two stone sculptures on the upper part of the front gate: a deer on the left and a crane on the right (fig. 3). In traditional Chinese society, different kinds of stone sculptures were strictly regulated, and this kind of sculpture could only be used by high-ranking officials.

The word for deer in Chinese is (鹿) *Lù*, which phonetically refers to wealth. The deer thus symbolizes longevity[23] and riches derived from an imperial official position. Cranes (起重机, *Qǐzhòngjī* in Chinese) have a multiplicity of meanings in ancient Chinese mythology. They are considered as birds of "1st rank", referring to high status in the Imperial hierarchy. As is the case for deer, they also symbolize longevity and immortality and, as divine birds, they are conveying purity, nobility, wisdom, and long-lasting love.

**Figure 1.** The Ye Family complex 1 on the right and 2 on the left.


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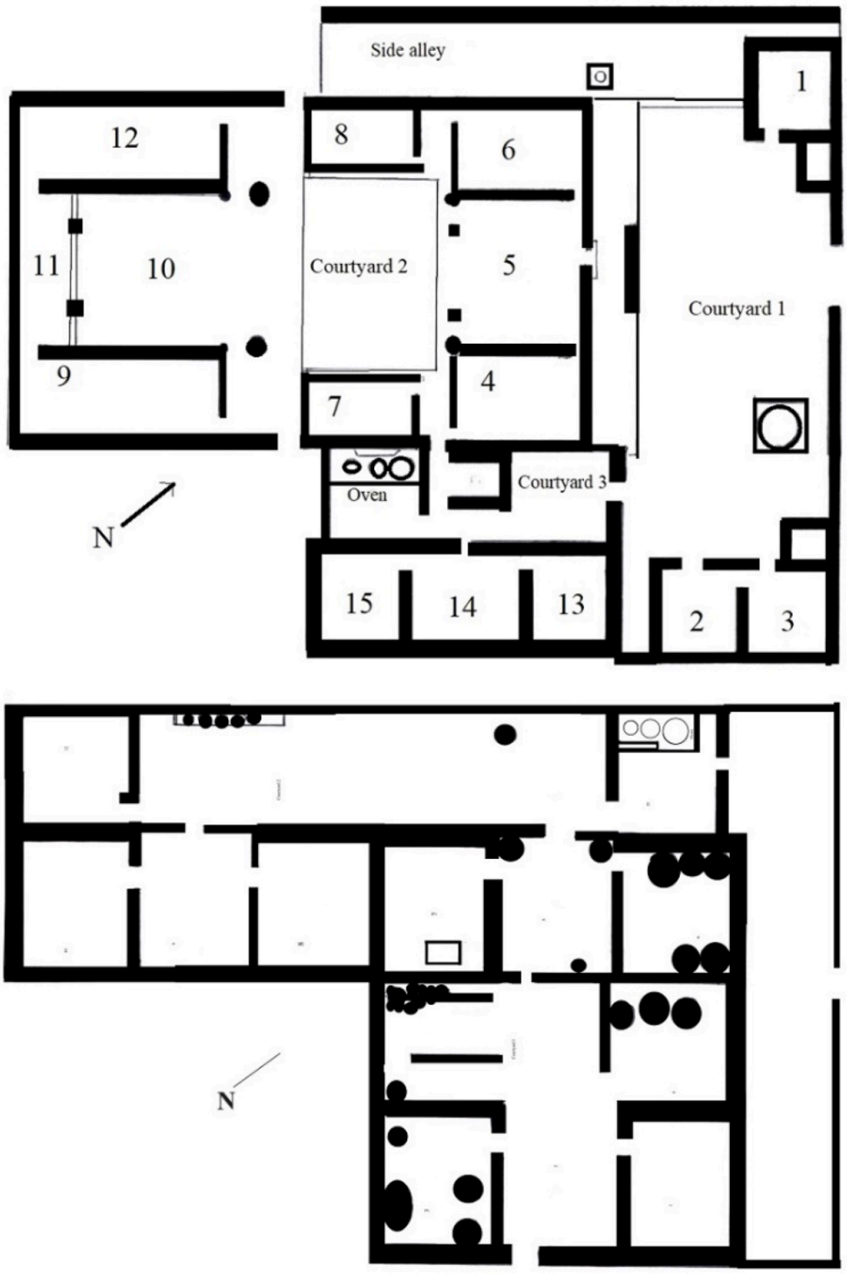


**Figure 2.** Draft of the Ye Family complex with House 1 and 2.
Both house units are separated by 1.2 m wide gutters evacuating rainwater.


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**Figure 3.** House Unit 1 gate with symbols of office: the deer in the top-left and the crane in the top-right.

According to informant Ye, aged 50 years, who led the team cleaning the abandoned main residence, the mansion has been inherited by the Ye family until now, even if the new generations built their own new houses near and away from the ancient traditional family houses. During its more than 200-year history, the complex was constantly expanded and furnished. However, during the early stage of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the house was shared with a stranger. According to informant Ye, his generation had lived in this house until around 10 years ago, and in the 1950s and 1960s, there was a strange woman who rented a room, living with her son. At that time, the Ye family was poor and could not maintain such a big house. Moreover, according to the then-implemented public policy, the government made an attempt to offer housing and shelter for disadvantaged people. Therefore, during the special period, the house was shared by two different families, and some of them did not know each other. Mr. Ye did not know the woman's whereabouts, and now the Ye family still inherits and owns the traditional house.

The last resident, who lived in the right bedroom next to *Xialuo* Hall, passed away in 2013. She was the grandmother of the last generation in this old building. After her death, the complex was abandoned. In other words, until now, the house has been empty for almost 10 years. After the family abandoned the house, some strangers asked some family members to buy some antique items. After being turned down, they stole some items and destroyed some wooden gates to grab sculptures set on the upper part of the door.

The upheaval of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution [无产阶级文化大革命] (1966–1976) is subtly mentioned in the narrative, but never explicitly. The oral testimony, while useful, is full of inaccuracies. If Mr. Ye, the informant, was 50 years old at the time of the interview in July 2022, it means he was born in 1972, 4 years before the end of the movement. He could not have direct knowledge of "a strange woman who rented a room, living with her son" in the 1950s-1960s. The Ye family house complex was appropriated, and the mansion was converted into a "commune" – collective property – housing different poorer families from the village. It is very likely that the members of the Ye family had to share the houses with new and unknown people who were granted access through the new policies. It is these latest occupants who shaped the final organization of activity areas represented in the investigated house complexes, as well as patterns of abandonment behaviors to be deciphered.

It would have been such an important addition to have the precise and detailed narrative of the "who," "when," "where," and why, as requested by Dr. Armando Anaya Hernandez, but that is exactly the moot point of the investigation. As suggested above, there are strong prescriptions against some historical events in contemporary China, backed by vigilant censorship, that preside over "people's" historical amnesia... The members of the Ye family contacted are tight-lipped on the details of that period.

## 4. Field Methodology

Understanding the formation of the archaeological record, and by extension that of archaeological sites, is precisely the research problem that has motivated the field operations conducted at the Baomei Ye Family house complex. Fieldwork consisted essentially of clearing the vegetation that started recolonizing the complex (fig. 4), drafting and photographing all the uncovered material culture elements *in-situ*, conducting limited excavation when features of interest were hidden, and finally analyzing the data recorded. In some cases, when there was an important accumulation of collapsed material, a proper archaeological excavation was conducted to access the original features (fig. 5). The field crew consisted of six persons: 3 hired workers, 2 students, and myself.

**Figure 4.** Clearing the vegetation in House unit 1 in the front yard

The implemented field methodology is derived from the theoretical premises outlined above in the theory section of the paper. Theory is accordingly consistently embedded in the field strategy, data collection, and data process, making the intuitive divide between report and theoretical development unnecessary. A harmonious blend of theory and data is the hallmark of anthropological archaeology advocated in the submitted paper.


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**Figure 5.** Archaeological excavation in the lateral courtyard exposing a buried pottery.

## 5. Domestic Space Structure and Activity Areas

### *Complex 1: The Main Residence*

Complex 1, the Main Residence or the Ye Family Mansion, is an extensive habitation complex oriented Southeast-Northwest with the main entrance gate opening southeast onto an out-yard or square. It is made of 15 rooms arranged around 3 courtyards delimited by a side alley and a wall in the northeast (fig. 6, table 1).


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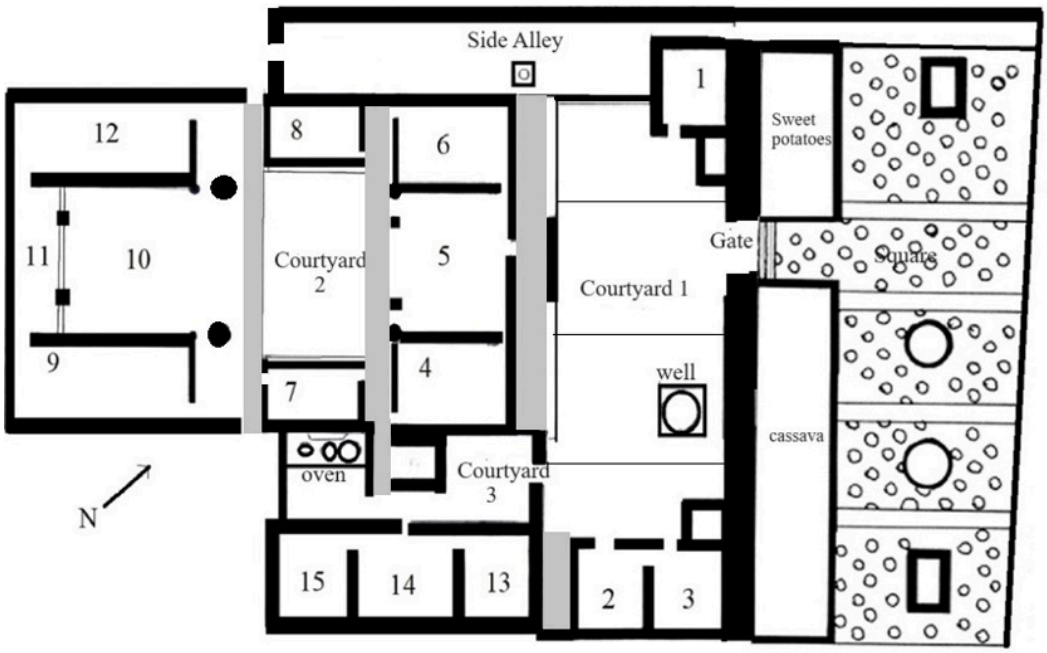


**Figure 6.** Plan of Complex I, the main residence. Transversal corridors in light grey


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| Room Number | Length (m) | Width (m) | Surface ($m^2$) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Collective space* | |
| Square | 22.00 | 10.00 | 220.00 |
| Courtyard 1 | 11.00 | 6.00 | 66.00 |
| Room 5 (Patio) | 5.25 | 4.20 | 21.84 |
| Courtyard 2 | 5.75 | 4.50 | 25.87 |
| Room 10 (Patio) | 5.00 | 4.50 | 22.50 |
| Room 11 (Shrine) | 5.00 | 2.00 | 10.00 |
| Lateral Courtyard | 9.00 | 3.00 | 27.00 |
| Total Collective space | | | 393.21 |
| *TOTAL* | | | *556.84* |
| | | *Private domestic space* | |
| | | *Unit 1* | |
| Room 1 | 3.25 | 3.00 | 9.75 |
| Storage | 1.50 | 1.25 | 1.87 |
| Total | | | 11.62 |
| | | *Unit 2* | |
| Room 2 | 3.25 | 2.75 | 8.93 |
| Room 3 | 3.50 | 3.50 | 12.25 |
| Storage | 1.50 | 1.25 | 1.87 |
| Total | | | 23.05 |
| | | *Unit 3* | |
| Room 4 | 4.50 | 3.50 | 15.75 |
| Room 7 | 3.25 | 2.50 | 8.12 |
| Total | | | 23.87 |
| | | *Unit 4* | |
| Room 6 | 4.50 | 3.50 | 15.75 |
| Room 8 | 3.25 | 2.50 | 8.12 |
| Total | | | 23.87 |
| | | *Unit 5* | |
| Room 9 | 6.25 | 3.25 | 20.31 |
| | | *Unit 6* | |
| Room 12 | 6.75 | 3.25 | 21.93 |
| | | *Unit 7* | |
| Room 13 | 3.60 | 3.00 | 10.80 |
| Room 14 | 4.00 | 4.00 | 16.00 |
| Room 15 | 3.75 | 3.25 | 12.18 |
| Total | | | 38.98 |
| *Total Private domestic space* | | | *163.63* |
| **TOTAL** | | | **720.47** |

**Table 1.** Complex I: Main Residence Domestic space structure and room sizes


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### *The Square*

The out-yard or square in front of the main gate measures 22 m in length southwest-northeast and 10 m in width southeast-northwest (table 1). It is oriented northwest-southeast and paved with cobblestones of different sizes, representing a pattern similar to daisies/chrysanthemum, with a larger stone at the center and two circles of relatively smaller elongated stones, the first radiating and the second in a ring. The distribution of the flower motifs is arranged along diagonal axes (fig. 6).

The square is partitioned into five panels separated by a decorative 0.60 m wide red-bricks band. The panels, numbered from I to V along the southeast-northwest axis, are made of cobbles of different sizes and decorated with evenly distributed small cobble-made flower motifs, either daisies or chrysanthemum. Panel IV, leading to the House gate and devoid of a flower bed, measures 2.45 m in width and 10 m in length. It contains 24 evenly spaced daisy motifs (fig. 6).

Starting from the Southeast, Panel I features 21 flower motifs and a central rectangular flower bed 2 m long, 1.4 m wide, and 0.35 m high. Panel II has a similar size with 16 flower motifs and a circular 1.5 m in diameter and 0.35 m high flower bed. Panel III also contains 19 daisy-like motifs, measures 1.55 m in diameter with a 0.40 m high wall. And finally, Panel V, at the northwestern end of the square, is the largest with 27 daisy-like motifs and a central rectangular flower bed 2 m long, 1.40 m wide, and 0.40 m high. Along the House Unit 1 wall, on both sides of the gate, there are two miniature gardens. One, in the southeast, planted with cassava, measures 12 m in length, 2.6 m in width, with a 0.40 m high contour wall. The other, in the northwest, planted with sweet potatoes, is 6.8 m long, 2.6 m wide, with a 0.40 m high contour wall.

The square, as it was recorded during the fieldwork, was not part of the original complex. The cobble pavement investigated was part of the relatively recent "beautification" project of Baomei village's open public spaces.

### *Courtyard 1*

A series of steps leads through the main gate to the front yard. This Courtyard 1 is rectangular in shape, oriented southeast-northwest, and measures 20.50 m in length and 7 m in width, for a total surface of 143.50 $m^2$ (table 1). It is partitioned into 5 sub-units built with combinations of different materials. Proceeding from the southwest to the northeast, Sub-unit I at the southwestern end is made of compacted soil (fig. 6). It is delineated along its northeast flank by a 0.30 m wide water gully perpendicular to the house and connected at a right angle to another gully running parallel to the main wall and opening under the main gate. It was designed to drain rainwater out of the house unit and discharge it into the square.

Sub-unit II, made of cobbles and cement, includes the Complex 1 Main residence unit well. The latter is built with a rectangular stone and cement margin 1.50 m long, 1.30 m wide, and 1.20 m high. Sub-unit III, measuring 7 m long and 4.8 m wide, connects the main gate to the house entrance. It is made of quarried thick rectangular and elongated stone slabs, signaling the high symbolic importance of that space segment between the main gate and the house entrance. Sub-unit IV is made of cobbles and cement, and finally, Sub-unit V, corresponding to a portion of the northwestern side alley, is exclusively made of large cobbles (fig. 6).

### *Room 1*

Room 1 is located at the northwest angle of the Main Residence, abutting the perimeter wall (fig. 6 and 7). It is a relatively small room, measuring 3.3 m long and 2.9 m wide, that was used as a kitchen (table 1). A large storage vessel, probably used for rice, was found next to the door (fig. 7). The abutting smaller space that measures 1.70 m long and 1.25 m wide was likely used for storage.


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**Figure 7.** Room 1

## *Room 2 and 3*

The Room 2 and 3 set is located along the southeast end of the main Residence (fig. 6). It is made of 4 delineated spaces (fig. 8, table 1). (1) A corridor ending along the south flank of Room 2, measuring 3.2 m long and 1.20 m wide; (2) Room 2, used as a kitchen, measuring 3.25 m long and 2.75 m wide; (3) Room 3, square in shape, 3.50 by 3.50 m, used for storage; and finally, (4) the small installation, 1.70 m long and 1.25 m wide, very likely used for storage also.


**Figure 8.** Room 2 and 3 and the well

## *Room 4*

Room 4 measures 15.75 $m^2$, 4.50 m long, and 3.50 m wide (table 1). It is located in the southeast angle of the building and served as a bedroom (fig. 6 and 9). It has two doors, one leading to the patio on the north side and the other opening onto a corridor along the east wall. It was completely emptied of all its content, suggesting a well-planned abandonment.


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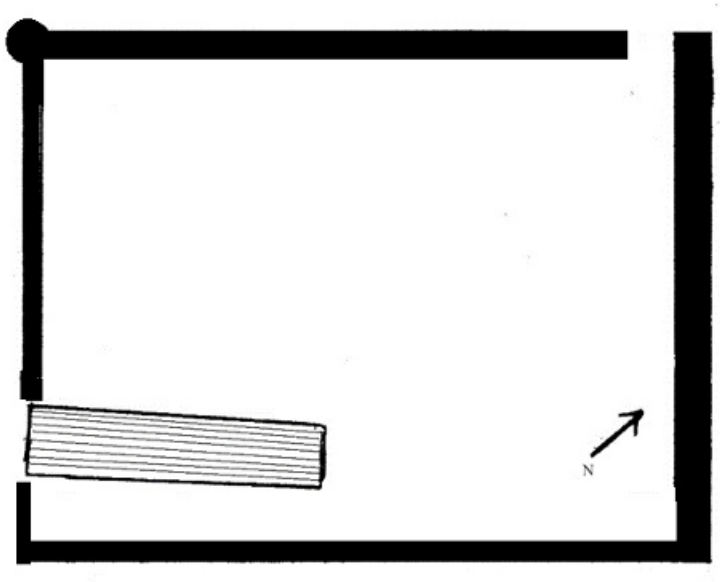


**Figure 9.** Room 4

## *Room 5*

Room 5, the patio, is the reception hall situated along the central northwest-southeast axis of the building (fig. 6 and 10). It measures 21.84 $m^2$, 5.25 m long, and 4.20 m wide (table 1). It is delineated by a series of 4 wooden poles, circular ones at both ends, and square ones in the middle.

**Figure 10.** Room 5, the patio.

## *Room 6*

Room 6 abuts the entrance hall, located on the northwest flank of the building opposite and symmetric to Room 4 (fig. 6). It measures 15.75 $m^2$, 4.50 m in length, and 3.50 m in width (table 1). It is a bedroom that still contains most of its abandoned furniture: a canopy bed with its mosquito net and an inserted fan still in place, a wooden wardrobe, a small night table, and a board set in the wall (fig. 11).


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**Figure 11.** Room 6 with its abandoned furniture.

### *Courtyard 2*

Courtyard 2 is located at the gravity center of the building (fig. 6, table 1)). It is a rectangular 25.87 $m^2$ space, 5.75 m long and 4.50 m wide, made of thick quarried and elongated stone slabs (fig. 12).


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**Figure 12.** Courtyard 2

## *Room 7*

Room 7 is located along the west flank of courtyard 2. It measures 8.12 $m^2$, 3.25 m in length, and 2.50 m in width (table 1). It contains a pile of rocks and wooden planks at its west corner, two medium-sized liquid storage vessels disposed of in the central area, as well as a large fragment of a portable hearth (fig. 13). It has two doors, one at the north corner and the other at the opposite south corner, and appears to have been used for storage.

**Figure 13.** Room 7

## *Room 8*

Located along the northwest flank of the courtyard, Room 8 measures 8.12 $m^2$, 3.25 m in length, and 2.50 m in width (fig. 14, table 1). It contains a horseshoe-shaped fireplace at its west corner, four pairs of shoes in the center along the west wall, and a large collection of vessels at its north corner. The room, with the fireplace for heating, was used as an eating, entertainment, and living space.

**Figure 14.** Room 8


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### *Room 9*

Room 9 is located in the southwest corner of the complex (fig. 1). It measures 20.31 $m^2$ in surface extent, 6.25 m in length, and 3.25 m in width (table 1). It was clearly a “master bedroom” containing a wardrobe and a large rice storage vessel at its north corner, two additional vessels, a wooden bathtub, a pile of large plastic sheets, and a wooden pole scattered all over the floor (fig. 15). The room also includes a mezzanine used for storage.


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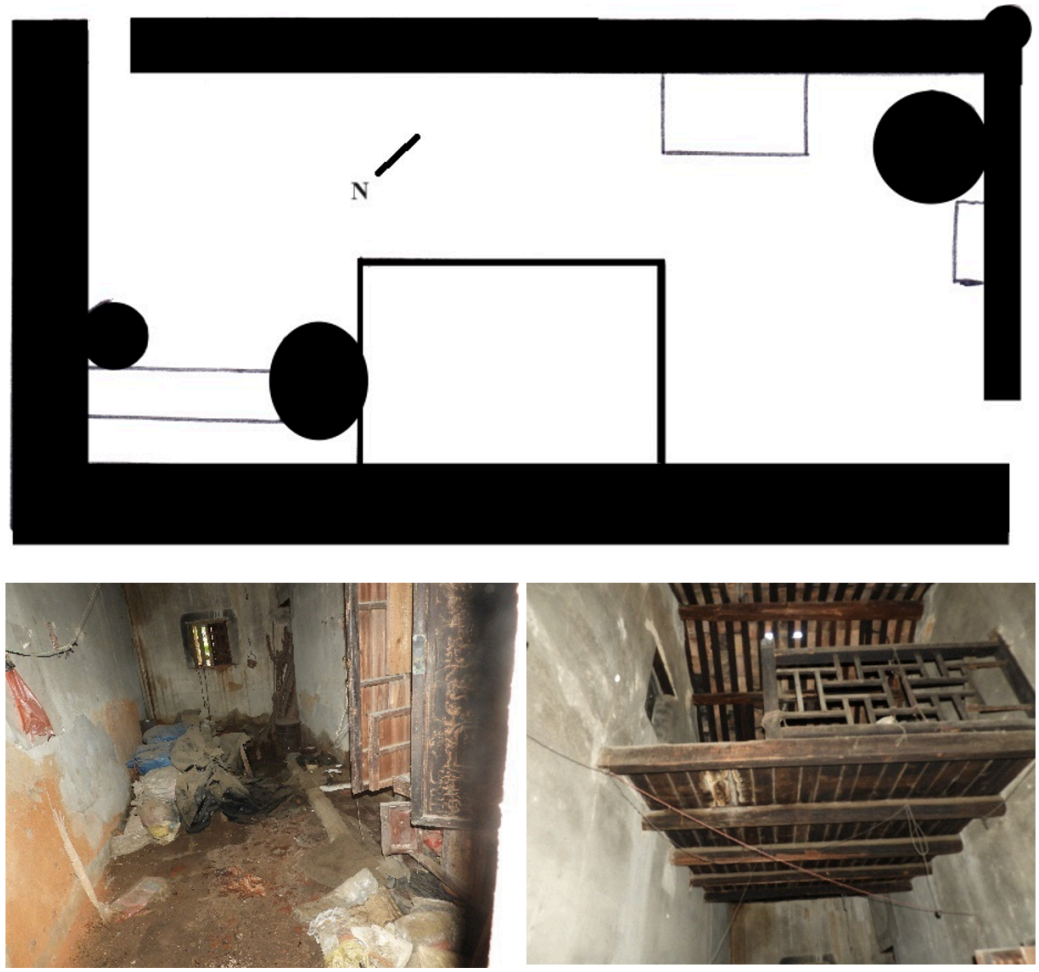


**Figure 15.** Room 9

## *Room 10*

Rooms 10 and 11 are part of the same space partitioned into 2. Room 10 is a 22.50 $m^2$ patio, 5 m long and 4.50 m wide. It was initially the Ye family reception room but was finally used post-"abandonment" for the storage of bulky and cumbersome objects. It contains a small table, a wooden granary, and tens of wooden planks and poles (fig. 16).


**Figure 16.** Room 10.

## *Room 11*

Room 11 at the back of the patio is demarcated by a four-pillars wooden gate. It measures 10 $m^2$, 5 m long, and 2 m wide (fig. 17, table 1), and is used as the ancestors' shrine. It has two doors on both sides leading to both "master bedrooms" 9 and 12. It contains a small


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table carrying a small vessel used as an incense burner and an image of a generic ancestor on the wall.


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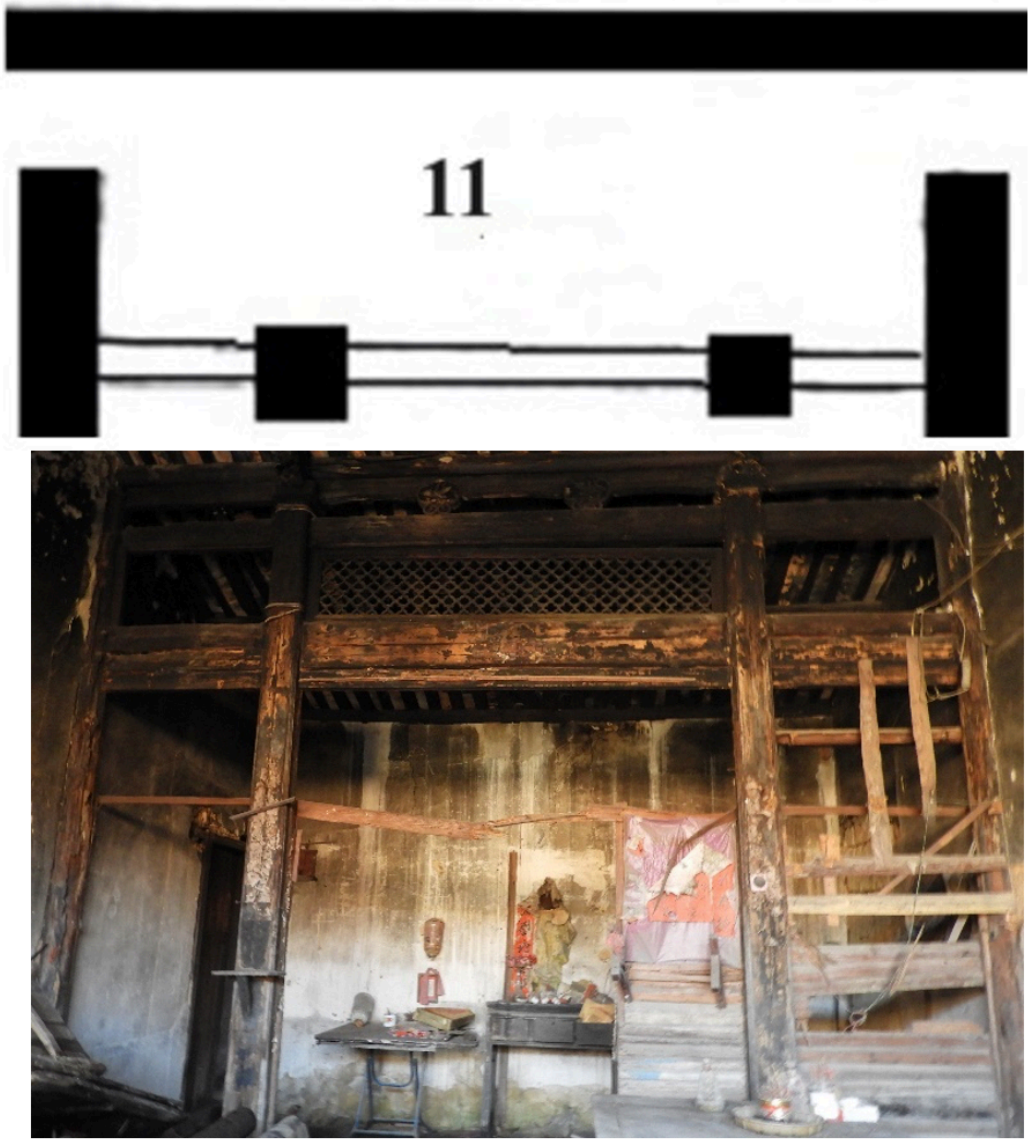


**Figure 17.** Room 11

## *Room 12*

Room 12 is the other "Master bedroom" opposite and symmetric to Room 9. It communicates through a door with the Ancestors' shrine and measures 21.93 $m^2$ in surface extent, 6.75 m in length, and 3.25 m in width. As is the case for Room 9, it too has a mezzanine that was initially used for storage. It contains the largest amount and bulkiest items of material culture recorded in any of the investigated rooms (fig. 18, table 1). They ranged from wooden planks and poles from a dismantled bed frame to 12 pottery vessels and 2 metal pans.


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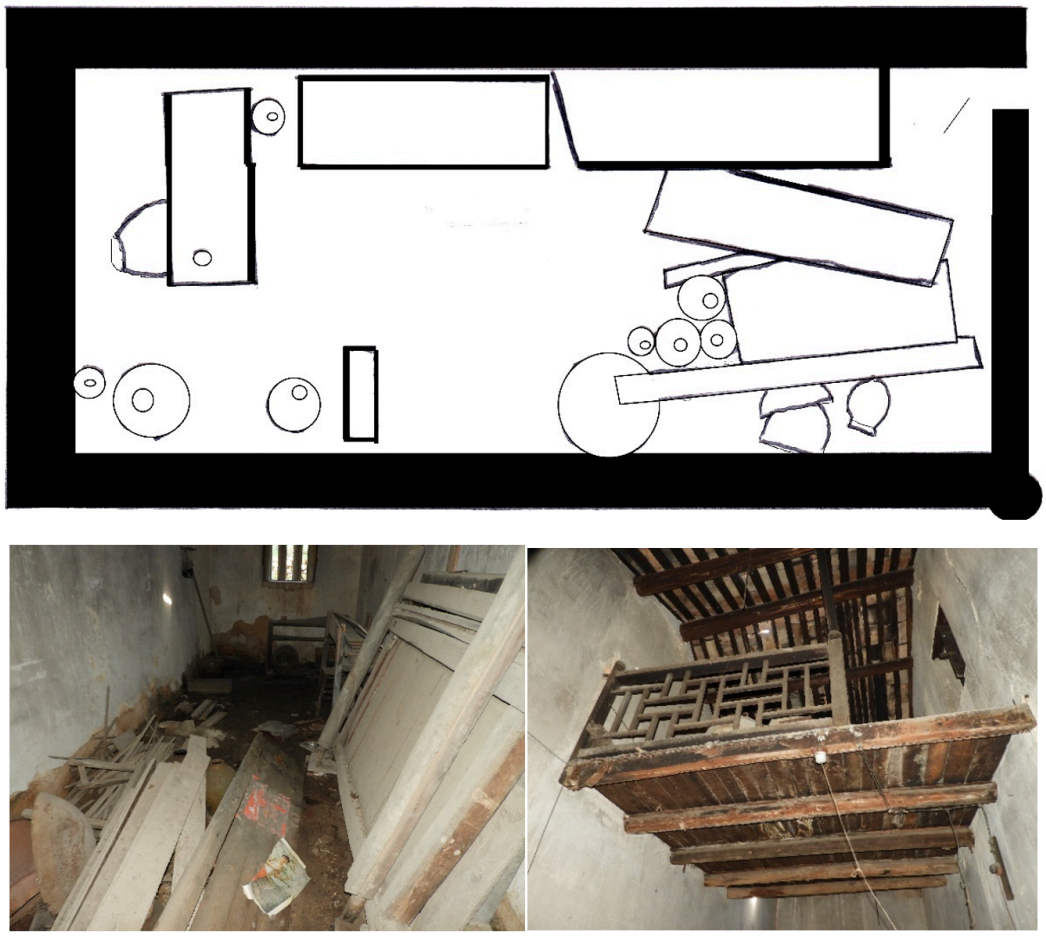

**Figure 18.** Room 12.

## *The lateral sub-unit*

A lateral sub-unit is located in the southeast flank of the main house (fig. 1, table 1). It is made of rooms 13, 14, and 15 with two installations arranged in a lateral courtyard and corridor measuring 27 $m^2$, 9 m long, and 3 m wide with two doors (fig. 19). One door opens into the main courtyard 1, and the other leads to the main residence courtyard 2. Wooden beams are stored along the western wall in the lateral courtyard next to the northern door. A large rice storage jar was set at the courtyard's west corner.

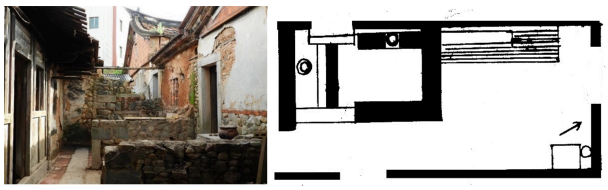

**Figure 19.** Views of the lateral sub-unit

Installations 1 and 2 abut the main residence wall. Installation 1, completely overgrown by vegetation, has required significant archaeological excavation. The process revealed an installation made of three low walls measuring 1.25 to 1.95 m in length, 1.05 to 1.15 m in height, 0.20 to 0.40 m in thickness, capped by a thick stone slab (fig. 20). It was built with a cobble-paved floor and includes “offering vessels” and a cache of small medicine bottles, iron rings, and a “five-pointed


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star" representing the China Communist Party (CCP). All evidence points to the use of the installation as an altar for domestic ritual practices.

**Figure 20.** The lateral shrine after excavation featuring cultural deposits

Installation 2, a triple "burners" oven, measures 2.40 m in length, 1.00 m in width, and 0.80 m in height. The largest burner measures 0.68 m in diameter, the medium-sized one at the center 0.52 m, and the smallest one 0.32 m. What was preserved as the chimney system made of white tiles is 1.10 m long, 0.25 m wide, and 0.38 m high (fig. 21).

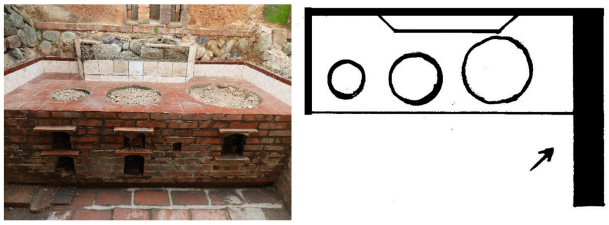

**Figure 21.** Installation 2, the 3-burners oven after cleaning and excavation

The associated room set of the lateral sub-unit measures 38.98 $m^2$ in surface extent and consists of 3 rooms (fig. 22, table 1). Room 13 was empty and devoid of any material cultural items. It may have been used as a bedroom and/or storage space and measures 10.80 $m^2$, 3.60 m in length, and 3.00 m in width. Room 14, at the center, 16.00 $m^2$ in surface extent, is square in shape, 4.00 m long and wide. It has a cupboard inserted in the southeast wall and a series of scattered bowls on the floor. And finally, Room 15, at the eastern end, was a bedroom. It measures 12.18 $m^2$, 3.75 m long, and 3.25 m wide, and contains a bed frame and a number of large bowls scattered on the floor.

The lateral sub-unit appears to have initially been the dwelling unit of the Ye family domestic employees. In ancient Imperial times, high-ranking office-holders benefited from the service of domestic employees taking care of domestic chores.


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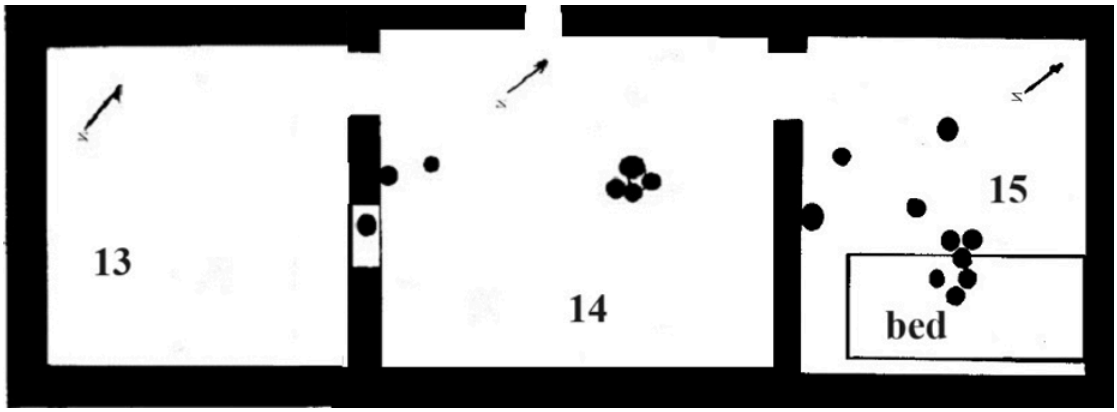


**Figure 22.** Room 13, 14, and 15

## *Complex I Patterns of space allocation*

The life-use history of the investigated Ye family Complex I main residence can be partitioned into three successive phases. The initial one (phase 1), that may have lasted for at least 2 centuries, extends from the complex construction and use by Ye family high-ranked Qing Dynasty imperial office-holders. The next phase (phase 2), that stretches from the 1960s to the early 21st century, revolves around the formation of the "commune" and the use of the Ye Family mansion to house poor families. And the third and last one (phase 3) corresponds to the complex abandonment, which is asserted by the informant to have taken place a little more than 10 years ago.

The structure of domestic space and activity areas presented above conflates instances of use from phase 1 and 2, with, however, the predominant material signature of the "Commune phase." The inhabited space, which measures 556.84 $m^2$, can be partitioned into two categories (table 1): The collective and private domestic space. The former covers 393.21 $m^2$ and consists of the square, courtyard 1, 2, and lateral patios, Room 5 and 10, and finally Room 11, the Ancestors' shrine. The latter, made of 7 "housing Units," reveals the equity concerns that have presided over the distribution of living space among the "Commune" families. With the notable exception of Unit 1, made of Room 1 and its attached installation located in the Northwest corner of courtyard 1, whose function cannot be assessed as accurately as one may wish, all the remaining 6 units from the main residence display almost similar sizes, ranging from a maximum of 38.98 $m^2$ in the 3-room Unit 7 – the lateral sub-unit – to 20.31 $m^2$ in the single room with storage mezzanine Unit 5 (table 2). Four of the recorded housing units – Unit 2, 3, 4, and 6 – with 1 to 3 rooms, measure 21.93 to 23.87 $m^2$ in surface extent. Each "family" was accordingly granted a bedroom and at least some storage space.

| Unit | Number of rooms | Minimum ($m^2$) | Maximum ($m^2$) | Range ($m^2$) | Mean ($m^2$) | Total ($m^2$) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Private domestic space | | | | | | |
| Unit 1 | 2 | 1.87 | 9.75 | 7.88 | 5.81 | 11.62 |
| Unit 2 | 3 | 1.87 | 12.25 | 10.38 | 7.68 | 23.05 |
| Unit 3 | 2 | 8.12 | 15.75 | 7.63 | 11.93 | 23.87 |
| Unit 4 | 2 | 8.12 | 15.75 | 7.63 | 11.93 | 23.87 |
| Unit 5 | 1 | 20.31 | 20.31 | 0.00 | 20.31 | 20.31 |
| Unit 6 | 1 | 21.93 | 21.93 | 0.00 | 21.93 | 21.93 |
| Unit 7 | 3 | 10.80 | 16.00 | 5.20 | 12.99 | 38.98 |
| *Total* | *14* | | | | | *163.63* |
| Collective space | 7 | 10.00 | 220.00 | 210 | 56.17 | 393.21 |

**Table 2.** Main Residence Patterns of Domestic space allocation

## *Complex 2: The Subsidiary Residence*

The Ye Family complex 2, the Subsidiary residence, is situated along the Southeast flank of the Main Residence at 24° 47' 357" latitude North and 118° 06' 581" longitude East, at 31.5 m above sea level. It is a 191.50 $m^2$ flipped L-shape architectural complex oriented Southeast-Northwest/Northeast-South with 3 courtyards, 3 patios, and 7 seven rooms (fig. 23). It is currently uninhabited but not abandoned strictly speaking, essentially used as an animal pen and storage facility. The outer courtyard along the East flank of the complex, used as a livestock and duck pen, was out of


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reach. The initial main gate, opening in the East, was locked, with the complex accessed through a Southeast side door.


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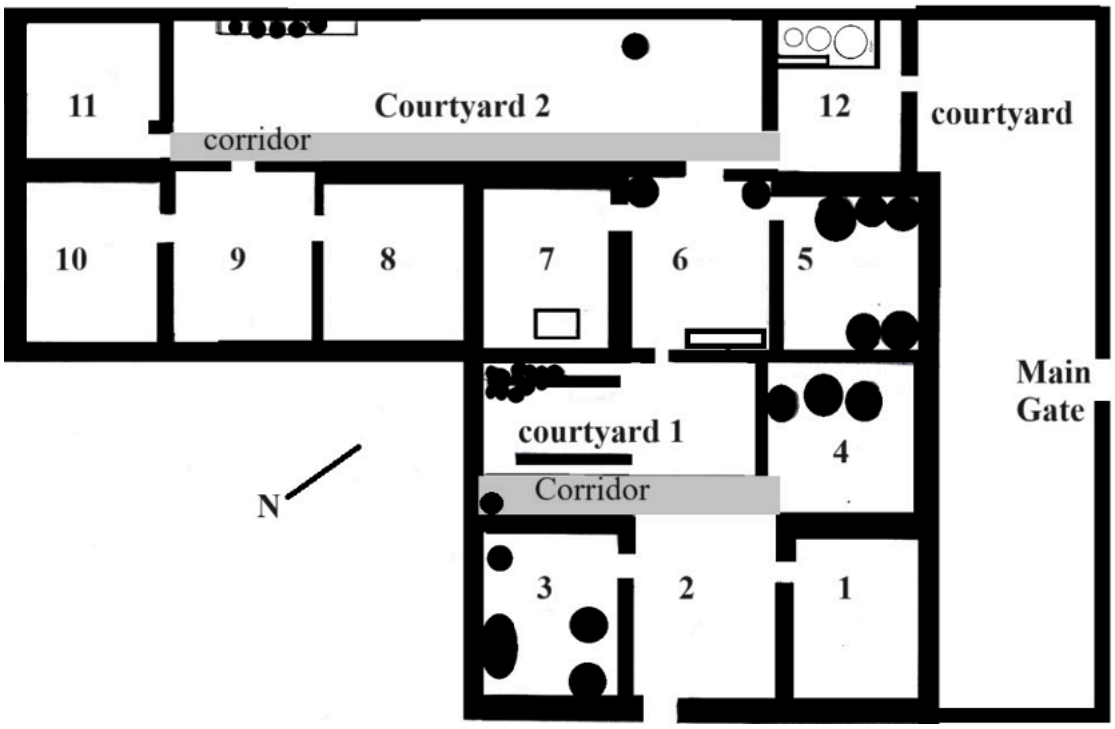


**Figure 23.** Habitation Complex 2: Corridors in light grey.

The patterning of habitation units is quite straightforward and appears to be made of 3 domestic units, each with a hall (patio), rooms, and a courtyard (Fig. 23, table 3).

Habitation Unit 1 in the southeast of the subsidiary residence complex, measuring 59.50 $m^2$ in surface extent, is made of courtyard 1, a Hall (Room 2), and Rooms 3 and 4. The courtyard, a narrow rectangle 4 m in length and 2 m in width, measures 11 $m^2$. It was clogged with accumulated worn-out objects and equipment (fig. 24). Rooms 1 and 3, measuring respectively 12 and 14 $m^2$ , are situated along the flanks of the 12 $m^2$ entrance hall (table 3). The former, Room 1, was empty, and the latter, Rooms 3 and 4, contained 3 large rice storage jars and a wooden bathtub.


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**Figure 24.** Partial view of courtyard 1.


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| Room Number | Length (m) | Width (m) | Surface ($m^2$) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Habitation Unit 1* | | |
| Room 1 | 4.00 | 3.00 | 12.00 |
| Room 2 [hall] | 4.00 | 3.00 | 12.00 |
| Room 3 | 4.00 | 3.50 | 14.00 |
| Room 4 | 3.50 | 3.00 | 10.50 |
| Courtyard | 5.50 | 2.00 | 11.00 |
| *Total* | | | *59.50* |
| | *Habitation Unit 2* | | |
| Room 5 | 4.00 | 3.50 | 14.00 |
| Room 6 [hall] | 4.00 | 3.00 | 12.00 |
| Room 7 | 4.00 | 3.00 | 12.00 |
| Courtyard | 5.50 | 3.00 | 16.50 |
| *Total* | | | *54.50* |
| | *Habitation Unit 3* | | |
| Room 8 | 4.00 | 3.00 | 12.00 |
| Room 9 [hall] | 4.00 | 4.00 | 16.00 |
| Room 10 | 4.00 | 3.00 | 12.00 |
| Room 12 | 3.00 | 3.00 | 9.00 |
| Courtyard | 6.50 | 3.00 | 19.50 |
| *Total* | | | *68.50* |
| | Collective | | |
| Room 11 (Kitchen) | 3.00 | 3.00 | 9.00 |
| TOTAL | | | 191.50 |

**Table 3.** Complex 2 Structure of domestic space and room sizes

Habitation Unit 2 (Fig. 23, table 3) covers 63.50 $m^2$. It consists of half of courtyard 2, 5.50 m long and 3.00 m wide (fig. 24), Rooms 5 and 7 measuring respectively 14 and 12 $m^2$, and finally, a hall (Room 6) 4 m long and 3 m wide. Room 5, largely devoted to storage, contains 5 very large rice storage jars. Room 7 includes a wooden bathtub. The Hall (Room 6) features the ancestor's shrine.


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**Figure 25.** View of Courtyard 2 with a ducks' coop

Finally, Habitation Unit 3 at the southwestern end of the complex extends over 68.50 $m^2$, partitioned into the 19.50 $m^2$ of the half courtyard 2 (fig. 25, table 3), Rooms 8, 10, and 12 measuring respectively 12 and 9 $m^2$, and finally, a 16 $m^2$ hall (Room 9) slightly larger and square-shaped. The whole habitation unit was empty, having been re-cycled as livestock space.

Courtyard 2, shared by units 2 and 3, measures 36 $m^2$, 12 m in length and 3 m in width. It includes a duck's coop and a series of 6 medium to large vessels stored along the west wall.

Room 12, at the north corner of the complex, is a collective installation containing a 3-burners oven displaying an arrangement similar to that of the Main Residence (table 3). It is a square-shaped room, 3 x 3 m, with a 1.90 m long and 1.00 m wide oven installation set along the northwest wall.

The pattern of space allocation recorded in the Subsidiary Complex also conveys a deep sense of equity for the grantees' families. The investigated habitation units are made of 3 to 4 rooms, articulated on a hall and a courtyard, measuring respectively: 59.50 (Unit 1), 54.50 (Unit 2), and 68.50 (Unit 3) $m^2$ (table 3).

Both the Main Residence and the Subsidiary complex appear to have been re-arranged to fit the "Commune" requirements of providing equitable housing to those in need at that time.

## 6. Patterns in Material Culture and Abandonment Behavior

The range of material culture items recorded in the investigated residences is relatively narrow. It includes bulky wooden objects like beds and wardrobes, poles, and tables, as well as stoneware and porcelain vessels differentially distributed among habitation units and rooms.

### *Complex 1: the Main Residence*

Starting with the ceramics, its distribution is uneven. Complex 1, the Main Residence, contains a total of 63 vessels belonging to 5 categories (fig. 26, table 4): 6 large storage vessels generally used for rice, 11 liquid storage vessels of different sizes, 10 pots, 30 bowls, and


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9 “others” including basins, plates, lids, and incense burners. Besides the presence of large storage vessels in Room 1 and Courtyard 1 that are not amenable to reliable assignment to any habitation unit, it is possible to delineate a coherent abandonment and post-abandonment scenario for habitation units 1 to 6.


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**Figure 26.** Complex 1 Main Residence vessels assemblage

| Room | Large storage vessel | Liquid storage vessel | Pots | Bowls | Others | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Courtyard 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Room 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| *Habitation Unit 1* | | | | | | |
| Room 2-3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| *Habitation Unit 2* | | | | | | |
| Room 7 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 2 |
| *Habitation Unit 3* | | | | | | |
| Room 8 | - | - | 1 | 24 | - | 25 |
| East Corridor | - | - | 4 | 1 | - | 5 |
| *Habitation Unit 4* | | | | | | |
| Room 9 | - | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 3 |
| West Corridor | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 2 |
| *Habitation Unit 5* | | | | | | |
| Room 12 | 2 | 8 | - | - | 2 | 12 |
| *Habitation Unit 6* | | | | | | |
| Room 14 | - | - | - | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Room 15 | - | - | - | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Courtyard 3 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | 2 |
| Collective space | | | | | | |
| Room 10 | | | | | | |
| Room 11 | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 6 | 11 | 10 | 30 | 9 | 63 |

**Table 4.** Complex 1 Main Residence Vessels distribution.

Habitation Unit 1, with rooms 2 and 3, was devoid of any material culture items, suggesting a well-planned and carried-out abandonment. Habitation Unit 2, with rooms 4 and 7, also features a well-planned and executed abandonment. Bedroom 4 was totally emptied. What was left is the collapsed door panel. Room 7, on the other hand, very likely used for storage, contained two vessels, a pot and a liquid storage container, left in the central part of the room. Habitation Unit 3, with rooms 6 and 8, asserted by an informant to have been the last inhabited unit of the complex, contains the largest amount of *de facto* refuse, pointing to an unplanned sudden abandonment. Furniture, including a canopy bed with its mosquito net and fan, the wardrobe, and night table, was left in the bedroom (Room 6). Pairs of shoes and cooking and service vessels were abandoned in Room 8. The uncovered service vessels include tea cups, spoons, and eating bowls. The latter are distributed in 5 variants with frequencies ranging from 1 to 8 (fig. 27, table 5). In addition, the East corridor between Rooms 6 and 8 had a deposit of 5 vessels: 2 handled pots with spouts, 2 large pots, one with a lid, and finally 1 bowl.


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**Figure 27.** Room 8 cooking and service vessels assemblage

| Measurement | MD (cm) | MaD (cm) | H (cm) | HMD (cm) | BD (cm) | Number of specimens |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Courtyard 1* | | | | | | |
| Large Jar | 52 | 70 | 74 | 40 | 40 | 1 |
| *Habitation Unit 2, Room 7* | | | | | | |
| Necked Jar | 13 | 30 | 35 | 25 | 15 | 1 |
| Necked pot | 10 | 30 | 32 | 15 | 20 | 1 |
| *Habitation Unit 3, Room 8* | | | | | | |
| Bowls | | | | | | |
| Variant 1 | 13 | 13 | 6 | 6 | 5.5 | 1 |
| Variant 2 | 11.5 | 11.5 | 6 | 6 | 5.5 | 8 |
| Variant 3 | 11.5 | 11.5 | 5.5 | 5.5 | 5.5 | 7 |
| Variant 4 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 6.5 | 6.5 | 6.0 | 5 |
| Variant 5 | 13 | 13 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 3 |
| Large pot | 33 | 40 | 30 | 20 | 24 | 1 |
| *Habitation Unit 4, Room 9* | | | | | | |
| Necked Jar/lid | 10 | 25 | 32 | 21 | 12 | 1 |
| Basin | 45 | 45 | 19 | 19 | 21 | 1 |
| Large pot | 25 | 26 | 21 | 10 | 16 | 1 |
| | | | *Corridor* | | | |
| Large necked jar | 14 | 40 | 50 | 30 | 24 | 1 |
| Night pot | 3.0 | 25 | 25 | 12 | 7.0 | 1 |
| *Habitation Unit 5, Room 12* | | | | | | |
| Basin | 19.4 | 19.4 | 8.4 | 8.4 | 9.4 | 1 |
| Basin | 50 | 50 | 10.4 | 10.4 | 38.4 | 1 |
| Storage jar | 50 | 30 | 38 | 18.5 | 16.8 | 3 |
| Storage jar | 39.4 | 47 | 41.6 | 13.6 | 13.4 | 1 |
| Storage jar | 14 | 36 | 44 | 13 | 25 | 1 |
| Storage jar | 10.7 | 33 | 39 | 17 | 17 | 1 |
| Globular pot | 25 | 35 | 29.4 | 17 | 29 | 1 |
| Globular pot | 36 | 50 | 43.8 | 15 | 25.5 | 1 |
| Globular pot | 14.4 | 32 | 32.6 | 12 | 18.4 | 1 |
| Incense burner | 9.0 | 9.4 | 6.6 | 3.6 | 6.5 | 1 |
| Lid | - | 24 | 6.8 | - | - | 1 |
| *Habitation Unit 6, Room 14* | | | | | | |
| Large bowl 1 | 12 | 12 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 6.0 | 1 |
| Large bowl 2 | 13.5 | 13.5 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 1 |
| Incense burner | 8.5 | 8.5 | 6.5 | 6.5 | 8.5 | 1 |
| *Room 15* | | | | | | |
| Cup | 6.0 | 6.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 3.0 | 1 |
| Plate | 15 | 15 | 2.7 | 2.7 | 7.5 | 1 |
| Large bowl | 19.6 | 19.6 | 6.4 | 6.4 | 6.0 | 2 |
| Large bowl | 13.2 | 13.2 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 10.5 | 7 |
| Large bowl | 13.4 | 13.4 | 6.2 | 6.2 | 6.0 | 1 |
| *Courtyard* | | | | | | |
| Large Jar | 47 | 60 | 65 | 40 | 36 | 1 |
| Large pot/lid | 24.5 | 27 | 20 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 1 |

**Table 5.** Complex I: Main Residence Vessels distribution and measurements

*Key: MD = Mouth Diameter; MaD = Maximum Diameter; H = Height; HMD = Height of Maximum Diameter.*

Habitation Unit 4, which includes Room 9 with its mezzanine as well as the southwest corridor, has 5 vessels, 2 necked jars, one with its lid, a basin, and large and medium-sized night pots scattered without a specific concentration all over the unit space (tables 4 and 5). The represented additional furniture includes a wooden bathtub, a wooden wardrobe, and a sizable wooden beam. The presence of a thick pile of plastic sheets suggests post-abandonment opportunistic discard. Habitation Unit 4's abandonment thus appears to have been planned, with a selection of material culture items left behind, and the vacated space used to discard bulky plastic sheets.

Habitation Unit 5, also with its storage mezzanine, features the largest concentration of what may appear at first glance as de facto refuse, mimicking sudden unplanned abandonment. A closer analysis of the evidence suggests the accumulated material culture items resulted from at least two relatively distinct and independent accumulation episodes. The first revolves around an initial planned abandonment represented by a small table, the dismantled canopy bed, and its planks set on the room floor and against the North wall. The second episode, very likely enacted by the latest inhabitants of the complex from Habitation Unit 3, is the opportunistic use of the empty room as storage space. It is indicated by the scattered distribution of vessels and containers all over the room's surface. The recorded containers include two metal basins, 4 storage jars of varying sizes, 3 globular pots, a red incense burner, and a large pot lid (tables 4 and 5). The four storage jars still contained food supplies – clearly in a very advanced state of decay –: pork meat, brown beans, wine, and rice, supporting the hypothesis of sudden unplanned abandonment of the Habitation Unit 4 group.

Habitation Unit 6, in the southwest flank of the main residence, is articulated around a small lateral courtyard comprising an oven set and an altar. A large rice storage was left at the southwest corner of the courtyard, and a lidded large pot was set on the altar stone lab. The unit's abandonment appears to have been carefully planned and executed. Room 13 was totally empty. Service vessels, including plates, large bowls, and cups, were scattered on the floors of Rooms 14 and 15, and a small red incense burner was found on Room 14's cupboard shelf. A bed wooden frame was left in Room 15.

Rooms 5, 10, and 11, parts of the common space, were also used for the disposal of material culture items. A small wooden table was left in Room 5, patio 1. Bulky and cumbersome items were accumulated in Room 10, patio 2. They consist of a relatively large wooden granary, a wooden table, and a series of wooden beams and planks, pointing to post-abandonment accumulation. Finally, Room 11, the Ancestors' shrine, contained a small table with a small incense burner. A series of 3 vessels, consisting of a small storage jar containing brown beans – in a state of advanced decay


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–, very likely a last food offering left at the shrine, a relatively large pot with a lid, and finally, a large open pot used as a heater, were scattered on the room's floor.

In summary, as far as the main residence is concerned, the abandonment of Habitation Units 1, 2, and 6 was well planned and carried out with almost no significant material culture left behind. Habitation Units 4 and 5 were also abandoned as planned, with bulky and heavy material culture items left. Finally, Habitation Unit 3, the last inhabited entity, displays all evidence of a sudden unplanned abandonment. It is very likely that the members of Habitation Unit 3 may have opportunistically used all the space available for post-abandonment storage of their supplies and belongings.

### *Complex 2: The Subsidiary Residence*

During the "Commune years," Complex 2, the Subsidiary residence was divided into 3 habitation units. It is uninhabited, not abandoned strictly speaking, but used as a storage facility and livestock pen. There are nonetheless a few clues on abandonment behavior, as can be gleaned from habitation unit 3 (table 6). All 4 rooms are devoid of any material culture items, with Room 9 used as a sheep shelter. A series of 6 vessels, 1 large storage, 1 pot, and 4 liquid containers, was set along the wall in courtyard 3.


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| Room | Large storage vessel | Liquid storage vessel | Pots | Bowls | Others | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Habitation Unit 1* | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Room 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Room 3 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | 3 |
| Room 4 | 3 | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Courtyard 1 | 2 | - | 5 | - | - | 7 |
| Total | 7 | - | 6 | - | - | 13 |
| *Habitation Unit 2* | | | | | | |
| Room 5 | 5 | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| Room 6 | 2 | - | - | 1 | - | 3 |
| Room 7 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Room 11 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Courtyard 2 | - | - | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Total | 7 | - | - | 3 | - | 10 |
| *Habitation Unit 3* | | | | | | |
| Room 8 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Room 9 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Room 10 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Room 12 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Courtyard 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | - | - | 6 |
| Total | 1 | 4 | 1 | - | - | 6 |
| TOTAL | 15 | 4 | 13 | 3 | - | 29 |

**Table 6.** Vessels distribution from Ye family Complex 2.

Habitation unit 1 contains a total of 13 vessels, 7 large for rice storage and 6 pots. The large storage containers are found in Rooms 3, 4, and the courtyard, with 2 to 3 specimens each. The pots are essentially stored in courtyard 1 (table 6).

Habitation Unit 2 features a vessel distribution pattern similar to the previous one, with 10 containers, 7 large rice storage jars, and 3 pots. Large storage vessels are found in Rooms 5 and 6, with respectively 5 and 2 specimens, while pots are found in Room 6 and courtyard 2 (table 6).

Both residences of the Ye family complex present similar partitions inherited from the "Commune Period." Each of the housed families was granted a number of rooms for private domestic use, while common spaces articulated on courtyards, patios, and kitchen were accessible to all "Commune" members. In the aftermath of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," the Ye family descendants may have started to petition the local government to regain control of their family property, pressuring the remaining "commune" members to vacate the houses. The abandonment processes triggered then have been analyzed in this paper, featuring cases of well-planned and executed leaves as well as post-abandonment *de facto* accumulations.

## Conclusion

The formation of archaeological entities results from a three-phase process: (1) - the construction of an installation; (2) – its lifetime use; and finally, (3) – its abandonment and preservation by natural agencies. Archaeological finds can be spectacular or ordinary and redundant. Whatever the case, however, it is important to figure out how the archaeological record currently under investigation came to be. Converting static material remains into dynamic behaviors requires robust frames of reference[4] to guide the interpretation of the archaeological record and refrain from *ad hoc* fantasies. Such frames of reference or sample theories are built through diverse and complementary strategies. One is ethno-archaeology: the observation and conduct of fieldwork in contemporary settings addressing archaeological questions[8]. The other is the practice of experimentation[24]. The fieldwork carried out at Baomei was articulated on a tri-phase methodology combining oral information, features mapping and drafting, and archaeological excavation. The use-life of the architectural units under investigation consists of 4 successive steps: (1) - the construction and use of the house-complexes by a high-ranking Qing dynasty imperial office-holder family; (2) the shift to a "Commune" with the buildings used for housing poor families; (3) the progressive abandonment of one building and the refurbishing of the other as a storage space. Finally, the detailed analyses of the contained material culture items revealed polar extreme abandonment tactics: well-planned and carefully implemented abandonment leaving nothing behind on the one hand, and sudden unplanned abandonment on the other, with a gradation of post-abandonment *de facto* disposal in between.

The reviewers, Dr. Natasa D. Hristic and Dr. Alberto de Capua, suggest an extension of the conclusion to address larger epistemological and practical issues. If the "fundamental – applied" research divide is taken as a starting point, the submitted paper belongs to the fundamental side of the equation. The "foundational issue" the paper suggests is the holistic nature of the archaeological record that results from diverse material and cultural processes. According to this perspective, it is not enough to only describe and date archaeological remains, however spectacular they are, but to try to decipher how human agency is involved in the formation, preservation, and retrieval. The paper is part of an effort to outline the strictures of what "global anthropological archaeology" should be in the future.


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