

**RETHINKING MATERIALITY ON SOCIAL IDENTITIES:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THIMLICH OHINGA AND GEDI
RUINS, KENYA FROM 1000CE -1900CE**

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original Work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to Eyam'. Thank you Eyam for never turning away when I needed you (which unfortunately was so often). Remember you said that one day I will make it. Now look at me now, I made it.

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DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Built Environments- These are socially constructed spaces that influence human's behavior. In this case they influence access to certain activities/resources based on an individual identity.

Gender- Socially constructed identity category is dynamic and, in some cases, situational depending on the specific society. Gender is often influenced by subsistence patterns, and cultural diffusion, among other social changes dynamics.

Identity- This is who we/others think we are in relation to other people. Also, what a group of people thinks they are in relation to other individuals/ groups and vice versa. In this context, the identity extends to mean what we can access based on our identity.

Inequality- Systems by which identity groups or individuals are denied access to specific resources, power or prestige. These inequalities are usually practiced in relations to social identities of groups.

Hinterlands- Areas connected to the coastal region of East Africa are located on the western side of the ocean. These areas were occupied by pastoralists, farmers, hunters and gatherers closely linked with coastal people.

Monuments- Large, labor-intensive structures are built according to planned design specifications. Their builders/planners/owners usually intend for these structures to be memorials of their endeavor or a physical manifestation of an ideology.

Materiality- The physical manifestation of individual/group actions can be identified through archaeological inquiry. That is the totality of human activities which produce physical objects that have meaning based on symbolism or functions.

Rural Community- A surrounding community that was socially, economically and politically affected by the growth of urban centers. That is increased roles in the food supply as well as artisans for city dwellers. Conversely, rural dwellers may increase their appetite for city goods; hence is a reciprocal relationship.

Society Inequalities- The investment by society in social differences such as sex, age, and race-ethnicity between individuals. Therefore, when society allocates these social differences to different meanings, they become the basis of social inequalities.

State- An organized society with defined roles of leaders who control instruments of power as well as possessing features of specialization, urbanism, external linkages and social stratifications.

Sex- Biological characteristics differences between males and females also depend on the society's culture. These differences differ across cultures in terms of roles assigned to them and other meanings.

Spaces- physical and built environment environments where social identities are expressed by different societies.

Urban Center- An area where livelihoods depend largely on exchange and trade is characterized by specialization of labour and surplus production/supply of goods. The level of exchange and interdependence determines the parameters of urban Centers.

Social Hierarchies- Social categories are characterized by unequal access to resources, social prestige, and spaces. Social and economic factors, including age, gender, sex, and wealth among factors determine this hierarchy. These social hierarchies depend on the society, where they are constantly negotiated and re-negotiated in response to cultural change. As such, in Thimlich Ohinga, a semi-egalitarian society, social hierarchies may be based more on age or certain knowledge, while in Gede, by the position of an individual in formal institutions.

Task- A segment of an activity with discrete parameters in terms of a social unit, performance procedure, and frequency often entails using materials (objects). In this case, social units are an individual gender category and social status.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANT	-Action Network Theory
BB	- Bell Beaker
CC	-Coded Culture
CE	-Christian Era
S.I.T	-Social Identity Theory

ABSTRACT

This research explores the social identities of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites which are juxtaposed at the lacustrine environment in Lake Victoria and the Indian Ocean, respectively. The site of Thimlich Ohinga was roughly occupied from the middle of the second Millennium to the current era. At the same time, Gede had a continuous occupation from the tenth century onwards for over six hundred years before it was finally abandoned in the seventeenth century. Although the two sites are different in terms of their history, development trajectory and complexities, they offer a platform for examining how social identities were expressed and their implication on material records. The general objective of this study was to explore how social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies, were expressed and changed through time and space in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. To that end, the specific objectives of the study were: to examine the materiality of gender identities; to investigate how gender was expressed in material form in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede; to explore how social hierarchies were expressed in material form in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede; to explore continuity and discontinuities of gender and social hierarchies in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede. The study adopted structural functionalism and Social Identity Theory (SIT) theories in conceptualizing material that remains in relation to social identities. The feminist theoretical framework was adapted as the basis of minimizing generalization as well as making gender visible in the interpretation process. Overall, processual, post-processual, and middle-range frameworks were employed in collecting and subsequent data analysis. Furthermore, the study used an exploratory and descriptive research design since this is a relatively new area of inquiry and also entailed to ascertain certain materials to specific social identities respectively. The study aimed to explore gender and social hierarchies' signatures in the material record. To achieve that, extensive surveys were carried out in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. Also, an examination of the cultural materials of both sites stored in various museums was undertaken. Besides examination of already excavated materials, an extensive excavation of Gede archaeological sites was carried out to supplement archival materials. Lastly, an extensive ethnographic study was undertaken of contemporary Luo and Swahili communities as the basis of making inferences and analogies concerning archaeological materials data. Key findings show that since Gede was more complex, gender and social hierarchies' signatures were more visible as compared to Thimlich Ohinga. Furthermore, gender and social hierarchies were fluid and responsive to factors such as diversification of subsistence strategies, cultural diffusion and intensification of trade. Overall, this study reiterates the importance of employing multivariate approaches in examining social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies in archaeological inquiry. Most importantly, this study showed that methods advocated by processual archaeology of exploring social structures, including gender, are reliable methods. However, employing perspectives advocated by post-processual archaeologists and insights suggested by feminist's aid in minimizing generalizations that often plague past archaeological interpretation. This study recommends that more studies methods, such as osteology, should be incorporated in future while examining social identities in the archaeological record. This trajectory is insightful, especially in mortuary data analyses. That is, it opens a path of correlating material cultures with the biological sex and social status of individuals hence opening an avenue of understanding how such identities were expressed in material form and subsequent impact on social landscapes.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter covers the background of the study, where the problem of the study is contextualized in relation to literature. Furthermore, the statement of the problem, objectives, research questions and hypothesis of the study is also outlined in this chapter. The chapter also justifies the study while highlighting the significance of this research. The chapter ends by exploring limitations and discussing some of the delimitation's strategies employed in the study.

1.1 Background of the study

Social identities dominate inquiries concerning human social dynamics in contemporary and historical periods (Edwards, 2007; Gardner, 2011; Burke, 2012). This trajectory is based on the reality that humans essentially function in the realm of their social identities (Frankel, 2003). How we perceive ourselves or others at an individual or a group level often has social implications (Díaz-Andreu et al., 2005). In a social context, our social behaviors are inextricably connected to our social identities. As Voss (2005) notes social identity reconstruction is the bedrock of social examinations of cultures that archaeologists study. Social identities can be broadly defined as ways individuals/groups are culturally categorized differently through socialization (Chenoweth, 2009; Caplan, 2013). To that end, social identities such as gender, ethnicity, race, age, and social status dictate humans' actions (Brew & Yuki, 2007; Charness & Chen, 2020). This is because most societies have stipulated regulations and rules that dictate the acceptable

actions of each social category within the community (Joyce, 2005). Social categorizations determine who can access what resources in society.

The archaeological context reads that human activities are expressed in physical form based on their social categorization (DeMarrais et al., 1996; Zuckerman,2020; Yaeger and Canuto,2012). Since material cultures have more importance in the archaeological inquiry than individuals, researchers acknowledge individuals' leeway in going against cultural norms or inventing new practices (Wesson, 2012). This makes it difficult to predict human behavior within their social group using material evidence . However, humans often behave in predictable ways as dictated by their social identities (Meskell, 2002). These forms of identities create an "us" against "them" type of scenario, acting as the basis for differences that, in some cases, leads to unique materials productions (Bartlett & McAnany, 2012).

Historically, it has been documented that people were included or excluded based on their social identities (Jenkins,1994; Sofaer, 2006)). Therefore, social bonds were strong and the driving force that kept communities together. Knapp (2008) narrates how Persians offered Greeks "all gold in the world" for peace; they rejected it as a matter of their identity pride. The Greeks were willing to sacrifice their lives and survival to avenge the Persians' destruction of their temples over a century before. This type of loyalty towards an identity group has been documented as a rule rather than an exception throughout history (Sökefeld, 1999; Singleton,1995). Therefore, contemporary societies have often gone to war using the same premise of "us" against "them" (Osterholtz, 2012; Shiratori,2019).

Social archaeologists must ponder how social identities were formed, maintained, and evolved (Shanks and Tilley, 1982; Shenna, 1997; Scott, 1994;). For conclusive inquiry into such phenomena, archaeologists should demonstrate how social identities are manifested in material form. The differences, such as gender and social hierarchies, are some questions that archaeologists strive to answer (Gardner, 2011; Hill, 1998; Hales & Hodos, 2010). Gender hierarchies entail social differentiation in terms of prestige based on an individual gender. The implication is that some individuals have more social capital based on gender (Brumfiel, 2007; Szeverényi et al, 2020; Nightngale, 2006; Nanda, 1990). On the other hand, social hierarchies are differences a society acknowledges based on certain qualities. These qualities may be the economic status of an individual, age, ethnicity, race, gender, lineage, and so on (Diaz et al, 2005; Ames, 2007). Based on the above observation, social hierarchies cut across different identities where gender hierarchy emphasizes status differences entirely on individual gender orientation.

Archaeologists are more interested in understanding where gender differences and social hierarchies originated from human evolution (Balme & Bulbeck, 2008; Díaz-Andreu, 2007; Geller, 2009). At the center of these inquiries include the importance of such differences in adaptation processes. Ames (2007) contends that all humans have the same genetic composition but differ in personality, strength, interests, intelligence, and endurance, among other differences. Nonetheless, the above differences do not form the basis of inequalities. However, when a society invests in these differences by rewarding specific categories and denying others, it leads to inequalities (Tilley et al., 2006). The inequalities formed differs where some have permanent and others temporary institutionalization differences. At the bottom of social identities is acquiring resources

(materials) and implications on social records. In other words, how archaeological materials can be used as signatures for exploring past social identities such as gender and social hierarchies (Moore,1997;Mumali,2021). This dissertation conceptualizes materiality as a process where an individual's action, as dictated by their social categorization, is expressed in material form.

Materiality entails physical manifestations of individual actions that can be explored through archaeological methods(Brown,2000; Brumfiel, 2003; Collier, 2020). That is the totality of their actions that produce physical evidence based on the symbolism or function of those materials remains(Adovasio et al.,2016). Historically, the development of methods that relied on cultural materials to reconstruct identities, as reflected in antiquity, can be traced over a century ago (Ucko, 2005; Hodder, 2004; Clark, 2014). The three age system and subsequent variants were explicitly developed based on material evidence in the middle of the nineteenth century. In particular, archaeologists such as Vocal and Montelius had already employed material remains to trace people into prehistory in the 1870s (Sklenár, 1983). Rudolf Virchow, pioneer archaeologist and founder of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory, was already applying cultural materials to reconstruct the chronology and distribution of different groups of people. Based on the above principle of correlating cultural materials with identity groups, Kossinna defined the origin of the German people (Jones, 2002).

The same strategy of reconstructing ethnicity based on material evidence was employed by Childe (1935), although he rejected racist assumptions made by Kossinna (Viet, 1989). Therefore, Childe's work (1929, and 1935) grounded cultural-historical archaeology in

Britain. The culture-based and historical methods of archaeological inquiry into social identities dominated until the late 1950s, when processual archaeologists gained momentum. Binford (1965) perceived culture as having different subsystems assigned a specific task. According to him, culture subsystems are formed for adaptive and interactive purposes. Thus, culture is the totality of different relationships between people, places, and objects. Nonetheless, exploring how archaeological materials can be used to reconstruct social identities was beyond the scope of his analysis. Hoggs (2016) claims that cultural materials have always been associated with specific social identity groups since the Renaissance period. Based on the above assumption of correlating materials with people, archaeologists identify societies such as the Romans, Greeks, Persians, Mayans, etc. His studies did not cover how the correlation between materials and group can be investigated at a micro-level, which is the area of interest in this study.

Jones (2002) examines ethnicity as a social identity in archaeological inquiry. She notes how examining ethnicity using cultural materials is controversial despite its wide usage in ascertaining ethnicities in contemporary cultures. In fact, some of the controversies about using cultural materials to identify a group arose from how nationalists of various European countries exploited this notion at the turn of the twentieth century (Sørensen, al, 1996). Nonetheless, her study was limited to ethnicity as social identity. However, this dissertation moves beyond ethnicity and examines gender and social hierarchies as manifested in the archaeological record.

Initially, contemporary archaeologists were skeptical of gender archaeology as a subdiscipline (Sørensen, 2019). This emanated from a belief that gender archaeology was

anchored on feminist political ideology with a primary aim of what they perceived as attempts to reconstruct the past anchored on 'historical revisionism". To that end, contemporary archaeologists perceived gender archaeology to be against processual archaeology, which was "anchored" on scientific methods like those in natural science as the primary methodological paradigm (See Binford, 1977; Shanks & Tilley, 1987; Schiffer, 1972; 1985). The primary aim was to study past societies in an "objective" and "timeless" manner. To do so, archaeological inferences must be devoid of cultural politics that dominate the present academic sphere. On the other hand, post-processual archaeologists are often skeptical of processual methodologies due to what they perceive as overgeneralization. Shanks and Hodder (2013, pg. 3) assert that "the timeless and objective quality of knowledge is important if the aim is to accumulate and build on what is already known; it is would-be no-good building on facts which cannot be relied upon because they might change."

However, societies in the past were dynamic and susceptible to changes, just like contemporary ones. As such, archaeologists must move beyond materials in their original state and deduce other social dynamics such as rituals, symbols, fluidity of social identities, and so on (Hodder, 1982). Conkey and Spector (1984) noted that mainstream archaeology had ignored gender issues, creating a biased narrative concerning past societies. Over three decades later, their assessment and recommendation on the way forward are still relevant to social archaeology. They envisioned critical theory-building where gender and other social categorizations and ideologies would be detectable in archaeological literature (Geller, 2009; West and Zimmerman, 1987; Whitehouse, 2016; Watson et al., 1999;). The pioneers of gender archaeology were not limited to women's

visibility in archaeological literature but to broadening research to reconstruct the holistic social organizations of past societies (Gero,2007; Voss et al.,2000). Nonetheless, new debates were gaining momentum from the second half of the twentieth century, fuelled by civil rights movements that started in the 1960s. In the next two decades, a counter-narrative of "scientific methods "shortcomings in archaeological inquiry started to gain momentum(Wylie,1991; Voss,2008).

Notably, in the 1980s, a new wave of thinkers challenged previous explanations concerning social identities, such as sex, gender, race, and ethnicity, among other social categorizations (Engelstad,1991; Shanks,2008; Hodder,2013). The major controversy lies in the essentialism of social identities such as race, ethnicity, sex, gender, and social status (Gilchrist, 1991; Witt,2011;Vogler, 2020; Cipollina et al.,2022). As such, scholars aimed to broaden the debate and demonstrate that social identities were cultural and dynamic, departing from essentialism concepts. Against this background, the queer theory was first coined by De Laureties (1999) to cater to what was perceived anomaly by dominant groups at the time. In this background, anti-essentialism of social identities emerged and diffused into archaeological inquiries (Casella et al., 2005).

These new developments forced a rethinking of what was perceived as natural, including biological sex. For queer scholars, they argued that sex, just like gender, changed and was not monolithic even within the same society (Butler,1994; Wylie,2007; Gilchrist,2004;2012; Thorne, 2006). Their primary interest was exploring another type of sex and gender beyond the previously held dichotomy of male and female (Hill, 1998; Alberti, 2006; Stacy and Thorne,1986). However, the debates concerning different

categories of sex and gender are beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, this dissertation adopts the idea of sex and gender being two different types of social categories.

In recent times scholars have shifted their attention to commoners whose lives, especially along East Africa's Swahili coast, are underrepresented in literature (Pawlowicz, 2019). The new trajectory of inquiries has highlighted the importance of social inquiry while reconstructing East African history (Askew, 1999; Fleisher, 2015; Mosha, 2005). The new research departs from the previous prevailing interpretation, which was eurocentric, primarily while documenting East African civilizations (See Kirkman, 1974; Rødland et al., 2020; Pawlowicz et al, 2021). New evidence and reinterpretation of available archaeological materials have illuminated the centrality of East Africa in technological innovation and, ultimately, complex civilized societies (Kusimba & Waltz, 2021; Pawlowicz,2012). In the Gede city-state, urban life was maintained through specialization and extensive trade leading to technological innovations and social re-organizations. This innovation and technological changes were not limited to the coast and extended to the interior. Considerable complexity was at Thimlich Ohinga, where dry stone technology was used with the same effectiveness as evidenced in the Great Zimbabwe civilization (Odede et al., 2009; Pikiyai,2002). Nonetheless, the above developments created new resources and spaces that were effectively occupied based on individuals' gender and social hierarchy.

Thus, the dissertation conceptualizes gender as stipulated by Judith Butler (1990;1993; 1994), emphasizing the performative character of gender. That is, repetitive activities are

within the regulatory framework until they are sometimes subconsciously perceived as natural. As such, a socialization process leads to specific actions stipulated by the community according to one prescribed gender (Gilchrist,1997; Petré,1993;Wright,1996 Spude,2005; Sommerville et al., 2015). The rationale is to isolate specific gender activities to identify material evidence for such actions. The same principle applies while exploring social hierarchy, which is seen as dynamic and influenced by other factors, including age, sex, race, and gender, among other categories.

Since identities are fluid, this dissertation aims to avoid dichotomy of gender or even temptations to add a third gender to the study. Foss (2010) cautions against the addition of third gender as it leads to the same rigidity of the duality of male and female. Therefore, this dissertation conceptualizes the third gender as a metaphor to incorporate all other differences that may be reflected among social identities, as adapted by Trumbach (1998). The aim is to have a neutral starting point while engaging material culture, which is the primary source of this inquiry's social identity inferences. Likewise, by anchoring the examination of social identities on neutral ground, this dissertation aimed at objectivity in the subsequent analysis of materials by contextualizing the societies under study.

This neutrality approach was informed by ethnographic literature, which shows that a lack of cultural contextualization during interpretation is often misleading. Oyewumi's (1997) ethnographic study of Yoruba offers interesting findings concerning gender as a social category. She notes that, unlike other societies, Yoruba did not have gender categories, or their differences carried no significance in terms of power relations before colonization. Therefore, the hierarchy was based on seniority rather than the sex or gender

of an individual. Thus, a social status which in archaeological terms will entail/access to certain materials, was determined by age. This dissertation explores gender and social hierarchy within the material limits. Thus, it is confined to the implications of an individual gender and social hierarchy in their ability to access certain materials. The aim is to minimize generalizations arising from 'overthinking' about material evidence during the interpretation. From this point of view, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to ascertain multiple explanations of collected data.

Wynne-Jones (2007) points out that East African archaeologists have strived to understand social identities from temporal distribution for an extended period. She suggests a different approach that examines social identities based on how humans interact with materials. She goes further and uses this approach to examine how social identities were expressed in Kilwa. Her study shows how materials cut across spaces due to individuals shifting identities. To that end, she perceives performance through material basis as the basis of examining social identities in antiquity.

The performance issue has been incorporated in this dissertation as it forms the basis of which gender and social hierarchies were expressed in the past. Central to this dissertation is to rethink material evidence's role in examining gender and social hierarchies. This study incorporates feminist perspectives, namely making invisible identities visible through archaeological interpretation (Conkey & Gero, 2007). The rationale is counter previous androcentric assumptions concerning the social organization of past communities in East Africa. The study, therefore, employed a multivariate approach to

examining gender and social hierarchies in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede as the basis of minimizing subjectivity concerning archaeological interpretation.

Stockett (2005) questions the rationale of exploring gender through complementary and hierarchical matrixes in archaeology. The problem as he perceives it is that it generalizes about the past, as evidenced by previous archaeological inquiries that ignored women in antiquity (Graves-Brown et al., 2013; Greene, 2020). In addition, exploring gender in terms of the division of labor is rooted in a western ideology that may not cut across other societies (Conkey and Spector, 1998). However, this dissertation addressed such shortcomings by contextualizing material evidence and employing ethnoarchaeological data in making inferences about how gender and social hierarchies were expressed in the past (Gowland and Knusel, 2009; Gower et al., 1996). Therefore, emphasizing gender fluidity and social hierarchies changes is necessary to illuminate the daily lives of the two communities of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede. The aim is to deconstruct prevailing notions about the past that have been promoted for decades using hypotheses such as the 'man the hunter' division of labor. More specifically, to broaden the perspective of examining social identities without necessarily being influenced by our contemporary assumptions.

Waguespack (2005) equates gender to sex and notes the importance of biological consideration while assigning labor to hunter-gatherer societies. She reiterates the 'man the hunter hypothesis' while claiming societies where women hunt, such as Agta of the Philippines, are an anomaly. This dissertation simplified what may be considered 'deviant' and explained such differences using material evidence. That is, how material evidence

demonstrates how gender was often expressed in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede societies in relation to archaeological evidence.

The issue of misinterpretation of social identities is not limited to social archaeologists; instead, it extends surprisingly to bioarchaeologists and other social sciences (Sofaer, 2006). These misconceptions partly emanate from equating sex to gender and magnifying biological determinism concepts while reconstructing past behaviors (Conkey, 2007). While employing biological determinism is assumed that men generally engaged in activities that required mobility while women were negated to childbearing, lactation, and house maintenance duties (Miller & Costello, 2001). These assumptions often employ the 'man the farmer hypothesis' contrary to the principle that explains 'man as domesticator of animals.' The analogy has shown that men domesticated animals due to their long history of hunting them (Conkey & Spector, 1984). As such, the same arguments would be employed to claim women domesticated plants due to their long history as gatherers (Watson et al., 1991; Haaland, 1995; Hastorf, 1998). However, another proposition of the need for muscular power in clearing fields has been presented to make the case of 'man the farmer' (Brumfiel & Robin, 2008). The problem is using contemporary logic or known societies to reify biases during archaeological data interpretation. Brumbach & Jarvenpa (2006) calls for exploring each material independently to point out task performed specifically by men or women regardless of prevailing logic. This dissertation adopts the same strategy of being led by material evidence while minimizing generalizations.

Central to reconstructing past social identities is effectively identifying the division of labor in antiquity (Geller, 2009; Nelson 2004; Grillo, 2012; Greenfield, 2016). Perhaps the

starting point of investigating labor division is to avoid perceiving the division of labor as homogenous (Sassaman,1993). Wright (1991) suggests a holistic approach while exploring the division of labor by considering other factors such as age, class, ability, and ethnicity, among other social categories. Examining the division of labor from different perspectives can reduce generalizations that often plague archaeological interpretation in the past.

Robin (2013) effectively reconstructed the labor division of Chan Noohol, Belize community, through multiple strategies, including ecofacts, artefacts, and soil chemistry. While employing the above strategy, she narrowed down areas around the homestead where farming activities occurred. After identifying the farming area, she concentrated on day-to-day activities without relying on available ethnographic literature. So by ignoring ethnography which shows men were the farmers, she empirically proved farming was a family activity rather than a gender-specific endeavor in pre-Mayan state societies. This dissertation moves beyond exploring the division of labor at a household level and includes how labor changed in public activities due to a unique gender or social hierarchy in both Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

To do so, this dissertation employs multiple methods to identify how gender or social status was experienced and practiced in private and public spaces. These methods have been borrowed from subfields of archaeology and elsewhere (Hill,1998; Gould,1989; Gosselain, 2016; Goldner, 1991;Hanna,1995). For instance, bioarchaeology has incorporated social identity as the primary inquiry form in antiquity(Agarwal, 2012;Zuckerman,2020). The durability of the materials they investigate, including cranial

and dental analysis, is insightful in reconstructing dietary identity patterns and such correlation between gender and diet. Nonetheless, a multidisciplinary approach to exploring social identities remains one of the most effective ways of reconstructing social identities.

To achieve the above objectives, this study aimed to contextualize material evidence. This type of strategy is effective as demonstrated by ethnographic studies. Namely, ethnography is crucial in contextualizing data hence effective in explain adaptation strategies and material evidence implication. For example, ethnography of contemporary hunter gatherers societies has revealed how hunting entailed a series of activities and collaboration among different groups. Therefore, hunting entails multiple activities among some hunter-gatherer communities, including spotting prey, stalking, processing, and distribution (Brumbach & Jarvenpa, 1997). This points to the interdependence between identity groups rather than strict labor division.

The division of labor is unnatural, as some scholars have often propagated (Schmaus., 1995). To that end, this dissertation uses multiple strategies to identify material traces of gender and social hierarchies. The aim is to avoid generalizations of the past while avoiding post-modernism, which identifies differences everywhere while missing shared human experiences that are natural in our societies (Raddeker, 2007). Thus, by isolating common behaviors within society, this dissertation aims to demonstrate how it can effectively reconstruct social identities in antiquity.

This study was anchored on social identities to examine past societies' adaptation strategies. The primary goal was to investigate social identities were formed and changed

over time in Thimlich Ohincha and Gede archaeological sites. This is from the realization that human behavior is influenced mainly by the groups they belong. On the other hand, these identities are prone to change from external and internal factors, making them dynamic. For example, environmental factors affect social identities, including social status, directly affecting resources. Furthermore, external trade may trigger the reorganization of gender roles as more people participate in the public sphere than in household matters. Overall, this dissertation aimed to tackle two conjunctions of interconnected epistemic phenomena that have shaped archaeology from the early 1980s onwards. The first entailed formulating a methodological paradigm and theorizing past societies' gender and social hierarchy in archaeology records. Secondly, the study aimed to interpret gender and social status as reflected in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. The study endeavored to move beyond highlighting the chronology of social hierarchies and gender roles to inferring the social context of historical realities, as evidenced by findings from the two study areas.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Archaeological literature on the East Africa region has concentrated mainly on general adaption strategies, especially subsistence strategies (Gifford-Gonzalez,1998;2000; Smith,2021). More research has concentrated on the rise and collapse of ancient East African civilizations (Kirkman,1974; Wynn-Jones,2007; Pawlowicz, 2019; Less literature on East African social identities in antiquity despite the relevance of social organization in reconstructing any society's history (Gifford-Gonzalez,2010). Moreover, even the available social history has primarily been based on oral history, social anthropology, and written sources of early explorers into the region. Unfortunately, these

sources are limited due to overgeneralization and simplification in interpretation. Conversely, exploring social identities using archaeology is still at the infant stage in East Africa, especially in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede City State. Nevertheless, the two societies underwent a significant social transformation, ultimately influencing gender and social hierarchy organization. Thus, exploring how social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies, were formed, maintained, negotiated, renegotiated, enforced, and changed over time is paramount in recreating the history of the two communities under study.

To achieve the above goal, social archaeology must tackle theoretical and methodological problems in reconstructing social identities, especially gender. Over three decades after Conkey and Spector (1984) urged archaeologists to formulate methods to make social identities such as gender visible in the material record, much is yet to be done (Geller, 2009). This dissertation aimed to explore the potential of material evidence in reconstructing social identities while employing broader feminists' concepts of tackling biases, silences, distortions and omissions in the available literature. At the center of this inquiry is exploring how contextualizing material evidence is insightful while reconstructing social identities such as gender, which have largely been ignored in the past. The implication is that by making identities visible from material remains, it becomes probable to reconstruct other social organizations in antiquity. To that end, this study correlates material remains with gender and social hierarchies as identities and suggests a broader methodological paradigm of exploring gendered identities in antiquity based on materialism.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- i. To investigate how gender identities are expressed in archaeological records.
- ii. To investigate how gender identities are expressed in archaeological materials in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.
- iii. To investigate social hierarchies as represented in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.
- iv. To explore continuity and change of gender identities and social hierarches in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede Archaeological sites.

1.4 Research Questions.

- i. How are gender identities expressed in material form?
- ii. How are gender identities reflected in the archaeological record in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites?
- iii. How are social hierarchies represented in the archaeological record in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites?
- iv. How is continuity and change of gender and social hierarchies reflected in archaeological record in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites?

1.5 The study premised on following hypothesis

- i. Gender identities can be expressed in material form.
- ii. Gender identities are manifested in archaeological materials in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.
- iii. Social hierarchies are manifested in the archaeological record in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

- iv. There are continuity and change of gender roles and social hierarchy in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological site.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study.

This study aimed to explore how social identities are manifested in the archaeological record in East Africa. Currently, the invisibility of particular social identities, especially genders, persists in East African archaeological literature. This problem is twofold. First, it culminates from androcentric perception while interpreting archaeological evidence consciously/unconsciously. Second, it was not until the 1980s that some scholars started to re-examine the interpretation of past social identities' especially gender, across the globe vigorously (Butler, 1994; Hill, 1998; Gilchrest, 2012). The implication is that this type of inquiry is an infant on the methodological and theoretical front. Therefore, as Conkey and Spector (1984) rallied the archaeology community to make some social identity groups, such as women, visible in antiquity, East Africa is still underrepresented in available literature especially on archaeological perspective. However, Social identity centrality in human adaptation remains unequivocal; hence exploring how individuals exist in the realm of groups is fundamental.

Most studies have examined ancient communities' social institutions in East Africa regarding subsistence strategies (Gifford-Gonzalez, 1998; McCabe, 2021; Odede et al., 2009; Robertshaw, 1987; 1991; 2003; Ogot, 1999). Other studies have dwelled on the technology and cultural interaction between East Africa and other regions (Kirkman, 1974; Nurse and Spear, 1985; Chami, 1994; Oteyo and Kusimba, 2019). Instead, this study departed from simply examining how groups adapted to their physical environment

to explore how social identities acted as a medium of quotidian activities. Furthermore, the study aimed to examine how social identities changed in the past due to various external and internal factors. This was important while examining the two significant social identities: gender and social hierarchies in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

The study was warranted because few studies exist in East Africa concerning social identities as the primary adaptation agent (Mathiue,2004; Lodhi,2000). Few archaeological studies exist exploring how gender and social hierarchies are reinvented, negotiated, re-enforced, and maintained and implication on material record in East Africa (Mathews,2005; Mazel,2002Marshall,2008). Therefore, this study endeavored to examine social identities' fluidity and how they are materialized in the archaeological record. Furthermore, methodological and theoretical paradigms are not fully explored on issues of gender in antiquity, especially in East Africa. In fact, debates concerning gender studies in archaeology range across the globe (Liewellyn-Davies, 1979;Lesick,1997; Lillie,2003; Alberti, 2006; Geller,2009; Hills,2018; MacLeod,2022). As such, this study intended to interrogate methods that can be applied in studying social identities, especially gender, in the archaeological record. This is from the realization that gender identities differed from region to region; hence evidence also varies in the archaeological record. To that end, a holistic approach incorporating processual, post-processual, and feminist research frameworks was necessary for interrogating social identities, especially gender, in East Africa.

Also, an intensive study has yet to be carried out in the above two sites concerning how social identities were formed, negotiated, renegotiated, and changed through time and space. For instance, there needs to be more intensive research concerning how social hierarchies were formed and expressed in semi-egalitarian societies such as Thimlich Ohinga. More so, how gender identities can be examined in societies where the accumulation of material remains limited. The study aimed to interrogate various signatures of gender and social hierarchies in a society where materials are limited. Besides, Thimlich Ohinga's study aimed to examine how Gede society's gender and social hierarchies were formed, negotiated, and renegotiated after introducing new subsistence strategies and intensifying trade.

Therefore, the study aimed to contribute to the literature on East Africa region on how social identities were formed and changed over time. Importantly, identifying some factors that caused the social change, especially gender and social hierarchy, were central themes in this study. This trajectory of examining how social change impacted gender is essential, especially in the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. Archaeological evidence shows that the two sites underwent rapid development from the turn of the second-millennium current era, which lasted for hundreds of years (Onjala, 1994; Kirkman, 1974; Pawlowicz, 2019). Ultimately, these developments impacted how gender and social hierarchies were expressed through time and space.

1.7 Scope

Thimlich, Ohinga, and Gede's two sites were chosen because they have different social complexity levels. Thus, their identities, including social hierarchies and gender

identities, materialize in archaeological records but differ in some instances. For instance, through trade, Gede was more complex regarding cultures and more susceptible to foreign contact with the outside world (Kirkman, 1965; Pawlowicz, 2019). On the other hand, Thimlich Ohinga had minimal external linkages; hence dynamics of social identities were internal (Odede, 2009). Furthermore, the two sites were occupied for some periods by Bantu communities; thus, they shared some similarities (Wandibba, 1986; Pawlowicz, 2017). Also, the two sites were fortified using stone walls, albeit made using different technologies. This signifies public participation, which is insightful in exploring gender and social hierarchy in private and public spaces. Also, the two sites were important in exploring how social hierarchy and gender role signatures in the archaeological record are similar or other depending on the sites' social complexity under study.

The period between 1000 CE to 1900 CE was chosen because it is within the Gede period, and Thimlich Ohinga's archaeological sites were roughly occupied. On the other hand, Gede's archaeological site was preferred because of its unique historical characteristics. The site had contact with other regions; internal and external factors shaped its social identities. The study covered only two social identity categories: gender roles and social hierarchies. On the other hand, Thimlich Ohinga, at its peak in the seventeenth century, corresponded with the migration and peopling of the Lake Victoria basin (Onjala, 1998). Thus, the site was dynamic in demography and had diverse subsistence strategies, including crop farming, fishing, and hunting (Wandibba, 1986). The site is also known to have been occupied by communities that practiced ironworking hence diversification in labor.

1.8 Limitation and delimitation of the Study

The study had several challenges in data interpretation due to limitations associated with ethnography. These include that ethnography cannot conclusively interpret cultural materials found in these archaeological sites across the board. Therefore, the study aimed to limit generalizations drawn from ethnography by limiting the usage of ethnography where possible. Secondly, the Luo and Swahili communities whose ethnography was applied have also changed; hence, they could not effectively capture past societies' way of life. Therefore, the study employed historical sources to complement ethnographic data. Thirdly, the study concentrated on data consistently establishing dominant gender and social hierarchies' signatures in archaeological records. This emanated from limited data collected through the re-examination of materials and excavations. To that end, only where consistency was guaranteed from material records did this dissertation proceed to make inferences concerning how social identities were formed and changed over time and space.

1.9 Summary

The chapter introduces the background of the study and highlights some of the existing literature. Also, the importance of examining social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies in antiquity. Further, the study outlines the problem statement, the objectives, the research questions which guided the research, and the hypotheses. The justification of the study has also been explained in this chapter. The chapter has also outlined the significance of this study to the existing archaeological literature on social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies. The limitation of the studies has been highlighted as how they were mitigated in the study

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses existing literature on the relationship between material culture and the representation of social identities. Notably, gender and social hierarchies' representation in material culture which is central to this study. Also, existing literature concerning Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites is examined. That is, past archaeological research has been undertaken at both sites. Further, the chapter outlines various methodological and theoretical paradigms employed in discussing, contextualizing, and interpreting social identities data from archaeological perspective.

2.2 Materiality of Social Identities

A study of modern humans shows that they are at the pinnacle of evolution not because of their physical attributes but rather their brains (Schoenemann, 2009). This realization means they are the most intelligent animals on the planet, with the ability to manipulate their physical environment and other animals to their advantage (Leigh, 2004). Some of their characteristics include their ability to be imaginative, predictive, and creative (Gaut, 2003). The ability to be imaginative and predict future occurrences, such as seasonality, means creating a cultural environment tailored towards mitigating future challenges. Since humans are social beings, they primarily function in the realm of social identities through the created environment. As such, they have a cultural environment where social identities are integral to their daily lives (Kim,2017). Thus, social identities act as units of adaptation to their ever-changing environment.

According to Knudson and Stojanowski (2008), social identities refer to a specific group's communal or personal, achieved or ascribed, feigned or manipulated characteristics. These identities often have repetitive tasks, culminating in group members' elaborate behavior (Butler, 1993). At the base of social identities are expectations from oneself and others. Thus, the archaeological investigation must reconstruct people's identities by identifying whom they thought they were and their daily experiences in their dynamic identities that often changed throughout their lifetime. More importantly, how their identities affected other inter-societal relationships, often situational and inter-wrap, as theorized by gender scholars' intersectionality concepts (Geller, 2009).

Central to identity studies in archaeology is material evidence as to the basis of interpretation (Stein, 1999; Hendon, 1999; Turkon, 2004; Voss, 2005). Therefore, exploring traces of identity material traces remains one of the most effective methods of studying identities in antiquity. Since human actions are usually thought through before they can be converted into physical activity, it is paramount to have a holistic view of those actions while analyzing material evidence (Burke, 2012; Latour, 2007;). The implication is that when studying human identities, we cannot ignore the human mind, which is paramount in understanding social identity categories (Jenkins, 2014; Turner & Oakes, 1986; Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Reicher et al., 2012). These categories are formed and changed over time, depending on experiences within the community. While investigating human socially constructed identities in the archaeological record, the emphasis should be on objects and subjects who used them. This approach is from the realization that identity categories impact the usage of materials because production, preparation, and consumption depend on socially constructed ideologies.

Currently, debates concerning social identities persist in archaeology with the same intensity as those on other social identities (Voss, 2005). Unfortunately, archaeologists can only infer social identities through cultural materials, a highly criticized method by other quarters (read Hodder, 1982). Typically, contention areas emanate from the human nature of unpredictability. Therefore, using materials evidence in archeology can lead to overgeneralization. However, different people have always attributed certain materials or activities to their "culture" (Hales and Hodos,2010). Moreover, the basis of describing other people as "them" or "us "persists in the contemporary world (Spencer and Taylor,2010). For decades, archaeologists have used the same criteria to explain or assign particular material to a specific group of people. Some researchers wonder if such a methodology, despite tracing the migration of similar origins of the people using cultural materials. For example, Arnold (2007) points out how the interpretation of gender using mortuary data can be problematic. This emanates from the fact that some materials may have symbolic meaning rather than reflect individual social identity.

These doubts arise because humans are dynamic, and identities change throughout an individual lifetime (Springate, 2020). To that end, an individual identity will be influenced by other identities, as proposed by queer scholars (Conkey, 2017; Prince et al., 2022; Reeves & Pasch, 2022). Thus, this dissertation employs strategies conceptualized by feminist theorists to explore the intersectionality of social identities. That is, identities influence each other and are cross-cut; hence an individual identity is multiple in nature and situational. For instance, gender experiences will vary between social classes, race, age, and ethnicity, among other social categorizations. Also, in some instances, access to

certain materials will be influenced by factors other than someone's gender or social identity, including family ties.

Traditionally, identifying social groups in archaeological records entails the study of the distribution of cultural materials (Voss,2005; Mejsholm,2009; Meier,2015). As such, cultural materials have been used to identify ethnic groups and their spread in a geographical region. Díaz-Andreu et al. (2005) assert that similar cultural materials were interpreted to belong to the same group in the past, and distribution was attributed to migration or expansion. However, in the era of postmodernism, cultural materials used as the basis for ascertaining social identities have been questioned (Hodder, 1982). The rationale behind these questions is the validity of using cultural materials as the basis of a reconstruction of social identities.

To be more precise, how do we reconcile material evidence with the unpredictability of human nature? To that fundamental question, post-processual archaeologists have argued that functionalists and processual archaeologists view human behavior in static form (Patterson, 2007; Nayak,2008). However, although archaeological materials are frozen, we can revive these shreds of evidence and reconstruct humans' daily lives with better examining techniques. This dissertation strikes a balance between processual and post-processual archaeologists in examining the materialization of gender and social hierarchies. The rationale is to maximize objectivity by correlating certain materials with specific materials while contextualizing the evidence during subsequent interpretation.

Thus, questions of interest to this study are how gender and social hierarchy are internally reconfigured to accommodate new factors such as demographic pressure, subsistence

strategies, intensification of trade, and cultural diffusion, among others. To that extent, this dissertation hypothesizes that social identities, besides being dynamics, constantly strive to get a new niche in their ever-changing environment. Introducing a new societal dynamic, such as religion, usually ramifies gender and social identities.

Salazar et al., (2014) explores The San Pedro de Atacama archaeological site in present-day Chile and offers interesting clues on how social identities are reconfigured due to societal changes. At first, the region experienced surplus production, which had other effects, such as persistent inequalities due to specialization surrounding the rise of the artisan class and long-distance traders. At that point, the social hierarchy was based on external trade, with merchants at the top. However, the next phase was unstable, leading to a dramatic decline in trade and increased warfare. This led to the reconfiguration of social hierarchy, with the warrior class replacing merchants at the top. Their study shows that survival rather than cultural norms prevailed while reconfiguring social hierarchies in the above society. More interesting is that exotic goods became secondary during wartime, with security taking center stage.

Archaeologists rely on physical evidence, unlike other social sciences that study living groups' social identities (Dawson,2012). To do so, archaeologists explore social identities as material-producing entities. Thus, each identity group has its niche and produces materials that can be studied archaeologically (Ward,2009). Although post-processual archaeologists have cautioned against using cultural materials to reconstruct social identities, this approach is reasonably practical (Stark, 1993). To demonstrate this view, contemporary societies have often produced or utilized certain materials based on their

identities. It is common for us to refer to Italian cuisine or Indian clothes without controversies. The archaeological record always correlated certain materials with specific identities, such as a palace with a political connotation or a temple with religious activities. Thus, archaeologists can refer to social identities based on cultural materials produced by a particular group of people. For example, social institutions in the past entailed performing certain functions, leaving unique materials. However, some materials usage cut across identities. Therefore, contextual analysis can reduce the subjectivity of interpretation (Hodder, 1982). To that extent, this dissertation uses ethnoarchaeological methods to create analogies concerning the manifestation of gender and social hierarchies in the archaeological records of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede.

Nonetheless, this dissertation aimed to consider post-processual concerns in interpreting materials concerning social identities. The aim was to contextualize material evidence because some identity groups, such as ethnicity, have been identified as an ideal way of life rather than reality (Levine, 1999). As such, there is a line between activities they will undertake in an ideal situation compared to reality. Maina's (2016) ethnoarchaeological study of the Maasai community contends they will have an ideal diet of domesticated animals consumed around their settlement areas. On the other hand, they will consume wild animals away from the homestead. This has materiality implications as wild animals will be absent in archaeological records, which can be misleading in their diet reconstruction. From the above observation, ethnoarchaeological data collection and interpretation methods become important while examining material evidence. Therefore, this study uses the ethnoarchaeological method of interpreting social identities to explain the presence or absence of certain materials in archaeological settings.

Since social identity groups are often presented with choices that are subjective to the environment, diffusion, and internal dynamics. Ethnic groups produce similar and different materials from other ethnic groups based on maximizing their survival chances (Milton,1997). This strategy has often been used in East Africa to reconstruct major groups' migration, especially the Bantu from West Africa. In some cases, combining this strategy with linguistic analysis is quite an accurate method of tracing the migration patterns of some East African communities. Nonetheless, Hodder (1982) contends that cultural materials with ethnicity were used to promote racism and nationalism in the twentieth century. Hence, making archaeologists make the same analogies is catastrophic to the discipline. Kristiansen (2011) asserts that "it is possible to delimit various forms of social and ultimately ethnic identity through a careful analysis of the geographical distribution of social institutions and the symbolic meaning of their material culture (p.205)."

Binford (1965) claims that culture should be explored as a system, and its subsystem components should be assigned different functions. However, Binford separated culture into adaptive and interaction spheres. Thus, cultures do not necessarily represent ethnic groups but rather adaptation strategies closely related to ecology. This does not mean it is the only case, with some communities opting for different subsistence strategies that are supported by the environment in a particular geographical area. Although he tried to explain the reasons for cultural variability and change over time, his study did not explore social identities. This dissertation aimed to isolate cultural materials that can be correctly correlated to gender and social hierarchies' identities in the archaeological record. This study employs some of Binford's strategies of isolating some assemblages to observe

change or their implication on adaptation strategy such as social identities as units of adaptation and as mechanisms of power. Elite groups formed and maintained some social identities for their gains rather than societal survival. Exploring culture from an adaptation point of view needs to be more accurate since exclusion of certain groups in economic activities often inhibits the optimal production of some communities. Therefore, it would not make adaptation sense to exclude half of the population due to their social identities such as gender. This phenomenon has been ethnographically observed in contemporary societies.

2.3 Gender as Manifested in Archaeological Record

For gender archaeology, a more rigorous debate began in the academic sphere after 1970 (Conkey and Spector, 1984; Hill, 1998). Notable progress in gender archaeology at the time included a symposium by the Norwegian Archaeological workshop of 1979 with a critical provocative theme entitled 'Were They All Men' (Berglund, 2000). These efforts had set up a series of events culminating in Conkey and Spector's (1984) masterpiece of 'Archaeology and the study of Gender'. They advocated for rethinking how gender was represented in the archaeological literature. Their work created an anchorage for a gendered archaeological theme that was almost non-existence before (Conkey and Gero, 1997; Alberti, 2016; Nelson, 2012).

Rubin (1975), drawing from the works of Claude Levis Straus, argued that gender roles were socially constructed while sex was an individual's biological trait. Butler (1990) argued that sex was culturally constructed in relation to how an individual was supposed to act. The new trajectory of examining sex and gender as social constructs deconstructed

the essentialism of gender and sex as social categories. In archaeology, this new trajectory led to debates concerning how to identify gender in antiquity. These debates had been triggered by Conkey and Spector (1984), who pointed out androcentric bias in the archaeological literature. Four decades after they advocated for new ways of examining gender in antiquity, the development of gender studies has grown and incorporated feminist views in archaeological inquiry. That is, consciousness while addressing the invisibility of women in the archaeological literature.

Since the development of gender archaeology as a sub-discipline in archaeology, the field has been closely intertwined with the feminist theoretical framework. This trajectory is out of necessity rather than that previous fears of archaeology being swallowed by post-modernism political ideology (Brumfiel, 2007). The reality is that feminists' theoretical framework captures underrepresented groups. In archaeology, representation inevitably includes women in pre-history (Wylie, 2007). Also, Gender scholars have noted that gender cannot stand independently and is dependent on other social categories, including age, sex, ethnicity, and class, among other categories (Joyce, 2005; Voss, 2008).

Reconstruction of gender identities in Africa and the world's archaeological record remains inadequate (Conkey & Gero, 1997; Geller, 2009; Nelson, 2007). The scarcity of literature on gender studies in the archaeological record can be attributed to the fact that the field is relatively new compared to other areas, such as subsistence studies (Hays-Gilpin & Whitley, 1998). Furthermore, previous studies generalize and use stereotyping while interpreting cultural materials (Conkey & Spector, 1984; Butler, 1993; Nelson, 2012). This approach has led to the depiction of the 'man the hunter hypothesis'. That is

where it assumed that hunting was a man activity based assumptions which are derived from some contemporary communities and archaeologists' perceptions of gender roles (Connell,1985; Gero,1997; Geller,2009; Dempsey,2019).Likewise, pottery making, are associated with women as part of the kitchenware, which is perceived as a woman's domain (Gilchrist, 2012).

On the other hand, as painted as ironworkers, men could be closely associated with manufacturing weapons for defense Conkey and Spector (1984). Gender archaeologists realized how these types of stereotyping impeded archaeology as a discipline (Wylie, 2007). They pointed out some problems, like the lack of comprehensive methodologies and theories to explore gender in archaeology, as weaknesses affecting the interpretation of the archaeological record. Their work laid the foundations for examining social identities in archaeology by calling for more attention to neglected areas. However, a gap exists on how such goals should be achieved. This dissertation examines how we can reconstruct gender in antiquity using materials while avoiding generalizations that often lead to misinterpretation of the past.

More studies on gender roles emphasize the biology of both sexes to assign them specific tasks. In this approach, there is a tendency to use skeletal materials to make inferences concerning social organizations (Geller, 2009). The gender roles interpretation may take a biological determinism approach, which is inadequate while studying human cultural systems. Concurrently, by using morphological traits as the basis of gender roles interpretation, most bio archaeologists claim men were more active than women, irrespective of the mode of production (Maggiono et al., 2008). Conversely, women are

portrayed as confined to the homestead, engaged in child caring and family maintenance (Geller, 2009). Since gender roles were not uniform across societies, this dissertation concentrates on how Thimlich Ohinga and Gede's archaeological gender roles were organized.

Alberti (2006) explores masculinity and men in archaeology in the context of gender studies. she notes that few studies address men and masculinity in antiquity. These discrepancies exist due to the universal assumption of men and masculinity based on contemporary assumptions. Therefore, she notes that by isolating men and masculinity, archaeology makes the same mistakes of generalization as they did concerning women in antiquity (Knapp, 1998). She suggests that archaeology can be more than just a new sub-discipline for examining masculinity and men but a comprehensive framework that does not assume men's activities in the past. To achieve that, archaeologists must conceptualize masculinity and identify ways of examining it in antiquity. Therefore his study is very insightful in advocating for a holistic approach of examining social identities in antiquity. Nonetheless, interrogation of such methods of examining social identities was beyond the scope of his study. As such, this dissertation incorporates his views on exploring gender in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

Barbara (Moen,2019) discusses the role of gender studies in archaeology by analyzing previous works by different authors (See Conkey & Spector, 1984). She noted that the rise of gender studies in the feminist movement's waves of 1970 onwards emphasized objectivity rather than activism. She argues that many gender archaeologists do not consider themselves feminists. She, therefore, asserts that one of the primary goals of

gender archaeology is to illustrate how ancient communities perceived sex and gender and how those differences have been manifested in the archaeological record. Her work emphasizes the importance of gender archaeology as an objective discipline. Nonetheless, she did not explain how gender can be studied objectively in the archaeological record. Therefore, this study aimed to use material evidence as the primary reference source in reconstructing gender identities in antiquity.

Saxe (1966) analyzed burial practices of the hunter-gather site of Wadi Halfa in Sudan, dated around 8000 BC. He identified the age and sex from mortuary data he excavated in the above site, which he described as representing the population during that period. He advocated the differences between female and male bodies' positioning in the patriarchal type of social system. He concluded by discussing how mortuary data reflects legitimizes the acquisition and consumption of specific resources. He pointed to mortuary rituals as social control determining individuals' life status. However, his did not cover the role of women in the above settlement site as reflected in the archaeological record. Furthermore, relying on mortuary data can be misleading in explaining the lives of individuals. As documented in some contemporary societies, burial practices depend on many factors that may not necessarily be reflected in individual life. For instance, mortuary data may indicate an individual's last stages of their lives rather than their lifetime identities. Thus, this dissertation explores mortuary data related to other in order to create a holistic view of gender identities in the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede sites.

Nielsen and Johannsen, (2023) studied funerary practices in Europe from the pre-roman period onwards. They noted that although most societies had different cultures, in some

cases, some exercises were practiced in a specific geographical region. In Europe, around 5000 BP(Pope,2021), there was a common burial strategy commonly referred to as Coded Culture (CC) before the Bell Beaker (BB) burial pattern spread, which appeared in the region five hundred years later. The CC and BB cultures share funeral characteristics in burial goods and gendered-themed burials in the archaeological record. Funeral studies depict status, sex, and social status differentiation. For example, the females and males faced different directions in both CC and BB cultures. However, such differences cannot be attributable to female and male status in society; other factors, such as religion, would have the same influence. The value of objects is also subjective due to other factors, such as ritual importance. This means a collective effort to get specific materials during burials could have been due to other cultural considerations rather than someone's gender. Also, an individual gender, in terms of expected roles, may have played a part in determining burial materials. This study is very insightful in correlating cultural materials with social identities. As such, I employed the same strategy in examining Thimlich Ohinga and Gede's cultural materials.

Silliman (2006) tackled the issue of labor as social scientists across different disciplines depict it. He noted that most scholars view work through Marxists' theoretical framework of labor regarding class differences that have dominated the study of labor in historical archaeology. She argues that archaeologists should focus on laborers' and supervisors' lives while studying gender roles, agency, and labor relations. He envisioned that archaeologists could learn job structures regarding supervisors, administrators, and other people in this approach. The above method makes it possible to study labor in its material form. Although her works emphasize the study of labor as a form of identity, she did not

demonstrate how labor can be considered in the archaeological record and implication on gender as a social categorization.

Waguespack (2005) studied the gender roles of hunter-gatherer societies in the Philippines. She postulated that gender and sex are the same in an archaeological context. She attributed gender roles to physiological differences and argued that culturally constructed traits. However, she interpreted Agta culture, where women were active hunters, as an anomaly in gender roles. Her study was critical in tracing the reasons for the division of labor in hunter-gatherer societies. However, she should have addressed the probable cause of why Agta women participated in hunting, contrary to the general trends in other communities. This dissertation aimed to examine possible reasons that informed past societies in gender roles organization.

Robin (2006), in her study of gender roles in the study of Maya civilization, tackled the issue of man as the farmer. She notes that crop farming was done around the settlement areas, supported by archaeological evidence of soil chemistry, artefacts, and architecture. She narrowed her study to the daily activities within a homestead and argues that crop farming was a collective duty among family members irrespective of gender differences. Her work was influential in pointing out women's role in economic activities in crop farming in prehistoric societies. However, this study did not incorporate other subsistence strategies or tasks with gender dimensions, such as pottery making. This dissertation holistically explores Thimlich Ohinga and Gede's activities to understand labor division and subsequent change over time. The dissertation explores the totality of all activities in public and private spaces as documented in archaeological records. More

particularly, variations of materials between private and public spaces, especially those concerning gender.

Brumbach & Jaevenpa (2006) studied hunter-gatherer societies in order to interrogate “man as the hunter narrative”. They claimed that hunting entailed various stages, including the animal's sighting, hunting, processing, and sharing. In the above chain of activities, they concluded it was not a man's activity, but rather a combination of sexes and genders. Therefore, their study was insightful in pointing out the division of labor in a cultural context that is interdependence-oriented rather than exclusive, as postulated by most ethnographic scholars. This study cast doubts on activities regarded as anomalies when women participated in hunting, such as that documented among the Agpta of the Philippines. Contrary to some hypotheses, such as muscular power and hunting being tedious and highly mobile hence they were men's tasks. As such, their work is essential in emphasizing the importance of contextualizing gender studies as a strategy for minimizing generalizations. Nonetheless, their study did not examine how gender roles changed significantly with the introduction of new subsistence strategies. This dissertation moves beyond their study and explore how gender roles were reorganized when new subsistence strategies were introduced in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede communities.

Yates (1993) explores differences between men's physical bodies and material culture expression in the archaeological record. His analyses entailed examining rock art of prehistoric Sweden communities, where he compared the expression of masculinity through paintings. His works borrowed heavily from Lacanian theories to interpret the

materialization of gender. The Lacanian theories examine gender as a learned concept through language and dynamics identification. To that end, Lacanian concepts are a departure in explaining how children's behavior is shaped as stipulated by Freud's Oedipus complex.

The departure from the Oedipus complex is that Lacan interprets what the Oedipus complex is as a child, finally learning sexual rules in society. As such, **Yates** used the same oedipus complex to explain material differences as depicted in antiquity. Therefore, his findings illustrated that men were painted with swords while women are depicted with other materials . Therefore, men were depicted with aggressive tendencies as compared to women. He argued that the differences showed that the physical body was less critical than symbols that presented gender differences. His study demonstrated how societal expectations depending on an individual identity were represented in material form. Therefore, this study employed his insights in examining how Thimlich Ohinga and Gede's gender ideologies were represented in material form. However, his study should have covered how changing ideals concerning masculinity and femininity could be captured in the archaeological record. This study strived to examine how gender changed through time and space and its implication on material records.

Costello (2006) studied ritual concealments in the form of footwear in the United States. She notes that most of this footwear is found around the homestead; hence, it was likely used for home protection from witchcraft. Therefore, this footwear was supposed to give divine protection from spiritual attacks. In her study, she found out that most of the footwear was in a single form, although they were multiple footwear in some instances.

She argued that by the 20th century, footwear was planted in public buildings; on the other hand, footwear was used or destroyed, symbolizing what she referred to as the 'killing of the shoe'. Footwear's origin as a ritual can be traced back to the 1300-year-old belief that shoes can be used to trump the devil. Her studies demonstrate a correlation between physical materials and symbolic meaning. Therefore assigning gender to some materials can be misleading due to the multiple functions of some materials. Nonetheless, she did not formulate strategies for mitigating such challenges while examining gender in an archaeological context.

Yi and Choi (2013) explore how social identities' materiality was reflected in patriarchal Greek society. In Greek culture, women were mainly concerned with indoor activities while men were outdoors. These roles were reflected in their clothing, where men's clothings were made with thick fabric to prevent them from the cold, while for women, it was the opposite. Their study, therefore, correlates materials usage with gendered activities in Greek society. This study is essential in demonstrating the materiality of gender roles in antiquity. Therefore, I incorporate their perceptives in examining how gender is materialized in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. That is how gendered activities in the above two sites led to the production of different materials.

Sandquist's (2012) study of masculinity among the Vikings noted that those men who lacked qualities associated with men were barred from the agency. Thus, they could not acquire or consume materials related to masculinity. Therefore, the primary criteria for assigning a unique gender in Viking culture was not based on biological sex but instead stipulated rules. The implication was that gender roles were not permanent and had to be

reinforced through activities. In this case, for a male, an individual had to perform activities associated with masculinities. In this study, I have incorporated his insights concerning examining how gender roles and social hierarchies were expressed in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. Especially, his view of examining gender identities as a continuous process that had to be stressed in the actions of the individuals.

Butler (1993), in her book "gender trouble," tried to formulate ways of examining gender in antiquity. She argued that gender identities were not stable entities and required constant practice, which she called performance. According to her, gender is expressed in everyday activity through our behavior. That is, one becomes a woman or man by how one dresses, walks, talks performs activities, etc. Furthermore, gender is not binary and can mutate to other genders beyond "man" or "woman." Her study was insightful in demonstrating how gender was fluid hence existing in different ways across cultures. Furthermore, her insistence on gender as a performance was insightful, in opening an avenue of material evidence of those gendered activities. The materiality of gendered activities is the central theme of this dissertation concerning interpreting how social categories were expressed in antiquity.

Hodder (1997) asserts that sex, like gender, has no universal meaning and numerous variations among different cultures. Furthermore, biological is also dynamic and influenced by age and status factors. Therefore, examining social identities, including gender, must be contextualized to avoid generalization. Therefore, his study contributed to the interpretation of archaeological records by pointing out mechanisms that can be employed to minimize subjectivity while interpreting the archaeological record. This

study employed his insights of contextualizing material evidence of the two sites while interpreting gender roles as reflected in the archaeological record.

Harrington (1998) argues that in some cases, burials do not necessarily reflect individual life but rather the social expectations. Therefore, the direct correlation between materials and actual individual life can sometimes be misleading. As such, we must examine the symbolism of grave goods in order to avoid generalization during interpretation. This study was insightful in demonstrating symbolic aspects of funerary objects produced or used along gender lines. However, his study did not examine using ethnoarchaeology data as a mechanism for minimizing generalization. On the other hand, this study employed ethnoarchaeological methods to make inferences and analogies concerning gender roles as reflected in the archaeological record.

Conkey and Gero (1997) examined the progress made in gender studies in antiquity from the 1980s onwards. They explored gendered archaeological studies undertaken during that period and encountered challenges. They reiterated that the best approach to examining gender in antiquity is applying feminist frameworks. They argued that the feminist approach challenged dominant ideologies concerning the past, creating an opening for studying women in the past. They identified several theories employed by different archaeologists to examine gender identities in antiquities. Their study was very revealing concerning approaches that archaeologists can employ to examine what informed gender roles in past societies, such as sociobiological considerations. As such, this study employed some strategies they suggested to examine what informed gender roles in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

Hill (1998), while reflecting on the development of gender archaeology, questions that endeavor's rationale. She noted that no methodological and theoretical frameworks had been formulated that addressed gender studies in antiquity. She argues that rather than striving to formulate new methods and theories, existing strategies should be used. According to her, the problem of women's invisibility in gender inquiry could not be attributed to data collection methods but rather on interpretation phase. She proposed a multivariate approach that complements different methods to minimize generalizations that plague archaeological interpretations. She argues that using the multivariate approach will complement different methods that already exist in archaeology. These methods include a processual and post-processual contextual framework. To that end, her work is essential in pointing out the reason for women's invisibility in gender inquiries in antiquity. Therefore, this study employs her insights in studying how gender was manifested in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

Gilchrist (2012) examines the importance of feminist epistemologies in reconstructing gender in antiquity. She argues that by incorporating feminist perspectives, archaeologists can benefit from a holistic understanding of how social identities, such as gender, were formed and maintained in the past. These benefits include understanding past power dynamics, labor division, and how human identities have changed through time and space. Therefore, feminists' perspective can give insights into how an individual identity changes due to other factors, including age, race, class, and other categories. Besides understanding gender, sex as a social category can be analyzed from a feminist perspective. That is how society shapes an individual behavior based on sex through stipulated rules of engagement. Her work is fascinating in demonstrating the fluid nature

of gender as a social identity. Therefore, this dissertation uses the same approach to interrogate gender fluidity in the sites under study.

Sørensen (2006) examined gendered artefacts in Roman military bases in present-day Germany. Her studies concentrated on the distribution of gendered artefacts to understand the place of women and children in these forts. She used spatial patterning techniques to identify women, children, and men's artefacts in those forts. Her study was very insightful concerning correlating material assemblages with social identities. This dissertation borrowed the same technique to infer how gendered materials were distributed in the two sites.

Robb and Harris (2018) investigate why little literature existed on gender in the Neolithic period as compared to Bronze Age. They argue that the lack of enough literature concerning the Neolithic period in Europe emanated from the applied methodologies. According to them, archaeologists often examined Neolithic period gender using the same concepts of the Bronze Age, where gender was mainly expressed in binary. Therefore, some information is not captured when the Neolithic period is examined through binary lenses. Therefore, they proposed the usage of contextual archaeology in order to capture the fluidity of gender in the Neolithic period. This dissertation uses the same strategy of contextualizing materials to capture gender fluidity in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede.

Kent (1998) claims that African archaeology has concentrated on environmental reconstruction with little literature on gender. This is despite the great potential of gender archaeology in understanding how past societies were organized. She argues that by

exploring gender in Africa, it is possible to reconstruct how environmental change influenced the social organization of past societies. Besides a close correlation between environment and social organizations, gender studies can aid in understanding ideologies that shaped labor divisions and political and economic organizations. She predicts how twenty-first-century archaeological discourse will shift from examining functions and the physical environment to a holistic approach where gender will be a central theme. Based on the above assumptions, she claims that gender is a social category of feminine and masculinities that shaped the life of people in the past. Therefore, incorporating gender in archaeological inquiry is one of the most critical aspects in reconstructing past social organizations. Therefore, this perception of the centrality of gender in examining past social organizations was employed in this dissertation. Unfortunately, exploring methods of identifying gender in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede was beyond the scope of her study. Thus, this study aimed to use the suggested methods to explore gender in the above two sites.

Lorenzon (2020) argues that more African studies should concentrate on women's architectural activities of earthen houses. This approach, he contends, can open an avenue of understanding building archaeology through ethnoarchaeological methods of contemporary communities. Therefore, by examining this earthen house, archaeologists can infer how gender was organized from the archaeological record. His study is crucial because it advocates incorporating ethnoarchaeological methods in interpreting archaeological data. This study incorporated ethnoarchaeological methods in the interpretation of gender where it was possible.

Nast (1996) examined how Kano Palace, built in 1500 CE, reflected social organization through Islamic influence. He argues that the palace was built to accommodate hetero-patriarchal system. Royal women were secluded in the palace's inner spaces to guarantee the royal children's paternity. Therefore, these spaces were well guarded as a process of monitoring royal women's activities at all the time. On the other hand, male royals occupied private and public spaces of the palace, where they engaged in political activities, taxation of certain goods, and war. Therefore, the royal male-female relationship focused on reproduction in a society where power was entrenched in kinships. To that end, slave women were allowed to occupy public spaces since they were not perceived as producers of the royals. Based on the above observation, he argues that space usage of the Kano Palace reflects how society was organized per the Islamic culture, where women's purity is highly prioritized. Therefore, this dissertation borrows some of his insights on architectural design and usage of space to infer gender organization in the two societies under study.

Croucher (2007) examined gendered identities in clove plantations in nineteenth-century Zanzibar. She notes that in Zanzibar, cloves plantation was fuelled by a combination of enslaved Africans, natives, and immigrants from Oman and elsewhere. Furthermore, gender was expressed differently depending on ethnicity, class, and race in these clove plantations. She notes how even within those social categories, gender identities were fluid due to concubinage and intermarriages. She identifies how these gender identities were often expressed in ceramics and architectural designs. Her works are critical in demonstrating the materiality of gender in antiquity. Thus, this dissertation employed the

same strategy to identify the materiality of gender in the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

Folorunso (2003) examined gender as reflected in the material culture of the Tiv community who live in the Benue valley of central Nigeria. He concentrated on issues such as house structure and how the design reflected their gender expression. He noted that some structures, such as the granary, were women's domain in the homestead layout. Besides the reception hut at the center of the homestead, other structures were also connected to women. The implication was that women's activities were concentrated in the compound; hence, their activities were more visible regarding the material signature of abandoned settlements. The kitchen was the most visible, with features like a hearth, grinding stones, and a wooden drying platform. Besides material culture, he documented the ideological concept of females in the Tiv culture. A notable observation was how women would lose their womanhood if they left their husbands and returned to their father's homestead. In this case, they would not own a kitchen of their own. This study is very insightful in demonstrating how gender identities are situational in some instances and have implications in archaeological records. This study employed his strategy of examining gender in the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites as fluid and response to different factors.

2.4 Social hierarchies

Biologists have observed that social hierarchies exist among various species and are manifested in different ways, including mating, using specific spaces, and in various activities of domination (Folorunso,1998; Cummins,2015). In some cases, the biggest

and strongest animals tend to rise to the top of social hierarchies, where they are guaranteed reproduction (Chase et al.,2002). This type of hierarchy ensures that the strongest genes are passed down, increasing the chances of survival. Although humans are alike, they differ in physical strength, intelligence, speed, and other traits (Ames, 2007). The above characteristics could influence the acquisition of resources, making some groups/individuals rise to the pinnacle of their society's social ladder at the expense of others (Chiao et al., 2009; Chase and Chase,2017). To that end, social inequalities exist when a society invests in social differences within the group. Nonetheless, hierarchies as perceived as a social construct and differ from one society to another (Flanagan, 1989). However, when archaeologists ascertain social hierarchies, social construction is simplistic in nature. More fundamental questions should be asked concerning the advantages of social hierarchies in human adaptation strategies. Besides adaptation strategies, these social hierarchies are often formed with a political agenda of maintaining the status quo, a phenomenon observable in contemporary and antiquity communities.

Some scholars argue that social ranking was an adaptation mechanism to improve social learning. As people enjoy prestigious materials, it motivates others to acquire knowledge and be innovative in the long run (see Hen-rich and Gil-White, 2001; Richerson & Boyd, 2004). In the ape family, just like in our ancestors, reproduction as scarcity may have driven social hierarchy, which is observed in other living apes such as bonobos, chimpanzees, and bonobos. Thus, it could explain why prestigious consumption is generally conspicuous and act as a social display. Moreover, the division of labor along sex in pre-historic societies has been the basis for pointing out inequalities along gender lines. However, this explanation is only possible with a totality approach in striving to

understand the reasons behind such division of labor. Furthermore, some prevailing logic is that some male roles were prestigious; hence gender roles were a social construct that generally elevated men's roles while diminishing women's. As such, sex is a form of difference, but society can use it to reward or punish, hence acting as an inequality agency. This is usually through socially constructed platforms that give prestige, authority, and access to specific resources based on social identities such as sex. The same approach applies to other social identities, including class, ethnicity, and race.

Exploring social hierarchy's origin, change, and function is a fundamental question among social scientists (Table 2.0). The question shifts to how social hierarchy is manifested in cultural materials throughout human history in an archaeological record. To do so, the analysis of social hierarchies includes economic, political, and social dimensions (Chapman, 2003). Furthermore, the fluidity of social hierarchies, as reflected in contemporary societies, persisted in pre-historic societies. As such, archaeological materials are sometimes problematic, especially in their static form, while reconstructing social hierarchies as an identity group of ancient communities (Paynter, 1989). On the other hand, it is easier to identify social hierarchies in centralized kingdoms of the past, such as the Maya Civilization and Ancient Egyptian Civilization as compared to egalitarians which dominated the interior of Africa.

However, the archaeological record may need to be revised in societies that need to be more elaborate regarding the class system. The origin of social hierarchies is generally unknown, with some scholars attributing it to inequalities brought by domestication and subsequent private ownership of property (Mayr, 1982; Ames, 2007). Since, social

hierarchies persist among other animals besides humans, it cannot be attributed to private property ownership. Interestingly, social ranking is more profound in close relatives of humans such as bonobos, chimpanzees, and baboons (Sapolsky, 2004). Therefore, social hierarchies were the norm of the human evolution process rather than the exception. In that case, egalitarianism, previously thought natural in pre-historic societies, was a recent phenomenon (Wason, 1994). This raises possibilities of egalitarianism as a strategy employed by some communities to decrease competition and conflict that dominates hierarchical social systems.

Table 2.1 Summary of possible reason for emergency of social hierarchy (Multi-disciplinary Perspective)

Reason	Implication
High population	A high population determined by the number of people's interactions requires coordination and mechanism to resolve conflicts. Most importantly, a high population drives up competition and innovation, which leads to rising complexity in society, one of the essential ingredients for social hierarchy (Cohen, 1985).
Regional interaction and specialization	Specialization often necessitates increased coordination among different parts to ensure the flow of goods, services and raw materials. In specialization, elites arise as controllers of essential goods, raw materials and labour (Ortner,1985).
Storage	Some anthropologists argue that the production of food, which can be stored for a long time, leads to social hierarchies. The ability to have stored food can support significant population sizes in sedentary mode (Wesson, 1999).

Mobility and settlement patterns	Moving from one area to another, especially in areas where food storage is essential such as winter, requires logistical organization, which could be improved. Therefore, being able to move to organize such movements using pack animals, boats, and other movements create elites and social hierarchies (Matson, 1985).
Patchy heterogeneous settlements	Variations in highly productive areas lead to the rise of individuals who control the most productive patches. These people form the basis of elites and social hierarchies (Service, 1972).
Subsistence intensification	An increase in food production often triggers population growth and surplus production, ultimately leading to inequalities and social hierarchies (Brown, 1995).
Competition and Warfare	War is a competition in itself that leads to the establishment of control by the winning group with elaborate power and prestige that acts as the basis of social hierarchies.
Property	Property is central to social disputes and the basis of inequalities anchored on unequal property access.
State	One of the ingredients of state formation is the development of a cultural system that supports hierarchical authority. That makes the emergence of social hierarchies in the development of the state inevitable.

Nonetheless, all societies have some form of hierarchies, although to different degrees (Kosse, 1990). For instance, hunter-gatherer social hierarchies are based on age and are directly connected with experience and knowledge. However, the authority is not through force but rather consensus. This contrasts with a state where authority and power are often implemented through coercion rather than consensus. Therefore, society's hierarchical structures can be described using the levels.

Egalitarian societies differ from ranking societies based on the accessibility of positions of power, prestige, and essential resources. Social hierarchies in this type of setting are mainly due to age, sex, and kinship, among other forms of prestige that different group members can acquire (Ames, 2007). In most cases, positions of influence are usually situational and fluid. Some acquire power through their social abilities rather than being born into prestige (Fred, 1967). In this type of society, their reward system is generally reciprocal, where an individual gains respect through the distribution of their resources than accumulation.

However, anthropologists have concluded that an all-equal society where nobody outranks another does not exist (Sahlins, 1958). The main differences between egalitarian and ranked societies are the intensity and criteria through which investments are made. For instance, in egalitarian societies, social hierarchies are often based on age, sex, gender, and some positions earned through consensus. Nonetheless, social regulations prevent the exploitation of the lower rank groups. Also, at some point, the lower groups will naturally acquire prestige that may be associated with age.

Flanagan (1989) observes that social anthropologists perceive these egalitarian societies where sharp differences in wealth and rank do not exist. The implication is that their economic activities and resources are homogenous across the board. Second, an age that is one of the bases of prestige means that other people can wait for their turn. Also, positions of prestige are available to every individual in that category. That means that positions of prestige due to age are available for every individual in that specific age group.

Leacock (1978) has argued that the term "equality" should replace "autonomy" while examining an egalitarian system. He draws examples from Bari society, where different autonomous social units exist in the village, household, and personal levels. That means adults do not give or receive instructions from other adults in Bari society. In the case of the Eskimo house head, he can only make binding decisions with consensus from other household members. In Eskimo culture, decision-making is often based on interpersonal relationships and shifting responsibility to propose such decisions to the rest of the household members. Nonetheless, in these societies, gender power differences are usually minimal due to their economic structures of communal production and sharing. Mbuti hunters have been observed to involve every individual in society, including children, in communal hunting. Chippewyan women are not involved in food production but in distribution, giving them some form of power in dictating accessibility (Joyce, 2020). Common in those societies is immediate returns where the accumulation of resources is discouraged through social structures.

In ranking societies, positions of prestige are usually scarce and permanent. However, accessibility of essential resources is not limited to a few individuals hence a similarity with egalitarian societies. On the other hand, an individual can earn a position of prestige or inherit it. Those in leadership positions enjoy considerable powers and hence access to resources than those in egalitarian societies (See McGuire, 1991; 2021; McAnany and Plank, 2018). They accumulate resources by not coercing others but by manipulating the production systems to their advantage. On the other hand, stratified societies and prestigious positions are also limited in nature, while access to production means is restricted (McCall,1993). Therefore, few individuals control power and means of production. Furthermore, prestige and power are defined by other factors, such as class rather than kinship (Kalin and Sambanis, 2018; Joyce and Lopiparo, 2005) . This means that most prestige is not inherited but achieved by controlling means of production. In stratified societies, an individual can use their resources to gain power.

The fundamental difference in social hierarchies is in the accessibility of resources. Therefore, archaeologists studying social hierarchies must examine which identity group could access which resources (Sapolsky, 2004; Jácome and Furquim, 2019). In an archaeological record, nutrition, life expectance, osteology, housing, and funerary techniques, among other factors, are reflective of social hierarchies. The correlation between social hierarchies and resources is therefore central to this investigation. Various indicators can be used to identify social hierarchies in an archaeological context. These hierarchies' indicators depend on the type in question. The indicators are usually anchored on resources by analyzing resource acquisition, consumption, and disposal. Identity is not singular but plural and takes different forms and meanings among people (Johansen,

2008; Johnson, 2019). It is usually contested because identities entail resources in most instances. Thus, it matters which identity group an individual belongs to. It is usually politicized and has been an avenue of adaption and survival mechanism for thousands of years. Human history is characterized by conflicts between different identities, where issues such as ethnicity are external while gender internal. In most cases, ideology and material differences are the basis of differentiation in social identity formation and subsequent maintenance. It was the basis of social differences based on social categories and implications on materials that this study is anchored.

Social archaeologists interested in examining social identities must incorporate every aspect of cultural materials. This is from the realization that social identity formation is a continuous process; hence it changes from one level to another. For instance, in most cases, different identity groups make the acquisition of materials, processing, consumption, and disposal of waste materials. Therefore, analyzing each stage independently can give clues concerning the dynamics of identities in a societal setting. Furthermore, tear and wear for certain materials, such as ceramics, although of the same materials, may help identify social hierarchy in an archaeological setting. In a standard setting, the rich may discard materials that are not worn out compared to the poor. In other cases, some people may acquire certain materials as secondary users; hence although they may be exotic, they may have low status.

The institutionalization of inequalities in prehistoric societies makes it easy to study social hierarchies in the archaeological record. Typically, institutionalization entails directing resources into such endeavors. That is, in building of mega objects which are

common in more sophisticated societies. Therefore, by employing new archaeology methodological paradigms to reconstruct past identities.

Berremán (1981) defines inequality as what is regarded as relevant or irrelevant to society. Henrich and Gil White (2001) differentiate prestige and dominance as the latter being enforced by force while the former as freely given. Thus, people with prestige is honored and respected, while dominant people are technically feared. Therefore, prestige may not carry authority which is the ability to channel people to specific tasks. This dissertation defines inequality as differences in the acquisition of resources that are relevant to society.

The agency in archaeology has been defined by archaeologists and has been anchored on contextual archaeology; gender archaeology; post-structuralism archaeology; behavioral archaeology, among other sub-fields that lean on the post-processual school of thought (see Hodder, 1991; Shanks & Tilley, 1987; Gero & Conkey, 1991). Thus, agency as a source of social function and subsequent change emerged in response to the shortcomings of the ecosystem and external forces as causes of human behavior. The agency proponents rejected this perspective advanced by new archaeologists who made individuals' shuffled from adaptive state to another" (Tilley, 1989, p. 109). The shift requires an examination of 'dialectic,' simply an exploration of relationships between structure and agency. The inquiry structures entail gender, ideology, and social power. Which are fundamental in social organization. These structures shape how societies respond to other dynamics, including external cultures, the physical environment, trade, population dynamics, etc.

Foucault (1980) highlighted how social power influences other factors, including ideology, which shapes human societies in various ways. The agency theories are anchored on the premise that all societies contain differences in power among individuals and groups, each advocating for their interests. Miller and Tilly (1984) claim that power persists in every social relationship and is not on equal terms. This dissertation adopts Paynter and Maguire's (1991) definition of power as the 'capacity to intervene in events as to alter them.' Society responds to domination through resistance in different areas, including household level, and entails a desire to defy the status quo in some instances. Power is constantly sorted, resisted, and renegotiated depending on the situation. The forces of change are interesting in this study and reflected in the archaeological record.

A more fundamental question is if people with power are interested in change. In pre-historical times' incorporation of new subsistence strategies, how did it affect power relationships among different identity groups? The special attention which corresponds with this study's focus is how the introduction of maritime trade influenced power dynamics in Gede archaeological site. Also, how diversification of Thimlich Ohinga subsistence strategies, especially crop production, influenced power dynamics.

Furthermore, the acquisition of new technologies, including architecture, led to the rise of artisans and other specialists in societies and ultimately influenced power dynamics. The changes in power dynamics led to the emergence of new hierarchies in society. The rise of merchants, how does that influence class? Is it free access based on merit, or it ultimately based on pre-determined status or contested? The institutionalization process of hierarchy is therefore part of the dissertation focus.

Shennan (1987) showed some ways the class could be standardized and readable in archaeological records through signatures such as 'prestigious goods and esoteric knowledge'. Nonetheless, while exploring social hierarchy, this dissertation adopts a multi-dimensional view of society as stipulated by processual and post-processual archaeology. This is because although the individual is essential in shaping events, society played a more crucial role, especially in the past. Therefore, humans always functioned within social limits where delinquent behavior was limited, with few exceptions (Patterson, 1990). How agency function concerning external factors is paramount in exploring signatures of social identities as reflected in the archaeological record.

Bell (1997) analyzes rituals emphasizing how they were formulated and manifested in the archaeological record. She states that rituals are conveyed by the action agency, making it possible to display them in material form. She argues that religious and secular rituals may be challenging to differentiate in the archaeological record. Also, she points out that societies differ in ritual intensity, with some communities having numerous rituals practiced frequently. Her work is essential while interpreting archaeological materials. For instance, some wild animal faunal remains found in pastoral Neolithic sites would be attributed to rituals than dietary purposes. This dissertation borrowed her insights of examining some exotic materials from a symbolic point of view. That is, the consumption of some materials is not reflected in status but in symbolic meaning. Nonetheless, she needed to offer a strategy for categorizing ritual goods and those people consume based on their social hierarchies.

Merrifield (1987) examined ritual concealments from the medieval period to around the 20th century in Europe and North America. He noted that ritual concealments in the archaeological record are represented by which bottles were used to protect people from witchcraft. These bottles contained personal objects such as nails believed to inflict injuries on witches. These concealments also healed some diseases and protected homes from wizards' attacks. He notes that this practice spread to the United from the 16th century, although the objects in those bottles differed from those in Europe. The work demonstrates that the frequency of these rituals corresponded with an individual's status in society. By default, those who owned more property possessed more bottle concealments on their premises. His studies were insightful because they correlated symbolic objects with the social hierarchies of an individual. This dissertation borrows those insights while examining how symbolic objects can be used to infer social hierarchies in an archaeological context. Nonetheless, his study did not explore how the re-organization of social structures influences social hierarchies, which is central to this study.

Larsen (2002) studied how bio-archaeological analysis can be used to reconstruct an individual's health. He indicates that skeletal remains can identify diseases associated with different causes, including nutritional problems. These indicators are essential in describing the general health of an individual. In the cases of cemetery excavations, the skeletal analysis can play an important role in indicating the general health of a society. His work is influential when reconstructing an individual's social status in a community, especially in highly hierarchical societies. Nonetheless, his studies cannot be employed to study hierarchies of egalitarian societies that share similar production and consumption

habits. Therefore, this dissertation uses different strategies to examine social hierarchies to have a holistic picture of how such categorizations were expressed in the archaeological record.

Stoodley (1999) examined how burial with goods indicates someone's social status. He argues that since people are different in their social status, their graves also vary regarding the goods they were buried with. For example, those of higher status may have more enormous tombs and, in some cases, be buried with luxurious goods. Furthermore, the quality of life will be manifested in the body; hence, a combination of skeletal remains and valuables buried with an individual can be used to reconstruct an individual's lifestyle in a specific society. However, his study did not cover the symbolic meaning of graves goods which has been observed in other societies. The implication is that some grave goods may not represent the actual life of an individual but rather an ideal. Therefore, this study considered such implications while examining the social hierarchies of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede using mortuary data.

McGuire (1990) studied funerary styles concerning social hierarchies' ideology in New York State. He emphasizes the nature of ideology as a dynamic; hence it depends on many factors contributing to its change, such as contact with other groups. He notes that at the beginning of the 1800 century, there were differences in burial size and style, among other things, which showed differences in social classes. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, burials were uniform in size. He attributed this change to capitalism ideology, emphasizing individualism and a platform where every person can gain wealth. His study was critical because it demonstrated how ideology is manifested in a material

form; hence it can be read in the archaeological record. Most importantly, his studies showed how social hierarchies change through space and time and the implication on material records. This dissertation employed his insights of examining how ideological changes influenced social hierarchies in the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

Binford (1968) examined different methods of interpreting the funerary practices of prehistoric societies. He rejected that burial styles can be solely interpreted using religion and other beliefs. He emphasized the need to explain mortuary data through social context to understand social hierarchies. He postulated that mortuary practice could be attributed to the complexity of hierarchy in a society that is essential while studying social class, reflecting differences such as gender. Therefore, studying the burial of an individual requires examining their activities when they were alive in social settings. He highlighted some identities that can be explored through mortuary data, including sex, age, where an individual died, and course of death, among other factors, which he successfully demonstrated using an ethnographic analogy. This study employs the same strategy of exploring the social hierarchies of individuals using mortuary data where possible. This is done by examining tombs' structures and locations to understand those individuals' social status, especially in Gede society.

Cohen (1989) studied the skeletal remains of people from different backgrounds in ancient societies. He noted that those who came from affluent backgrounds were generally taller and healthier as compared to those who were poor. He attributed these differences to nutrition, risky jobs, medical care, and deplorable living conditions. His

works show a correlation between social status and skeletal analysis. However, this evidence can only be reflected in highly structured societies. Therefore, they need to be more conclusive in most prehistoric communities in East Africa, which are relatively egalitarian. On the other hand, using mortuary data to study social status has challenged various scholars (Hodder, 1980; Pearson, 1982). This is more profound among post-processual archaeologists who believe it is almost impossible to study human behavior using a scientific approach processual archaeologist's advocate. Furthermore, they claim that scientific methodologies may not capture the symbolic significance of different societies' funerary practices, and generalization while interpreting mortuary data may lead to wrong conclusions. As such, this dissertation contextualized mortuary through ethnoarchaeological methods as the basis for minimizing generalizations.

Hodder (1980), one of the founding figures of post-processual archaeology, questioned the rationale for attributing rituals and mortuary practices to social activities. He argued, on the contrary, while studying the mortuary methods of the Nubians, rejected the notion that burials can be used to infer social identities across the board. He noted that for Nubians, the funerary practices were the ideal form of burials rather than a reflection of their social status; hence they could not infer the way of life of those individuals in their lifetime. He pointed out that in the case of Nubians, the burial practice was a form of the symbol that presented fertility and purity and hence could not be accounted for using the processual methodology. His work is essential because it shows the need to avoid generalization while interpreting archaeological materials. This dissertation incorporates these views while interpreting data to minimize generalizations.

Pearson (1982) argued that mortuary practices might indicate ideological views rather than social status. He claims that the living may use burials to manipulate others for their causes. Therefore, they may invest in the funeral to elevate their stand on society, which does not necessarily reflect the deceased's social status. He supported his arguments through England's mortuary data in the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, which showed no correlation between an individual's wealth and the goods they were buried with. He noted that those buried with the most expensive goods were the gypsies, who occupied the lowest class in Victorian England. His study, therefore, shows how some material evidence can be misleading while interpreting the social structures of individuals.

Onjala (2019) examines the people and environment of the communities that moved into the Lake Victoria basin, including Thimlich Ohinga. He notes cultural changes characterized by people's movement into the region, including iron users and crop agriculturalists. Most notably, he notes the introduction of enclosures from Uganda and Siaya, which were made using earthworks and contrasted with southwestern Nyanza, where dry stone enclosures are present. He attributes the emergency of complex stone enclosures to the influx of people in the region and the rise of more complex societies that could be organized to provide massive labor for such monument constructions. Nonetheless, the examination of social identities, especially in Thimlich Ohinga, was beyond the scope of his study. This dissertation, therefore, examines social identities and how they were formed and changed over time in Thimlich Ohinga.

Onjala (2003) examines the social organization of the Thimlich Ohinga archaeological site. He employs the ethnography of the Luo to examine the techniques that were possibly

employed during the construction of Thimlich Ohinga dry stone walls. To that end, he observed how enclosures are currently built by the contemporary Luo community. In his study, he concentrates on the division of labor between people of different ages and gender. This study is very insightful in examining the division of labor among the Luo communities and making inferences concerning Thimlich Ohinga society. Nonetheless, he did not explore possible changes in labor relations over time in response to factors such as demographic pressure and diversification of subsistence patterns, among other factors.

Odede (2006) examines constructions of the stone enclosure, emphasizing Thimlich Ohinga. He notes that oral history suggests the site was either constructed by Bantu communities and later replaced by highland and River Lake Nilotes. He argues that these stone enclosures were most likely constructed with several watchtowers for security purposes. Generally, he describes the architectural layout of the site. Also, he briefly describes possible site builders using the archaeological and oral history of the site. Notably, he correlates wattle and daub houses with Luo ethnography while examining the spatial patterning of the houses. Nonetheless, he does not cover the social identities of Thimlich Ohinga, especially gender and social hierarchies.

Szymanski (2010) discusses pastoralism as a subsistence strategy in western Kenya, including Thimlich Ohinga. He examines the diversification of subsistence patterns of those who lived in that region, including the Mount Elgon area. He notes that pastoralism was often practiced with fishing, crop farming, hunting, and gathering. These subsistence patterns have been documented at Thimlich Ohinga's archaeological site. This study is essential in showing the diversification of subsistence patterns in Thimlich Ohinga;

nonetheless, the study needed to examine how the diversification of subsistence strategies influenced social identities.

James Kirkman was a pioneer archaeologist in Gede ruins from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s. He is credited for excavating most of the site for over one decade, with notable areas being the Great Mosque, the palace, and several houses. His work concentrated on the general overview of the site, including its geographical location and possible reasons why it was abandoned around the 16th-century current era. He suggests that The Mombasa city-state probably attacked Gede since Malindi was well protected by the Portuguese, a claim that has yet to be proved. Since he excavated during a period when Swahili civilization was perceived as foreign, he concentrated on features that supported that hypothesis. To that end, he excavated stone buildings and areas that were well preserved. Kirkman (1974) used cultural material evidence to identify specific areas which he attributed to women's spaces. In most cases, he did not elaborate on how he concluded some rooms to be women, although, in some instances, he defined them based on artefacts found, such as the women's court. Nonetheless, his study should have gone into detail concerning the social identities of Gede. Furthermore, he only concentrated on one segment of the Gede community while not conclusive about the community of Gede.

Pradines (2003) carried most of the work after Kirkman from 1999 onwards. His work included mapping the site and excavating the mosque outside the wall, a fort, and other areas. He reconstructed Gede City's growth and expansion over time. He noted that the city was mainly between two great mosques while expanding to the west, the south, and the north. His work was very insightful in exploring the spatial patterning of the Gede

City-state. On the other hand, he did not cover social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies, in terms of forming, maintaining, and changing over time in Gede city. Thus, this dissertation goes beyond examining settlement patterns and examines how material distribution indicates social identities.

Wynne-Jones and Fleisher (2014) examine the water systems of Gede and their social implications in the Gede city-state. They note that Gede maintained high standards of hygiene associated with Islamic values. Therefore, water sources and drainage systems were a significant part of the city. They did not cover areas beyond the city's water supply, usage, and drainage. That is, they did not study how wells which were crucial waterways, were a form of social hierarchies in the Gede archaeological site. This dissertation, therefore, examines how proximity to water sources in Gede was associated with the social hierarchies of the individuals.

Pawlowicz (2019) study examined the lives of commoners who mainly lived in wattle and daub houses outside the Gede wall. This was a contrast from the previous studies that concentrated on elites. He noted that there was an appetite for imported goods, predominantly Islamic and Chinese ceramics, even among the commoners. This work is insightful while debunking the previous notion that imported materials were for elites. It shows that Gede, as a cosmopolitan, supported different types of activities, including cottage industries, which impacted the purchasing power of commoners. Although his study examined the social hierarchies based on material culture, he did not go on to explain how they changed over time. This dissertation moves beyond just outlining social

hierarchies and discusses how other social dynamics impacted them through time and space.

Baumanova and Smejda (2017) examined 'the palace' building in Gede using methodologies developed in the 1980s, combining them with recent ones from other fields, such as architecture. These methods included, the usage of multi-perspective analysis and ethnoarchaeological data of contemporary Swahili society. They aimed to demonstrate the potential of employing structural analysis strategies to study social phenomena, especially the usage of buildings. They claim that the palace was probably a rich family house that was expanded by subsequent generations rather than belonging to Malindi's sheik, as Kirkman (1974) argued. Thus, the palace offers an opportunity to explore how the built environment changed. In their findings they argued that structural analysis should be employed in examining Swahili monuments rather than stylistic and functional characteristics. Nonetheless, the study of social identities was beyond the scope of their study. Thus, this dissertation examines the expansion of the palace over time to create gender and social hierarchy spaces.

Kusimba et al. (2017) examined state formation in the East Africa region along the Indian Ocean coast. They noted that East African states emerged through the same principles observed in other areas such as Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt, yellow river, among other places. Thus, states emerge through the concentration of people in a particular area with environmental advantages. They demonstrate their arguments by showing how City-states emerged in East Africa and how they were maintained through collaborating with different groups of people who facilitated trade and exchange. Later, this trade was

intensified through the Indian Ocean trade leading to complex States characterized by elaborate specialization and urbanism. Their study noted how social stratification characterized state formation through unequal resource access. This dissertation moves beyond the description of how Gede became a state and examined how gender and social hierarchies changed through space and time.

Rødland (2021) examines how material expresses identity, including social hierarchy through labor. She notes that using foreign imported materials to describe social hierarchy is sometimes misleading in Swahili civilization. In the study of two sites of Tumbatu and Mkokotoni in Zanzibar, she observed that elites and commoners used foreign ceramics. She suggests using multiple strategies to examine gender and social hierarchy, such as labor, food ways, spaces, and expression of particular identities. Her study is quite insightful in exploring social identities, especially gender and social hierarchy along the Swahili coast. This dissertation employs her techniques to explore Gede's social identities and hierarchies as reflected in archaeological records.

2.6 Continuity and Change of Social Identities in Thimlich and Gede archaeological sites

One of the earliest archaeological enquiries is the question of social identities in antiquity. In the past, antiquarians envisioned how archaeologists would directly correlate material evidence and social identities (Casella & Fowler, 2005). At present, architectural designs, food cuisines, artefacts, and fashions are often attributed to specific identities. Thus, it is normal for archaeologists to assign specific materials to particular social identities hence

terms such as "medieval Europe architecture" or "colonial Africa" fashion. However, these materials are not static and respond to social and environmental changes.

Humans who are central in the production of these materials also undergo shifts throughout their life and interactions that ultimately influence acquisitions of different materials (Hodder, 1982). Social interactions lead to the acquisition of different styles that imply material production through space and time. Also, humans often exist in multiple identities hence the production of different materials by the same social group. The implication is that social identities, while studied in material form, must be contextualized to minimize generalizations (Tilley, 1994).

Voss (2005) explored El Presidio de San Francisco society, a Spanish military outpost in colonial Mexico. She was interested in how social identities such as gender, race, class and ethnicity changed in El Presidio de San Francisco society through time and space. The study concentrated especially on how people's identities changed over time through marriages, court cases, migration, status and declarations. The above changes led to materials used by these individuals with implications on gender. Most interesting was that in that site, since there was not much difference in phenotype appearance between colonizers and colonized, the former maintained their identities by avoiding materials used by the latter. That is, their foodways were different from those of the native population and other materials, especially at the beginning of the colonial settlement of the site. Nonetheless, the site underwent a transformation, which entailed the colonial population exerting their power on the local population, not through coercion but production and utilization of prestigious materials which acted as the basis of difference

rather than race. To that end, this study examined how acquiring and utilizing certain materials was essential in maintaining identities in El Presidio de San Francisco society. This dissertation employs the same strategy of examining how the acquisition and utilization of specific materials were used to maintain social hierarchies through time and space.

Fazioli (2014) examines ethnicity as a social identity and its implications on material evidence. He explores how the reconstruction of ethnicity through material evidence has faced support and opposition within the field of archaeology. Those who support the use of material evidence in the reconstruction of ethnicity have pointed out where there is a correlation between written sources and archaeological evidence. On the other hand, the opponents argue that without ethnographic knowledge to contextualize materials, it becomes difficult to ascertain materials to specific social categories, including gender, race, and age. Thus, he suggests a less controversial method of examining social identities through technological change over time. The rationale is informed by the fact that artefacts are not made for symbolic functions. To that end, he explore archaeological evidence during the transition from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Europe. He was interested in identifying how technology helps study social identities in the archaeological record. To that end, he contends that by examining pottery, for example, it is possible to deduce the potter's identity. This study is insightful in broadening the debates concerning the reconstruction of identities through space and time. Nonetheless, the exploration of how gender and social hierarchies changed over time through technological change was beyond the scope of their study.

Hall (1996) argues that identities are formed through interactions with people and are facilitated by agency and choice. Through agency, humans can choose, or society can choose an identity for groups or individuals. Thus, these identities become fluid over time due to internal and external factors. Since social identities are active, which means they are performed through different mediums, including symbolism, acquisition, and utilization of certain materials, they get signatures that can be studied in the archaeological record.

Traditionally, social identities have been perceived as primordial and objective. As such, archaeologists have always reconstructed social identities through material cultures. However, this dissertation moves beyond exploring how social identities are formed and examines factors that cause their change over time. To be more specific, what happens when new dynamics are added to society, such as subsistence patterns? Therefore, the change processes due to internal and external factors are interesting in this study. The idea is to understand if the societies of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede's social identity dynamics were influenced purely by adaptation rationale to maximize their survival or by other factors such as maintaining the status quo. In that, when there were new social forces, how did these societies reconfigure their social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies?

Spear (2000) examined the development of Swahili civilization through time and space. His works concentrated on identity claims of Swahili civilization from the local communities, which he compared with historical, linguistic, archaeological and ethnographic data sets. He noticed that in most instances, the locals associated Swahili

civilization to foreign influence they were part of. Nonetheless, through archaeological evidence, he pointed out how Swahili civilization changed through time and space. Therefore, the introduction of Islam and the intensification of international trade was simply a development through time and space. Unfortunately, his studies did not cover how these changes, including the introduction of Islam, influenced the organization of gender and social hierarchies along the east African Coast. This study aimed to interrogate how the introduction of new cultures, including Islam, influenced social hierarchies and gender dynamics in Gede archaeological site.

Askew (1999) interrogated gender transformation on the Swahili coast through time and space. She concentrated on kinships, economy, politics, music performance and social life. Her findings contend popular thinking that gender segregation in contemporary Islamic Swahili society existed in the past. By examining data sets from the Swahili civilization that spun back to 1500CE, she concluded that gender segregation is a recent phenomenon that cannot be entirely attributed to Islamic influence. Key findings of her work proved that women in the past occupied positions of influence in Swahili civilization. Her findings are insightful in examining how social identities changed through time and space. Although her study explained the dynamics of the gender fluidity of Swahili civilization, she did not cover factors that led to such changes. This study, therefore, interrogates factors that influenced gender and social hierarchies in Gede through time and space as manifested in the archaeological record.

Ntarangwi (1998) examined how gender is symbolized and expressed in Swahili culture. He deconstructed the view that Swahili gender is strictly divided as stipulated in Islamic

values. He illustrated through music and performance how women and men contested for gendered spaces through time and space. He reiterated that Swahili culture was dynamic and the dichotomy expected concerning gender roles was nonexistent. For example, women and men performed together in music performances, and gender stereotypes were contested. This study was very insightful in demonstrating how gender is fluid in Swahili culture. This dissertation borrowed his concepts in examining how Gede social identities changed through time and space. Unfortunately, this study did not cover the material evidence of changing identities, such as social hierarchies through time and space.

Marshall (2019) studied beads usage in two fugitive slave settlements in Makaroboi and Koromia. Her study concentrated on how formerly enslaved people used beads to express their social identities. She noted that women in those fugitive settlements used beads to express identities they had acquired through time. That is from where they were captured, their lives as enslaved people at the coast and their new identities as free. To that end, the beads choices were mainly of European origin, which aligned with the consumption choices of the coastal people in the nineteenth century. In a nutshell, although ex slaves were limited in terms of economic and social freedom due to fear of being recaptured, they tried to express their identities using ideal situations. That is, using imported beads which were used by Swahili society to express things such as women's beauty. This study is very interesting in demonstrating the role of materials in expressing social identities. As such, I employed the same strategy of examining how social identities were expressed using materials through time and space.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

Over six decades ago, Lewis Binford's famous work "archaeology as anthropology" revolutionized the discipline in terms of methodology and theory. In subsequent years, other studies that explored archaeological methods, including Clark's (1972) 'models in archaeology' and Binford's (1972) "archaeological perspective," that dominated archaeological thought for decades. In the 1980s, it ushered in the era of post-processual archaeologists and a new group of thinkers, including Hodder's (1982) work "Symbolic and structural archaeology". Other thinkers include those who explored archaeological symbols and reiterated the importance of contextualizing archaeological materials (see Flannery, 1982; Leon, 1982; Renfrew et al., 1982; Hodder, 1985).

The second wave of thinkers was concerned about other meanings of artefacts beyond their assumed functions. For instance, Shanks's (1992) instrumental work 'experiencing the past' was necessary for theory and methods of interpreting the past. Although exploring the weakness of each school of thought concerning how archaeology should be studied and interpreted is beyond the scope of this dissertation, there is an emphasis on incorporating different strategies in understanding social identities in the archaeological record. Therefore, this study aimed to employ techniques employed by modernism and post-modernism in examining gender and social hierarchies' identities. This study is anchored on the premise that the two schools of thought have some weaknesses that can be mitigated through combining both ideologies in the interpretation.

At present, debates concerning social identities persist in archaeology with the same intensity as those on other social identities such as race, ethnicity, sex and so on (Voss,

2005). Unfortunately, archaeologists can only infer social identities through cultural materials, a highly criticized method by other quarters (see Hodder, 1982; Tilley, 1984). Typically, contention areas emanate from the human nature of unpredictability; hence, assigning materials can lead to overgeneralization (Díaz-Andreu et al, 2005; Bernbeck and Pollock, 1996). However, different people have always attributed certain materials or activities to their "culture." Moreover, the basis of describing other people as "them" or "us "persists in the contemporary world (Singleton,1995; Rowlands,2020). For decades, archaeologists have used the same criteria to explain or assign particular material to a specific group of people (Chenoweth, 2009). Despite tracing the migration of similar origins of the people using cultural materials, some researchers doubt such methodology (Lightfoot et al, 1998; Silliman, 2005; Lucy, 2007). Nonetheless, this method has been used successfully in colonial and historical archaeology in examining social identities based on material remains.

These doubts arise because humans are dynamic, and identities change throughout an individual lifetime (Kintigh et al, 2014). To that end, an individual identity will be influenced by other identities. Thus, this dissertation employs some perspectives conceptualized by feminist theorists to explore the intersectionality of social identities (Springate, 2020). That is, identities influence each other and are cross-cut; hence an individual identity is multiple in nature and situational. This trajectory of intersectionality has been observed across contemporary societies where groups' experiences are influenced by other social categorizations (Fahlander, 2012; Moen, 2019). Empirical evidence shows that gender experiences will vary between social classes, race, age, and ethnicity, among other social categorizations (Conkey, 2017). Also, in some instances,

access to certain materials will be influenced by factors other rather than someone's gender or social identity, including family ties.

The emphasis on theory in archaeological research can be traced to the 1960s, with the introduction of processual archaeology (Hodder, 2012; Thomas, 2015). There was consensus among archaeologists on the need to develop hypotheses that would be tested using archaeological data. Archaeological theories emphasize a relationship between human activities with their physical environment and social organization (Johnson, 2019). The social organization produces materials used to adapt to the physical environment. Initially, archaeologists were interested in understanding cultural elements and their use for subsistence patterns. From the 1980s onwards, archaeologists started interrogating more pressing issues concerning historical and prehistoric societies. This interest led to an investigation of various social identities such as race, ethnicity, sex, gender roles, labour relations, and social status (Myrberg, 2009). This new archaeological research approach required a theoretical framework that addressed the above issues and how they change over time. This method led to the incorporation of Marxist theory in interpreting how different groups behave in society and how their actions are represented in the archaeological record (Peterson, 1999).

Marxist's theoretical framework is derived from the realization that even egalitarian societies have some forms of hierarchy (Shanks & Tilley, 1987; Matthews, 2005; McGuire, 2021). The Marxist perspective in archaeology is tailored towards interpreting how different groups in a society behaved and how their actions were represented in the archaeological record. This approach has been used to analyze different hierarchical

groups in past communities, such as labourers, the ruling class, and women, among other identities (Robb, 1998). As such, Marxist theories have always strived to explain group categories concerning the conflict. This trajectory is insightful while examining how social identities are maintained, negotiated, re-negotiated and re-enforced through time and space.

Nonetheless, this study employed two significant theories in examining how gender and social hierarchies' identities were expressed in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. The first theory was social identity theory (SIT), formulated by Turner and Tajfel in 1979 to analyze how social identities influence human behaviours (Hogg, 2016). They postulated that human behaviour is influenced by the identity group they belong to. Furthermore, people function and perceive others regarding their social group based on their own perception (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). As such, an individual will work to bolster their standing in a particular social group. In contrast, people negatively perceive those who do not belong to their group. This theory was critical in examining how social identities in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede sites influenced the acquisition, distribution, processing, consumption, and disposal of cultural materials in the archaeological context. Most importantly, the theory was used to capture how different groups competed for new spaces hence leading to changes in how social organization in terms of how gender and social hierarchies were expressed in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede.

However, this theory's major weakness includes its reliance on negative perceptions toward other groups in a social setting (Brown, 2000). Therefore, it does not tackle how different social identities perform various functions in maintaining the whole group. That

is, the division of responsibilities along social identities is fundamental to functioning social systems. At least in the past, these duties were along group identities, including gender and age. In some circumstances, some groups were exploited at the expense of others, such as observed through slavery and caste systems.

This study employed structural-functionalism in studying social identities in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. Although functionalism as a theoretical framework can be traced back to Aristotle's times, it gained prominence later in archaeology (Yaeger and Canuto, 2012; Novick, 2019). Initially, Darwin coined it in his explanation of survival in terms of functions (Green, 2009). He asserted that each part must function to aid the overall system for a society to survive (Hughes and Lambart, 2009). Besides, those systems that could not adapt were weak and ceased to exist (Cosej, 1975). Social Darwinists modified the concept in social sciences and claimed that societies survive through competition among different units, where some are eliminated. In their arguments, the effort to protect weak units leads to the collapse of the community.

The above ideas influenced later thinkers with notable ones, including Emile Durkheim, Robert Merton, and Parsons (Fisher, 2010). It was Parsons who popularized structural functionalism as a mechanism of analysis of different units in society. Therefore, the study employed the same concept in analyzing units reflected in social identities such as gender and social status. The study was premised on the fact that different social identities produce processes and consume other materials in some instances, which are reflected in the archaeological record. Therefore, by using cultural analysis materials as well as employing ethnographic methods in data interpretation, we can reconstruct social

identities such as gender and social status of the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

Processual methodologies especially those anchored on structural-functionalism perspectives were employed to understand how gender and social status influenced past society's adaptation strategies. For instance, labour division within the family level was advantageous in social institutions. On the other hand, in post-processual methodology, although social identities produce materials aimed at performing certain functions, they also process a symbolic meaning (Hodder, 1980). Therefore, to reconstruct the social identities of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede's prehistoric societies, this study sought to study archaeological materials' symbolic and functional meaning. However, these paradigms need to cover how different structures in a community can replace the weak ones. For instance, a family structure as a mechanism of acquiring resources is replaced by other structures, such as the education system.

Ultimately, the study employed middle-range theory to interpret archaeological records in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. In sociology, Robert Merton first proposed the middle range theory in the middle of the twentieth century (Pawson, 2017). This methodological and theoretical paradigm gained momentum in the 1970s, with Lewis Binford being the major proponent of this thought school. The rise of middle-range theories was meant to create a framework where archaeologists could infer past societies' way of life through the archaeological record (Shott, 1998; Collier, 2020). For decades, archaeologists have continued to explore how material culture can accurately explain the

past society's organizations, including social identities. Initial debates were predictably on the inferences that archaeologists can make from objects.

Binford (1977) envisioned a methodological and theoretical framework with two interconnected stages. The first stage is what he referred to as general theory, which was supposed to examine what influences social changes in a living system. The second middle range offered a link between the unobservable past that informed social change with static material in the archaeological site. Briefly, middle-range theory aims to study static matter in the archaeological record to infer the past's social dynamics. Since it is only present, we have static materials and dynamics; we can infer the past by employing ethnography. Thus, this study used middle range theory in Swahili and Luo communities' ethnographic research to interpret material records from Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has highlighted the importance of social identities in reconstructing the history of past societies' social organizations. The study objectives have been discussed concerning available literature, where different perspectives and debates concerning the study of gender and social hierarchies have been highlighted. Also, some studies have been done concerning gender and social hierarchies. The chapter has also explored theories employed in contextualizing research problems, collecting data, and analyzing and interpreting the findings.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This research applied multiple strategies in data collection and subsequent analysis. As such, processual and post-processual methodologies of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data were employed, such as spatial patterning of identity materials and symbolic meanings of material. These approaches were critical due to this study's nature, which required a complete understanding of how social identities in a society influenced resource acquisition, production, consumption, and disposal. As such, the correlation between techniques and interpretation is emphasized using ideologies proposed by processual and post-processual archaeologists and feminist perspectives. The aim of employing the above perspectives was to minimize generalization by using complementary strategies to interrogate social identities. To that end, I examined materials from different dimensions to capture gender identities and social hierarchies as reflected in the archaeological record at Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. The study concentrated on various material evidence to reconstruct the above social identities, including mortuary data, ceramics, stone tools, architectural designs, dietary patterns, and other cultural materials. In addition, the study examined how factors such as diversification of subsistence strategies, intensification of trade, cultural diffusion, and demographic pressure influenced gender and social hierarchies in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

3.2 Research Design

This study used exploratory and descriptive research designs to collect and analyze data. The researcher adopted the exploratory research design because little research has been done concerning the social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies of the above two sites. On the other hand, the descriptive research design was used since the study entailed ascertaining cultural materials to different social categorizations while emphasizing the gender and social hierarchies of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede societies. Therefore, descriptive design aided in describing materials associated with gender and social hierarchies in the above two sites under study. Thus, materials were described in relation to their shape, usage, material, and location. This study used the spatial patterning strategy of describing artifacts concerning where they were found to explore groups that used them. In order to make inferences and analogies, the study also employed ethnographic methods. To that end, ethnoarchaeological data of contemporary Luo and Swahili communities was carried out to contextualize and interpret cultural materials collected in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites, respectively.

3.3 Research Locale

The study investigated Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites located in Migori and Kilifi counties, respectively (Figure 3.0). Although they are located in two different geographical areas, the two sites exhibit characteristics of social complexity in terms of technology and other forms of development, albeit at different levels. For instance, Thimlich Ohinga is the most conspicuous dry-stone structure that dates to the fifteenth century in Kenya's Southwestern part (Onjala, 2019). The site corresponds with peopling of Lake Victoria basin. It is associated with different communities where the possibility

of vibrant internal trade is evidenced by various other materials showing diversified subsistence (Frahm et al., 2017). Therefore, Thimlich Ohinga forms part of settlements that intensified at the turn of the Second Millennium current era. However, the region has continuously been occupied for thousands of years (Tryon et al., 2012).

On the other hand, Gede is one of the essential city-states that rose through maritime trade from the ninth century (Kirkman, 1974). The site is unique in that it is located away from the shores of the Indian Ocean, unlike other city-states such as Malindi or Mombasa (Kirkman, 1954; Pawlowicz, 2019). Nonetheless, the archaeological evidence shows that Gede, like other Swahili City-states, had extensive contact with the regional and international region through Indian Ocean trade (Kusimba et al., 2019). Also, the city was prosperous and dominated by Swahili culture, just like Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Lamu. The town developed from wattle and daub houses to a stone-walled city with several mosques, public buildings, and administration blocks (Pradines, 2010). As such, the city offers a unique perspective on how it changed through time and space and subsequent effect on gender and social hierarchies.

Overall, both site locations offer different dynamics in terms of development and cultural change over time. Ultimately, the above two sites are located in different geographical areas and are influenced by different factors with varying development. Nonetheless, they provide material evidence relevant to illustrating how social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies in antiquity. These variations include the intensity of trade, level of demographic pressure, urbanization, cultural diffusion, and class system, among others.

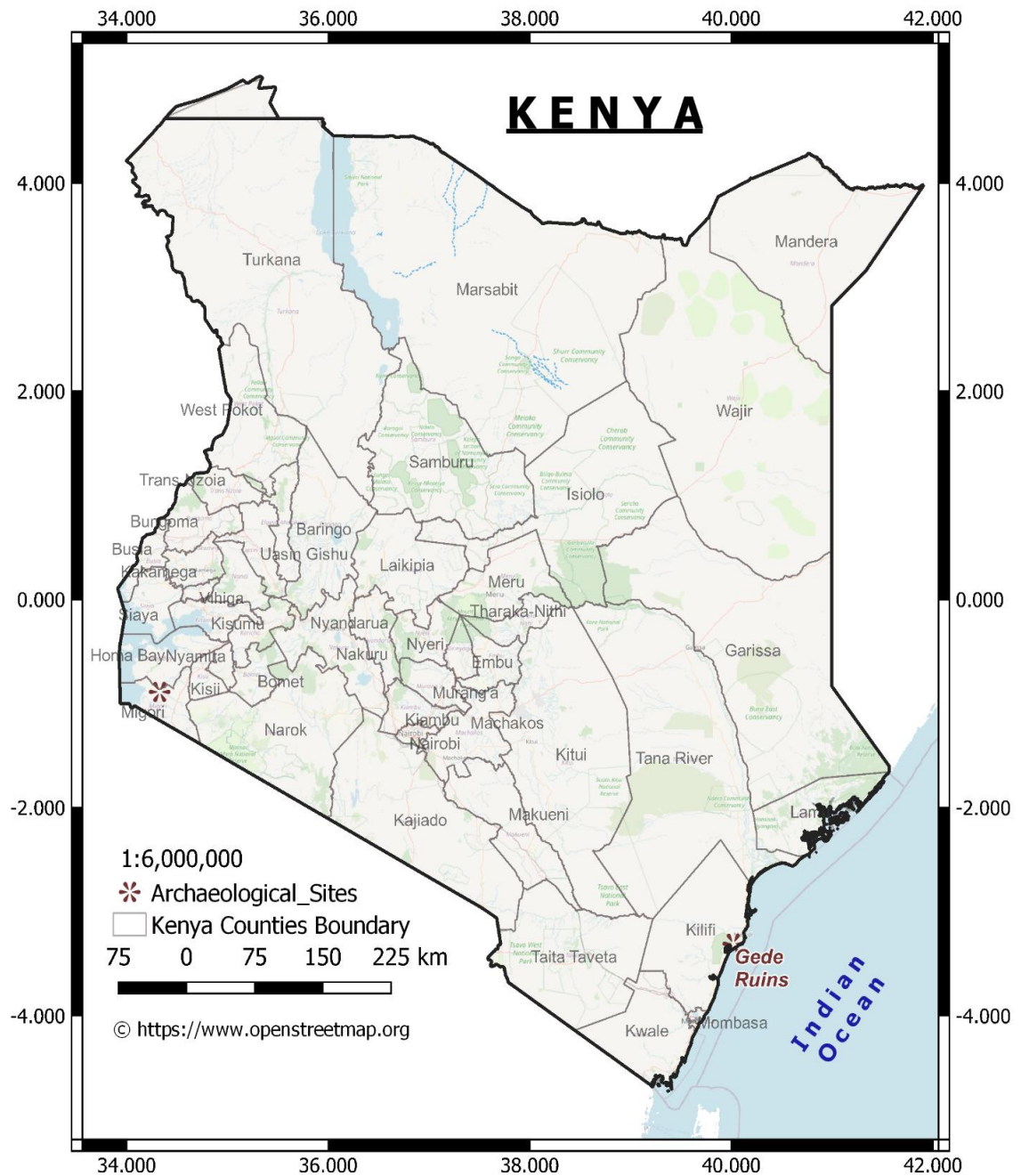


Figure 3.0 Showing Thimlich Ohinga and Gede Archaeological Sites

Map showing Thimlich Ohinga on Western Kenya and Gede East Africa Indian Ocean

(Source Source <https://www.openstreetmap.org>)

3.3.1 Thimlich Ohinga Archaeological Site

The site of Thimlich Ohinga covers around 46km square and forms part of the Lake Victoria basin Figure 3.1. The site forms a series and a design of dry-stone construction in the region, which spun back over five centuries ago during the great peopling of the region (Ayot, 1973; Kenny, 1977). The ethnohistorical, oral, and archaeological evidence is associated with the waves of Bantu migration in the region and, later, the Luo (Ochieng, 1974). In fact, the term "Thimlich" is a Luo name that means scary, and Ohinga means stone/earth walled (Onjala, 1994). The chronometric dating shows the site was first occupied around 1650 CE, with the last community moving out of the site in the post-colonial era (Wandibba, 1986).

Thimlich Ohinga contains four structures: K'Oketch, K'Akuku, K'Olouch, and K'Ochieng'. K'Ochieng' is the largest enclosure with walls that rise to over meters in some areas. Overall, all enclosures consist of house depressions, small enclosures, and short walls, with some having extensions. The most conspicuous site of K'Ochieng consists of walls with a height ranging from 2.5 to 4.2 meters and an average thickness of 1 meter. The evidence points out that the structure underwent modification in terms of extension in the course of its occupation in the northeastern section. Onjala (1990) argues that extensions, also common in other regions, could be attributable to population increase through natural causes and immigration.

They are circular five meters diameter depressions indicative of houses based on archaeological data uncovered during excavations, albeit of the more recent settlement of the site. The smaller structures inside the compound could have been used for food

storage and processing, as well as garden walls, kraals, and pens for cattle and small livestock. There, is an iron smelting area containing slug, furnace, and smooth stones (Onjala, 2003).

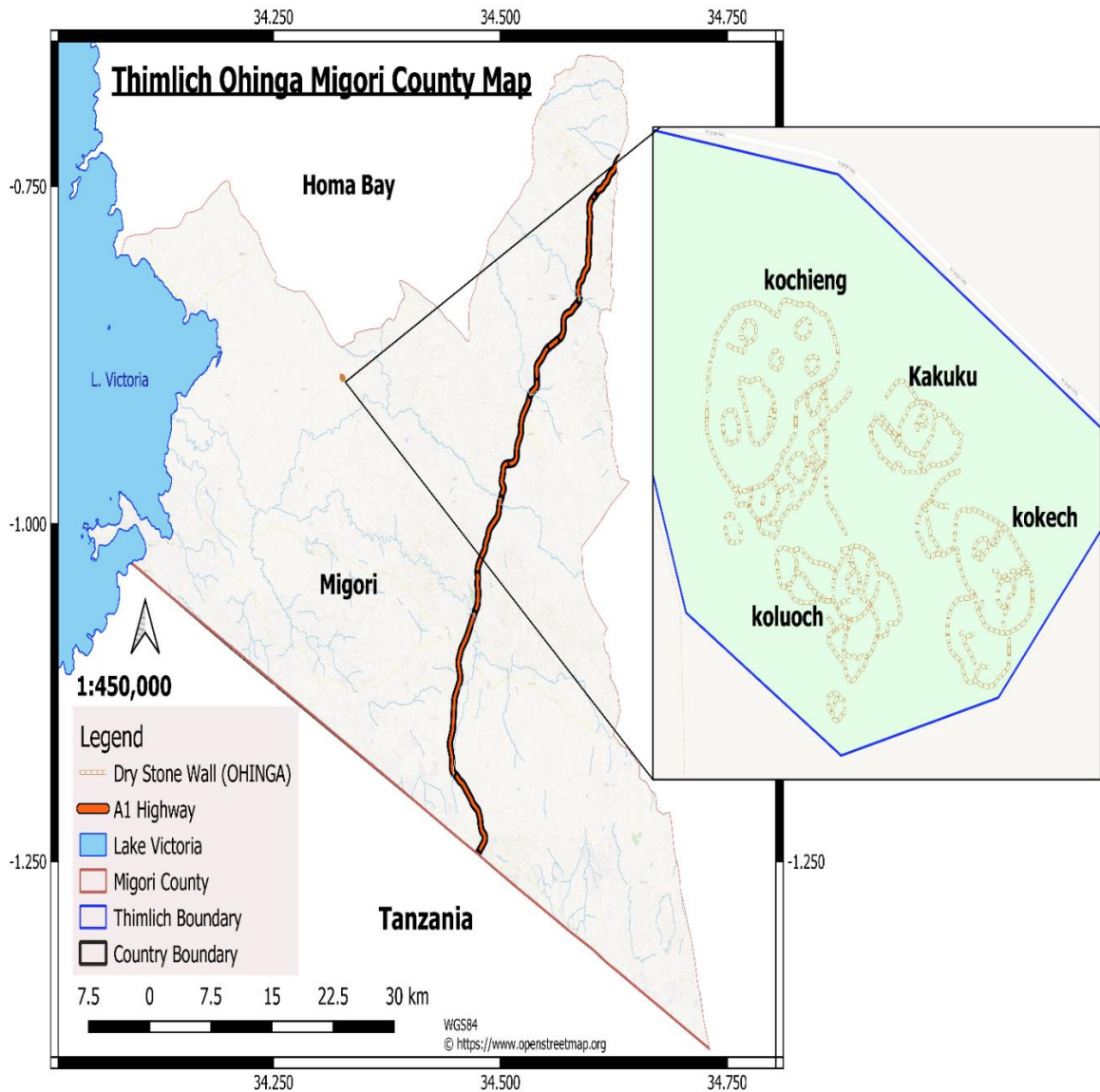


Figure 3.1 Showing Thimlich Ohinga

Source (<https://www.openstreetmap.org>)

The occupation of Thimlich Ohinga has been attributed to Bantu communities and later by Luo. Ethno history of the region also associates the site of Thimlich Ohinga with Bantu communities as the original occupiers of the site before being assimilated by Luo or dispersed by the influx of the Luo communities (Ayot, 1979). The evidence of Luo's occupation has been in the form of highly decorative pottery associated with contemporary Luo communities (Wandibba, 1986). Furthermore, some of the excavated houses correspond with how traditional Luo homesteads are set up (Onjala, 2019).

3.3.1.1 Geography and History of Thimlich Ohinga

Thimlich Ohinga is located within the Lake Victoria basin in current Migori County, the southeastern side of Kenya; therefore, it lies within an equatorial climate where temperature varies between 14 to 34 degrees Celsius and with rainfall ranging from 700mm to 1500 mm (Onjala, 2003). Furthermore, Lake Victoria influences the region's climate as moisture is converted into convectional rainfall, especially in the evenings, and the cooling effect. The lake basin region attitude varies between 1000 meters at the lake shore to over 2500 meters above sea level in some areas. Thus, the rain falls on hilly sides, leaving most adjacent areas dry most of the year. The region has undergone geographical and environmental changes caused by anthropological activities around Lake Victoria.

Schmidt and Avery (1978) argue that between 300 CE and 500 CE, the area around the Lake Victoria basin was dominated by Iron working communities. These communities exploited rich forest resources around the Lake Victoria shoreline before migrating further north, which can be attributed to the exhaustion of those resources shortly after

600 CE. In the north, they settled in open savannahs, and their subsistence strategy included pastoralism characterized by constant movement. Later, there was diversification, including crop farming and more permanent settlements. These transformations coincided with the decline of forest catchment areas around the Lake from around 950 CE (Lejju, 2012). Geographical evidence shows high precipitation and rainfall in the subsequent century before drying, characterized by various famines in the region for the next five centuries (Ochieng & Maxon, 1992). These famines include the Wamara famine (1390CE–1420 CE), the Nyarubanga famine (1560 CE–1625 CE), and the Lapanarat-Mahlatule famine (1760CE–1840CE) in some parts of present-day Uganda (Lejju, 2012).

3.3.1 Gede Archaeological Site

Gede, situated around ten miles South of Malindi, Kilifi County, is one of the most magnificent cities associated with Swahili civilization along the East Africa Coast (Baumanova, 2022). The name Gedi or Gede as it is commonly known, is a Galla name, a Cushitic ethnic group that lives along river Tana, which is about 85 miles away from Gede but adjacent to the Indian Ocean coast, means 'precious' (Kirkman,1974). Though the name Gede is of African descent, the architecture and materials collected from the site show Arabic culture. Nevertheless, like other coastal areas, Gede occupied native African people who influenced broader Indian Ocean cultures through trade networks (Ichumbaki, 2017). To that end, Gede developed and acquired some cultures, such as Islam, through contacts with Arabs, significantly impacting how their society was later organized. Therefore, the site was most likely established by Swahili people hence having a different name than the one it has now.

Historically, the site is unknown, and by the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese lived in Malindi, there was no mention of Gede in their writings. Kirkman (1974) speculates that the site may have been formed after a ruling family feud in Malindi; hence a breakaway group settled in Gede. Thus, we cannot reconstruct the history of Gede in Isolation since it was a product associated with other Swahili civilization city-states such as Kilwa, Mombasa, and Lamu, among others. The city was established around the 11th and 14th centuries; it was in the golden age when some of its mosques and palaces were built (Baumanova & Smejda, 2017; Pawlowicz, 2019). The area around the Friday Mosque, where the Palace is located, was a later expansion of the city. This area also contains big houses, which are characterized by multiple toilets as well as private wells. Therefore, the area was built at the height of Gede's prosperity, which corresponded with the intensification of international trade.

Besides big mosques, others are small, with some scholars speculating they were private. The Palace is adjacent to the great mosque, and it seems it was not roofed but open courtyards, typical architecture at the time, including other coastal city-states such as Kilwa (Colman, 1971; Vernent, 2009; Ichumbaki, 2020). The Palace has private quarters that have latrines and baths. Also, courtyards and a tomb are in close proximity to the Palace. What is unique in this area of Gede town is that it was part of later expansion (Pawlowicz, 2017). The implication is that it was built during the golden age of Gede city, which was characterized by the intensification of trade.

Gede, history is closely connected to the history of the Swahili coast that entailed maritime trade as well as other linkages with Bantu and Cushitic communities that lived

in the interior (Wynne-Jones & Fleisher, 2014). Archaeological evidence shows a combination of local and foreign goods traded from Asia, including China. This evidence has been attributed to deep wells found on the site. However, the presence of fresh water nearby has disputed this notion. The second theory is why the site was abandoned, and which is the most viable option is insecurity. Gede has no natural security advantages, making it difficult to defend against external attacks. However, archaeological evidence shows that the site was re-occupied later for one more time, where renovations were made to the old buildings before it was finally abandoned for good.

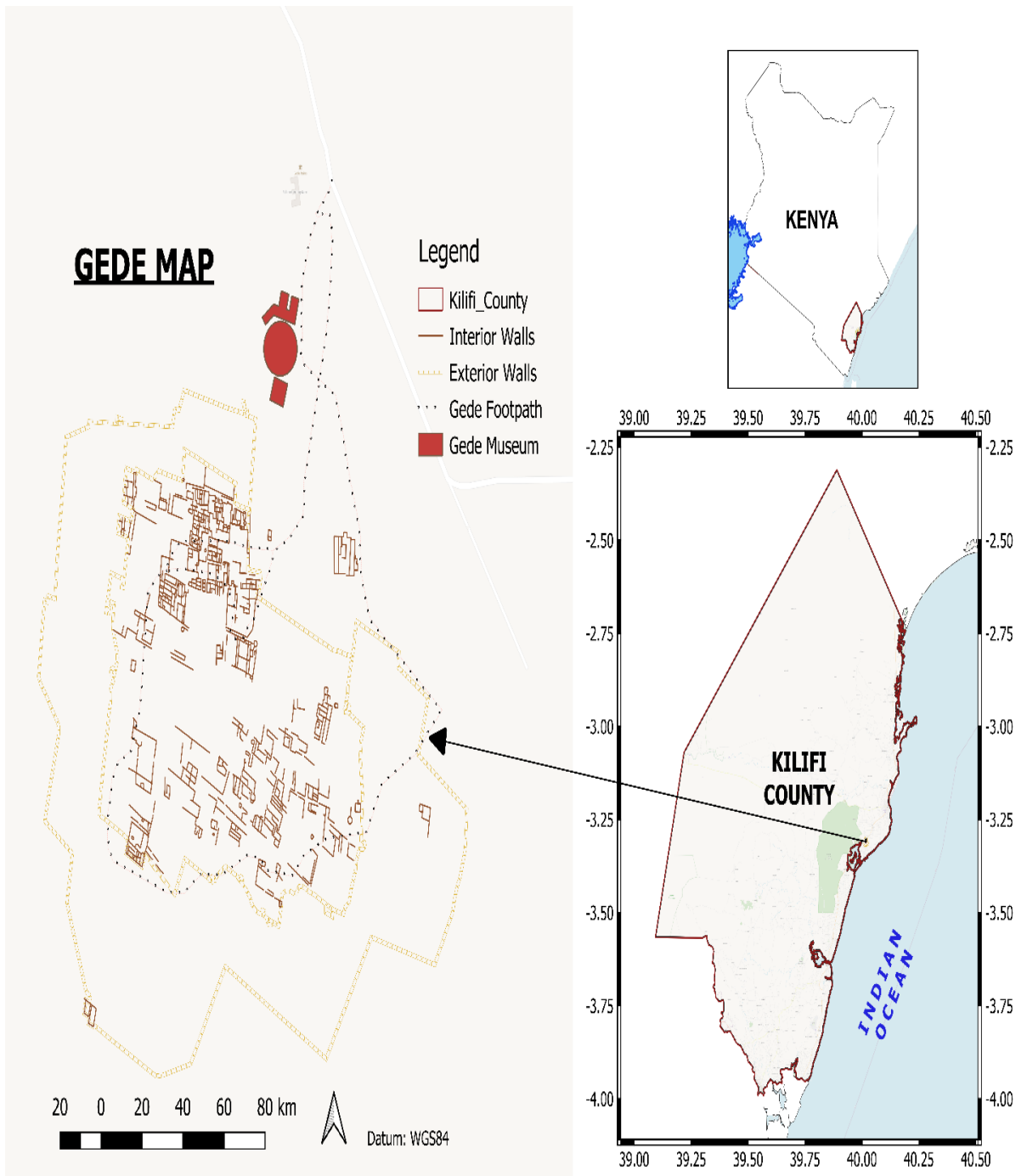


Figure 3.2 Gede Archaeological Site

Source; National Museum of Kenya retrieved January 20, 2020 from [https://www.museums.or.ke/gedi./](https://www.museums.or.ke/gedi/)

3.3.1.1 Geography and History of Gede Archaeological Site

Gede's archaeological site lies within the East African coast Swahili civilization that stretches from Somalia to Mozambique, covering a distance of over 2500 km in length (Chitick, 1982; Chami, 1998; Fleisher, 2013). The Swahili civilization entailed a complex trade network at regional and international levels. This trade link has been documented to exist slightly before the turn of current era (Ichimbacki, 2017). Gede is located around 4 kilometers inland, unlike other city-states located near the shoreline (Pawlowicz, 2017). Nonetheless, Gede enjoyed natural and built benefits associated with the Indian Ocean proximity. Notable benefits include surrounding fertile soils, which are conducive to crop farming. Also, the Gede community accessed marine resources through Mida Creek, a few kilometers from the city. These resources included mangrove forest wood for boat making and marine food, including fish (Pawlowicz, 2019).

Most importantly, Gede's proximity to the Indian Ocean meant it could receive visitors who relied on monsoon winds to sail into East Africa and back to the Islamic world and beyond within the same year. The site of Gede covers around 18 hectares in total size, with the outskirts of the city dominated by forests (Pradines, 2010). The town was probably occupied from the 11th century to the 17th century, where it reached its apogee around the 15th century (Pradines, 2010).

3.4 Data Collection

This study employed different data collection strategies that corresponded with the research objectives. These data collection strategies included desktop research as well as from Libraries in Nairobi and Mombasa. Also, the study examined excavated materials

from museums in Gede, Fort Jesus, and Nairobi Museum. Besides examining excavated materials, an extensive survey of the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites was undertaken. In the case of Gede, an excavation was carried out to complement previously available data. Lastly, ethnoarchaeological data from Luo and Swahili communities was undertaken. The data collected from ethnoarchaeology entailed materials the two communities use to express gender and social hierarchies.

3.4.1. Historical Sources

This study employed desktop research as the building block of other data collection strategies due to the nature of my study. The exploration of gender and social hierarchies' dynamics in East Africa is still at infant stage. This inadequacy in literature emanates from Eurocentric and androcentric views that dominated archaeological inquiries into East Africa from the beginning of the mid-twentieth century. The rationale was to investigate written sources concerning Swahili city-states, especially on social organizations. To that end, the study endeavored to examine written sources concerning how Swahili city-states were organized to make inferences concerning gender and social hierarchies.

3.4.2. Examination of Excavated Materials

The rationale was to identify which materials were used by people based on their gender and social hierarchies as reflected in material form. These materials included bones, ceramics, beads, and metal artefacts. Therefore, this dissertation was interested in identifying how the process of acquiring, processing, consuming, and disposing waste materials was influenced by gender and social hierarchies. This strategy was informed by

the realization that materials indicate social identities. Based on data examined from the Museum from the sites of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede, I made certain inferences concerning my other data collection methods.

In Thimlich Ohinga, material excavated inside and outside the wall showed minimal differentiation. As such, I concluded that my excavation of the site at the moment would not lead to new data being retrieved; hence I decided to rely on already available data while complementing it with the ethnoarchaeological study of the contemporary Luo community. On the other hand, Gede's data showed some variability of already excavated data. Unfortunately, the majority of available data was excavated on stone houses and around the city center hence inadequate in the scope of my study. Furthermore, the data that exists, which was collected from wattle and daub houses, needed more context as field notes were not available. Therefore, I decided to proceed and excavate the site in line with my research objectives.

3.4.4 Excavation

Based on already excavated materials, it became apparent that the data was not enough to reconstruct the gender and social hierarchies of Gede fully. Therefore, I embarked on excavating to collect more data on the above site and complement already available data. The excavations were to be done inside and outside the site's walls. During the survey of Gede, attempts were made to identify houses that functioned as basic units of identities and public spaces. The rationale was to explore the material implication of gender, for instance, at the house level of households in specific social hierarchies and compare them with others. A test pit was dug to examine the site's potential and get a snapshot of

material composition. From the data collected from the test pits, a total of six trenches were dug. Since this study endeavored to examine how gender identities and social hierarchy were expressed in material form in Gede, attempts were made to excavate areas based on social classes. Therefore, excavations were carried out in the inner wall, the second inner wall, and the outer wall. For analysis purposes, these areas have been named the house of "Mbarak," Khadija, "and "Katana," respectively.

3.4.3 Survey

A survey of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites was carried out to identify physical indicators of social identities. The survey concentrated on the architecture of both sites and visual materials as the basis of inquiry into gender and social hierarchies. Also, the spatial patterning of settlement and usage of private and public spaces was surveyed to reconstruct how social identities influenced planning decisions. Overall, the survey included documenting the complexity of both sites in anticipation of the accumulation of identity signatures. This dissertation hypothesized that the more complex society was, the more visible cultural materials were. That is Gede archaeological site has more physical evidence of social identities compared to Thimlich Ohinga, which is semi-egalitarian. Nonetheless, both sites were surveyed to factor in places yielding a higher percentage of gender and social hierarchy signatures.

3.4.5 Ethnoarchaeological Data

The study conducted an ethnoarchaeological investigation of the Luo and Swahili communities in Migori and Lamu County. Thimlich Ohinga contemporary Luo communities share some similarities with those who lived in Gede archaeological site.

Notable similarities include the economic aspects of mixed farming, the use of enclosures, and house layout. Therefore, the Luo of Thimlich Ohinga were suited to making inferences concerning Thimlich Ohinga archaeological site. Although Gede is located in Kilifi, the study employed a discontinuous model to carry out ethnoarchaeological work in Lamu because of its history. Gede culture, as depicted in the material record, resembles that of Lamu's contemporary Swahili culture in various factors, including architectural designs; maritime commerce; Muslims, non-Muslim Swahili, and social organization.

Therefore, the study used ethnoarchaeological data from contemporary Luo and Swahili communities to make inferences and analogies concerning their material culture in relation to social hierarchies and gender. As such, an intensive survey of 20 households in each county was undertaken. The survey aimed to understand how the above two communities expressed social hierarchy and gender materialistically. To that end, issues entailed resource acquisition, processing, consumption, and disposal were examined in detail. At the center of the investigation was how an individual social identity influenced/access to materials and implications on data records. The materialization of gendered and social hierarchical materials in contemporary Luo and Swahili societies was employed to make inferences. Thimlich Ohinga and Gede Archaeological sites.

3.5 Sample Universe

The study used a sample universe strategy to identify materials reflective of gender and social hierarchies from the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. This technique was employed since the study entailed the examination of different materials.

These materials included pottery, beads, metals, architectural designs, and household goods. The aim was to have a holistic view of how these materials expressed gender and social hierarchies in the two sites under investigation.

3.5.1 Sampling Techniques

This study utilized purposeful sampling techniques of the materials excavated in Thimlich Ohinga and Gedi archaeological sites. Therefore, the study identified and examined materials expressing gender and social hierarchies. This strategy was also employed in an excavation where the areas were selected because they could yield materials necessary for examining the above two social categories under investigation. To that end, materials such as beads, pottery, household goods, food remain, and metals were sorted for analysis. Most importantly, the study also concentrated on materials in private and public spaces as the basis for exploring how gender and social hierarchies were expressed in the above two sites. In the ethnography of Luo and Swahili, purposeful sampling techniques were also employed, where households were chosen based on their potential to demonstrate how gender and social hierarchies were expressed in material form.

3.6 Archaeological Analysis

The study relied primarily on archaeological materials excavated in both sites to explore how gender and social studies were reflected in material form. The materials were explored into different categories used as inferences for studying the above social identities. These categories included faunal remains, beads, ceramics, architectural designs, construction materials, and internal and external trade presence.

3.6.1 Faunal Remains

In many societies in Africa, dietary patterns are, in some cases, dictated by social identities, especially animals. The slaughtering of animals, preparing the food, its consumption, and disposal of remains entail elaborate procedures. Thus, the study examined faunal remains based on the distribution in order to correlate with space utilization. This is because different social groups occupied specific spaces in the past, and those costumes persist. Therefore, ethnoarchaeological data from the two communities was undertaken to understand consumer behavior and the implication of social identities.

3.6.2 Ceramic Analysis

The ceramics analysis was twofold, where the first instance was to establish gender roles in the manufacturing process and usage. Secondly, ceramics were examined to establish social status in both sites. Thus, ceramics were analyzed in various categories, including designs, manufacturing processes, trade or exchange signatures, spatial patterning, and wearing-out parameters. In the case of Gede, foreign and local ceramics were explored as the basis for determining their value.

3.6.3. Architecture

The architecture was examined for various signatures, which are insightful in exploring the archaeological record's social identities. The architectural designs were discussed to establish any external cultural influence affecting social identities. In addition, the complexity of structures was explored to identify the division of labor as well as social hierarchies. The materials used to manufacture those structures were studied to determine

intensification in labor. The size of the structures was interrogated to identify social status as a social identity in the archaeological record. This strategy of exploring architectural designs became crucial in identifying social hierarchies in areas where materials used to construct structures was similar. Moreover, how buildings were made to accommodate gender spaces and avenues where gender as an identity was formed, maintained, and renegotiated was important in this inquiry.

3.6.4 Beads

Beads were examined in order to identify various characteristics that are important in examining gender and social hierarchies. These qualities included how these beads were made, which is important in examining gender roles. Also, where the materials made were acquired from as the basis of exploring their value and status. The value was also analyzed based on whether these beads were made locally or imported elsewhere.

3.6.5 Mortuary Data

Where possible, the mortuary data were examined to explore gender and social hierarchies. At the center of this analysis was an investment made in the funerals of different individuals in society. The aim was to explore how funeral investments, including the construction of tombs, reflected individual social status. In some cases, the funeral practices are also reflective of a particular gender which was a central theme of investigation in this dissertation.

3.6.6 Usage of Public and Private Spaces

The study explored material composition in public and private spaces where possible to examine how social identities were expressed in the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede

archaeological sites. This trajectory was informed by the realization that gender is sometimes expressed differently in public and private spaces. For instance, in public spaces, there is an insistence on the ideal ways in which gender is expressed as compared to private spaces where reality often prevails.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

The study entailed different approaches to data collection, which are separate in terms of ethical considerations. The study examined materials already excavated in the museum during the previous research. The materials were handled carefully, and the researcher contracted technical assistants from the museum to guarantee that materials were handled correctly to avoid breakages and other damage. Secondly, the research carried out on the site was done following established good practices. For instance, touching or stepping on buildings or other structures was avoided unless it was indispensable. Thirdly, before the ethnographic study, the subjects were informed of the study's intention. Furthermore, researchers familiarized themselves with the cultures of the communities under study: The Luo and Swahili. This was to avoid issues arising from ignorance of other people's cultures or insensitivities from such misunderstandings. Lastly, excavation was carried out in areas and techniques tailored toward minimizing damage. All materials excavated were handled with care to minimize damage, and all excavation proceedings were recorded. After the analysis of materials, they were stored at the Gede museum.

3.8 Summary

The study's methodology has been discussed in detail in this chapter, including research designs. The chapter has justified the rationale for employing qualitative and quantitative

data collection procedures. Furthermore, all methods of data collection, such as desktop research, survey, the re-examination of collected materials, excavation, and ethnoarchaeological study of Luo and Swahili communities, have been outlined in this chapter. Also, types of data and sampling procedures have been highlighted in this study. Finally, ethical considerations that were undertaken during this research have been discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION, DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the archaeological investigation carried out at Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. The data for the above sites was collected from a survey, re-examining excavated materials, and excavation of the Gede archaeological site.

Under each site, I describe spatial patterning, architecture, and general distribution of visible features, including wells and walls. Also explained are stratigraphic sequences of each archaeological site where materials were recovered. The second phase of the chapter is a presentation of results and subsequent analysis. The data and analysis are discussed under the following categories: architecture, ceramics, beads, stone artifacts, metal objects, and animal bones. In each category, the data is presented in relation to identifying social categories related to gender and social hierarchy. Lastly, ethnoarchaeological data of contemporary Luo and Swahili communities is discussed in this chapter.

4.2 Thimlich Ohinga

Thimlich Ohinga is located around 160km South of Kisumu City and 100 km from Lake Victoria, respectively. The site covers over 45 acres in space and is dominated by four major enclosures. These enclosures are made of dry-stone technology and are characterized by watch towers and walls that are over one meter in thickness and up to 4 meters in height (Figure 4.1). The site was occupied from around the 15th century by

probably Bantu communities and later by Nilotic people (Onjala, 1994). Archaeological evidence shows that the site expanded through time, which can be attributable to the region's population increase (Odede, 2009). This could have happened through population growth or migration as the period the site was expanding corresponds with the peopling of the Lake Victoria basin through waves of migrations. Nonetheless, Thimlich Ohinga depicts a complex society at the time in the region. The complexity of Thimlich Ohinga is not limited to architecture but extends to other sectors, such as economic diversification. Therefore, this society engaged in different economic activities that required balancing resource exploitation and sustainable development.

Plate 4.1 Outer Wall of Thimlich Ohinga



This picture shows Outer wall of the dry-stone wall of Thimlich Ohinga (Picture by Author).

4.3.1 Survey and Description of Excavated Materials

During the site survey, some of the settlement's physical features were visible and relatively undisturbed. These features include watch towers, grinding stones, iron smelting areas, and livestock enclosures. The site, made of four enclosures (described in chapter three), has been expanded through time. The watch towers were strategically set up on certain areas of the walls to maximize visibility. These watch towers were also important as they doubled as pillars to support the walls, which were made using dry stones without mortar. On the inside of the site, the most notable features from the survey were livestock enclosures made using the same dry-stone technology. These livestock enclosures differed in size throughout the site and were often located near houses, as observed from visible features. The site's other notable features include grinding stones which are also feasible, as well as game engraving. Therefore, the preliminary survey shows that the Thimlich Ohinga community had elaborate space usage. Space usage was not only limited to the inner wall of the site but also expanded to other areas outside the settlement.

The archaeological evidence shows that the community practiced crop agriculture, and possible cultivation areas were outside the wall enclosures. Since agriculture requires intensive labor and management of soils, the community was probably involved in clearing virgin lands for cultivation as a mechanism for increasing their yields (Onjala, 2003). This type of soil management is a common practice in the region, as evidenced by ethnographic data. More so, livestock was grazed outside the enclosures with the possibility of them moving several miles away from the site in search of water and pasture. In the region, mitigation of diseases and droughts meant the constant movement

of people from one area to another (Gifford-Gonzalez, 2000). Furthermore, ethnographic studies of contemporary Luo culture show wall structures in other parts of western Kenya. In these cases, the structures are used mainly by sedentary communities whose primary production is usually crop production (Odede, 2006).

4.3.2 Context of Excavated Materials in Thimlich Ohinga

Thimlich Ohinga's archaeological site has been excavated and surveyed by several researchers. Among them are Wandibba (1986), Onjala (1994), and Otieno (2013) in the last four decades. The site has been excavated inside and outer walls with materials excavated, including pottery, beads, and wild, domestic, and fish bones. The occupation of Thimlich Ohinga ranges from 30 to 60 centimeters on average, where local pottery was the most prominent artifact excavated from the site. The level of occupation of Thimlich Ohinga based on excavated areas extends to about 60 cm deep in some areas. The material concentration on the site varies from one level to another in terms of frequency. Overall, the major materials recovered in this locality were beads, bones, potsherds, stone tools, and iron slugs. The concentration of materials varied from one level to another of these different localities. The potsherds were the most common artifacts collected from this locality. There was a high concentration of pottery sherds between levels 0-20cm deep. These pots were mainly made with organic quartz, which varied from coarse to fine quartz. The highest concentration of stone tools was concentrated at depths of 5 and 10 cm. as well as 50-60 cm. These stone tools were mainly made using rhyolite, quartz, chert, and quartz. The highest number of lithic materials recovered from these localities were made of rhyolite and quartz.

4.4 Gede Archaeological Site

Gede is one of the most well-preserved city-states, which is characterized by stone houses, wells, narrow streets, mosques, and tombs typical of Swahili civilization on the Eastern African coast. Unlike other city-states along the East African coast, Gede is situated away from the coastline, making it unique in its own right. The site is dominated by remains of wells and mosques, which is evidence of the influence of Islam. Also, a large house had multiple rooms with different amenities, such as private wells. As such, Gede's architectural design reflects local communities' ingenuity and influences from international trade, especially Islamic culture.

4.4.1 Survey and Description of Excavated Materials of Gede

The survey of Gede showed that indigenous communities probably founded the city at the turn of the second-millennium current era. Then, the City expanded over time through the intensification of regional and international trade and reached its golden age in the 14th century before its eventual decline in the seventeenth century (Pradines, 2010; Pawlowicz, 2019). At its height of development, Gede was characterized by the expansion of the city, especially houses that entailed private wells and, in some instances, self-contained rooms. At present, stone-made houses remain to dominate the Gede landscape, with a high concentration near “the palace.” This was the area of later expansion during the City’s golden age.

4.4.2 Excavation

Excavations in Gede aimed to excavate within a public and public context. This focus has become more common among social archaeologists interested in examining households’

practices, domestic and public production, gendered spaces, and social hierarchies (Wynne-Jones, 2013; Pawlowicz, 2019). In East Africa, household studies have often been supplemented by ethnographic data and interviews of contemporary communities. This is done to make inferences and analogies concerning the past societies' material evidence (Donley, 1987). To that end, ethnographic methods are important in complementing archaeological evidence as well as explaining non-observable human behaviors in material form (Lane, 2006). In East Africa and along the coast, there have been some extensive excavations of households in the last few decades. Notably, Kirkman (1974) and Pradines (2000) work on Gede, Wynne-Jones, and Fleisher (2013) on Songo Mnara and Chittick (1974) at Kilwa Kisiwani.

Recently, attention has been shifting from excavating stone-walled houses to daub and wattle houses in the Swahili civilization (Pawlowicz, 2019). Koplin was one of the pioneer scholars who concentrated on the non-elite's community that lived in wattle and daub houses in Gede. She excavated the site in the early 2000s to establish the commoners' lifestyle. Unfortunately, her work is incomplete, and field notes are missing, making it difficult to contextualize some of the excavated materials from the site. Based on the above observation, I carried excavation of wattle and daub as well as the stone wall of Gede from January -March 2022. The rationale was to complement already excavated materials, especially of the site's wattle and daub houses, which had not gained enough attention from researchers. The excavation was tailored to answer how the gender and social hierarchies of Gede were influenced by internal and external factors (as discussed in more detail in chapter 1). The excavation entailed six trenches in total, where two wattle and daub houses were excavated, and the stone-walled house. Overall, the

excavations, which were done in elite and none elites' areas, aimed to investigate how different social and economic groups within Gede society navigated gender issues and the accessibility of resources in relation to social hierarchies.

4.4.2.1 Trench 1 House of Khadija (GPS S03° 18' 44.4" E040° 01' 00.1")

The trench was dug in an area with less vegetation cover, hence the possibility of human occupation. I named this place “the house of Khadija” based on materials excavated from the site, which indicated it was a women’s space, as observed from an ethnographic study of Swahili. The house was located in an area adjacent to public amenities such as a public water well, Mosque, and a public path. To that end, I had speculated that the area was probably occupied by less affluent people in the city who could be described as “middle class.” My initial assumption was based on the presence of public amenities nearby and the part that the occupation was inside the wall in a well-guarded area, including a security fort. I identified the site during the previous survey, which was a few meters from the current path facilitating easy access. We cleared shrubs and other vegetation in the area and laid down a 2-by-1-meter trench. The trench was laid on the North-South projection, with the long side being the North-South. The datum point was located at the South West Corner of the tree at 60 cm from the ground height. The sieving point was located four meters from the trench, and excavation was carried out in 10 cm splits. After removing a thin layer of vegetation cover, we proceeded with to cm splits excavations. The first two layers of the area were dominated by organic soils, which were dominated by root mater and were mainly dark in color. The first artifacts to be collected were a few local and foreign ceramics. In the second level, loose organic matter was also persistent, and local pottery’s present. The soil was 10 YR 2/2 at this level, as shown in plate 4.11 below.

Plate 4.11 the first level of trench 1



Level 0-10 cm showing dark color that was dominated by organic materials (picture by the author)

Plate 4.3 depicting floor



This shows the building at fifty centimeters where floor of coral started appearing during excavation (picture by author).

Table 4.11 Stratigraphy Sequence and Associated Materials at Each Level

Trench 1 House of Khadija		
Levels (cm)	Artefacts & other excavated Materials	Comments
0-10	Local pottery collected on the surface. Foreign ceramic was also recovered from this level. There was This level was covered with dark grey soil characterized by organic materials.	This layer was dominated by plants roots.
10-20	Shells, local pottery, foreign ceramics, animal bones, shells glass was collected from this level.	The soil was still dark brown with organic materials.
20-30	Bones, local pottery, and shells made the soil more compact and turned reddish brown.	There was high concentration of shells at this level
30-40	Local Pottery, foreign ceramics, bones, and shells. Also, a kohl pencil was recovered in level, beads, beads, refuse bead grinders Scrubbing stone. In this layer, some coral stones appeared.	This material highly suggests a women space
40-50	Local pottery, foreign ceramics, shells, beads grinders, beads, glass, and bones. The	

	soil was still reddish brown and more compact. A notable feature was the presence of cowrie shells.	
50-60	Local pottery, foreign ceramics, shells, bones and ash appeared in this level. The soil was compact with coral stones.	
60-70	Local pottery was the prominent finds at this level, the presence of coral stones continued. Notable feature was presence of ash as observed in the previous level. The soil started turning dark greyish at this level. The soil was also very compact with few finds.	Appearance of foreign materials was very scarce at this level.
70-80	Few find local pottery in this level with disappearance of coral stones that had dominated previous levels.	Very scarce artefacts were recovered in this level.
80-90	Few local potteries in this level also appearance of some bedrock on the west side of the pit.	

90-100	Some local pottery, shells and bones were recovered from this level. The bedrock spread almost half of the trench hence we had to cut trench to 1-by-1 meter. The soil was loose and less compact was mainly dark brown and presence of ash and charcoal.	This level showed more activity with increase in artefacts as compared to the previous two level.
100-110	Local pottery, shells, bones were recovered from this level. The soil was loose and easy to excavate.	
110-120	Local pottery, fish, bones, shells and charcoal was recovered from this level.	
120-130	Local pottery, Charcoal, beads, bones shells	
130-140	Local pottery, bones, shells, quartz, and terracotta. The notable feature to be discovered in this level was a house pole which corresponds with wattle ad daub houses constructed in Gede.	The material concentration started to decrease at this level
140-150	A single local pottery was discovered in this level. The soil was more compact and very difficult to excavate.	
150-160	This level no materials were recovered hence there was no occupation.	We closed the trench.

4.4.2.2 Trench 2 House of Katana (GPSS03° 18' 39.7" E040° 01' 09.5")

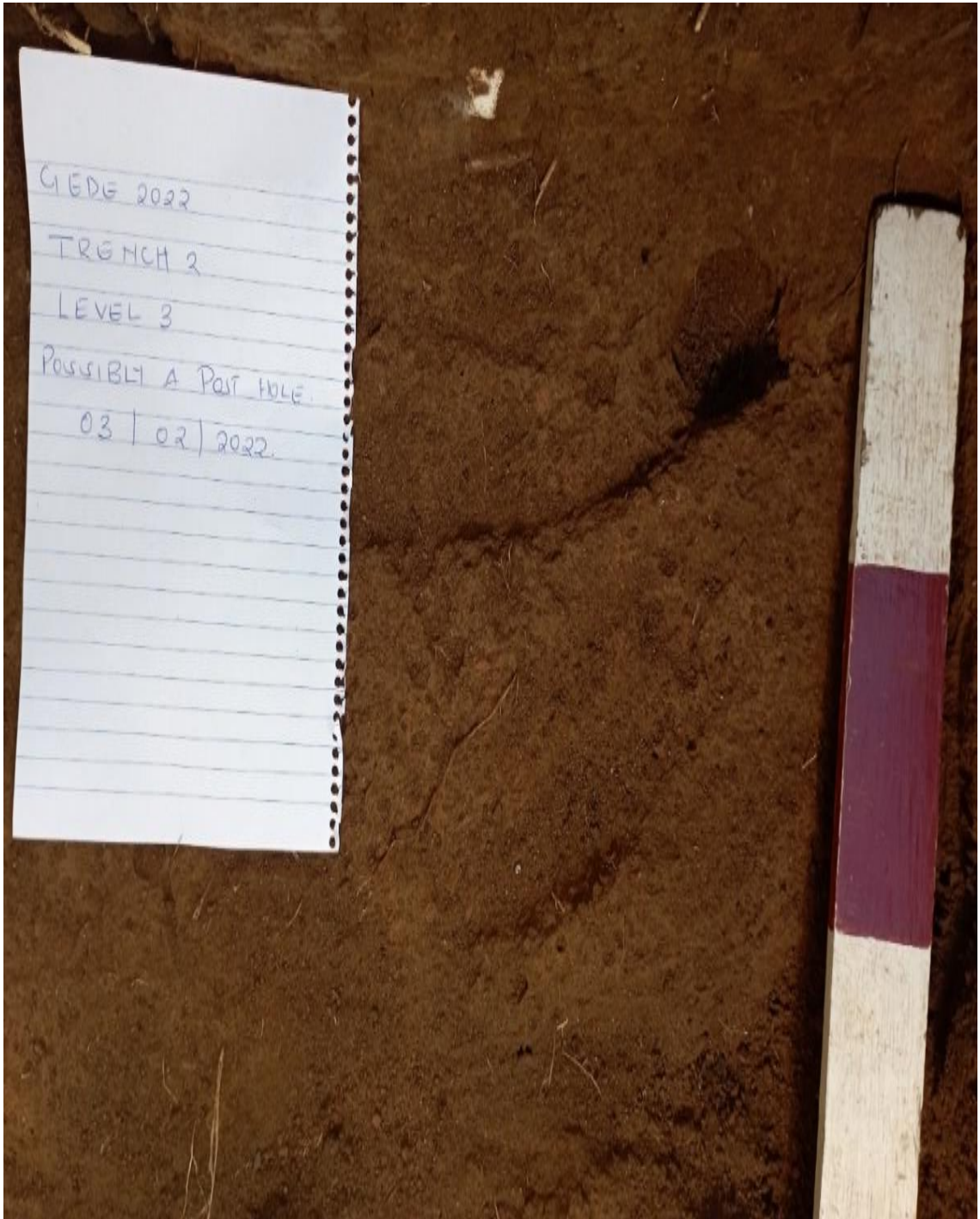
The house of Katana was dug on the outermost wall of Gede city at the East Side Gate. The area was chosen because it was near a public well and using the hypothesis formulated by previous scholars who speculated that the other wall was occupied by the commoners (Pradines, 2010; Pawlowicz, 2019). The aim was to explore variability in terms of gender and social hierarchies of the commoners, who were possibly the non-Muslim population in Gede. To that end, the house was named “Katana “to correspond with the local names of the current community who live in the Gede area. The site was selected in an area with less vegetation, which showed signs of human occupation. This was after the survey that was carried out on the site in 2021. We started by clearing vegetation cover in the area and setting up a shade. The trench was laid on the North-South projection, with the long side being the North-South. The datum was set on a tree and measured 60 cm from the ground on the North-South corner. The first two layers were dominated by organic material with few local potteries. The notable feature was that the South West region was soft and dark brown compared to South East which was brown and hard. The soil color in the northern part is HUE 7.5Yr 3/3/2, while in the southern part is HUE 10Yr 2/2.

The trench was rocky, with the eastern part having loose soil. The rocky part of the trench was speculated to have been a wall or house. Many materials were uncovered, such as pottery sherds, glass pieces, coprolite shells, and charcoal. There is evidence of two holes, possibly a post hole surrounded by hard ground, and termite action is also spotted. At this level, the possibility of post holes was noticed (Plate 4.12). In subsequent levels, there was evidence of potsherds on the surface of this level; shells and a rib bone are found.

There were a lot of local pottery fragments around the bone. At this level, there was also charcoal and pieces of copper. The soil was tightly compact, making it hard to excavate.

There are still rocky coral stones with the soil color of the previous level.

Plate 4.12 House of Katana



This was suspected as a pot hole in the house of Katana (Picture by the author).

Table 4.12: House of Katana Stratigraphy Sequence

Trench 2 House of Katana Stratigraphy Sequence		
Levels (cm)	Artefacts & other excavated Materials	Comments
0-10	The surface was generally clear, with few vegetation cover. We did not recover any material at the surface. Overall, this level yielded no material. The soil was dark brown.	This level was dominated by plants roots and other organic materials.
10-20	Few local potteries were recovered. This level of soil appeared browner, and there was a feature that looked like a post hole.	The roots started to decrease at this level
20-30	Pottery sherds, glass pieces, coprolites, and shells were all recovered at this level. The trench had two colors: the southwest was dark brown and soft, while the southeast was more reddish brown and hard.	The layer of a house on the south west side of the trench.
30-40	Shells, local pottery, and imported ceramics were recovered. The soil was uniform at this level hence reddish brown and very compact.	
40-50	Fragment and a high concentration of local pottery were found at this level. A rib bone was	There was an increased in

	also collected with shells. The presence of livestock dug was also identified as charcoal, a piece of copper.	local pottery collections in this level.
50-60	Local pots, shells, charcoal, and bones were uncovered at this level. The soil was reddish brown, and it was loosely packed.	There was an appearance of a large stone on the north west corner of the trench.
60-70	Local pottery, which had a unique pattern of diagonal incision, imported ceramics, ash, shells, and bones that were identified as fish bone. Dik-dik bones were also discovered with burnt and pebble stones. The soil between the rocks was very compact and reddish brown in color.	The concentration of bones in this level was very high as compared to other levels.
70-80	Local pottery, fish bones, and burnt bovid bones and continuation of ash from the previous level. The soil was reddish brown and very compact at this level.	This was probably a cooking area.
80-90	The ash continues at this level too. Local pottery and bones of fish and birds are recovered at this	The concentration of

	level. The soil was very hard at this level and reddish brown in color.	materials reduces.
90-100	At this level, local pottery persists, although in small numbers. The soil is reddish brown and very compact at this level.	
100-110	Only a few local potteries are recovered at this level. The soil appears more natural at this level. Therefore, the trench was closed.	

4.4.2.3 Excavation of House of Mbarak

The house of Mbarak is located on the North East of the Great Mosque in an area dominated by stone-walled houses. The house was located in an area which was dominated by other stone houses with visible walls, including elaborate backyards. The house was covered by vegetation, and most of the house is already collapsed. The only area where walls are still standing, although they have been restored, is the entrance of the toilet and store. The toilet of the House of Mbarak is the innermost part of the three rooms, which are next to each. Therefore, the house of Mbarak is built in the same design used by the Swahili community, where the innermost rooms are the furthest from the main entrance (Donley ,1987). The house of Mbarak has two toilets, one located on the outside of the house, which has been designated for visitors. Since this dissertation aims to examine material variability in public and private spaces to infer social identities, it was important to excavate different areas within the house. At that point, we aimed to

excavate the house's kitchen, store, backyard and outer room. To that end, trenches were dug and corresponded with those rooms.

4.4.2.3.1 Toilet (GPS S03° 18' 40.8" E040° 01' 03.4")

The toilet was the innermost room of the House of Mbarak at the end of three large parallel rooms. The trench 3 was set up in the innermost chamber, which was thought to be a store for ethnographic observation of Swahili houses. The trench was set up 1-by-2 meters, covering the entire excavation room. Nonetheless, excavation revealed it was a toilet rather than a store, as previously speculated. The toilet is located after the innermost room and is located opposite the bathroom. Initially, the trench was set 2-by-1 meters in the first one meter, and then it was cut into 1-by-1 meters due to the walls of the lower house. The excavation was carried out on the toilet side, which was on the right side of the main entrance of the three-roomed house. The floor of the first house where the toilet was built was fifty centimetres deep and made using corals (plate 4.13). This house toilet was built on top of another stone-walled house, as evidenced by the presence of another wall immediately after the floor of the house.

Plate 4.13 Showing floor of the toilet



Showing coral in the toilet (Picture by the author)

Table 4.13 showing stratigraphy of Trench 3

Trench 3 House of Mbarak Toilet		
Levels (cm)	Artefacts & other excavated Materials	Comments
0-10	This level had rubles from collapse wall and organic materials. surface finds was local pottery and imported ceramics	
10-20	The rubbles dominated this level. No finds were recovered from this level. The soil was generally white grey probably due to coral stones. A portioning wall appeared; hence we had to excavate through portioned trench by this wall.	The materials were very limited
20-30	This level had small loose rocks and few shells, and local pottery was recovered at this level; no finds were recovered from this level.	
30-40	The level had loose soil. Shells and charcoal were found in this level.	
40-50	The rocks were reduced at this level, and colour started to change. The portioned wall persisted at this level.	

50-60	Rocks in this level as well as compact soil. Shells, local pottery and bones were found at this level.	
60-70	The wall partition persisted at this level. The eastern part has more rubble as compared to the western part. Two parts of local pottery and sea shells were recovered from this level.	
70-80	The soil on the western side has no rubble, but the wall on the eastern side has. Finds include sherds, bones, quartz, shells and coal.	
80-90	A floor appeared on this level. Local pottery and bead were collected at this level.	Possibility of a floor of another house
90-100	The trench's western part has rubbles compared to the eastern side. Local pottery and imported ceramics are collected from this level. This part is a mixture of lime and soil.	
100-110	Bones, shells and local pottery are discovered at this level, and the soil is compact.	

110-120	A floor contains limestone, and the soil is very compact. An iron slug is found at this level, and imported ceramics are found. Other notable finds include cowrie shells and bone.	It appeared to have been the floor of the toilet
120-130	The soil started getting more compact and no materials were recovered from this level	
130 -140	The trench was closed at this level	

4.4.2.3.2 Trench 4 house of Mbarak Kitchen (GPS S03° 18' 40.6" E040° 01' 03.6")

This trench was set up in the fourth room, which was on the left side of three parallel rooms from the main entrance. The kitchen was situated on the left side of the main entrance and bordered the third room of the house. The kitchen was dominated by local pottery, those of foreign origin, charcoal, and ash. The most notable discovery in the kitchen was ostrich shells, fish bones and a giant jawbone of a camel. Also, in the kitchen, an almost complete pot which was for storage was excavated in situ on level 9 (plate 4.14). The trench was set 2-by-1 meters inside the room which was visible through protruding walls. At first, the pot was partially visible; hence we expanded the trench by fifty centimeters in order to extract the pot. The pot was found near more bones of domesticated animals, mainly goats, camels and cattle, which were relatively well preserved compared to other excavated areas.

Plate 4.14 Trench 5 Showing Pot in Kitchen



This diagram shows a whole pot excavated in situ (picture by author)

The most interesting feature of the kitchen is that it was built on top of a wattle and daub house. The house was dominated by local pottery, fish shells, wild animals, especially

dik-dik bones, and the absence of foreign ceramics. Notable features included post holes in an area with a lot of ash; hence, evidence that the area was also used for cooking food (Figure 4.57). Nonetheless, stratigraphy shows that the wattle and daub house being used to prepare food was more of a coincidence that both kitchens were built on top of each other. However, we cannot rule out being occupied by people of the same lineage who acquired wealth at Gede and thrived through economic development fueled partly by local, regional, and international trade.

Plate 4.15 Wattle and daub House Pole



This figure shows post holes of the wattle and daub house that existed before the construction of stone walled house (Picture by the author).

Table 4.14 Stratigraphy Sequence of Trench 4

Trench 4 House of Mbarak		
Levels (cm)	Artefacts & other excavated Materials	Comments
0-10	Local pottery some collected on the surface. This level was covered with dark grey soil characterized by organic materials. There are a lot of loose rocks at this level; materials found here include local pottery and ceramics.	This layer was dominated by plants roots.
10-20	Rocks and organic materials also dominate the level. Local pottery was recovered from this level; there is the presence of charcoal.	
20-30	Local pottery is also recovered at this level, and shells and charcoal persist at this level.	
30-40	The rocks started to decrease at this level. There was the presence of charcoal at this level and local pottery. Also, imported ceramics, glass and pebbles were excavated from this level. A notable feature was the presence of ash at this level.	
40-50	Cowrie shells are collected from this level together with local and imported ceramic. The	

	soil is very compact at this level, and presence of ash.	
50-60	There is the presence of local pottery and imported ceramic, and grinding stone was also recovered from this level.	High level of concentration of local pottery in this level.
60-70	High concentration of local pottery at this level, also the presence of large jaw bone (probably of the camel is found at this level). Shells and glass are also recovered from this level. Charcoal and ash persist at this level.	
70-80	Pottery is also found in these levels well as the concentration of small bones.	
80-90	Few potteries are found at this level; notable features include a post hole at this level.	Possibility of wattle and daub house at this level
90-100	Local pottery found in this level although in few numbers.	
100-110	No finds, it was sterile level hence we closed it.	

4.4.2.3.3 Trench 5 Backyard (GPSS03° 18' 40.6" E040° 01' 03.6")

This trench was dug in the backyard of the house. The aim of excavating the courtyard was to explore the variation of materials in relation to the usage of spaces in the house of Mbarak. The backyard trench was initially 1-by-2 meters and was set up at the center of the yard. The yard was divided from other houses by walls on the north side hence was an open area where household activities such as washing were carried out. After the ninth level, a part of the drainage system was discovered (plate 4.16). This drainage system corresponded with those observed in Islamic towns where washing is part of their culture. Since only one part of the drainage system was visible, the excavation had to contain the whole drainage system to explore the extent of size and technique employed to construct. Therefore, the trench was extended to 2-by-2 to explore the drainage system's extent. The drainage system had a similar feature to that visible in the "palace" building. This drainage made of stone pebbles was one and a half meters deep and about 70 centimeters in diameter. The excavation procedure and critical findings of trench five are discussed here below:

Plate 4.8 the surface of drainage System



The figure above shows the top part of drainage part system (sink) when it was first spotted during excavation. (Picture by the author).

Plate 4.9 Extension of Trench 5



The above picture was taken during expansion of trench 5 in order to explore the extent of the drainage system. In term of width as well as the general design. (Picture by the author)

Plate 4.10 Sink Pit



The above picture shows the upper and cross -sectional parts as the drainage system after extension of trench five. (Picture by author)

Table 4.15 Stratigraphy of Trench 5

Trench 5 the backyard House of Mbarak Materials Sequences		
Levels (cm)	Artefacts & other excavated Materials	Comments
0-10	The first layer was dominated by loose soil, humus, and roots, and some findings included fish bones and potsherds, and the soil was generally dark brown.	
10-20	The blue/white imported ceramics, local pottery, shells, and bones were recovered at this level. The level was also dominated by stones at the end and started changing to a lighter brown.	There was high concentration of local ceramics in this level.
20-30	There was a lot of coral hence a possibility of a floor at this level. Metal, shells, bones, animal teeth, imported ceramics and bead grinder were also recovered at this level. The soil remained as that of level two.	
30-40	The presence of big fish bones, imported ceramics, local pottery, beads, glass, and shells was recovered at this level. The soil started to change to reddish brown at this level.	

40-50	Presence of a stone structure that looks like a floor was exposed on this level made of coral and lime. However, the soil change after the breaking of this level. Local pottery, glass beads, bones and shells were recovered at this level.	Very little materials were recovered in this level.
50-60	The part of a sink pit is exposed at this level which initially looked like a floor on the previous level. Shells and local pottery are recovered at this level. The soil is a mixture of reddish brown, light brown and dark brown. The findings include fish bones too.	The sink pit was made by pebbles with a hole at the center for putting dirty water hence it acted as a drainage system
60-70	The trench was extended from 2 x 1 meters to 2 x 2 meters. The excavation of the extended area, which primarily aimed to expose the sink pit in total, was done at 20 cm per level. The first level contained humus and roots; key findings included bones, shells, and imported and local ceramics. The soil started to change from dark to light brown. The second level of the	

	<p>extended pit contained rubbles, bones, local pottery, and shells. There was also the discovery of ornament at this level, the iron slug. The third level of the extended section revealed the whole sink pit, including where dirty water was channeled to.</p>	
70-80	<p>The excavation was done without interfering with the sinkhole. The soil was very impacted at this level, and the materials recovered were mainly local pottery and imported.</p>	
80-90	<p>The soil is this level was also compact and hard. There was the presence of rubble where local and foreign ceramics were unearthed. Also, glass and imported beads were recovered at this level. The soil was reddish brown at this level.</p>	
90-100	<p>The soil was compact at this level and of the same color as the previous level. The</p>	

	findings included beads, local and imported pottery, shells, glass, and bones.	
100-110	The soil is compact and hard; it was also of the same color as that of the previous level. The key findings include imported pottery, animal teeth, glass bones, and charcoal.	
110-120	The soil is compact but loose. The key findings include local pottery, bones, glass, shells, and daub; in this level, few rubbles are observed. There is a possibility of different occupations at this level.	
120-130	The soil is loose at this level. The materials recovered from this level include shells, bones, daub, and charcoal.	The concentration of materials reduces in this level.
130-140	The soil continues to be loose at this level. The materials recovered includes charcoal, bones, daub, local pottery and glass.	The concentration of materials continue to decrease
140-150	The soil is compact and hard and there is concentration of charcoal. Local pottery,	The materials are found in the area where there is high

	bones, beads and daub are found in this level.	concentration of charcoal.
150-160	The soil is soft at this level. Materials recovered here are daub, local pottery, beads, and bones. There are few cowrie shells at this level.	
160-170	The soil is soft and easy to gig with a high concentration of charcoal. The soil color is a mixture of reddish and blackish brown. The materials recovered from this level include local pottery, glass, daub, beads, and bones.	
170-180	The soil is soft at this level, and the color of the previous level persists. The daub, local pottery, Quartz, shells, bones, and beads are recovered in level. Notable finds include chine ceramic dates around the 11 th century.	There is high possibility this was the first occupation of the site.
180-190	The soil is divided into two categories. The area around the southwest is soft with a high concentration of charcoal, and the area on	

	the post is very hard. This level has some coral stones.	
190-200	A lot of daub dominates this area; materials such as local pottery bones are also found. The soil at this level is very compact.	
200-210	The soil is very hard and compact at this level. Key findings include bones, glass, shells, and local pottery.	
210-220	The soil at this level is soft and also compact. There is an appearance of the rock in the part of the trench. Key findings include foreign ceramics, shells, and local pottery.	There is increase in materials found in this level
220-230	The soil is soft and dark red at this level. There is evidence of local pottery, glass, imported ceramics, and iron slug, which is evidence of iron smelting.	
230-240	The soil is very soft and loose at this level and is red-brown in color. The finds include glass, local and imported pottery, and shells.	

240-250	The soil is loose and quickly dug, and key findings are local and imported pottery, shells, broken beads, and charcoal.	
250-260	There are different types of soil, including dark, red, and light brown. The key findings include bones, charcoal, imported pottery, iron slug, and beads.	The evidence of iron smelting persists
260-270	The soil is compact and hard and is dominated by reddish brown in terms of color at this level. The local pottery shells were found at this level.	There is decrease in material in this level
270-280	The soil is hard and red at this level. The finds include local pottery, shells, and bones.	
280-290	The soil continues to be red and compact very few finds at this level. The soil appears to be more natural.	Very few finds in this level
290-300	Sterile with no finds of any kind.	

Trench five was the deepest and broadest and yielded the most materials collection compared to other sites. Since this was a backyard near other houses, it is likely that it was also a common area. That is a common court where different activities were carried

out, especially feasts, as evidenced by open data collected and two sink pits in close proximity.

4.4.2.3.4 Trench 6 Outer Room (GPS S03° 18' 40.3" E040° 01' 03.5")

This room was the first room from the house's main entrance and the trench and was set in the middle of the house. At first, a 1 by 1 meter trench excavated and later expanded after the second level to 1 by 2 meters in size. In this area, most materials which were recovered from the area were mainly local ceramics, although there was a considerable number of imported. Also, bones of animals, especially domesticated ones, were recovered in this room hence showing the sign it may have been used for dining purposes when the house was initially built.

At the surface, it seems after collapse of Gede, the area was used for iron smelting as evidenced by the presence of iron ore. The implication is that the next occupation of the house mainly used it as an area for iron smelting rather than living. This is supported by the fact that only a few artifacts were collected in this layer to suggest that it was an area where it was accessed for certain activities.

Plate 4.17 Showing Spaces



The holes shown in this plate were an area which was where a broken half pot was excavated. This pot was probably used for water storage based on its designs, and the context which was found shows the sign the house was abandoned in a hurry. (Picture by the author)

Table 4.16 Associated with Trench 6

Trench 6 House of Mbarak Stratigraphy Sequence		
Levels (cm)	Artefacts & other excavated Materials	Comments
0-10	The rubble, roots, humus, fallen leaves. Key finds were An iron slug was collected on the surface, and some local pottery imported pottery and bead grinders. There was also ash.	It seems there was collapsed building
10-20	Rubble and a lot of rocks were in this area, and key finds were local pottery, bones, sea shells, and cowrie shells.	The possibility of a falling ceiling at this level based on rubble
20-30	A lot of rocks also found in this level .materials collected includes local and imported ceramics	
30-40	A floor was found in this level and ash on the north western side of the trench	High possibility it was not a guest room in this occupation
40-50	A big hole was located in the Eastern part of the trench. A high presence of ash is found in this	This occupation was more likely after the

	area, and local pottery and imported pottery were collected from this level.	abandonment of the house by the elites.
50-60	A high presence of ash is also found at this level. Also, charcoal was found at this level. The hole has an almost intact pot found in situ. Also, a lot of lime is found around the hole. Local and foreign ceramics are also recovered at this level.	
60-70	The soil is loosely packed at these level, and key finds include pottery and glass.	
70-80	The soil is mixed with lime. The finds recovered here included local and foreign ceramics as well as glass.	
80-90	The soil was loosely packed in this level, local pottery was collected in this level.	
90-100	There are very little finds which are local pottery only at this level.	
100-110	There were no finds in this level hence it was sterile in this point	

4.5 Ethnoarchaeological Studies

This study was carried out at Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites as a strategy for making inferences and analogies concerning their social organizations. As such, an extensive survey of twenty households in Migori and Lamu counties was undertaken. The central area of study was how gender and social hierarchies were expressed in material form in contemporary Luo and Swahili communities. To that end, the study strived to understand the process of acquisition, processing, consumption, and disposal of resources in relation to an individual gender and social hierarchy in the two communities under study. The area of interest included gendered dietary patterns, division of labor, funerary practices, and usage of private and public spaces. The study aimed to explore the variability of materials as a mechanism for inferring the distribution of materials in the sites of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede in relation to their gender and social hierarchies.

4.6 Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

This section presents data and subsequent analyses as well as discussions of the results from archaeological materials from excavated materials at the national museum, a survey of both sites, and those I excavated from the Gede archaeological site. The data is presented under the following categories: architecture, ceramics, beads, stone artifacts, metal objects, and animal bones. In each category, the data is presented in relation to identifying social categories related to this study, such as gender and social hierarchies. That is to bring out signatures reflected on how gender identities and social hierarchies were expressed in the archaeological record.

4.6.1 Thimlich Ohinga

This section contains primary data from Thimlich Ohinga archaeological site. That is field notes, reports, and excavated materials of the Thimlich Ohinga archaeological site. The presented data includes survey reports, pottery, bones, beads, metal, and lithics. These archaeological materials were examined in terms of their temporal and spatial distributions. The aim was to explore the above cultural materials and explains how Thimlich Ohinga's gender and social hierarchies were manifested in the material record and subsequent change through space and time. Most importantly, the data presented here, mainly from examining excavated materials, aimed to infer the social organization of Thimlich Ohinga society.

4.6.1.1 Thimlich Ohinga Ceramics

The centrality of pottery in examining social organizations, especially identities of pre-historic communities in East Africa's Great Lake regions, is unequivocal. In the Great Lake region, ceramics has been one of the most common archaeological pieces of evidence that gives us clues concerning the region's economic, technological, and relative chronologies. Therefore, ceramics has been credible in exploring Great Lake region society's transition from Early Iron Age to Late Iron Age. A shift in the use of incised urewe ware to roulette-decorated ceramics documents this transition. Nonetheless, archaeologists have often criticized ceramics analysis techniques for lack of progress. Stewart (1993) argues that ceramics have been used largely using cultural and historical models of migration and ethnic inferences. This approach, she argues, has colonial overtones which limit ethnic identities and social change simplification.

With that being said, ceramics are important in examining Great Lake pre-historic societies, including Thimlich Ohinga. Initially, ceramics types were closely related to ethnic identities. Therefore, ceramics were used to examine migration, especially of Bantu communities in the Great Lake region (Ehret, 1984; Huffman, 2009). Karega-Munene (2003) has raised his reservation concerning this approach, which he perceived as overgeneralizing ethnography in interpretation. Lane (2004) perceives the usage of ceramics in interpreting complex identities as problematic. Other archaeologists have also raised this concern (see Kusimba and Kusimba, 2003). Archaeological research has shown that identity is not static; sometimes, it is situational and opportunistic (Jones et al, 2012). Hodder (1982) also challenged the notion of correlating materials with social identities. He noted that objects are active agents that compete for economic, political, and social influences. Dietler and Herbich (1998) demonstrate how ceramics identities show intra-house discourse.

This dissertation combines methods of ceramic ceramics, including descriptive and comparative analyses. Nonetheless, to address the shortcomings of the above processual strategies of ceramics analysis, this dissertation borrows from Dale and Ashley's (2010) strategy of *chaîne opératoire*. This strategy incorporates a process of understanding the meaning of manufacturing, production as well as the morphology of ceramics. Therefore, the above consideration has been incorporated in examining Thimlich Ohinga Ceramics.

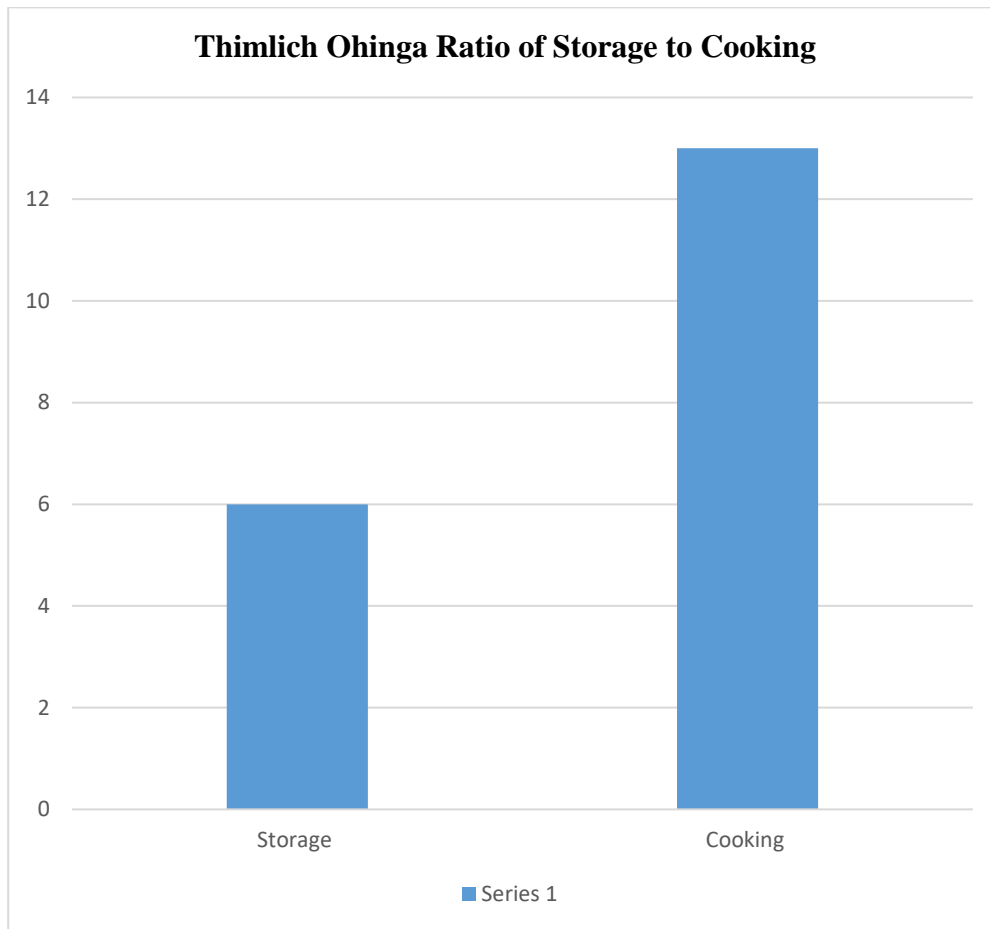
The potsherds were the most common materials which were recovered from the Thimlich Ohinga site. These pots were used for different functions: storage, cooking, and rituals. The archaeological evidence shows that their usage influenced their abrasion.

Nonetheless, the investment in terms of labor (during manufacturing) of these potteries differed, as shown in the table bellows. Motif executions, motif frequency, thickness, and material used to manufacture them. In manufacturing, some pots were made from fine grains, thicker, and more decorated than others. These differences could be attributed to usage differences and symbolic functions, as depicted by varying decoration techniques and frequencies.

Table 4.1 Pottery Analysis Thimlich Ohinga

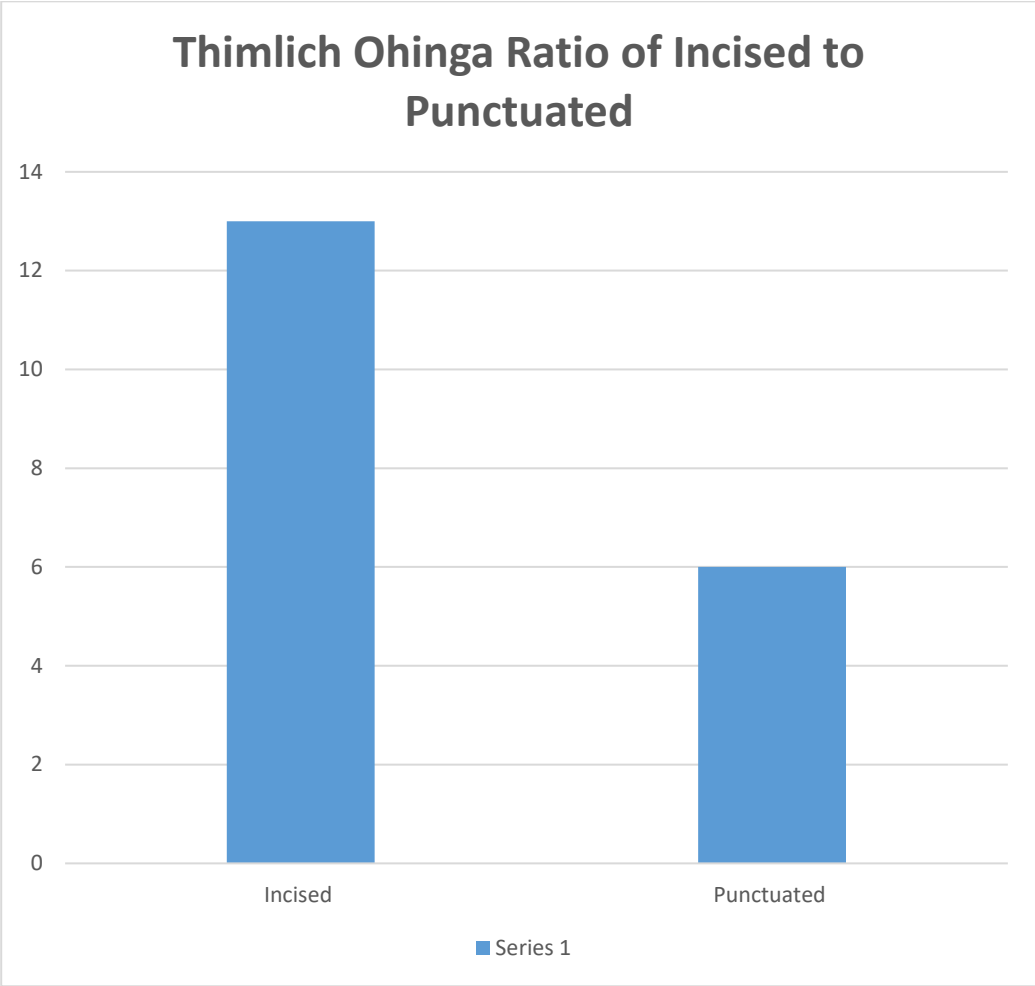
The above table shows various functions and manufacturing techniques of some of the ceramics collected from Thimlich Ohinga. Attempts are made to infer eating habits and the subsequent cultural context of such habits. In Thimlich Ohinga, ceramics morphology for cooking and serving is insightful in exploring social relations. In that case, cooking ceramics in Thimlich has been examined in relation to social hierarchies. That is bigger ceramics for “feast,” which elites would use to cement their status (Mills, 2007). Secondly, ceramics morphology was used to examine the social ideology of rank in Thimlich Ohinga society. Central to this inquiry was exploring whether Thimlich Ohinga society ideology was based on solidarity, equality, or intimacy. Thus, ceramics sizes in the case of Thimlich Ohinga are examined in terms of how they portray social hierarchies. Insoll (2003) argued that social ranking is most likely based on quality rather than quantity. The analysis shows that pots mainly used for storage motif execution were neat, while for cooking were generally rough.

Graph 4.11 Showing storage and Cooking Ratio



The majority of pottery recovered from Thimlich Ohinga was used for cooking as compared to storage.

Graph 4.12 Showing Decoration Ratio



The punctuated pots were rare as compared to incised as showing the table above.

Thimlich Ohinga Punctuated Pottery



This design of motif design had the lowest percentage in Thimlich Ohinga collections of pottery (Picture by Author).

Thimlich Ohinga Pot Rim

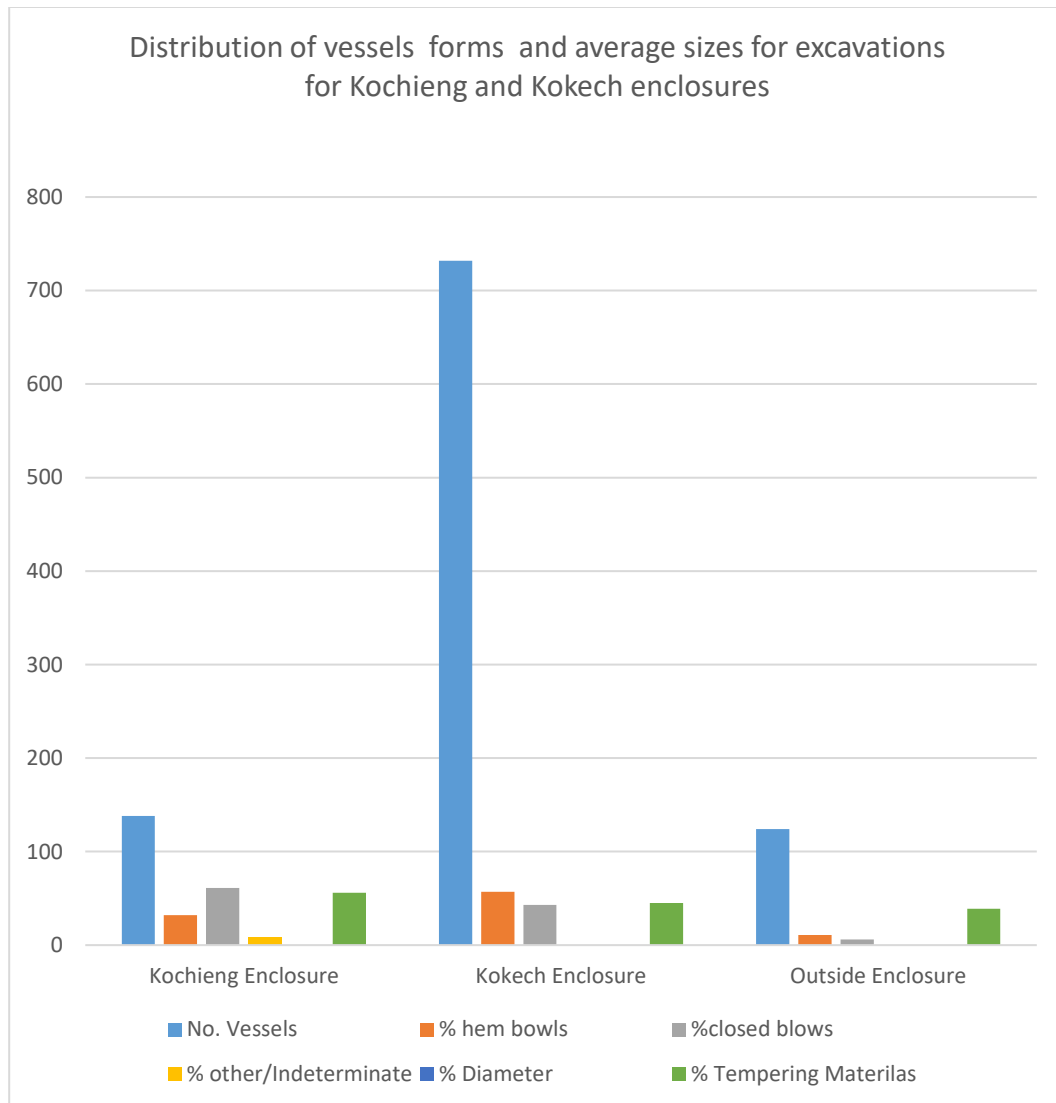


This was probably used for storage as it lacks soot that dominate cooking pots (picture by the Author).

Ceramics and Implication on Social Identities in Thimlich Ohinga

The central role of ceramics within archaeological discourse has been confined to providing vital information on technological aspects such as manufacturing techniques, chronology, and migration (Kingery et al., 1976). Since this study aims to explore identities and how they are presented in the ceramics of Thimlich Ohinga, attempts were made to explore their variations. The role of ceramics as chronological tools or indexes of past ethnolinguistic identity is central to archaeological inquiries (Pikirayi, 2007). The types of pottery and their decorations are still powerful instruments in defining prehistoric populations' archaeological spatial and temporal distribution. Still, the ability of these attributes as social boundary markers has yet to be explored (Webster, 1999). Therefore, this section presents the results of analyzing archaeological collections from two enclosures, Kochieng and Kokech. The changing social functions of ceramics from Thimlich Ohinga suggest a shift in social authority. This is supported by historical linguistic data (Wandibba, 1986; Schoenbrun, 1993).

Graphy 4.13 Showing Distributions of Vessels in Thimlich Ohinga



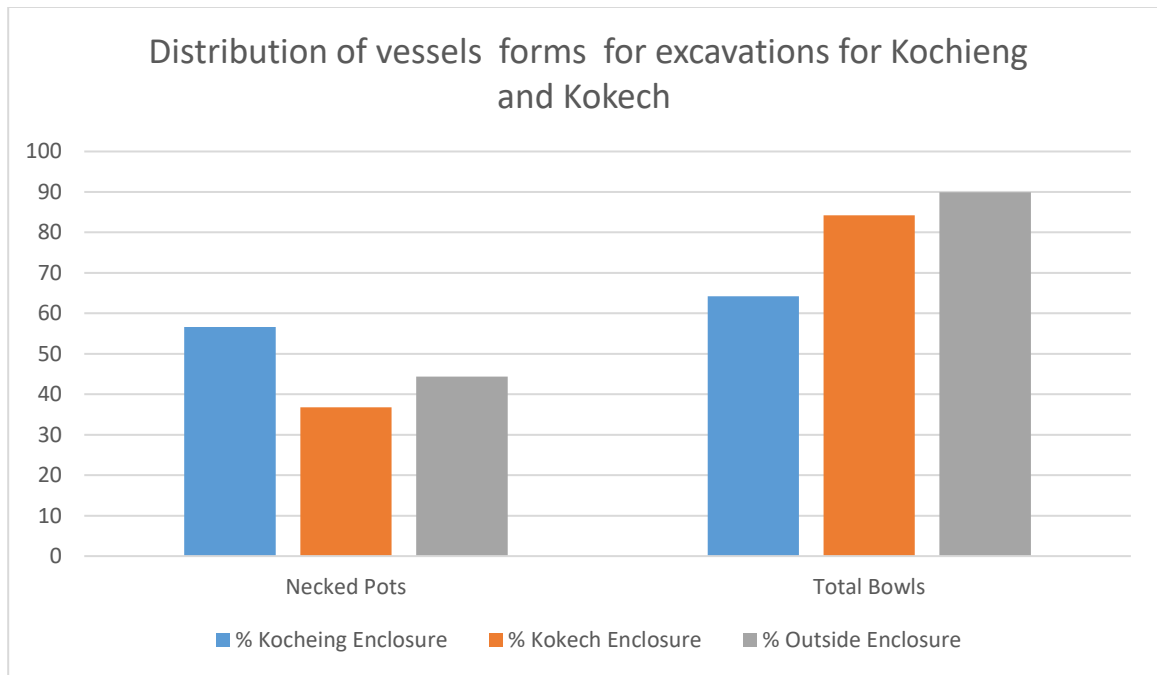
The spatial arrangement, extend, size of spatial arrangement also depict social stratification as a result of economic wealth or individual leadership.

Table 4.17: Showing the differences in low proportion of necked pots in Kochieng and Kokech and outside the encloses

Form	Kocheing Enclosure %	Kokech Enclosure %	Outside Enclosure %
Necked Pots	56.6%	36.8%	44.4%
Bowls,			
Open	42.9	32.9	32.9
Hemispherical	15.0	45.0	45.0
Up-turned rim	0	0	0
Flared Rim	4.5	4.5	8.5
Narrow-Mouthed	1.8	1.8	3.5
Total Bowls	64.2%	84.2%	89.9%
Classified Rim-sherds	837	732	717

Based on the above table it shows variations in terms of ceramics shows some boundaries in terms of identities which could be along social categorizations.

Graph 4.14 Showing forms of vessels



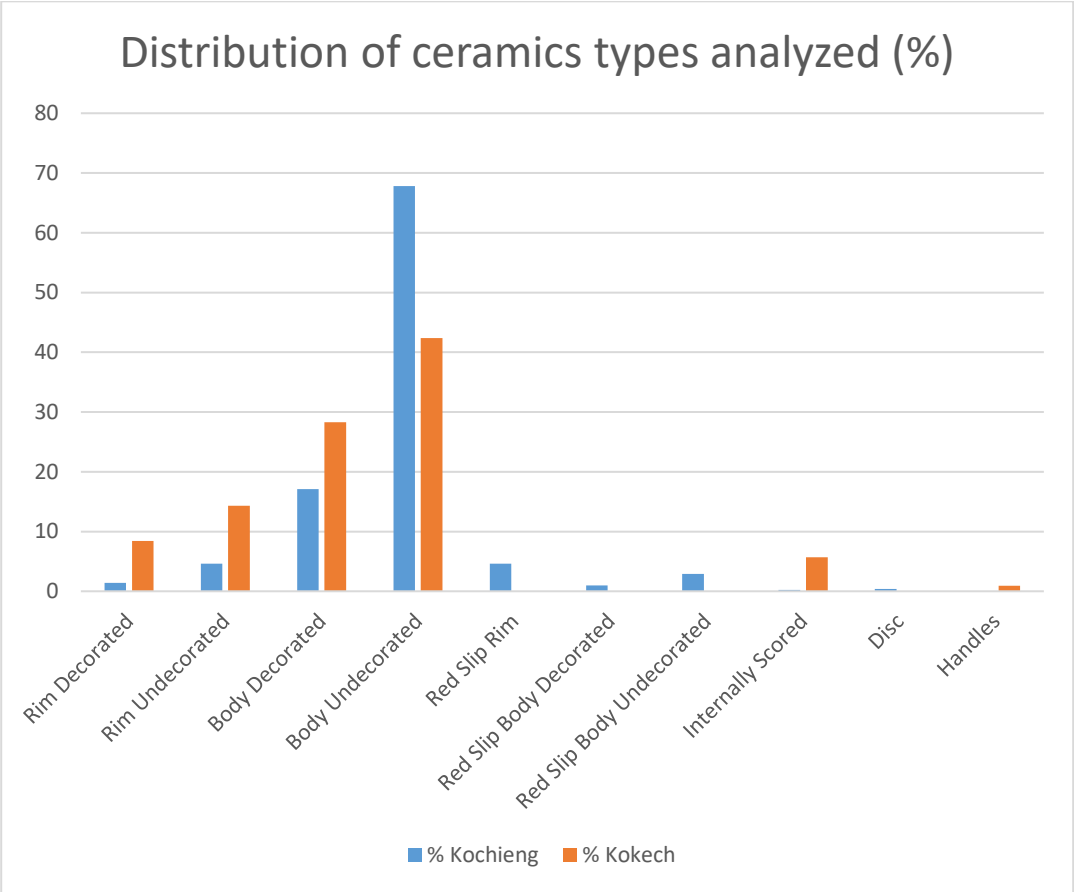
The possibility of difference classes accessing certain specific areas of Thimlich Ohinga is demonstrated by concentration of certain type of materials in specific areas. This could demonstrate spatial distributions of activities or social groups using different spaces.

Table 4.18 Distribution of ceramics types analyzed

Enclosure	No, of Shards (Kochieng)	Percent (%) (Kochieng)	No, of Shards (Kokech)	Percent (%) (Kokech)
Rim Decorated	78	1.4	8	8.4
Rim Undecorated	72	4.6	15	14.3
Body. Decorated	571	17.1	26	28.3
Body Undecorated	2260	67.8	45	42.4
Red Slip rim	151	4.6	0	0
Red slip Body decorated	57	1	0	0
Red Slip body undecorated	76	2.9	0	0
Internally Scored	8	0.2	5	5.7
Disc	13	0.4	0	0
Handles	0	0	1	0.9
TOTAL	3286	100	100	100

The kochieng enclosure had a higher concentration of decorated ceramics as compared to kokech, as depicted in the table above. There was also a high concentration of ceramics in the kocheng enclosure compared to Kokech. This shows a similarity between the sophistication and size of the kochieng enclosure and ceramics.

Graph 4.15 Showing Distributions of Ceramics

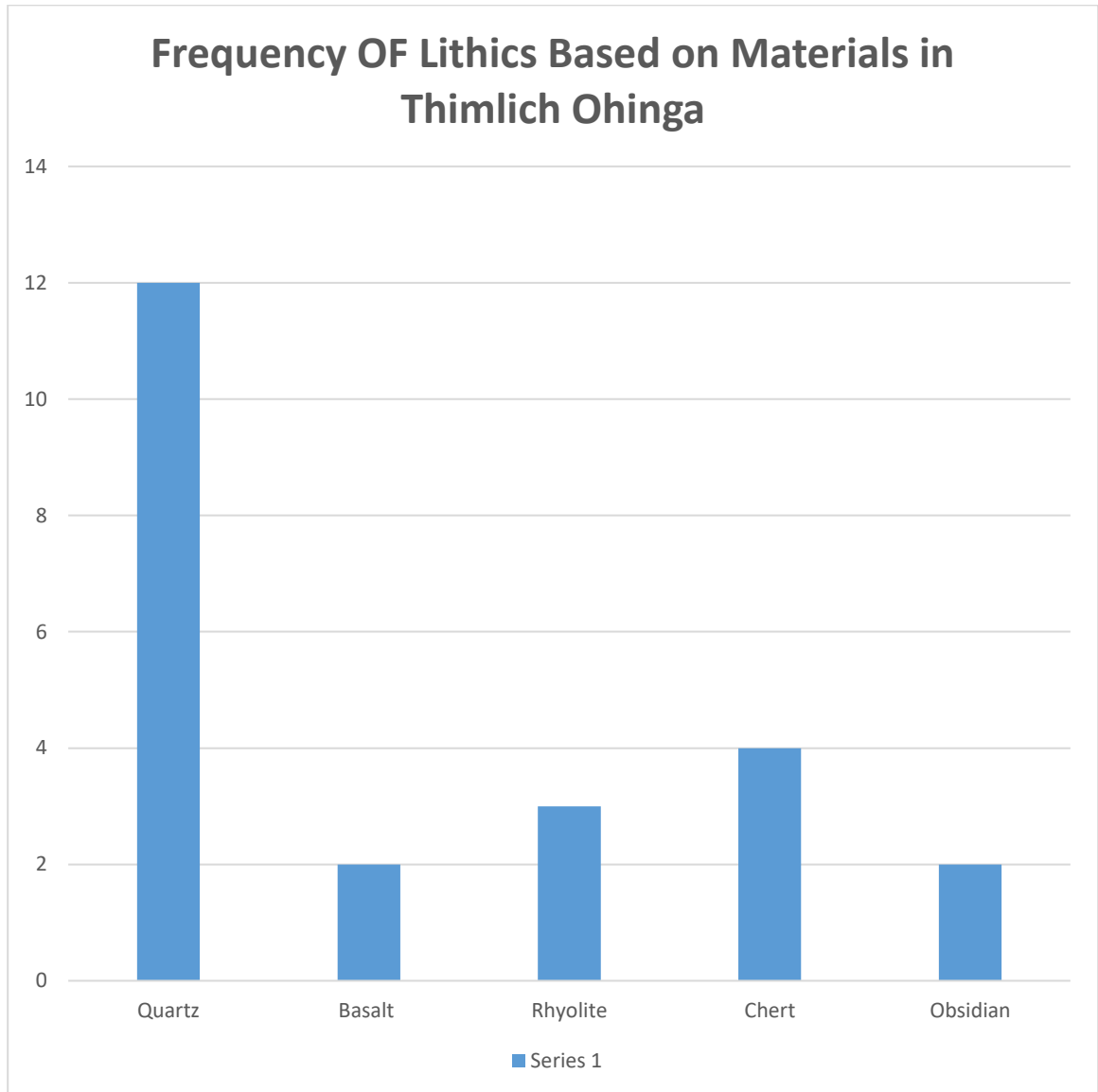


Clear visibility is an advantage for archaeologists exploring temporal and spatial distributions of different wares. It is also disadvantageous since it makes it possible for socially, ethnically, and linguistically distinct communities to copy from each other, hence making these two salient pottery features unreliable indicators of social boundaries (Lane,2015; Odewale,2019). Nonetheless, the above ceramics pieces of evidence show differences that can be attributed to the social categories of the people who lived in Thimlich Ohinga.

4.6.1.3 Lithic Analysis

In Thimlich, Ohinga lithics were part of their technology, a common feature for communities living there. As shown in (appendix 3) obsidian was a rare rock that the Thimlich Ohinga community used. Based on available literature about the region, there is a high possibility that obsidian was quarried in another area and had to be moved to the site or traded with other communities. Nonetheless, flakes and scrapers show that Thimlich used other locally available materials to make stone tools. Notable lithic materials removed from the site, including quartz, were the most common and were used continuously for a long time. The materials used to manufacture them are readily available in the surrounding areas of Thimlich Ohinga. The distribution of recovered lithics in the Thimlich Ohinga archaeological site and the levels. From the above table, it is evident that this community continuously used lithics for various functions. The implication is that even with iron smelting in the area, lithic tools' importance persisted for some functions.

Graph 4.16 showing Ceramics

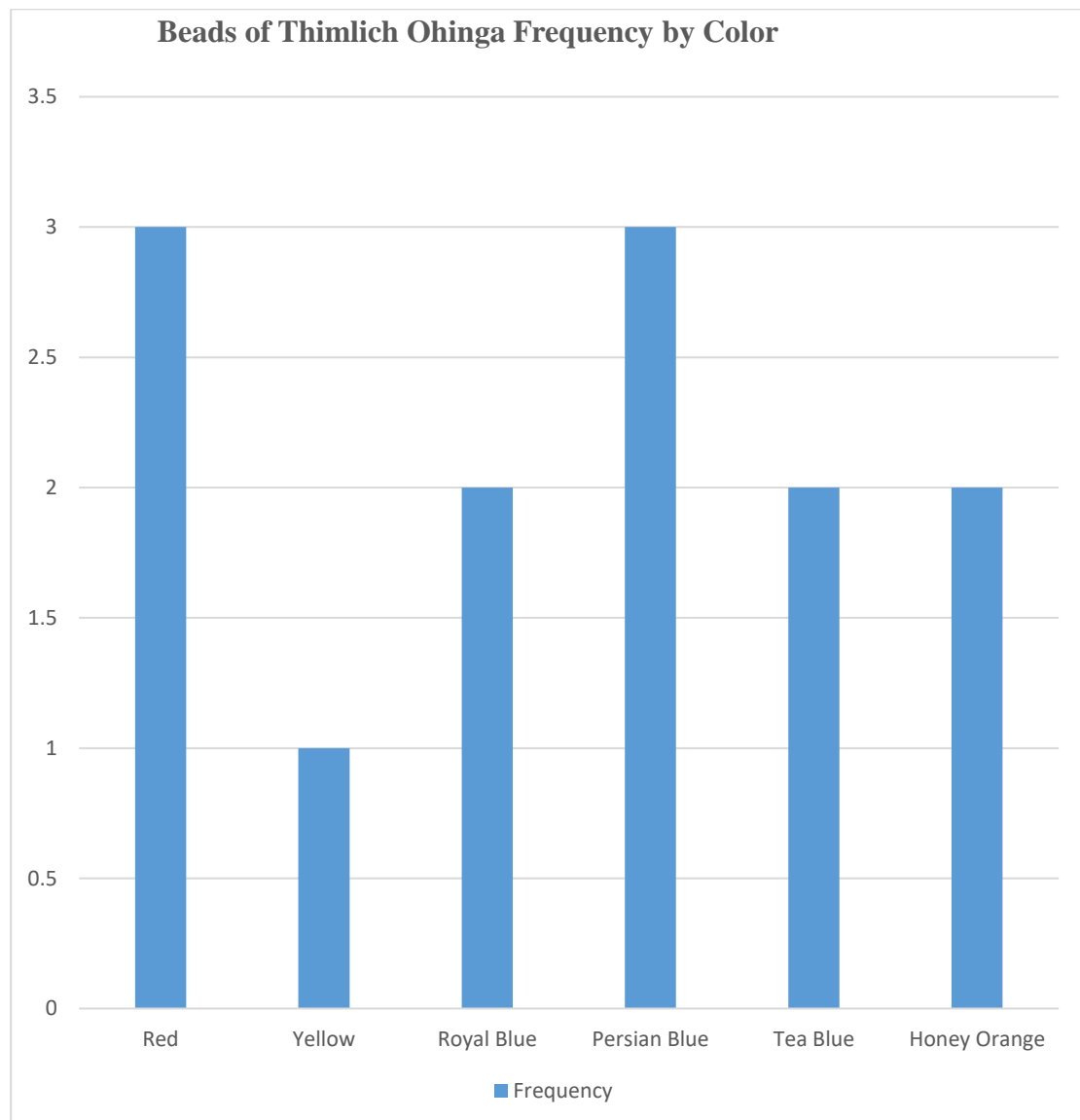


4.6.1.4 Beads Analysis

The beads recovered from Thimlich Ohinga archaeological site were made from plastic (Appendix 4). Some were excavated from the surface up to a depth of around 50 centimeters. Nonetheless, based on the materials that made them (plastic), it is highly probable that these beads were used in the contemporary period. Since Thimlich Ohinga

was a Luo settlement area, these beads are more associated with Luo culture. The plastic beads were acquired rather than manufactured in the area. Therefore, they were most likely incorporated into their culture as a replacement for traditional beads. However, from the excavated materials examined, no beads were made from the recovered local materials. This does not mean they never existed, as ethnographic studies of the Luo cultures show that beads are common

Graph 4.17 Showing Beads Concentration



4.6.2 Gede Archaeological Site

Material culture is central to understanding the Swahili civilization's spatial and temporal development. Changes in material culture are important while examining social changes, especially changes among Swahili societies. Archaeologists have also explored the differences/similarities in terms of material distribution in different regions of the Swahili civilization to study diversity and shared identities. Gede's archaeological evidence shows regional and international links as evidenced by trade goods. Gede city states architectural development has changed through time and space. Initially, the city may have started as a village constructed using daub and later stone buildings. The Gede society, therefore, became more urbanized and intensified local, regional, and international trade over time.

In the following section, I will present data examined from the museum and the excavation I carried out in Gede. The archaeological materials explored in this study include ceramics, beads, faunal, lithics, metals, and other artifacts. In most cases, materials recovered included those produced locally and those imported from other regions. These materials are discussed in relation to their importance in manifesting how social identities were expressed in archaeological records. In this case, gender and social hierarchies are the main areas of this investigation.

4.6.2.1 Ceramics

Gede ceramics assemblages are the most common materials recovered from the site. These ceramics includes locally produced and those which were foreign produced. The foreign ceramics includes wares from Persia, China, and Arabia. These ceramics include cooking pots, storage, and plates, among others. Besides cooking, ceramics in Gede

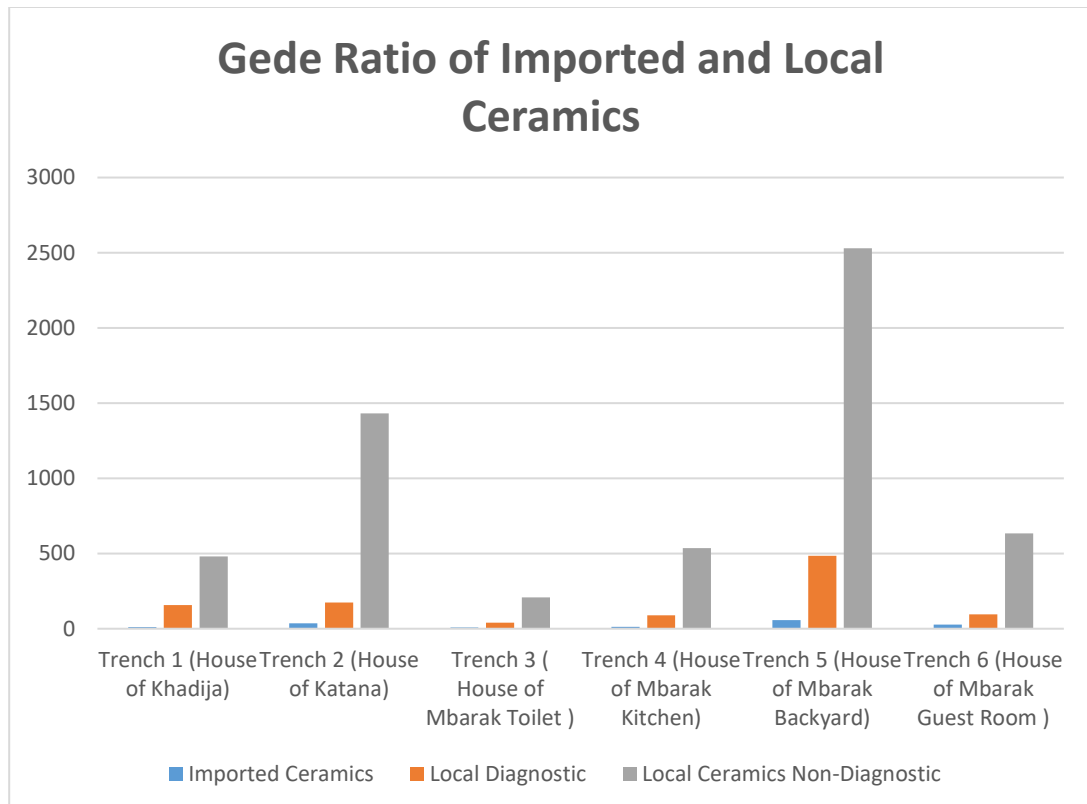
seems to have had other usages which were symbolic. It seems locally produced pottery was mainly for local consumption and was mostly produced within the Gede vicinity (Plate 4.12). Nonetheless, archaeological evidence shows these local potteries also moved to other regions. The most probable reason for the movement of these local potteries could be associated with voyage usage by traders.

Plate 4.12 Pottery Slug



Pottery Slug recovered from Gede in Trench 1 (Picture by the Author)

Graph 4.18 Gede Ratio of Imported and local Ceremics



As shown in the distribution above, local pottery was highly used across the social classes. Interestingly, imported ceramics were also common across the board, which shows they had some social value besides prestige associated with such goods.

4.6.2.1.1 Local Pottery

The local pottery comprises the majority of artefacts recovered from the Gede archaeological site as well as other sites of the Swahili Civilization (table 4.413). Gede ceramics is closely intertwined with other City states of the Swahili Civilization. The Swahili civilization's ceramics changed over time, a period that goes back several hundred years (Kusimba, 1999). Generally, this tradition is commonly known as the Early Tana Tradition (ETT), where some of the Shanga and Lamu Archipelago finds are dated around

750 CE (Ichimbaki & Pollard, 2021). This same tradition has been found in Tanzania, named Triangular Incised Ware (TIW). This common ware spreads south of Mozambique (Fleisher and Wynn-Jones, 2011). The available literature shows that the origin of the ETT/TIW can be traced to a mixture of Cushitic pastoralist communities and hunter-gatherers in the coastal hinterlands (Horton, 1996; Kusimba, 1999). The same ware was recovered in Gede, which is one of the common pottery assemblages at the site (Plate 4.8)

Plate 4.13 Gede Local Pottery



The plate shows local pottery of the Early Tana Tradition excavated in the house of Mbarak, one of the areas where affluent people lived in Gede. This shows that this type

of pottery was probably the norm and was commonly used irrespective of social class (picture by the author).

The local pottery recovered in Gede shows a shared tradition between Gede and other City states in the region. The Early Tana Tradition also persists in the coastal hinterlands; hence it cements the African origin of Swahili civilization. The local pottery in Gede gives important clues on the city's manufacturing and usage of pots. The large storage and cooking pots are indicators of the social hierarchies of the community. Besides the sizes, local pottery had different styles, motifs, techniques, and other characteristics. The implication is that some pots required more labor than others, hence higher value. This means that the class differential had started to take shape before the intensification of trade in Gede. Moreover, even with the introduction of foreign ceramics, local pottery continued to be used to re-enforce social status in Gede society. Therefore, some types of local pottery were valued albeit in less proportion compared to foreign pots. In addition, local pottery production cemented specialization, which enforced social hierarchies in Gede society. The potters supplied the urban population hence creating part of the light industries that existed in Gede. Rice (1987) claims that Swahili pottery was fired between 900-1200 cc in an open fire. The relatively same clay on the Swahili coast highly suggested it was locally acquired. The high percentage of bowls in Gede is indicative of dietary patterns observed elsewhere in Swahili civilization coastal towns.

The majority of local pottery recovered in Gede was highly fragmented and undecorated hence non-diagnostic. They were counted and used to examine how they varied depending on the areas they were retrieved. The comparison was made based on the area

associated with elites, the middle class, and the commoners. Furthermore, in Mbarak's house, there were attempts to make a comparison between the pottery that existed in the kitchen and the guest room. The rationale was to capture how local pottery was used to cement the social status of the elites in their household's public spaces compared to private, as shown in table 4.4 and 4.5, respectively.

Table 4.4 showing Kitchen Ceramics Assemblages

Level	Total no. of pieces of sherds	Imported pottery sherds	Local diagnostic pottery sherds	Local non diagnostic pottery sherds	No. of sherds retained	No. of sherds discarded
1	3	0	0	3	0	3
2	7	0	1	6	1	6
3	71	2	15	54	17	54
4	56	1	9	46	10	46
5	108	1	13	94	14	94
6	113	3	23	87	26	87
7	191	5	18	168	23	168
8	58	0	8	50	8	50
9	30	0	2	28	2	28
Total	637	12	89	536	101	536

The table above depicts the total ceramics assemblages recovered from the house of Mbarak. This data is contrasted with that of the same house, which was collected in the guest room of the same house below. The data shows that more local potteries were used in elite kitchens (elite private spaces) compared to their guest rooms (elite public spaces).

Table 4.5 showing Guestroom Ceramics Assemblages

Level	Total no. of pieces of sherds	Imported pottery sherds	Local diagnostic pottery sherds	Local non diagnostic pottery sherds	No. of sherds retained	No. of sherds discarded
1	102	7	7	94	7	94
2	192	10	23	167	25	167
3	71	4	9	60	11	60
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	43	0	11	32	11	32
6	160	3	14	146	14	146
7	47	0	7	40	7	40
8	59	1	10	49	11	49
9	34	0	8	26	8	26
10	31	3	6	25	6	25
Total	739	28	95	634	100	634

Based on the data above, it seems that elites would normally use local pottery frequently in private spaces. Furthermore, the local pottery used in the guestrooms is highly decorated, as illustrated in the two tables above.

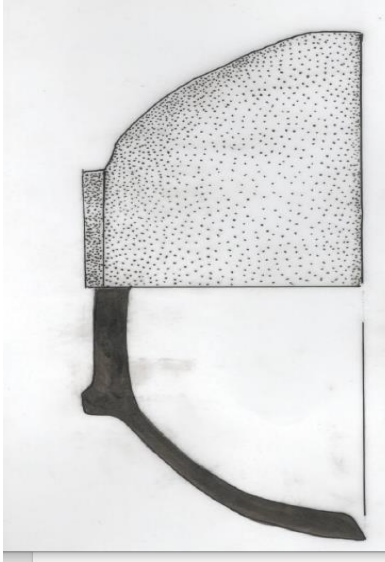
Form


The forms of local pottery assemblages are reflective of their usage. As shown by appendix 6, the majority of recovered pottery assemblages in Gede are bowls. These were probably used for serving food. Overall, the recovered pots included closed jars, probably used for storage. In some cases, some pots would be used for multiple functions such as serving food, eating, and storage (Orton et al., 1993). In the house of Mbarak, a complete pot was recovered in the kitchen area in situ. A similar pot which was almost intact, was recovered in the guest room in the same house. This pottery which lacked smoke soot were most likely used for storage rather than cooking. Overall, the ceramics recovered in Gede show a high percentage of open bowls, a phenomenon observed in Shanga, Pemba, and Kilwa (Rødland, 2021).


Illustrated Local Ceramics of Gede

The illustrations of local pottery of from Gede archaeological site and subsequent context as described in the table below

Table 4.6 Pottery Illustrations Context

No's	Type Name	Defining Attributes	Vessel Form	Comments
01	<p>Local pottery</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Globular and hole mouth local clay pot with a flat base. - Rim slightly out-curved. - Externally smoothed body surface. - Decorated with a red burnished slip around the rim on both sides - Rim Diameter – 10 cm 	Globular pot	The pot was smoothed on both sides with a black burned base and side, possibly used for cooking.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An open mouth bowl with a short ringed base 		

02	<p>Local pottery</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Thickened body with inward slanting rim - Smoothened on both body surface - Hard, coarse darkish grey fabric - Decorated with a red slip on top of the Rim Diameter – 13 cm 	Open mouth Bowl		

<p>03</p>	<p>Local Pottery</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plain Local clay bowl with straight splayed sides. - Slightly thinly pointed rim and a low pedestal round base. - Hard darkish grey clay fabric - Slightly smoothed body surface with a grooved line along the rim top. - Rim diameter- 13 cm. 	<p>Plain open mouth serving bowl</p>	

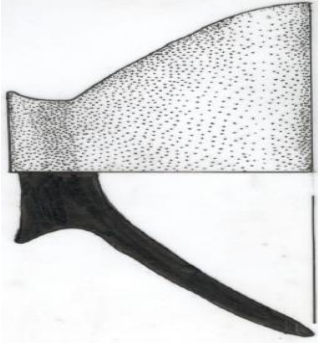

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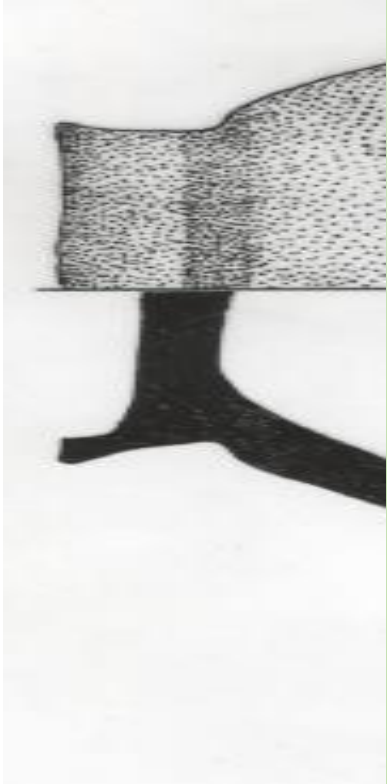
Local Pottery.

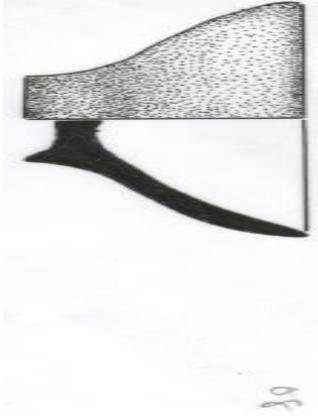
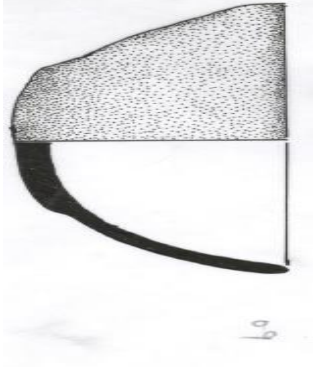


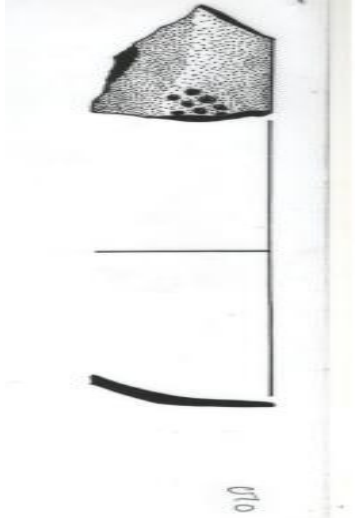

- A local miniature bowl with a thinly pointed rim.
- Open mouth and straight splayed sides with a high pedestal round base.
- Smoothened on body surface
- Rim Diameter- 6 cm.



A miniature bowl.

<p>05.</p>	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A miniature bowl with thin body fabric and a slightly thinly pointed rim. - Open mouth bowl- straight splayed sides and low pedestal base - Internally smoothed body surface - Rim base – 7cm 	<p>A miniature bowl.</p>		
<p>06</p>	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Heavy local clay bowl - Straight splayed sided and rounded rim - Low pedestal and recessed base. - Internal Splashed with black charcoal. - Rim Diameter- 16cm. 	<p>Wide open bowl.</p>		

07	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hemispherical bowl with a tapered rim. - Hard darkish grey soil fabric. - Splashed on red wash on the interior body surface and a line of red burnished around the rim both inside and outside. - Rim diameter- 14cm 	Open mouth bowl.		
	<p>Local Pottery.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open mouth bowl with thickened and rounded rim. 	Bowl.		

08		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A bowl with a short ringed base somehow recessed. - Smoothened in the interior and faceted on the exterior body surface. - Rim Diameter- 8cm 			
09	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open mouth bowl with a fine rounded rim. - Hard Darkish gray clay fabric - Smoothened in both sides - Slightly flat bottomed bowl bases. - Rough body surface. - Rim diameter- 10cm 	Open mouth bowl.		

<p>10</p>	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hemispherical bowl with a tapered rim - Darkish brown clay fabric - Ornamented with indentation marks on body. - Rim diameter- 12cm 	<p>Bowl rim</p>		
<p>11</p>	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Short neck pot - Out-turned and pointed rim, slightly flat top. - Decorated with Thumb nail stabs along the carination - Rim Diameter – 16cm 	<p>Bowl</p>		

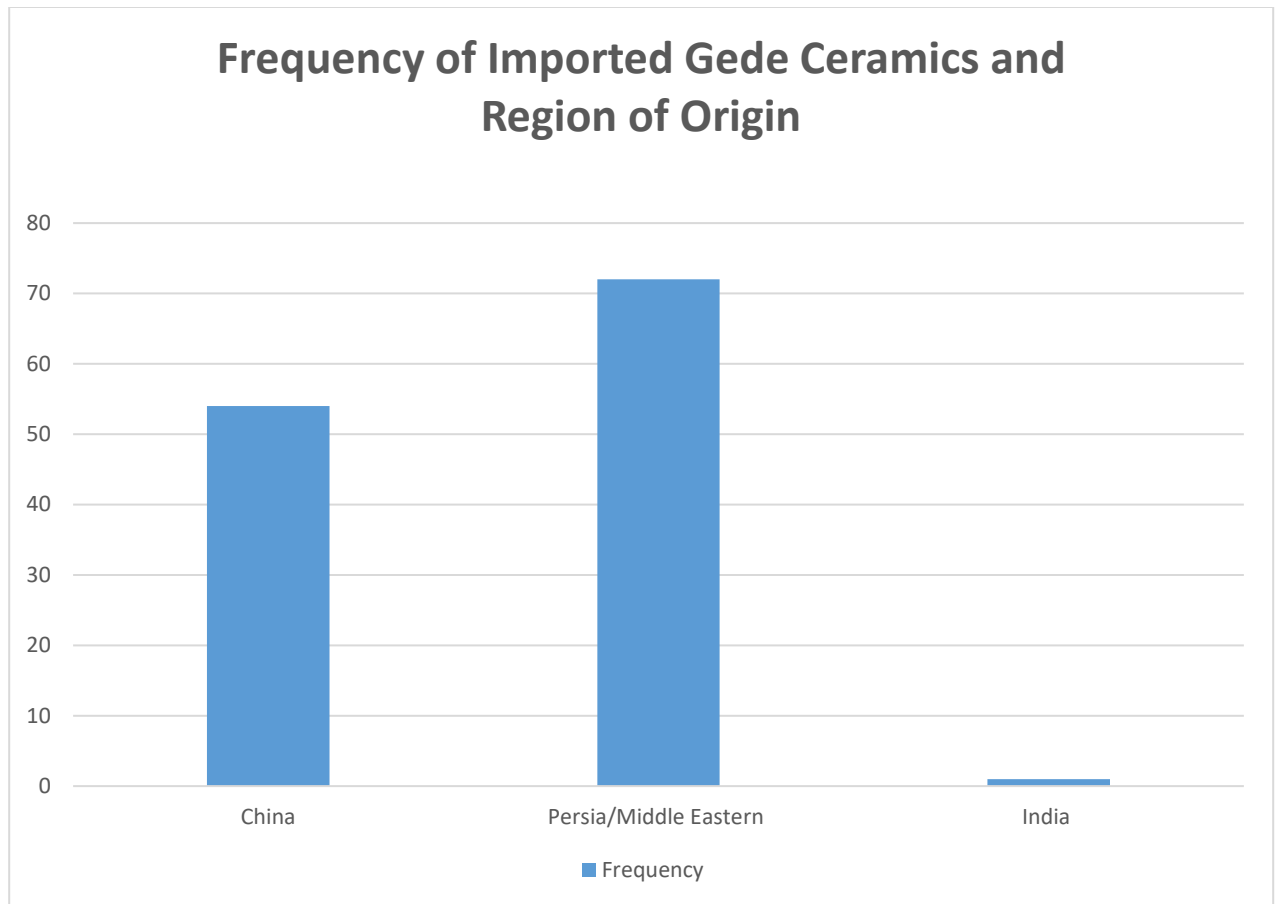
<p>12</p>	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long neck pot rim, with an out-turned and flaring lip. - Thick body fabric and plain body surface. - Rim Diameter- 16cm. 	<p>Bowl</p>		
<p>13</p>	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shallow bowl - Thickened and short neck with out-ward sloping lip. - Short diagonally incised lines above stab marks along the neck. - Rim Diameter- 12cm 	<p>Bowl.</p>		

<p>14</p>	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shallow bowl - Thickened and short neck with out-ward sloping lip. - Short diagonally incised lines on neck. - Rim Diameter- 14cm 	<p>Bowl.</p>	
<p>15</p>	<p>Local Pottery.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deep Pear-shaped open mouth bowl - Hollowed rim in sandy buff ware - Rim diameter- 14 cm. 	<p>Bowl.</p>	

4.6.2.1.2 Foreign Ceramics

These ceramics were imported from other areas, especially in the Middle East, Persia, China, and elsewhere. They differed from local pottery in terms of being glazed, a unique feature of imported ceramics. The imported ceramics are imported in exploring trade links between Gede and international regions. Sometimes, they are important in dating since some were only produced in specific periods. Imported ceramics' presence varied depending on the period and their value. The archaeological evidence shows that these ceramics depended on the flow of foreign trade, which varied in degree in some instances. In some instances, Chinese ware was used in the early phases of the Gede occupation. Based on the above observation, Islamic foreign ceramics were the most common, although there were a considerable number of Chinese wares in some areas within Gede. Therefore, it is highly probable that these ceramics' values often were used to manifest an individual social class, and the rarest ceramics were associated with the most affluent people. The archaeological evidence shows that imported ceramics were normally used for other functions, including displays in mosques, tombs, and private houses. The excavation in the House of Mbarak shows that imported ceramics were more common in the public part of the house. Therefore, there is a high chance they used prestige or to reinforce social status.

Graph 4.19 Showing Imported Ceramics and Area of Origin



The majority of foreign ceramics used in Gede came from Persia and Middle Eastern Asia. Also, the high percentage of ceramics from China and few from India make up the top three trading regions with Gede in terms of Ceramics.

The table above shows the distribution of foreign ceramics distribution in the inner wall of the Gede archaeological site. These ceramics originated from China, which seems they were imported in different periods as evidenced by various dynasties. Most of these ceramics were highly decorated, and it is a high possibility they were used for symbolic purposes, including religious functions.

Ceramics in Mosques

In Gede, mosques were central to their lives and were many, with the largest being the Friday Mosque on the innermost wall of the site. As such, Gede, besides being a commercial hub, was also a religious center. Mosques in Gede contain wall niches that were used to display some of the ceramics and other artifacts. Donley (1982) ethnographic observed how some materials had symbolic and ritual meanings among Islamic Swahili communities. The table below shows various ceramics collected from various mosques in Gede. It seems that decorated ceramics were a common feature in these mosques.

Table 4.8: Ceramics in Mosques

Context	Decorated/Non decorated	Motif Description	Region	Period	Type of Ceramic
Mosque 419	Decorated	Cicadas' wing	China	Tang Dynasty	Red-brown ware
Mosque 414	Decorated	Cicadas' wing	China	Song	Long Quan
Mosque 433	Decorated	Honey comb barbotine work	Persia	Sassanian empire	Sassania ware
Mosque 433	Decorated	Cicadas wings pattern	China	Song	Long Quan

The above ceramics were from China and the Far East, and they started appearing in East Africa just before the turn of the second Millennium current era (Zhao, 2015). These

ceramics differ from those imported from the Islamic world in their hard fabric made of stone or porcelain (Rødland, 2021). What is not known is if those materials move from China and the Far East direct to East Africa or are traded from other nearer centers (Horton, 1996). Nonetheless, the distance between China and East Africa makes Chinese ware rare and valuable (Rødland, 2021).

Plate 4.14 Glazed Green with Repair Hole



This blue-green glazed ware originated from Persia from the 7th century to around the 10th century. It is the most common imported ware at the time and is found in other areas along the Indian Ocean. The hole was probably drilled during the repair of the artefact. This is more evidence that these ceramics were highly prized in Gede. (Picture by the author).

Bowls

The spread in Gede corresponds with other Swahili City states, which has been interpreted as a result of dietary patterns. Gede has a high presence of bowls, especially those imported from elsewhere. Walshaw (2010) argues that feasts were an important aspect of expressing status among Swahili. To that end, plates (4.15) represent some of the different open bowls recovered from the Gede archaeological site.

Plate 4.15 Bowl Cross-section of bowl



The above picture showed a thickened bowl typical of the Swahili coast and was probably used for serving or eating food. Normally, they exist in different sizes, types, and variations in terms of thickness. It would seem that those which were burnished inside and outside were of more value based on the labor required to manufacture them (picture by the author).

Plate 4.16 shallow Open Bowl /Plate



A picture showing a plate was some of the features associated with the consumption of new foods at the coast, especially grains such as rice. The origin of these types of plates was probably Persia, as they have been documented elsewhere in the caliphate empire. The same type of bowls has been excavated in some areas in Zanzibar, and Chittick found some dating around the 10th century in Kilwa (picture by author).

4.6.2.2 Fauna

The bones in Gede entailed those of wild and domestic fauna as well as fish bones which were the majority. The archaeological evidence shows that in areas associated with affluent people, there was a presence of a high percentage of domestic bones, especially goats. Also, cattle and big game animals such as buffalo were hunted and prepared as food. In one kitchen, a camel jaw bone was excavated in the kitchen area of the house of Mbarak, which is associated with affluent people in Gede. On the other hand, in the house of Katana, on the outer wall, bones discovered there were fish bones and wild fauna, especially dik-dik, which exists in Gede to the present day. However, fish bones were recovered from all the areas excavated; hence they were widely consumed irrespective of class.

House of Khadija Bones Assemblages

TRENCH NO.	LEVEL	COUNTS				OTHER NOTES
		FISH	BIRD	BOVID	DIFFICULT TO KNOW (VERY SMALL AND FRAGILE)	
1	1	0	0	5		
1	2	0	0	4		
1	3	62	2	63		
1	4	5	3	8		
1	5	3	0	2		
1	8	6	0	2		
1	12	10	0	1		

The house of Khadija had few bones assemblages compared to the other two houses. I theorized this disparity, despite being located in an area associated with affluent people, could be attributed to the fact that it was mainly a manufacturing area. The implication is

that it was accessed during the work; hence, bone accumulation was less than in the other houses occupied throughout.

House of Katana Bones assemblages

2	1	0	1	3	2	
2	2	0	0	5	0	
2	3	0	0	1	0	
2	5	1	3	10	2	
2	6	3	1	12	10	
2	7	6	4	10	0	Bovids bones are very fragile
2	8	More than 200	0	14	More than 100	
2	9	82	4	3	37	
2	10	38	0	1	52	

The house of katana archaeological finds highly shows it was used for multipurpose. I therefore hypothesis it was a single unit (having a single) room which structure.

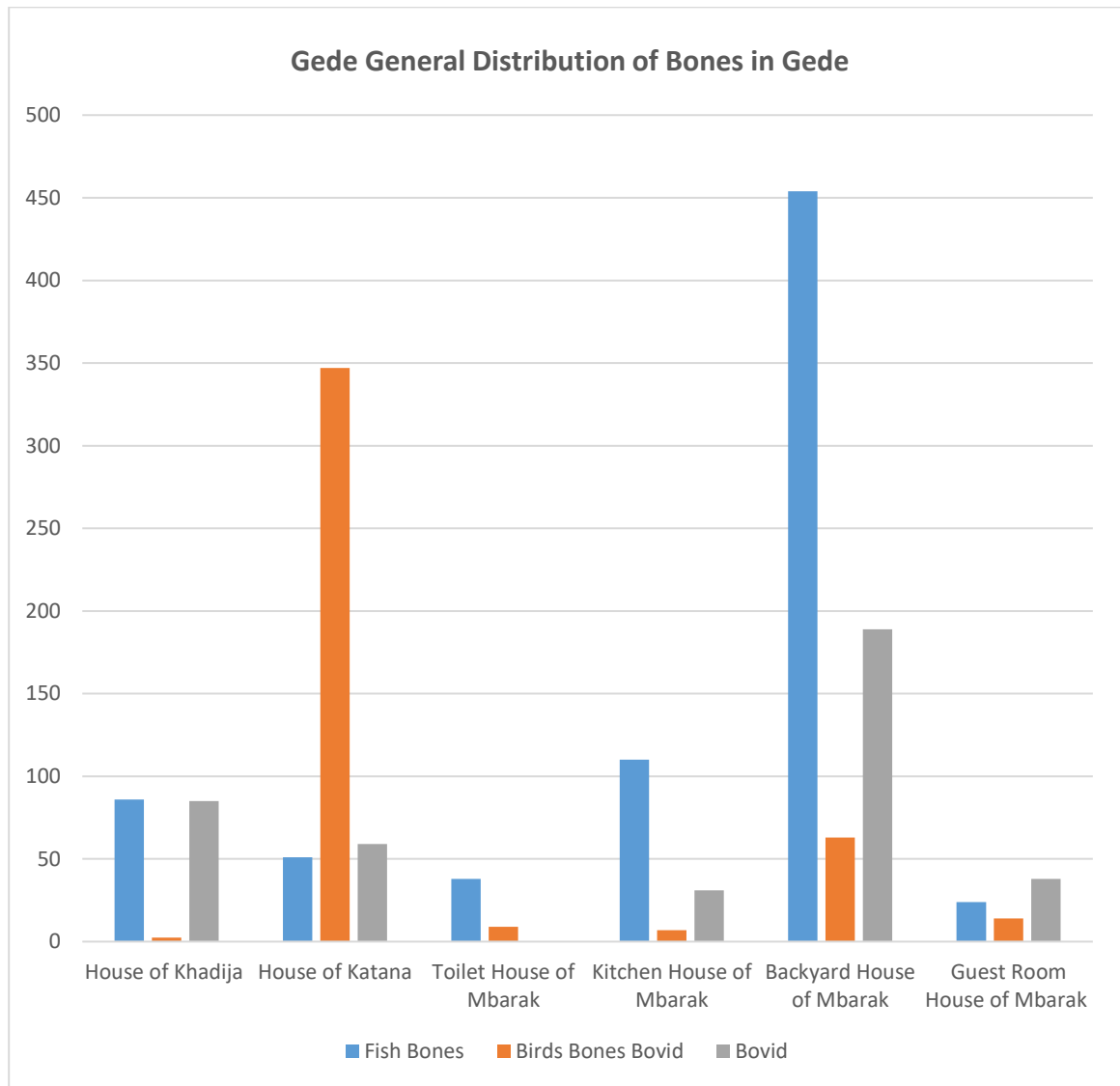
House of Mbarak Fauna Assemblages

3	1	0	2	0		
3	3	1	1	0		
3	4	0	0	1		
3	5	15	1	3		
3	7	0	0	2		
3	8	1	1	0		
3	9	10	1	1		
3	10	11	3	6		
4	1	0	0	1	-	
4	3	0	0	3	-	
4	4	0	0	0	8	
4	5	1	0	0	-	
4	6	4	5	5	-	
4	7	70	2	14	19	
4	8	20	0	7	1	
4	9	15	0	1	14	
5	1	8	0	7	-	
5	2	33	4	42	3	
5	3	23	4	8	18	
5	4	42	0	3	15	
5	5	7	3	0	10	
5	6	14	4	3	7	
5	8	21	0	8	2	
5	9	8	1	3	6	
5	10	21	2	11	35	
5	11	45	8	5	62	
5	12	60	10	3	96	
5	13	34	4	12	53	
5	14	2	0	4	8	
5	15	14	1	3	18	
5	16	3	0	0	27	
5	17	20	0	10	33	
5	18	9	3	7	3	
5	19	4	2	0	1	
5	20	13	3	10	8	
5	22	10	4	22	41	
5	23	32	7	15	43	
5	24	8	2	7	21	
5	25	10	4	6	4	
5	26	1	0	0	1	
5	28	2	0	0	0	
6	1	17	4	12	14	

6	2	2	0	3	0	
6	3	3	0	2	1	
6	5	1	3	3	0	
6	6	0	0	8	0	
6	7	0	0	2	0	
6	8	1	5	7	2	
6	9	0	2	3	0	

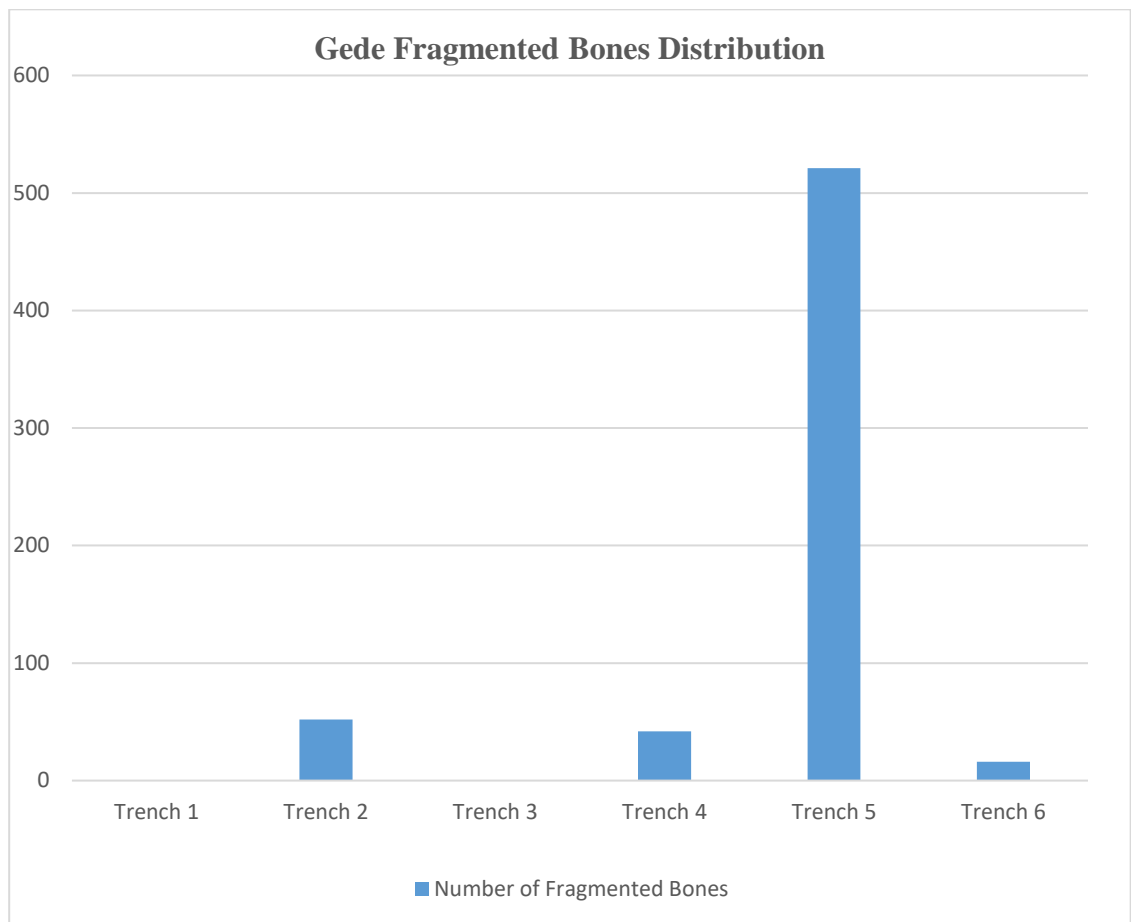
Since in the house of Mbarak, I excavated four spaces, the faunal assemblages represented here include (3-toilet), (4-backyard), (5-kitchen), and (6-guest area). It is, therefore, not a surprise that the majority of bone assemblages were collected from the kitchen.

Graph 4.20 Showing Distribution of Fauna remains in Gede



The distribution of bones shows that fish was highly consumed across all social classes of Gede. However, the commoners consumed birds the most, as shown in the graph above. Interestingly, bovid were imported across all classes, although the elites consumed bovid on a larger scale.

Graph 4.21 Gede Fragmented Bones Distribution



The highest bones collection was in the backyard of the house of Mbarak. The same high number of fragmented bones was recovered in the same location. The implication is that there is a high possibility this area was used to host feasts. Furthermore, there were two large sink pits for disposing of dirty in close proximity to the area, which shows that many people accessed the area.

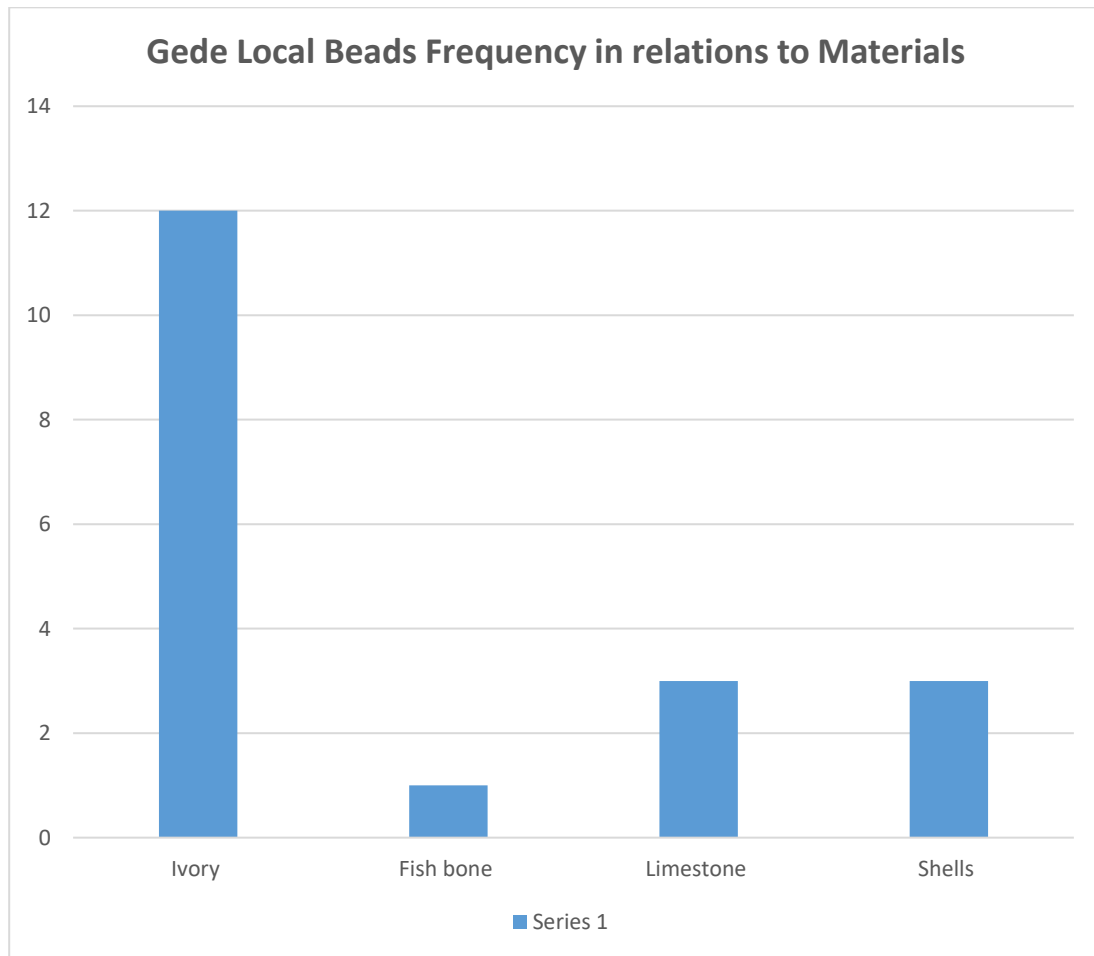
4.6.2.3 Beads

Beads are one of the most common artifacts along the Swahili Coast, including local and imported. The locally produced beads were made using shells and coral in most areas

along the coast. In addition, some other locally made beads include those made of gold, ivory, and metal, among other precious materials. The imported beads were mainly made of glass and imported, most likely from India. Rødland (2021) notes the possibility of manufacturing glass beads in some Swahili civilization sites. Typically, beads are indicators of social identities and are used in other functions, including rituals.

Beads are also common in Gede archaeological sites, like other areas along the Indian Ocean coast. In Gede, for instance, common beads are those made of local materials, especially shells. Also, imported beads, made mainly using glass, are common in Gede. In some cases, a considerable number of beads are made using other exotic materials, including ivory (Plate) and precious stones. The local beads were mainly made using ostriches and marine shells. The imported shells were made from glass, mainly from East Asia, India, and South East Asia. In Gede, beads seem to have been highly valuable commodities, especially those made using exotic materials such as ivory and glass imports. The house of Mbarak contained the highest number of beads, mainly made of ivory and glass. The implication is that the elites used beads of high quality which were either local or imported. The area where the majority of beads were recovered was in the backyard of the house of Mbarak (Appendix 7).

Graph 4.22 Gede Local Beads Frequency in Relations to Materials



Beads made from the ivory material were the most common bead recovered during excavation which can be attributable to durability rather than availability. As evidenced from elsewhere and excavation of the areas associated with commoners, the majority of beads were either constructed using shells or fish bones.

Samples of Beads Recovered from Gede

Plate 4.18 Beads made of Ivory



Although ivory was a high-sort commodity outside Africa, it was highly valued in Gede and elsewhere along the Swahili civilization. The value of ivory in urban centers may have been propelled by cultural diffusion between East Africa and the outside world. In the Islamic world and China, ivory was a high-value commodity. Therefore, there is a high possibility with close contact with the Islamic world and the subsequent spread of Islam; ivory became one of the most valuable commodities in Swahili City states.

Plate 4.19 Blue Glass beads



The glass beads were observed as some of the earliest beads in Gede and were used before the intensification of the urbanization process on the Swahili coast (Picture by the author).

Plate 4.20 Brown Glass Beads



Some of the beads recovered in the houses in the inner wall during excavations by Kirkman (Picture by author).

Plate 4.21 Cream Glass Beads



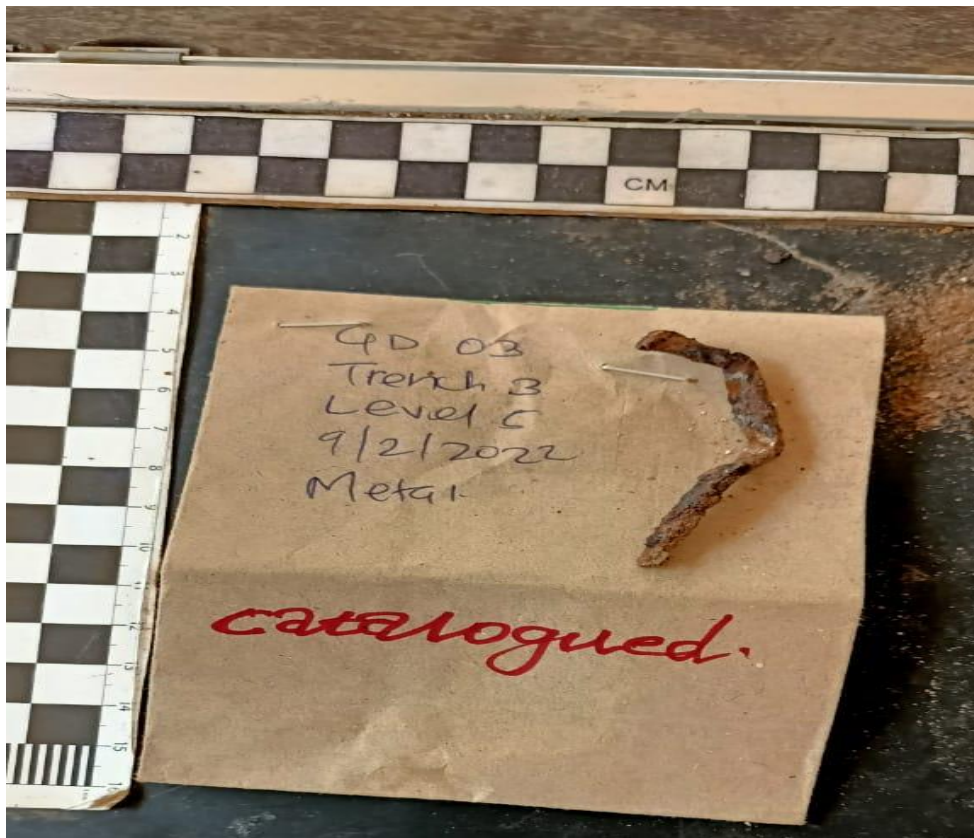
Picture by the Author

4.6.2.4 Metal

In Gede, metal artefacts found there were locally produced, and some were imported from other regions. These artefacts made of copper and silver were imported from Near East

and Far East and beyond. The previous excavations from researchers have yielded scissors and lamps, which indicate Gede's linkages with other parts of the world (Kirkman,1974). During excavation, there was evidence of iron smelting in the house of Mbarak in the last phase of the occupation. This evidence can collaborate with Portuguese sources that described Malindi as a metal exporting City State (Matveiev, 1984). Thus, this collaborates with archaeological evidence, which shows that most things recovered from Gede archaeological sites were made of iron.

Plate 4.18 Iron Nail



Iron Nail recovered from the House of Mbarak (Picture by the Author)

4.6.2.5 Stone Tools

Stones tools were used to process plant resources, especially grains that were part of the Gede diet. The grinding stones (plates 4.19 and 4.44). During excavation, these grinding stones were retrieved from the house of Mbarak in the Kitchen and living room, respectively. For centuries, the Swahili coast was known for crop agriculture, where varieties of food were grown. Al Masudi, writing at the end of the first-millennium current era, notes crops such as coconuts, durra, bananas, and yams. In the 15th century, Portuguese informants noted various forms of maize, which probably included maize, were grown in Kilwa (Matveiev 1984).

Plate 4.19 Stone Tool



Stone tools were most likely used for processing cereals in the region. The practice of crop farming preceded the development of the Swahili civilization. Nonetheless, the development of Swahili civilization led to the introduction of different types of cereals, including rice, and the intensification of food consumption, such as millet. Retrieved from House of Mbarak (Picture by the Author)

4.6.2.5 Boat Making

The history of boat making in Swahili civilization goes back to the beginning of the first millennium. The first evidence was noted by an unknown Egyptian Greek sailor who wrote the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. He described the presence of boats in the East Africa region in “Menuthias Island,” an area described as present-day Pemba by Swahili civilization scholars (Walsh, 2021). He noted that:

The island has sewn boats and dugout canoes that are used for fishing and for catching turtles.[...] Two runs beyond this island comes the very last port of trade on the coast of Azania, called Rhapta [“sewn”], a name derived from the aforementioned sewn boats.. (From Cason, 1989).

The area known as Rhapta remains unknown, and there is a high possibility that the author did not travel to Pemba. Some scholars believe that he relied on secondary information from that part of East Africa in trade posts in the horn of Africa. Nonetheless, boat-making in East Africa has been documented elsewhere, albeit on later dates. Furthermore, Portuguese sources described large boats in Kilwa (Matveiev, 1984). Also, a dhow art impression in Gede archaeological site shows evidence of boat building. Typically, the

widely used dhow used in East Africa, “mtepe,” was manufactured using local mangrove timber and rope from coconut husks (Rothman, 2002). The mtepe was, therefore, a resource where manufacturing and owning one had some form of prestige in Gede and the broader Swahili civilization.

4.6.2.6 Other Materials

In Gede, other sophisticated include imported lamps, kohl sticks, scissors, boxes, daggers made of ivory, spraying glass bottles, ivory daggers, cotton and silk cloths, and so on. These materials show how Gede was interlinked with Europe, the Mediterranean, the Islamic world, and China. As the Portuguese about Malindi noted, there is a high possibility that Gede also exported finished products such as iron to other destinations within the Swahili Civilization. In the house of Khadija, I excavated kohl pencils. The house of Khadija was probably occupied by artisans. The house was used for manufacturing local beads, as evidenced by numerous shells, waste materials, and beads grinders. The kohl pencil shows that these artisans, who were most likely women had access to resources that enabled them to consume exotic materials. These materials included imported ceramics which were of the high percentage hence forming what we can refer to as the “middle class.”

4.7 Ethnography

The realizations that some of the interests of ethnography are different from what archaeologists are interested in is what led to the birth of ethnoarchaeology as a subfield aimed at exploring past human behaviors in the archaeological record. Based on the above assumptions, Stanislawski (1974) defines ethnoarchaeology as a direct observation of

manufacturing and usage of artefacts by non-industrial society people in order to formulate analogies which can be used to infer the past. Gould (1989) simply referred to ethnoarchaeology as living archaeology as it incorporates using analogies of contemporary societies to infer history. However, the use of ethnoarchaeology in archaeology spun centuries earlier when stone tools found in France were compared with artefacts of communities living in the new world to make inferences about the past (Stiles,1977).

Decades after the birth of Ethnoarchaeology as a subfield of archaeology, theoretical and methodological problems persist. Agorsah (1990) argues that ethno-archaeologists are largely complacent when it comes to formulating empirical paradigm that involves methodological and theoretical interpretation beyond data. The implication is that a contention emanates from practicality and the perceived role of Ethnoarchaeology in archaeological inquiry. The analogy has been presented inadequately as a point of inference in ethnoarchaeological interpretation, a preposition that still elicits debates among scholars. In Africa, ethnoarchaeology gained momentum immediately as it was perceived as an active laboratory for testing new methods and theories (Yellen, 1976, Agorsah, 1990). The prominence of Ethnoarchaeology in Africa has not been smooth as the discipline faces mileage of problems. Nonetheless, some archaeological inquiries have successfully employed ethnoarchaeological data interpretation methods.

Gould and Watson (1982) had argued that Ethnoarchaeology is the bedrock by which all archaeological observations are undertaken. Interestingly, ethnoarchaeological reliance on analogy to make inferences about the past has been criticized due to its reliance on

generalizations, a practice which some quarters believe is detrimental to archaeological inquiries. This preposition of the supremacy of ethnoarchaeological methods is embedded in the fact that humans infer the past based on the known from the present, which is the main tenant of ethnoarchaeological inquiries. In fact, even evolution archaeologists use close relatives of humans, such as bonobos and chimpanzees, to make inferences concerning early hominids' adaptation strategies. As Clark and Kurashina (1981) had observed in his seminal lecture, 'geology as conceptualized by Charles Lyell is premised on applying the current process to make inferences concerning the past'. This claim is not controversial as ethnoarchaeology despite the same principles being employed. He explains further that ethnoarchaeology is a controversial issue due to historical realities where it was vaguely defined and used to advance ideologies, especially concerning non-western societies. Although some scholars have called for a differentiation between ethnography and ethnoarchaeology, drawing those differences remains problematic at best. In fact, the only differences are that ethnoarchaeology includes cultural materials as their main aim in interpretation. Still, important principles such as analogy, inferences and generalizations are central in both disciplines.

In Africa, ethnoarchaeology, archaeology, and, by extension, ethnography was employed on the wrong premise, that societies represented primitive phases of human development (Hamilakis,2016). These assumptions were exemplified by the imperial ideology that was sweeping Europe at the time (McNiven,2016). This approach led to the misinterpretation of archaeological records as it did not factor in other conditions associated with human adaptation strategies, such as environment, cultural diffusion and geography, among

others. The first quarter of the twentieth century was characterized by more development in ethnographic inquiry with the emergency of American schools led by Boaz. González-Ruibal (2016) argues that ethnoarchaeology, as conceptualized by some scholars, entails the study of living communities using archaeological methods. He contends that if ethnoarchaeology is undertaken with the aim of archaeological interpretation, the centrality of analogy cannot be ignored. Interestingly, some scholars perceive ethnoarchaeology as a new perspective of archaeological inquiry that is less westernized (Lane, 2006, González-Ruibal, 2003). To that end, ethnoarchaeological inquiry in Africa has shackled off colonial connotations that dominated African social sciences.

This dissertation examines the applicability of ethnoarchaeology in exploring the social identities of Gede and Thimlich archaeological sites. Thimlich Ohinga forms part of societies that immigrated into the Lake Victoria basin from the fourteenth century. The site was characterized by the occupation of different communities for over five hundred years. As such, cultural change, trade, and demographic dynamics influenced social identities in various ways. On the other hand, Gede, as part of the Swahili civilization, was on the east African coast from the second-millennium current era to the mid-fiftieth century. This period was characterized by rapid development fueled partly by Indian Ocean trade, regional and local trade networks, and Islam spread in the region, ultimately leading to the growth of urban centers such as Kilwa, Malindi, and Mombasa, among others.

Therefore, this dissertation discusses in detail the application of ethnoarchaeological methods in exploring social identity signatures such as settlement patterns, gender roles,

and social hierarchies change over space and time. The primary question this dissertation seeks to address is how does the usage of ethnoarchaeological methods aid in reconstructing social identities in Gede and Thimlich Ohinga? To explore this question, ethnoarchaeological methods are used to examine cultural materials collected in Gede and Thimlich Ohinga concerning social identity signatures. The study aimed, in part, to investigate the reliability of ethnoarchaeology in exploring social identities from the archaeological record and how that can be applied across different cases.

This dissertation employs ethnoarchaeology partly as conceptualized by Stanislawski (1974), who defined it as observation of disturbance, form, manufacturing, use of artefacts in institutional settings or function and group correlation among non-industrial people. For this study, non-industrial society is replaced by contemporary societies to create practical analogies and inferences of Gede society, which was modern in the sense that it was a cosmopolitan city. Also, Thimlich Ohinga resembles contemporary rural communities based on empirical evidence of excavated materials from the site.

Furthermore, the study also incorporates Stiles (1977) understanding of the discipline, who defined ethnoarchaeology as simply ethnographic archaeology, a term that put a lot of previous studies into ethnoarchaeological inquiries. The bottom line seems to be the application of systematic analogies in exploring contemporary behavior as a strategy of making inferences concerning the past way of life as reflected in the archaeological record. Hodder (2004) claims that archaeological methods are closely correlated with theory. The implication, therefore, is that archaeology is anchored on assumptions such

as ‘man the hunter’ or ‘optimal foragers. On that premise, ethnoarchaeology is practiced through the same principles applied in contemporary archaeology.

4.7.1 Ethnoarchaeological Theoretical Considerations

The development of archaeological theory in the last few decades has led to the development of various schools of thought dominated by processual and post-processual groups. Generally, other debates have dominated the field concerning the role of theory and practice. The rationale has been that theorist and ‘dirt archaeologists’ and laboratory archaeologists are irreconcilable in terms of objectives (Hodder, 2004). Mainly, suspicion arises between the abstract and societies with an emphasis on middle-range theory against abstract thinking surrounding power, gender, agency, rhetoric and so forth. The emphasis on testing theory against data has led some archaeologists to claim that it has neglected the theory formulation process and rigorous archaeological hypothesis testing.

Over time, theory development has taken various shapes, which have been partly influenced by efforts to make archaeology more scientific hence embracing positivism. In the 1960s, there was an emphasis on theory development which facilitated rigorous hypothesis testing using data. This was driven by a desire to make archaeology scientific. **Skibo (2009)** argues that ethnoarchaeology was embraced by processualists in order to make archaeology more anthropological. The era of post-processual archaeology and ethnoarchaeology has been characterized by emphasizing contextual, agency and symbolic consideration. Ethnoarchaeology and theory building must, therefore, remain to their core function: a correlation between things and humans.

I must take **Paul Lane's (2005)** critique of this discipline to heart when he stated that “I assure the reader that my project is not simply some search for modern “Stone Age” equivalents to what I believe ancient pastoralism in Africa must have been like”. With that said, I follow **Wylie's (1985)** approach, creating ethnoarchaeological analogies as one strategy, that can be used in triangulating multiple independent lines of evidence to arrive at some objective understanding of the past. As Gifford-Gonzalez notes, “If we recognize that analogies are more warranted if based on systematic examination or causal relations, we must employ ethnographic evidence to move beyond facile gender and cultural stereotyping, to locate those enduring and universal facts of pastoral life to which all groups and households engaged in the keeping of herds and flocks must respond” (1998:123). **Stahl (1993)** suggests a renewed emphasis on comparative approaches (examining points of difference between ethnographic cases and the archaeological record) rather than interpretive approaches (mapping ethnographic details onto similarities seen in the archaeological record, effectively projecting the ethnographic present onto the past). I share a recent view that ethnoarchaeology should also be considered a way to “refine the background knowledge that archaeologists use to interpret the past by conducting cross-cultural studies that allow them to gaze critically back upon the discipline, its methods and its theories” (**Cunningham, 2009, p. 123**).

Social identities are dynamic and responsive to external and internal forces, making it challenging to explore using static materials only. This dissertation employed ethnoarchaeological methods in exploring the continuity and change of gender and social status in the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. Ethnoarchaeology can be

summarized as the usage of contemporary society's data to interpret the past (David & Kramer, 2001). To that end, Ethnoarchaeology is crucial in making inferences concerning the acquisition, production, consumption and discarding of cultural materials. On the other hand, this dissertation has been premised on the assumption that social groups' categories are closely connected to acquiring and utilizing certain resources. Thus, by undertaking ethnoarchaeological work among Luo and Swahili communities living in Migori and Kilifi Counties, respectively, the study aimed to use the data to explore how factors such as population increase, new subsistence strategies, and external linkages affect gender and social hierarchies. Furthermore, how those effects can be employed in making inferences concerning continuity and change among Thimlich Ohinga and Gede communities. Therefore, attempts are made to draw correlations between excavated materials from the two sites under study with ethnoarchaeological data as the basis of reconstructing gender and social status and subsequent changes over time.

4.8 Ethnographic Data of Luo Community

This section discusses ethnoarchaeological data collected in Nyatike in Migori County, where Thimlich Ohinga is located. The ethnography entailed an intensive questionnaire, intensive survey and direct observation of 20 households for three months. The study concentrated on signatures which are insightful in examining the gender and social hierarchies of the people under study. Overall, the study entailed documenting social identity signatures which can be manifested in the archaeological record, such as architectural designs, usage of spaces, dietary patterns, traditional trading practices, subsistence patterns and burial practices. Overall, the study examined how the Luo community expresses gender and social hierarchies. Most importantly, how those social

identities are expressed in material forms and their implication on the archaeological record.

Luo History

The Luo community is derived from the word “Luo,” which is related to the word “luwo,” which means to follow. The Luo community belongs to Nilotes, and they occupy the present-day Lake Victoria Basin. Their oral traditions trace their origin from “Nile and Sudan.” Ogot (1967) argues that Nilotes evolved as a distinct group around 1000CE and dispersed in the next few centuries. Currently, the community occupies primary Homa Bay, Migori, Kisumu, and Siaya counties. The community is closely connected with Japadhola and Acholi of Uganda as well as Shiluk, Dinka, Alur, and Anyuak of Southern Sudan. Ogot (1967) claims that the first group to move to western Kenya was Joka-Jok who moved from the Tekidi settlement and headed to Mount Elgon through Uganda. The Joka-Jok moved into Samia, lived there for a century, and often interacted with Bantu communities around Lake Victoria. The Bantu communities they interacted with used iron and subsisted on crop farming, fishing, hunting, and gathering.

This interaction with Bantu communities led to intermarriages and the rise of multilingual and multi-ethnic communities comprising Bantus and Kalenjin, especially in Yimbo. Later, Joka-Jok moved to the interior of western Kenya and settled in modern-day Sakwa, Uyoma, Asembo, and Alengo. Thus, tentatively, the first stage of Luo migration into present-day Migori county is around 1730-1770 CE. The group practiced pastoralism while exploiting marine resources. Later, crop agriculture became the dominant mode of production as pastoralism’s importance reduced, maybe due to tsetse flies in the region.

The diversification of subsistence strategies influenced the gender and social hierarchies of the community in various ways. Nonetheless, despite the incorporation of crop agriculture, livestock continued to play a vital role in their lives.

Luo Homestead

The Luo homestead forms a social, economic, and political unit that extends from the community level. The construction of a homestead is elaborate and entails the usage of space to reflect social hierarchy and gender categories. Overall, a homestead will comprise houses belonging to the first wife and her co-wives and, in some instances, the sons' houses. Typically, the first wife is the largest and is direct from the main gate. The second wife's house is on the right-hand side and the third on the left, with subsequent wives' houses alternating in that sequence. The man of the house will be located between the first and second wives. The son's houses stretch towards the main gate, with the youngest being nearest the main entrance. As informed by our informants, the rationale is that the younger sons are more energetic, which is necessary in defending the homestead in case of attacks. The cattle pens are located at the center, where it is easier to be on check up by the adults in the homestead. On the other hand, goats, sheep, and calves are kept in a particular structure, which is more enclosed, called *Abila*.

Plate 4.25 Luo Homestead



Source Edward Luby Collections

Luo subsistence Strategies

Luo subsistence patterns entail livestock keeping, crop farming, and fishing. Typically, fishing is carried out by those people who live near Lake Victoria, where fishing is done for commercial purposes. The number of livestock in the Luo community is few compared to other Nilotes. This can be attributed to the areas they currently occupy, which was the tsetse flies' zone, making it difficult to rely heavily on livestock and their

products. Furthermore, Luo lives sedentary, making it impossible to use mobility to mitigate natural calamities and drought-like present-day Maasai.

Nonetheless, in the past, the Luo community practiced hunting and gathering as a significant subsistence strategy. **Ndege (1987)** observes that the community had an elaborate hunting strategy headed by Jaga dwar (hunting group leader). Traditionally, hunting was mainly men's affairs who deliberated and decided which area to hunt. The hunting leader, therefore, enforced stipulated rules of hunting, including how to share in case of group hunting. The animals that were often hunted include gazelles, zebras, buffalos, and hippos, among others. The hunting often entailed trapping, especially of large numbers, using hidden holes. On the other hand, women were responsible for gathering wild plant resources and small animals. Thus, wild vegetables, fruits, and herbs were important for traditional medicines.

Livestock Rearing

Traditionally, cattle were kept for subsistence and ceremonies and used to express prestige and social hierarchies in Luo culture. The livestock acted as dowry, and men acquired livestock upon marriage. Since livestock was perceived as wealth in Luo culture, it meant that men with more cows could marry more wives, which meant larger households. The large households meant more labor and were also used to determine an individual's social status (**Ogutu, 1975**). The cattle had religious functions, including sacrifices to their deities hence more value in Luo culture. Furthermore, those with large herds of livestock would afford to hold ceremonies for their neighbors, which helped them to cement their social status within the community.

Cattle were widely accepted as a medium of exchange with an array of other products, including grains, iron hoes, sheep, and goats, among other items. Besides being used for bride dowry, cattle were used to pay for social sanctions emanating from actions such as incest or in exchange for prisoners of war. The livestock products such as blood and milk were consumed, and in the case of milk, it could be used to make butter for later consumption. Also, animal hides were used for clothing, and cow dung were made in the house to the smoothening floor in the case of cow dung (Ogutu, 1975).

Crop Farming

Millet and sorghum were traditionally important grains that were farmed by the Luo community. In the past, Luo hoe (buso) was made entirely using wooden materials. The buso is effectively planted along riverbeds with soft soil, especially when planting vegetables. Over time, the Luo acquired iron technology through interactions with their Bantu neighbors in the region. With the application of iron tools, the community intensified crop farming and moved away from the river bed due to overpopulation caused by the increase in food production. Furthermore, pastoralism became less important as crops and fishing gained prominence in the community. The objects associated with the utilization of crop produce include grinding stones (pong nyaluo). Points that these pong nyaluo was mainly used to grind millet and sorghum before modern posho mills were introduced in Luo land.

Fishing

Fishing among the Luo who lives near water bodies, especially near Lake Victoria, remains an important economic activity. In the past, fishing was done in other water bodies besides Lake Victoria, especially rivers (Ndege, 1987). At present, fishing is mainly done by men, while women are involved in selling. Therefore, people with fishing boats control fish production in the Luo community. In the traditional settings, these boats were mainly wooded canoes, which meant they could not withstand strong lake winds (apaka). Besides using boats for fishing, the Luo community also uses other methods, such as traps, to catch fish. These fish traps were traditionally made using papyrus.

Crafting

The Luo community engages in various crafting, which includes manufacturing pots, weaving, ironworking, and tanning (Nyakwaka, 2013). Besides, tanning other activities were gendered activities, at least traditionally. The weaving of baskets was normally done by women, while men were involved in making granaries. The baskets were weaved based on their functions. They included those which were made for storage of grains (atanga), open for carrying out grains (hamiero), and (odheru) for drying fish and meat for preservation purposes. The manufacturing of pots was mainly women's affairs, although men would help in the acquisition of clay. Like baskets, pots were made based on their function and often varied in size, motifs, and shapes. The functions of these pots included those used for storage of water (dapi), cooking fish and meat (Ohigla), and storage of grains (dak). The pots were widely traded with neighboring communities, including Gusii and Kipsigis.

Plate 4.26 Dried Fish



Traditionally dried fish using smoke (picture by author).

4.9 Feasting Patterns

In some African societies, feasting involves elaborate rituals and practices that often reflect social identities within a group. In the Luo community's case, feasting livestock is informative of different social categorizations. Therefore, animal parts are consumed based on an individual gender or age. **Ocholla (1976)** notes how meat was divided based

on several considerations, including gender dynamics, events, or rituals being undertaken. Therefore, the sharing of meat entailed elaborate rules influenced by social identities. For instance, initially, women were not allowed to consume sheep meat, and when allowed, the rules dictated that parts be divided according to the seniority and gender of an individual. When sheep were slaughtered for the guest, meat was divided and consumed differently than in other functions, such as during the dowry ceremony. Thus, the consumption of animals among the Luo community is indicative of gender and social hierarchies. In this case, hierarchies emanate from social rather than economic status, acquired through an individual gender, age, lineage, etc. Thus, bone distribution forms the basis of identity, gender, and social hierarchy in material form. For example, some parts of sheep and goats are taken to the first wives' houses, where they are consumed. The implication is that bone distribution can be used to infer issues such as gender and social hierarchy. Nonetheless, some meat consumed cuts across two or more social identity groups.

Table 4.18 Sheep Meat Division Table

Part of meat	Social Identity Group /
Front left leg	The front left leg of a sheep was meant for the spirits and rereferred to as “bat kor jachien”. When not meant for spirits, it was reserved for the married daughter, especially when sheep were slaughtered for a guest.
Head	The Head was meant for male children of the household, except for the tongue and mandible for older adults. In comparison, the neck was consumed by the Head of the household.
Ribs	Ribs divided among the cowives while sternum was consumed by older boys while the junior ones ate central cartilage.
Internal organs	Older men ate the heart and liver, while the spleen was for the boy who was taking care of the sheep as well as the testicles. On the other hand, girls ate under while women consumed intestines. Kidneys, brains, trachea, glands, and ringpien belonged to male youth.
Lumber Vertebrae	Belonged to the senior wife
Thighs and leges	Second wife
Sacrum	Grandmother

Besides, normal feasting of animals' other regular meals involves elaborate usage of space. at least in the past, children dined in their mothers' hats. On the other hand, males' especially older ones, consumed their food in *Abila/duol*, which is basically the hat of the patriarch hat. Also, the elder wife and other wives bring food to duol where they are shared by males in the homestead who are technically the kin or visitors. Traditionally, certain foods such as eggs, chickens as well as wild animals such as elephant and porcupine meat women were forbidden from consuming.

Table 4.19 Cow meat Division Table

Heart	Old men
Left front limb	Married daughters
Sternum	Senior boys
Humerus	First wife
Lumber vertribrae	Second wife
Tail	Old men
Kidney	Girls
Pelvis	Grandmother of the household or senior female in the lineage
Intestine	Female
Brain	Children /old men without teeth
lungs	Women /old men without teeth
Femur and tibia	House of the older wife
Right front limb	House of the younger wife
Omentum	Girls
Abdominal muscles	Reserved for females

Artifacts which are gendered

Luo, just like other communities, had artefacts that were gender specific as dictated by the division of labor and assigned duties. Some of the notable artefacts include the club, which was owned by men and used to deal with dangerous wild animals, including lions. This tradition of using a club is shared with highland Nilotes as well as the use of a bow for hunting and killing livestock predators. The arrow was also used for piercing livestock to get blood for consumption, a tradition still practiced by the Maasai pastoral community.

A Luo warrior who is known as Thuon sometimes commissions a shield maker to build him one, which is referred to as Kuot. Men used this shield exclusively as a defensive weapon and to maintain the social status associated with warriorhood. Luo community warriors were encouraged to raid to accumulate cattle for bridewealth; the shield was part of the weapons at men's disposal. The shield also came in handy in an area characterized by constant warfare and livestock raiding. This dissertation argues that warrior hoods were prestigious among the Luo community due to circumstances and the warfare environment.

Valued Materials

Luo community valued livestock which was used as a measure of wealth and basis of prestige. The livestock was also used as a bride's wealth, making them more valuable as more wives were perceived as having social status. The animal skins, especially of rare Columbus monkeys and leopards, were highly valued commodities. Typically, these skins had ritualistic values and were used in religious and political functions. Besides

being used for rituals, these rare skins were traded in exchange for other goods within the community.

4.10 Ethnographic Data of Swahili Community

This section discusses ethnoarchaeological data collected from Lamu County, Northern Kenya. Since Lamu has been continuously occupied for centuries, it contains characteristics of Swahili culture, including architecture, dietary patterns, Islamic values, exploitation of marine resources, etc. Thus, Lamu's ethnoarchaeological data is the best representation while examining the Gede city-state. The study examined Lamu County's traditional shipbuilding, fishing, trade, and architectural usage of private and public spaces as well as Islamic culture and how the above factors indicate gender and social hierarchy. The ethnoarchaeological methods used in this section have been discussed in more detail in chapter two of this dissertation. Nonetheless, the data collected was used to make inferences concerning gender and social hierarchies of Gede society. Notably, how gender and social hierarchy of an individual influenced (in) access to certain materials as well as private and public spaces.

History of Swahili Community

Scholars' definition of Swahili people has changed in the course of the research on the community, especially in archaeology (Ichumbaki, 2017; Ray, 2017). Initially, scholars perceived the Swahili community as comprised of Arabs and Persians who intermarried with local Bantu communities along the coast (Kirkman, 1963). Their arguments were based on archaeological evidence of materials closely related to Islamic culture coupled

with oral traditions along the coast that insisted on the foreign origin of the Swahili people (Ichumbaki & Pollard, 2021). Nonetheless, more archaeological evidence indicates that the East African coast was occupied by a vibrant Swahili community before the arrival of Arabs or the spread of Islam (Horton, 1996; Chami & Mapunda, 1998). This evidence has been corroborated by linguistic evidence that shows the Swahili language borrows heavily from indigenous communities, especially Mijikenda and Pokomo languages (Horton & Middleton, 2000). Therefore, there is some overwhelming evidence that indigenous communities have continuously occupied the East African coast for thousands of years. These indigenous communities subsisted on marine resources, making them active in their physical environment (Ichimbaki, 2017). Nonetheless, this section concentrates on the contemporary Swahili community of Lamu County, Kenya.

Swahili Household

The social household is central to the expression of social identities, especially gender and social identities. Donley's (1987) ethnoarchaeological study of Lamu and Pate describes how Swahili houses were gendered and divided according to the social status of the inhabitants. For instance, by drawing from historical accounts from 18th century Lamu, enslaved people occupied the ground floor while the slave masters and their families lived on the upper part. Furthermore, the female domestic enslaved people who worked in the house were allowed to live on the ground floor while others lived away from the main house. She notes how enslaved women also acted as concubines for their masters, often changing their status by siring children with their masters. On the other hand, she observed that Swahili women have considerable powers at the household level.

They controlled the goods and economy of the house, while the majority of the rituals were carried out within the house. These rituals directed by women included weddings, birth, and burial preparations. To that end, Swahili women expressed their identity through the above activities and the acquisition of materials such as gold and jewelry. In fact, men strived to spend less time in the house as possible and only perceived the house as a place to eat and sleep.

Plate 4.27 Swahili House



A Swahili house constructed using coral and traditional roofing in some parts (Picture by Author).

Based on the above observation, the Swahili household acted as an area where gender and social status were expressed, negotiated, and reinforced. For instance, gender intersection is evident through siring of children between the master and slave females. The children born from enslaved people and enslavers changed their social hierarchy, which corresponded, in some instances moving from the ground floor to upstairs. To that end, Donley's ethnoarchaeological work was insightful in exploring how the Swahili house was used to express identities, especially gender. Fleisher (2013 v), nonetheless, notes how Donley's work context and her area of study could be misleading in certain aspects. He contends that Donley's work concentrated on the elites of Lamu who were contending with their identity in a time in post-independence Kenya. At this period, the prestige of the Swahili elites had shifted. Secondly, her ethnoarchaeological investigation concentrated on elite Swahili families. The implication is that the data needed to be more conclusive in capturing Swahili houses social organizations, especially of the commoners. My ethnographic study aimed to tackle the shortcomings of Donley's work as well as build on some of her findings.

Plate 4.27 streets of Pate and House Arrangement



The streets of Pate made with same materials of coral and lime which is same technique used in Gede (Picture by the Author).

Plate 4.29 Interior House of Pate



The above room shows a storage niche where Quran is often stored, as well as precious materials such as ceramics and beads. These types of Niches have been observed in Gede in mosques and houses associated with affluent people (picture by author).

The data presented and discussed in this section was collected in April 2022 at Pate and Lamu towns within the larger Lamu County. The area was chosen due to its continuous occupation for hundreds of years by the Swahili community as well as its unique

characteristics of Islamic culture. The most important features of Lamu are the narrow streets as observed in Gede, private family cemeteries as those observed in Gede and overall Islamic culture. Therefore, the data collected in these areas is important in making inferences concerning Gede's social organization. Notably, how gender and social hierarchies were expressed in material form in the past and the implication on the archaeological record. The ethnographic observation and interviews concentrated on gender-specific materials, including the usage of public and private spaces. The same applied while examining how social hierarchies are expressed among the Swahili community. Since the household acts as the smallest social unit of analysis in this study, the data presented here capture the social dynamics and implications on material records of gender and social hierarchies.

Table 4.20 Gendered materials

Item	Gender	Usage and Implication
Dhow	Men	Used for the transport of goods and people as well as fishing, and the implication is that men are involved in fishing activities as well as transport.
Farm Tools	Men	For agricultural activities, which is generally men's work. Also, it is men who are involved in the trading of agricultural produce.
Clothing	Men/women	Clothing is gender specific, with men's clothes consisting mainly of Saruni, Kidoti, Kanza and Kofia, while women's clothes are typically Kaniki and Shiti.
Ornaments	Women	Women are mainly the ones with ornaments especially gold and silver
Usage of house space	Women	Mlia wa ndani/sane is an area used by women and girls to sleep. Also, the kitchen is associated with men.
activities	Men/women	Making beds is exclusively for men, while women are concerned with basketry and weaving. Also, at least in the past retail shops were for men as well as selling tobacco, while women were involved in selling basketry at a local level. This corresponds with a written history of Swahili, where trade was made mainly by men, but women were active participants in the production of trading goods. Women are mainly involved in buying clothing, while men are in food products.

The table above captures some gendered materials among contemporary Swahili people of Pate and Lamu town in the more comprehensive Lamu County. The activities include artisan activities, commerce, dress code, and farming activities. Nonetheless, I do not argue that these gendered activities and usage of resources persisted in Gede. As I have argued before, social identities, especially gender, were fluid; hence, they changed through time and space. Nonetheless, the ethnographic data shows that in Swahili Islamic society, some roles were gendered, as observed in contemporary society. Most importantly, gender as social identity entails access to specific resources hence leading to the materiality of gender in antiquity.

Table 4.21 Social Status Material

Item	Status	Usage
Gold	For affluent and ordinary people	These are used mostly as ornaments, especially for women. There also have some religious importance, making them highly sorted by different individuals besides affluent people.
Saruni	Affluent	This are clothes that are generally worn by rich people.
Samadari Ulili and Hindi	Affluent people	This is elaborate beds associated with rich people.
Ambari,	Affluent people	Associated with rich people
Ancient Clocks	Affluent people	This were acquired in the past by affluent people in the past.
Ghee	For affluent and common people	In this case, the affluent people will consume more ghee as compared to the commoners. Nonetheless, ghee is not exclusive to the rich people in society.
House	Depends on social hierarchy	The size and designs depend on the social status of individuals, especially household owners. The affluent people in the past and present build storied houses.

The prestige of goods depends on their importance to the community. In some cases, some materials have religious and symbolic meanings, which makes them necessities

despite their value. For instance, gold is closely connected with religion in Islam, making it a critical product irrespective of individual status. The same analogy can be applied to explain why foreign ceramics were prevalent in Gede in areas associated with the commoners. Besides those resources associated with religion, some products are used by the rich. These products are consumed as the bases of re-enforcing their prestige within society. They include imported rare clocks and some rare precious stones which are imported from other regions. Therefore, the ethnographic study of the Swahili people shows that some goods which are used to maintain social hierarchies are imported, just as in the past. They are also rare, making them exclusive to a certain group.

Weaving

In Lamu, weaving is mainly a women's affair in Swahili culture at present. Typically, weaving entails Swahili artefacts that include baskets, beds, floor carpets, and other household-use materials. To that end, women are central in making materials used for households. Nonetheless, there is not much evidence concerning weaving materials in an archaeological context. However, historical accounts show that weaving has always been part of Swahili culture. On the other hand, using local materials to make threads for weaving was also employed in making rope for shipbuilding (Spear, 2000). As previously observed, shipbuilding was a major activity involving women in significant economic activity along the Swahili coast. Most probable, participating in the manufacturing supply chain as hypothesized concerning rope making.

Plate 4.27 Mat Making



Showing a mat made which is hand made in Lamu by women (Picture by the Author).

Plate 4.28 showing Rooms of Swahili House in Pate



The rooms showing beds made of woven materials (Picture by the Author).

4.11 Summary

The chapter has described the process employed in collecting data at Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. Notable data collection methods have been explored, such

as re-examining excavated materials from Thimlich Ohinga and Gede. The stratigraphy of the trenches excavated has been outlined, and materials recovered from each level. The chapter also has detailed excavation procedures at the site of Gede. The data collected has also been presented and briefly discussed in this chapter. Also, a detailed description of ethnographic data that was collected from contemporary Luo and Swahili communities living in Migori, Homa Bay and Lamu counties has been outlined in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

MATERIALIZATION OF GENDER AS SOCIAL IDENTITY IN ANTIQUITY

5.0 Introduction

This chapter generally discusses the materialism of social identities in an archaeological context. As such, the chapter employs secondary data to examine the materialism of social identities, emphasizing gender as a social categorization. That is, methods and theoretical paradigms formulated by scholars in examining gender in the archaeological record. At the center of this chapter are debates concerning strategies for examining gendered categories and how they are reflected in material form. Based on that observation, this chapter thoroughly explores material evidence of gender identities. These include gender signatures such as mortuary data, architectural designs, osteology, dietary patterns, and usage of public and private spaces. To that end, the materialism of gender identities discussed in this chapter is philosophical, fluid in nature, and subject to environmental and cultural changes.

5.1 Social Identities Expression in Archaeology

Unlike other social sciences that study living groups' social identities, archaeologists rely on physical evidence (Roberts & Linden, 2011; Boas, 2016). To do so, archaeologists explore social identities as material-producing entities (Ulrich & Pearson, 1998). Thus, each identity group has its niche and produces materials that can be studied archaeologically. Although post-processual archaeologists have cautioned against using cultural materials to reconstruct social identities, this approach is reasonably practical ((Hodder, 1994). To demonstrate this view, contemporary societies have often produced

or utilized certain materials based on their identities (Lyons & Papadopoulos, 2004). We commonly refer to Italian cuisine or Indian clothes without controversies (**Kang et al., 2012**; Boivin et al., 2014). Thus, archaeologists can refer to social identities based on cultural materials produced by a particular group of people (Joyce & Henderson, 2007; Zulauf, 2013). These groups can be institutions that are often represented by material remains. For example, social institutions such as political systems in the past entailed performing certain functions, leaving unique monuments such as palaces (DeMarrais et al., 1996). However, some materials' usage cuts across identities; hence contextual analysis can aid in reducing the subjectivity during interpretation (Hodder, 1982).

Identity groups such as ethnicity have been identified as an ideal way of life rather than reality (Mbae, 1990; Maina, 2016). Thus, individuals and groups sometimes practice their identities differently in public and private spaces. Also, identity groups are always presented with choices that are subjective to factors such as environment, diffusion, internal dynamics, etc. Therefore, ethnic groups produce similar and different materials from other ethnic groups based on their survival chances. Hodder (1982) contends that the correlation of cultural materials with ethnicity was used to promote racism and nationalism in the twentieth century and justify such biases using archaeology. Nonetheless, anthropological studies have demonstrated that technological development is subjective in nature (Sillar & Tite, 2000). That is, humans will invent and be innovative, when necessary, which means the potential is the same across all cultures and environments.

Kristiansen (2011) asserts that "it is possible to delimit various forms of social differentiation and ultimately ethnic identity through a careful analysis of the geographical distribution of social institutions and the symbolic meaning of their material culture (p.205)." Binford (1965) claims that culture should be explored as a system, and its subsystems' components should be assigned different functions. However, Binford separated culture into adaptive and interaction spheres. Thus, cultures do not necessarily represent ethnic groups but rather an adaptation strategy that can be closely related to ecology. This does not mean that is the only case, with some communities opting for different subsistence types supported by the environment in a particular geographical area.

Therefore, identity can be broadly defined as a characteristic that defines a group or an individual. It is, therefore, a characteristic that defines groups or individuals by others within and outside the identity group (Voss, 2005). These identities include gender, ethnicity, sex, age, and religion, among other factors that define societies and individuals. In an archaeological context, social identity signatures vary from one community to another and are subject to the physical environment, economic organization, political systems, and social organizations (Twiss, 2019). The fluidity of social identities makes them have different meanings, which is responsive to time and the people in question, among other factors (Smith et al., 2001).

As such, Michel Foucault (1994) argues that social identity is a social construct that changes from time to time and imposed by others and themselves. Like the Marxist theory of ideology and Freudian psychoanalysis, Foucault emphasized how humans' actions are

influenced by others rather than themselves. In other words, reality is influenced by social and psychological conditions set up by other forces rather than the subjects. This was a departure from the Cartesian ideology that dominated the examination of human actions for centuries and insisted on the cogito, where an individual or subject determines reality (Watson, 2007). Thus, over time humans are condemned into certainly subscribed identifications with ramifications recorded in the archaeological record. So, issues such as ethnicity, gender, and sex, among other statuses, were considered primordial by early scholars due to their persistence in different cultures in contemporary and ancient societies.

In the 1960s, scholars started questioning the status quo and the formation and maintenance of such ideologies. As Foucault argued, people assign or are assigned specific identities, which by extension, acquisition of certain privileges at others' expense (Halperin, 1998). As Foucault theorized concerning power and what is considered the truth, the same applies to social identities in resource acquisition and subsequent utilization. For instance, power as a tool of relations between individuals or social groups is central to physical materials. If power influences the utilization of materials, it also shapes individual behaviors (Vescio et al., 2019; Rucker et al., 2012). For archaeologists, a society had people who assigned themselves and others specific roles and, to some extent, what resources they were entitled to. The importance of such observation is that it creates a direct correlation between material utilization and social identities. This study explores the material remains or indicators to make inferences concerning gender roles and social identities as manifested in the archaeological record.

Thus, indicators such as space, architecture, diets, economic activities, and political power are assigned to different identity groups with well-defined roles (Lucero, 2002; Andolina et al., 2009). Such identities were elaborate in more sophisticated ancient societies such as Maya, ancient Egyptian, and ancient Rome civilizations (**Mennen, 2011**). For instance, social hierarchies were reflected in architecture, where more complex buildings were for the rich (Edwards, 1998). Secondly, the location of houses and access to exotic goods are well documented in the written and archaeological records (Thapar, 2013). Besides, funerary practices, spatial patterns, and religious practices are indicative of social identities in those ancient complex civilizations (Wallis, 2008). Furthermore, writing exists in some civilizations, describing different social identities regarding their livelihoods (**Sayer & Williams, 2007**; Verbrugge & Wickersham, 2001). In such cases, the reconstruction of social identities is not problematic due to elaborate differences in the accessibility of cultural materials.

In normal circumstances, social identities' impact on individual lives ranges from negative to positive (Derks et al., 2007). As such, individuals will strive to be integrated into identities that improve their prestige among others while fighting the demeaning ascribed identities (Terry et al., 2009). Therefore, it is common for an individual to strive to become elite in a society where they access resources and power that is a society with such identity (Madrigal, 2001). Moreover, individuals and societies may join identities associated with cultures they consider superior as a survival mechanism (Highhouse et al., 2007). This is more common while dealing with social identities such as religion; in fact, the spread of some religions worldwide among prehistoric societies may be attributed to those societies' need to identify with other cultures they consider superior.

Moreover, human history is characterized by them being committed to an identity despite negative repercussions in some instances (Pellini, 2020). Archaeologists have, in the past, tried to analyze emotional investment in a group despite the negative impact on the individual (Moshenska, 2010). This is from the realization that solidarity usually exists despite discrimination (Harris & Sørensen, 2010). This manifested in what may be assumed as inequalities in contemporary societies (Garfinkel, 2006). The process by which some groups manifest their identities is through power relations. Such a group may force another identity group to act in specific ways depending on the parents' situation over their children. Identity is usually demonstrated through action, food, dress code, religious activities, and other actions. Thus, archaeologists must explore this phenomenon from a materiality perspective to fully understand social identities.

Interrogating materialism from the traditional sense is a view that the physical world profoundly shapes human life (Belk, 1985). The realities are that humans interact with the material world, which acts as the basis of social identities (Smith, 2007). Establishing a correlation between the material and non-material world is essential to investigate the social identities and their dynamism from static artefacts (Miller, 2009). Processual archaeologists for decades have strived to create objective methodologies. Therefore, since processual archaeology emerged six decades ago, positivism has been emphasized as the guiding principle of research practiced by natural sciences (Krieger, 2006). The effort to create general methods for reconstructing past human behaviors is one central bedrock of processual archaeology. The pioneer processual archaeologists' significant contributions shifted from explaining the cultural process to the forces influencing such

changes. Furthermore, various attempts to formulate general theories that explain social change were developed from that period onwards (Earl et al., 1987).

From processual archaeology, sub-disciplines such as spatial archaeology emerged successfully in exploring settlement patterns of ancient societies (Simek, 1984; Gillings et al., 2020). This sub-discipline is central to studying trade and exchange through the distribution of artefacts. While employing spatial archaeology techniques, archaeologists can study social identities (Hodder & Orton, 1976). The distribution of materials is determined by social norms, which are subscribed to individuals depending on the identity group they belong to. Therefore, it is expected to have a concentration of exotic materials in certain settlement areas associated with people of high status (Hopkins, 2013). The same strategy can be employed to study societies with various seclusion areas for a group of certain groups (Chase & Chase, 2017). However, although noble, this approach has its limitation, which post-processual archaeologists have identified. This includes generalization and the inability to cater to variability in human behavior.

Post-processual archaeologists offer an alternative method of studying past human behavior based on Marxists structural and symbolic perspectives (Chippindale, 1993; Fleming, 2006). Post central processual theme was not an alternative method of studying the past but rather possible ways of examining past human behavior (David, 2002). Thus, the pioneer of this school of thought, including Hodder (1982; 1985; 1991;1994), Tilley (1984; 1994; 1998;2007), Thomas (1998), and Shanks (2008), urged archaeologists to be sensitive to issues such as subjectivity, agency, ideologies, and identities, among other

factors. Although the post-processual did not offer alternative methods, it broadened how archaeologists interpreted past human behavior from archaeological records.

Don Ihde (2003) claims that humans are shaped by material objects and vice-versa. So, humans' relations are subjective to the materials they interact with; hence they cannot lead to neutrality (Latour, 2011). Put briefly, in a society, when different people have access to certain materials concerning who they are, their behavior/actions are influenced by those resources (Praetzellis & Praetzellis, 2001). For instance, as long as they can access resources that are not available to ordinary people, elites will have distinct behavior that may manifest through their lifestyle (Arnold, 2007). Individuals and groups experience their world mainly from a material point of view, making it possible for archaeologists to have an anchor while studying past societies' social dynamics. Generally, how are materials reflecting past human relations at an individual or a group level?

This study aimed at tackling two fundamental problems that face social archaeologists as they examine social identities using material evidence. First, correlating cultural remains to past social identities while considering human cultures' fluidity (Thomas, 1998). That is, how Cultural materials must be unfrozen and contextualized concerning other dynamics, including physical environment, contact with a foreign culture, and population dynamics. Second, accurately verifying that cultural materials are assigned to the correct identity groups (Van Walsem, 2005). The second part aimed at formulating a general theoretical framework that can be adopted by social archaeologists while exploring the

past. Thus, a theory that, in part, can be employed in the sites under study and, by extension, other areas.

Gregson (2003) argues that linking cultural materials with the social process is always the first problem archaeologists, anthropologists, and geographers face in their inquiries. In other words, how can we use physical attributes left behind, including dietary, settlement patterns, ceramics remains, and funerary practices, among other activities, to explain thoughts and social organizations of past societies? Currently, archaeological theorists have formulated two strategies for dealing with the materiality of social processes. The first one, which processual archaeologists favor, is premised on assumptions that objects, landscapes, and other assemblages are insightful in explaining human social processes, including identities (Lyman, 2007). Second, post-processual archaeologists, which are more favored, identify materials as having other meanings beyond their functions (Browman, 1998; Barret, 2014). The bottom line is that the two approaches examine materials, albeit using different approaches.

This study suggests that middle-range theory can be insightful while interrogating gender identities as reflected in the archaeological record. Raab and Goodyear (1973) argued that the incorporation of middle-range theory in archaeology could benefit later theoretical development as envisioned by new archaeology at the time (Jones, 1983; MacLeod & Nash, 2021). However, there was a later consensus that middle-range theory has yet to achieve the primary goal of acting as an anchorage for archeological theory development (Raab & Goodyear, 1984). The lack of progress in some areas was perceived as emanating from the fact that archaeologists needed to understand the middle-range theory

conceptualized by social theorists. Nevertheless, despite shortcomings, the middle-range theory remains central in interpretative archaeology, especially social archaeology (Binford, 1981). Structural functionalism, a concept of how societies are organized and function, has been extended to correlate human behavior and material usage.

Harrington (1989)) made an interesting observation of cultural materials in the eightieth-century Georgia archaeological record. He demonstrated that cultural material distributions corresponded with a worldview that existed in Georgia at the time. The implication is that cultural materials also change as human discourse changes concerning social identities. As observed in Georgia, the dynamism of social change is reflective of all societies at large. Incorporating new subsistence strategies may require redistribution of roles among different identity groups, including elites, age, sex, and gender. Thus, the materialization and distribution of material will effectively change, and the same results should be expected when dynamics such as environmental change or external contact. As such, this dissertation borrows the same idea while examining social identities in East African content. The region's culture changed in response to various internal and external factors. Ultimately, those changes had an impact on social identities and material composition. Thus, some of the questions this dissertation aims to answer include how introducing new culture impacted gender as an identity and subsequent material evidence for such changes.

Latour (1996) introduced the concept of hybridity, which shows a closer connection between artefacts and individuals that used them. The aim is that: "it shifts analytical focus away from people and things as discrete entities and toward the relationship

between people and things, much, in the same way, a focus on exchange potential shifted the focus for commodities (pg.4) ". So, exploring social identities, we cannot isolate cultural materials as they form the activities that individuals use within the group (Bruni & Teli, 2007). While employing the same analogy to contemporary societies where specialization acts as some of the divisions that can be correlated with past social identities to some extent, we can argue that in the end, there is usually a group of people who deal with specific types of materials. For example, pilots, teachers, and doctors, among other professionals, operate in their specific niche while dealing with different objects (artefacts) that will eventually be archaeological records of the future (Latour, 2007; 2011). Fundamentally, we can assume without controversy that those are 'doctors' tools of the trade' or 'Pilots.' Nonetheless, there is a possibility of a doctor being a pilot; hence materials may crisscross. Thus, contextualization using ethnoarchaeological methods is necessary while correlating materials with social identities.

The concept of shifting competency, which can be extended to imply cultural change, has gained social archaeologists' curiosity about how it affects the materialization process of social identities in the archaeological record. Meyers (2017) claim that shifting competency can be attributed to innovation, leading to the introduction of new materials. Social identities can be explored from the same perspective, where these materials are usually assigned to different groups in social settings. Bauer and Kosiba (1999) argue that introducing new objects alters day-to-day human activities profoundly. He attributes these changes to new routines, which may be made possible by introducing new cultures in society. Thus, the distribution of new roles, the delegation of functions to other individuals, and the incorporation of new activities lead to the redistribution of materials.

Studying social identity must consider how people-object relationships and objects mediate practice. To establish how things mediate space, it is essential to understand objects' functions in terms of semiotics.

Myrberg (2009) identified “connotative” and “denotative” functions as the two semiotics in studying physical materials. The former entails signs, social codes, and symbols independent of the object under study. The latter explores the function of objects or simply what they were used for and by whom (Henderson & Levstic, 2016). Nevertheless, the denotative function is the objects' expected or ideal usage (Childe, 2014). Overall, objects can shape human behaviors and make humans act in specific ways (Hussein & Will, 2021). This study adopted Binford's analogy of culture and subsystems to explore social identities and how they are reflected in the archaeological record. Social identities are viewed in socially constructed groups that make individuals within those groups' access specific resources (Fowler, 2004; Cochran & Beaudry, 2006).

Although some scholars perceive culture as an arbitrary construct, this study argues that social identities are independent entities and dictate human behaviors in a social context. In an archaeological context, group identities leave signatures that can be explored in their material nature (Tilley, 2007; Low, 2016). Post-processual and post-structuralisms have challenged social identities normative, including sex and gender, in the last three decades (Souvatzi, 2017). The anti-essentialism perception of social identities has been discussed in detail (See Butler, 1994). However, beyond debates concerning the formation of social institutions, the import of such social groups and their adaptations roles in pre-history cannot be ignored (Amiot et al., 2010). The centrality of resources in

defining social identities and, by extension, such groupings' materiality must be addressed in reconstructing prehistoric communities.

This chapter, therefore, departs from debates concerning social identities in terms of normative or social constructs and concentrates on the manifestation. Thus, the study explores available evidence concerning gender identities and how they manifested in the archaeological record. Blackmore (2011) argues that "archaeological bodies, whether we refer to the skeletons themselves, their adornment, or graphic representations, are in a constant process of construction, negotiation, and deconstruction (p.79)". As such, social identities' materiality is reflected by analyzing archaeological materials left behind by past communities. Social archaeologists can explore why social identities were formed, and their sphere of influence manifested through the archaeological record. Archaeologists studying social identities, especially gender, face the political challenges of exploring this topic in a volatile political environment. Tilley (2003) points' essentialism of social identities such as ethnicity simplifies identity discourse in archaeology. Furthermore, more studies have dwelled on the essentialism of particular social identities in the archaeological record.

The prevailing consensus is to treat social identities as products of political and social configurations responsive to change rather than those natural phenomena (Terry et al., 1999). This dissertation argues that archaeologists can formulate theoretical and methodological paradigms devoid of political leanings by exploring gendered identities through material evidence. To do so, archaeologists should examine social identities in terms of their adaptation significance, making specific terms such as "civilization"

relative. Thus, associating certain materials or inventions with specific ethnic communities does not necessarily constitute elevating a particular group of people. Furthermore, it has been argued that communities produced materials or organized their institutions to maximize their survival chances. To demonstrate this point, some regions started domesticating plants and animals earlier than others, which can be attributed to necessity (Clement and Cassino, 2018). Although this dissertation does not necessarily attribute human inventions to environmental determinism, it is clear that communities' introduction of new concepts was multidimensional, and superiority was not part of the equation. Briefly, optimal resource acquisition maximization played a crucial role in determining the social organization of prehistoric societies. The same principle applied while societies were forming social identities, such as gender in some instances. Nonetheless, as theorized by Marx, I do not assume that gender identities were merely a product of the adoption strategy. In some cases, the politics and desire to dominate by some gender categories on others have been documented in prehistoric and contemporary societies (Ames, 2007). The fundamental question shifts from why social identities were set and maintained to why and what implication on the archaeological record. That is, how gendered experiences were reflected in the archaeological record.

Historically, humans lived in unpredictable environments where labor and resources acquisition were an uphill task (French, 2016). This dissertation, therefore, employs the logic of adaptations as one of the reasons that informed internal social organization including gender. Secondly, in most societies, it was males who participated in hunting. This does make this task more important than gathering. As it has been documented, in most hunter-gatherer societies, plant resources contribute a high percentage of their diet,

making women primary providers (Borrero, 2015). Besides societies being divided into social categories for adaptation purposes, other factors also led to this division (Ames, 2007). For instance, it is well documented in prehistoric societies that individuals or groups have permanently assigned others to specific groups (Jenkins, 2014; Nagengast & Kearney, 1990). Usually, this is attributable to competition for specific resources. Those with power ensure that limited resources are guaranteed by excluding other groups ((Holland & Leander, 2004). Therefore, while inferring through ethnography why social identities were formed, we must examine the intentions which make contextualization of material remains paramount. The application of neutral and critical ideology in interpreting the question of why certain social identity groups were formed is crucial. As such, this dissertation proposes that the study of social identity formation should entail the context the society in question existed.

5.2 Gender Studies

The rise of social sciences in the few centuries corresponded with curiosity about human nature in their social organization (Hodder, 2002; Wroebel et al., 2017). The interpretation of human variations was initially explored using religious connotations, which changed during the renaissance period (Baumeister,2002). However, the growth of disciplines such as archaeology, psychology, and sociology geography, among others, changed those dynamics, with scholars shifting, striving to formulate theories that could be employed to study human nature (Wattenmaker,.1998). Notable studies included studies of 'primitive societies' and the 'civilization' leading to the development of schools of thought such as cultural evolution, environmental determinism, and cultural ecology (Milosavljevic, 2021).

To some extent, Darwin and Wallace's theory of natural selection was used to interpret differences that existed among different people and regions (Richerson & Christiansen, 2013). The same principles were adopted by anthropologists who emphasized biology to determine people's culture, with some societies being termed 'less evolved' (Greenfield, 2016). Unfortunately, nations used archaeology to advance their imperial policies to 'civilize backward societies'(Gosden, 2016). Thus, most issues were analyzed from a biological or geographical point of view. The gender issues were also explored in biological terms and based on historical considerations.

Anthropologists writing in the twentieth century explored gender primarily in biological terms. Notable anthropologists had for decades claimed that gender divisions were a product of sex; hence the two are interwoven phenomena. **Jacob and Stern (1952)** contended that societies had already recognized that women could not engage in hunting and gathering activities due to their maternal responsibilities.**Hoebel (1958)** observed that 'certain sex-linked behaviors are biologically based' (pg. 391). **Murdock (1949) argued** that physical differences culminating from sex dictate gender roles. The assumption is that works such as mining, house building, and land clearance were exclusive jobs for men. At the same time, women engaged in other activities such as pottery, basketry, gathering, and food preparation. **Montagu (1968)** exploring the history of gender roles, observed that humans subsisted on hunting and gathering and later fishing for thousands of years. He notes that the sex division of labor prevailed, with men engaging in fishing and hunting while women participated in the gathering.

Currently, archaeologists continue asking questions such as can we explore gender roles rather than sex in the material record? Ethnographic and ethnohistorical evidence shows that even societies without professional artisans manufacturing are divided in terms of gender (**Linton, 1955**). Gender archaeologists have used the above observation to ask questions about women's past roles. For example, if men are domesticated animals due to their last hunting activities, can we then claim women were inclusively responsible for the invention of the crop? Cultivation since they were gatherers? (Halaand, 1995). In ancient periods, the same question could be placed on certain goods, including pottery, central to local, regional, and international trade. This dissertation moves the debate to explore more fundamental questions on gendered identities and how they are reflected in antiquity.

5.3 Gender Archaeology in Post Modernism era

Postmodernism has dominated social, economic, and political entities worldwide in the last five decades. The approach can be traced from the 1960s onwards in France before spreading to the rest of the world (Lizardo and Strand,2009). Though there is no single definition of postmodernism as a theoretical framework, it incorporates a general rejection of science and advocates for multiple interpretations of phenomena (Giroux, 1991). Thus, postmodernism emphasizes subjectivity in interpreting human endeavors. The primary role of this was to fight what they considered world order and replace social systems norms of the past with more fluid alternatives. It was, therefore, a protest against enlightenment and modernism, which had dominated for centuries. In the 1980s, postmodernism became the most dominant school of thought, especially in social sciences leading to the growth of gender studies across the board (Thornham, 1999). It

was on this premise that gender archaeology was born. In this case, postmodernism challenges what was considered social facts? Thus, some of the general knowledge concerning gender roles in the past should be reevaluated and challenged (Bordo, 1990). Such gender archaeology inquiry is essential since it opens an avenue for multi-dimensional inquiry in interpreting human past social identities.

Furthermore, archaeologists are presented with the opportunity to reflect on past societies by observing contemporary societies. For instance, those whose physical bodies contradict their hormonal composition (Bohan, 2002). On the other hand, sex exchange has been one of the platforms used by post-modernist gender archaeologists to support the fluidity of sex (McPhail, 2004). In the last forty years, gender archaeology has endeavored to raise issues concerning the discipline as endocentric. One of the questions gender archaeologists are interested in is women's centrality in pre-historical societies (Lozano Rubio, 2011). Inevitably, to put women's roles in the limelight, some gender archaeologists have rejected the "man the hunter hypothesis" (Mazel, 1992).

The rejection of this notion is not literally to claim that it was women who hunted but rather is aimed at an inclusive reconstruction of the past. Initially, man the hunter hypothesis anchored men as the inventor and the primary reason humans as species survived. To put it literally, "women waited patiently in the evening for their men to return in the evening after a successive hunt to guarantee the survival of her children" (Conkey & Spector, 1984). In the evolutionary sense, proteins are associated with brain expansion hence the improved technology and civilization we have at present. The above notion put men central to human evolution while playing down women's roles, an anomaly gender

archaeologist has strived to solve through broadening interpretation of cultural materials techniques (Zihlman, 1998).

In some cases, some gender archaeologists claim that men dominate the discipline; hence it lacks women's voice (Whitehouse, 2002; Moen, 2019). Although there are disparities in the discipline among different gender, this dissertation rejects the above notion as the main reason women's contributions in the past have not been captured. The introduction of new archaeology in the 1960s was supposed to eliminate prejudices that dominated the discipline leading to racist conclusions. However, an emphasis on positivism is needed to fill the gap in reconstructing the human past. Thus, rather than scholars, methods are needed to capture women's contributions to human history. In other words, contemporary evidence has shown that diversity of identities only sometimes transforms into the diversity of thoughts or ideas. This dissertation emphasizes methods rather than archaeologists' diversity as the primary reason women's roles were never captured in the past. However, past prejudices, of course, impacted the interpretation of the past.

As Binford (1972) claimed, archaeologists could answer almost anything if asked the right questions. Although some of the issues raised under the postmodernism approach concerning gender reporting in archaeology are correct, and generalization can be misleading, the approach is open to abuse. This is more so when people studying archaeology have activism tendencies (Hill, 1998). An archaeologist cannot move beyond cultural materials and create narratives concerning pre-historic societies' gender identities (Adovosio et al., 2016). Indeed, archaeology as a discipline is embedded in physical evidence, although it is complemented by ethnography and other data sources such as

written material. However, other sources' data should complement cultural materials and archaeological sites. This dissertation does not rule out the role of researcher bias while interpreting the past. However, claims must be supported by evidence that independent bodies can interrogate.

In borrowing heavily from contemporary societies, gender archaeologists have raised questions concerning gender roles and their impact on ancient communities' adaptation strategies (Rubin, 1975; Alberti, 2006; Gilchrist, 2019). The possibility of a third gender or more has been pondered by examining specific materials, such as those buried with materials usually associated with the opposite sex (Butler, 1990). The possibility of a third or more gender is not farfetched due to the fact that they have been observed ethnographically in some societies (Sanday & Goodenough, 1990). Besides, some societies will categorize someone as the opposite gender irrespective of their biology if they show specific characteristics associated with that gender. This observation is crucial while exploring material evidence that shows gender roles, pointing out that sex does not always determine gender.

Post-processual archaeologists have pointed out how new archaeologists' generalization human behavior in their interpretation (Luca,2008). That is, having pre-determined behavior for certain social identity groups. So, is it the role of archaeologists to give an alternative interpretation of behavior? If so, which methodologies are applicable in exploring alternative behaviors expressed in the material record? Post-processual archaeologists have yet to answer this question; hence, they have been accused of failing to give an alternative method of studying the past (Chadwick,2003).

Furthermore, some gender archaeologists contend that gender roles are only practical in ideal situations (Spencer-Wood, 2011). However, social disruptions, which natural and anthropological challenges would have caused, led to non-sexual driven gender conformity; hence everyone could take on any duties, including security cooking (Agarwal et al., 2017). As such, how would material evidence point to such disruptions? The social disruptions or collapse are, of course, observable in the archaeological record. Archaeologically, it has been possible to explore the rise and collapse of ancient civilizations (Mechikoff, 2006). The possibility of extending the same to explore how such changes disrupted social organizations, including identities, is, therefore, possible to a certain extent. For example, the disappearance of affluent goods, sophisticated architecture, and city abandonment are some societal collapse indicators closely connected with class collapse (Carmona & Ezzamel, 2007). So, could the same materials be used to infer if gender roles changed due to social disruption?

This dissertation proposes that if specific identities collapse due to social disruption, the same phenomena can be observed due to a community's economic development. For example, the commercialization of certain goods would influence who manufactures them, leading to changes in gender roles. These could be attributed to high demand, which may require a constant supply of raw materials and those goods, especially for external trade. Moreover, technological changes can also influence who builds those houses, especially in cases where complex expertise is required. Thus, gender roles studied in the archaeological record should capture cultural change and the rise and collapse of societies, among other dynamics. The application of spatial archaeology, where the distribution and accumulation of particular material could be insightful in capturing

changes in gender roles in the archaeological record. Furthermore, this dissertation argues that investment in gender identities could indicate their importance to the community. The study of contemporary societies shows that the level of gender differences differs among communities. There seems to be a correlation between resource investment and gender differences in communities. These investments are reflected in buildings, diets, and space utilization, among other indicators of social identities. The same applies to gender differences, where specific communities have strict differences enforced and cemented by cultural taboos.

5.4 Gender expression in archaeology

In the last few decades, anthropologists have studied biological differences in human sexual orientation and its impact on labor division. Hoebel (1958) states that specific sex differences among humans have a biological aspect. As such, gender roles are not always a social construct but are determined by biological characteristics. This notion is supported by genetics that shows humans and some other animals contain genes associated with dominance while females are more passive (Foxhall & Salmon, 2013). For instance, in some mammals, the most dominant male is assured of producing more offspring, and this principle may have applied in prehistoric societies. Other arguments point out that men have superior physical strength compared to women due to gender roles in prehistoric societies (Cameron & Kuhrt, 2013). This is because most activities require muscular energy, making men thrive in roles such as mining, quarrying, hunting, and construction, among other functions (Kuefler, 2001). Moreover, since all those activities were tailored towards adaptation, men emerged at the top due to their physical advantages over women in the long run because they could do more activities. Therefore,

they controlled the economy and political processes; hence the policy persisted to contemporary times.

However, it would be wrong to paint men as more important in the course of human existence, especially when analyzing ancient communities (Kavyani Pooya, 2022).

Women were also influential in society's survival as they were mainly involved in duties such as bearing and rearing children (Graham, 1999). Therefore, they spent considerable time performing activities that enabled men to concentrate on other activities. Anthropologists note pregnancy and the nursing of children as reasons they could not venture into activities that required moving far from their homes (Rice, 1981).

Therefore, it made me a more natural hunter and fisherman while women concentrated on gathering wild vegetables and growing crops around settlements in some communities. Thus, we cannot generalize that was always the case in all societies (Kaplan, 1996). For archaeologists, the primary role is to identify those roles rather than engage in historical revision. The gender inquiry in archaeology should be anchored on what different genders' roles were in the society in question rather than engaging in postmodern debates unless, of course, when formulating a methodology of inquiry. For instance, if evidence shows that women were engaged in crucial activities such as food preparation, fetching water, and manufacturing items, including pottery and clothing that should be clearly stated and contextualized. As such, archaeologists must present evidence that should be primarily material to express gender in the archaeological record rather than generalizing.

On that note, archaeologists must work on man's premise, the hunter's hypotheses, at least when dealing with societies before introducing agriculture. In those societies, hunting

endeavors primarily made it a men's affair. However, women could have hunted by using traps and other mechanisms near their settlements. The man-the-hunter hypothesis prevails due to biological factors such as female reproduction limitations. In addition, in the last hundred years, ethnographic studies on hunter-gatherer societies have supported the above notion (Lombard & Kyriacou, 2020). However, it has been documented in some societies where women were active hunters. Therefore, contextual archaeology is crucial while interpreting gender in the archaeological record. As has been demonstrated in other studies, hunting could entail various stages which require corporation across gender and sex. The same evidence has been demonstrated in Maya while examining crop farming activity.

5.4.1 Debates on Study of Gender in Archaeology

Human survival in the past was a multi-gender effort to maximize output and reduce risks (Wood and Eagly, 2012). The past realities contrast with a contemporary society where gender roles are explored under political undertones. Thus, when examined under the spectrum of feminism, archaeology lacks inclusivity or objectivity in reconstructing past society's adaptation strategies. In their seminal paper, Conkey and Spector (1984) assert that androcentric perspectives have ignored women's contributions. This argument has elicited criticism from mainstream archaeologists concerned about losing objectivity in what they term "historical revisionism. (whitehouse,2016).Gender archaeologist advocates for the explicit theoretical framework as a departure from the traditional approach that generalizes gender roles based on recent experiences. It is fundamental to formulate a methodological paradigm anchored on the materiality of "gender actions."

Gender archaeology should indulge less in "inequalities" or "subordination" of women in past societies and concentrate on material evidence of their quotidian lives. Archaeologists' primary job is to reconstruct past activities as manifested in cultural materials, irrespective of how contemporary society perceives such practices. To dwell in the morality of past human actions can be problematic in a society where the fluidity of human perception changes daily. Alberti (2016) contends that feminist archaeologists oppose "masculinity" studies as a preventive measure of "diluting women's contributions in prehistoric societies." Knapp (1998) advocates for masculinity studies as a countermeasure in what he perceives as inevitable feminist bias that would eventually drown archaeological inquiry into "activism discipline." Traditional archaeologists rebuttable that what they consider replacing androcentric views with gynocentric positions could be farfetched but genuine (Alberti, 2006). Thus, a general point of agreement among archaeologists is the desire to reconstruct the social organization of antiquity societies as expressed in the archaeological record. If archaeologists strive to minimize the subjectivity of interpretation, which has often led to some identity groups being invisible, it would significantly contribute to the discipline irrespective of our ideological differences.

Gender archaeology has gained prominence in the last four decades as a subfield in archaeology. This can be attributed to an increase in the literature concerning gender roles as recorded in archaeological records. Furthermore, more studies show past bias concerning women's contribution to prehistoric societies (Conkey & Spector, 1984). As such, research has broadened to incorporate methods tailored to correcting androcentric bias (Nelson, 2012). Unfortunately, gender debates have often been interpreted as

historical revision, especially when scholars engage in issues such as "few women in archaeology as a discipline." This dissertation contends that maintaining neutrality in gender research in archaeology is fundamental if this subfield takes its rightful place in archaeology as a discipline. Sorenson (2013) claims that it is possible to merge gender archaeology with contemporary archaeology hence being examined by the same social theories. The integration of gender archaeology with mainstream archaeology will eliminate political bias hence being objective (Hill, 1998).

Balme and Bulbeck (2008), in their paper "Engendering Origins: Theories of gender in sociology and archaeology," explore in detail because feminists were not interested in the origin of gender division. They contend that feminists were wary of biologists, anthropologists, and psychologists' conclusions concerning the binary division of gender differences, a premise they were determined to deconstruct. In fact, most feminist scholars dismiss inquiry concerning the origin of gender division even though all societies in history have been gendered. Thus, they opted to ignore the debate altogether to avoid their arguments losing empirical backing concerning the social construction of gender. Furthermore, they felt that women were attributed to performing subordinate tasks due to what was described as biological constraints (Dobres, 1998).

This dissertation contends that dismissing the origin of gender division as essentialism by feminist archaeologists is detrimental to the field, which traditional archaeologists referred to for a long time as historical revisionism. Moreover, it is naïve to assume that specific roles were "subordinate" in the past (Gilchrist, 2004). Survival was not guaranteed due to the unpredictable environment, diseases, and limited technology that

required each society to function maximally. As such, it would have been impossible for specific roles to be less critical when examining the adaptation strategies of prehistoric communities. Conkey (2007) warns about how quarantining gender studies from the discipline has been detrimental to the subfield's overall development. For instance, gender theories have been developed separately from other archaeological inquiries. The separation makes it difficult for gender literature to be accessed by other contemporary archaeologists and examined under the same principles applied in other categories. Nevertheless, whether gender roles are situational or essentialist can be explored under the materiality principle. Oyěwùní (1997) lamented how gender studies from the Eurocentric perspective tend to view females and males in fixed form despite contrary evidence. For instance, in Yoruba, gender and other social identities are situational and depend on interaction. Thus, isolating gender studies inhibit the reconstruction of women's contributions in the past.

Thus, gender archaeologists should not be tempted to be drawn into identity politics while undertaking an archaeological investigation (Gilchrist, 2013). If they do, archaeology may disintegrate into "feelings" without facts that cannot be peer-reviewed (Hill, 1998). Of course, history has shown that postmodernism's assertion of "multiple interpretations of same phenomena" can be suppressed into "popular opinion." Therefore, archaeology has led to catastrophic results when employed as a propaganda tool, including Third Reich archaeological proof of "Aryan race superiority"(Maischberger, 2002).

To prevent archaeology from being used as political propaganda, this dissertation proposes material remains as the basis of archaeological evidence of gender identities.

However, materials can be manipulated to fit particular agendas, making it essential to employ other methods while examining evidence in the archaeological record (Barret and Ko,1990; Bartlett and McAnany,2012). Therefore, this dissertation proposes that the materiality of gender should be explored with the same approach other social identities are studied in the archaeological record. For instance, ethnicity reconstruction in archaeology has relied on cultural materials and linguistics analysis for decades. The rationale behind this approach is the realization that most groups produce similar materials. Thus, we have materials such as Nderit ware associated with pastoral Neolithic communities or dimpled pots produced by Bantus (Maina,2016).

Therefore, it is common for archaeologists studying prehistoric communities to conclude that Bantu communities occupied sites due to iron smelting (Huffman, 1996). This does not necessarily make these approaches perfect, as some questions need to be fully explained. For example, studying ethnicity using material culture can result in many challenges, such as the diffusion of these technologies across different people groups (Graves-Brown et al., 2013). Nevertheless, archaeologists and other social scientists have ascribed certain cultural materials to specific groups of people without being accused of indulging in "unscientific inquires. "This does not mean that archaeologists do not question some of the methodologies; however, the study of ethnicity has not been questioned in the same breath as gender. The variation of studying gender archaeology as an identity in contrast with other forms of identity emanates the unique history of this subfield. In the beginning, gender archaeology was anchored on the feminist movement, making contemporary archaeologists perceive it as having political agendas and being subjective (Nelson,2000). In subsequent years gender archaeology tackled various issues,

including what they perceived as a lack of enough "female archaeologists' professions" as the main reason women were invisible in the archaeological investigation.

As such, gender was not considered in the same realm as other social identities, even though these identities share the same principles of material signatures (Jones,2013). For example, gender roles, like ethnicity, entail similar parameters of function and materials left behind. So, criticisms of gender archaeology are far-fetched, considering the same skepticism has not been employed when reconstructing social identities from the archaeological record. This dissertation argues that gender roles entail certain materials that can be identified in the archaeological record. On the other hand, other social identities are also dynamic; hence gender is not unique; therefore, those changes can be identified in the archaeological record. For example, funerary practices can capture changes in gender roles by observing how burial goods vary through time(Gilchrist,2011). Thus, gender archaeologists can create important discoveries if they approach gender as an identity that entails discrimination of certain materials and exploiting others. As such, certain materials' presence, absence, or change can be indicators of gender dynamics in the archaeological record.

The fashion theory which was initially conceptualized by feminists' theorists explains how women materialized objects through styles. Some early works include studying bounding omen feet in China as a form of beauty. Anthropologists across the world have also documented these types of practices. In the archaeological context, fashion is insightful in identity reconstruction and should be employed in gender reconstruction (Sandquist, 2012). Throughout history, clothing has had symbolic value and manifested

identities such as social status, ethnicity, and sex (**Entwisle, 2000**). In contemporary societies, clothes continue to be used to express specific group identities, such as gender and sexuality (Hollander, 1994). For example, some religious groups use a specific clothing type with a symbolic meaning and other functions. This does not necessarily mean all those who adhere to a particular style belong to specific groups. Nevertheless, fashion is a good indicator of social identity, including gender. Thus, in an archaeological context, fashion can be explored in the form of an adaptation strategy. Furthermore, fashion is anchored on the utilization of materials that are reflected in the archaeological record. Moreover, fashion is dynamic, which is informative on the fluidity of social identities such as gender—humans in the past society assigned gender roles to maximize their output.

The centrality of gender roles is a production that includes other activities such as the acquisition, consumption, and discarding of materials. Acquisition generally surrounds the ability of an identity group to access certain materials. Accessibility may be prohibited by socially constructed rules or biological constraints that dominated ancient societies. Societies typically made decisions based on prevailing circumstances that persisted, with some being reviewed as factors changed. For instance, interactions with other groups, migration, or environmental change would alter social identity functions hence the materials used.

Stoller (1964) attributes physical materials as an external manifestation of an internal identity of an individual. Changes also influence social identities in an individual's relationship as they move through stages of life. Children's relationship with objects is

more obscure when they are young hence accessing areas and materials they may access as they grow older. Notably, boys will abandon their mothers (feminine identity and acquire masculinity) as they grow older (Chodrow, 1978; Diamond ,2004). Doan (2010) claims that gender fluidity happens as men move and create a new sphere of influence if women acquire previously acquired knowledge. Thus, men continue to create a new niche where they exclude women and move to new "areas" to avoid women getting to their level as a mechanism of maintaining dominance.

The issue of gender and class has been closely connected in archaeological inquiry. Thus, women are portrayed as occupying a lower class, with men associated with dominance (Shanks, 1996). This type of men's domination or subordination is manifested in material (sometimes symbolic) forms in an archaeological record. That is, through the accessibility of specific materials or power to preside over important issues, such as rituals that propagate this domination. Furthermore, social norms are formulated by the dominant group, where maintaining the status quo is always prioritized. However, the independence of each social identity group is impossible. As such, inclusion or exclusion of specific gender in society does not necessarily transform into oppression. This is because most of the ancient communities' activities were gendered although the definition of such categories varied from one society to another.

5.5 Gender identities Signatures in Archaeology

This study proposes material signatures that social archaeologists can employ in studying gender. These indicators have been formulated with the premise that gender, like other social identities, entails activities characterized by objects. Therefore, production

variations due to different genders led to the production of specific materials. The same principle applies to the consumption and discarding of waste materials. Furthermore, diffusion and contact with other communities through trade sometimes lead to changes in material composition. Therefore, by examining certain materials and correlating them with gender as identity, we can reconstruct past gender roles. Most importantly, how gender was formed, maintained, re-enforced, and changed through time and space and how such dynamics are reflected in the archaeological record. Some gender identity signatures discussed in this chapter include architecture, division of labor, dietary patterns, and public and private spaces.

5.5.1 Dietary Patterns

Gifford (1998) notes that ethnographic studies are insightful in interpreting gender in the archaeological record. She notes how ecologists in East Africa have studied labor division among pastoralists in East Africa (See also Arhens, 1985; Homewood & Rodgers, 1991). The same strategy can be used to infer gender roles in pastoral Neolithic communities. Unlike archaeologists, ecologists have successfully matched gender roles with subsistence strategies among pastoralist communities in East Africa (Gifford-Gonzalez, 2000). Their work entails how social institutions are tailored towards survival by exploiting available resources in their natural landscape. Thus, ecologists may be exploring human adaptation strategies using living communities, while archaeologists are generally concerned with what is left behind in terms of waste products. Therefore, they give us insights into how gender divisions are materialized in an archaeological record. More importantly, these studies are insightful in exploring gender roles in pre-historic east African communities. Thus, ethnographic studies do not necessarily lead to the

generalization of gender roles, as some scholars assume. Furthermore, ethnographic studies' misinterpretation has often depicted gender differences as men's domination. However, in some East African communities, such as the Samburu, women have tremendous powers even though they do not own cattle (Spencer, 1965; Maina, 2016). The same applies to Gusii women who do not necessarily own agricultural land or livestock (Hakansson, 1994). For instance, women in the above two have greater control of livestock, farm produce, and labor allocation, which they exercise in various ways.

Therefore, this dissertation contends that exploring dietary patterns in the archaeological record can be insightful in reconstructing gender. This assumption is premised on some communities' gendered dietary patterns (Gifford-Gonzalez, 1998). These patterns include certain parts of animals consumed by specific identity groups, including gendered identities and locations. Lillie (2003) interrogates gender-based diet variations in pre-historic Eastern Europe hunter-gatherers' communities. She uses isotope analysis to explore archaeologists' assertions that men consumed more protein food than women. In some East African communities, such as the Maasai, meat consumption has a symbolic meaning and is used to embroider social identities (Mbae, 1990; Maina, 2016). Thus, the process from slaughtering to consumption and bones' discarding is insightful in exploring how social identities are maintained in the Maasai culture. Moreover, meat consumption also sometimes entails designated areas for such activities. Therefore, men sometimes have a secluded area for meat feasting, and the demarcation of consumption areas at the household level is usually elaborate (Mbae, 1990). For example, meat is divided into portions that are gender ascribed hence making it a form of material evidence in gender inquiry.

5.5.2 Funerary Practice

For decades, there was little insistence on gender and sex as forms of different social identities. More literature exists that explores such differences between sex and gender and fluidity. Archaeologists assigned different artefacts to gender or sex while reconstructing the way of life in prehistory. It was assumed that certain artefacts, such as sharp projectiles, would be generally found on male graves while those such as pottery were for females. Thus, archaeological evidence was interpreted based on generalized views concerning sex or gender. Archaeologists formulated categories of tables that were used to infer gender based on materials recovered from sites (Petre, 1993). For instance, in the Viking era, weapons like swords and helmets were associated with males, while items such as rings were for all genders. On the other hand, females were attributed to artefacts such as small knives for food preparation (Sandquist, 2012). The archaeology of death continues to offer essential data on gender-related issues. This is because gender falls under what is referred to as cognitive or symbolic archaeology, and graves are usually rich in that type of information.

Therefore, archaeologists have used burial practices to reconstruct social identities across the globe (Lucy, 2007; Sandquist, 2012). They are perceived as a reflection of people's lives, especially in those burials that include artefacts. Even in those societies where people were buried without artefacts, graves are also insightful in exploring social identities such as gender, social hierarchy, age, etc. Gilchrist (1997) argues that gender is sometimes renegotiated at death. Which makes it essential to contextualize grave goods.

Societies and humans constantly strive to emulate ideals; hence although evidence from graves may not depict their gender, it can give insights concerning how it was constructed. Contemporary observations show how humans are cast in the ideal societal expectation of death, which is an indicator that could have persisted in the past. Furthermore, funeral evidence does not portray the dead but the groups they were associated with. Mejsholm (2009) interprets funeral practices where male children are buried with weapons as an indication of societal expectations. This is because these children did not use such artefacts in their life.

5.5.3 Architecture

Household archaeology was an extension of settlement studies that belonged to the processual methodological paradigm. (Pluckhahn, 2010). Initially, settlement studies focused on spatial patterning and landscape usage (Ashmore, 2002). Allison (1999) points out that household archaeology advantage is twofold: first, it offers an alternative way of studying the past, which various subfields can borrow. That is, behavioralists and functionalists focus on past patterns of activities and the post-processual framework of agency and contextual interpretation of the past. Second, households provide minor social units with material evidence that can capture daily activities. Households act as units (re)production-consumption of materials (Ashmore & Wilk, 1988). As Hammel (2022) observed, 'household is the smallest unit with maximum production. Some scholars perceived the study of households as a departure from traditional studies that dwelled mostly on monuments and buildings without necessarily capturing commoners' lives.

This dissertation borrows from Rodgers's (1995), Isbell's (2000), and Gerritsen's (2004) analogies of household in the possible study of social identities. They perceive households as a more definable unit of analysis as compared to communities or polity as a whole. Households can give insights concerning social identities in terms of their functions and how they were manifested in the archaeological record. This dissertation argues that gender roles can be best studied at the household level as it shows their daily activities to a large extent. Furthermore, at the household level, the expression of gender roles and variations is more visible due to fewer cultural restrictions observed at a community level (Wilson, 2008). As such, contextual interpretation is more possible at this level. Furthermore, in the case of social status, the signatures that include architecture, the presence of exotic goods, and dietary patterns are better expressed and subsequently change over time. In the case of East Africa and especially in the study of egalitarian and semi-ranked societies, household analysis is even more critical. Those societies' architecture, clothing, dietary patterns, and other indicators are mostly similar. The implication now changes from material signatures to the concentration of materials and size of the household. The rationale is based on the fact that social status may be expressed not on quality but on quantity. The people with higher status will have more people in their households than low-status people, which means a higher concentration of material remains.

5.5.4 Osteology can permeate all aspect of life

The centrality of bones in reconstructing the human past remains unequivocal in archaeological inquiry (MacKinnon, 2007). Fortunately, bones survive for a long time, making them an excellent avenue for exploring our past. Humans' bones can give us

insights into their lives, including migrations, social identities, and diseases, among others. On the other hand, non-human bones are also important in exploring animals' roles in people's lives. The development of processual archaeology led to the rise of sub-disciplines such as bioarchaeology. This era stressed hypothesis testing and model building practiced in biological and physical sciences. Archaeological materials such as seeds, bones, and sediments, among other materials, were emphasized in collecting data for archaeology to be more 'scientific. Thus, osteology gained prominence in the 1960s after Clark and Binford's works on new archaeology research approaches.

Robbo et al. (2001) note that skeletal analysis can be very informative in studying the social life of individuals. They argue that a correlation exists between social status, activities, and graves in mortuary data. For instance, some scholars claim that examining cribra orbital, enamel hypoplasia, and adult stature indicates social status. Also, changes in economic activity from strenuous activities such as mining to trade have been observed to impact human skeletons (Maggiano et al., 2008). Thus, osteological studies make it possible to capture social identities, including gender-related roles that emanate from biological orientation, such as sex. Furthermore, as individual changes social status, it is reflected in human bones, such as shape and diaphyseal robusticity, which are influenced by physical activities. From the above observation, it is possible to correlate activities and gender in some instances.

Kurila (2015) reconstructed the sex of 155 individuals from Lithuanian, a European twelve-century community. He aimed to correlate the sex of those individuals with grave goods in order to make inferences about how gender was expressed in that community.

The correlation between grave goods and gender is a strategy that has been employed for a long in archaeology. Nonetheless, this strategy has been criticized by feminists and some post-processual archaeologists due to its generalization of gender identities (Gowland, 2007; Ghisleni, 2016; Fredengren, 2021). His findings show a considerable match between biological sex, gender, and grave goods. Nonetheless, some goods showed a mismatch, a trajectory observed in other studies elsewhere. In some instances, masculine goods have been observed in female bodies.

5.5.5. Spatial Patterning of Gendered Materials

As an archaeological research paradigm, spatial patterning is premised on the assumption that human activities correlate with the spatial patterning of cultural materials (Binford, 1962; Clark, 1968). Thus, by examining the placement of cultural materials in archaeological sites, we can infer past activities (See more Longacre, 1970; Wilmsen, 1970). Binford (1968) asserts that "The loss, breakage, and abandonment of implements and facilities at different locations, where groups of a variable structure performed different tasks, leaves a "fossil" record of the actual operation of an extinct society (p.425). This assumption is only sometimes the case; other variables play a part in the spatial patterning of cultural materials in the archaeological site (Schiffer, 1972). However, ethnographic and ethnohistoric evidence shows that spatial patterning of cultural materials is insightfully exploring past human activities. Spatial patterning as an indicator can be used to explore social identities, including gender, social hierarchy, and ethnicity. For example, communities such as Maasai have elaborate locations for performing different activities associated with the group's specific identities (Maina,

2016). These locations include meat feasting areas, circumcision, and ritual shrines indicative of past activities.

Gender in archaeology is typically studied in terms of variations and similarities among genders. Thus, archaeologist explores what a certain gender is or is not as reflected in the material record. Therefore, spatial patterning of ancient can indicate women's or men's spaces in terms of the house layout, among other divisions. This approach has been effective in ethnographic studies of some East African communities where houses are arranged in terms of gender (Hodder, 1987; Gifford, 1998). Thus, by exploring cultural materials in archaeological sites, it is possible to assign gender variations of past communities. In the case of IIChamus, men's and women's houses are separate (Hodder, 1987). Therefore, in such a scenario distribution of material associated with women or men would more likely correspond with the space allocated to them. Even so, studies conducted to investigate waste pits for men and women have yielded little evidence (Barich, 1998). This can be attributed to factors such as seasonality changes in available resources hence cross-usage among different genders.

Combined with the biological constraint's hypothesis, spatial patterning can be insightful in exploring gender activities in the archaeological record. Evidence from ethnography that supports biological hypotheses concerning women working near settlements can aid archaeologists in making inferences concerning gender roles in pre-history. Klein and Bird (2016) associated women with shellfish collection among Atlantic coastal communities because men were mainly hunters. As such, women would collect shells near settlements. However, archaeologists are cautious about generalizing gender roles

as societies vary. The binary gender roles hypothesis has been criticized for oversimplification (Barich, 1998; Brumbach & Jarvenenpa, 2006; Robin, 2002).

5.6 Implication of Materials on Gender Identity

This chapter aimed to explore mechanisms of studying gender identity signatures in East Africa's pre-historic communities. That is, how gender identities are manifested in material form and their fluidity. The chapter has captured various debates culminating in theories and methodologies of identifying social identities. Richard Schein's (1997) theory of 'discourse materialized' is applicable in studying social identities; hence it can be employed in the pre-historic East Africa study of gender. His arguments were that interpretation of cultural landscape is a geographically specific exercise that requires examining the role of landscape in cultural reproduction and, by extension, the broader cultural and social contexts. That is, the landscape is essential in interpreting cultural formations in the archaeological record (Burgers, 2023). The implication is that even within a society, cultural materials' distribution entails a specific pattern primarily dictated by laws governing social identities and their functions (Johansen, 2008). Thus, employing discourse materialized as Schein proposed in landscape analysis makes identifying identities in the archaeological record possible.

Landscape in the study of social identities acts as (re)production of social activities that utilize specific resources (Scheine, 1993). With the above landscape assumption, this dissertation argues that it acts as a symbolic and representative area of social identities. Put briefly; it is where the totality of group activities is performed at least in part hence a concentration of signatures that are recorded in the archaeological record. Therefore,

architecture, food remains, and ceramics presence, among other social identity signatures, will be distributed. This is commonly referred to as the landscape of production and consumption (Symonds, 1999). Lewis (1979) emphasized that landscape is where we should 'read' human activities. As such, using landscape to read human activities acts as a positivist approach to studying social identities.

This dissertation also borrows Henri Lefebvre's theorization of space to identify social identities in the archaeological record. In the seminal work 'In the Production of Space' (1974), Lefebvre conceptualizes space as a product and a social process (Schmid, 2008). The correlation between space and social identities emanates from the connection between landscape and space. Lefebvre (2005) concludes that space entails the summation of physical materials and social activities that create a landscape. In total, the landscape, space, and social process shape social identities and behaviors (actions) that have a material aspect that can be studied in the archaeological record (Lefebvre, 1974). Space uses require specific behavior that influences individuals in a particular landscape. Identities such as gender roles are therefore shaped, emphasized, and re-empathized in such landscapes. Anthropological studies have identified specific areas associated with a particular group of people and the materials they acquire, process, and consume. These materials may entail dietary patterns where some societies have an elaborate mechanism of who consumes what and are based on assigned social identities.

5.7 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has explored how social archaeologists study gender identities as expressed in the archaeological record, with emphasis on gender as a social identity. Thus, the

growth of gender studies in the postmodernism era has been captured in this chapter. Most importantly, debates exist between processual and post-processual approaches to studying social identities. The chapter has captured some theories, such as landscape usage, space, and household theoretical framework of archaeology, and how they can be incorporated into gender identities. Also, methods such as household analysis, dietary patterns, landscape studies, and osteological analyses are some of the social identities discussed in this chapter. The importance of processual archaeology methods such as landscape analysis has been discussed in detail. Also, the post-processual conceptual framework of agency and contextual archaeology has been incorporated. Most importantly feminist perspective of minimizing generalization that has often plagued archaeology in interpreting data in antiquity has been illuminated. The chapter has captured feminists' sentiments of broadening gender debates by questioning what is often assumed as a fact. At the bottom of their contributions is questioning and interrogating some of the "hypotheses, such as "man the hunter," using archaeological data. Therefore, the chapter has reflected on current debates and contributions to the study of gender in antiquity. Overall, the methods employed in the past in the study of gender. Ultimately laying the ground for some of the methods applied in the later chapters in exploring gender in antiquity.

CHAPTER SIX

GENDER ROLES AS EXPRESSED IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD OF THIMLICH OHINGA AND GEDE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the study interrogates how gender identities are expressed in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. Attempts are made throughout the chapter to demonstrate gender identities as social categories and how they are manifested in material form. Therefore, the chapter examines what can be generally referred to as gendered social categories materials remains. To that end, archaeological material signatures associated with gender as a social identity, such as dietary patterns, household arrangements, architecture, and spatial patterning of gendered artefacts, are discussed in detail. The chapter employs multiple methods from both Processual and Post Processual archaeological paradigms. These methods were important in the collection and contextualization of data. Therefore, both methods were employed in a complementary manner. The chapter also considers feminists' concerns in interpreting data discussed in this chapter. The aim of incorporating the feminist view was to minimize generalizations that often-plagued archaeological interpretation in the past. Lastly, the study employed analogies and inferences from ethnoarchaeological data of present Luo and Swahili communities to interpret archaeological data collected from Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

6.2 Gender Identities

Almost four decades since Conkey and Spector (1984) urged archaeologists to integrate gender studies, the field still struggles to formulate methodologies and theoretical frameworks for exploring gender identities in the archaeological record (Hill, 1998; Gilchrist, 2009; Moen, 2019). Some of the challenges of studying gender emanate from the fluidity of gender, which changes over time and space (Butler, 1990; Marshall, 2009). Gender as social identity and how it is expressed vary from one society to another. Nonetheless, progress has been made by incorporating feminist ideology to eliminate androcentric bias and western interpretation of archaeological evidence (Gero, 1997; Geller, 2009; Nelson, 2012). Schaan (2006) distinguishes between gender archaeology and feminist archaeology based on the aim and their general contribution to archaeology as a discipline. She claims that feminist archaeology's primary goal is to advocate for the cooperation of feminist theoretical ideologies in archaeology while challenging the androcentric interpretation of archaeological material (Bordo, 1990; Dobres, 1995; Butler, 2002). On the other hand, gender archaeology investigates gender as manifested in the archaeological record. This dissertation perceives feminists and gender archaeology as complementary within the field; hence it incorporates both in the reconstruction of gender in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites.

The study employs techniques used by other gender scholars in reconstructing the gender roles of the above two sites. Hill (1998) argued that gender reconstruction in the past could be achieved on an interpretation level. She did not perceive methods of collecting data formulated by archaeologists as inadequate in collecting data but rather that processual research methods differ from why women were invisible in the past was due

to how data was interpreted. This dissertation borrows her multivariate strategy of exploring gender in the sites under study. As such, this study examines how issues such as labor, use of private and public space, subsistence patterns, rituals, cultural diffusion, power structures, dietary practices, and burial procedures, among others, are indicative of gender. Her approach departs from some gender scholars who argued that incorporating gender and feminists' perspective in exploring gender is irreconcilable within archaeological inquiry (Bacus, 1993). These concerns emanate from contradictions between feminist ideology, dominated by advocacy and methodologies of exploring gender as manifested in the archaeological record. To strike a balance and the discipline it is important to incorporate archaeological methods as the basis of minimizing generalization that often plagues the political part of the feminist movement within archaeology.

Nonetheless, it can be futile to dismiss all feminists' concerns with archaeology as politically charged. A closer scrutiny of feminists' ideology shows that it has evolved in the last four decades (Fahlander, 2012; Gilchrist, 2013). Initially, feminist archaeology was concerned with tackling androcentric bias that seemed to downplay women's roles in the past (Conkey & Gero, 1997; Hill, 1998; Nelson, 2000). The second phase entailed identifying women in the past using archaeological materials (Conkey, 2007; Ghisleni, 2016). The last phase questioned the rationale behind inserting women in the past to fix historical omissions or discard any past reconstruction of gender roles in antiquity (Wylie, 1991). Nonetheless, by aiming to identify women in the past, feminist archaeologists have become more mainstream by employing some of the methods formulated by processual

and post-processual archaeologists (Gilchrest, 2012). The implication is that there is a reconciliation regarding the goals of feminists and gender archaeologists.

This study aims to show gender as a social identity as reflected in material evidence from Thimlich Ohinga and Gede. The dissertation avoids the antagonistic study of gender roles, which are sometimes characterized by a desire to project women or men in the past in line with contemporary ideals of autonomy and equality (Nelson, 2000; Alberti, 2006). Since ascertaining which roles between women and men were important is beyond the scope of this study, a more holistic approach is undertaken. How gender categories were expressed using material evidence and implication on archaeological records? To answer the above question, this dissertation aims to project gendered activities as the basis for examining how such divisions were created and maintained. The aim is to explore all gender roles of the two communities without necessarily perceiving some roles as oppressive.

This does not mean that oppression of some gender categories did not exist in the past (Nelson, 2000; Alberti, 2006). Nonetheless, striving to explore oppression issues using contemporary ideology often distorts the past (Hollimon, 2000; Voss, 2007; Gilchrist, 2012). For instance, issues such as the division of labor and optimal exploitation of resources as the basis of these divisions, especially in the past, cannot be ignored (Zeanah, 2004). Nevertheless, they were fundamental to how gender was expressed in the past (Zeder, 2012; Dusseldorp, 2012). Therefore, at the base of this inquiry is to understand gender identities concerning their functions in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede societies. This approach was informed by the overall aim of eliminating some of the challenges

associated with gender fluidity. Also, how gender has been conceptualized in the archaeological record. Secondly, the desire to capture cultural aspects of gender and political and economic aspects of gender as a social identity. Therefore, this dissertation conceptualizes gender as a cultural construct that has ramifications on resource usage, which manifests in the archaeological record. Even so, assumptions are made concerning gender as social identity in the above two sites to be dictated by biological sex. Even so, this dissertation incorporates some feminist's perspectives of illuminating the activities of marginalized identities of social women in antiquity. Also, insistence in examining gender categorizations as fluid and responsive to other identities such as social hierarchy, age, class ethnicity, and so on (Butler, 1993).

This study reiterates the realities of gender as dynamic and subject to different internal and, in some cases, external factors. At the base of this inquiry is gender hierarchy and how it was expressed in the above two sites under study. This gender hierarchy entails how an individual gender and experiences vary concerning other attributes of an individual. To that end, gender hierarchy is an abstract phenomenon, especially in highly structured societies. In other words, gender roles and status, while observed entirely, will show some differences due to other factors, such as the class of the people under study. This study strived to be inclusive while exploring gender roles by emphasizing materiality as the basis of exploring past social identities.

Archaeological studies of group identities have shown it is possible to identify different social categories, including children, men, and elderly, from the archaeological record while relying almost entirely on material evidence (Voss, 2005). Therefore, in Gede and

Thimlich Ohinga, where other forms of evidence are nonexistent, material evidence became the primary evidence for exploring gender identities. Furthermore, gender archaeologists have successfully reconstructed past gender roles by avoiding generalizations that consider each society unique. Therefore, Gede and Thimlich Ohinga are distinct societies; hence their gender organizations were shaped by different factors, which dictated that they be analyzed based on materials found in each site. This study, therefore, endeavored to explore gender in terms of differential treatment in the above societies as manifested in the archaeological record. As such, gender, an ideological concept, and its materialization were the primary inquiry in this study. Schaan (2006) argues that women of different economic classes can have power; hence men act as their subordinates. Thus, in exploring gender hierarchy, other factors besides gender must be considered. In order to have a holistic perspective of gender identities in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites, some of the inferences were made using ethnoarchaeological data.

This study argues that the diversification of subsistence strategies corresponded with conspicuous gender roles in past societies. Thus, new economic opportunities triggered gender identities to create their niche in the new system. In other words, the more societies were complex, the more significant gender differentiation in the archaeological record. So, the study's first assumption was that Gede being complex has more gender visibility materials than Thimlich Ohinga. This assumption is partly derived from the realization that complex societies produce more socially distinct materials. The above principle of complexity and visibility of group identities expands to other areas of inquiry, including children, social stratification, race, an enslaved person, etc.

Although gender fluidity is a social reality, this study strived to minimize analyzing all possible categories in order to avoid deviation from the objective of identifying gender from material records. This conclusion was reached to avoid blurry inquiry and methodologies, which would have hindered objectivity in the subsequent analysis. Furthermore, the study's primary aim was to consistently employ methods and theoretical paradigms, an almost impossible task while studying all possible categorizations of gender. Perry (2001) lamented how despite increased interest in exploring gender, there was still some vagueness on what gender scholars were striving to achieve. However, one aim was to minimize androcentric views that have often informed gender identity interpretation in the archaeological record. That is a bias towards a particular gender, especially women's activities in antiquity. In this dissertation, attempts were made to avoid such generalizations by contextualizing data. In order to achieve that goes, this dissertation employed multiple strategies in exploring gender in the above two sites. Overall, strategies were anchored on the materialization of gender as an identity which was the primary source of evidence.

6.3 Thimlich Ohinga

Thimlich Ohinga is one of the most well-preserved and extensive dry-stone structures in Lake Victoria basin settlements from the middle of the second millennium of the current era (Odede, 2009). The site's social organization is characterized by traits associated with semi-egalitarian societies (Ames, 2007). This is evidenced by their subsistence strategies, including fishing, farming, pastoralism, hunting, and gathering. The implication was that Thimlich Ohinga had both immediate and delayed returns forms of investment. The latter

was supported by fishing, hunting, and gathering subsistence strategy, while the former was dominated by crop farming and pastoralism.

Woodburn (1982) theorized that an egalitarian society has an immediate return of their labor through consumption which takes a short term. On the other hand, delayed return is characterized by highly coveted products acquired through accumulated effort or prolonged labor. Mostly, the products are consumed over a long period of time. In this case, Thimlich Ohinga archaeological evidence shows delayed returns, as shown by the presence of grinding stones used for plant processing, especially grains. Also, livestock rearing, a significant economic activity of Thimlich Ohinga, is based on delayed returns. On the other hand, the community's immediate returns included fishing, hunting, and gathering.

This dissertation argues that Thimlich Ohinga society's diversified subsistence strategies dictated an equilibrium between immediate and delayed returns. Furthermore, diversified subsistence strategies were anchored specialization, which ultimately created an exchange system that may have reduced the gap between different types of subsistence strategies in terms of returns. For instance, fishermen would acquire grain from crop agriculturalists, creating an equilibrium of returns and ushering in social stratification. The implication was that production could have been multiple at the household level, with different groups performing specific tasks. The study, therefore, explores fundamental questions concerning diversification and its implication on gender identities. Thus, what adaptation advantage would a household have by specializing in one subsistence strategy? For instance, fishing, crop agriculture, pastoralism, or hunting and gathering? To that end,

this dissertation shows that the rational choice would have been diversification at the household level. Each unit combined multiple subsistence strategies, creating elaborate roles among different social identity groups. This type of model has been in the ethnoarchaeological record among the contemporary Maasai community, where at the household level, there are well-defined duties across multiple subsistence strategies (Maina, 2016).

Therefore, this dissertation hypothesizes social organization of Thimlich Ohinga was concentrated at the household level. The society was organized where labor sharing and social identities at the house level were reflective of the whole society. This means group identities at the household level cut across, making accessibility of certain resources and gender roles uniform. To that extent, this dissertation strived to explore the totality of these social materials concerning gender roles as reflected in the archaeological record. These materials were explored and compared with ethnoarchaeological analogies of present-day Luo communities in the interpretation. At the base of gender identities, Thimlich Ohinga interprets gender as a sociobiological strategy, gender as an agency, and gender as a performance. Although the above three theoretical perspectives are inconclusive and, in some instances, contradictory, they offer a scenario for contextualizing gender identities as expressed in Thimlich Ohinga archaeological site. The sociobiological perspective opines that biology influences cultural ideologies of gender roles or identities (Jackson, 1992; Oliver & Hyde, 1993; Roosevelt, 2002). Biological sexual differences between males and females are always central in dichotomy gender roles where females are lactating, have limited ovulation, and can bear children (Lueptow et al., 1995; Mcpahil, 2004).

On the other hand, males' characteristics include physical muscular strength and the ability to fertilize eggs (multiple) (Gero, 1997). The above differences influence gender roles; hence men end up doing activities "away from settlement areas" or those that require "muscular strength " while women work around the homestead areas as well as taking care of children (McLennan, 2010; McKinley, 2017). In the case of gender as the agency, gender is perceived as an "act" constantly produced, just like other social identities (Butler, 1994). In other words, gendered subjects (roles/identities) are produced based on prevailing circumstances (Leacock, 2019). This dissertation argues that as Thimlich Ohinga society acquired new subsistence strategies, new gendered roles were formed through time and space.

Lastly, Thimlich Ohinga's gender identity was interpreted as a performance, as theorized by Butler (1990, 1993). Gender is equated to a performance where the question shifts from the essentialism of gender to the act of production of gendered activities (Herbert, 1992; Mascia-Lees & Black, 2016). The implication is that as people perform their gendered activities, they are conditioned to believe it is their obligation. Therefore, in societies such as Thimlich Ohinga, gender roles were most likely believed and adhered to. Thus, the above three concepts were employed interchangeably in conceptualizing gender identities as manifested in Thimlich Ohinga archaeological sites.

6.3.1 Signatures of Gender Roles in Thimlich Ohinga Archaeological Site

As noted earlier, the site was occupied by different communities for centuries, offering a unique example of different social organizations (Onjala, 1994; Odede, 2009). As such, the expression of gender roles and identities on the site is fluid due to demographic

dynamics, environmental change, cultural variations, subsistence patterns, and trade and exchange. Unfortunately, Thimlich Ohinga was semi-egalitarian, and material accumulations must be more explicit than in more complex societies (Ames,2007). However, using ethnographic data of the current Luo community, I could make inferences concerning gender identities and how they were expressed in the past. This was through analogies concerning the division of labor, building techniques, dietary practices, and spatial patterning of houses. In Luo culture, the above activities (actions) were gender-specific, producing unique materials. As a comprehensive ethnographic literature of the Luo community, iconographic and osteological data was employed in detail. The rationale was to explain the distribution of the material concerning gender as reflected in the archaeological record.

6.3.1.1 Architecture

Thimlich Ohinga has dry stone wall enclosures which are semi-circular in shape. These structures dominated part of Southern Nyanza and Tanzania (plate 5.11). This is quite interesting compared to other structures in the Lake Victoria basin, where enclosures were mainly made of earth and ditches, especially in Siaya County and some parts of Uganda. Onjala (2019) argues that the enclosure building was likely acquired from Uganda, where most of these groups migrated. Nonetheless, Thimlich Ohinga enclosures are the largest and more intensive in labor and resources. The enclosures were made in phases which can be interpreted as due to demographic pressure. The implication is that Thimlich Ohinga had a stable environment that supported the population for an extended period. Even so, the diversified economy was supported, including the sedentary way of life that may have ended the traditional mode of pastoralism of relying on mobility for pasture.

Other stone walls were built inside the walls that acted as livestock enclosures (Plate 6.1). Also, houses were built using daub and other materials, which are difficult to be preserved in the archaeological record. Therefore, the wall is the unique architectural structure in the Thimlich Ohinga community. The dry-stone technology employed in the wall construction requires prior planning, as evidenced by the layout of the stones. Furthermore, stones were set up to guarantee stability. The presence of watch towers has been interpreted as these walls were made for security purposes. This evidence is supported by narrow gates, which make it easier to defend while attacked from the outside.

The enclosures were replicated in adjacent areas, which may have reflected the expanding population at the time. Nonetheless, this was a communal wall, and construction required supervisors and coordination of labor. Ethnographic literature of the Luo community and among Bantu communities, who were probably the first people to build Thimlich Ohinga walls, suggests that building relied on a combination of everybody in the community. This means that women, men, children, elderly played an essential role in building activities.

Plate 6.11 Livestock Enclosure



This figure shows livestock enclosure in Thimlich Ohinga made using dry stone technology in the same way they did on the outerwalls (picture by the author).

However, the ethnographic data of Luo may not be adequate to fully explain gender roles in the reconstruction of Thimlich Ohinga stone dry walls. This emanates from the fact that scholars dispute the original builders of Thimlich Ohinga.

What is evident is that different communities occupied the site. Onjala (1995) points out that it was impossible to identify different site builders. The same conclusion was made by earlier researchers at the site, with the consensus being that future research may establish the sequences of builders if they exist (Lofregen, 1967). Initially, it was presumed that the presence of iron smelting in the area and evidence for cultivation proved that it was a Bantu site that Luo later occupied. Even so, the Luo community claims to have built the walls, which cannot be ruled out, considering this practice has been ethnographically observed in the Nyanza region. Despite the above limitations, I hypothesized that since Thimlich Ohinga was a semi-egalitarian community like the present Luo communities, inferences concerning intensive labor structures building are applicable.

Based on the above assumptions, this dissertation aimed to explore gender implications during the construction of Thimlich Ohinga dry stone walls. The building of dry stone was pre-planned, as evidenced by the arrangement of blocks which can be seen as deliberate (plate 6.2). The implication was that labor was divided among different groups in society during construction. The same strategy exists among the Luo communities, where communal labor is mobilized during essential activities. These activities range from mud house construction to harvesting or other labor-intensive activities.

Although construction was pre-planned, which suggests the presence of a group who knew construction to guarantee stability and the functions of those walls, such as security met, was not a permanent occupation. To achieve that, different factors were considered, including stability and, in some instances, uniqueness, as depicted in (6.2). This means

that the group of engineers had other careers but were utilized when the need arose, which was not a daily phenomenon.

I argue that constructing Thimlich Ohinga dry-stone walls is a combined effort across gender. As observed in major traditional constructions, people of all social categories often participated in such activities. For instance, the ethnography of the Luo community shows that in the construction of houses, men and women usually share responsibilities. Therefore, since Thimlich Ohinga is a megastructure, it requires multi efforts. Therefore, as observed from the construction technique, it was a pre-planned design that dictated hierarchy and labor division. Therefore, transportation of consecution materials was one of the roles that women were most likely involved in. Men, on the other hand, engaged in reconstruction work. I base my arguments based on the traditional roles of the Luo community, where the defense of the community was men's role (Campell,2006). Since Thimlich was a defensive construction, circumstantial evidence shows that it was men who were involved in the construction. Notable features that show defensive-minded designs include watch towers and narrow and short gates that are easy to defend.

Also, constructing stone enclosures using dry stone technology reflects men's input in the overall designs. As ethnographically observed from the Luo community, livestock rearing was a men's activity. If the same principle of livestock rearing is men's affair, then it is highly probable they were the ones concerned with the design and construction of these enclosures. Therefore, I hypothesize that since men were raiders, they were more familiar with strategies for protecting their livestock from being stolen. In the case of Thimlich Ohinga, these enclosures were made to guarantee the maximum security of their

livestock. Based on the above observation, circumstantial evidence and ethnographic data support the hypothesis that men made these stone structures. At the same time, women were involved in supporting roles. Onjala (2019) has demonstrated how different groups, including the elderly, children, women, and men, cooperate during labor-intensive communal activities in the Luo community.

Plate 6.12 Entrance Gate



The figure shows two entrance gates that could have been designed to guarantee stability through a pillar between the entrances. This demonstrates that the building of these structures was done through planning and by people who were experts in these technological innovations (Picture by the author)

Besides the stone walls, Thimlich Ohinga also contains evidence of wattle and daub houses which comprises the homesteads. Historical evidence shows that some of these houses were made by Luo, who occupied the site up to the twentieth century. Since these houses belong to buildings, environments had an influence on the social relationships of the people of Thimlich Ohinga (Lang'o, 1997; Schwartz, 2000). Andersen (1974) notes that the euphoria of enclosures and livestock enclosures are typically referred to as "kul." The construction of houses near livestock enclosures was observed during the survey of Thimlich Ohinga. Also, he observes that building houses in the Luo community is usually a cultural phenomenon. The implication is that the construction of Luo houses requires social consideration, including gender identities. Based on the above observation, ethnographic data of the Luo community shows that Luo homestead construction and physical disposition of houses in the homestead reflected their gender organization.

6.3.3 Division of Labor

The diversification of subsistence patterns and centrality of crop farming, in particular, directly affected gender identities in Thimlich Ohinga. Notably, women became very active in crop farming, as evidenced by ethno-historical literature of the Luo community in the second half of the nineteenth century (Ogot, 1999). In the period before maize was introduced in the region, other crops such as sorghum and millet were more likely utilized

in the site. The presence of grinding stones) shows plant utilization on the site during its occupation. Nonetheless, plant utilization was supplemented with fishing, pastoralism, hunting, and gathering. Besides food acquisition activities, Iron smelting was practiced on the site with an iron slug in the outer wall of one of the settlement enclosures (plate 6.3). The fact that Thimlich Ohinga people carried out different activities and division of labor was inevitable in some instances. Nonetheless, this dissertation argues that the division of labor was gendered and circumstantial. The above trajectory of the division of labor has been documented ethno-archaeologically in the Luo community. In this case, fishing is mainly men's activity, while women engage mainly in crop farming. Since crop farming entails more intensive work with different stages, it is sometimes none gendered, especially at the household level. This means that men often do activities such as clearing fields, which also aid in significant activities such as planting, harvesting, and often during weeding. On the other hand, iron smelting and hunting were almost exclusive men's activities as ethno-archaeologically observed. The same applies to plant processing, where women were likely engaged in grain grinding and preparation.

Plate 6.13 Slug



This picture shows an iron slug as evidence of ironworking in Thimlich Ohinga (Picture by the author)

On the economic front, it is evident that crops and livestock were two commodities with delayed returns, while hunting and fishing had immediate returns. The economic returns had important dynamics on gender power in Thimlich Ohinga. This dissertation argues that since food acquisition was the main economic activity, those controlling food had some form of political power. As ethnographically observed elsewhere, such as among the Maasai, slaughtering livestock is not tenable; hence, other food sources, especially crops and fishing, are more viable options for the Thimlich Ohinga community. Since

fishing is immediate returns with less security than crops, especially grains which can be stored for an extended period, crop production was the most prestigious economic activity. The reliance on crop production empowered women as they were the center of this production. As noted elsewhere, crop production is mainly a women's affair in the Luo culture (Onjala, 2019). With the decline of livestock production due to tsetse flies, fishing activities may have intensified as a regional diversification strategy. This would have elevated men's economic status as they were mainly fishermen.

In Thimlich Ohinga, as demonstrated (in chapter four), pottery was the most abundant artefact collected at the site. These pots had different motifs, probably symbolic meanings, including identities of kinships or potters. The ethnographic study of Luo shows that pot making is women's affairs. Therefore, this observation directly correlates material evidence and gender roles in Thimlich Ohinga. Therefore, I argue that pottery making, as reflected in archaeological material, was central to Thimlich Ohinga society, which shows women's importance. The pots were used for water storage, cooking, and processing milk products. In that case, pots had different functions, which were often gendered, acting as a physical manifestation of gender. For instance, some pots were used to serve men milk or to process certain products, including beer. These made pots have a symbolic meaning besides them being manufactured by women.

Plate 6.1 4 Pottery Making



A woman manufacturing pots in Migori County (picture by the author)

6.3.4 Usage of Spaces

Thimlich Ohinga has elaborate space usage, which has been marked in the archaeological record. These spaces include livestock enclosures, private spaces where houses were located, public spaces, and corridors used to move from one enclosure to another. Moreover, archaeological evidence points to crop farming in the area; hence there is a

high likelihood that farming was done on the outer wall of the enclosure. Besides these conspicuous spaces, various features of wattle and daub houses seem to have been elected in specific areas within the site. Therefore, these houses were also social spaces where different social categorizations were practiced, including gender. To that end, granaries can be described as women's spaces while cattle enclosures as men's spaces, as evidenced by ethnographic data of the Luo community. Also, as observed from an ethnographic study of the Luo, the dry-stone wall, which had security functions, can be described as many spaces. Therefore, the watch towers and other security features, including narrow gates, were mainly men's spaces in relation to security.

Hay (1972) claims that people of South and Central Nyanza were initially livestock keepers but shifted to crop farming over time due to tsetse flies' problems. However, archaeological evidence of Thimlich Ohinga shows the diversification of subsistence strategies as their primary adaptation strategy. Therefore, the usage of spaces represented their subsistence spaces in terms of livestock enclosures, grains processing spaces, and leisure spaces. In some instances, spaces were gendered depending on the activity which was being carried out as dictated by the division of labour. The leisure activities included playing games like one cast on the stone (plate 6.15). This game entails the systematic moving of small stone pebbles within the holes and is mainly played by men, as reflected in archaeological evidence.

Plate 6.15 Bao game



The plate shows Bao game which was cast on a stone and from ethnographic study this is mainly men game. This bao game engrave which is visible in Thimlich Ohinga archaeological site in situ and adjacent grains grinding areas shows an area where women and men closely interacted. (Picture by the author)

Therefore, I argue that the close proximity of men's and women's spaces can be interpreted as the significance of women's roles in Luo society. As observed through an ethnographic study of the Luo, plant resources are the most important food sources. This

can be attributed to the fact that livestock is rarely slaughtered; hence the community relies on plant resources. At the center of crop production are women who also have their private granaries. Because grains can be stored for extended periods, women would technically guarantee food security in these societies. To that end, although livestock was more prized than grains in Luo society, the latter was more reliable as a food source. Ndege (1989) notes how the rinderpest livestock infection in the last decade of the nineteenth century destroyed the Luo livestock, forcing them to rely more on crop agriculture. Currently, the Luo community keeps a small number of livestock, making grain production the most critical food source for the community.

The homestead layout of the Luo and the general usage of space also indicate how gender was expressed in Thimlich Ohinga society. This dissertation uses the house layout observed from the physical layout during the survey and compares it with the ethnographic data of Luo. The empirical evidence points out a direct correlation between the usage of space and gender relations of the Luo homestead. As observed from the Thimlich survey, the house depressions of Thimlich Ohinga had a social meaning concerning gender. In the Luo usage of space, issues such as defense, territoriality, and social relations are closely intertwined. For example, the youngest son's house is located near the gate, which has a defense implication. The gate and fence act as a basis of territory and house arrangements, such as those of wives and homestead heads, showing space differences.

Based on the above observation, it is evident that the usage of space by the Thimlich Ohinga community was reflective of their gender identities. The spaces included laying

out the structures associated with men, such as defense and territory. Most importantly, the homestead layout shows that in Thimlich Ohinga, houses were constructed concerning gender identities. An interesting observation from Thimlich Ohinga's space usage entails how they created spaces concerning economic activities. In this case, livestock and grain processing spaces were located in their homestead's central places.

6.3.5 Trade

Trade as an economic activity entails certain groups within the society being activity members. Furthermore, goods values increase depending on the consumer, which varies even within the group. To that end, trading goods in Thimlich Ohinga indicates what materials were valued by different social groups within the community. Wandibba (1986) observed in Thimlich Ohinga that there was the presence of beads that were acquired from the Maasai community. The presence of beads from their neighbours corresponds with extensive trade networks that have been documented among the Maasai communities. The intercommunity trade in pre-colonial Africa had been documented in Lake Victoria Basin (Iles, 2013)). In fact, there is a high possibility of extensive trade networks between Bantu kingdoms and Thimlich Ohinga society. The complexity of Thimlich Ohinga's architecture demonstrates a sophisticated society. Therefore, the sophistication of Thimlich Ohinga society may have included extensive trade with other communities in the region. Early European explorers and travelers in the region documented this phenomenon of vast trade networks.

Ochieng (1974) mentions trade networks that existed in Luo Nyanza during the pre-colonial period. These trade networks entailed barter trade with well-established markets

where goods were exchanged between the community and their neighbours; in some instances, there was regional trade. Notable goods exchanged include grains, iron objects, pots, poisons, baskets, and livestock, among other goods. In the case of Luo, ethnographic studies show that pot-making was women's affairs. Also, they had considerable power in agricultural crop production and managing those food crops' usage. Therefore, women's production of goods that were traded gave them prestige and economic power. Thus, they were not passive actors in Luo culture. As depicted in the usage of spaces in Thimlich Ohinga, where men's traditional game was adjacent to the grinding area, women were central in the decision-making process of Thimlich Ohinga society. In this case, the Luo community that occupied the Thimlich Ohinga settlement are more likely the users of the grinding stone and bao game, as evidenced by the site's stratigraphy.

In the late nineteenth century, trade intensified, especially with Indians and Arabs who had networks that stretched to the India ocean coast. Also, regional trade has been documented between Luo and other regional communities. Onduru (1992) notes how the Luo of Kano obtained bananas from Banyore, digging hoe from Jo-Yimbo, and sweet potatoes from the Kipsigis. The latter remains a significant food in the contemporary Luo community, where it is grown and often traded. In the material evidence from Thimlich Ohinga, there was a collection of beads from the site. Since these beads were made of plastic, they were therefore acquired through trade or exchange from other areas. This evidence shows an extensive trade network that existed between Thimlich and Ohinga.

While exploring how gender was expressed in trade in Thimlich Ohinga, goods that were exchanged were central(Wandibba,1990). The ethnographic data of the Luo shows that

women were mainly involved in the grain trade in exchange for other goods. Since there is archaeological evidence of trade links between Maasai and Thimlich Ohinga societies (Wandibba, 1986). Historical accounts and evidence show that Maasai often trade their livestock for grains (Hodgson, 1999; Smith, 2015; Quinlan et al., 2016). The implication is that women mainly controlled grains that were traded in exchange for men's livestock. Therefore, this shows a possibility where gender identities were renegotiated regarding power. That is, entailing men negotiating with their wives for access to grains. I suggest that women trade their grains with livestock, and although these animals were owned by their husbands, they had great control of their products, as observed in the Maasai and Samburu communities (Arhem, 1989; Grillo, 2012; Smith, 2015).

6.3.6 Dietary patters

Ambrose et al. (2003) study of Cahokia showed that in that society, an individual gender influenced the food they consumed. For instance, in the above society, isotope evidence showed that men consumed food which was rich in proteins while women's diet was mainly comprised of grains. Sommerville et al. (2015) observed that in pre-historic Peru, the Tiwaniku community's dietary patterns were based on social categorizations, including gender. In the above society, men consumed maize (in terms of beer) compared to their female counterparts. Nonetheless, dietary patterns entail other activities, including preparations which are also gendered in some societies (Jiménez-Brobeil et al., 2021). Therefore, in Thimlich Ohinga, food preparation and subsequent consumption were reflected in gendered roles, as observed in the ethnographic study of the Luo community.

The archaeological evidence of Thimlich Ohinga shows the consumption of plants and animal resources. Notable finds, as discussed (in chapter four), include the consumption of fish and domesticated and wild animals. The processing of grains is also evidenced by the presence of grinding stones in the site where possible plants consumed include sorghum and millet. An adaptation strategy probably caused the diversified dietary pattern of Thimlich Ohinga. The need to have a sedentary life and secure it using stone tools may have ushered in overreliance on plant resources over livestock and hunting. However, their culture was still anchored on livestock production, as demonstrated by their investments, including building animal enclosures. The implication was that livestock had a crucial role besides consumption, the exceptional social organization of society.

This study collected faunal data as the basis for inferring how consumption patterns were reflective of their social identities. Nonetheless, attempts to explore bone distribution as the basis of inferring gender were not viable in this study. Despite such challenges, I draw evidence from Luo's ethnographic data of animal consumption to suggest that bones that remain in Thimlich Ohinga are reflective of gender identities. As observed from ethnographic data, the consumption of domesticated animals, especially caprines and cattle, in Luo culture has a social complication. Various animals' parts are consumed concerning an individual social categorization. Therefore, as elaborated (In chapter four), faunal remains indicate gender.

Besides consumption, food processing was also done in relation to an individual gender, as observed in the ethnographic study of the Luo community. The men were involved in

the slaughtering of cattle and caprines. On the other hand, women were involved in the preparation of plants resource, including grains. In Thimlich Ohinga, the presence of grinding stones indicates the processing of plant resources at the site. The implication is that the slaughtering and processing of plant resources entail the materialization process of gender identities in the Luo community. Also, processing these food resources often entailed specific spaces used for slaughtering animals or processing plant resources, including grains. To some extent, these food processing spaces acted as physical areas where gender identities were expressed. Therefore, the areas where grinding stones were located in Thimlich Ohinga can be defined as women's spaces. The same principle applied in the slaughtering areas of animals, which acted as men's spaces, has been ethnographically observed in different communities in East Africa. For example, the Maasai have slaughtering areas that are sometimes outside the homestead area (Maina, 2016).

6.3.7 Funerary Practice

Ethnographic and historical evidence shows that the Luo community has elaborate funerary practices (Orawa, 2011). The burial process includes the process of announcing the death, the mourning process, actuarial burial, and after-funeral rituals. In total, the Luo burial process entails over a dozen rituals expressed through material and immaterial activities. These processes are usually influenced by an individual social category (Ndede, 2016). Therefore, funerals represent the social categorization of an individual. In an archaeological context, these funeral processes include materializing individual social identity. Notable social categories include the death of male elders, where the

announcement is usually made in the evening. Typically, the first wife announces the death before other people join the mourning process.

The area for burial also depends on individual social identity, including gender, age, and if they had children. The head of the homestead is sometimes buried inside his hut, while the first wife is just outside on the right side. The second wife is buried on the left side of the hut (more detailed description in chapter four). The young women who die before having children are often buried outside the fence. Based on the above observation, the funeral of the Luo manifests an individual gender. However, the archaeological evidence from Thimlich Ohinga, although the Luo occupied it at one point in history, has not yielded evidence of such burials. Nonetheless, the ethnographic data of the Luo demonstrates how gender was expressed in Thimlich Ohinga, predominantly when the site was occupied by the Luo communities in the later stages of its occupation.

6.4 Gede

Gede, just like other city-states located along the Indian Ocean, is one of the most preserved sites of pre-colonial Swahili civilization (Kirkman, 1964). On the academic front, Gede offers insights into the cosmopolitan life of the Swahili people civilization, especially subsistence strategies, which relied heavily on maritime trade with other regions such as Persia, India, and China (Kusimba, 1999). For instance, Kilwa and Mombasa city-states thrived almost entirely by offering services to Indian Ocean traders. The Indian Ocean maritime trade brought great wealth to these city-states and created elaborate social structures that are visible from cultural remains. On the other hand, Gede emerged shortly after the second millennium's start and reached its apogee from the

fiftieth-century current era before declining two centuries later (Pawlowicz,2019). At its peak, Gede had contact from different regions, as evidenced by archaeological materials from the site, such as China, Arabia, Persia, and India.

In the last seven decades, archaeological inquiry of Swahili civilizations has undergone phases where the discourse has shifted to a different theme. Initially, there was a consensus that Swahili civilization originated in the Middle East through maritime trade (Kirkman, 1974). The conclusion was through the assumption that Swahili civilization which did not extend into the hinterlands, was a product of Arabs settled in the coastal region (Fleisher et al., 2011; Jones, 2015; Ichumbaki & Pollard, 2021). These assumptions were from an archaeological inquiry that concentrated on large pre-colonial Swahili cities and their exotic material remains which were foreign. The second wave of inquiry concentrated on the life of elites, especially rulers and merchants (Kirkman, 1964; Chittick, 1984). Even so, these studies explored the political and economic life of elite communities without necessarily venturing into their social lives. Over time, African roots were recognized in the Swahili civilization, characterized by innovation. However, in the last two decades, attempts were made to shift debates to explore the life of common people. The commoners who lived in the Swahili cities have been explored by various researchers in the last few decades (e.g., Chami, 1994; Abungu, 1994; Mutoro, 1994). These studies were informed by realities of cosmopolitan life that entail different social groups living together where the centrality of exchange and trade is essential. In Swahili cities, where maritime trade was a significant economic activity, creating a supporting system comprised of different social groups offering services was essential.

Nonetheless, gender as a social identity has not been tackled inclusively by the past researchers of the site. This does not mean there was no mention of different identity groups that lived in Gede in the past, especially commoners, elites, and women. Kirkman (1974) had already named one of the areas of "The Palace" as a women's court, and abundant materials can be described as items used by women. Based on the above observation, in the following sections, I describe how gender as a social identity was expressed in Gede society. As such, I explore how material evidence regarding architecture, usage of public and private spaces, funeral practices, trade, and religion shows how gender was expressed in Gede.

6.4.1 Architecture

A literature corpus now concerns the created human environment, including architecture and social implications (Hudson, 2014; Steadman, 1996). Overall, this has led to the growth of 'architectural' and 'house' archaeology as sub-disciplines in the last few years (Kusimba et al., 2017). Generally, debates persist concerning the architecture of Swahili civilization in terms of influence by the external world (Kusimba, 2017; Pawlowicz, 2019). Currently, the archaeological record shows that the Swahili civilization stone building emerged after the end of the first millennia (Pradines, 2003). The association of stone buildings and the spread of Islam does not hold, as some of the mosques before were built using mud. Therefore, the use of coral for building and stone masonry corresponds with the expansion of the Indian Ocean trade rather than the diffusion of these architectural techniques from Arabs (Pawlowicz, 2012; Rødland, 2020). This dissertation argues that architectural changes were a response to economic development

and the accumulation of surplus capital, creating a conducive environment for the invention.

Garlake (1966) extensively studied Swahili architecture along the Indian Ocean coast. He argued that Swahili architecture was a combination of techniques of local indigenous communities with designs imported from the Red Sea region. Notable features he noted in storey buildings were indigenous floor designs that emphasized privacy. These houses were mainly built using blocks of limestone mined from the near-surface or surface of ocean plains known as coral. The corners and finishing in the interior and exterior were often done using mortar of coral which was sometimes colored in different shades. The floor was also made by arranging wood to support the floor and applying mortar to it. This type of design has been observed in the house near the Great Mosque in Gede. In the house, the woods used to make the floor are in situ and part of the floor. These house designs using corals continue to exist on the coast at present, where some houses have had continuous usage for centuries. The city's general layout with narrow streets also dominates some Swahili towns. During the ethnographic study in Lamu County, these architectural designs were observed. Thusly, this gives meaningful inferences about how Gede town was planned and the general architectural design (plate 6.18).

Plate 6.18 Showing Houses made of Coral



This house shows narrow streets dominated by houses made using coral in Pate Lamu (picture by the Author)

Nonetheless, some of the architectural designs diffused from different areas, and Swahili people customized them to come up with their unique designs. Portuguese sources note that Kilwa stone and mud houses have narrow streets, which is a similar trait in some of the areas in Gede (Horton, 1986; LaViolette, 2008). The stone-walled areas also had stone

benches, indicating how critical public spaces were in a commerce center like Kilwa at the time. They also noted palaces with at least one or two floors showing the sophistication of Kilwa would match other areas of the world at the time. On the Swahili coast, Gede ruins are one of the most well-preserved buildings in the region, with some of the walls still at their original height (Kirkman, 1960; Pawlowicz, 2017). Thus, the architecture of Gede was set up to reflect their values, including political and social ideologies. The evidence points out that the society of Gede was relatively inclusive from architectural evidence. The religious and political spaces were constructed to cater for the two genders. The fact that the city invested heavily in the construction of religious spaces with women's spaces as per Islam doctrines as well as women's courts where decisions and arbitration matter was quite a phenomenon. For instance, the palace, which acted as the center of political power, had women's quarters where they could debate their personal matters.

The architecture of Gede resembles some other parts of the Swahili civilization along the coast. Arabic sources paint rather contrasting narrations of Swahili people, whom they perceive as different from them in terms of their culture, which sometimes borders on romanticism. The Arab writers claim that the waswahili people lived mainly in clay glass/palm-thatched houses. These houses formed villages and, in some instances, towns which practised mixed economy that was characterized by hunting, fishing and agriculture. Inevitably, those villages close to the ocean developed more rapidly, and their architecture also entailed stone houses. In the case of Gede, the town was complex and included the development of fortified buildings at the center.

The architectural design of Gede incorporated their cultural and commerce consideration as evidenced by the general layout of buildings in the public and private spaces. The city acted as a trading center for local and foreign ware. At the same time, spaces were used to form, renegotiate and reinvent social identities in response to changing commercial and cultural landscape. The architecture, therefore, reflects the emergence of Swahili elites as fueled by local, regional and international trade and Islamization, one of the products of foreign contacts. Therefore, the city's general layout reflects affluence associated with the Indian Ocean trade leading to the accumulation of massive wealth by individuals. Moreover, Gede, just like city-state architecture, reflect their political dynamics by demonstrating a close correlation between the political and economic elites. The spatial patterning of public buildings is closely associated with mosques which shows how Islam played an essential role for the elites. The elites maintained their social status by building massive stone houses with amenities such as private baths and water wells. Their homes also contained courtyards where politics and commerce were discussed. Ibn Battuta claimed that in Mogadishu City state, merchants were hosted in local brokers' private homes during their stay (Matveive,1984). As such, private homes were dominated by what would have been perceived as public amenities as they were used to host foreign merchants. This was probably why private homes in Gede had private wells and some self-contained rooms.

In the past, Gede's architectural designs and techniques were attributed to foreigners, while Swahili people were perceived as passive (Ichumbaki, 2017; Pawlowicz, 2019). However, more archaeological evidence shows that Gede's architectural designs had some indigenous elements which were rare to alleged areas influences such as Persia or

Arabia. Therefore, there is evidence of Gede of specific architectural designs which are unique and attributable to the Swahili people.

In Gede, building entailed private and public spaces with different dynamics regarding how gender was experienced and practised. Since the two were fragmented into classes, architectural designs correspond with these societies' social organizations, including how spaces were used. Peter Garlake (1966) pioneered the examination of Swahili architecture from Mozambique to Mogadishu. His study was followed by Thomas Wilson's (1982) study of the spatial layout of Swahili towns, settlements' size and structural components. Also, Linda Donley (1987, 1990) conducted an ethnoarchaeological study on the social structure of Swahili houses in Lamu. In the last decade, Fleisher (2013) studied the usage of open spaces and the monumentality of Songo Mnara in Tanzania. LaViolette (2013) went further and explored wattle and daub as well as stone houses and implications on social identities. This study narrows down to Gede's architecture and how it was reflective of gender as an identity. As hypothesized earlier, this dissertation correlates materials with a specific gender. As such, architectural designs are conceptualized as gender signatures in this study. The study combines evidence from previous materials excavated by various gender scholars, especially James Kirkman and Stephane Pradines, who excavated Gede in the 1950s and 2000s. This study analyses social and symbolic dynamics by exploring how public architectural designs reflected gender identity.

Gede society had elaborate public and private spaces, reflecting their social identity ideology. These elite spaces were not as they were accessed by support groups who were crucial in the quotidian maintenance of these spaces. Goffman (1979) suggests that social

structure divisions are usually reflected micro ecologically using spatial metaphors (Collins, 1980). The implications are profound in the long run because the space loses its 'neutrality', representing certain ideologies and exerting some form of influence. Paasi, (2013), in her integration of community actions, argues that spaces and spatial constituents influence identity actions. In other words, space usually influences people in it and vice versa. For instance, public recreation area may change to a trading area in specific periods. The correlation between space and individuals also extends to social groups that are sometimes pre-determined (See Ardener, 1978).

Since Gede was an urban center, the town was dominated by both public and private buildings. This section discusses the architectural designs of public buildings concerning how gender identity was expressed and maintained in public life. As such, an extensive city survey was undertaken to establish to what extent open spaces and public buildings were areas where gender differences were expressed, maintained and renegotiated. Kirkman (1974) claims that near the Great Mosque is where the town center was suited, as evidenced by large houses and including 'The Palace'. The Sultan of Malindi probably owned the palace he claimed due to its size and design. However, the palace may have acted as a public building for hosting foreign merchants with accommodation facilities. My assumptions emanate from its design which shows several rooms having private toilets/bathrooms. The implication is that it was not a private home as contrasted by other houses which have mainly non gendered toilets. Therefore, it was more likely a public space rather than a home occupied by the Sultan household. Furthermore, the expansion of the house through time corresponded with intensification of regional and international trade hence a possibility of the area being used as "hotel" for foreign merchants.

More interestingly, the palace toilets were made differently to accommodate biological sexes, unlike those in private places. Therefore, it seems sex is a difference, and to some extent, gender was a basis of difference in Gede society in some instances. To that end, men and women occupied different spaces while using toilets in public spaces. The same principle was applied while designing Mosques in Gede in line with Islamic values. As such, mosques were portioned into two. Ethnographic evidence shows that men typically occupy the front section while women occupy the back section. However, the small private mosque excavated within a private compound does not have such a partition, demonstrating that gendered spaces in public spaces sometimes became obscured at the house level. The implication is that gender identities, especially the usage of spaces, change depending on the context, as shown by available evidence.

Kirkman (1974) concluded that the palace had been partitioned into two with women's and men's courts. He concluded his idea of Haramlik (women's court) with his findings of comb and bead excavated there. This assertion must be questioned at present as we cannot assume identity based on a few artefacts. In fact, other archaeological schools have debated this premise in the past, including Binford (1981) and Schiffer (1985). Nonetheless, ethnoarchaeological evidence of Swahili people supports the notion of architectural differences partitioning men's and women's areas. Thus, from a contextual point of view and available archaeological materials, it is viable to argue that gender identities partly informed Gede's architecture.

Plate 6.19 Women toilet in the palace



This picture depicts women toilet as observed in contemporary time (picture by author)

The most unique thing about the women's toilet depicted above and the men's toilet (plate 6.6) is that it was only observed in 'the palace', which can be described as a public building. Thus, it is evident that gender division in public spaces was more elaborate as compared to private areas. This evidence also brings us possibilities concerning gender identities regarding what was considered ideal and reality. In other words, gender division was more likely observed in public spaces as compared to private spaces. The above observation has been made in the ethnographic study of the Swahili people, where different households often have unique ways in which gender differences are expressed in public and private spaces.

The most unique thing about the women's toilet depicted above, as well as the men's toilet (plate 6.), is that it was only observed in 'the palace', which can be described as a public building. Thus, it is evident that gender division in public spaces was more elaborate as compared to private areas. This evidence also brings us possibilities concerning gender identities in terms of what was considered ideal and reality. In other words, gender division was more likely observed in public spaces as compared to private spaces. The above observation has been made in the ethnographic study of the Swahili people, where different households often have unique ways in which gender differences are expressed in public and private spaces. These differences included dressing code which is stricter in public spaces rather than private spaces.

Plate 6.20 Men toilets in Gede



This picture depicts a toilet male toilet as observed from contemporary toilets (picture by the author)

6.4.2 Private Spaces

Private spaces, especially houses, contain the fundamental social of the majority of societies. Based on the above observation, houses offer a glimpse of day-to-day activities of individuals in their private spaces (Fleisher, 2015). In this section, I discuss gender as identity and how it was expressed in private spaces in Gede as manifested in the material record. The rationale was to examine how spaces were used concerning gender as an identity. For analysis purposes, this dissertation defines a household as the smallest social unit with material remains to demonstrate routine and habitual activities. To that end, households also function as units of production, processing, consumption and disposal of resources.

This section discusses data from three houses which I excavated in Gede archaeological site. The first house is the stone-walled house in the inner wall, the second is made of wattle and daub (mud and wood houses) at the inner wall, and the last is just outside the outer wall made of wattle and daub. As mentioned earlier (in chapter four), the houses represented elites, the middle class and commoners. Therefore, the data discussed gives insights concerning how gender was presented across different classes in Gede society.

Historically and in contemporary society, a house which is the physical manifestation of a household is always set up in consideration of gender roles. The architecture and use of house spaces correspond with gender roles hence the material evidence. Borden et al. (2002) argue that men are perceived as "authority figures or 'breadwinners'", which correspond with spaces associated with such roles. They have special sits in the dining area and, sometimes, a study to guarantee "work 'even at home. On the other hand,

women's spaces are associated with 'service responsibility', including the kitchen as a 'cook', the master bedroom 'offer leisure', the dining room 'offers food', as well as children's bedroom 'nurturing children'. Therefore, I discuss each house and its material implication on gender as identity in Gede.

Besides private houses, I examine public spaces and how gender was expressed in Gede. To that end, I hypothesize that public areas are where gender ideals were expressed in the Gede society, while private spaces are where real identities were manifested. As such, the separation of genders, which is ideal according to Islamic values, was implemented in public spaces and less in private spaces. Therefore, I use that argument to describe houses whose commercialization entailed being used as "hotels" by foreigners based on the separation of spaces between men and women. The implication was that spaces such as toilets of private would have single toilet units, which are not gendered, while public buildings may have multiple toilets, which are gendered.

6.4.3 Public Spaces.

Gede as a city had several public spaces, including public amenities structures such as mosques, wells, courts and open spaces. As observed earlier, in Gede, gender was often expressed differently in public and private spaces. Matveiev (1984) has observed how Islamic values were emphasized in Swahili City states due to trade. These values dictated the creation of public spaces tailored towards observing Islamic values. Central to these values include areas of ablution, which are constructed specifically for men. The ethnographic data shows that there were no separate ablution areas because women were customarily expected to pray at home. To that end, the ablution area within the mosque

was a men's public space in the past, a phenomenon that is still practised at present. This makes the area outside the mosque a man area where they expressed their gender identities in Gede.

Nonetheless, the Islamic religion considers the event where women attended public mosques. In this case, the separation between genders was maintained. In Gede, Friday Mosques were partitioned where women were at the back of the mosque while men were at the front (Kirkman,1974). In this case, women are not expected to interact with men. In normal circumstances, women are expected to be ablutionary at home since that facility does not exist on the premises. In Pate, three mosques referred to as "women mosques" were observed without ablution. The reason for such absence can be attributed to the fact that women are supposed to ablution at home. Interestingly, "women's mosques" exist in Pate, mainly ordinary houses converted into mosques (Wilson and Omar, 1997). Therefore, the presence of women's mosques may have existed in Gede, making it very difficult to identify in archaeological records since they lack architectural features associated with contemporary mosques.

The streets have also been noted as some areas where gender identities were expressed in the Swahili City States. In Islamic values, there is an insistence on women's purity which often dictates isolation from men (Munir ,2005). Therefore, it has been documented that women were often encouraged to use streets which were not busy to reduce their contact with men. Nonetheless, historical accounts of Swahili society have shown that women often contested spaces with men. In Gede, the presence of public courts for women shows they were in public spaces. Therefore, in this dissertation, the streets women were

encouraged to use due to less contact with men were actually their public spaces. This would have allowed them to participate in public spaces while fulfilling some cultural norms of separation along gendered spaces.

Plate 6.2.1 Narrow Street of Gede



Picture depicting narrow streets in Gede which have been mentioned as some of the spaces where women were expected to walk. However, all cities were dominated by narrow streets hence a possibility of some streets acting as gendered spaces (Picture by the author).

6.5 Excavated Private Houses and Implication in Gender

The Swahili household acted as an area where gender and social status were expressed, negotiated and re-enforced. For instance, gender intersection is evident through siring children between the master and slave females. The children born from enslaved people and masters changed their social hierarchy, sometimes corresponding to moving from the ground floor to upstairs. From the above observation, ethnoarchaeological evidence shows gender was negotiated and re-negotiated through different avenues.

Plate 6.22 Floor of Swahili Stone House



This floor in Lamu represent how floors of one or more storey building were made in Swahili City States including Gede (picture by Author)

In this next section, I discuss data from my excavation at Gede and its implications on gender. The data was collected to explore how gender was expressed across the classes and its implication on material records. The centre of this investigation attempted to examine gender roles across different social classes. Based on the written record, I hypothesized that elite houses were also used for hosting international traders. Therefore, there was the commercialization of households concerning offering hospitalities. On the other hand, the middle classes arose from near opportunities created by cosmopolitan life, including the supply of certain goods to the town population. Finally, the commoners who lived on the periphery of the town relied on farming, fishing and hunting as their primary subsistence strategies.

6.5.1 The House of Mbarak

This house was situated to the North East of the great mosque in an area with several other stone buildings (chapter 4). The house layout corresponds with designs employed in the construction of Swahili houses, as documented by Donley (1990) in Lamu. At this house, the excavation was carried out in the kitchen, bathrooms, inner room and backyard. The rationale was to examine variations and similarities of materials in order to correlate them with gender roles. This strategy was based on assumptions that we can correctly identify what space was used for based on the totality of material remains.

House of Mbarak layout



Also, the archaeological record reflects how social spaces changed over time in response to internal and external factors. The evidence shows that the area was initially occupied by people who lived in wattle and daub houses and then replaced by stone houses, with later evidence of the site being rebuilt with wattle and daub houses. To that end, the house of Mbarak showed a sequence of Gede in terms before it became a sophisticated urban centre, during the golden era and after its decline. The materials excavated from the site corresponded with the area they were retrieved, proving that often spatial patterning of materials indicates space usage.

Therefore, charcoal, cooking pots, water pots, domesticated animal bones, and marine resources, including shells, were discovered in the kitchen. Also, there were several grinding stones indicative of the processing of plant resources for consumption. In the inner room, copper ornaments were discovered, a water pot in situ, imported ceramics of Chinese and Islamic origin, beads, and cowrie shells. In the toilet, coprolites were

excavated, beads and shells. Lastly, the backyard had two drainage pits which were excavated and are situated a meter apart.

The house of Mbarak contrasted with the palace in the sense that it did not have gender-specific toilets. The toilet, which was in the innermost area of the house, was one; hence it was not divided based on sex or gender. However, there was a toilet outside the house, which based on ethnoarchaeological data of the Swahili, acted as a public toilet for visitors. To that end, it is evident that in private spaces, gender differences in terms of accessing some areas were more abstract as compared to public spaces. These differences could be explained of Muslims believers, where close interaction between women and men is only allowed within the family. Second, it could be explained by differences between reality and ideal gender identity expressions. In public, there is pressure to maintain social ideals that may be ignored in private spaces.

Based on the above observation, the house of Mbarak acted as the house of elites and did not act as a hotel for foreigners. Nonetheless, the house entailed receiving constant visitors, as evidenced by a public toilet outside the house. This makes the backyard I excavated act as a public space that non-family members would occupy during their visit to that home as well as the guest room, which was the outermost room of the house. Based on ethnographic data, the "kitchen" represents space in the house of Mbarak. There was the presence of ash, pot in situ, and bones of domesticated animals, including camels and caprines. Exploring those materials in detail and comparing them with finds in the guest room which was also dominated by food remains and pots, including one found in situ,

suggests a close relationship. The kitchen offers a glimpse of women's service in this home, mainly preparing food for family members and probable guests.

The backyard had two "sink pits", which were used to dispose of dirty water in the house. Therefore, I argue that the two sinks show that many activities were carried out in the compound of this house. Since ethnographic data shows that most public events, especially in homes, are men's affairs, the area represents where male identities were expressed. I draw evidence from the presence of iron ore discovered in the compound, indicating iron working, which was men's activity.

6.5.2 Khadija House

The Khadija house was excavated inside the wall of Gede, an area associated with the elites. However, unlike other houses, mainly made of stone, this was made using wattle and daub, materials associated with commoners. The house was near a mosque and public well, an indication it was near public amenities hence a good location. In this house, I only excavated one room with plenty of local pottery and a considerable number of foreign ceramics, Chinese and Islamic. Thus, every indication shows that this house was occupied by people who were active in the urban life of Gede during its golden age. The people who occupied this house were most likely in the cottage industry, where they made materials for local and regional consumption. Thus, we can define them as the 'middle class of Gede'.

As mentioned above, archaeological evidence shows they were making beads as we found several beads grinders and ostrich shells, which were waste materials for making them. Also, a sixteenth-century kohl pencil (mascara) was excavated in this house, which

showed that the women of this site had access to exotic foreign goods. Thus, based on archaeological evidence, this was a women's workspace. I base my assumption on the presence of gendered materials correlated with ethnographic data. Typically, Islam culture is strict on spaces that are usually gendered; hence, the presence of materials historically associated with women supports this point. Interestingly, women who occupied this area were an integral part of the Gede economy and were part of the production chain; hence, they accumulated resources as evidence of the consumption of foreign and prestigious goods.

The sequences of materials excavated from the house of Khadija show how the house activities changed through time. In the beginning, it was dominated by local goods, especially local pottery and sea shells. Nonetheless, sophisticated goods were present when beads grinders appeared, including more imported goods, as discussed (in chapter four). Therefore, the house shows a transformation of women's activities in the Gede archaeological site. That is their incorporation into the formal economy through the supply of beads. These beads were mainly used for trading with the interior societies, making them essential commodities of exchange.

Plate 6.23 Kohl Pencil



The picture depicts mascara which is dated around 16th century CE and which was one of the most exotic products associated with women.

Plate 6.24 beads grinders



The figure depicts beads grinders which were found in abundance in the house of Khadija hence high probability of the site being used as an industrial area for beads (picture by the author).

Plate 6.25 Imported Ceramics



The figure represents imported ceramics recovered from the house of Khadija. (Picture by Author)

6.5.3 House of Katana

This house on the outside of the outer wall falls under the category of the lives of commoners (Pawlowicz, 2019). The site was dominated by hunted animals and fishbone, lacking any identified domesticated animals. Furthermore, most potteries were local, indicating repairs in some. In this house, a small number of beads made of local materials

and most wild bones were charred. The people who lived here and away from the city were most likely in the lowest class in Gede. Furthermore, the presence of wild animals, which are not commonly consumed in Islamic culture, indicates non-Muslim dwellers most likely occupied this place. However, they also participated in Gede's urban life and consumed imported materials, including Islamic ceramics. The food remains of hunted animals, marine resources, and the presence of marine resources suggests the division of labour in the house. It is evident that the people in the house did not accumulate a lot of materials, making it challenging to leave tangible traces of gender as a social identity.

6.6 Division of Labor

Gede was an urban center that relied on exchange and interdependence due to specialization. Therefore, the city's main economic activities, as reflected in the archaeological record, include cottage industries, hospitality, fishing, animal husbandry, crop agriculture, and local, regional and international trade. From excavated evidence from the house of Mbarak, Gede started as a clustered village dominated by wattle and daub houses during the first century of the second millennium. This evidence emanates from Chinese ceramic dated the eleventh century excavated in the house at the level where there are postholes in the earliest occupation of the Kitchen floor. At that level, they subsisted mainly on fishing, hunting and gathering and processing crops, as evidenced by the presence of grinding stones. From the above substance strategies, ethnographic data of Swahili people shows that men were engaged in fishing and hunting while women practised crop farming. Although goods were exchanged with other regional and international areas, it was minimal. Thus, gender division of labour was

more evident at the household level, with some intersectionality when circumstances allowed.

However, the second phase, which is sometimes referred to as the golden age, was characterized by the intensification of the Indian Ocean trade. The evidence shows sophistication in the building, which comprised even the creation of drainage systems. These water disposing systems show that Gede was already an urban centre where hygiene was a priority. In fact, excavation in the backyard of the house of Mbarak shows two drainage systems separated by a few meters. The period of the building of the house of Mbarak corresponded with the extension of the palace, which is indicative of the intensification of international trade. The archaeological evidence of the palace shows amenities such as women's courts and toilets to demonstrate that women participated in public life and, in this case, trade. So, the evidence shows that gender roles entailed women moving from their previously held roles in the homestead and becoming an integral part of commerce.

Besides those gendered roles, different economic activities were carried out in Gede and elsewhere along East African Coast. Notable activities included mangrove poles which were processed and exported to the Middle East, and Iron processing, where evidence has been excavated in Gede. Others include beads making, which was a significant activity; pottery manufacturing for commercial purposes with the increase in the cosmopolitanism of Gede; shipbuilding and service industries, including hospitality for foreign visitors. These activities were also complemented by traditional activities such as the weaving of baskets, beds, fishing nets, and shipbuilding ropes, among other functions. The

implication was a reconsideration of gendered activities as some of these activities became commercialized. The ethnographic study identified bead making and weaving as women's activities while ironworking was men's. In the case of some of the industries, such as ship making, it would have required a supply chain that involved men's and women's production. Therefore, I argue that the division of labour in Gede, a cosmopolitan town, was one of the ways where gender identities were expressed. The essential commercialization of traditional activities, such as pot manufacturing, ultimately empowered women and was reflected in their activities in commerce and the social life of Gede society.

6.6.1 International Trade and Gender Roles Implication

As part of the Swahili civilization's economic activities, Gede was dictated by geographical, environmental and external factors. Archaeological evidence shows that Gede's economic activities included fishing, mixed farming, and trading. Even so, there is evidence of hunting as documented by the presence of wild faunal. Since the Gede community was urban, other economic activities associated with urban life have been documented in Gede, including pottery and iron smelting. This mode of economic activity was the norm of Swahili people, as mentioned by Arab and Swahili writers (Kusimba, 2019). For instance, Al Masudi, writing in the first century of the second millennium, notes the presence of the following crops: coconuts, coleus, bananas and yams. (Matveiev, 1984). On the other hand, an anonymous Portuguese writer notes that fifteenth-century Kilwa Kisiwani cultivated maize, lemon, sweet oranges, onions, and betel nuts while keeping cattle, goats and sheep.

International trade in the Indian Ocean relied on monsoon winds which required merchants to stay in one area for a considerable time (Mativeive,1984). The implication was an emergency of hospitality industry practice in private homes or public places. As I have argued above, in Gede, the palace may have offered a public building as well as a form of the hotel for visiting merchants during their stay, which often spanned into weeks or months. Ibn Battuta noted in his writings how brokers often received merchants in Mogadishu city and hosted them in their private homes. Based on the size of some of the private houses in Gede, the same principle may have been applied in Gede. In that case, this created a thin line between private and public houses with implications on gender roles in several ways. First, the commercialization of labour was done at the household level, which created an avenue for the accumulation of materials by both men and women. Second, the rise of cottage industries, including pottery making, iron smelting, and beads manufacturing, coupled with service industries, necessitated the diversification of gender roles in Gede. I, therefore, postulate that based on the availability of exotic women's goods such as kohl pencils retrieved from the house of Khadija, imported ceramics, glass beads and part of copper ornaments, they possessed some form of purchasing power rather than relying entirely on their husband's economic activities. To that end, I hypothesize that intensifying international trade in Gede ultimately created commercial opportunities for women leading to the renegotiation of gender roles. This included developing activities such as making clothes that have not been archaeologically identified but are documented in the written sources.

6.6.2 Islam and Gender Implication at Gede

At Gede, just like other Swahili city-states, Islam became a major religion with tremendous influence on the social fabric (Kusimba et al, 2013). Unlike other areas in the Middle East, the spread of Islam in Gede was gradual. It entailed the customization of certain ideologies with African belief systems, a trend that has been observed in other city-states such as Kilwa. Nonetheless, Islam acted as a point of reference for traders from the Arabic world and their African counterparts. In some instances, it was dominant in influencing the commercial and social behavior of the Swahili people. Rothman (2002) notes that in the commercial sphere, there was the insistence on fair trading deals in line with koranic teaching leading to the creation of the position of market inspector 'muhtash' responsible for checking measurements of goods during transactions. At Gede, the Islamic influence of the city is evidenced by numerous mosques, Islamic architectural designs, and the presence of madrassa, tombs, and Islamic ceramics, among other Islamic signatures.

Interestingly, Islamic doctrine influenced gender roles in Gede, including the accessibility of certain materials and spaces. For instance, mosques, public courts, and public buildings were all gendered according to Islamic doctrines of separating men and women. What is evident is that Islamic values were considered in the overall construction of the city. To that extent, I argue that gender roles were not only maintained through public buildings using Islamic values but extended to other matters such as division of labour, usage of private spaces, utilization of specific resources and religious rituals. Therefore, the women's space excavated in the daub house inside the wall, while examined under the Islamic gender prism, fits as a women's space. Based on the above observation, I conclude

that Islam often dictated gender in terms of expected behaviour (actions), which had material implications. For instance, insistence on separation between men and women had been documented, especially in public spaces such as mosques, courts, and streets and using specific materials such as kohl pencils.

As mentioned above, the spread of Islam reconfigured gender relations in Gede and other city-states along the coast. Notable changes brought by Islam were the insistence on privacy through the separation of men's and women's activities. As such, Islam dictated to some extent how gender identities were expressed in architecture, usage of public and private spaces, commercial activities, urbanism, and commercialization of households. The reason why Islam influenced such activities can be attributed to the fact that Gede was a mercantile economy that relied heavily on foreign trade. The desire to compete for trade with other city-states influent social organization, which in this case included making efforts to conform, to some extent, Islamic ideals of gender relations.

6.6.3 Specialization and Implication on Gender Roles in Gede

Similarly, Gede practised fishing and crop production, which was crucial in maintaining their urban life. The urban life of Gede dictated the commercialization of food production, including fishing and marine resources. The marine resources could be used to make spoons, beads or vessels for other usages. The exploitation of marine resources ultimately led to activities such as boat making and the emergence of people specialized in issues such as navigational astronomy. In fact, circumstantial evidence points out this reality where inhabitants of Gede and other coastal cities were not merely passive to the Indian Ocean trade. As evidenced by extravagant investments in private homes, the

accumulation of wealth points to people who were not merely middlemen but also activated in the Indian Ocean trade. The possibility of local Swahili people building and owning large ships is supported by archaeological evidence that points to active regional trade. Conversely, Indian Ocean trade had many levels which would have made it impossible to be carried out without the active role of the Swahili people. In Gede, for instance, there is the consumption of products which had an African origin, such as ornaments made from Ivory.

Matveiev (1984) notes that trade was profitable, fueled by the perception that made imported goods seem more valuable than they were. The implication was that Arabs would get gold and ivory for the ceramics they brought. These imported goods, which were sometimes made using African exported goods such as Ivory and the creation of a more complex culture often influenced local manufacturers to innovate and replicate those goods locally. This has been evidenced in Gede and elsewhere, where highly sorted ceramics from China were replicated in other areas, including the Arab world, due to their profitability. Gede economic activities seem to have been diversified due to their proximity to Malindi, a major Indian Ocean trading centre. Al Indrisi, an Arab writer in Malindi, claims that 'iron is their main aim of trade and revenue' (Matveiev, 1984, p. 460). This forms an interesting economic activity which was probably shared by Gede city. Furthermore, it cements the hypothesis of active regional trade between Swahili City states and beyond.

Although Arabs and Portuguese sources do not mention Gede, they talk about Malindi as an exporter of iron, fish and leopard skin to other regional cities of the Swahili civilization

(Matveive, 1984). The proximity of Gede to Malindi City state shows a close relationship between the two cities. In Gede, there is evidence of iron ore and iron smelting on the site. The iron was most likely smelted for commercial purposes, just like bead or pottery making. If we use Portuguese sources indicating that Malindi was exporting iron tools, Gede was more likely part of this trade. In fact, Gede would have been more efficient in producing iron due to its relatively inland location and new forests, which were definitely crucial for producing fuel for smelting. This dissertation hypothesizes that iron for export led to the creation of new industries in Gede with implications on gender roles. Since iron processing entails different stages and the realities of the time that required corporation at the household level, it was most likely possible that iron smelting entailed collaboration. In that case, using ethnographic data, it was more likely that women most likely participated in the firewood acquisition. Nonetheless, iron smelting was done for commercial purposes, making this activity prestigious in case of reward.

6.6 Comparison and Contrast between Thimlich Ohinga and Gede Archaeological Site

Thimlich Ohinga and Gede, archaeological sites, had similar trajectories in terms of development, which ultimately influenced gender identities and roles. At the bottom of the two societies, the development was characterized by diversification and intensification of subsistence strategies. Archaeological evidence shows that it was possible to trade with other communities in the case of Thimlich Ohinga. Besides trade, the most profound transformation of Thimlich Ohinga society was from a nomadic to sedentary life. This led to the re-organization of the Thimlich Ohinga society economy, where crop farming became a central subsistence strategy leading to the reconfiguration

of gender roles. That is, women's commercial activities became central as the leading producers of subsistence food. On the other hand, Gede archaeological site was characterized by more elaborate trade fueled by Indian Ocean commerce. The trade played a crucial role in the development of the Gede economy, cultural diffusion and in the corporation of new economic activities that ultimately influenced gender roles in the society. The most notable changes in Gede archaeological site are directly connected with economic transformation characterized by gendered architectural designs, the rise of cottage industries at the household level, and the spread of Islamic values, among other changes. To that end, these changes in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede created new niches which had to be negotiated and occupied by different identity groups, including gender.

Nonetheless, the significant difference between Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites is the complexity and subsequent implication on material culture. Therefore, as hypothesized in this dissertation, the more complex a society is, and the more visible social identity signature has been supported by empirical evidence from both sites. The implication is that more complex societies accumulate more items visible in the archaeological record. For example, in excavations of ancient complex societies such as the Egyptian and Roman empire's archaeological sites, goods are often associated with elites, children, women, enslaved people, etc. This is possible because it was possible to have distinctive materials for different social categories. On the other hand, for hunter-gatherers and egalitarian societies, they needed to be more distinctions in terms of materials hence is difficult to read such differences in the archaeological record.

Thus, in the Gede site, gendered material evidence is reflected more in architecture, economic systems, personal items, public and private space usage, and elaborate religious activities and rituals. In the case of religious activities and rituals, more complex societies tend to use more materials hence more evidence in the archaeological record. For instance, in Gede, mosques and special ceramics used for charms are visible in the archaeological record. Also, their burials include sophisticated tombs hence more evidence of funerary rituals, a feature that is not visible in Thimlich Ohinga. The same trends observed at the household level where gendered rooms, kitchens, inner rooms, open spaces, and backyards, among other amenities, are in Gede. Therefore, observing the spatial patterning of materials associated with each archaeological group is possible.

6.9 Summary and Conclusion

The chapter has attempted to explore how gender as social identity was expressed in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. To that end, gender signatures such as architecture, division of labour, and usage of public and private spaces, economic activities have been discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, similarities and differences in terms of the materiality of gender in the two sites have been examined. A notable observation is that gender visibility in Gede was more due to the complexity and the availability of materials compared to Thimlich Ohinga. On the other hand, as both societies acquired new subsistence strategies, there was negotiation and reconfiguration of gender identities, especially roles. For instance, in Thimlich Ohinga, the transformation from a nomadic way of life to a sedentary one corresponded with the intensification of crop agriculture over livestock rearing. The implication was that women economic participation increased through crop agriculture. On the other hand, in Gede, the

intensification of local, regional and international trade led to the rise of cottage industries which produced mainly local ceramics and beads, as well as the service industry, to cater for the influx of foreign traders.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIAL HIERARCHIES AS REFLECTED IN THIMLICH OHINGA AND GEDE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter interrogates the social hierarchies of Thimlich Ohinga, and Gede ruins as reflected in material form. The chapter discusses the range of social stratification in the two sites using material evidence. Essentially, the data discussed in this chapter include house size, funerary data, dietary patterns, spatial patterning of settlements, architecture, division of labor and access to public spaces. In some cases, the control of certain industries is explored in relation to social hierarchies where applicable. The above social hierarchy indicators are examined as the basis of explaining how social status was expressed in the above two sites and its implication on the archaeological record.

7.2 Social Hierarchies

Generally, social hierarchies are formed with a meaning which is entrenched in the community social systems (Flanagan, 1989; Ames, 2007). Since we have to rely on physical objects in archaeology, this dissertation examines physical indications of social hierarchy. That is, materials that show differential ranks in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. Nonetheless, the materials discussed in this chapter of the two sites differ in form and function. This difference is attributable to Thimlich Ohinga, and Gede being semi-egalitarian and ranked societies, respectively. Based on the above assumptions, this dissertation hypothesizes that in Thimlich Ohinga, social hierarchies were based on age, sex, gender, kinship, personal qualities and, in some instances, skills

(Flanagan, 1988; Henrich & Gil-White, 2001). The notable characteristic of the Thimlich-Ohinga type of social hierarchy is that there are always enough positions to be occupied. For instance, social hierarchies based on age mean that people naturally occupy those spaces through time. As Fried (1967) summarised, the prestige positions are enough for people capable of occupying them. The possession of specific skills also gives a certain individual prestige within society. These differences were fluid and situational; hence they were continually occupied by different individuals over time. For instance, the hierarchy due to age meant that it was acquired through time.

On the other hand, Gede was more complex, with elaborate social hierarchies anchored on unequal access to resources, power and prestige. These positions of prestige, which are limited, are permanent (Ehret, 1998; Ames, 2007; Hogg, 2016). Usually, these positions of power are ascribed through birth or kinship or acquired. People in these positions of power often enjoy the power to control resources. In most cases, people in stratified societies are linked together by non-kin relationships (Berreman, 1981). That is, people of the same class or power share the same access to specific resources. Therefore, in stratified societies, authority is based on territory, prestige is gained through the accumulation of resources, and power is entrenched through control of production (Arnold, 1996; Sapolsky, 2004). Based on the above characteristics, this dissertation categorizes Thimlich Ohinga as reflected in categories 1 and 2 of social hierarchies. Gede, on the other hand, is categorized as level 3, as observed from the characteristics of stratified societies (Table 7.0).

Table 7.0 showing Expected Characteristics of Social hierarchies

Category	Society	Characteristics
1	Egalitarian	Equal access to positions of prestige as well as basic resources
2	Semi Egalitarian	Differential access to position of prestige but equal access to basic resources
3	Stratified societies	Unequal access to position of prestige and unequal access to resources

7.3 Thimlich Ohinga Social Hierarchies as Manifested in Archaeological record.

Thimlich Ohinga archaeological sites can be defined as a blended segmented society due to its cross-cutting characteristics as theorized by Service (Table 6.1). The architectural evidence points to a central authority capable of mobilizing massive resources, a trait associated with chiefdoms (Service, 2020). In fact, Thimlich Ohinga is dominated by large-scale monuments as well as permanent huts and mounds. The subsistence strategy of Thimlich Ohinga included crop farming, pastoralism, fishing, hunting and gathering, which corresponds to segmentary and chiefdoms societies. The possibility of organized rituals and kinship-based relationships is evidenced by ethnoarchaeological evidence of Luo communities who were the last occupiers of that site. The evidence of ironworking,

pottery, and matriculate masonry techniques suggests the presence of semi-specialization traits of the people who lived at the site. The population size estimated by the size of the site is likely to have been under ten thousand, which corresponds with the definition of a segmented society. However, different structures were added to expand walls, showing a steady population increase over time (Onjala, 1994).

Table 7.1 Showing Categories

Rank	Characteristics
Bands	<p>This comprises of a small group of people around 30-60 people. The membership is fluid and subject to change and it's based on friendship and kinships. These bands are mainly hunter-gatherers' communities. These groups are usually egalitarian in nature hence relies on sharing and reciprocity.</p>
Tribes	<p>The concept of tribe is not obvious but they consist of members that often exceeds 500 years and with some form of egalitarianism. Nonetheless, they have fixed membership based on kinships and could practice diverse subsistence strategies such as farming, fishing, hunting and gathering.</p>

Chiefdoms	These are normally ranked with elaborate power structures with a demography of over 2000 people. The decision making is two tier hierarchy and leadership generally lacks coercion aspect but with social power.
States	This is stratified societies with a three-tier decision making hierarchy leadership that has both strategic and tactical power. The most unique characteristic of state is having an elaborate territorial base.
Trans egalitarian societies	This are societies which cannot be described as egalitarian or ranked. These societies' characteristics may include unequal access to prestige although these prestigious positions are fluid in nature and can be acquired through generosity and ability to attract followers' hence social power.
Middle-range societies	Broad term for societies falling between states and bands
Complex societies	Can have three meanings which can be described as 1. "Civilization" 2. Societies with many parts such as specialization and social hierarchies and 3. Societies with permanent rankings.

Plate 7.10 Showing Complex



One of the walls of Thimlich Ohinga which is a product of organized labor (Picture by author).

While employing Lenski's theory of categorizing society in terms of their subsistence technological development, Thimlich Ohinga fails under the agrarian level. This is attributable to a combination of subsistence strategies utilized at the site. These changes

and the incorporation of different subsistence strategies indicate intensification. Population growth triggered the intensification, as evidenced by the expansion and building of new fortified structures at the site. Typically, the population growth and incorporation of new subsistence strategies required the renegotiation of social hierarchies. The same strategy was most likely employed in Thimlich Ohinga, where the intensification of crop agriculture created new spaces to express social hierarchies.

7.3.1 Thimlich Ohinga settlement and Social Hierarchy

A survey of the Thimlich Ohinga site was undertaken in order to establish a settlement pattern. Firstly, the survey aimed at establishing political and social territories, which are important in identifying the materialization of social identities especially social hierarchies. Therefore, the arrangement of structures in the landscape of Thimlich was of interest in identifying which people lived in what areas. The study aimed to identify the central area, which was crucial in determining if corresponding material evidence showed traces of social stratification. As such, Central Place Theory, formulated by Christaller (CPT), was employed in interpreting social hierarchies as reflected in archaeological records (Taylor et al., 2010). He theorized that under perfect conditions, cities and towns of the same size would be placed on equidistance from each other (Nakoinz, 2010). Although it was difficult to understand many premises of CPT in reality, this theory is quite insightful in exploring how territories are set up. For instance, how an extension of smaller ones surrounds major areas settlements. Thimlich Ohinga settlement shows possibilities of settlement patterns reminiscent of CPT.

The site expanded from a central point where other enclosures were constructed over time. The survey of the site shows that the largest enclosure was more sophisticated and more extensive as compared to other enclosures. This enclosure was the center point, and although the site did not extend to all directions, it was expanded on the Northern part. The central place's notable features include the size of dry-stone walls, the sizes of animal structures, and the total area of the site. The evidence indicates that enclosure was first, and other settlements emerged later due to possible demographic pressure. The immigration of people on site could have triggered this population for security reasons or internal growth due to increased food production. Thimlich Ohinga had to cater for the increase in population through expansion and intensification of food production as well as diversification. The most notable changes were crops production intensification, especially grains such as millet. The implication was high yield which ultimately supported a large population compared to pastoralism, hunting and gathering. Furthermore, grains would be stored for a long time, which helped the community to have control of environmental variations in terms of food supply. With an assured food supply, settling down would have made sense since it is impossible to move constantly due to the period grains take to grow.

Therefore, the presence of permanent structures points to a departure of the community from nomadic to sedentary life. These structures required massive labour and were tied to construction that a sedentary community would have only undertaken. This life dictated changes as well as the development of stronger political structures, which led to the construction of dry-stone walls. A stronger political system was necessary for the organization of labour drywall construction. As such, the site may have been first

occupied by pastoralists who had diversified their subsistence to include crop agriculture, supplemented through fishing, hunting and gathering. Diversifying subsistence patterns depended on stable environmental conditions supporting the above subsistence strategies. Thus, the stable environment allowed experimentation with other subsistence methods and eventual permanent settlement.

In this dissertation, I argue that sedentary life, increased population, and diversification of subsistence strategies, including crop agriculture, led to increased class differentiation in Thimlich Ohinga. Thimlich Ohinga underwent the transformation from an egalitarian to a trans-egalitarian society which ushered in the construction of dry-stone walls. This was a change where status was based on sex and age, where the economy was based on reciprocity and generosity as theorized by (Fried, 1967). As a mobile society subsisting on livestock, hunting and gathering social status was most likely situational and changed depending on circumstances. The changes occurred as the community changed into a sedentary way of life which led to the creation of more elaborate class systems. This ultimately led to a semi-ranked society that supported the accumulation of livestock; farm produces through private ownership of property, which was less dependent on reciprocity and generosity.

Interestingly, the settlement pattern of Thimlich Ohinga, due to its semi-ranked status, does not show striking differences. However, by observing other features inside enclosures, it is evident that this settlement shows an elaborate hierarchy. Since livestock was the prestigious and major economic activity of Thimlich Ohinga, livestock enclosures are necessary signatures of social hierarchy. The livestock enclosures could

be interpreted as house size, and their measurements indicate the status of households that owned them. The data presented here of livestock enclosures of Thimlich Ohinga (as presented in chapter four) shows differences in size as well as complexity. In some instances, extensive labour was used to construct these structures. The implication was that only affluent people would be able to channel labour to such activities. The livestock, which varies in times of size, are material evidence of household capabilities. The household with the largest enclosures ultimately demonstrated higher status in Thimlich Ohinga society. This dissertation borrows from Dahl and Hjort's (1976) examination of growth herd among pastoralists' communities to make inferences concerning social status at the household level in Thimlich. They argued that more animals would need more labour for herding; hence only wealth would maintain such high numbers of livestock.

Even in Thimlich Ohinga society, the same principle of people with more wealth having more people within the household was likely. Since this society was already semi-ranked and only a handful of livestock enclosures existed within site, it was evident it was a necessity that required communal mobilization. Based on the above observation, these enclosures would have been constructed by those who would have been able to mobilize labour. Abrams (1994) argues that labour needed to construct houses and other structures for individuals indicates an individual status in society. In Thimlich, the differences in labour costs in constructing livestock enclosures are evident. These differences emerge in terms of the size of the enclosure and the stones used. Since these stones were sourced locally, some enclosure attempts were made to make them unique. That is, to use stones that would show some form of beauty besides the function of the enclosure. In order to achieve such goals, there were deliberate efforts to use longer and bigger stones which

had an implication on labour. Overall, these livestock enclosures show some forms of status differences among Thimlich Ohinga society.

Besides the livestock enclosures, the drywall perimeter walls in Thimlich Ohinga give a glimpse of the labour required to build it. Based on the survey of these walls, some areas are over 4 meters long, and two meters in width require massive labour. The correlation between Labor requirements and these enclosures' size is not proportional. In fact, when examining these enclosures and the possibilities of certain households having several hats as ethnographically observed among the contrary Luo community, it is evident that only a handful of families lived inside these stone structures. Therefore, I argue that inside the walls lived a few families who would compromise of ruling elites. On the other hand, other populations may have lived outside the walls, a characteristic that has been observed in other areas in East Africa, with a notable one being Gede.

Ames (2007) argues that access to certain areas is often restricted with elaborate boundaries such as gates and walls. These physical restrictions with physical boundaries are indicative of ranking, which is based on social hierarchies or power. In the case of Thimlich Ohinga, the society was not fully stratified; hence security was often a shared responsibility (Abrams & Hogg, 1999). In such an arrangement, the elite's areas would have been accessed by ordinary people, especially during the war, for protection for warriors to defend the whole community. Therefore, circumstantial evidence points to Thimlich Ohinga enclosures as areas occupied by elites and, in some instances, by commoners when circumstances dictated. Thimlich Ohinga, therefore, contained some cultural ideologies associated with egalitarian societies where reciprocity and sharing of

resources are key to the community's survival. The elites had to strike a balance between offering temporary refuge in exchange for labour and security (Hogg et al., 2004).

7.3.2 Thimlich Ohinga division of Labor

The site of Thimlich Ohinga shows that different subsistence strategies were utilized, including hunting, gathering, crop farming, fishing and pastoralism. Ultimately farming and pastoralism were the most prestigious forms of occupation. The importance of crop farming provided a stable food supply, especially grains, throughout the year. Therefore, those with more labourers would guarantee more yields hence prestige. On the other hand, animals as a form of wealth cannot be underestimated as they were central in creating relations, including dowry as well as offerings. Marshall and Hildebrand (2002) theorized that the desire to have animals when needed, such as during rituals, was one of the reasons why the domestication of animals was important in Africa. The livestock had some prestige compared to crop farming or other subsistence patterns. In the case of Thimlich Ohinga, as observed, livestock was important and had some form of prestige, as evidenced by the efforts of some individuals to make enclosures for these animals.

Therefore, social status was cemented by individuals who had a lot of livestock and ample land for cultivation. The labour was organized through kinship hence having more food supply guaranteed labour. The centrality of specialized artisans' activities, including pottery making and ironworking, cannot be underestimated. As observed from ethnographic observation of the Luo, artisans were highly respected. Since Thimlich Ohinga was a semi-ranked society, examining labour division from archaeological materials is difficult. Nonetheless, ethnographic data shows that the Thimlich Ohinga

community, especially the Luo community, which occupied the area, later had an elaborate division of labour. At the top of the pyramid were maybe rainmakers and other religious figures whom artisans followed due to their unique capabilities. In that regard, women potters had high status in this community, as documented among the Luo community.

Luo community has one of the most elaborate pottery-making traditions, including manufacturing polished communal eating bowls. The Luo uses an extraction firing technique employed by Nubians and ancient Egyptians (Hafsaas, 2021). The Luo kitchenware can be divided into serving, cooking and storage pots. Also, some pots are used for specific foods such as fish or meat. The pots are made using clay collected from river beds and around the lake. The process of kneading involves potters using their feet to mix clay. After that, the potter uses the bottom of the old pot as anchorage for making a new pot. This activity of pottery making is inclusively a women's affair and is often done near the homestead. The excess clay is scrapped off using a plastic device and stick, and papyrus is used to smoothen and make motifs.

7.7.3 Diversification of Subsistence Strategies and Implications on Social Hierarchies

Ogot (1967) argues that the intensification of crop agriculture in South Nyanza corresponded with the decline of pastoralism. These changes directly impacted social hierarchies in the region, including Thimlich Ohinga archaeological site. For instance, crop production led to a more permanent settlement, which ushered in more politically centralized societies in the region (Lane et al,2007). This dissertation argues that in

Thimlich Ohinga, pastoralism was not a major economic activity. This society practised mixed farming with heavy reliance on fishing with minimal contributions to the economy from gathering. This evidence is supported by investment in building dry-stone walls, indicating the community that lived there was sedentary. Thus, it would have been difficult for this community to be pastoralists, requiring them to be highly mobile. Nonetheless, livestock was central in Thimlich Ohinga society with subsistence and prestigious purposes. The livestock would have been used to create alliances and strengthen kinship as well as for dowry and ritual activities. Therefore, the transformation of Thimlich Ohinga society from a pastoralist and highly mobile society to a sedentary one.

Based on the above observation, this dissertation concludes that, as Ogot (1967) argued, crop production and a sedentary type of life led to increasing class differentiation in Thimlich Ohinga. This emanated from wealth accumulation, mainly crops productions and animals, by few individuals. The class differentiation in Thimlich Ohinga is demonstrated by the sizes of animals' livestock enclosures and the investment in making them. Also, this could have been manifested by the size of family lands and crop production.

Table 7.2 Crops Grown in the region

English Name	Storage Period	Social implication
Sorghum	One year	Used to make porridge and traditional alcohol (beer) and was drought resistance. Therefore, could have been used in functions and ceremonies where social hierarchies were enforced. Used as kuon (maize gruel).
Finger Millet	One year	Make porridge, bread and beer which was also essential in maintaining and negotiating social status
Sweet Potato	Maximum of two weeks	Used as food accompanied by porridge Made into flour in rare cases for porridge and bread making
Pumpkin	One month	Used as food Currently it is used for making bread and chapati
Sesame	We could not identify this crop	
Vegetables	About one week depending on the vegetable type	Used as food
Peas	About one to two years	Used as food/cooking githeri (nyoyo)
Tobacco	About three to four years (dried tobacco)	For smoking For treating cattle i.e eyes As a pesticide
Hemp	About one year	For smoking Medicinal purposes i.e. measles in children
Beans	About two years	For food Animal feeds

The table above shows crops grown in this region and their implication on food storage, impacting social hierarchies. Although some crops, such as maize and beans, were later introduced in the above table, millet and sorghum were grown for hundreds of years in the region. Therefore, storing such grains for extended periods was possible, making

people less dependent on each other for survival. Thus, the growth of cereals corresponded with the rise of individualism in Thimlich Ohinga, which was reflected in the unequal usage of spaces and enclosures, as previously argued in other areas in this dissertation.

7.3.4 Ceramics and Social Status in Thimlich Ohinga

The centrality of potsherd in reconstructing social status can be understated in archaeological inquiries. Ceramics analysis is inescapable while exploring social identities, pottery and ceramics, especially in the study of social stratification. As Hodder (1982) envisioned in interpretative archaeology, pottery sherds should be perceived as texts. Scher (2021) observed that Moche in community ceramics were used to maintain social identities, including gender and social hierarchies. In Eastern Africa, ceramics are some of the most common material cultures found in archaeological sites due to their durability, with evidence dating back to 6000 BCE. In archaeological inquiries, ceramics have been used to explore past community's adaptation strategies, including regional and international connections.

In recent times, typological studies of ceramics have come under fire by some scholars due to their application in studying ethnic groups or people (Binford, 1972; Hodder, 1982). This critique emerged after ethnoarchaeological studies in Africa contradicted the previous assumptions of connected pottery and people (Karega-Munene, 2003). However, such connections were used to trace Bantu immigration in collaboration with other methods (Philipson, 1977; Chami, 2007). However, typology studies of ceramics are critical while exploring specific objectives such as social identities within a group

such as hierarchies. For instance, ceramics are of different types, which can be quantified in various aspects depending on the material, inscribed importance, and motifs design, among other variations.

This dissertation, therefore, aimed to explore potsherds as evidence of everyday life where social status was invented, renegotiated and manifested in Thimlich Ohinga society. The potsherds were examined for social stratification signatures, including manufacturing material, thickness, width, motif techniques, motif frequency, abrasion and taphonomy. The above strategies were employed since the Thimlich Ohinga community was semi-stratified, which means there was little difference in pottery used by different identity groups. However, the pottery evidence points to some significant differences, which this dissertation employed in exploring the social hierarchies of the individuals at the site.

The analysis of materials used for manufacturing pottery in Thimlich Ohinga shows similarities in different occupation levels. The material used to make these ceramics were locally acquired, making it challenging to show social status. However, the refining of raw material (clay) differed, with some pottery made using more refined materials than others. Regarding human capital investment, some materials were prepared using more resources, indicating the social status from Thimlich Ohinga ceramics. As such, I have categorized pots of more refined materials as more prestigious. In fact, based on analysis, it was evident that those pots were rare compared to the others. The implication was that the potter made refined pots with different considerations rather than coincidence. In this

case, they were traded with grains or other commodities that had more value due to their smooth appearance and rarity.

The thickness of pottery differed in Thimlich Ohinga, one of the few notable differences in the assemblages. This dissertation correlates thickness with investment taken to make them as the basis of ranking them and attempts to explore social ranking. Based on the above assumptions, it is evident that some pots used more materials to make as well as time. The usage of more materials meant that the clay had to be sourced and, in some instances, transported. All the above activities meant that those pots were highly valued compared to others that used less clay to manufacture.

Also, the width of these pots indicated the size, which correlates with labour investment. Since Thimlich Ohinga society was semi-egalitarian, the number of individuals a household could feed was reflected in their social status. Therefore, those households with more people would be more likely to have bigger pots, especially for cooking. Thus, bigger pots are attributable to the prestige associated with hosting big feasts or preparing large quantities of food at once. The above observation has been made among the Luo, where pig cooking vessels are associated with prestige. This observation is correlated with the ethnography of the Luo; a man was rich based on a number of wives which was also directly connected to wealth.

The motif techniques are directly correlated with time and labour; hence the more complex they are, the more prestigious they are. Thus, the more sophisticated pots indicate the prestige associated with rarity. Therefore, the more complex motif in pots was rare compared to other simple ones that were more common. Therefore, in this

dissertation, some pots were made to reflect specific differences and, most likely, status in Thimlich Ohinga society. The rarity motif techniques were symbolic, which can be interpreted as high value compared to more common ones.

Like motif techniques, the higher the frequency indicates labour, hence more prestige of such pottery. Therefore, attempts were made to make inferences on motif frequency and implication on prestige. That is, the number of potteries with higher motif frequency was hypothesized to be more prestigious. This conclusion is based on the fact that creating motifs requires more time. Thus, those pots with motifs had a higher frequency means the potter spent more time manufacturing them, hence high value compared to those with fewer.

7.3.5 Thimlich Ohinga Consumption

The cultural materials found in Thimlich Ohinga show little variations in size, type, and material, among other variety indicators. This dissertation argues that such similarities can be attributable to various factors closely connected to the complexity of Thimlich Ohinga society. Most importantly, solidarity was key which was mechanical in nature. Therefore, collaboration was key to their survival rather than other factors. To that end, the social hierarchies in Thimlich Ohinga consumption may be inferred in terms of quantity rather than differences in goods. The implication is that affluent households had a high number of individuals. Therefore, they consumed resources in high quantities. Furthermore, the people with more resources were able to organize more feasts which were used to cement their status. For instance, the ethnographic study of Luo.

7.3.5.1 Livestock Prestige

Since Luo, just like other Nilotes, cattle were highly prestigious, especially in the past (Schneider, 1979). This tradition meant that Luo regarded cattle very highly compared to other commodities (Dyson-Hudson and Dyson-Hudson, 1980; Hakansson, 1994). Thus, despite Luo having fewer cattle as compared with the past as well as engaging in other economic activities, they are still herdsman at heart. The loss of cattle emanated from diseases that ravaged the East Africa region before the turn of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, Luo, Dinka, and Nuer, among other Nilotic communities, strived to increase their herds through raiding when circumstances allowed. Evans-Pritchard (1940) observed how Nuer risked their lives to protect their lives or raid their neighbors. In fact, in the Luo community, subscribers who do not have a lot of cattle are perceived as less affluent and referred to as “Joramba”. The same has been observed among the Maasai, who look down on people with no cattle and are often called “Ndorobo”. The cattle are, therefore, used to maintain power among the Luo community. This is also cemented by the fact that cattle are used during rituals. Also, they are used as the bride’s wealth hence being the center of making new kinships and alliances.

The prestige associated with animals seems to engulf all important social aspects of the Luo community, including warriors receiving their shields, building of the new boat and funeral ceremonies. To that end, it helps maintain the social status of individuals with a large herd of livestock since they can use them to enforce their social status. The funeral ceremonies also entail a cow or a goat being slaughtered for family members, especially in-laws. Thus, status is maintained depending on the animal an individual or family can

give for ceremonies. For instance, if rich, cows are given, while low-income families give goats/sheep for such ceremonies. Thus, social status is also connected with the ability to feed a large number of people. In this type of ceremonies, the individual status is cemented. The social hierarchy is also dictated by age, with the eldest son also acting as patron for getting the biggest and the best portion.

The hierarchization process of Luo lies with marriage, as evidenced by dowry, which is in the form of cattle. Also, the wife's givers receive services from their sons-in-law, ultimately leading to a rise in societal status. Nonetheless, in their customs, the Luo regards sons highly as compared to daughters. They were perceived as the ones who brought more cattle to the family through other means especially raiding. However, with raiding almost nonexistent in Luo land, it is evidence-based on customary practices that daughters are more likely to bring cattle to the family than sons. Ocholla (1979) observed how some poor people in the community waited for their daughters to be married and acquire cattle as a dowry price. Unfortunately, the waiting process is lengthy; some people compensate for their lack of cattle and eligible daughters to marry off by venturing into crop agriculture. The rationale was to get returns within a short time and maybe trade off their grains for cattle.

7.3.6 Usage of Spaces and Social Hierarchies in Thimlich Ohinga

Ashmore (2002) emphasizes the importance of examining the usage of spaces in analyzing social identities in archaeological records. A lot has changed since Clarke's (1977) review of spatial archaeology over four decades ago. These changes have emanated partly from the development of technology, including G.I.S. and post-

processual insights in interpreting the archaeological record. Although examining material distribution is not a new method, it was not done systematically in the past. Walter Taylor (1948) urged archaeologists to examine spaces in the reconstruction of social organizations. Binford (1962) perceived spaces as one of the dimensions of examining past social organization through processual scientific methods. This strategy has successfully explored ethnicity, social status, and gender, among other social categorizations. Therefore, localized variations are central areas of analysis in relation to social hierarchies.

This dissertation uses spatial archaeologists' techniques to examine how the social hierarchies of Thimlich Ohinga were expressed. At the centre of this inquiry are the usage of ceramics and subsequent distributions in some areas on the site. Bright (2011) argued that ceramics morphologies are central to exploring how different identities were experienced in the past. Ehret (1998) observed that power, prestige, and status were often mediated in Lake Victoria Basin through access to certain subsistence and resources. Data from Thimlich Ohinga shows differences in ceramics morphology in relation to space (chapter four). For instance, bowls in the Kocheing enclosure are fewer than in Kokech. This is despite Kocheing being a larger enclosure. Nonetheless, Kocheing has more enclosed bowls than the Kokech enclosure, as discussed (in chapter four). I argue that this disparity shows that people of higher status occupied at Kocheing compared to Kokech. That is why they had more closed bowls, which indicates storage. As evidenced by archaeological and historical accounts, the environment was highly unpredictable in

Thimlich Ohinga. Therefore, the affluent most likely stored their surplus production as a precaution, while the less affluent relied on immediate returns.

7.4 Social Hierarchy of Gede as Manifested in Archaeological Record

Generally, Swahili civilization was characterized by specialization, urbanization, the class system, and competition for commerce (Fleisher et al.,2015; Kusimba et al.,2017). Although each city-state was independent of the other, they were related in terms of culture and trade; it was, therefore, common for merchants to move from one town to another. The Portuguese informants documented how commodities such as iron tools were exported from the city of Malindi to Zanzibar and elsewhere (Matveive,1984). This made it possible for families who controlled the sourcing of trading goods and ran cottage industries and intermediaries to acquire massive wealth (Pawlowinz,2019). Since these were urban centers, supply chains included farmers, smiths, potters, bead makers, construction workers, and shipbuilders. Besides specialists, other people had religious and political positions, making them very affluent in their society. Thus, Gede can be described as possessing the above characteristics. Although there are no written documents concerning how Gede elites lived, other city-states give a general idea about the habits of the rich. Notable writings include those of Duarte Barbosa, who arrived in Unguja in Zanzibar in 1512 CE. He noted that:

...They are very fertile islands, with plenty of provisions, rice, millet, and flesh, and abundant oranges, lemons, and cedrats [...] In these islands they live in great luxury and abundance; they dress in very good clothes of silk and cotton which they buy in Mombasa of the merchants from Cambay (Gujarat) who reside there. Their wives adorn themselves with many jewels of gold from Sofala (near Beira), and silver in chains, earrings, bracelets and annl [sic] rings, and are dressed in silk stuffs...(Duarte Barbosa Translation in (Gray, 1962).

In this dissertation, I will argue that Duarte's description of Unguja had similarities with the way of life of Gede elites. What is evidence from Duarte's observation is that elites consumed materials mainly imported from another region. Therefore, his writings correlate with archaeological evidence of the Gede archaeological site. That is, the areas associated with the rich tend to have a high concentration of imported goods (Fleisher and Wynn-Jones, 2011;2012). Therefore, the appetite for foreign goods was a strategy to reinforce social status in Gede society. The urban life was characterized by abundant food, which shows the interrelationship between towns and rural areas (Rødland, 2021). In the case of Unguja, those who supplied rice, fruits, millet, and other provisions were part of the Indian Ocean trade links.

In terms of layout, Gede was divided into walls, with the affluent people of merchants, religious figures, and political leaders occupying the innermost wall. This was followed by those who mainly operated light industries to supply urban life, such as iron smelters, bead makers, and potters. Based on excavations, this group did not often amass enough

wealth to build stone houses as their upper-class counterparts. Nonetheless, the excavated house of "khadija" shows they could afford to buy exotic goods. The other group lived mainly on the outer wall and comprised what is generally referred to as commoners. The commoners mostly consumed locally produced goods, as evidenced by the excavation of a house on the outer wall. Overall, it is evident that the Gede city-state had an elaborate social hierarchy that was manifested in various ways. Most importantly, society was organized to support those differences. This means each group was defined, and their roles were stipulated in the social organization of Gede society. Nonetheless, this dissertation argues that when new opportunities arose, they were contested, making it possible for people to move along the social hierarchy. For instance, hunters may have gained prestige by introducing game products such as ivory, leopard skins, and rhinoceros' horns, among other coveted prices for the international market. On the other hand, farmers also gained prestige as the town population increased and the demand for food increased. This was reflected in other industries such as fishing, boat building, etc.

Wynn-Jones (2018) warns against exploring social organization in the duality of elites and common people, especially while studying pre-historic societies. This claim also extends to other social inquiries, including gender and sex, as reflected in contemporary societies. Hodder (1982) had questioned some of the static methods employed by Processual archaeology while exploring past human activities. Although post-processual archaeology is yet to produce a more applicable methodological paradigm to deal significantly with the shortcomings of new archaeological methods of studying the past, it offers ideas that help minimize generalization. In early archaeological inquiries, the

social organization between people living in hinterlands and those in walled coastal cities was wrongly categorized as elites and commoners (Pawlowicz, 2019).

Gede, social organization as a cosmopolitan area comprised people of different social identities, collectively contributing to the city's day-to-day activities. In other words, the city had rulers, merchants, potters, light industries workers, and service-oriented activities for foreign individuals, including accommodation, guides, interpreters, stone masonry experts, and religious leaders among other people. Within the Gede population, access to resources was inevitably unequal. The implication was reflected in the political, economic, and social dynamics of people who lived in Gede city. These differences, as affected by unequal access to resources, are represented in the archaeological record.

This dissertation depends heavily on material evidence to reconstruct the social identities of Gede society. The implication is that the accessibility of certain resources varies from one household to another and is influenced by internal and external factors. The same applies to individuals depending on their social standing. The internal factors include religion, ethnicity, and kinships, while external factors include trade and exchange, as documented in Gede society. The people who controlled trade had higher status in society, and others who offered supporting roles. Therefore, what materials women, for instance, can access depends on their social and economic classes. Similarly, practices vary from one group to another as well as accessibility or utilization of certain materials. Social identity indicators are micro and macros, especially in more complex societies like Gede archaeological sites. The status also discussed in this section was fluid in nature and, in some instances, situational.

7.4.1 Social Organization

At the moment, there is a strong leaning toward the theory that Swahili political structures were formed and run by indigenous people (Fleisher,2010). This is a departure from the previous thoughts where foreigners, especially the Arab conquerors, were perceived to have created the ruling elites and their descendants, who sometimes had African mothers. This assumption of foreign rulers was often backed by Arab sources, which document sultans from various Swahili cities claiming foreign origin. In fact, some Swahili people claim a foreign ancestry despite contrary archaeological and historical evidence.

However, more works carried out in the last four decades have painted a different picture of the political class of the Swahili civilization in East Africa. For example, Rødland (2021) observes that Pate city state was ruled by locals under the title of Mfalme rather than sultan. In Pate's political arrangement, power was clan-based and generational, with any man having a chance to be Mfalme. Even though men became Wafalme, women were powerful and acted as depositories of this right of Mfalme. Rødland (2021) notes that Pate was not ruled by a clan, at least at the ideological level. Instead, the ruling clan had formulated a mechanism for the status quo by locking their kin from intermarriages hence creating conventional royalty. Nonetheless, these forms of royalty were disrupted through the ascendance of Suluyaman of the Nabakhani dynasty. However, he was assimilated into the clan through the marriage of Mfalme's daughter, who acted as the custodian of the King's Power. This dissertation argues that Pate political organization had evolved to create an elite, economically powerful clan which incorporated women. The implication

is that economic development had successfully led to the renegotiation of gender roles in Pate, as evidenced by women holding crucial political power, as illustrated there above.

The political organization of Gede just elsewhere along the coast was dominated by elites who practiced Islam and claimed foreign origin. Arabic source Yakut's writing in the thirteenth-century talks of the Mogadishu sultan who claimed to have originated from the island of Kufa (Darwish, 1969). In Kilwa, written sources mention the sultan of the Shirazi dynasty and later the rise of a new dynasty of *abu 'l-Mawahib*. Chittick (1974) argues that some affluent families called "Waungwana" claimed high descendants from foreigners. In most cases, these "claims" were mostly connected with "Persian origins" and associated ruling families like the case of Kilwa (Chami,2009). The association with "foreign origins" always created a sense of social status which was transformed into special treatment. At present, in the coastal areas, a considerable number of people still consider themselves foreigners and from Persia(Eastman,1994;Elbl,2000).Middleton (2003) notes that social classes led to (in) access to certain materials through control of the local political institutions. Such as boats, ships, and stone houses were forbidden from local people.

Arab sources differentiate between urban people and those in adjacent hinterlands of Swahili City states. *Abu M-Kâsim al-Andalusî* notes how town people took delight in philosophy and spirituality, which shows some form of social sophistication (Matveiev, 1984). The Islamization of the coast had ramifications on the social organization of the Swahili people. The implication was renegotiation, reinforcement, and maintenance of

social power to different social identities, including gender. Islam was more profound in the northern part of Swahili civilization, especially Somalia, than further south.

Kassim (1995) notes that on the Banadir coast of Somalia, there were waves of Arabs and Persian who had contact with Bantu communities living along rivers Juba and Shabeli. It was those interactions that led to the growth of the Swahili people. Gede got goods from Persia, China, and the general Arabic world from other regional centers. The archaeological evidence shows that their culture was heavily influenced by Arabs and, in some cases, the cultures of Persia, namely Iraq and Iran. The possibility of Gede community being influenced by Chinese is evident based on material presence at the site. However, controversy persists concerning Chinese contact with East Africa, especially the translation of Chinese accounts (See Sheen, 1995). Also, recent archaeological evidence has shown Chinese physical contact with some areas of East Africa, especially Lamu (Ichumbaki and Pollard, 2021). However, written sources and archaeological evidence indicate that the Chinese visited East Africa in the fourteenth century. Notably voyages by legendary Chinese fleets under the commander of Cheng Ho in 1419 and 1421 CE.

This dissertation argues that although Islam became one of the most significant cultural attributes of Swahili civilization, it was based on mutual consent. As argued elsewhere, Arabs did not impose Islam on East Africa Swahili people, but other factors, including a desire for a new ideology, fueled conversations. The implication is that Arabs who ventured into East Africa found a community with their own identity and ability to participate in trade on equal terms rather than through subjugation. In Gede and

elsewhere, archaeological evidence shows different levels of trade that required collaboration for success. For example, some trading goods came from interior hinterlands, such as ivory and gold; hence, maintaining a supply chain was crucial. Furthermore, there was no drastic influx of Muslims in East Africa which ultimately meant it was difficult to impose any form of ideology on the local community. However, the most likely scenario is a voluntary conversation with some social and economic advantages. As noted by Arabic authors, trade required a foreign merchant to select a local agent to work on their behalf (Matveive,1984). The rationale would be that they would feel compelled to choose Muslim agents, hence effectively giving local convert some edge. So, Swahili people's conversation was partly fueled by a desire to fit into merchant culture. As noted by other scholars, the Islam of Swahili coast co-existed with traditional religions in the past. In Gede, for example, archaeological evidence shows some form of decorations in burials which does not correspond with Islamic beliefs.

As part of the Swahili civilization's economic activities, Gede was dictated by geographical, environmental, and external factors. Archaeological evidence shows that Gede's economic activities included fishing, mixed farming, and trading (Pawlowinz,2019). Even so, there is evidence of hunting as documented by the presence of wild faunal. Since the Gede community was urban, other economic activities associated with urban life have been documented in Gede, including pottery and iron smelting. This mode of economic activity was the norm of Swahili people, as mentioned by Arab and Swahili writers. For instance, Al Masudi, writing in the first century of the second millennium, notes the presence of the following crops: coconuts, coleus, bananas,

and yams (Morales et al.,2022). On the other hand, an anonymous Portuguese writer notes that fifteenth-century Kilwa Kisiwani cultivated maize, lemon, sweet oranges, onions, and betel nuts while keeping cattle, goats, and sheep.

Similarly, Gede practised fishing and crop production, which was crucial in maintaining urban life. The urban life of Gede dictated the commercialization of food production, including fishing and marine resources. The marine resources could be used to make spoons, beads, or vessels for other usages. Exploiting marine resources ultimately led to activities such as boat making and the emergence of people specialized in such problems as navigational astronomy. In fact, circumstantial evidence points out this reality where inhabitants of Gede and other coastal cities were not merely passive to the Indian Ocean trade. As evidenced by extravagant investments in private homes, the accumulation of wealth points to people who were not merely middlemen but also activated in the Indian Ocean trade. The possibility of local Swahili people building and owning large ships is supported by archaeological evidence that points to active regional trade. Conversely, Indian Ocean trade had many levels which would have made it impossible to be carried out without the active role of the Swahili people.

In Gede, for instance, there is the consumption of products that have an African origin, such as ornaments made from ivory. Matveiev (1984) notes that this trade was profitable, fueled by the perception that made imported goods seem more valuable than they actually were. The implication was that Arabs would get gold and ivory in return for the ceramics they brought. These imported goods, which were sometimes made using African exported goods such as ivory, and the creation of a more complex culture often influenced local

manufacturers to innovate and replicate those goods locally. This has been evidenced in Gede and elsewhere, where highly sorted ceramics from China were replicated in other areas, including the Arab world, due to their profitability. Gede economic activities seem to have been diversified due to their proximity to Malindi, a major Indian Ocean trading center. Al Indrisi, an Arab writer in Malindi, claims that 'iron is their main aim of trade and revenue' (Matveiev, 1984, p. 460). This forms an interesting economic activity that was shared by Gede city. Furthermore, it cements the hypothesis of active regional trade between Swahili City states and beyond.

Although Arabs and Portuguese sources do not mention Gede, they talk about Malindi as an exporter of iron, fish, and leopard skin to other regional cities of Swahili civilization (Mtieveive,1984). Gede imports in the fifteenth century were Islamic yellow and black ceramics or green and yellow sgraffito wares. The evidence shows that Gede's main trading areas were Persia, especially the City of Siraf. The implication was that the Islamic world became very important to Gede economically. Therefore, the rationale was for the Gede community to borrow some Islamic culture, including architecture, dietary patterns, religious rituals, etc. In Gede, over a dozen mosques were built to reflect Islamic influence on the town. As Rothman (2002) argued elsewhere, it made sense to be converted to Islam then. The converts were able to relate easily with foreign merchants who were Muslims. This was a fundamental mode of trade relations since these foreign merchants were hosted in private homes. As observed in Gede, especially later expansions, investments in private wells guaranteed a constant water supply. The availability of water is essential to Islamic rituals of washing before prayers.

7.4.2 Social Ranking Signatures

Likewise, Gede archaeological site falls under the category of State and chiefdom from material record analysis(Ames, 2007). The site seems to have been occupied by inhabitants who would make it a city-state, as evidenced by the accumulation of cultural materials, the size of the site, architectural evidence, and various mega projects that would have required the mobilization of massive labor. The evidence also points out a class-based hierarchy comprising political figures, priestly personalities, the merchant class, artisans, farmers, and the army, among other social ranks. The site also includes structures associated with states, such as palaces, mosques, and fortified structures. The evidence of social stratification is evidenced by a large house complex that includes private wells, toilets, and exotic goods, among other social differentiations.

Lane (2015) argues that from the turn of the Second Millennium in the current era, it became less difficult for the commoners to live in stone-built houses in Swahili towns. He attributed those changes to the development of distinct labor divisions with few opportunities for the commoners. In the case of Gede, archaeological evidence points to a heterogeneous society with a vibrating middle class. The house of "Khadija" shows evidence of sophisticated people who lived in non-stone walls but were integrated into Gede's formal economy. The distribution of daub houses shows that in some parts of Gede City, stone stones were not the only indicators of prestige. In fact, those who controlled light industries such as iron smelting, pottery making, and beads manufacturing acquired wealth, as evidenced by the consumption of imported goods. Rødland (2021) cautions against emphasizing material goods as the basis of ascribing elite status in the Swahili Civilization.

I argue in this dissertation that foreign ceramics had other meanings in Gede besides social status. This includes symbolic meanings such as religious activities, as evidenced by their presence in Mosques. Most importantly, foreign material access was not restricted to the elites. Those who could afford those materials were able to access them with central authority concentrating on taxing goods rather than restricting them to a particular group of people. This argument for free trade was observed in South Africa during the contact with the Portuguese in the fourteenth century (Rødland, 2021).

7.4.2.1 Architecture

The architecture of Gede was characterized by the social hierarchies of individuals (Pawlowicz, 2019). The Gede city-state was built in stages, including expanding the city near the Friday Mosque. The city was divided into three categories: the most affluent living in the inner wall, the middle class on the second inner wall, and the commoners on the outer wall. The archaeological evidence shows that houses were built using timber and daub in some areas of the second inner wall and outer wall. In fact, archaeological evidence shows a transformation of Gede from wattle and daub houses to stone houses in some areas. However, at the height of Gede's development, it was a very stratified society, as reflected in architectural designs.

Generally, the elites lived in stone-walled houses and enjoyed other social amenities such as wells, baths, and drainage systems. The tombs also indicate people's social status in Gede, as evidenced by contemporary Swahili Islamic families. Therefore, in Gede, it was common for families to have stone-structured tombs that acted as common as their graves. In some instances, these tombs were located near mosques and entailed massive

investments in terms of construction. Therefore, in this dissertation, I argue that tombstones were indicators of individual status in the Gede archaeological site. To that end, it seems that these tombs were not made for the ruling individuals but for families, as evidenced in other areas associated with Swahili civilization in Lamu, Mombasa, and elsewhere. In Gede, architectural designs can be described as public and private depending on their usage. These architectural structures include wells, mosques, public spaces, courtyards, private houses, cisterns, public baths, tombs, walls, and watch towers. In most cases, these architectural designs and their locations reflected the social hierarchies of Gede society as a whole.

7.4.2.1.1 Mosques

Mosques were mainly public buildings hence a possibility of a communal effort in the construction. However, in Gede, private mosques are located in private homes, indicating those individuals' social status. Nonetheless, as observed by contemporary Muslims, affluent people often fund the construction of mosques. In the case of Gede, that possibility, especially by the ruling elites as well as those who accumulated resources through international trade, may have funded the construction of mosques. Normally these mosques were constructed together with other amenities, especially wells which supplied water for religious rituals. The largest mosques were located in the central places. The "Friday Mosque "near the palace is the most notable structure in Gede. It had spaces for hanging ceramics which shows investments in religious rituals.

7.4.2.1.2 Private Houses

Gede is unique in that individuals and their private spaces dominate it. This emanated from the uniqueness of Gede and, to some extent, Swahili civilization, which was characterized by merchants' related activities(LaViolette, 2017). Unlike other areas, perhaps, the merchants transacted their business in their private homes mostly. This was done by hosting traders in their homes and connecting them with local traders. As such, private spaces were also used to accommodate foreign merchants and transact. To that end, they were used to maintain the power of merchants through hospitality which guaranteed control of trade as well as maintenance of their social status. Also, private homes functioned as industrial areas for goods Gede's urban population needs. As such, light industries manufactured things such as local pottery, beads, and iron tools, among others.

House of Mbarak

The house of Mbarak offers a uniquely clear picture of how affluent people lived in Gede. The house comprises different rooms as well as toilets inside and outside. As such, the evidence shows the house hosted people besides family members. The presence of an outside toilet indicates the usage of public and private spaces. That is, those who were not family members could not access the toilet, which was in the innermost part of the house in the case of the house of Mbarak. It seems that elites were very keen on maintaining hygiene in their homes. This behavior is related to Islamic values; hence there is a high possibility of the majority of elites being Muslims. In order to maintain hygiene in their homes, elites invested in water supply and drainage systems. In the house

of Mbarak, a fresh well was a few meters away from the house. Nonetheless, unlike other affluent people in Gede, it was not a private well, as few other homes shared it.

Second, they invested in a drainage system made using small stone pebbles. This drainage system was a “modern sink” where dirty water was drained. The mechanism of disposing of dirty water was an essential aspect of maintaining hygiene in an era when an outbreak of diseases was typical. This is demonstrated by archaeological evidence that shows different drainage pits (plate) in the backyard and a kitchen characterized by large bones (Plate 8.7) and kitchenware. The implication is that the house hosted many people, as evidenced by the accumulation of material evidence. Based on the above evidence, this dissertation argues that the house of Mbarak belonged to a merchant who may have used his house for networking and hosting foreign merchants. The presence of rare ceramics from China, Persia, and Arabia cements this evidence. Thus, the owner used the house of Mbarak to emphasize and maintain their social status.

Plate 7.15 drainage system in house of Mbarak backyard



This picture depicts drainage system which was excavated at the backyard (picture by the author).

Dietary Patterns of the House of Mbarak

The dietary pattern of the house of Mbarak shows they consumed mainly domesticated animals. The archaeological evidence shows evidence of caprines cattle and ocamels' consumption by this house. This is not surprising as these are the foods that elites would

typically consume. Besides animal domesticates, the house of Mbarak consumed marine resources, especially fish, as supported by archaeological evidence of fish bones in the area. The presence of grinding stones and a high percentage of bowls indicate the consumption of grains, especially rice, one of the popular foods in the Islamic world.

Plate 7.17 Camel bone



The picture shows camel bone found in situ in the house of Mbarak kitchen (picture by the author).

House of Khadija

The house of Khadija, situated in the inner wall but built mainly using wattle and daub, is quite interesting in terms of social hierarchy. The house can be described as belonging to the affluent people in the community. Nonetheless, the house's location near public amenities shows that a middle-class type of household occupied it. The archaeological

evidence shows the mass production of beads as evidenced by the presence of numerous bead grinders, waste materials, and a high percentage of beads. Therefore, I argue that the house of Khadija represents people who were fully incorporated into the urban economy of Gede. They produced locally used goods, and others exported to other city-states in the region. Therefore, manufacturers of local products thrived in Gede and had higher social status.

7.4.2.2 Ceramics

Ceramics are central in examining social organizations in the archaeological record. At the coast, ceramics are dominant artifacts of Swahili civilization, essential to understanding spatial and temporal development. Also, differences in the distribution of ceramics and types of ceramics are essential in understanding the interactions of Swahili civilization with other regions. Most importantly, changes in ceramics assemblages indicate the development of Swahili civilization through space and time. For example, the increase in imported ceramics corresponded with urbanization and the rise of social hierarchy in the region. Therefore, there is a correlation between the increase in imported ceramics and the rise of stone houses, coinage systems, and specialized production of products such as beads, iron tools, and pottery.

Local Pottery

Local pottery formed the bulk of finds from Gede archaeological site during excavation as well as those stored at Fort Jesus Museum. M'Mbogori (2018) notes that local pottery sherds are most common along the East African coast. This makes local pottery important in exploring connections between sites and dating (Fleisher & Wynn-Jones, 2011).

Importantly, pottery is indicative of diets, an important aspect of examining social hierarchies. Also, their commercial production in urban areas such as Gede brings out an aspect of cottage industries which are crucial in examining the social stratification of societies. As noted earlier, Gede society had different classes, and local production of goods for the urban population was an important aspect that attracted prestige as well as accumulation of wealth. The local pottery recovered from Gede is mostly of Tana tradition, stretching from the sixth century, just like most other sites along the East African coast. Nonetheless, although of Tana tradition, Gede pottery has some variations, also documented among other sites. Usually, the local pottery is not glazed compared to imported pottery in Gede and elsewhere along the coast. Also, vessels' shape is few compared to imported ceramics, mostly made using locally acquired materials. Rice (2015) suggests that pots were mainly produced during the dry season to avoid being damaged by rain and often fired in the open, which is less complicated. After, there was post-firing treatment using organic material, which is a practice that has been observed ethnographically elsewhere along the coast.

Imported ceramics

An ethnographic study of Swahili civilization shows their strong affinity to ceramics, especially the imported. These ceramics are often displayed, as observed in some houses and mosques in Gede, and collaborated by this practice in Swahili houses (Donley-Reid, 1990). Ceramics, therefore, had some symbolic and ritual significance in Gede society. In fact, in Gede, archaeological evidence shows that foreign ceramics were consumed in all areas irrespective of an individual's social status. Therefore, the three houses excavated in Gede all revealed the usage and consumption of foreign ceramics, albeit in different quantities. I, therefore, argue that in this dissertation, foreign ceramics had a considerable ritual significance based on data from the house of Khadija and Katana.

Although the house of Katana was located in an area associated with commoners, it contained more foreign ceramics compared to the house of Khadija, which is associated with a middle-class area. I argue that the disparities in terms of foreign ceramics between the house of Katana and Khadija can be explained by the functions of the two houses. In this case, the house of Khadija was used mainly as a manufacturing area hence less display of foreign materials for symbolic purposes. As discussed, (in chapter 4), most of Gede's ceramics imports came from Persia, the Middle East, and China. Although direct trade between China and Gede was minimal, the movement of Chinese ceramics was moved into East Africa from other areas in Asia, primarily by Arab merchants.

7.4.2.3 Metallurgy

Metallurgy, as a practice, was one of the most advanced technology areas of the Swahili Civilization. Swahili craftsmen produced carbon steel and cast metal goods using

smelting and forging techniques. Also, the metal products went through oxidation which made them durable. These metal artifacts were exported to other areas along the Indian Ocean. Therefore, after the ninth century, the current era Swahili Coast had made a niche as a major exporter of metal products, including nails and knives. Some Arabic writers, including Al Masudi, who was writing before the turn of the Second Millennium current era, note the malleability of iron products from the Swahili coast. His sentiments were later echoed by, Al-Biruni, one of the most respected scientists in the Arab world in the eleventh century (Matveiev, 1984). In Gede, iron smelting was one of the most common activities that were carried out. In the house of Mbarak, there was evidence of iron smelting, which happened in periods just before the site was abandoned. This shows that iron smelting was already entrenched in Gede culture. This dissertation argues that metallurgy was an important economic activity since Gede was relatively interior compared to other City States. That is, Gede was located where fuel was abundant for metal smelting. Thus, as noted by Portuguese informants of Malindi as a significant exporter of metal products to regional markets, there is a very likelihood of Gede acting as an industrial center of Malindi.

7.4.2.4 Raw Materials and Precious Goods and Implications on Social Hierarchies

In the trading system, raw materials and precious goods were obtained from the hinterland communities. These materials were mainly rhinoceros' horns, ivory, gold, myrrh, frankincense, animal skins, and crystal stones. On the other hand, the interior communities acquired goods such as metal products, clothes, ambergris, and jewelry salt from the Swahili people. The Swahili people also imported glazed ceramics, beads, glassware, metals, silk, and cotton clothes, among other goods. Notable, goods such as

women's beauty products such as Kohl sticks (mascara) were also readily imported. Besides the direct export and import of goods by the people of Gede, an elaborate class system arose from the mercantile economy.

The most notable changes can be attributed to the rise in local industries supporting local, regional, and international markets. For instance, beads became a primary commercial product exchanged with hinterland communities for gold. In Gede, the house of Khadija, which I excavated and defined as "middle class," shows how these industries were crucial. The women who controlled those industries rose in the social ladder of Gede society and accumulated wealth, enabling them to afford exotic products.

7.4.2.5 Exotic Materials

The participation of Gede in international and regional trade during the golden age had impactful implications on living standards. Notable changes in material records include increased consumption of foreign goods. Gede, where settlement patterns were divided into classes, shows that consumption of foreign goods such as ceramics was typical for almost everyone. Besides imported ceramics, other goods included Kohl sticks, bronze mirrors, sprinkle bottles, cobalt glass, as well as jewelry made of silver, gold, and copper. Metals such as copper and silver were minted in other city-states, including Mogadishu and Kilwa, forming part of regional trade networks. Archaeological evidence shows that the affluence of Swahili City states meant that they attracted goods from the interior of Africa, especially in the golden age, from areas such as south-central Africa.

7.5 Similarities and differences between Thimlich Ohinga and Gede

Archaeological Sites.

Thimlich Ohinga and Gede's archaeological sites show some similarities and constraints in terms of how social hierarchies were formed and expressed in material form. Both sites underwent development characterized by mega constructions of mainly stone structures. The construction of these structures meant that both sites had a strong political system for directing labor to such projects. Also, the sites were initially occupied when the environment was conducive, facilitated by a constant supply of food resources. Archaeological evidence from both sites shows similarities in terms of subsistence patterns. The main subsistence strategies entailed livestock rearing, crop agriculture, fishing, hunting, and gathering. These diversified subsistence strategies guaranteed a constant supply of food hence triggering population growth in both sites. The communities responded by expanding by constructing new settlement areas within the sites. With the increase in population and diversified subsistence strategies, there was an increase in competition in both sites, which led to class stratification.

Nonetheless, the main difference between the two societies was that Thimlich Ohinga was semi-egalitarian. The main differences in social hierarchies could only be ascertained by the quantity of resources rather than types. This means they consumed the same foods, used similar ceramics, and maintained their houses using the same materials. The usage of spaces was situational in some instances and depended on some social status defined by age rather than material worth. The material wealth of Thimlich Ohinga comprised resources with the delayed return, such as domesticated animals and crops, especially

cereals which would be stored for a more extended period. In other cases, specialists such as potters, ironsmiths, and religious and political leaders had prestige rather than power.

On the other hand, Gede's social stratification was manifested through dietary patterns, economic activity, architecture, specialization, and political and religious categories. The rich mainly consumed domesticated animals such as chickens, camels, cattle, sheep, and goats. On the other hand, the less affluent their diet would entail game and marine resources. Besides food consumption, the affluent lived in the innermost of the city wall, building massive houses with numerous rooms. In the area near 'the palace,' archaeological evidence shows that the rich houses comprised private wells and, in some cases, self-contained rooms and, in some cases, bath tabs. The rich also had more foreign ceramics as compared to the commoners. Gede's social status seems to have been acquired, with those controlling international trade being at the top of the social pyramid. In most cases, the individuals and families that controlled foreign trade had political power. Notable other high-status individuals include those who owned cottage industries, the middlemen for local trade, boat makers, and those who sourced prestigious game products for trade from the hinterlands. The usage of public spaces was also dictated in some instances by individual social status. This was more so in the areas surrounding the public buildings, which were mainly used for political decisions and international trade. The most interesting observation of Gede is that some imported ceramics had religious and rituals value. This meant they were acquired by individuals irrespective of their social status.

7.6 Summary and Conclusion

The chapter has explored how social hierarchies were manifested in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede societies in the archaeological record. Thimlich society was semi-egalitarian, with few elaborate materials showing class stratification. The notable differences examined in this dissertation include livestock enclosures, sophisticated potteries, and beads. Nonetheless, critical findings of Thimlich Ohinga show that they consumed similar resources irrespective of their social hierarchies. They build identical houses, consume the same type of food, and use locally produced goods. The dry-stone wall was made for the collective security of everybody, irrespective of their social status. Thus, people would access the inner wall spaces when circumstances such as warfare dictated. However, due to their delayed returns, livestock and crop agriculture were the basis of class stratification in Thimlich Ohinga. These inferences were made by observing the Luo community, where those with more family members also contain a large reserve of food and labor at the household level. Gede on the other had more elaborate social hierarchies which were manifested in different forms. This includes architecture where the affluent in the innermost parts of the city. On the other hand, the location, usage of spaces, economic activities and dietary patterns demonstrated social hierarchies. Overall, the signatures for Gede social hierarchies were more visible than Thimlich Ohinga.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THIMLICH OHINGA AND GEDE SOCIAL IDENTITIES IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD FROM 1000CE-1900 CE.

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the dissertation explores the continuity and change of social identities of both Thimlich Ohinga and Gede as reflected in the archaeological record. That is, how gender and social hierarchies of the two sites changed through time and space. In order to explore continuities and changes, this chapter examines the cultural material changes of the two sites through time. As such, attempts are made to interrogate how the development of the above sites influenced social hierarchies and gender identities. Therefore, this chapter explores how both societies changed due to demographic pressure, diversification of subsistence strategies, economic development, immigration, and intensification of trade and exchange.

8.2 Continuity and Discontinuities of Social Identities

This section examines how internal and external factors influenced Thimlich Ohinga and Gede's social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies. Put briefly how the two societies underwent economic, social, and political changes. Since this study is archaeological, attempts have been made to examine those changes from material culture left behind. Therefore, the study is premised on the assumption that social identities were often formed, maintained, re-enforced, and renegotiated in relation to the acquisition of resources. Thus, as societies changed, new resources became available while others

disappeared. Since, in some cases, identities such as gender and social hierarchies determined who accessed what resources, these changes influenced how such groups functioned.

Therefore, the study explores the gender and social hierarchies of both sites and the factors that led to their changes or continuity through time and space. At the base of the inquiry lies how the above two societies were formed, settled, and reorganized their social structures to accommodate new complexities that emerged from development. Archaeological evidence shows that these societies were established by communities that settled in one geographical area and invested in social structures. In the case of Thimlich Ohinga, the community constructed fortified walls, which dictated their transit from a nomadic to a sedentary way of life. As a result, they were forced to make ideological adjustments per their social organization. The Gede community changed from rural to urban life hence structural social changes. Based on the above observation, the following section explores how society changed through time and the implication on gender roles and social hierarchies' dynamics.

8.3 Thimlich Ohinga

Ogot (1967) notes that the reconstruction of interlacustrine culture from the 12th to the 15th-century current era is problematic. The problem emanates from few archaeological materials and inadequate historical, ethnohistorical, and linguistic evidence. Second, he notes historical biases between pastoralists and agricultural communities in the region. Pastoralists' history is elevated, while crop agriculturalists are considered the silent majority. Lastly, unlike other regions, it has been a challenge to use chronology to

reconstruct the history of Lake Victoria and the greater lake region due to inconsistencies (Dale and Ashley, 2010). Nonetheless, Thimlich Ohinga has been proposed as founded by Bantu communities that migrated into the area in the 15th century (Onjala, 1994). Based on that assumption, historical and archaeological evidence shows that Bantu communities were already constructing centralized political systems in present-day Uganda and Rwanda. Therefore, if the theory of Thimlich Ohinga being constructed by the Bantus holds true, they had a centralized political ideology. This centralized system was effectively employed in the construction of dry-stone walls.

As documented, Thimlich Ohinga was one of the most complex societies in the southern Nyanza region (Onjala, 2003). The site was occupied over several hundreds of years by different communities that were influenced and affected by internal and external factors. These factors included demographic pressure, as evidenced by expanding and constructing of more stone structures within that region. Also, the site corresponded with peopling of the Lake Victoria basin through waves of migration of different groups, especially the Luo community that started arriving in the area shortly after the middle of the second millennium of the current era (Ayot, 1978). The period was also characterized by environmental variations, as evidenced by different droughts that occurred in the region. Thus, environmental variations and ecological challenges meant that for the Thimlich Ohinga community to survive, they had to diversify their subsistence strategies. Ogot (1967) argues that the people in South Nyanza were initially pastoralists and abandoned it for crop farming due to tsetse flies. This transformation had social

implication in relations to gender and social hierarchies (discussed in chapter 6 and 7 respectively).

8.4 Development of River Lake Region

Period	Activity
6000BCE -500 CE	This is a period associated with Kansyore's late stone age ceramics. These ceramics are highly decorated with vertical, horizontal, and zigzag motifs. The subsistence strategies of that period included exploiting fish, shellfish, and the wild (Robertshaw, 1991). The people moved between dry and wet season's camps in alternating manners. The discovery of storage vessels highly indicates some form of the delayed return type of economy of these communities, which can be described as mobile hunter-gatherer societies with sedentary life characteristics (Tibesasa, 2021).
500BCE-800CE	This period of the early iron age is associated with urewe ceramics. This pottery is highly decorated and is dominated by horizontal, parallel grooves and, in some cases, circles (Robertshaw, 1987). Their main economic activity included domesticated plants and animals, hunting, and gathering. These communities deliberately buried their dead, which is indicative of a more sedentary type of life. The evidence of urewe ware has been found in different countries, including Congo, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. These communities collected season information and stored food when circumstances allowed hence the concept of private property ownership. In some instances, they also made structures that cemented semi-sedentary life-moving when the environment necessitated.
8000CE-1500CE	This period was dominated by the migration of iron technology, who practiced grain-based crop agriculture. These Bantu communities adapted to the local environment and started

	forming the basis of some ethnic groups that have persisted in presenting.
1500CE-2000CE	The notable activities during this period were the great peopling of the Lake Victoria basin. This included the migration of Luo into the region from the 16th century and later by the Maasai community. This led to delicate relationships between Bantu communities, their Luo counterpart, and the Maasai. During this period, there was increased warfare, hence the rise of defensive settlements such as Thimlich Ohinga. The main economy included crop agriculture rearing of livestock. Also, fishing and hunting, and gathering were practiced.

The above table describes the development of the Lake Victoria basin for over 8000 years.

The archaeological evidence shows that the area was occupied for several thousand years.

Nonetheless, the previous periods of occupation are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

8.5 Thimlich Ohinga Development Table

Period	Activity
1000 CE -1400CE	This period can be described as before Thimlich Ohinga stone walls were constructed. The community that lived there had a delayed return type of economy which was also sedentary.
1400CE-1500CE	This period is associated with the great movement of people into the region. Therefore, Bantu communities and other groups were constantly moving, hence environmental variability and increased warfare. The main economic activity included crop agriculture, livestock rearing, fishing, hunting, and gathering. The house and animal enclosures show a more sedentary life. In some areas, elaborate burials were also practiced.
1500CE-1700CE	Thimlich Ohinga dry stone walls were constructed during this period. They were probably constructed by the Bantus, who had transitioned to crop agriculture while keeping animals. The walls, as observed, were for defensive purposes. Therefore, the period was characterized by diversified subsistence patterns.
1700CE-2000CE	This period can be roughly associated with the Luo occupation of the site. This was also a period when Maasai also moved into adjacent areas. Archaeological evidence of Thimlich Ohinga shows evidence of trade or exchange with the Maasai community.

The above table shows how Thimlich Ohinga changed through time and space as reflected in the archaeological record. Notable changes include the transition from a mobile to sedentary life, characterized by increased reliance on domesticated plants and animals. The levels at which iron smelting was discovered highly suggested that later occupiers of

the site who was the Luo practiced this technology which may have been acquired through their interactions with the Bantus.

8.5.1 Architecture

Thimlich Ohinga architecture can be divided into public and private constructions, including how gender and social hierarchy were expressed. The public architecture was mainly the dry-stone perimeter walls (Onjala, 1994). On the other hand, private structures were houses made of daub and wattle and livestock kraals made of dry-stone walls. From an archaeological point of view, these were the most visible structures of the community. Nonetheless, this dissertation traces how gender and social hierarchy identities were expressed through time and space. As noted, before, South Nyanza was occupied by pastoralists who mixed farmers succeeded. The implication was that the pastoralism mode of production would not have supported the construction of such stone structures since these people were highly mobile.

Odede (2000) points out these structures were made for security from wild animals and hostile communities in the region. Therefore, Thimlich Ohinga society transformed, including investing in the built environment. The built environment entailed interaction with social identities regarding constructing and maintaining group division. Therefore, the construction of the walls required re-organization of labor, which often entailed gender roles during construction. Also, as society became more sedentary. Social hierarchy was reorganized to include livestock kraal size as the expression of social status. As such, architecture was used to express the above two social identities in Thimlich Ohinga.

8.5.2 Diversification of Subsistence Strategies

The earliest food producers in East Africa were livestock keeper's immigrants from the North and across the Sahara (Gifford-Gonzalez,2000). Archaeological evidence shows pastoralism was practiced around the Lake Victoria basin from 5000 BP (Jones and Tibasasa, 2022). However, there is scarce archaeological evidence that shows a spread of livestock through the Lake Victoria basin. Researchers have claimed lack of archaeological evidence for livestock in the region is attributable to tsetse flies (Frahm et al., 2017). Nonetheless, new isotope evidence from faunal evidence of the Lake Victoria basin shows the area was grassland that supported herbivores and domestics from around 2000 CE (Marchant, 2022). Archaeological evidence shows herders' southward movements to western Kenyan, specifically the Lake Victoria basin. These herders of Elmenteitan tradition kept goats and sheep in low numbers while complementing their diets with fishing, hunting, and gathering. Notable pastoralists' area in the Lake Victoria basin includes Gogo Falls and Usenge (Collet and Robertshaw,1981 ;Prendergast, 2011).

Thimlich Ohinga's transformation entailed a transformation from pastoralism to mixed farming, and complemented by fishing, hunting, and gathering. These changes had significant changes, including the change from a mobile to a sedentary mode of life. The implication was a settlement of one area for a longer period which was made possible through the intensification and diversification of subsistence strategies. In Thimlich Ohinga, the growth of crop production corresponded with the development of private property ideology. Unlike livestock dependent on environmental variation, diseases, and natural calamities mitigations, cereals would be stored for a long time with minimal risks. As such, the affluent could have a secure food supply with minimal cooperation from the

rest of the community. Furthermore, the affluent would use their vast food resources to acquire social power and prestige at the community level. Besides social hierarchies' changes, the transformation from pastoralism to crop farming meant that women had more power in the economic activities of Thimlich Ohinga society. An ethnographic study of the Luo community shows that women were responsible for storing cereals and other plant foods in their granaries.

These changes give women control of the food supply and trading goods with their neighbors. This was a departure from pastoralism, where men owned livestock exclusively. The transformation of women from passive to active economically was fundamental and implied social organization. As documented, the women's visibility in material form in Thimlich Ohinga became more profound. This dissertation argues that women's economic empowerment corresponded with their ability to access public spaces that were initially limited to men. For example, observed in the k' Ochieng enclosure, the Bao game, generally men's game was close to the grinding stone. Therefore, I hypothesize that the diversification of subsistence strategies to include crop farming meant that women became more involved in the economic decisions making of Thimlich Ohinga society.

On the other hand, there was specialization in gendered activities between men and women. Based on the ethnographic study of the Luo, I argue that fishing was a male activity in Thimlich Ohinga and hunting. On the other hand, women participated in crop agriculture as well as the gathering of wild resources. Nonetheless, in terms of delayed returns, crop farming was more important, although livestock had social value. Since

women-controlled crop production, which was also highly sort trade products from their Maasai neighbors as evidenced by the presence of Maasai trading goods, especially beads, meant that women amassed social power besides economic autonomy from men.

8.5.3 Demographic Pressure

Since Thimlich Ohinga was likely constructed during the great peopling of Lake Victoria, demographic pressure was inevitable (Onjala,2019). These demographic pressures may have emanated from external migration of people to the site and internal population growth. Increased food sources likely caused internal population growth as the community embraced crop farming. Archaeological evidence shows that other enclosures were created to accommodate more people. To that end, demographic pressure influenced gender as an identity in various ways. At first, resources became scarcer hence competition and innovation. This dissertation suggests that the increase in population and a sedentary way of life dictated the community's pursuit of internal solutions to deal with demographic pressure. The most notable action was pottery making which became an important activity in the sedentary community. These pots were made with patterns that reflected the identities of the potters, who were women. As such, women became more assertive as demand for their products increased dramatically. On the other hand, the accumulation of materials such as pots and iron tools became an indicator of an individual's social status.

Therefore, demographic pressure increased the importance of material wealth, and women used this opportunity to assert their identity within Thimlich Ohinga society. Since Thimlich Ohinga was a semi-egalitarian society, material differentiation for status

was less visible in the archaeological record. To that end, this dissertation suggests that, at least in Thimlich Ohinga, social status was expressed through quantity rather than quality. Nonetheless, the wealthier a household was, the more wear and tear was minimal, which is sometimes identifiable in the archaeological record.

Ehret's (1976) reconstruction of the history of western Kenya from 1500CE-1800 CE argued that the Luo underwent an economic transformation triggered by economic growth. This transformation was triggered by an increase in population among the Luo community. The response was a change from pastoralism which was the dominant economic activity of the community, to crop agriculture. This transformation has impacted gender relations among the Luo communities as economic dynamics changed. Therefore, the Luo community that settled in Thimlich Ohinga was already practicing crop farming; hence these stone structures cemented their sedentary way of life, which characterized crop agriculturalists.

8.5.4 Local and Regional Trade

At the peak of Thimlich Ohinga society, the community kept livestock and practiced crop farming, fishing, hunting, and gathering. There was also the manufacturing of iron, pottery, and stone tools. Ultimately, the above production created a surplus over time, facilitating local and perhaps regional trade. The discovery of Maasai beads at Thimlich Ohinga points out the possibility of interaction between the two communities. As argued elsewhere concerning pastoralism, the Maasai likely exchanged their livestock with grains from the farmers (Odede, 2009; Maina, 2016). Dahl & Hjort (1976) demonstrated that it was almost impossible for pastoralists to rely entirely on livestock and their

products. For instance, a family of six individuals would require around 100 cattle to subsist entirely on livestock products.

Unfortunately, pastoralist communities often occupy areas where climate variability is the norm. Thus, having such a high number of animals is almost impossible. Therefore, Maasai, like other pastoralists, supplemented their needs by trading with mixed farmers. The possibility of such interaction with the Maasai community is highly likely, especially when Thimlich Ohinga intensified crop farming as observed by presence of Maasai beads in the site archaeological record (Wandibba,1986). The trading of grains with the Thimlich Ohinga community empowered women as the major actors in its production. Therefore, the intensification of regional trade in exchange for livestock gave women access to animals that were mainly men's commodities.

8.6 Gede

Gede history is closely connected with other Swahili city-states that flourished from the beginning of the second Millennium current era (Wynne-Jones, 2007; Pawlowicz et al., 2021). Fleisher et al. (2015) contend that the Swahili civilization, which relied on maritime, can only be traced slightly over a thousand years ago. Their argument challenged prevailing thinking that Swahili communities were already maritime at the turn of the current era. This argument has been countered by other scholars who have demonstrated continuous occupation of the coast for over two thousand years (Kusimba & Walz, 2018; Ichumbaki, 2019). Nonetheless, at the base of the disagreement is the conceptualization of what can be described as maritime. Westerdahl (2017) claims that for a society to be referred to as "maritime" is not simply based on them living in

proximity to water bodies. Conte (2006) explains that maritime societies are those social, economic, and ideological organizations tailored toward the marine environment. The anchorage of maritime societies to the marine environment is often called sea landscapes (Cooney, 2004).

Based on the above definition of Maritime societies, the Swahili civilization became maritime around 1000CE (Pawlowicz, 2012; Fleisher et al., 2015). Nonetheless, archaeological evidence shows that the Swahili coast was occupied before the turn of the first century (Ichumbaki, 2017). Generally, as claimed by Fleisher et al. (2015), the transition to maritime Swahili civilization entailed changes in the architecture, pottery patterns, ideology, and economic and social organization of these societies. Therefore, they perceive the transition to maritime culture as facilitating urbanization, leading to the emergence of societies such as Gede. The debates concerning when Swahili societies became maritime are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Even so, Gede emerged around the eleventh-century current era and thrived for around 500 years before its eventual decline (Pawlowicz, 2019).

During that period, Gede, like other Swahili civilization city-states, underwent social, political, and economic changes over time. The most archaeological evidence shows the city was founded shortly after the turn of the second-millennium current era. The site was occupied almost continuously for over four centuries before it was finally abandoned around the 16th century C.E (Pawlowicz, 2019). The archaeological evidence shows that Gede society started as a village mainly dominated by wattle and daub houses around the eleventh century. Islam spread shortly afterward, as evidenced by the construction of the

large mosque on the outer wall of the North East area of the site. The city later expanded and became fortified in the fiftieth century, where the second Great Mosque is located and surrounded by sophisticated houses and 'The Palace.' This expansion corresponded with the intensification of local and international trade, which led to wealth accumulation and technological innovation. The city's new center in the inner wall epitomized Gede society at the height of its development and subsequent fall.

A unique social organization impacting gender and social hierarchy over time characterized Gede's developmental phases. This is attributable to the fact that each stage had a unique made environment that influenced the accessibility of resources. Thus, as new opportunities were created through the spread of Islam, diversification of subsistence strategies, and intensification of international and regional trade, the City experienced social transformation as different groups strived to create their niche within the social system. Thus, this section examines how Gede society's gender and social hierarchy were formed, maintained, re-enforced, re-negotiated, and changed through time and space. The data presented here concentrate on Gede's social identities as manifested through time in private and public spaces.

Table 8.1 Swahili Civilization Development Chronology

Period	Notable developments
100BCE- 300 CE	Archaeological evidence shows boat building in East Africa from around 600 BCE. Iron tools and farming was also practiced in the region. The Periplus of Erythrean Sea also mentions trade goods from the Land of Zanj during this period. This written record is supported by archaeological finds dating from Rome, Egypt, and Greece.
300CE- 1000CE	This period is dominated by increased trade, with archaeological evidence showing that products from Iran, India, China, and Egypt were on the rise. The period is also associated with increased craftsmanship, especially in metalworking, where iron for use and export was a major economic activity. Besides iron, other products, including copper, amber, ivory, leopard skins, and gold, were exported. The imports included glass, ceramics, textiles, and beads, and goods were imported during this period. A notable development in this period was the spread of Islam, with the first wooden mosque found in Songa Mnara in Tanzania.
1000CE- 1500CE	The intensification of local, regional, and international trade characterized this period. That meant there were trade networks between city-states and the interior of the continent as well as international partners. The period led to the development of cosmopolitan life hence the rise of city-states such as Gede. These main

	<p>cities' economies revolved around mercantile activities anchored in city life with elaborate social classes, specialization, and industries that produced goods for local consumption and exportation. In Gede and elsewhere, social re-organization was anchored in part in Islamic values such as gender privacy. The economic system also led to the rise of merchants as the main players in commerce. A notable development in this phase includes imports of different types of ceramics, including bowls, kohl pencils, bronze mirrors, etc. The towns were also built with stones with public spaces, open courts, and mosques, like in the case of Gede. The trading partners included China, Egypt, and Persia. Timber from Mangroves was exported to countries such as Yemen during the period.</p>
1500CE- 1900 CE	<p>This period was associated with introducing other players in Swahili Civilization, including the Omanis and Portuguese. The period was also characterized by increased warfare between City States such as Malindi and Mombasa. During this period, Gede's golden age finally ended, leading to abandonment around the 17th century.</p>

The above chronological development of Swahili Coast and Gede, in particular, directly impacted how gender and social hierarchies were expressed. This can be attributed to the fact that these changes created new spaces contested in relation to individual gender and social hierarchy within Gede society. To that end, these changes in the above identities

were expressed in architecture, diversification of subsistence strategies, intensification of international trade, and rise of light industries.

Table 8.2 Changes through Time of Gede as Illustrated by Archaeological Materials

Period	Activities
11th Century	<p>The house of Mbarak's oldest occupation, as evidenced by the presence of Chinese ceramic, was dated around that period. The houses during that occupation were made using wattle and daub. The material assemblages, including fauna, resemble those observed from Katana's house, which is associated with commoners. Their dietary consumption consisted mainly of fishing, and there was the usage of stone tools made of quartz. The diet shows the consumption of birds and fish as the preferred food sources, just as observed in the area associated with commoners.</p>
12th century	<p>This shows distinctive occupation based on foreign ceramics, especially Persian and middle eastern origin. The house of Mbarak is still made of wattle and daub, as recorded from the excavation. At this level, there is the presence of iron slug evidence which shows the people were practicing iron smelting for commercial purposes. There is also an increase in the consumption of foreign ceramics as well as other localized materials. The most common materials include beads made of glass. The diet is also dominated by bovid, which can be attributed to increased complexity.</p>

<p>13th century</p>	<p>This period is associated with the presence of Persia and Chinese ceramics associated with that period. The notable feature during this period is a shift from wattle and daub houses to stone houses. Also, there was no iron smelting during this period, with the appearance of beads grinders in the house of Mbarak. Therefore, specialization is possible where this household most likely abandoned iron smelting to concentrate on other activities. Also, a possibility of operating a light industry away from the homestead, as argued concerning the house of Khadija acting as a manufacturing area of beads. Notable features in this level of the house of Mbarak include the consumption of large bovid, including camels and sink pits in the backyard. This shows the possibility of feasting, which indicates expressing status. There was also an increase in class differences, including tombs, during this period.</p>
<p>14th century</p>	<p>The majority of materials recovered in this period are from the Muslim world, especially Persia, where ceramics of yellow and black as well as green and yellow were recovered. Therefore, The house of Khadija shows specialization in beads buildings. In contrast, materials from the house of Mbarak show more consumption of foreign materials and dietary patterns dominated by fish and bovid. The consumption of metal such as copper and</p>

	<p>the consumption of beads is also recorded in this period. The period was also dominated by the consumption of women's goods, including kohl pencils hence a correlation between women's activities and increased consumption of their goods. During this period, the innermost part of the city is also constructed with women's spaces, including courts and toilets, as well as an increase in the construction of private amenities, especially wells. Thus, the period is associated with the commercialization of households which acted as hotels and were constructed according to Islamic values of gender privacy.</p>
17 ^h century	<p>This period is associated with the decline of Gede city. In the house of Mbarak, there is evidence of ironworking in the outer room, which happened after the house's collapse. This period is also associated with a decrease in the usage of foreign ceramics. The decrease in the usage of foreign materials is also observed in the house of Khadija, including the abandonment of bead-making during that period. The archaeological evidence shows that this was a later occupation, especially in the house of Mbarak, where archaeological evidence shows abrupt abandonment as some of the recovered materials were in Situ. This evidence has been collaborated by Kirkman (1974) in the inner city where some cowrie shells were recovered, showing the people who were trying to carry them left in a hurry.</p>

The table above shows the chronology of Gede in terms of how it developed through time and space. This development through time and space has been calibrated using foreign ceramics. Therefore, the table highlights major developments and activities reflected in the archaeological record.

8.4.1 Architecture

Although Swahili culture has existed on the East African coast for over two millennia, cultural evolution occurred after 1000 CE (Chami,1998; Pollard and Ichumbaki,2021). The intensification of local, regional, and international trade, the spread of Islam, and urbanization facilitated this cultural evolution. Archaeological evidence shows a congregation along the coastlines that started to have an elaborate distinction with hinterland societies (Wynne-Jones,2007). The spread of Islam was also characterized by the building of mosques using wattle and daub. This was later replaced by the construction of mosques using coral stones, a tradition extended to personal houses. In the height of some Swahili city-states, there was the construction of stone-walled houses which were sometimes two-storeyed buildings. Also, palaces, public squares, wells, magnificent mosques, and fortified cities emerged after 1000 CE. Notable cities that underwent almost similar transitions include Kilwa and Gede.

Gede's transition to the urban center underwent changes that were situated into wider landscapes that supported town life. Therefore, Gede's urbanization was related to other features, including natural resources, forests, farmlands, rivers, and proximity to the ocean. The natural environment and built environment acted as the basis on which the Gede community interacted, traded, and performed religious rituals. Gede, the town itself,

experienced changes characterized by the City's expansion and fortification over time. These expansions also reflected architectural changes incorporating Gede's ideologies, including religion, maritime culture, and social re-organization of group identities.

The architecture of Gede changed from wattle and daub houses to stone houses made of coral stones during its golden age. The transformation was not limited to materials used to construct the city but incorporated house designs as well as how public spaces were designed. More importantly, the architecture incorporated different identities, including gender and social hierarchies. Therefore, to an extent, as Gede's society changed, it created new spaces where gender and social hierarchies as identities were re-imagined, contested, re-enforced, and maintained. The architectural changes reflected not only the accumulation of wealth but also a new social frontier that new groups occupied. For instance, the emergence of the merchant class challenged previous social status groups. Also, the emergence of new economic opportunities gave women more opportunities to participate in the new economy. Ultimately, these changes meant that architectural designs had to incorporate women. Therefore, as the City of Gede expanded, archaeological evidence shows that gender and social hierarchies' categorization became more apparent. Also, women become more involved in public affairs, as reflected in Gede's architecture of public spaces.

Most notable architectural changes happened in the houses of the elites, especially the merchants. The rationale was to build their private houses per maritime trade requirements. That is, to make their private houses function as accommodation centers for foreign traders during their stay in Gede City. As argued (in chapter 5), the maritime

trade, which was dictated by monsoon winds hence forcing traders to spend considerable time as hosted in Gede, transformed the architecture of these houses. These architectural changes in Gede's private houses included transforming them into "hotels" for foreign traders. This led to architectural changes in private houses to accommodate traders.

In this dissertation, I argue that commercializing private spaces requires architectural restructuring in two broad ways. First, the architecture needed to guarantee gendered spaces in private houses, which were non-existence before. This was done by constructing private houses with gendered spaces, including toilets. In Gede, "the palace" reflects such architectural reconstruction which happened through time. The usage of social spaces with private houses was important, especially in Gede, where culture was highly influenced by Islamic values, which emphasize gender separation in public spaces. Baumanova and Smejda (2017) argue that "the palace" was expanded over 150 years. The expansion entailed the creation of more rooms that were self-contained with gendered spaces.

Second, some private houses constructed their freshwater wells and, in some instances, mosques. I argue that constructing such wells and mosques was meant to create a built environment for visitors. Since these visiting traders were Muslims, their host strived to create an environment that reflected their Islamic values. In Islamic culture, washing before prayers is one of the most common rituals (Rubin,2017). Therefore, these water wells guaranteed fresh water for constant washing per Islamic customs. In some cases, private mosques ensured the guest would fulfill their prayers obligation in the comfort of where they were accommodated. In Gede, competition for hosting foreign traders may

have triggered architectural changes through time, as demonstrated in various houses in Gede. The notable sophistication happened from the 15th century CE when Gede reached its apogee (Pawlowicz, 2019).

The excavation of the house of Mbarak shows the architectural transformation of Gede's private houses over time. Although the house of Mbarak does not show evidence of being used as a "hotel" compared to other private houses, it shows the transformation. Initially, the house was built using wattle and daub, as depicted by post holes at the lowest level (Plate 4.1). In subsequent years, the wattle daub houses were replaced by a stone house. This new house was designed per Swahili structures as observed in Lamu ethnography (Donley, 1982). The house consisted of three rooms which were arranged parallel to each other as well as having a toilet and

The transformation of architectural designs also included building elaborate drainage systems in Gede's private homes. In the house of Mbarak, there were at least two drainage systems in the courtyard, indicating that the Gede society strived to maintain hygiene in the city. Since the house of Mbarak is located away from the city center but near areas associated with affluent people, there was a freshwater well nearby. Therefore, the main architectural redesigning of Gede City in private homes included freshwater wells, drainage systems, house toilets, and sometimes mosques. Based on the above observation, it seems that the elites strived to redesign their houses following Islamic values in private spaces. Nonetheless, Islamic values were also practiced together with indigenous cultures. Therefore, the designs of these houses had indigenous innovations and designs. It is evident that the elites built their houses and strived to put amenities such as private

wells to maintain their social status in Gede society. Also, there were investments in building designs in commercialized houses to cater to gender dynamics.

The public architectural designs of Gede society also changed through time and space. Notable changes included public structures, namely mosques, tombs, freshwater wells, and public baths. These structures were made using coral stones and blended indigenous and foreign techniques. These structures were built to reflect Gede society's social organization, including gender dynamics and social hierarchies. In "the palace," there was the investment in women's and men's spaces, a trend reflected in the "Friday Mosque." Tombs were built as the basis of maintaining the social prestige of the elites (Kirkman,1974). As observed in contemporary Islamic families on the coast, the tombs were most likely family tombs of prominent families. Overall, the unique feature of Gede City state was fortification through time and space. The palace was located in the innermost area, comprising prominent houses characterized by private wells and built toilet rooms (Pawlowicz, 2019). Some houses in these areas show extravagance, including bathtubs and stored buildings. This innermost part of the town was probably built later; hence it accommodated the expansion of the city probably in the 15th century.

8.4.2 Diversification of Subsistence Strategies

Archaeological evidence shows that the Swahili coast has been occupied for thousands of years (Ichumbaki, 2017). The archeological evidence and written sources such as Periplus of Erythrean Sea show that the Swahili coast was occupied for over two thousand years. Chami (1994) notes how written records mention Swahili civilization, including areas such as Rhapta and Toniki. The two areas were geographically in East Africa, where

it is noted that there was commerce and intermarriages (Ichimaki, 2017). Besides trading, other subsistence strategies carried out by Swahili communities included fishing, hunting, and crafting (Chami, 2001).

The trading seems to have intensified after 1000 CE. Nonetheless, it seems trade links between East Africa and the rest of the world existed longer. Horton (1996) notes the presence of Byzantine, Hellenistic, and Roman, which dates to the early centuries of the current era. Most importantly, the mainland of East African communities interacted with those in the islands, as evidenced by ceramics movements in the first century of the current era (Walz and Gooding, 2021). Furthermore, the interaction between hinterlands and coast communities persisted for hundreds of years (Kusimba & Walz, 2018). To that end, it is obvious that Swahili communities had elaborate local, regional, and international trade networks for over 1500 years. These trade links were facilitated by diverse subsistence strategies that led to the interdependence of Swahili communities with other regions.

Gede, as a settlement, although it can be traced to a period after 1000 CE, was inhabited by indigenous communities who had been practicing diverse subsistence strategies for over a millennium (Chami, 1999). Nonetheless, archaeological evidence shows that the town was established by indigenous communities who were crafting pots of Tana tradition, exploited water resources, kept domesticated animals, practiced crop agriculture, and hunted and gathered. Like other Swahili societies, Gede may have maintained trading relations with other coastal societies through trading and shifting associations (Kusimba & Walz, 2018). Wright (1993) notes that after 800 CE, the spread

of Islam along the coast led to the emergence of hierarchical societies. Therefore, the spread of Islam in Gede coincided with social re-organization, including gender and social hierarchies. These changes also influenced subsistence strategies organized to cater to the needs of the urban population. Like other Swahili states, Gede flourished between the 12th century and 16th century when trade and social organization were disrupted by the Portuguese (Matveiev, 1984).

Since social identities are often dictated by acquiring certain resources, this section explores how such factors influenced Gede's gender and social hierarchies. This section examines how Gede subsistence strategies changed over time and how gender roles and social hierarchies responded to those changes. In the beginning, Gede comprised of concentration of daub and wattle houses of communities of Bantu origin. These people subsisted on crop farming, exploitation of marine resources, hunting, and gathering. Based on the above observations, the gender organization and social hierarchies reflected that economic organization. That is an egalitarian society where gender division of labor was tailored towards house subsistence adaptation strategies.

Based on the literature of other ethnographic societies in East Africa, there is a high possibility that gender division was at the household level (Arthur,2009). Also, gender division was based on subsistence strategy, which included crop farming, livestock keeping, fishing, crafting, hunting, and gathering. In this egalitarian system, local pottery production was one of the most notable pieces of material evidence of examining gender and social hierarchies. Archaeological evidence shows that there was regional trade between Swahili civilization societies. Furthermore, in Gede, Islamic ideas had started to

take root, as evidenced by the presence of a mosque dated around the 11th century (Pradines,2003). As such, being converted to Islam gave an individual a regional and international appeal due to shared ideas, giving them a trading edge compared to others. Therefore, I argue that the early Islamic converts in Gede formed new elites and became the intermediaries of the Indian Ocean trade. Overall, this initial phase was characterized by the initial spread of Islam, localized trade, and the early urbanization process.

The next phase was characterized by introducing new subsistence strategies, including new crops, expansion of trade, and rise of hospitality industries (Alpers,1984). The archaeological evidence shows an increase in the production of bowls in Gede and elsewhere along the Swahili coast (Al-Issa,2022). This transition to bowls is attributed to dietary changes, especially rice consumption. Rice was probably introduced during that period from India through trade links after 1000CE. Since rice was one of the foods consumed by foreigners, there is a possibility of commercial production. The implication was that the farmers who lived in the countryside of Gede traded their agricultural produce with the city's urban population. Secondly, the production of large bowls has also been interpreted as a social organization that includes food sharing. This culture of sharing food is closely associated with Islamic values.

Moreover, since the Gede community became more urban, specialization was anchored on surplus production. The implication was the commercialization of subsistence production, which ultimately influenced gender and social hierarchies. This corresponded with the expansion of production at the household level and reconfiguration of gender roles as well as re-imagination of social status. For example, excavated materials show

commercialized activities at the household level in the house of Khadija. These activities, such as bead manufacturing, corresponded with women's consumption of exotic products.

Thus, as discussed earlier (Chapter 6), it seems commercialization of subsistence production gave women more economic powers. The house of Khadija indicates the rise of the crafting class in Gede society, which was one of the transformations of urban life. Horton (1996) documented the craft people in Shanga and Songo Mnara. In this dissertation, I referred to this group as the "middle class" (Chapter 7), and they were situated on the second outer wall in the case of the house of Khadija. The new group of artisans, which in this case making beads were women, were integral to Gede's formal economy. Therefore, the second phase of Gede's changes was characterized by the sophistication of crafting commerce. As documented by Portuguese sources concerning Malindi (15 Miles from Gede) coupled with archaeological evidence of iron production in Gede, it is possible that iron making was one of the major economic activities in Gede during this phase.

8.4.3 Local, Regional and International Trade

The expansion of local and international trade revolutionized social identity configuration over time. In the beginning, the Gede community trade was localized and entailed the production of locally available goods. These goods were mainly consumed locally, with traces in archaeological records comprised of local pottery, grinding stones, fish, and animal remains. Since the demand was low, the production was not highly specialized. This type of production required multi-effort at household levels, as often observed in semi-egalitarian households. That is, household member's direct labor to certain tasks as

the need arises and have a thin production line. For example, fishing would have been done part-time or pottery making. There was multi-production at the household level without specialization, as observed through the ethnography of egalitarian societies.

Nonetheless, the second phase was characterized by regional and international trade, which required the re-organization of household activities (Abdulrahman, 2018). These types of re-organization at the household level had a tremendous impact on the gender and social hierarchies of the Gede community. For instance, at the household level, gender roles had to be renegotiated to accommodate opportunities from international trade. As noted by Ibn Battuta how in Mogadishu, local brokers also played the role of hosting merchants at their homes and offering hospitalities. In that case, international trade directly impacted households due to the commercialization of household activities. That is, even cooking was done with respect to hosting merchants, leading to the transformation of kitchen space. This dissertation argues that the kitchen transformation corresponded with women gaining more prestige in the Gede community. In the archaeological record, it also led to the sophistication of kitchenware, as evidenced by imported ceramics. This evidence has been correlated with Swahili ethnographic studies where women are highly involved in the acquisition of kitchenware. To that end, women also dictated the market forces regarding demand and preferences for certain goods. This has been reflected in the visibility of women's personalized goods in the archaeological record after the intensification of trade.

Also, trade brought Islam which has implications for gender identity, especially how it was expressed. This profoundly impacted the household level, where brokers often hosted

merchants. This dissertation contends that Islamic culture reconfigured gender relations within gender, corresponding with activities (actions) recorded in the archaeological record. For instance, the accumulation of wealth and prestige influenced local people to convert to Islam. Although they combined Islamic values with their native traditions, Islamic values were dominant, especially on gender identity. This was more profound in private and public spaces as people strived to create gendered spaces per Islamic values. Therefore, archaeological evidence shows that Gede society was more of an Islamic town. This evidence includes several mosques at the site and numerous wells and drainage pits that correspond with the Islamic hygiene culture. Wells were very important; hence they were built in private homes by affluent people, with some instances being a few meters apart.

On social hierarchies, international and regional trade reconfigured society due to the availability of new opportunities. For example, hunters, most likely in the lower social scale in Gede, gained more prestige. This emanated from the demand for coveted ivory tusks, Leopard skins, and rhinoceros' horns, among other game products. This was a transformation from the past, where livestock and maybe farmlands dictated wealth and prestige. Nonetheless, the second phase was characterized by renegotiating social hierarchies to include a new form of trading class in the community. The trading community can further be divided into other social groups depending on their trading roles. These groups comprised supplies of materials for city production as well as regional and international markets. They also entailed groups involved in shipbuilding and transportation of goods activities. The possibility of land transport of goods and movement of people between Gede and Malindi town is possible due to geographical

proximate. From the above observation, written sources from Malindi show that city was involved in iron production and exports to regional towns. Thus, there is a high likelihood that Gede was involved in the commercial production of iron. At the moment, archaeological evidence shows that, at least in Gede, the people were involved in the iron product. It was a prestigious activity if it was produced for regional markets such as Zanzibar.

8.4.4 Local Industries and Service Sector

The rise of local industries and the service sector characterized Gede's development. These developments of local industrial and commercialization of services emanated from demographic pressure and urbanization. Thus, the urban population's demand for goods and services increased over time at Gede. The effect included expanding activities such as pottery making, initially done for subsistence, to include exchange in local markets (Pawlowinz,2019). Besides, pottery making other industries, such as iron tools production and jewelry manufacturing, intensified to meet new demands. In some cases, these local industries were owned by women, which was a transformation in terms of accessibility of resources. The best example is Khadija's house, which was a bead-making factory. In the house of Khadija, we also excavated kohl pencils, exclusive women's products. Based on the above evidence, I have argued (in chapter 6) that the house of Khadija represents a women's industrial site.

The archaeological assemblages excavated from the house of Khadija show a high percentage of foreign ceramics. Therefore, the site shows changes in Gede society, especially in gender role re-organization. The local industries created niches that either

men or women occupied. To that end, women played a more important role in Gede society than in the past. The archaeological evidence shows that social amenities were constructed to recognize women's spaces. This was extended to public spaces, normally assumed to be men's domain. Therefore, I argue that the change in gender organization in Gede was triggered in part by the rise of craft industries. These industries increased women's autonomy and created economic opportunities for them.

Thus, I argue that the rise of local industries, controlled by market forces, created a niche women exploited to gain political power. It is evidenced by the rise of women's status due to more accessibility of resources corresponding with public investment in women-related activities. For instance, the women's court, which dealt with economic and political power and increased women-related goods, shows this transformation. It would have been impossible to trade women-related goods without their involvement. Also, women would not have only relied on their male associations to acquire economic power to acquire those items. This is the case, especially in Gede, where some activities, such as beads making and pottery, were most likely women's activities. This evidence emanates from an ethnographic study of Bantu communities where women were mainly potters.

Since Gede evolved into a trading center, the rise of the service industry was inevitable. As documented elsewhere, some merchants were hosted in the private homes of brokers. This entailed providing accommodation for weeks or months, especially for long-distance traders' dependent on monsoon winds. It has been argued that "the palace|" was probably a "hotel" used to host foreign merchants. The fact that the palace was expanded during

the golden age corresponded with the intensification of foreign trade in the city. Even the case that services such as accommodation were offered at the household level dictated the re-organization of gender roles. Women were involved in the day to running of these houses that acted as "hotels" for merchants in Gede.

Therefore, notable changes happened in terms of re-organizing social hierarchies in Gede over time. Initially, the people who yielded power were local elites from certain clans. These elites often held political and religious powers over the commoners before the intensification of the Indian Ocean trade. Nonetheless, the introduction of commerce led to the rise of a new group of elite main merchants. These people initially accumulated resources from the proceeding of trade and acquired higher social status. Also, a group of artisans gained prominence as the demand for their goods for the urban population increased over time.

Archaeological evidence of Gede society shows that the city expanded in phases through time. This corresponded with the development of new structures, including private houses, mosques, and the building of more wells. The demographic pressure had various impacts on the organization of Gede society's gender and social hierarchies. I argue that the increase in population led to increased competition across Gede society. The competition dictated the re-organization of Gede society, including architectural design. I argue that the expansion of private houses in the innermost part of the city in the latter stages of Gede development was triggered by population increase and competition for limited resources. Archaeological evidence shows how private improved social amenities such as private wells and self-contained rooms. This development was most likely

triggered by competition for foreign traders. Merchants' competition to host foreign traders meant investing in better amenities.

8.5 Similarities and Differences between Thimlich Ohinga and Gede

Archaeological Sites

Despite Thimlich Ohinga and Gede being established in different locations, their development was similar in some instances. Indeed, the two societies underwent development, as evidenced by architectural development. In Thimlich Ohinga, the community constructed one of the biggest drystone walls around their settlements. This meant a transformation from a mobile to a sedentary type of life. In Gede, society was transformed from rural to urban life with the city's development. The Gede City, like Thimlich Ohinga, entailed a stone wall fortification for security purposes. These security walls were important due to the environment in which this society was located. Thimlich Ohinga was founded during the great peopling of people in the region. At the same time, the Gede city-state flourished during the great rivalry between Swahili city-states.

Some of the notable transformations in the two societies was a political organization. As I have argued (in chapter 6), the construction of dry-stone walls could not have been possible without a strong political system. In Gede, the political system, which was headed by sultans/kings in other city-states, existed. Furthermore, circumstantial evidence shows that when people live in one geographical area, there is usually a high possibility of conflicts. In the case of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede, the harmony could only have been maintained through stipulated rules and sanctions. To that end, the two

societies established strong political systems as they transitioned into sedentary and urban life.

The two societies also diversified their subsistence strategies through time and space. Thimlich Ohinga society transitioned from overreliance on livestock, hunting, and gathering to other modes of production, including fishing and crop farming. These changes meant that women became central in food production, and grains became central to their livelihoods. The major difference is that Thimlich Ohinga developed into a semi-egalitarian society while Gede became hierarchical. The archaeological evidence of Thimlich Ohinga, therefore, does not reflect any major class differences in terms of materials. For example, the archaeological evidence does not show any differential consumption of resources based on one social class. The pottery was all made locally, and the only difference was based on motifs, designs, and sizes. Secondly, the houses in Thimlich Ohinga were built using wattle and daub, irrespective of the individual social class. Overall, Thimlich Ohinga was self-sufficient rely almost entirely on itself for its subsistence.

Gede was a highly hierarchical society where class differences existed at almost all levels. The signatures for class hierarchies were more visible in Gede archaeological site. These signatures were reflected in ceramics, architectural designs, and imported goods, usage of spaces, funereally practices, and occupations. Therefore, the merchants and religious leaders enjoyed a life of affluence compared to ordinary people. In the case of continuities and discontinuities, Gede, superior material evidence shows more visible societal transformation through time and space. For instance, in Gede, it is easy to identify the

architecture transformation from wattle and daub to storehouses. Also, the development of complex structures and expansion of existing buildings such as the palace. The investment in public amenities in Gede is more conspicuous through time and space. Archaeological evidence shows that as Gede expanded.

8.6 Conclusion

The chapter has explored how Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites changed through space and time. In the chapter, attempts have been made to infer how some changes influenced gender and social hierarchies of the two societies under study. Notable changes include architectural development, demographic pressure and development of diversified subsistence strategies. The above changes created new spaces which were competed along gendered categories. Also, new opportunities and re-organization of economies of these two societies triggered renegotiation of social hierarchies in some instances. In the chapter attempts has been made to examine how those changes through time and space influenced gender and social hierarchies as manifested in archaeological record.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the entire study.

The first section gives a summary drawn from each chapter and key observations derived from each objective. It is followed by conclusions drawn from each research premise. Finally, recommendation on policy and possible areas of further investigation is succinctly documented.

9.2 Summary

Chapter one covers the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, justification, and significance of the study. In the background, the study has outlined the study's overall objective by examining social identities and their manifestation in the archaeological record. The statement of the problem has narrowed the area of interest which are covered in this dissertation. This includes the objectives that guided the study, research questions, and assumptions that were made. The chapter ends by justifying the study and contribution to the academy as well as its limitations.

The second chapter covers the literature review and theoretical framework. The literature review has been examined in relation to social identities with an emphasis on gender and social hierarchies. To that end, different studies on gender and social hierarchies have been examined, and possible gaps have been identified. Therefore, social identities work in archaeology has been narrowed to the East Africa region, where different debates and previous works have been examined. The chapter ends by outlining the theoretical

framework which was used to contextualize the social identities in the archaeological record. That is, how social identities were formed and expressed through space and time and implications on material records.

Chapter three covers research design, data collection methods, sampling techniques, and ethical considerations. The chapter justifies why the study employed mixed design and several methods employed in data collection. Since the study was comparative, the chapter explains why data collection, such as excavation, was undertaken only on Gede. Also, the details of why the study relied on desktop research as part of data collection have been discussed. The excavation of the Gede archaeological site, including the areas and rationale, is discussed in more detail in this chapter. Moreover, the chapter discusses the importance of ethnoarchaeological methods in contextualizing material evidence from the two sites' understudy. Most importantly, the chapter highlights the importance of incorporating methods and theoretical paradigms supported by processual and post-processual theorists.

Chapter four presents the results of my analysis of archaeological materials from Nairobi, Fort Jesus, and Gede Museums excavated from the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede sites. Data discussed in this chapter include ceramics, iron tools, jewelry, stone tools, and beads. These artifacts were examined to infer how they were used to express gender and social identities in both Thimlich Ohinga and Gede sites. Second, an extensive survey of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological site data is also presented in this chapter. The survey, including the architecture, settlement patterns, and usage of private and public spaces in relation to gender and social hierarchies, have also been discussed. The data

presented was excavated from the three houses-inside and outer walls of Gede. In the second phase of this chapter, I discuss data in relation to how is reflective it is on how gender and social hierarchies were expressed in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede societies. Therefore, attempts are made to infer how materials such as beads and ceramics show gender and social hierarchies. In addition, it is demonstrated how such features as architecture and usage of public and private spaces are reflective of gender roles and social identities. This chapter answers parts of objectives two, three, and four.

Chapter five discusses debates concerning gender archaeology with an emphasis on the East Africa region. This chapter traces gender archaeology from the 1980s when Conkey and Spector (1984) lamented about the invisibility of women in antiquity in the seminal paper "engendering the past." Nonetheless, almost four decades later, gender archaeology still illicit emotions in the discipline. This emanates from some schools of thoughts believing that feminist archaeologists aim to insert women's roles in the past or by magnifying their activities through historical revisionism. Therefore, in this chapter, I argue that methods formulated by processual archaeologists are effective to some extent in examining gender identities in material form. That is, they can trace materials associated with gender, social hierarchy, ethnicity, sex, and age, among other social categories. However, disparities in women's contributions in antiquity arise from the interpretation bias. Thus, in the chapter, I suggest incorporating post-processual techniques of contextualizing data as well as feminist ideas while interpreting data. Therefore, gender identity signatures such as mortuary data, dietary patterns, architecture, usage of spaces, and division of labor, among others, are effective in understudying gender dynamics in antiquity. Moreover, ethnoarchaeological methods should be

employed where possible for contextualizing material evidence associated with gender. This chapter addresses objective 1.

The sixth chapter discusses archaeological evidence that shows gender dynamics in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. As such, gender signatures in both sites, such as architecture, dietary patterns, funerary practices, and division of labor, are discussed in more detail in this chapter. So, attempts are made to also incorporate ethnoarchaeological data in contextualizing archaeological data in the above two sites. The chapter also demonstrates the effects of demographic pressure, subsistence diversification, and trade intensification on gender dynamics in the above two sites. Most importantly, comparisons are made in the above two sites regarding how development influences the re-negotiation and reconfiguration of the above two sites. Since the two sites differed in complexity, this chapter highlights how gendered material signatures in Thimlich Ohinga are less visible compared to Gede. Based on the above observation. Thus, ethnoarchaeological data is important in understanding gender dynamics in societies such as Thimlich Ohinga. Also, in Gede, an important observation is made concerning gender, especially women's visibility in the archaeological record. That is, as women were incorporated into the Gede economy, they became more visible in the archaeological record. This information was key in interpreting archaeology using middle-range theories (processual and post-processual archaeology).

Chapter seven examines the social hierarchies of both the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites as reflected in the archaeological site. Therefore, attempts are made to show how social status was formed, maintained, re-negotiated, and changed over time

and space. Therefore, this chapter concentrates on social hierarchies and their implication in the material record. Thus, the chapter concentrates on materials that are expressive of social status in the two sites under study. These materials include architectural designs, exotic materials, dietary patterns, and mortuary data, among other indicators. This chapter attempts to identify social hierarchies where the material difference could be more obvious across social classes in the archaeological record. This is done by concentrating more on other indicators of social hierarchies. For example, architectural designs may not give insights into social hierarchies since all houses were made using wattle and daub. However, the number of houses in one homestead, the size of cattle pens, and the quantity of pottery and other materials are the best indicators of social identities in those sights. Some of the problems ascertaining certain materials to social hierarchies have been highlighted. For instance, in Gede, foreign ceramics were associated with the elites. Nonetheless, in some excavations, these foreign ceramics were found even in wattle and daub houses hence casting doubt on their correlation with the affluent people in the community. Based on the above findings, this chapter theorized that some exotic materials had other values, including religion- making acquiring them necessary. This chapter, therefore, addresses objective three.

Chapter eight explores how gender and social hierarchies changed in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. The chapter discusses how Thimlich Ohinga and Gede's societies changed over time and the implications on gender and social hierarchies. Notably, economic development created new resources to be contested by different social identities. For instance, the intensification of international trade revolutionized gender roles and forced the re-negotiation of social hierarchies. For example, acquiring ivory,

leopards' skins, rhinoceros' horns, and other coveted game items for foreign markets increased the prestige associated with hunting. Also, the rise of demand for locally produced materials such as pottery, iron tools, and grains directly impacted the social hierarchies of Gede society. Most importantly, the chapter highlights how commercializing some activities that women exclusively carried out led to their empowerment, reflected in trading goods in Gede. The chapter addresses the final objective (4).

9.3 Conclusions

This dissertation aimed to explore the gender and social hierarchies of Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites from various records. To that end, attempts were made to examine the importance of different materials in reconstructing social identities in antiquity. As such, this study was anchored on the hypothesis that social identities often entail (in) the accessibility of certain materials. Therefore, examining material remains makes it possible to correlate social identities with specific materials. The above assumptions were complemented by ethnoarchaeological data from Luo and Swahili communities from Migori and Lamu County. This data was used to contextualize materials associated with gender and social hierarchies from Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. In conclusion, this dissertation was guided by four objectives;

The first objective was to explore how gender can be examined archaeologically. In this chapter, this dissertation concentrated on major arguments concerning how to identify gender in antiquity. A critical review of existing theoretical, conceptual, and methodological perspectives and the results of this study show that gender identities are

manifested in archaeological material remains. I, therefore, concluded that by employing multivariate methods as theorized by processual, post-processual, and feminist perspectives, it is possible to identify gender dynamics in antiquity. The previous arguments that methods of studying gender in antiquity made women's roles invisible are negated by this study. This study considered that the problem was in the interpretation rather than methodology.

The second objective was to identify gender as a part of social identity in the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. It was established that gender as a social identity was reflected in material form in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede societies. Moreover, archaeological evidence, in some instances, influenced gender (in) accessibility to certain resources and spaces. In that regard, certain materials were used by specific gender in both sites under study. In comparison, it was evident that Gede had more gender-specific materials as compared to Thimlich Ohinga, as hypothesized in this study. The reason is that as society becomes more complex, they produce more specialized groups for their social groups, including gender, at least in the past. This is why Gede had a more gendered material culture. I, therefore, that complexity leads to the visibility of gender signatures in material culture.

The third objective was investigating social hierarchies in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. The key findings show that there were certain material indicators for social hierarchy in both sites. Also, some of the materials were of high value, but they had other purposes, such as rituals; hence they cut across irrespective of the individual class. As observed from the results of object two concerning gender and complex society,

the same principle applied while examining social hierarchy in both sites. That is, social hierarchies were more visible in the archaeological data of Gede as compared to Thimlich Ohinga.

Lastly, the last objective aimed to document both sites' change and continuity through space and time. The key findings show that factors such as subsistence diversification, trade intensification, demographic pressure, technological development, and other factors directly impacted social identities, especially gender and social hierarchies in Thimlich Ohinga and Gede societies. The study, therefore, concludes that as new resources/opportunities become available, social groups within the above societies reconfigured to accommodate those changes.

9.4 Recommendations

In this section, I highlight some of the recommendations for future social identity scholars in the Thimlich Ohinga and Gede archaeological sites. Also, methodological paradigms which are currently employed here and elsewhere while examining gender and social hierarchies, especially in semi-egalitarian societies in antiquity.

- i. Employing multiple methods, including ethnography, in exploring social identities. As, ethnography can be used to explain the presence or absence of certain materials associated with gender and social hierarchies.
- ii. More research be carried out on gender in antiquity using processual and post-processual methods, as well as addressing feminist concerns. In other words, how can archaeologists rely on material evidence and remain objective without generalizing how gender identities were formed and expressed in the past?

- iii. To find out possible signatures of social hierarchies in egalitarian and semi-egalitarian societies. That is, societies where architectural designs, dietary patterns, funeral practices, and subsistence strategies are almost similar.
- iv. More research be conducted on shifting status depending on space based on individual identity and the implication this had on material record especially in complex societies such as Gede. The aim is to develop methods that can be used to explore material cultures that are reflected in archaeological records, which are fluid and dynamic in nature.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Thimlich Ohinga Bones Analyses

Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) and Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI)¹ identified in Trenches 1 at Thimlich Ohinga

Taxonomic Attribution	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N			
Taxonomic Attribution	I	M	I	M	I	M	I	M	I	M	I	M	I	M	I	M			
Taxonomic Attribution	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N			
Taxonomic Attribution	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I			
CLASS AVES																			
Charadriiformes,	1	1													2	1			
Galliformes.	4	5					3	1			1	1			8	5			
Passeriformes	7	2													7	2			
Bird indet.	1														1				
	1	-			2	-	1	-					3	1	1	1	8	2	
CLASS MAMMALIA																			
<u>Artiodactyla/Bovidae</u>																			
<u>Alcelaphini</u>																			
<i>Alcelaphus</i> (hartebeest) or <i>Damaliscus</i> (topi)															7	1		7	1

Appendix 2 General Characteristics Pottery in Thimlich Ohinga

Site code	Context	Thickness	Abrasion	Material	Motif execution
GJBT10	0-10cm	10.41cm	slight	Fine clay	rough
GJBT10	0-10cm	10.16cm	medium	Fine quartz	rough
GJBT10	0-10cm	6.81cm	medium	Organic	careless
GJBT10	0-10cm	8.81cm	slight	Fine clay	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	9.96cm	medium	Quartz	careless
GJBT10	0-10cm	9.93cm	medium	Organic clay	careless
GJBT10	0-10cm	6.56cm	medium	Clay	careless
GJBT10	0-10cm	9.79cm	slight	Organic clay	careless
GJBT10	0-10cm	7.07cm	slight	Organic clay	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	9.11cm	slight	Organic clay	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	7.1cm	slight	Fine quartz	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	7.11cm	slight	Fine quartz	rough
GJBT10	0-10cm	8.11cm	slight	Organic clay	rough

GJBT10	10-20cm	6.87cm	slight	Organic clay	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	7.33cm	slight	Clay	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	5.72cm	maximum	Fine quartz	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	8.51cm	maximum	Fine quartz	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	6.61cm	slight	Fine quartz	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	6.58cm	slight	Organic clay	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	6.19cm	slight	Fine quartz	rough
GJBT10	0-10cm	8.44cm	slight	Fine quartz	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	6.61cm	slight	Fine quartz	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	6.58cm	slight	Organic clay	neat
GJBT10	0-10cm	6.19cm	slight	Fine quartz	rough
GJBT10	0-10cm	8.44cm	slight	Fine quartz	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	8.66cm	slight	Fine quartz	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	6.75cm	medium	Fine quartz	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	8.24cm	medium	Fine quartz	rough
GJBT10	10-20cm	7.74cm	medium	Quartz clay	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	9.06cm	slight	Organic clay	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	6.75cm	medium	Quartz clay	rough

GJBT10	10-20cm	9.28cm	medium	Quartz clay	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	10.09cm	maximum	Quartz clay	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	7.86cm	maximum	Quartz clay	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	8.47cm	medium	Quartz clay	neat
GJBT10	10-20cm	7.92cm	slight	Quartz clay	neat

Appendix 3 Usage of Pottery in Thimlich Ohinga

Site Code	Context	Thickness	Decoration Technique	Use Evidence	Motif Interval	Motive execution	Abreations
GBTJ10	0-10cm	10.78	Incised	Cooking	1.4	Rough	Medium
GBTJ10	0-10cm	10.61	Incised	storage	1.51	neat	Medium
GBTJ10	0-10cm	7.57	Incised	cooking	1.54	neat	Medium
GBTJ10	0-10cm	12.98	Incised	Cooking	1.69	rough	Maximum
GBTJ10	0-10cm	11.44	Incised	Storage	1.79	neat	Slight
GBTJ10	0-10cm	10.95	Incised	Cooking	1.92	neat	Slight
GBTJ10	0-10cm	9.43	Incised	Cooking	2.07	neat	Slight
GBTJ10	0-10cm	10.34	Incised	Cooking	2.17	rough	Maximum
GBTJ10	0-10cm	6.46	Incised	Cooking	2.23	rough	Medium
GBTJ10	0-10cm	8.07	Incised	Cooking	2.36	Rough	Slight
GBTJ10	10-20cm	8.35	Punctuated	Storage	2.39	Neat	Slight
GBTJ10	10-20cm	10.71	Punctuated	Storage	2.74	Neat	Medium
GBTJ10	10-20cm	8.42	Punctuated	Storage	2.81	Neat	Slight
GBTJ10	10-20cm	9.36	Incised	Storage	2.9	Rough	Slight
GBTJ10	10-20cm	9.74	Punctuated	Cooking	3	Neat	Slight
GBTJ10	10-20cm	7.09	Punctuated	Cooking	3.12	Neat	Slight
GBTJ10	10-20cm	8.55	Incised	Cooking	3.24	Rough	Medium
GBTJ10	10-20cm	8.07	Punctuated	Cooking	3.54	Rough	Slight
GBTJ10	10-20cm	9.8	Incised	Cooking	4.35	Neat	Maximum

Appendix 4 Lithics Analyses Thimlich Ohinga

SASES NO	Raw Material	Flake Type	Level	Width	Length	Thickness
GTJB10	Chert	Angular	0-10 cm	7.79	18.04	2.34
GTJB10	Obsidian	Angular	0-10 cm	15.93	23.12	7.09
GTJBTP	Rhyolite	Flake	0-10 cm	20.18	29.18	11.2
GTJB10	Chert	Flake	10-20 cm	22	234	8
GBTBT0	Quartz	Flake	10-20 cm	16.62	31.29	9.76
GBTBT0	Quartz	Angular	10— 20cm	22.82	18.49	12.6
GBTBT0	Quartz	Flake	10-20cm	16.61	31.29	9.76
GBTBT0	Chert	flake	20-30cm	24	36	9
GBTBT0	Obsidian	Flake	20-30cm	32	43	10
GBTBT0	Rhyolite	flake	20-30cm	20.43	28.84	8.43
GBTBT0	Quartz	angular	20-30cm	12.72	18.02	4.21
GBTBT0	Cherts	scraper	20-30cm	12.27	15.66	2.23
GBTBT0	Basalt	core	20-30cm	67.23	92.22	22.29
GBTBT0	Quartz	Flake	30-40cm	20	26	8
GBTBT0	Quartz	Flake	30-40 cm	12	19	6
GBTBT0	Rhyolite	Flake	30-40cm	25	28	12
GBTBT0	Quartz	Flake	30-40 cm	20	24	7
GBTBT0	Rhyolite	core	40-50cm	36	40	12
GBTBT0	Quartz	Angular	40-50cm	17	19	4
GBTBT0	Basalt	Core	40-50cm	35.34	55.86	10.76
GBTBT0	Quartz	Core	40-50cm	21.26	33.86	18
GBTBT0	Quartz	angular	50-60cm	11	15	5
GBTBT0	Quartz	angular	50-60cm	11	16	4
GBTBT0	Quartz	Core	50-60cm	50	55	28

Appendix 5 Beads Analysis Thimlich Ohinga

SASES NO	RAW MATERIAL	LEVEL	COLOR	SHAPE	THICKNESS (mm)	INTERNAL DIAMETER (mm)	EXTERNAL DIAMETER (mm)
GTJB	Plastic	0-10cm	Red	Cylindrical/whole	1.58	1.16	3.83
GTJB	Plastic	10-20 cm	Royal Blue	Rounded Whole	1.79	1.33	6.02
GTJB	Plastic	10-20cm	Yellow	Rounded/Whole	1.06	2.02	5.25
GTJB	Plastic	30-40cm	Cyan	Rounded/Whole	3.54	3.58	10.04
GTJB	Plastic	30-40 cm	Royal Blue	Rounded/broken	3.18	2.62	8.8
GTJB	Plastic	30-40cm	Royal Blue	Rounded /Broken	3.44	1.41	5.02
GTJB	Plastic	30-40cm	Cyan	Sphere/whole	0.58	1.44	4.75
GTJB	Glass	30-40cm	Teal	Rounded/whole	2.54	3.88	8.49
GTJB	Plastic	30-40cm	white	Rounded/whole	1.68	2.3	8.23
GTJB	Plastic	30-40cm	Persian Blue	Rounded/whole	1.7	3.37	8.66
GTJB	Plastic	30-40cm	Persian/Blue	Rounded/whole	2.21	2.33	7.72
GTJB	Plastic	30-40cm	Red	Cylindrical	1.18	0.42	3.32
GTJB	Plastic	30-40cm	Yellow	Rounded/whole	1.12	2.13	4.76
GTJB	Glass	40-50cm	Honey Orange	Rounded/broken	3.29	6.81	11.52
GTJB	Glass	40-50cm	Honey Orange	Rounded/broken	3.1	6.98	12.01
GTJB	Plastic	40-50cm	Tea Blue	Rounded /broken	2.85	3.57	8.84
GTJB	Plastic	40-50cm	Tea Blue	Rounded/Broken	2.9	2.62	8.7
GTJB	Plastic	40-50 cm	Persia Blue	Rounded/Broken	1.2	1.93	5.6
GTJB	Plastic	40-50cm	Red	Cylindrical /whole	1.58	1.16	3.83

Appendix 6 Gede Bones Assemblages

TRENCH NO.	LEVEL	COUNTS				OTHER NOTES
		FISH	BIRD	BOVID	DIFFICULT TO KNOW (VERY SMALL AND FRAGILE)	
1	1	0	0	5		
1	2	0	0	4		
1	3	62	2	63		
1	4	5	3	8		
1	5	3	0	2		
1	8	6	0	2		
1	12	10	0	1		
2	1	0	1	3	2	
2	2	0	0	5	0	
2	3	0	0	1	0	
2	5	1	3	10	2	
2	6	3	1	12	10	
2	7	6	4	10	0	Bovids bones are very fragile
2	8	More than 200	0	14	More than 100	
2	9	82	4	3	37	
2	10	38	0	1	52	
3	1	0	2	0		
3	3	1	1	0		
3	4	0	0	1		
3	5	15	1	3		
3	7	0	0	2		
3	8	1	1	0		
3	9	10	1	1		
3	10	11	3	6		
4	1	0	0	1	-	
4	3	0	0	3	-	
4	4	0	0	0	8	
4	5	1	0	0	-	
4	6	4	5	5	-	
4	7	70	2	14	19	
4	8	20	0	7	1	
4	9	15	0	1	14	
5	1	8	0	7	-	
5	2	33	4	42	3	
5	3	23	4	8	18	
5	4	42	0	3	15	

5	5	7	3	0	10	
5	6	14	4	3	7	
5	8	21	0	8	2	
5	9	8	1	3	6	
5	10	21	2	11	35	
5	11	45	8	5	62	
5	12	60	10	3	96	
5	13	34	4	12	53	
5	14	2	0	4	8	
5	15	14	1	3	18	
5	16	3	0	0	27	
5	17	20	0	10	33	
5	18	9	3	7	3	
5	19	4	2	0	1	
5	20	13	3	10	8	
5	22	10	4	22	41	
5	23	32	7	15	43	
5	24	8	2	7	21	
5	25	10	4	6	4	
5	26	1	0	0	1	
5	28	2	0	0	0	
6	1	17	4	12	14	
6	2	2	0	3	0	
6	3	3	0	2	1	
6	5	1	3	3	0	
6	6	0	0	8	0	
6	7	0	0	2	0	
6	8	1	5	7	2	
6	9	0	2	3	0	

Appendix 7 : Gede Imported Ceramics

ASSESSION NO.	TRENCH NO.	LEVEL	SHERD TYPE	SHERD DESCRIPTION	ORIGIN	OTHER NOTES
GD22-001	1	1	Body	Blue and white porcelain	China	Too tiny
GD22-002	1	2	BODY	Blue and white porcelain	China	
GD22-003	1	2	Rim	Blue and white porcelain	China	
GD22-004	1	2	Base	Blue and white porcelain	China	
GD22-005	1	3	Body	Blue and white porcelain	China	
GD22-006	1	3	Neck/shoulder	Tin glazed Blue and white	Persian/middle Eastern	An imitation of Chinese blue and white
GD22-007	1	3	Rim	Bluish grey glazed Islamic pottery	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-008	1	4	Body	Greyish glaze on a yellowish cream body	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-009	1	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-010	1	5	Body	Green glaze celadon	China	
GD22-011	2	4	Body	Creamy yellow body	Persian/middle Eastern	The glaze is washed out
GD22-012	2	4	Body	Islamic green	Persian/middle Eastern	

				monochrome stone ware		
GD22-013	2	4	Rim	Blue Islamic monochrome	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-014	2	4	Body	Black Islamic monochrome	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-015	2	4	Body	White stoneware	China	
GD22-016	2	4	Body	White stoneware	China	
GD22-017	2	5	Base	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-018	2	5	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-019	2	5	Body	Green glazed celadon	China/south east Asia	
GD22-020	2	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-021	2	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-022	2	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-023	2	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-024	2	6	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-025	2	6	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	

GD22-026	2	6	Body	Green glazes celadon	China	
GD22-027	2	6	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian /middle eastern	
GD22-028	2	6	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-029	2	7	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-030	2	7	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-031	2	7	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-032	2	7	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian /middle eastern	
GD22-033	2	7	body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-034	2	8	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-035	2	8	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-036	2	8	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-037	2	8	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	

GD22-038	2	9	Body	Islamic blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-039	2	9	Body	Cream body	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-040	2	10	Base	Green glazed celadon	China/south east Asia	
GD22-041	2	10	Rim	Blue Islamic monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-042	2	10	Body	Blue Islamic monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-043	3	9	Rim	Olive green glaze on a brown body.	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-043	4	3	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-044	4	5	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-045	4	6	Base	Islamic Turquoise Blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-046	4	6	Body	Yellowish monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-047	4	6	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-048	4	7	Rim	Green glazed monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-049	4	7	Body	Yellowish green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-050	4	7	Body	Islamic ware	Persian/middle eastern	Difficult to see the glaze color

GD22-051	4	7	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-052	4	7	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-053	4	7	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-054	5	2	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-055	5	2	Body	Blue and white porcelain	China/south east Asia	
GD22-056	5	2	Body	Blue and white porcelain	China/south east Asia	
GD22-057	5	2	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-058	5	2	Rim	White on Cobalt Opaque-Glazed Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-059	5	2	Body	Stoneware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-060	5	3	Rim	Blue and white	China	
GD22-061	5	3	Rim	Blue and white	China	
GD22-062	5	3	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-063	5	3	Body	Islamic Blue and White Under glaze-Painted Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-064	5	3	Body	Stoneware	Persian/middle eastern	

GD22-065	5	3	Body	White on Cobalt Opaque-Glazed Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-066	5	4	Body	Blue and white	China/south east Asia	
GD22-066	5	5	Body	The glaze has been washed	Persian/middle eastern	Difficult to know type
GD22-067	5	5	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-068	5	5	Base	Polychrome Splashed Glazed Ware - Cream Body	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-069	5	7	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-070	5	7	Body	Qingbai ware	China	
GD22-071	5	8	Rim	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-072	5	8	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-073	5	8	Body	Washed	Persian/middle eastern	Difficult to know
GD22-074	5	8	Body	Shallow green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-075	5	9	Body	Islamic blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-076	5	10	Rim	Green glazed Celadon	China	
GD22-077	5	12	Rim	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	

GD22-078	5	12	Body	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-079	5	12	Body	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-080	5	12	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-081	5	12	Body	Creamy body	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-082	5	12	Body	Yue celadon	China	
GD22-083	5	12	Body	Yue celadon	China	
GD22-084	5	14	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-085	5	15	Rim	Yue celadon	China	
GD22-086	5	16	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-087	5	16	Body	Olive green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-088	5	16	Body	Black slip on Yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-089	5	17	Rim	Yue celadon	China	
GD22-090	5	17	base	Green glazed celadon	China/south east Asia	
GD22-091	5	17	Body	Monochrome yellow Sgraffiato	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-092	5	17	Rim	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-093	5	17	Body	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-094	5	17	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-095	5	17	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	

GD22-096	5	18	Body	Green glazed celadon	China/south east Asia	
GD22-097	5	18	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-098	5	21	Body	Olive green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-099	5	22	Rim	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-100	5	23	Rim/body	Olive green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-101	5	23	Body	Olive green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-102	5	23	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-103	5	23	Rim	Olive green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-104	5	23	Rim	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-105	5	23	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-106	5	25	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-107	5	25	Body	Monochrome yellow Sgraffiato	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-108-GD-119	6	1	Body and rims	A storage jar. The glaze is washed out	Persian/middle eastern	12 pieces of sherds from the same vessel
GD22-120	6	1	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-121	6	1	Body	Qingbai ware	China	

GD22-122-GD-125	6	1	3 Rims and 1 body sherds	Blue and White Under glaze-Painted ware with small holes probably a repair holes.	Persian/middle eastern	They are all belong to the same vessel together with GD22-126-GD22-127. They can be reconstructed.
GD22-126	6	2	Rim	Islamic Blue and White Under glaze-Painted Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-127	6	2	Body	Islamic Blue and White Under glaze-Painted Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-128	6	2	Body	Islamic blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-129	6	2	Rim	Islamic blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-130	6	2	Body	Green glazed stoneware	China?	
GD22-131	6	2	Body	Green glazed stoneware	China?	
GD22-132	6	2	Body	Green glazed stoneware	China?	
GD22-133	6	3	Body	white ware	China	
GD22-134	6	3	Body	White ware	China	

GD22-135	6	3	Body	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-136	6	3	Rim	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-137	6	4	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-138	6	6	Body	Very thin grey body ware	India	
GD22-139	6	8	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-140	6	10	Rim	Blue Islamic monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-141	6	10	Rim	Greyish glazed celadon	China	

Appendix 8 Local Pottery Ceramics

	square	Type of artefact	Description	Possible usage
Gd01	a	Rim	Plain	Storage
Gd02	a	Body	Finger impression	Storage
Gd03	a	Rim	Oblique incision	Storage
Gd04	a	Body	Horizontal incision	Cooking
Gd05	a	Rim	Plain	Storage
Gd06	a	Rim	Horizontal incision	Storage
Gd07	a	Body	Plain	Storage
Gd08	a	Rim	Plain	
Gd09	a	Rim	Line incision	
Gd10	a	Rim	Plain	Cooking
Gd11	a	Body	Continuous stabs	
Gd12	a	Body	Continuous stabs	Storage
Gd13	a	Body	Horizontal incision	Cooking
Gd14	a	Rim	Finger impression	
Gd15	a	Rim	Plain	
Gd16	a	Rim	Plain	
Gd17	a	Body	Plain	
Gd18	a	Body	Plain	Storage
Gd19	a	Rim	Horizontal line incision	
Gd20	a	Body	Plain	
Gd21	a	Body	Horizontal line incision	
Gd22	a	Body	Plain	
Gd23	a	Rim		Storage
Gd24	a	Rim	Plain	Cooking
Gd25	a	Rim		
Gd26	a	Rim		Storage
Gd27	a	Rim		
Gd28	a	Rim	Plain	

Gd29	a	Body		
Gd30	a	Rim		
Gd31	a	Rim		Storage
Gd32	a	Belly		Storage
Gd33	a	Rim/neck		
Gd34	a	Body	Discontinuous stabs	
Gd35	a	Body	Plain	
Gd36	a	Body	Plain	
Gd37	a	Rim/neck	Continuous stabs	Storage
Gd38	a	Body		
Gd39	a	Body	Diagonal incision	
Gd40	a	Body	Plain	
Gd41	a	Rim/neck	Grass line incision	
Gd42	a	Rim		
Gd43	a	Rim	Finger impression	Cooking
Gd44	a	Body	Grass impression	
Gd45	a	Body	Finger impression	
Gd46	a	Rim		
Gd47	a	Body	Thumb nail stab	
Gd48	a	Rim		
Gd49	a	Rim	Diagonal incision	
Gd50	a	Rim		Storage
Gd51	a	Rim	Single diagonal incision	Cooking
Gd52	a	Body	Deep single and short incision	
Gd53	a	Rim		Storage
Gd54	a	Body		
Gd55	a	Body	Oblique incision	
Gd56	a	Rim	Oblique incision	

Gd57	a	Rim	Thumb nail impression	
Gd58	a	Rim		
Gd59	a	Rim	Small diagonal incision	
Gd60	a	Rim		
Gd61	a	Rim		
Gd62	a	Body	Single horizontal incision	
Gd63	a	Body	Finger impression	Cooking
Gd64	a	Rim		Cooking
Gd65	a	Rim		
Gd66	a	Rim		Storage
Gd67	a	Body	Single horizontal incision	
Gd68	a	Rim	Single horizontal incised	
Gd69	a	Rim		
Gd70	b	Rim		
Gd71	b	Body	Finger impression	
Gd72	b	Body		Storage
Gd73	b	Body	Oblique incision	
Gd74	b	Shoulder	Diagonal incision	Brewing
Gd75	b	Rim		ss
Gd76	b	Rim		Storage
Gd77	b	Base		Cooking
Gd78	b	Body		
Gd79	b	Body	Grass impression	Cooking
Gd80	b	Body	Continuous stabs and cross hatching	
Gd81	b	Body	Straight line incised	
Gd82	b	Rim/neck	Finger impression	

Gd83	b	Body	Small triangle incision	
Gd84	b	Rim		Cooking
Gd85	b	Body	Grass impression	
Gd86	b	Rim	Horizontal line incision	
Gd87	b	Body		
Gd88	b	Shoulder	Triangular punctuate with oblique incision	
Gd89	b	Rim		
Gd90	b	Body	Single horizontal line incision	
Gd91	b	Rim		
Gd92	b	Rim		Storage
Gd93	b	Rim	Single line incision	
Gd94	b	Rim	Cross hatching on top of rim	Storage
Gd95	b	Body	Oblique incision	
Gd96	b	Body	Small marks inside	

Appendix 9 Gede Beads Analysis

ASSESSION NO.	TRENCH NO.	LEVEL	SHERD TYPE	SHERD DESCRIPTION	ORIGIN	OTHER NOTES
GD22-001	1	1	Body	Blue and white porcelain	China	Too tiny
GD22-002	1	2	BODY	Blue and white porcelain	China	
GD22-003	1	2	Rim	Blue and white porcelain	China	
GD22-004	1	2	Base	Blue and white porcelain	China	
GD22-005	1	3	Body	Blue and white porcelain	China	
GD22-006	1	3	Neck/shoulder	Tin glazed Blue and white	Persian/middle Eastern	An imitation of Chinese blue and white
GD22-007	1	3	Rim	Bluish grey glazed Islamic pottery	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-008	1	4	Body	Greyish glaze on a yellowish cream body	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-009	1	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-010	1	5	Body	Green glaze celadon	China	
GD22-011	2	4	Body	Creamy yellow body	Persian/middle Eastern	The glaze is washed out
GD22-012	2	4	Body	Islamic green monochrome stone ware	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-013	2	4	Rim	Blue Islamic monochrome	Persian /middle Eastern	
GD22-014	2	4	Body	Black Islamic monochrome	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-015	2	4	Body	White stoneware	China	
GD22-016	2	4	Body	White stoneware	China	
GD22-017	2	5	Base	Green glazed celadon	China	

GD22-018	2	5	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-019	2	5	Body	Green glazed celadon	China/ south east Asia	
GD22-020	2	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-021	2	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian /middle eastern	
GD22-022	2	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-023	2	5	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-024	2	6	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-025	2	6	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-026	2	6	Body	Green glazes celadon	China	
GD22-027	2	6	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian /middle eastern	
GD22-028	2	6	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-029	2	7	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-030	2	7	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-031	2	7	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-032	2	7	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian /middle eastern	
GD22-033	2	7	body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-034	2	8	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-035	2	8	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-036	2	8	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-037	2	8	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-038	2	9	Body	Islamic blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	

GD22-039	2	9	Body	Cream body	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-040	2	10	Base	Green glazed celadon	China/south east Asia	
GD22-041	2	10	Rim	Blue Islamic monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-042	2	10	Body	Blue Islamic monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-043	3	9	Rim	Olive green glaze on a brown body.	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-043	4	3	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-044	4	5	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-045	4	6	Base	Islamic Turquoise Blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-046	4	6	Body	Yellowish monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-047	4	6	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-048	4	7	Rim	Green glazed monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-049	4	7	Body	Yellowish green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-050	4	7	Body	Islamic ware	Persian/middle eastern	Difficult to see the glaze color
GD22-051	4	7	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-052	4	7	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-053	4	7	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-054	5	2	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-055	5	2	Body	Blue and white porcelain	China/south east Asia	
GD22-056	5	2	Body	Blue and white porcelain	China/ south east Asia	
GD22-057	5	2	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	

GD22-058	5	2	Rim	White on Cobalt Opaque-Glazed Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-059	5	2	Body	Stoneware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-060	5	3	Rim	Blue and white	China	
GD22-061	5	3	Rim	Blue and white	China	
GD22-062	5	3	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-063	5	3	Body	Islamic Blue and White Under glaze-Painted Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-064	5	3	Body	Stoneware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-065	5	3	Body	White on Cobalt Opaque-Glazed Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-066	5	4	Body	Blue and white	China/south east Asia	
GD22-066	5	5	Body	The glaze has been washed	Persian/middle eastern	Difficult to know type
GD22-067	5	5	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-068	5	5	Base	Polychrome Splashed Glazed Ware - Cream Body	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-069	5	7	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-070	5	7	Body	Qingbai ware	China	
GD22-071	5	8	Rim	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-072	5	8	Rim	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-073	5	8	Body	Washed	Persian/middle eastern	Difficult to know
GD22-074	5	8	Body	Shallow green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-075	5	9	Body	Islamic blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-076	5	10	Rim	Green glazed Celadon	China	
GD22-077	5	12	Rim	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	

GD22-078	5	12	Body	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-079	5	12	Body	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-080	5	12	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-081	5	12	Body	Creamy body	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-082	5	12	Body	Yue celadon	China	
GD22-083	5	12	Body	Yue celadon	China	
GD22-084	5	14	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-085	5	15	Rim	Yue celadon	China	
GD22-086	5	16	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-087	5	16	Body	Olive green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-088	5	16	Body	Black slip on Yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-089	5	17	Rim	Yue celadon	China	
GD22-090	5	17	base	Green glazed celadon	China/south east Asia	
GD22-091	5	17	Body	Monochrome yellow Sgraffiato	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-092	5	17	Rim	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-093	5	17	Body	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-094	5	17	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-095	5	17	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-096	5	18	Body	Green glazed celadon	China/south east Asia	
GD22-097	5	18	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle Eastern	
GD22-098	5	21	Body	Olive green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-099	5	22	Rim	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-100	5	23	Rim/body	Olive green glazed celadon	China	

GD22-101	5	23	Body	Olive green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-102	5	23	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-103	5	23	Rim	Olive green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-104	5	23	Rim	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-105	5	23	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-106	5	25	Body	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-107	5	25	Body	Monochrome yellow Sgraffiato	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-108-GD-119	6	1	Body and rims	A storage jar. The glaze is washed out	Persian/middle eastern	12 pieces of sherds from the same vessel
GD22-120	6	1	Rim	Green glazed celadon	China	
GD22-121	6	1	Body	Qingbai ware	China	
GD22-122-GD-125	6	1	3 Rims and 1 body sherds	Blue and White Under glaze-Painted ware with small holes probably a repair holes.	Persian/middle eastern	They are all belong to the same vessel together with GD22-126-GD22-127. They can be reconstructed.
GD22-126	6	2	Rim	Islamic Blue and White Under glaze-Painted Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-127	6	2	Body	Islamic Blue and White Under glaze-Painted Ware	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-128	6	2	Body	Islamic blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-129	6	2	Rim	Islamic blue monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-130	6	2	Body	Green glazed stoneware	China?	

GD22-131	6	2	Body	Green glazed stoneware	China?	
GD22-132	6	2	Body	Green glazed stoneware	China?	
GD22-133	6	3	Body	white ware	China	
GD22-134	6	3	Body	White ware	China	
GD22-135	6	3	Body	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-136	6	3	Rim	Black slip on yellow	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-137	6	4	Body	Islamic green monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-138	6	6	Body	Very thin grey body ware	India	
GD22-139	6	8	Body	Yellow monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-140	6	10	Rim	Blue Islamic monochrome	Persian/middle eastern	
GD22-141	6	10	Rim	Greyish glazed celadon	China	

Appendix 10 Luo ethnographic Questionnaire

HouseHold Survey

Household Locaion

Interviewer

.....Date.....

Head of the Household Name..... Male.....
 Female.....Other (state).....

Other household occupatnts

Years	Gender	Private/shared Rooms
0-5		
5-11		
11-above		
Adults over 25		

House Design

Type of Materials used for building

Number of Rooms.....

Any specific gender spaces within the common room (sitting room)?.....

.

General House layout?.....

General Homestead layout

.....

Personalized Materials

Specific Materials for Men.
 (artifacts).....

.....

Specific Materials for
Women.(artifacts.....

.....

What are general Materials asociated with rich People (an
opinion).....

.....

Any materials that are only kept in one specific space within the house ?

.....

Which materials are expensive but necessarily (have maybe religious
importanc.....

.....

Which spaces are gender Specific within the house. (inclusive for family
members.....

.....

Division of Labor at Household Level in terms of
gender.....

.....

Any gendered trading activities and which items are
trade?.....

.....

Any Items that are bought for the household by specific
gender.....

.....

Who were
potters.....

.....

Process of pot making (acqusation of raw materies until final product

.....

Who were iron
smiths.....

.....

Briefly explain whole process of Iron making

.....

Who were boat
makers.....

Whole process of boat making

.....

Fishing process in terms who fish, who process, distribute in household level /or who sells in terms of gender

Any gendered space withing the homestead?.....

.....

Dietary Practice

Any animal parts which are gender specific

?.....

.....

Food preparations which are gender specific

?.....

.....

Any gender specific feasting areas in private homestead by family members?.....

.....

Any gender specifc feasting areas in public sphere

(ceremonies?).....

.....

Crops Grown in the region

English Name	Storage Period	Social implication
Sorghum		.
Finger Millet		
Sweet Potato		
Pumpkin		
Sesame		
Vegetables		
Peas		
Tobacco		
Hemp		
Beans		

Animal products (their Luo Names).....

.....

Their storage period

.....

Fish types.....

Any type of fish that is prestigious

.....

Storage period of these

fish.....

Inheritance in terms of who inherit what in terms of gender.....

.....

Burial Rituals based on individual

gender.....

Burial rituals based on an individual social

status.....

Appendix 11 Swahili Ethnography

HouseHold Survey

Household Locaion

Interviewer

.....Date.....

.....

Head of the Household Name..... Male.....

Female.....Other (state).....

Other household occupatnts

Years	Gender	Private/shared Rooms
0-5		
5-11		
11-above		
Adults over 25		

House Design

Type of Materials used for building

Number of

Rooms.....

Anys specific gender spaces within the common room (sitting room?).....

.....

Outside Toilets are they gender specific

?.....

General House

layout?.....

.....

Personalized Materials

Specific Materials for Men.....

.....

Specific Materials for

Women.....

What are general Materials asociated with rich People (an opinion).....

.....

Any materials that are only kept in one specific space within the house ?

.....

Which materials are expensive but necessarily (have maybe religious importanc.....

.....

Which spaces are gender Specific within the house. (inclusive for family members.....

.....

Division of Labor at Household Level in terms of gender.....

Any gendered trading activities and which items are trade?.....

.....

Any Items that are bought for the household by specific gender.....

Any private prayer room/mosque at the homestead?.....

.....

If there is mosque /prayer room is it gendered?.....

Any gendered space withing the homestead?.....

.....

Dietary Practice

Any animal parts which are gender specific ?.....

Food preparations which are gender specific ?.....

Any gender specific feasting areas in private homestead by family members?.....

.....

Any gender specific feasting areas in public sphere (ceremonies?).....

Appendix 12 Research Affiliation letter



14th April 2021

Ref: NMK/HRD/GVT/4

Mr. David Muthethegi, Maina
Kenyatta University
School of Humanities and Social Science
Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies

RE: RESEARCH AFFILIATION

I have received your request seeking affiliation to the National Museums of Kenya to carry out *proposed field and laboratory analysis on: "Rethinking materiality in social identities: archaeological perspective of Thimlich Ohinga and Gedi from 1000 ce-1900*. You will be affiliated with the archaeology section, Earth Sciences Department.

This affiliation will be for a period of **ONE year (1) from 14th April 2021 to 13th May, 2021**. During this period, you will be expected to conform to all institutional requirements as far as affiliation, use of facilities and collections is concerned. You will also be expected to forward to my office through the Head of Earth Sciences Department any reports and scientific publications on your present and future activities.

Yours Sincerely,



Mzalendo N. Kibunjia, PhD, EBS
Director General



Appendix 13 NACOSTI Report


Republic of Kenya
REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: 950034

Date of Issue: 24/December/2020

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Mr. david maina muthgeethi of Kenyatta University, has been licensed to conduct research in Migori, Mombasa on the topic: RETHINKING MATERIALITY IN SOCIAL IDENTITIES: ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THIMLICH OHINGA AND GEDI FROM1000 CE-1900 CE for the period ending : 24/December/2021.

License No: NACOSTI/P/20/8254

Applicant Identification Number: 950034

Director General
Walther Mombasa
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

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