Archaeology of Children

Arqueología de la infancia

Grete Lillehammer

Museum of Archaeology, University of Stavanger. 4036 Stavanger, Norway.
grete.lillehammer@uis.no

ABSTRACT

Archaeology of children is a relatively new field of research within archaeology. This article gives an overview of the advancement of the subject and discusses theoretical and methodological approaches applied to the study of children in the past, such as terminology and theory of childhood, and proposes an alternative approach to children and childhood. The many-faceted worlds of children and children's material culture are reconsidered from the perspective of phenomenology. Nature-culture relationships and spatial dimensions in the archaeology of children are explained with long-term perspectives for archaeology.

KEY WORDS: *Epistemology. Theory and method. Multi-dimensional approaches. Children's worlds.*

RESUMEN

La arqueología de la infancia es un campo de investigación relativamente nuevo en nuestra disciplina. Este artículo pretende ofrecer una visión general de los avances en esta temática y de las discusiones teóricas y aproximaciones metodológicas aplicadas al estudio de los niños y niñas en el pasado, tales como la terminología y la teoría sobre la infancia, y propone una mirada alternativa a la infancia y a los niños. El mundo de los niños tiene múltiples facetas que se reconsideran desde una perspectiva fenomenológica. Las relaciones entre naturaleza y cultura y las dimensiones espaciales de la arqueología de los niños se intentan explicar con la perspectiva a largo plazo para la arqueología.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Epistemología. Teoría y método. Aproximación multidimensional. El mundo de los niños.*

I wish I could see a wishing star.
I wish that I had magic in my hands,
that I was a real magician.
Yamikani, 7 years old, Zimbabwe
(Youngwood et al. 1999)

1. Exploring children in archaeology

The presence of children in the archaeological record is widely accepted (Scott 1999, Sofaer 2000). Despite the fact that children are completely ignored in the survey of key ideas in archaeology and that they have little impact on archaeological thinking and methods (Renfrew and Bahn 2005), there is an on-going discussion on what, how and where to take steps towards the archaeology of children (Callow 2006), and to encourage the study of children in archaeology amongst scholars (Crawford and Lewis 2008). In order to come to terms with what was evidently out there for everyone to see, and then to start acting upon it through academic research, the first calls for work on child-centred analyses in Scandinavia and beyond were heard, making archaeology aware of children in the past. The response was global (Bacvarov 2008). In theory and practice, many pre- and protohistoric studies have been engaged in developing theoretical frameworks and methods and have discussed the archaeological evidence, contexts, settings, backgrounds and horizons for exploring children as well as the material culture of children in the archaeological record.

A major step in this direction was the foundation, in 2005, of the Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past (SSCIP), an international, multidisciplinary society intended to promote and advance the field (http://www.sscip.org.uk). Under the umbrella of childhood studies, and covering a broad range of academic disciplines from all areas of study, the SSCIP may also touch upon the immature phase of the human lifecycle in the past (Crawford and Lewis 2008: 5). The founding of the SSCIP has opened the way for dialog and support for research worldwide. There is a certain degree of consistency in the use of the terms "child" and "childhood", yet obstacles to communication and potential for confusion have also arisen (Crawford and Lewis 2008: 7-8).

In archaeology, critics have highlighted the tendency in many studies to focus on the theoretical problems of children as cultural constructions, and upon the presence and absence of children within archaeology, rather than upon material evidence; i.e. those archaeological remains in the form of artefacts and constructions which could indicate the presence of children (Högberg 1999). In some, the criticism emphasises the children themselves and their experiences as the active agents (Sofaer 1994a, 2000, 2006a; Högberg 1999, 2001; Kamp 2001; Wilkie 2000; Baxter 2005; Rogersdotter 2008). In others, criticism is directed at the theoretical and methodological implications in perceiving children as little adults rather than human beings and individuals living in a present (Roveland 2000; Rogersdotter 2008; Mejsholm 2009). These views have been important as they are proof that the subject has matured to become an independent field of study on the academic scene.

Even so, there is still much to be said about the exploration of children in the archaeological record on the whole in academic research. This type of research needs trans-discipline awareness and inter-disciplinary working (Crawford and Lewis 2008). As this requires multi-cultural, multidimensional and multi-disciplinary endeavours that go beyond the discipline of archaeology (Lillehammer 2002, 2005, 2008a), advancing the topic of children in archaeology in this manner is time-consuming. Progress is dependent on the advancement of other disciplines to lead or support archaeological data and interpretation, and is therefore a patient process of waiting and co-operation. There is, however, no way of return from the gateway of triumphal accomplishment of initiated works back to the sentimental heartland of uncertainty. In the following section, I offer an overview of the archaeology of children from the theoretical and methodological perspective of phenomenology. In particular, I will discuss if there is such a thing as the theory of childhood in archaeology and propose a structural working framework based on the accumulated knowledge production gained so far in the subject.

2. Phenomenological approaches to children

To clarify my point of departure, the first "archaeological child" I thought to have stumbled upon was randomly in a museum collection during

exhibition work. My curiosity had risen because of the small size of some of the pieces of Viking jewellery found in an inhumation burial. The lack of human bones and the way in which archaeological finds from prehistoric burials are normally preserved in Norway made me call upon the public to collect information on the archaeological context and circumstances of the objects (Lillehammer 1972, 1975). This led me to question children's material culture, and to think about how I may have come across children's contexts but not noticed the traces while trawling the excavation fields or processing archaeological objects in museum collections. Later, when I began to look directly at archaeology from the children's perspective (Lillehammer 1979a, 1979b, 1982, 1986, 1987[1979]), I applied a holistic approach to the child's world (Lillehammer 1989). As children form the link between past and future, in this project I continued to work theoretically and methodologically in parallel with my research projects on liminality, marginality and de-centring worlds, as I did in the studies of burial rituals, gender, and cultural heritage (Lillehammer 1996, 1999, 2006, 2007).

The theoretical approach of analytical thinking about worlds grew naturally out of a feministic critic (Bertelsen *et al*. 1987[1979]; Lillehammer 1987). Influenced also by complementary thinking about the interplay between nature-culture to explode interdisciplinary boundaries (Lillehammer 1982) and the debate on processualism versus postprocessualism in archaeology, my way of thinking about material culture developed gradually into interpretative archaeology (Lillehammer 1996, 1999) and led to the phenomenological approach, i.e. Maurice Merleau-Ponty's works on the phenomenology of perception (Merleau-Ponty 1994) and the works of Emmanuel Levinas on the humanism of the other (Levinas 1996). In the studies of cultural heritage, as a researcher, I decided to practice the phenomenological method (Lillehammer 2007, 2009a). In this process, the concept of child's world was considered (Lillehammer 2000) and reconsidered (Lillehammer 2005, 2008a) to emphasise the worlds of children and children's worlds.

In the following section, as a summary of work on the archaeology of children I have carried out over the past years (Lillehammer 1979a, 1979b, 1982, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2002, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009b,

2010; the section is an extended and revised version of Lillehammer 2002 and Lillehammer 2005), we will de-centre the state of archaeology of children from a non-place perspective (Augé 1995; Lillehammer 2000) and reconsider children and childhood from the partial and incoherent position in archaeology. In this presentation, to combine reflexivity and narrative, and before I bring together the worlds of children and children's world, we will firstly look at some of the main trends in the advancement of archaeological knowledge about children in the past and at the terminology of children and childhood and the application of a theory of childhood in archaeology. From the children's perspective of the world in general, we will then consider the worlds of children and children's worlds, and what and how the perspective contributes to the study of children and children's material culture of the past. In this procedure, literature references are used to exemplify theoretical and methodological perspectives, tensions and arguments about the archaeological evidence that has emerged from diverse research in the field. In spite of the critique, and in order to recapitulate these issues, we will start by returning to the things themselves and to what the basic problem is in finding the material evidence of children in the archaeological record.

3. Gateway of no return

Some years ago in Benin, I stood under the blazing African sun looking up on a huge triumph arch in the midst of a sandy beach. To a Norwegian, the sight of the arch was as exotic and overwhelming, as were the palms swaying in the wind. Behind me was the Portuguese fort outside the small town of Ouidah, the centre of Voodoo belief, on the West-African coast. In front of me was the green and warm Atlantic Ocean raising and falling on the horizon, endlessly it would seem, although I expected the waves would carry me with the winds to Brazil if I set out westward to cross the sea for South America. My mind was distracted elsewhere by the thought of what I had experienced at my visit to the fort. The efforts I made to get there in the first place in order to gather information about the origins and history of the place, and in particular about archaeology and children, had it all been in vain?

The standing fort was the result of archaeological excavation and architectural reconstruction and rebuilding that had been carried out with the aim of turning the place into a cultural heritage centre and a museum featuring the history of the African slave trade in these parts of the continent. My thoughts were tainted by what I had learned from the museum exhibition. I imagined the sailing ships, which had anchored in the calm waters beyond the surf. They had waited for new shiploads of slaves to turn up on the beach. In leaving the fort I was struck by what I had seen outside the building. A deep moat surrounded the high walls. Originally, the ditch had been filled with fresh water to help nurture the crocodiles kept there to prevent captives from escaping. Now the moat was dry and empty. During the excavation no archaeological finds of interest had been retrieved from the ditch, and only a few finds, fragments of chains and nails of iron, had been found inside the fort. These pieces were displayed among other exhibits in the showcases in the cool rooms of the stone edifice. I discovered no information that could inform me about the historical relationship between children and slavery. The lack of archaeological finds was striking, as no evidence could verify if children were ever uncovered in the fort and moat.

Outside, in the heat, I made my way down a mile-long bumpy dusty pathway towards the sea. Standing in the refreshing wind on the beach I took a closer look at the monumental arch in front of me. A row of huge bronze figures lined up at each side of the arch caught my attention. I recognized the artistic composition, a band of human sculptures chained together to narrate the story of the African slave trade. Their physical form of artwork was made austere and heavy by the bronze casting used to imitate the traditional style of African craftsmanship. While pondering on what I had read about the West African coast and the environment years ago, something about the history of slave ships came to mind. Besides the Portuguese, British, Dutch and French forts on the African coast, the Dano-Norwegians had also kept a fort in this area during the union of Denmark and Norway in 1536-1814. It is possible that the ruins still remained in the red-yellowish earth which covered the surrounding area in the landscape behind me, but to search for the location was not on my agenda. My aim was to search for children, so I made a round of the sculptures and took in the scenery.

Then, suddenly, I spotted something different in amongst the lines of human figures, and my curiosity rose. Between two large and clean casted adults there was a child at last.

The child had drawn itself and stood erect at the side of a male adult who had stretched out one arm to protect the minor's head. Spotting this child amongst the group of sculptures prompted me make yet another round, but no more children could be found on the premises. This child was the only one among the adults in the line of figures. It formed part of a scene situated at the far end of the slave story. At first sight, the small shape was hidden amongst the larger figures thronged together. The adults in this section had broken the chains on their hands and feet, but the child had none of these. The child's mere existence made it stand out as a material symbol of endurance and termination. It was free to go out and make a mark on the world.

The striking message of the arch at Ouidah is in its name, "The Gateway of No Return". The monument erected by the UN and UNESCO in 1998 was to commemorate the human suffering that went on for more than 350 years during the European colonisation of the two continents of Africa and America. The arch stands at the end of a slave route that formed part of the African slave trade, a fact to which attention was drawn in the museum exhibition at the fort. In representing a worldview where humans are treated as objects to be exchanged as commodities for commercial use, the visit to the museum informed me about African tribal war and conflict, and explained how the arrival of European merchants benefitted from the slave trade that already existed on the continent.

The African slave trade story is bound to move us if we were to approach this aspect of human history as heritage that hurts (Uzzell and Ballantine 2007). Humanitarian concern serves to value human beings in their own right. The humanistic perspective has shown to influence the development of fields such as the fine arts and sciences. The difference between these two approaches to history and archaeology is striking. In expressing deep sentiments spoken through the senses of human body and heart, visual artworks make the transcendence and transformation of the history of enslavement beyond scientific knowledge and inference possible. Science refers to a system of acquiring knowledge based on scientific method, and to the organized body of knowledge gained

through objective research. However, lack of knowledge seems to be a recurring problem in efforts to increase awareness of and continue work on children's experiences in the past. Significant numbers of people enslaved through-out world history have been children and the child slave trade existed in many regions throughout the world. The role of children in slavery is often ignored (Montgomery 2001; McKeown 2007) and the narratives concentrate on adult males whose strong bodies and labouring capacities preoccupied the masters of the modern Americas (Campbell *et al*. 2009).

There is a lack of knowledge about the history of child slavery, and this is also so in archaeology in general. With respect to research and interpretation, while emphasis on adult enslavement and enslaved peoples as active agents are verified in the written records, the archaeological evidence of children — enslaved or not enslaved — is less readily obtained. The examination of children and childhood is a matter of academic scepticism and speculation in the process of archaeological research (Lillehammer 1987, 2008a: 101-103). The crucial point in the advancement of scientific knowledge is how to make a discovery that leads to innovation and to posing the relevant questions. By applying the phenomenological method, we begin with the questions of *what* appears in the natural attitude of the researchers. Then we proceed by entering into phenomenological reflexion about *how* the object appears before us. In our natural attitude as researchers we head directly toward the object, but then from the reflective stance of the phenomenological attitude we withdraw to look at the object. We contemplate the object to make it thematic by focusing on the manifold of appearances through which the object is given to us (Sokolowsky 2000: 49-51).

Archaeology has come to recognize children and to include childhood studies in mainstream currents of archaeology, but the process of asking questions directed at the material record has been slow. Firstly, due to the fact that unexpected finds keep turning up from time to time, the advancement of scientific knowledge in archaeology is based on the unforeseen which appears randomly by chance (Lillehammer 2000: 21-22). Secondly, it is indeed a matter of qualified argumentation to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the flint chips retrieved at archaeological excavations are the dis-

cards of children learning the technique of tool making (Högberg 1999, 2008; Grimm 2000). If at the fort of Ouidah the Portuguese themselves had not recorded with high precision the historical events of the slave trade in the annals, how could the archaeologists digging in the remains of the fort have acquired information about the age and gender relations of the peoples that had temporarily passed through the place? Seeing the fort from this non-place perspective (Augé 1995; Lillehammer 2000), how could they have come to associate the appearance of scattered finds with enslaved children on the basis of few fragments of chains and nails?

In thinking critically about the history of slavery from the perspective of phenomenology, and to focus on adult slaves and not their childhood or children, the self-evident thought of what comes natural to enslavement is the awareness of adult bodies. Therefore, the attitude of mainstream thinking of enslavement in this fashion is an obstacle to the classification and interpretation of material culture, as it leads away from children and to a state of uncertainty and confusion about the reality of slavery. It is however this state of ambiguity that has encouraged some archaeologists to conduct further research and has made others reticently withdraw their interest in exploring children and childhood in the archaeological record.

4. Appearances of children

Women's issues and feministic critique in the Western world has influenced age- and gender-based and feminist archaeology within archaeological theories. As a whole, Scandinavian and Anglo-American researchers have published various reports on the studies of children and childhood studies (Lillehammer 1989, 2002, 2005; Baxter 2005; Crawford and Lewis 2008; Dommasnes 2008). In twenty years, from the 1970s onwards, the topic has emerged as sidestep of mainstream archaeology based on scientific and popular approaches. At the beginning, studies were conducted following other more prestigious projects in areas that dominate archaeology. Gradually, the focal point of departure changed in archaeological narratives of the past. Three out of the four different types of awareness of children in the archaeological record have contributed to the advancement

of archaeological knowledge in the field. They are distinguished in literature as follows:

· *The non-centred child narrative*: The archaeological evidence of children is not seen or noticed.

· *The random child narrative*: The archaeological evidence of children is understood immediately but does not seem very clear and obvious in the first place.

· *The associated-child narrative*: The archaeological evidence of children is understood and connected by similarities or by a common source, but not as the main object of research.

· *The child-centred narrative*: The archaeological evidence of children is the main object of research and attention is paid to what is understood as significant. It deserves systematic attention and needs to be classified, recorded and analysed.

All four types of narratives are simultaneously at work in archaeology at present. The non-centred child narrative represents mainstream thinking on the awareness of children, and is the longest standing in archaeology. The random-child narrative forms part of the dawn of children emerging in archaeology, before scholars proceeded to take advantage of what was evident in the material record. On the basis of publication frequency, the associated-child and child-centred narratives have partly been interconnected from early on, and the child-centred narrative has partly been standing on its own feet for the last 20 years. The two analytic approaches to children and childhood in the past are relatively novel for scholars, as they are innovative subjects in established sub-disciplines in archaeology.

From the perspective of bibliography, the first child-centred narrative appeared randomly in Scandinavia and beyond mainly as the result of personal interest and engagement in children's issues (Bonnichsen 1973; Gräslund 1973, Rolfsen 1978; Baggøien 1979; Lillehammer 1979a, 1979b; Vinsrygg 1979). These efforts partly coincided with such events as the UN Year of the Child in 1979. In Norway, an exhibition was staged and a popular anthology published about the hidden and forgotten children in the past (Myrvold 1979). In Norwegian archaeology, these commitments formed part of an increased interest in gender research (Bertelsen *et al*. 1987 [1979]), which in the first stage followed processual prescriptions (Dommasnes 1992; Sørensen 2000: 18). Notwithstanding these collective initiatives at the

time, in a short period many questions were asked, pioneering works appeared and terminology was introduced. With respect to achievements in academia, the subject went through two preliminary stages, one initial stage (1970-90) and one establishing and collecting stage (1990-2005), which ended with the foundation of the SSCIP in 2005. These stages overlap one another, because research on children rapidly went from the odd and occasional find to becoming the main objective of research (Lillehammer 2002, 2005).

In the 1980s, a theoretical shift took place in archaeology, from the archaeology of scientific practice following the prescription of processualism that placed importance on culture process (Johnson 1999: 30), to what was to become post-processual archaeology, with emphasis on diversity and on a way of looking at and thinking about the world (Johnson 1999: 101-102). However, initiatives in child-centred analyses progressed independently on the international scene (Hammond & Hammond 1981; Lillehammer 1982, 1986, 1987, 1989; Weber 1982; Crawford 1991; Sofaer 1994a; Roveland 1997; Gräslund 1998; Ylönen-Peltonen 2000; Kamp 2001). The term 'child' was included as a bibliographic reference in the Nordic Archaeological Abstract. In the 1990s, children were commonly included in topics associated with gender and life course studies and studies of ritual (Gero and Conkey 1991; Bolen 1992; Claassen 1992, Moore and Scott 1997; Sofaer 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, Gilchrist 1999; Johnsson 1999; Sørensen 2000). Publication dates show that in a short period the archaeological contexts of child burials and settlement areas were examined (Sofaer 1997a; Gräslund 1998; Welinder 1998; Crawford 1999; Scott 1999; Ylönen-Peltonen 2000), as is also the case with anthologies on children (Sofaer 1994a, 2000; Johnsen and Welinder 1995). The subject was included in lexical publishing in Germany (Lohrke 2000) and in gender studies in Great Britain (Gilchrist 1999) and the United States (Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998). The international breakthrough came at the stroke of the new millennium.

In the last decade, the topic has generated increased scholarly research and is discussed at conferences, seminars and workshops. In 2005, this led to the foundation of the SSCIP, to the organisation of SSCIP conferences and seminars, and to the periodic issuing of a serial publication,

the international journal "Childhood in the Past" in 2008. In depth analyses have, however, been claimed as few and far between (Finlay 1997, Rogersdotter 2008: 21). We are working with children and childhood in small-scale archaeology (Lillehammer 1987), in which a variety of different dimensions and perspectives have influenced the advancement of archaeological knowledge about the material culture of children and childhood in general. To mention some, overviews and handbooks on the study of archaeological theories, methods and practice associate children and childhood with age (Whittle 1996), gender (Bolger 2003; Nelson 2004); gender, age, identity and ethnicity (Diaz-Andreu *et al*. 2005), funerary remains, footwear and lamps (Adkins and Adkins 1998), death and mortuary practice (Parker-Pearson 2003), infanticide (Trigger 2003), violent death, childbirth, learning process, flintknapping, and physical attributes (Renfrew and Bahn 2004).

Similar to this incoherent state of archaeological knowledge, child-centred analyses include studies of age, gender, and identity, and social, economic and cultural studies (Sofaer 1994a, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2006a, 2006b, Crawford 1999, 2000; Baxter 2005; Svedin 2005; Vik 2007; Halcrow and Tayles 2008; Lewis-Simpson 2008; Sánchez Romero 2008; Thedéen 2004, 2008), studies of life course (Gilchrist 2000, 2004; Thedéen 2004), burial studies (Larje and Johansson 1997; Molin 1999; Ylönen-Peltonen 2000; Lohrke 2000; Gustafsson and Lundin 2004; Callow 2006; Gowland 2006; Bacvarov 2008; Mejsholm 2009), studies of technology (Högberg 1999, 2008; Grimm 2000), musical studies (Sharpe and Gelder 2004, 2006; Stapert 2007), studies of cultural heritage and identity (Galanidou and Dommasnes 2007; Dommasnes and Wrigglesworth 2008), museum studies (Roberts 2006), forensic studies (Lewis 2007), human anthropological studies (Ulrich-Bochsler 1997, 2000; Mays 2000; Sellevold 1997; 2008a, 2008b), phenomenology and micro-historical studies (Sánchez Romero 2008), and historical studies of literature (Callow 2007). All in all, these analyses cover several areas depending on the application of theoretical and methodical approaches and the archaeological material under study.

A comparative analysis of the research issues of general knowledge production of archaeology in 1978-1986 and child archaeology in 1994-2002 show that the subject has a specific character. The studies of children and childhood responded to research aims considered important to post-processual archaeology, such as ideology, religion, science and social conditions, as well as to the analysis of material evidence most evident in the archaeological record, such as child burials (Lillehammer 2006b, fig. 2a-b, 2008a). As the outpour of literature has been constantly growing, the scope of research has been labelled social archaeology (Gilchrist 2004; Gowland and Knüsel 2006) and bioarchaeology (Gowland 2006; Sofaer 2006a, 2006b; Halcrow and Tayles 2008), which could also jointly represent osteology, palaeopathology and funerary archaeology. Inter-disciplinary efforts to approach the child-centred narrative beyond archaeology were launched in Germany (Alt and Kemkes-Grottenthaler 2002) in the first European interdisciplinary research project on archaeological childhood initiated by Swiss researchers. An important stage in this project was the discussion on an idealistic interdisciplinary working model of research approach (Hug 2008; Röder 2008, Fig. 2a-2d). New research developments are seen in current moves to the past, such as in crime scene investigation (Lewis 2007), cultural heritage in the landscape (Lillehammer 2007), museum displays (Roberts 2006, Lillehammer 2009b), and mediation in books and literature (Röder 2002; Galanidou and Dommasnes 2007; Galanidou 2008).

In the process of emerging as child-centred archaeological research of children and childhood in the past, the subject has gone from the stage of being exotic to becoming an academic field of its own. Altogether, a two-sided approach to the archaeology of children has developed as studies in the field have advanced. The subject is concerned with children in the past and with modern children as a reference to the past in the present (Lillehammer 2008a). The results of these endeavours on the subject are apparent in the accumulation of archaeological knowledge and contribution. To some extent, the variation and richness of theoretical perspectives and methods seem to overshadow the children themselves, and to result in the difficulty in finding a proper place for the subject in academic circles. The particular approach of exploring children and childhood has run parallel to the development of gender studies. To some extent the outcome has also influenced the grand archaeological narratives of the past. Though the

archaeological baby has been nurtured carefully, accomplishments have not made the same impact in archaeology as they have in gender studies, and one may wonder why this has not happened.

It took some years for the subject to grow out of the shadowland of gender research and to be brought together with the foundation of the SSCIP. When it was deemed useful to enlarge the scope of archaeological knowledge in general, many wanted to see an increase in children's studies. However, in archaeology importance is placed on adult society and not children (Lillehammer 2006a). The attention given to the research categories of children and childhood as integral to archaeological study depends on the status and competitive working relationships of sub-disciplines in the academic hierarchy, whether they sit at the bottom levels of academic politics or shift upwards or downwards on the ladder. Despite efforts to break disciplinary and interdisciplinary boundaries, the marginal position of these studies in academic circles (Kamp 2001: 1) may account for the difficulties in creating a university lectureship on the subject (Crawford and Lewis 2008: 6). Has the subject managed to grow out of the motherchild relationship pointed out earlier, and become a main subject in archaeology (Lillehammer 2000)? It is timely to ask about the development of theoretical and methodological platforms. And if the variations in research studies have resulted in shortcomings or confusing states, how and where should children be approached in archaeology?

5. Reconceptualising children and childhood

Children do not write history, they make it! Having a child is the experience of a new arrival – which is the child itself – challenging the boundaries of old establishments. Being a child is different to having a child. It is not an experience objectively seen from the outside, from the history of childhood narrated by parents or carers. On the contrary, it is the inter-subjective experience of being human and becoming someone – *but being and becoming* what?

Being human and becoming someone is the cultural and local experience of growing self-consciousness and awareness of the world, and the recognition or rejection of that someone or *per-*

sona by others, which could vary and develop in contradistinction to dominant models in society (Moore 1994: 29-35). This perspective includes both the biological process of conception, birth and growth of the individual, and the socio-cultural expectancy of conformity or the autonomous behaviour of the individual as a potential member of society by others (Lillehammer 2000: 21). Subjectively and inter-subjectively, the awareness also holds cultural memories that adults share of their childhood experience of living in a world as children, a period of life which is then left to history (Lillehammer 1989: 90). The period ends in loosing something familiar and gaining something different. As noticed in the English language structure of "child-*hood*" and "adult-*hood*", traditionally the biological change of the human body was marked by a cultural transition in altering the customary dress from children's hoods to the hood of adults.

From a theoretical and methodological point of view, three main areas concern the difficulties and tensions in the approaches towards the archaeology of children. There is the difference between the history of children and the history of childhood (Thomas 1989; Crawford and Lewis 2008: 8). There is the disciplinary divide between nature and culture in archaeology based on social theory and biological theory. There are also the obstacles to communication and inconsistencies in the use of the terms "children" and "childhood", which archaeologists have used confusingly (Crawford and Lewis 2008: 7-8). Below we will look into the second and third issues.

Analysing the situation from an epistemological position, theoretical and methodological discourses show how archaeological research has approached the terms by defining concepts of age and gender categories and discussing the notions of "child" and "childhood" as central to the classification and interpretation of early human life in the past (Lillehammer 1989, 2002, 2005, 2008a; Sofaer 2000, 2006a; Scott 1999; Kamp 2001; Baxter 2005; Lucy 2005; Crawford and Lewis 2008; Lally and Ardren 2008). The variations and discrepancies in understanding and explaining the terms are partly due to the possibilities and barriers of language, as discourse partly reflects efforts to decide on the appropriate use of and on a common ground for theoretical framework and method (Lillehammer 2006a, b, 2008a). The concern is

also linked with the understanding of different ontological statutes between children and adults (Wartofsky 1981), and the question about who is the actor and who is the constructor in the available world between them (Qvortrup 1994: 4).

In archaeology children and childhood have been studied from universal, general, local and individual perspectives (James *et al.* 1998; Mejsholm 2009: 27-29). From a feminist viewpoint one may agree or disagree on the usefulness of a common epistemological platform of research with reference to those pasts and epistemologies (Dommasnes 2008: xvii-xix). As data builds on the local conceptualisations in ancient cultures around the world, we have to be specific in our deployment of metalanguages, of who is speaking (Lally and Ardren 2008: 74). As the subject has developed internationally, we have been given great opportunities to analyse the terms of "child" and "childhood" from a variety of angles and scopes and from many different languages as well as histories about the past.

However, in order to carry out scientific analyses and syntheses that could lead to conclusions, and to communicate the results and partake in academic discourse, as current-day adults and researchers we have to make our theoretical and methodical points of departure clear to the audience. To lessen epistemological confusion, from a phenomenological viewpoint our natural attitudes of the world are different and are related to immediate experience, but as researchers we have to detach ourselves from this, theorize, and distinguish and describe both the subjective and the objective correlates that make it up (Sokolowsky 2000: 43-44, 50). Analysing the structural implications of theoretical and methodological frameworks from a child-centred perspective, a reconsideration of the concepts of "child" and "childhood" is necessary in this stage of research.

5.1 Child-concept and being in-between worlds

In the innovative phase of the subject, a simplistic working definition was introduced in Scandinavian archaeology (Kanvall 1995: 10-12, fig. 1), which combined children with biological, osteological and sociological development. A child (plural: children) is in English by definition a young human being, and one's son or daughter, descendant, follower or product of one (Elliot *et al.*

2001: 118). The English term "child" refers to a being that is essentially human, but who differs from other humans in being young and someone's gendered offspring, and who is someone subordinate that imitates or is the creation or object of others. Consequently, a child is someone not far advanced in life, development or existence and therefore not yet old, but immature and inexperienced (Elliot *et al.* 2001: 897).

In the Scandinavian languages such as Norwegian, the term "child" is synonymously connected to a nature-culture relationship in the representation of human or animal. "Child" refers either to a fish or to a minor and underaged person, to a foetus and abortion, to human offspring of the first generation, to an heir, and to a person who has a subordinate obedient and loyal relationship to someone/body (Landrø and Wangensteen 1986: 41, my translation). As the Norwegian term also refers to "child" as a person who is a minor, this means somebody under full legal age in English (Elliot *et al.* 2001: 475). Respectively, both the English and Norwegian terms associate "child" with gender, offspring, family, generation and authority. As such, a child is a member of a clan, tribe or religion and is therefore linked with the legal, social, economical, political and religious concerns of the society. However, what is in reality the essence of "child"? How does it appear in these relationships?

Seen from the ontogeny of human bodies (Sofaer 2006a, 2006b) and from the blood relations that exist between children, parents, offspring, siblings, etc., in the broadest sense the term "child" is related to culturally constructed ideas about the appearance of some*body* minor by others. Biological and social relationships connect the child's body with the state of being accepted in a place or group in *belonging* to the life world of direct experience. In social anthropology, a child is linked with agency, alterity and liminality and called the paradigmatic "other". Its attributes and identity is something constructed in dialectic relationship to adult senses of world and self as something *becoming* (Rapport and Overing 2000: 29, the italics are mine). Accordingly, with the reference to perspectives of the Norwegian nature-culture relationships, the concept of child as agency could be associated with nature-culture, as liminal with somebody in-between nature and culture, and as alterity with nature. The elaboration of these

relationships could further indicate the notion of "child" to exceed both biological and social categories, while a combination of these aspects in reality could result in complete disorder (biosocial). In considering that the body of a child is not understood in terms of chronological age, but in terms of ontogeny, and therefore in terms of the origin and development of an individual organism from embryo to adult, the child is thus placed in the children's minority, somewhere in between adults and the environment.

Thus a child could easily be relegated to an "*in-between*" position or to the outside, rather than being at the world's centre (Lillehammer 1989, 2000, 2002, 2005, 2008b, in press). In this case, a child is treated like an object, which humans manipulate amongst themselves and their environment to reach goals or to make ends meet. To some humans, this life experience never ends as they are constantly being little adults and treated as grown up children. This phenomenon is widely found in literature on minority groups such as women and slaves and, conversely, it is also the case when adults behave like children. The "in-between" position equally refers to the social dislocation of children's cultures, the changes in people's perceptions of different ages and generations, and the blurring of roles between children and adults and their worlds (Meyrowitz 1985; Lillehammer 2000: 22). Therefore, the archaeology of children comprises analyses of the fluid and hybrid inter-relationships between adults and minority groups and their relationships to the greater society. Due to the immature and subordinated character in the biological and social representations of children, and in order to keep focus directed towards the appearance of children in the world in general as a concrete and actual whole (Sokolowsky 2000: 44), we have to clarify and emphasize our points of inference and conclusion, and to reconsider children's agency, alterity and liminality in relation to the life world of adults, parents or carers.

5.2. Childhood concept and cultural memory

Earlier I pointed out that the concept of childhood is passively and temporally constructed (Lillehammer 2000: 24). In broad terms "childhood" is applied in English to a state or period of being a child (Elliot *et al.* 2001: 118), or to the phase of development in humans between infancy and adulthood. In terms of social theory, "childhood" has been defined as the life period during which a human being is regarded a child, and the cultural, social and economic characteristics of that period. Therefore, the perspective of socialisation, which emphasizes the process of growing up and children's future status as adults, is often implicit in discussions of childhood (Frønes 1994: 148, 146). For that reason, we have to bear in mind that the meaning of "childhood" is an autonomous conceptual entity of form (Qvortrup 1994: 4), and that the dual relationship between nature and culture is an analytic tool used to describe, classify and examine:

· Human aging from dependency to increased autonomy: i.e. the biological and psychobiological changes of human development, in which children could reach the milestones at different times from norm

· Children's experiences of the parts of consciousness accessible to others (Green and Hogan 2005: 4-5)

· Adult perceptions of children, as created by others by the order and control of the social and legal system and organisation in a given society (James and James 2004).

In Norwegian, the meaning of the term "childhood" is "the time/period *then*, the time of being a child" (Knudsen and Sommerfelt 1937: 207-208, my translation and italics). From the phenomenological perspective, this position seems relevant for the researcher who starts to look at childhood in the archaeological record. The meaning indicates the notion to refer to one's childhood in the retrospect of remembrance and not to one's immediate experience as adults in the present. Memory comprises both short-term memory and long-term memory, and much recent work suggests that memory and the process of remembering and learning is partly based on embodied activity (Gibbs 2005: 142, 156). In order to analyse children in the sense of their physical and mental capacity, we would have to include cognitive development to support the idea that the mind is embodied. Nevertheless, unless records were made in the past, the memory of someone's experience of being a child is gone when the person dies. Researching the intimacy of children's cultural memory of early life in the remote past may seem too farfetched as an objective to be reached in archaeology. However, we could study those parts

of children's cognitive development and social experience accessible to others in children's socialisation to material culture and their adaptation to the environment, such as tools and playthings.

We could also examine adult's behaviour towards children. In general procedure, an archaeological study of childhood would examine the human bodily remains and the cultural constructions associated with pre-adolescence, infants, newborn and aborted *foetuses* in relation to ideals and practices towards living or dead born children and unborn *foetuses* in the society expressed in the archaeological record (Mejsholm 2009). The universal fact that women and men want children, that women carry, labour and mother them (Bolen 1992; Beausang 2005), that men father them, and that all grown-ups were once themselves children (Lillehammer 2000), indicates some of the structural complexities in the relationships between individuals and generations of caretakers regarding children and childhood. Owing to the existing similarities and differences between children and childhood in the meaning of biological, social and time/periodic terms, we will have to take a closer look at the theory of childhood from an archaeological perspective.

6. Thinking about a theory of childhood in archaeology

The question of a theory of childhood was brought forward by an Inuit student in the plenary discussion at the second SSCIP conference "Childhood in the Past –Recent research" in 2008 (Lillehammer 2010).The questions concerning theory drew a blank in the audience, and the immediate impression was that few scholars currently conducted research on the subject of childhood on a regular basis. However since then, and at a second look into this relationship, it has to be noted that there is an impressive list of contributions from a variety of research interests stating that they focused expressly on childhood within archaeology (among others Crawford 1999; Sofaer 2000; Kamp 2001; Baxter 2005; Callow 2006, 2007; Wileman 2005; Ardren and Hulton 2006; Roberts 2006; Crawford and Sheperd 2007a; Crawford and Lewis 2008; McKerr 2008; Mygland 2008; Röder 2008; Sánchez Romero 2008; Tedéen 2008; Mejsholm 2009).

As the question of theory is elementary to science, and if we want to fully understand and explain the extension of its application in archaeology, the inquiry about a theory of childhood has to be taken seriously. There is the concern of ancient children's voices being muffled (Sofaer 1997a, 2000, Crawford and Lewis 2008: 10). At present, we would expect that the topic of childhood is a speciality, with a theory and/or method that sets it apart from other subjects in academia. According to the usage of the term "theory" in the empirical sciences and not in philosophy, we could search for an analytic structure designed to explain a set of empirical observations of material culture that identifies this set of distinct observations as a class of phenomena, and makes assertions about the underlying reality that brings about or affects the class.

If we start by defining the class of phenomena as altogether representing the archaeological remains of immature human bodies including *foetuses*, newborns, and infants, as well as the archaeological artefacts, contexts and circumstances associated with human remains, we have a general set of data on which to build a theory based on empirical observations. In addition, to meet the structural requirements of analysis, a theory of childhood has to explain material culture as a representation of a specific character of cultural memory of preadolescence years common in humans, and must embody children's development and experience of the world and learning from the environment. If it does not do this, we have to consider why.

The answer may be that a theory of childhood has to include more than the archaeological remains of immature human bodies and the artefacts, contexts and circumstances related to the material culture of children in the archaeological record. What the material record of children and childhood consists of is, however, a matter for discussion. We would have to proceed by considering many disciplines in the social sciences, the humanities and the behavioural sciences in which investigation is based on the examination of archaeological remains of children and where childhood is the object at study. If we accept childhood to represent a period or state of being a child, or the developmental phase between infancy and adulthood as stated above, the definitions nevertheless exclude unborn or prenatally aborted ones from the analy-

sis. We also have to consider the paradoxes of muffled children and that one of the main sources in the archaeological record for the study of childhood is dead children recovered in their funerary remains.

6.1. A childhood place in-between two cultures

Since we started by asking a basic question, I think it appropriate to reconsider and give the theory of childhood a second thought. It may be that the answer lies somewhere in between. There is considerable difference and dispute across disciplines as to the proper usage of the word theory, and consequently our choice in the matter depends on where we stand in academia. Since our discourse is evidently one of archaeology, we may decide to leave aside some usages in preference for others.

When reconsidering applications, the most relevant usage describes theory as a means of representing a supposition or a system of ideas that explain something based on general principles or the exposition of the principles of a science (Elliot *et al*. 2001: 800). But is archaeology a science, a social science, an art, a subset of human anthropology, or what? The theoretical and practical approaches to childhood outside archaeology are made up of variety fields which could include social anthropology (Schwartzman 1978, 2006; Gottlieb 2004; Stearns 2006; Levine and New 2008; Montgomery 2009), sociology (James *et al.* 1998; James and James 2004), classical studies (Rawson 2003), art history and classical studies (Neils and Oakley 2003), social history (Cunningham 2005; Orme 2003, 2008), world history (Lancy 2008) history of religion (Bakke 2005), ethno-psychology (Hug 2008), and human anthropology (Katzenberg and Shelley 2008).

The reason for posing the questions about the theoretical implications of childhood is to demonstrate the difficulties in defining what theory is from an archaeological perspective. We have to decide on where we stand. Our search for a theory has to be based on a long list of requirements ranging from sound arguments, assumptions and explanations, to hypotheses, ideas, notions and views as well as laws, principles and rules depending on the disciplinary approach, the material under study and the direction of our inquiry. Since we are concerned with issues that focus on development and

experience in the very cradle of human life, the search for a theory of childhood in archaeology is essentially a humanistic endeavour about understanding humankind (Renfrew and Bahn 2004). The broad scope of inquiry involves a wide range of academic disciplines and draws upon cross-cultural and interdisciplinary research on a multidimensional scale. Therefore our concern about where to look would seem to go beyond the critical matter of updating the latest trends in archaeology and focus on finding theories and methods appropriate enough to work in our case.

6.2. Social theory and the epistemological gap

In the following section, we will choose between archaeological sub-disciplines characterized by specific methods and/or types of materials. The inquiry into the terms "child" and "childhood" has revealed that nature-culture relationships and biological, social and time/periodic development and experience are implicit in the meanings of the terms. While human anthropology looks at childhood as a period, and at biological development in the growth, health and stress conditions of children's skeleton (Katzenberg and Shelley 2008), from the perspective of social development, the representation of childhood is foremost about socialisation. According to sociology, childhood is a social phenomenon (Crawford and Shepherd 2007b: 2; Hug 2008), a social construction related to children's agency that puts constraints on what children *do* (James *et al*. 1998; James and James 2004; the italics are mine). In the following section, we will take a closer look at the social representation of childhood.

Foremost as a research field of the social sciences and the humanities, outside Scandinavia it is linked with programmes on children and childhood studies, among others, as is the case in Canada (York University, Toronto) and the US (Rutger University, New Jersey and Brooklyn College, New York). To quote from the Canadian program:

"*The Program explores the experiences of children and adult constructions of childhood throughout time and across cultures, adopting a "childist" (child-centred) and children's rights approach that recognizes children as subjects in their own culture*" (http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/ics/, accessed 03/13/10)

In the text, the program draws a line between the experiences of children as subjects and the adult construction of childhood as the object. Seemingly, modern children according to the text do no have childhoods that are innate; rather, they only have the childhoods ascribed to them by adults. They do however exist, and they are expected to have rights and experience being a child in their own culture. In the socio-cultural relationship between children's subjective experiences of their own culture and adults' objective constructions of childhood, there is an epistemological gap or logical shortcoming based on differences in ontological statuses between children and adults. What are we to call the gap, but a hybrid space where arguments could twist and turn into confusion and misleading conclusions about children (Lillehammer 2000)? The term represents an analytic category of ontological and epistemological divide between children and adults. An essential question in the relationship is the situation, whether this is an advantage or a disadvantage to the study of children in the past. At least it demonstrates the importance in clarifying research approaches and the theoretical and methodological points of departure to answer the essential question: Did children in the past have a childhood?

Comparative and cross-cultural analyses reveal that there are a variety of childhoods, and that childhood is not a single or universal phenomenon (James and Prout 1990; Crawford and Shepherd 2007b: 2). Applications of ethnographic evidence indicate problems in defining the term childhood; partly because the nature of childhood is diverse, elastic and heterogeneous due to gender, age, birth order and ethnicity, and partly because childhood has been overlooked as an object of research (Montgomery 2009: 3, 8). Carsten reports that domestic issues such as maternity and the bond between mother and child have been neglected from the study of kinship (Carsten 2003). Hug drew attention to the epistemological difficulties of inter-disciplinary work in defining children and childhood, but states that this has also led to a wider scope of perception by proving the cultural relatedness of thinking about children (Hug 2008: 93).

From the Scandinavian perspective of the Old Norse language, in the Viking and Medieval Ages, and before 1350 AD (Heggstad 1958), children must indeed have had a childhood ascribed to them since the term is mentioned in medieval literature (*Diplomatarium Norwegicum*). Here the term "*barndómr*" refers to one's own ("*minum*") and other people's ("*sinum*") childhood (Fritzner 1973: 115), which confirms how adults referred to themselves and others. Seen from historic evidence of 13th century Iceland, chronological age was of concern to the social progression of children into adult society (Callow 2007: 54). This was particularly important for boys between the ages of 12-15 (Tillhagen 1956, Lillehammer 1989, Callow 2007) and less so for girls. Therefore it would be appropriate to ask ourselves if gender transition from childhood to adulthood was concerned with gender differences between females and males in relation to biological and/or social age. In a cautionary manner, Callow reports that marriage status rather than chronological age accounted for the gendering of females in the Icelandic society (Callow 2006, 2007).

Consequently, in the study of childhood it has been found that knowledge gaps exist between children and adults and that there is not one theory of childhood. Childhood can be analysed from a number of different perspectives, each leading to different interpretations, sometimes also to different conclusions (Frønes 1994). The fluid and contextual embodied state of being a child or adult (Toren 1993) make the distinctions between categories difficult to approach (Lillehammer 2008a: 101). Frønes reported that from the position of the social sciences, the study of childhood needs to be based on a series of perspectives representing different ways of interpreting the phenomenon (Frønes 1994: 147-148).

Despite the debate of childhood versus children in archaeology (Crawford and Lewis 2008: 11), how we think about childhood is deeply interwoven with how we think about children. What are we studying when we are analysing childhood and when we are analysing children? The reference to muted children would seem to be more than a rhetorical question, which could account for why archaeology seems reluctant to develop a theory of childhood. What would the theory be based on? The list of associated and child-centred works on children and childhood shows that approaches vary greatly in the archaeology of children. Instead of adding and stirring new subspecialties into the pot when needed, we could ask for alternative perspectives and approaches to children's development and experience as active agents.

7. An alternative approach to the archaeology of children

From an analytical point of view, and as archaeologists in the present, rather than despairing at the mixture of both integrated and divided relationships in the construction of childhood, we could decentre our way of looking at individuals and generations of children in the past, and establish a third position. We could conduct research on children and the multifaceted nature of childhood from two different ontological statutes of being in the world in general: the child-centred and adult-centred positions of the past.

Structural similarities and differences exist in the nature of the experiences of children as "human beings" (Qvortrup 1994: 4) and adult perceptions of children as "human becomings" (Qvortrup 1994: 4). The experience of being a child is revealed in their bodies (Sofaer 2006a, 2006b), and in the stream of consciousness and insights into who they are, what they think and what they feel (cr. Gibbs 2005: 239). A fundamental question is how children's development and experience and adult's perception of children, where the mutual ground of experience is cultural memory, could function as a theoretical and methodological platform for current-day researchers that are asking questions about children in the past. Depending on the type of archaeological material under study, and on the focal points of interest about children, in alternating the methodical search between children's development and experience as human beings and adult's perception of children as humans becoming, our scope of research is enlarged. Subsequently, this method leads to the turning upside down of the search for children in the archaeological record and of the approach to children and their life worlds, the worlds of children and children's worlds.

By focussing on the development of children's bodies and their experiences in their life worlds, we recognize children as individuals in their own constructions (Qvortrup 1994: 4), and in the powers and contradictions of their capacity of vitality and active behaviour as beings in the world in general (Lillehammer 2008b). The meaning of "the worlds of children" is a notion differently constructed from "childhood" as it includes a spatial dimension of children's activity and agency (Lillehammer 1989, 2000, 2008a). To put it more precisely, the notion refers to what children do with their bodies (Sofaer 2006a, 2006b), and where they move their bodies around in the landscape and the environment. The nature-culture and child-adult relationships refers to spaces and places where children are born, live, die or grow up (Lillehammer 2000, 2005), and where they play and trawl around inside or outside dwellings (Lillehammer 1987, 2007). Indeed, it asks about what, where and how children are being acted upon by others in their inclusion or separation from the living society (Lillehammer 2008b, in press). The spatial dimension of the worlds of children comprise therefore children's cultures as in the representation of "the children's worlds" which are opposed to and separated from adults and adult worlds (Lillehammer 1989, 2007, 2008a).

By using general models based on both common sense and scientific knowledge about how children in the environment behave in contact with and without adults (Lillehammer 1989: 102; Karlsson 1999: 25), the presence and absence of children in the archaeological record has become constructive. The structural character of the worlds of children and children's worlds as part of the world in general could bridge the ontological and epistemological gaps that span troubled waters. In offering opportunities for an alternative approach to the children versus childhood debate, and to the divides between children's development and experience and adult perceptions of children and childhood, a link is created to many spaces and places in the landscape which integrate or separate children and adults. Children and adults negotiate the proper places for children in both social and spatial terms (Olwig and Gulløv 2003). Therefore, the inquiry into terminology and the study of childhood has opened discussion on the relationships between human and social developments of childhood, and on focusing on children's experiences as being humans and of becoming social and cultured beings that belong somewhere in the environment. The study of children and adults as processes of human life cycles living in a present rather than being classified into fixed chronological categories indicates how and where we can proceed in this endeavour.

In following this perspective, archaeology is incorporating the dualism of the natural (ontogeny) and the cultural (socialization) (Baxter 2005: 3). From the aspects of regulating and encouraging

order in the access to origin of time and space, and in the relationships between the structure of the cosmos, family and generations, children in the past were considered powerful and the carriers of vitality (Helms 1998; Lillehammer 2008b). We need to develop a closer understanding of the link between the culturally structured bodies of children and the material culture of children's own choice and making (Sofaer 1997, 2000, 2006a; Rogersdotter 2008: 23-24). This prospect needs data on how interactions, concepts, behavioural forms and meaning are created, recreated and acquired, and how individuals become committed to their acquisitions (Rapport and Overing 2000: 23). In our aim to explore the worlds of children and children's worlds as part of or opposed to adult worlds in the past, archaeology represents but one of several fields that could be applied to the study of ancient children. We would have to ask what has been done and how far the archaeology of children has reached this task.

8. Approaches to the worlds of children and children's worlds

The archaeology of children is based on the study of material culture. The archaeological data is extracted from source material in landscapes and museums. The chronological perspective of this discourse is enormous. It spans from the time of children living in The Ice Age of the Palaeolithic era to Modern times, but thinking critically in a long term perspective the periods and chronological orders have not been the main object of research. The studies focus upon the direct contextual evidence of children from skeletal remains of their bodies found anywhere in the landscape, and upon the indirect evidence from all those known and unknown physical traces left by their doings in the environment. Research pays special attention to the interrelationship between the remains of children and the natural and cultural environment, which includes the study of their use of tools and toys.

The archaeology of children is a field where geographic collaboration on a wide scientific scale is formidably strong, and today collaborative archaeology is well developed. Generally, the theoretical debate underway in current archaeology adds to the possibility of gaining a wider under-

standing of the process of biological change in relation to the variability in cultural change in past societies. In this relationship, the biogenetic and socio-environmental factors in human development are broadening the chronological range of subjects available for the archaeological study of children, childhood and the environment (Levine 1998).

Knowledge of children is gained through different archaeological material, contexts and circumstances and a variety of approaches are used. Despite criticism of the theoretical approach, initial studies should be regarded as having suffered the stress of childbirth, as they were the efforts of a subject working hard to find its place in the currents of archaeology and beyond. Research efforts show that children contribute to the archaeological record whether we are able to recognise them or not (Chamberlain 1997; Sofaer1997a; Scott 1999). A paramount objective is to develop theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches so that we can critically examine children as more than little adults or incomplete and subordinated members of society. From an anthropological point of view, we would expect variation and difference in children's conditions (Montgomery 2009). Children's lives are conditioned across natural and cultural patterns. Swedish archaeology has demonstrated that there is a great variety in the lives of children through time (Welinder 1998), which is of biological and cultural significance to the understanding and explanation of material culture in past societies.

It has been pointed out that the discussion of children as active agents and as having contributed to past social organisations, material culture, site formation processes and site destruction have been lacking in archaeology (Wilk and Schiffer 1979; Hammond and Hammond 1981; Lillehammer 1982, 1987, 1989; Claassen 1992; Sofaer 1994a; Baxter 2005; Rogersdotter 2008). This situation constitutes possibilities as well as restrictions in the search for children in the worlds of children and children's worlds in the material record. To be a child is to be both a phenomenon of local diversity in the world and one of global generality (Rapport and Overing 2000). Therefore it is not always easy to distinguish between children and adults in archaeological contexts such as settlements and graves, which confirms the reflections and questions I have made about the archaeological excavations at the slave fort in Ouidah.

The distinction between children and adults is hampered or made difficult by the destruction or lack of bone material in burials deposited in acid soils, as well as natural disturbance by animals or mechanical processes in the soil (Lillehammer 2000, 2005; Lally 2008). A variety of cultural factors could explain the disturbance or under-representation of children's bodies in the archaeological evidence. The excavation of an abandoned medieval churchyard in Norway is characteristic of this situation at a general level. Archaeological finds of many small children (newborn) were discovered among dispersed bone material on the site. This could have been caused by later surface disturbances as no special area was reserved for children. The babies' graves, which may have been shallower than the adults' graves, were more likely to have been obliterated (Sellevold 2008b: 82).

In the following section, we will use archaeological data and evidence on a wide scale to demonstrate some of the steps that lead to the archaeology of children. On the basis of nature-culture relationships, we will search for children in three main areas and critically review some of the theoretical and methodological issues at hand from two opposite perspectives of intentionality and look at the interplay of relationships between them. We will look at:

· The development and experience of children and their worlds

· The relationships between worlds – the worlds of children and adults

· Adult constructions of the worlds of children

8.1 The development and experience of children and their worlds

In the social sciences such as social anthropology, the approach to children is to let them literally speak for themselves while we listen to their voices (Goldman 1998). Despite the approaches of bridging the time gap between the present and the past, as seen from the combined efforts of ethnoarchaeology and historicalarchaeology, this is not generally the case in archaeology. Nevertheless, heritage studies have made this possible by interviewing adults in the present about their playgrounds of children's worlds in the landscape. A study indicates that the places visited are distributed marginally in the cultivated landscape and in the environments far away from the adults' worlds

(Lillehammer 2007, 2008a).To give adults some relief from their care and distress, the search for the different realms of expression of children's worlds is therefore in the opposition to autonomous culture of spare time were they can learn creatively from one another and associate with their peers (Lillehammer 1989, 2000). Irrespective of the cultural patterns that exist in past societies, in the patterns which adults impose and children imitate, there are elements of non-cultural courses of events in a child's development (Högberg 1999: 102). Play and the character of play are such processes (Högberg 1999).

The small stones discovered in the earth by a modern child watching the excavation of a prehistoric house close to a mountain lake in Norway, and which were identical to the pebbles picked up and thrown across the water daily during the child's play at the beach, how could we but speculate about the identity as to the stone skipping of ancient children (Fig. 1) (Lillehammer 1982)? Many toys were made by using natural and organic materials such as bones, wood, and stones, which is a matter of concern to the limitation of the archaeological evidence (Callow 2006: 67). Nevertheless, looking for children in the medieval countryside, and their games and plays and special places in the environment, is one way of approaching children's worlds (Lewis 2009). Toys were made by children themselves, and can reflect their own views and interests (Wileman 2005: 178; Rogersdotter 2008). While only a few of the cultural activities of children are generally visible in the archaeological record (Löndahl *et al*. 2002: 141), and discrepancy in theory and practice in the relationships between model and site investigation could exist (Bonnichsen 1973), altogether these approaches shed light on the relationship between children's worlds and the worlds of children in learning from the environment.

8.2. The relationships between worlds – the worlds of children and adults

Were we to study the physical stress suffered by children due to the workloads given to them, examine the skeletal implications and establish a relationship between this and objects or events (Sofaer 2006a: 141), we would widen the scope of investigation into children's development and experience in their growing up in past societies.

Figure 1.- Small stones excavated from the hearth of an Iron Age house (400-600 AD), Sandsa, Suldal, Norway. Stone skipping is a pastime which involves throw-ing a stone with a flattened surface across a lake or other body of water in such a way that it bounces along the surface.

The most obvious signs of lifestyle-related conditions are degenerative changes in the skeleton. An osteological analysis of 20 bodies of children and adults in a mass grave dated to the Early Bronze Age in Norway showed a warrior society where members were in distress, had suffered violent trauma before death and were healed at the time of death. Signs of malnutrition and starvation among the people who lived close to an abundant source of food are striking. The evidence of old and new trauma has both a defensive and fatal character, but none of the children had traumatic injuries, though this does not mean that such injuries did not occur (Fyllingen 2003).

Archaeological studies have added to the understanding and explanation of childcare, division of labour and tasks assigned to children. On the basis of Norwegian and Swedish archaeological evidence from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages, Stig Welinder suggests there is a pattern of children being abandoned by their carers, becoming skilled at taking care of themselves and performing tasks, to finally become those that take care of their own newborn children (Welinder 1998: 194-195). This evidence might shed some light on the cross-cultural study by Barry and Paxton (1971), which offers information on childcare in 186 cultures. While in 46% of these societies the mothers where the principal or sole caretakers of infants, in less than 20% of the societies the mothers were the principal caretaker of children (Claassen 1992: 5). In a relatively young population with a high mortality rate, as seen from the Scandinavian evidence,

older children could be raised in a world of children, take care of other children and contribute to society through child labour (Welinder 1998; Lillehammer 2000).

Cross-cultural studies, studies of historical and ethnographical sources and archaeological studies all show children's development and experience as well as their spatial relationships in settlements and towns, in house compounds, in the countryside, pastures and on henged hills (Sillar 1996: 50; Fahre 1998; Löndahl *et al*. 2002, fig. 2; Baxter 2005; Svedin 2005; Luoto 2007; Mygland 2008; Lewis 2009). Similarities have been found to exist between children's chores and those of women and older men (Löndahl *et al*., 2002). Collecting firewood, fetching water, herding, berry picking, sweeping and cleaning range high as tasks and chores performed by children, which are relevant when studying the relationship between human development and children's skills (Whiting and Whiting 1975, Lillehammer 1989, fig. 2, Table 1).

The working hypothesis of a short generation overlap in pre-modern societies is supported by the growing awareness of the importance of apprenticeship, the objective of which is the cultural transfer of knowledge and the transformation of children into adults (Lillehammer 1989, 2000; Högberg 1999, 2008). Artefacts in the form of tools are a means of socialisation and informal education (Greenfield 2000). This ensures social reproduction and social change as pointed by Linda Grimm in her study of the technological variability of flintknapping (Grimm 2000), and gives glimpses of social life and the manual abilities and mentality of individuals in terms of craftsmanship and resource economy (Fisher 1990). Bagwell reports that on the basis of cognitive development, children manufacturing pottery are unlikely to begin making pots before the age of four, but are capable of making recognisable forms at the age of five (Bagwell 2002; Sánchez Romero 2008: 28).

Archaeological formation and examination processes are apparent also in the discussions on the fluid relationship between miniatures, toys, tools and full-size objects to understand the issues of cultural transference, learning and play in the socialisation of children in past societies (Lillehammer 1989, 2000; Sillar 1996; Sofaer1997a; Park 1998; Fahre 1998; Högberg 1999, 2001, 2008; Crawford 2000; Wilkie 2000; Callow 2006; Luoto 2007;

Rogersdotter 2008; Sánchez Romero 2008; Lewis 2009). The kid-sized toolkits of flint, or the small ceramic vessels discovered in the archaeological record, are these tools or toys (Fig. 2)? Were they made by children or by adults to be used by children (Daw 1997; Lillehammer 2000, 2005; Sanchez-Romero 2008, Mejsholm 2009)? Rogersdotter suggests that the toy concept is elusive and cannot be used as it is difficult to distinguish between toys and tools. Toys could exist as 'in-between' objects in the daily activities of everyday life and express social strategies interacting on multiple levels (Rogersdotter 2008: 143-147). Sánchez Romero has reported that the small ceramic vessels in burials represent apprenticeship (Sánchez Romero 2008). Based on lipid analyses, Mejsholm reported the small ceramic vessels in infant burials of infants to be the containers for food consisting of deer's milk and not human breast milk (Mejsholm 2009: 182-184, fig. 8.8.).

Because play is not always fun, it requires interpretation and the researcher must fully adapt to the nature of the subject and not the reverse (Schwartzman 1978: 326-329). From a theoretical and methodological point of view in archaeology, and in order to go beyond the boundaries of adult

Figure 2.- Differences in size. Flint artefacts from two burials in the Mesolithic cemetery of Skateholm, Sweden. 1, 3 and 5 represent the burial of a 19-20 year old adult in comparison with the points 2, 4 and 6 from the burial of a 10 year old child (Larsson 1982: 28).

worlds and their expectancy of children's potential capacity and limitation, we have started by asking about the material worlds of children. Children are a minor part of human life, a group that is regarded as not having authority and whose living conditions are determined by adults, and also indirectly by adult ways of life (Barth 1976; Lillehammer 1989). Ethnography has provided sufficient materials to indicate real diffusionary processes between adult and child dimensions of culture (Goldman 1998: 260).

Results from the archaeology of children could testify to this. In our approach to the material culture of the past, the premise of adults is both an advantage and a disadvantage. An advantage is the archaeological knowledge of adult worlds in representing the theoretical and methodological framework that is helping us to locate evidence of children in the archaeological record. But this type of knowledge is also a disadvantage, because it is decentred from the worlds of children and children's worlds and acknowledges the adults, and not the children, and what the children are in this relationship. Consequently, and as pointed out earlier, research on children in past societies could lead to misleading scientific analyses (Lillehammer 2000). In this respect we have to examine more closely the factors that constitute the interrelationships between age and gender in past societies and the material culture of children.

8.3. Adult constructions of the worlds of children

Age and gender are stages of life that are important constructs within human societies (Wilkie 2000: 111). Of all identities associated with humans as individuals these categories are frequently looked at in archaeology (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 7-9). The conceptual parallels between age and gender have been pointed out as striking and its manifestation in material culture has been said to be cultural specific (Sofaer1997b, Moore and Scott 1997). These factors determine to a great extent the construction of social relations and categories (Sofaer 1994b, 1997c, 2006a, 2006b; Dommasnes 1999; Janik 2000; Gowland 2006; Sánchez Romero 2008; Svedin 2005; Thedéen 2008). Even if research on gender touches upon the main question of the meaning of becoming human in the past, archaeological
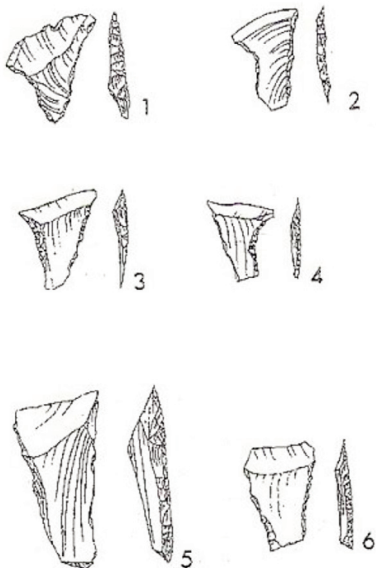
research on children in particular explores the relationship between natural and cultural factors that condition, threaten or lead to the death of children in particular.

Because of the extensive use in archaeology of evidence from mortuary remains, we have to consider the worlds of children and adults in a life and death perspective of human life cycles (Gilchrist 2000, 2004; Gowland 2006; Thedéen 2004). Given the theoretical perspective of burials as representing ideological contexts where social images are concealed, embellished or justified by the living society (Levi-Strauss 1973: 243; Lillehammer 1996), the remains of children may be looked at from a variety of angles. Despite the high rate of mortality of 50% for ancient children in general (Chamberlain 1997: 249), the wide variations in mortality rates among human populations (Chamberlain 2000), and the problem in interpreting child mortality in earlier populations (Brothwell 1986-87), differences exist in the way in which uncertain factors of survival affect the social recognition of children. Age roles may be differently constructed, negotiated and renegotiated across time, space and structure.

In some studies this is seen in the practice of infanticide (Scott 1999; Callow 2006; Lillehammer 2008b, in press) and the treatment of infants (Lally and Ardren 2008). Despite changes in religious beliefs, there was no difference in the way burials were treated in the Prehistoric and Middle Ages, yet differences could be seen according to the age and circumstances of birth and death, which led to children being buried at home or close to dwelling places – deserted or not deserted – and outside and inside churches (Ulrich-Bochsler 1997, 2002; Crawford 2008; Mejsholm 2009). In cemeteries their marginal locations and identification with the host site often enhanced their ambiguous and liminal character (Finlay 2000). In many prehistoric mortuary rituals children are included in the worlds of the living and the dead (Crawford 2007, 2008; Beilke-Vogt 2008), and this occurred in these settings among cave dwellers in huntergatherer communities as early as 27 000 years ago (Einwögerer *et al*. 2006). Conversely, they are also separated or excluded from the burial world of society as seen in evidence from latrines, ditches, mountains and bogs (Cueni 1995; Ceruti 2004; Lillehammer 2008b, in press;), because their place lay within other realms of social expression (Crawford 2000: 177).

In others, the cultural transmittance of unwritten knowledge brings perspectives to the contradictory and powerful relationship between life and death. The unwritten knowledge in preliterate societies and the absolute dependence on the wise words of the older generation on detailed natural and cultural knowledge is essential to survival (Diamond 2001). Similarities or differences in a child's and an adults' artefacts used in burial rituals, as compared to artefacts reflecting the performance of social and practical skills in everyday life, may in past societies symbolise the idealisation of adulthood (Lillehammer 2000: 22-23) in the division of potentiality based on children's cognitive development, knowledge capacity and cultural initiation in the society (Lillehammer 2006b).

Some Scandinavian studies explain the background for the apparent social or religious change in burial rituals. The study of social relations between generations and ritual practices in Bronze Age landscapes in Sweden show the expression of cultural construction of age in spatial terms. Adults (men and women) with special abilities and esoteric knowledge related to passage rituals were buried in cairns. Infants, whose relationships with these adults were special, were buried in heaps of firecracked stones (Thedéen 2004). In an analysis of pre-historic child burials from the Early Iron Age in Norway, the under-representation of child burials was examined in the archaeological record. The results from the study indicate that burial evidence represents socio-cultural selection and ranking based on the stratification of social status, position and worth of children in the society (Vik 2007: 114-115). An analysis of the cultural construction of girlhood in Viking Age Gotland, Sweden, indicates that the question of acquired or inherited status is relevant for the interpretation of archaeological evidence from girl's burials. An intermediate position (5-15 years) in the status between girlhood and womanhood has been suggested as the representation of maidenhood (Thedéen 2008: 89-91). A general pattern of child burials has been reported for the Pre-Christian and Christian cemeteries in Iceland and Scandinavia between the Viking Age (Pre-Christian) and Medieval Age (Christian). Child burials are rare in cemeteries where grave goods are common (Callow 2006: 59). This could indicate social changes in the apparent religious rituals assigned to the worth of children at death (also Mejsholm 2009).

9. Archaeology of children on a long-term scale

The study of children in the past has led to the theoretical development of the archaeology of age (Lillehammer 2000; Welinder 1998; Lucy 2005; Sofaer 2006a). Children approached adult worlds through their vitality, ability and capacity to cope and adapt, which were set by the limits of their potentiality as members of the society. As seen from the material evidence of Stone Age burials in Sweden (Welinder 1997: 75-76), their age was not a chronological age measured in calendar years, but a cultural age based on a well-defined pattern of ritual significance.

Analyses of the long-term structural history of culture and change of late Neolithic and Bronze Age organisation and structure from 6000 BC to the birth of Christ in Central Europe, indicate that female children and women of the warrior elite were often slightly underrepresented and the non-elite disappeared in the record. In reality, very little is known of the basis and the kind of power early elites relied on (Vankilde 2007: 89). The result differs from what emerged in the Swedish study of long-term changes in passage rituals and mortuary practices in the Bronze Age. In the late Bronze Age and Pre-Roman Age, children become visible both in burials and/or at rock-carving sites, signalling shifts in power relations between gender and generations in favour of women and younger people (Thedéen 2004: 204-205).

Therefore, I believe the focus on children locally is a challenge to archaeological research in a radical manner, given the variety of archaeological evidence on a global scale. Every child is an expression of the arrival of the new in society (Lillehammer 2000, 2008b). In this respect, a child represents more than the biological and social factors of age, sex and gender. Children are the creators of their own worlds, the children's world (Lillehammer 1989, 2000, 2008a), and have always had the potential to trigger reproduction or to initiate cultural innovation, variation and change in time and space. From the perspective of short generation gaps in pre-modern and traditional societies of the past, to acknowledge the quality of potentiality for cultural innovation and change is the main impetus which research on children contributes to archaeology (Lillehammer 2000).

The study of ancient children comprises the material evidence of individuals that are dead and long gone, together with their parents and carers. Neither the archaeologist nor the anthropologist can overlook the problem of time gap. With the exceptions of historical archaeology (Wilkie 2000), classical archaeology (Golden 1990; Lee 1994; Beaumont 2000; Verhoeven 2002; Vogel 2002; Neils and Oakley 2003) and ethno-archaeology (Sillar 1996; Greenfield 2000), where written records support the evidence, when dealing with questions that relate to the material culture of children in the past, direct observations are not possible. Interdisciplinary approaches have been pointed out as necessary to examine the material culture of children (Lillehammer 1989, 2000, 2005, 2008a; Sofaer 2000; Högberg 2001; Crawford and Lewis 2008; Röder 2008). Inferences about the material culture of ancient children have to consider and reconsider theories and models, which draw on information from a diverse range of sources on a long-term scale. This point of departure was clear early on (Lillehammer 1989), and is reflected in the employment of the notion "the worlds of children" (e.g. Ballantyne 1996: 108; Lillehammer 1989, 2000, 2008a).

The post-modern experience of cultural plurality has opened up a variety of approaches to the interpretations of material culture. As part of this experience, research questions, data and interpretation are regarded as value-laden and influenced by the cultural perception, theoretical position and geographical location of the archaeologist. In the recognition of material culture as the practice of communicating meaning through experience and use (Hodder 1989: 258-259), objects are understood as tools that are important to learn from and with (Sörensen 2000: 78; Bourdieu 1977). In particular, these propositions are reflected in the establishing phase of 1990-2000, as demonstrated by indexes on "children" in archaeological literature on gender and children (Table 1). The indexes comprise themes most common or generally related to the subjects of gender and children, and themes specific to gender or children, respectively. Three (Table 1: B-D) out of the four groups (Table 1: A-D) include the study of objects or their associated features, such as burials, figurines, flintknapping, footprints, grave goods, and hearths. In particular, the group specific to children (Table 1: D) consists of themes that are closely related to the practical aspect of material culture, and as such those that reflect the empirical core of archaeolog-

ical research. This is demonstrated by the interest in tracing the physical evidence of children in the archaeological record, and examining the transference of culture by studying technological skills. The rest of the themes represented in the groups (Table 1: A-D) include the use of comparative methods from other disciplines, such as physical and social anthropology.

The use of comparative studies is shown in the group of common issues (Table 1: A), clearly demonstrating the West's position toward the subject at the time, as reflected in the gap in time and space between past life and the life worlds of the archaeologists. The common group concerns themes that reflect the difference in attitude towards children in the society, the asymmetrical relationship between children and their seniors, and the distress, pressure or tensions that could characterise the social state of being junior. Most astonishing among the groups (table 1: A-D) is the lack of focus on games and play. Later, this theme has proven to be constructive in the discussions on cultural transference of knowledge and socialisation of children (Fahre 1998; Högberg 1999, 2008; Wilkie 2000; Callow 2006; Wileman 2005; Rogersdotter 2008; Sánchez Romero 2008).

At this point in research, there is also a discrepancy between gender archaeology and child archaeology. Critical to the aspect of play is that it is related to common sense and to natural attitudes, and could easily go unnoticed in the research process of science. What we have to reconsider is the problem of overlooking what comes natural, which echoes the critique in social anthropology on gender issues, and the failure to theorise the acquisition of identity and the multiple nature of subjectivity. Anthropology's emphasis on the social, at the expense of the individual, accounts in large part for its failure to develop a theory of the subject (Moore 1994: 3-4). In this perspective, failure to recognise what constitutes the biological and cultural identity of a child as an individual and a person could result in children becoming only research objects and passive appendages to adult culture. However elusive the toy concept (Rogersdotter 2008), it is necessary to point out the importance of games and play, and of seeing children as players of cultural roles that could represent the recognition of the essence of the society in the past (Goldman 1998: 173). Why is it necessary to emphasise this point?

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INDEX 1990-2000: GENDER AND CHILDREN	
A. COMMON	**B. GENERAL**

childbearing
childcare
childhood stress
parental favouritism
	burial
	grave goods
	bodily appearances and
	    identity
	infanticide
	mortality patterns
	population growth
	constraints related to
	    children
	domestic abandonment
	class
	fisherer-gatherer-hunters

C. GENDER	**D. CHILDREN**
figurines engendering children gender constructs hearts and home involvement in food production life stages and food	flintknapping footprints material cultural shock world of children

Figure 3.- The distribution of the most common, general or specific themes relating children to gender and material culture in the indexes of a selection of archaeological literature 1990-2000 (Gero & Conkey 1991, Moore & Scott 1997, Sofaer Deverenski 2000, Sørensen 2000).

In today's global setting the content of "identity" changes its colour like a chameleon and, because of its nature of subjectivity, is showing to contain explosive charges. We are dealing with the one-dimensional man of modern Western society (Marcuse 1994) as compared to the consideration of mankind itself being made up of special cases. In seeing life as the creator of differences, no "reproduction" is ever identical (Maalouf 2000: 17). The problem of position and representation in science is closely related to questions of cultural universality and difference. In particular, we have to consider the historical consciousness of the gap in time and space between children in the past and present, which is presented as the relationship between "the same" and "the other" in the meaning of history being made in the present and not in the past (Moore 1990: 107-108). The British social anthropologist Henrietta Moore has put the question of identity and subjectivity this way. Who and what do we represent when we speak out? How do we negotiate the inevitable problem in the social

sciences of having to speak about people whilst trying not to speak for them? This is an example of the split between theory and practice (Moore 1994: 9). The problem of subjectivity is related to the question of how actions of individuals lead to cultural innovation and change. It is necessary to confront archaeology with the question of "material culture shock" reflected in behaviour contradictory to the images of modern children (Sofaer 2000).

The children of the Western world have gained insight into the past through information available to the public in children's books and curricula in schoolbooks and museums (Lillehammer 1990; Röder 2002; Roberts 2006; Galanidou and Dommasnes 2007, Galanidou 2008). Their images of past life are based on scientific facts, which could turn into myths in the way history is conveyed by the public (Lowenthal 1998). The problem of material culture shock (Sofaer 2000) leads us to distinguish between the following questions: What is the material culture of children? What is the material culture of childhood? What is the material culture of the worlds of children and children's worlds? While the second question represents a retrospective category of objectification that links material culture to period and memory and to the biological and social process of children's development and socialisation, the first and last correspond to the material culture produced by the activities of children as active agents set on mastering worlds in a living present of the past.

The distinction between the three approaches to children in the past brings about new questions worth considering further in the selection and classification of archaeological data. How do children's toil and labour mark stress on their physical bodies compared to gender tensions resolved in adults (Sofaer 2006a: 105-116; Röder 2008: 79)? How do children's experiences of living in the world in general lead to support from adults, or to opposition, resistance and contradictory behaviour towards adults? Compared to what can be seen in modern children, is it possible to recognise resistance to domination in the material culture of children's worlds in the past? In what way could child resistance lead to innovation and change in the material culture of the past? It is highly probable that the question of children's contribution in changing the world echoes myths and slogans embedded in modern society. Only an examination of these general questions in relation to the inter-

pretation of archaeology together with other scientific data can critically answer the questions why children did or did not reject their parents or carers, or why adults did or did not reject their offspring in the past. Apparently it may seem that the written historical sources in this field are in abundance.

10. Conclusion

It is possible to reach ancient children through archaeology. Though not much research has been carried out on programmatic goals, the number of theoretical and methodological studies on archaeology and children has grown in many directions, which has helped advance archaeological knowledge in general. As a result, the subject has gained strength. However, despite the valuable work carried out by those who have fulfilled their research aims, the subject is marginalized (Schwartzman 2006: 127) and little attention is paid to it in academic circles. The archaeology of children seems to be divided between social archaeology and bioarchaeology with respect to topics of sex, gender, age and identity. "Women's issues" and the "mother-child" relationship are possibly still associated with the subject (Lillehammer 2000). It is necessary to ask why "male issues" and the "father-child" relationship appear to be uninterestedly withdrawn from or rejected by the subject. Whether this is the impression gained from selectively reading archaeological handbooks looking for key ideas and indexes, or whether it has no hold on archaeology in general, the impact this has on the subject can be described as an asymmetrical relationship between children and adult worlds and a shadowland of uncertainty about children in the past.

The natural link between children and adults has been verified through academic research conducted so far. Analyses have demonstrated that approaches to the relationships between the worlds of children and adults and the adult construction of childhood appear far more ahead of those directed towards children's worlds. However much we define children in the archaeological record, we could describe the problem in this way: if the contribution of adults, and in particular the elders, were esteemed as the highest authority of knowledge and experience in preliterate societies (Lillehammer 2000, 2006b), would this keep chil-

dren from creatively innovating their own worlds? It is a matter of great concern that the important debate on the representation of childhood (Crawford and Shepherd 2007b: 1-2) is not examining the nature-culture relationship and spatial dimension of children's development and experience in contributing to cultural reproduction, innovation and change in the past. Rather, it would be positive if the children versus childhood debate went hand in hand with these aspects in theory and practice. In archaeology there is optimism and scepticism concerning data and analyses from the perspective of bioarchaeology of the physical and cognitive impact of special duties and chores only children can do with their bodies (Sofaer 2006a: 128-129), and from the elusive perspective of play, as children's playthings are also children's (play) things (Rogersdotter 2008: 148).

The search for what comes natural in children's challenge or disobedience to the natural and cultural boundaries of the world in general is complicated. Therefore, the challenge for the archaeology of children is to overcome obstacles in the approaches to all the three worlds. Cognitively, children's own logic and creativity in constructing things in their own worlds as consistent or contradictory to the adult worlds, and expressed in the dual character of their material culture, should be of paramount interest to study in archaeology. The shifting in the populations' evaluation of different activities (Kelly 2000), as compared to the importance of age difference, appears in this analysis to be a constructive approach to the archaeology of children. From the long-scale perspective of cultural reproduction and change in the past, what would seem natural to notice in archaeology is a search for the relationships between short and long generation overlap and rapid or slow change in the material culture of prehistoric societies.

The standing of theoretical and methodological advancements is a matter of multiple choice and preference to what qualifies as the best material and proper research strategy for archaeological study and investigation. As long as the younger generations of archaeologists pay attention to independently learning critical thinking about theory and method in archaeology, they will contribute by pushing frontiers and challenging the range and scope of archaeological analyses. The multidisciplinary study of children has to be based on approaches that pay critical attention to the prob-

lems of linking theoretical work with scientific practice. In our modern views of children as weak and vulnerable beings in need of special support, we may easily overlook the variety of powers and contradictions assigned to children in past societies (Lillehammer 2008b). We may neither like the parents nor their substitutes, nor their approaches and our own conclusions about their behaviour towards children of the past. Regardless of our point of departure, it is important to point out that we cannot exclude material that would weaken the working hypothesis or invalidate the evidence. Neither can we stop asking questions and circling the archaeological record. The cry for data of children to be tested against archaeological evidence has to be continued to be heard in archaeology and beyond. As part of our research aims, our working hypotheses and interpretations have to be tested against the material evidence for analysis, and our theoretical and methodological positions and social world views have to be made explicit as part of our research aims. From this perspective, the archaeology of children has shown itself to be innovative in its own right.

We have humbly to remind ourselves of phenomenology's critique of science (Sokolowsky 2000: 149-150). In archaeology, knowledge is made up of scientific constructions, idealisations projected to the past where things are thought to have "truly" been there in their perfect exactness. As long as children are perceived as immature and incomplete human beings, they are relegated to a subordinated position in the society. So far, the small-scale archaeology of children would seem a minor approach to the study of past societies, but on the contrary, the cultural variations in the material evidence of children in the past may seem to form an infinite number. The call for multidisciplinary collaborations is challenging more than the academic field of archaeology. In forming potential links to the study of children and material culture, the contribution of these disciplines in shedding light on children in the past is at theoretical and methodological levels.

The results extracted from a vast and varied scientific record give insight into how natural-cultural relationships and spatial dimensions are significant to the study of material culture of children in the long-term perspective. In this research, the archaeologist can neither depart from the fact of being confronted with a diversity of views on

humanity differing from her or his own, nor with exposing the nature of societies in their ways of treating children in human life. In current-day society, concern for minorities has led to a focus on age groups worldwide. This commitment is evident in UNICEF's 2009 report on newborn children and maternal health (Unicef 2008). To acknowledge society's behaviour towards children is to reveal the understanding and explanation of cultural reproduction and transformation at the innermost core of human history. It is of great importance and concern to keep the subject alive and going in archaeological research and teaching at an international level.

REFERENCES

ADKINS, L.; ADKINS, R. (1998): *The Handbook of British Archaeology*. Constable, London.

ALT, K.W.; KEMKES-GROTTENTHALER, A. (eds.) (2002): *Kinderwelten. Anthropologie – Geschichte – Kulturvergleich*. Böhlau Verlag, Köln Weimar Wien.

ARDREN, T.; HULTON (2006): *The Social Experience of Childhood in Ancient Mesoamerica*. University of Colorado Press, Boulder.

AUGÉ, M. (1995): *Non-Places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. Verson, London.

BACVAROV, B. (ed.) (2008): *Babies Reborn: Infant/Child Burials in Pre- and Protohistory*. Proceedings of the XV World Congress UISPP (Lisbon, 4-9 September 2006). BAR S1832, Archaeopress, Oxford.

BAGWELL, E. (2002): Ceramic form and skill. Attempting to identify child producers at Pecos Pueblo, New Mexico. *Children in the Prehistoric Puebloan Southwest* (K.A. Kamp ed.), University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City: 90-107.

BALLANTYNE, T. (1996): The mission station as "The enchanter's wand": Missionaries, Maori and the notion of the household. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 13 (2): 97-112.

BAGGØIEN, A.A. (1979): Gravskikk og gravtro i eldre jernalder. En analyse av et gravfunn fra Skreros i Vegusdal. *Agder Historielag Årsskrift*, 57: 5-16.

BAKKE, O.M. (2005): *When children became People. The Birth of Childhood in Early Christianity*. Fortress Press, Minneapolis.

BARTH, F. (1976): Forskning om barn i sosial-antropologien. *Forskningsnytt*, 21 (5): 43.

BARRY, H.; PAXTON, L.M. (1971): Infancy and early childhood: Cross-cultural codes 2. *Ethnology*, 10: 466-508.

BAXTER, J.E. (2005): *The Archaeology of Childhood. Children, Gender and Material Culture*. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek.

BEAUMONT, L. (2000): The social status and artistic presentation of "adolescence" in fifth century Athens. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.), Routledge, London: 39-50.

BEAUSANG, E. (2005): *Childbirth and Mothering in Archaeology*. GOTARC, Series B, 37. Göteborg.

BERTELSEN, R.; LILLEHAMMER, A.; NÆSS, J.-R. (eds.)(1987[1979]): *Were They all Men? An Examination of Sex Roles in Prehistoric Society*. AmS – Varia 17. Stavanger.

BEILKE-VOGT, I. (2008): Burials of children in houses and settlements during the Roman Iron Age and Early Medieval Period in Northern Germany and Denmark. *Children, Identity and the Past* (L.H. Dommasnes, M. Wrigglesworth, eds.), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge: 16-35.

BONNICHSEN, R. (1973): Millie's camp: An experiment in archaeology. *World Archaeology*, 4(3): 277-291.

BOLEN, K.M. (1992): Prehistoric construction of mothering. *Exploring Gender through Archaeology* (C. Claassen, ed.), Prehistoric Press, Madison: 5-62.

BOLGER, D. (2003): *Gender in Ancient Cyprus. Narratives of Social Change on a Mediterranean Island*. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek.

BOURDIEU, P. (1979): *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

BROTHWELL, D.R. (1986-87): The problem of the interpretation of child mortality in Earlier Populations. *Antropologia Portuguesa*, 4-5: 135-143.

CALLOW, C. (2006): First steps towards an archaeology of children in Iceland. *Archaeologia Islandica*, 5: 55-96.

CALLOW, C. (2007): Transitions to adulthood in early Icelandic society. *Children, Childhood and Society* (S. Crawford, G. Shepherd, eds.), IAA Interdisciplinary Series Vol. I, Studies in Archaeology, History, Literature and Art (BAR International Series 1696), Archaeopress, Oxford: 45-55.

CHAMBERLAIN, A. . (1997): Commentary: Missing stages of life - towards the perception of children in archaeology. *Invisible People and Processes* (J. Moore, E. Scott, eds.), Leicester University Press, London: 248-250.

CHAMBERLAIN, A.T. (2000): Minor concerns: A demographic perspective on children in the past. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.), Routledge, London: 206-212.

CAMPBELL, G.; MIERS, S.; MILLER, J. C. (eds.) (2009): *Children in Slavery through the Ages*. Ohio University Press, Swallow Press, Athens.

CARSTEN, J. (2003): Introduction. *Cultures of Relatedness. New Approaches to the Study of Kinship* (J. Carsten, ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1-37.

CERUTI, M. C. (2004): Human bodies as objects of dedication at Inca mountain shrines (north-western Argentina). *World Archaeology*, 36 (1): 103-122.

CLAASSEN, C. (1992): Questioning gender: An introduction. *Exploring Gender through Archaeology* (C. Claassen, ed.), Prehistoric Press, Madison: 1-9.

CRAWFORD, S. (1991): When do Anglo-Saxon children count? *Journal of Theoretical Archaeology*, 2: 17-24.

CRAWFORD, S. (1999): *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England*. Stroud, Sutton.

CRAWFORD, S. (2000): Children, grave goods and social status in Early Anglo-Saxon England. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.). Routledge, London: 169-179.

CRAWFORD, S. (2007): Companions, co-incidence or chattels? Children in the early Anglo-Saxon multiple burial ritual. *Children, Childhood and Society* (S. Crawford, G. Sheperd, eds.), IAA Interdisciplinary Series Vol. I: Studies in Archaeology, History, Literature and Art (BAR International Series 1696), Archaeopress, Oxford: 83-92.

CRAWFORD, S. (2008): Special burials, special buildings? An Anglo-Saxon perspective on the interpretation of infant burials in association with rural settlement structures. *Babies Reborn: Infant/Child Burials in Pre- and Protohistory* (K. Bacvarov, ed.). Proceedings of the XV World Congress of the UISPP (BAR International S1832), Archaeopress, Oxford: 197-204.

CRAWFORD, S.; SHEPERD, G. (eds.) (2007a): *Children, Childhood and Society*. IAA Interdisciplinary Series Vol. I: Studies in Archaeology, History, Literature and Art (BAR International Series 1696), Archaeopress, Oxford.

CRAWFORD, S.; SHEPHERD, G. (2007b): Children, childhood and society: An introduction. *Children, Childhood and Society* (S. Crawford, G. Shepherd, eds.), IAA Interdisciplinary Series Vol. I, Studies in Archaeology, History, Literature and Art (BAR International Series 1696), Archaeopress, Oxford: 1-14.

CRAWFORD, S.; LEWIS, C. (2008): Childhood studies and the Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past. *Childhood in the Past*, 1: 5-16

CUENI, A. (1995): Ein Säuglingsskelett aus einer mittelalterlichen Latrinengrube in Schaufhausen. *Bull. Soc. Suisse d'Anthrop*, 1:33-37.

CUNNINGHAM, H. (2005): *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*. Pearson Longman, Harlow.

DAW, B. (1997): Tiny arrowheads: Toys in the toolkit. *Plains Anthroplogist*, 42 (161): 303-318.

DIAMOND, J. (2001): *Unwritten knowledge*. Nature, 410:521.

DÍAZ-ANDREU, M.; LUCY, S. (2005): Introduction. *The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion* (M. Díaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babíc, D.N. Edwards, eds.), Routledge, London: 1-12.

DOMMASNES, L.H. (1992): Two decades of women in prehistory and in archaeology in Norway: A review. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 25 (1): 1-14.

DOMMASNES, L.H. (1999): Om kvinner og barn i forhistoriske samfunn. *Viking*, 7: 17.

DOMMASNES, L.H. (2008): Introduction: The past – Worlds of children and for children? *Children, Identity and the Past* (L.H. Dommasnes, M. Wrigglesworth, eds.), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge: XI-XXX.

DOMMASNES, L.H.; WRIGGLESWORTH, M. (eds.) (2008): *Children, Identity and the Past*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge.

ELLIOT, J.; KNIGHT, A.; COWLEY, C. (eds.) (2001). *Oxford Dictionary & Thesaurus*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

EINWÖGERER, T.; FRIESINGER, H.; HÄNDEL, M.; MARESCH-NEUHEBAUER, C.; SIMON, U.; TESCHLER-NICOLA, M. (2006): Upper Paleolithic infant burials. *Nature*, 444 (16): 285.

FAHRE, L. (1998): *Livet leker! –En Studie av Lekematerialet fra Folkebibiotekstomten i Trondheim som er datert til Perioden 970-1500.* Unpublished Master Dissertation, IAKN Fac. of History and Philosophy, University of Oslo.

FINLAY, N. (1997): Kid knapping: the missing children in lithic analysis. *Invisible People and Processes* (J. Moore, E. Scott, eds.), Leicester University Press, London: 203-212.

FINLAY, N. (2000): Outside of life: Traditions of infant burial in Ireland from cillín to cist. *World Archaeology*, 31 (3): 407-422.

FISHER, A. (1990): A Late Palaeolithic "school" of flint-knapping at Trollesgave, Denmark. Results from refitting. *Acta Archaeologica*, 60: 33-49.

FRITZNER, J. (1973): *Ordbok over Det gamle norske Sprog*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø.

FRØNES, I. (1994): Dimensions of childhood. *Childhood Matters. Social Theory, Practice and Politics* (J. Qvortrup, M. Bardy, G. Sgritta, H. Wintersberger, eds.), Public Policy and Social Welfare, 4: 145-163.

FYLLINGEN, H. (2003): Society and violence in the Early Bronze Age: an analysis of human skeletons from Nord-Trøndelag, Norway. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 36 (1): 27-42.

GALANIDOU, N. (2008): The Palaeolithic for children. Text and identity. *Children, Identity and the Past* (L.H. Dommasnes, M. Wrigglesworth, eds.), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge: 181-205.

GALINADOU, N.; DOMMASNES, L.H. (eds.) (2007): *Telling Children about the Past. An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. International Monographs in Prehistory, Ann Arbor.

GERO, J.M.; CONKEY M.W. (eds.) (1991): *Engendering Archaeology. Women and Prehistory*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

GIBBS, R.W. (2005): E*mbodiment and Cognitive Science*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

GILCHRIST, R. (1999): *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past*. Routledge, London.

GILCHRIST, R. (ed.) (2000): Human Lifecycles. *World Archaeology*, 31 (3).

GILCHRIST, R. (2004): Archaeology and the life course. A time and age for gender. *A Companion to Social Archaeology* (L. Meskell, R. W. Preucel, eds.), Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 141-160.

GOLDEN, M. (1990): *Childhood in classical Athens*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

GOLDMAN, L. R. (1998): *Child's Play. Myth, Mimesis and Make - Believe*. Berg, Oxford-New York.

GOTTLIEB, A. (2004): *The Afterlife is Where We come from. The Culture of Infancy in West Africa*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

GOWLAND, R. (2006): Ageing the Past: Examining age identity from funerary evidence. *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains* (R. Gowland, C. Knüsel, eds.), Oxbow Books, Oxford: 143-154.

GOWLAND, R.; KNÜSEL, C. (eds.) (2006): Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

GRÄSLUND, A.S. (1973): Barn i Birka. *Tor*, 15: 161-179

GRÄSLUND, A.S. (1998): A princely child in Birka. *Festschrift für Michael Müller-Wille* (A. Wesse, ed.), Studien zur Archäologie des Ostseeraumes. Von der Eisenzeit zum Mittelalter: 281-289.

GREEN, S; HOGAN, D. (eds.) (2005): *Researching Children's Experience. Approaches and Methods*. Sage, London.

GREENFIELD, P. (2000): Children, material culture and weaving: Historical change and developmental change. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.), Routledge, London: 72-86.

GRIMM, L. (2000): Apprentice flintknapping: Relating material culture and social practice in the Upper Palaeolithic. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.), Routledge, London: 53-71.

GUSTAFSSON, L.; LUNDIN, I. (2004): "…och så var det barnen…". Barn- och ungdomsgravar i Svarteborg och Kville socknar (”...and then there were the children…Burials of children and juveniles in the parish of Svarteborg and Kville). *Gravar och ritualer* (P. Claesson, B.-A. Munkenberg, eds.), Kulturhistoriska dokumentasjoner 15, Bohusläns museum: 71-106.

HALCROW, S.E.; TAYLES, N. (2008): The bioarchaeological investigation of childhood and social age: problems and prospects. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 15: 190-215.

HAMMOND, G.; HAMMOND, N. (1981): Child's play: A distorting factor in archaeological distribution. *American Antiquity*, 46 (3): 634-636.

HAYS-GILPIN, K.; WHITLEY, D.S. (eds.) (1998): *Reader in Gender Archaeology*. Routledge, London.

HEGGSTAD, L. (1958): *Gamalnorsk Ordbok*. Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo.

HELMS, M. W. (1998): *Access to Origin. Affines, Ancestors and Aristocrats*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

HODDER, I. (1989): This is not an article about material culture as text. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 8: 250-269.

HÖGBERG, A. (1999): Child and adult at a knapping area. A technological flake analysis of the manufacture of a Neolithic square sectioned axe and a child's flintknapping activities on an assemblage excavated as part of the Öre-sund fixed link project. *Acta Archaeologica,* 70: 79-106.

HÖGBERG, A. (2001): Barn och materiell kultur – Reflexioner kring en läsning. *META*, 1: 44-47.

HÖGBERG, A. (2008): Playing with flint: Tracing a child's imitation of adult work in a lithic assemblage. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 15:112-131.

HUG, B. (2008): Childhood: an Ethno-Psychological Approach. *Children, Identity and the Past* (L.H. Dommasnes, M. Wrigglesworth, eds.), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge: 83-95.

JAMES, A.; PROUT, A. (1990): *Constructing and reconstructing Childhood*. Falmer, Basingstoke.

JAMES, A.; JENKS, C.; PROUT, A. (1998): *Theorizing Childhood*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

JAMES, A.; JAMES, A. (2004): *Constructing Childhood. Theory, Policy and Social Practice.* Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire.

JANIK, L. (2000). The construction of the individual among north-European fisher-gatherer-hunters in the Early and Mid-Holocene. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.) Routledge, London: 117-130.

JOHNSEN, B.; WELINDER, S. (eds.) (1995): *Arkeologi om barn (The archaeology of children)*. Occasional Papers in Archaeology, 10, Uppsala.

JOHNSON, M. (1999): *Archaeological Theory. An Introduction*. Blackwell, Oxford.

JOHNSSON, K. (1999): Bland barnaföderskor, spädbarn och "vuxna barn" – social och religiös kontroll speglad i grav-materialet från Västerhus. *META*, 4: 12-35.

KAMP, K. A. (2001): Where have all the children gone? The archaeology of childhood. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 8 (1): 1-34.

KANVALL, P. (1995): Barn i förhistorisk tid. En teoretisk diskusion kring begreppet "barn". *Arkeologi om barn (The archaeology of children)* (B. Johnsen, S. Welinder, eds.), Occasional Papers of Archaeology, 10, Uppsala: 7-12.

KARLSSON, Y. (1999): Women in the Norwegian mountains in prehistory. *K. A. N.*, 22-23: 23-38.

KATZENBERG, M.A.; SHELLEY, R.S. (eds.) (2008): *Biological Anthropology of the Human Skeleton*. Wiley, Hoboken.

KELLY, R. L. (2000): A behavioural ecological paradigm. *Social Theory in Archaeology* (M.B. Schiffer, ed.), The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City: 63-78.

KNUDSEN, T.; SOMMERFELT, A. (1937): Barndom. *Norsk Riksmålsordbok*. H. Aschehoug & Co, (W. Nygaard), Oslo: 207-208.

LALLY, M. (2008): Bodies of difference in Iron Age Southern England. *Changing Perspectives on the First Millennium BC* (O. Davies, N. Sharples, K. Waddington, eds.), Oxbow Books, Oxford: 119-138.

LALLY, M.; ARDREN, T. (2008): Little artefacts: Rethinking the constitution of archaeological infant. *Childhood in the Past,* 1: 62-77.

LANCY, D.F. (2008): *The Anthropology of Childhood. Cherubs, Chattel, Changelings*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

LANDRØ, M.I.; WANGENSTEEN, B. (1986): *Bokmålsordboka. Definisjons- og Rettskrivningsordbok*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

LARJE, R.; JOHANSSON, B.M. (1997): En innehållsrik neolittisk spädbarnsgrav från Ajvide på Gotland. (An informati-ve infant's burial from Ajvide, Gotland). *SAR Stockholm Archaeological Reports*, 33: 207-221.

LARSSON, L. (1982): Skateholmsprojektet. Nya gravar og ett nytt gravfält från Jägarstenålderen. *Limhamniana*, 1982: 11-42.

LEE, A.K. (1994): Attitudes and prejudices towards infanticide: Carthage, Rome and Today. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 13 (2): 65-79.

LEVI-STRAUSS, C. (1973): *Tristes Tropiques*. Plon, París.

LEVINAS, E, (1996): *Den Annens Humanisme*. Thorleif Dahls Kulturbibiliotek, H. Aschehoug & Co, Oslo.

LEVINE, R.A. (1998): Child psychology and anthropology: An environmental view. *Biosocial Perspectives on Childhood* (C. Panter-Brick, ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 102-130.

LEVINE, R.A.; NEW, R. S. (2008): *Anthropology and Child Development. A Cross-Cultural Reader*. Balckwell, Oxford.

LEWIS, C. (2009): Children's play in the later medieval English countryside. *Childhood in the Past*, 2: 87-109.

LEWIS, M. (2007): *The Bioarchaeology of Children: Perspectives from Biological and Forensic Archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

LEWIS-SIMPSON, S. (ed.) (2008): *The Northern World. Youth and Age in the Medieval North*. Brill, Leiden.

LILLEHAMMER, G. (1972): En gravhaug på Klepp. Forsøk på analyse og rekonstruksjon. *Frá haug ok heiðni*, 3, 247-251.

LILLEHAMMER, G. (1975): Gravhaugen på Laland i Klepp en gang til. *Frá haug ok heiðni*, 4, 268-380.

LILLEHAMMER, G. (1979a): Gjemt og glemt — Barn i fortiden. *AmS- Småtrykk*, 5: 4-7.

LILLEHAMMER, G. (1979b): Tre små jærbuer. *AmS- Småtrykk*, 5: 14-17.

LILLEHAMMER, G. (1982): Med barnet på vei inn i forhistorien. *Faggrenser brytes* (A. Lillehammer, ed.), Ams-Skrifter, 9: 97-102

Lillehammer, G. (1986): Barna i Nordens forhistorie. Drøft metodegrunnlaget og kildenes bærekraft. *K.A.N.*, 2: 3-21.

Lillehammer, G. (1987 [1979]): Small scale archaeology. *Were They All Men? An Examination of Sex Roles in Prehistoric Society* (R. Bertelsen, A. Lillehammer, J.- R. Næss, eds.), *AmS-Varia*, 17: 33-34.

Lillehammer, G. (1989): A child is born. The child's world in an archaeological perspective. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 22 (2): 89-105.

Lillehammer, G. (1990): Barn av sin tid. *Arkeo*, 1: 9-12.

Lillehammer, G. (1996): Død og grav. Gravskikk på Kvassheimgravfeltet, Hå i Rogaland, SV Norge. *AmS-Skrifter*, 13, Stavanger.

Lillehammer, G. (1999): An archaeology of textual diversity – Reading in a room with a view. *Et Hus med Mange Rom* (I. Fuglestvedt, T. Gansum, A. Opedal, eds.), *AmS-Rapport*, 11A: 17-30.

Lillehammer, G. (2000): The world of children. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.), Routledge, London: 17-26.

Lillehammer, G. (2002): Archäologie und Kindheit. *Kinderwelten. Anthropologie –Geschichte –Kulturvergleich* (K. W. Alt; A. Kemkes-Grottenthaler, eds.), Böhlau Verlag, Köln Weimar Wien: 78-94.

Lillehammer, G. (2005): Archaeology and children. *K.A.N.*, 24: 18-35.

Lillehammer, G. (2006a): Det store jentespranget. *Det Arkeologiske Kjønn.* (L. Skogstrand, I. Fuglestvedt, eds.), Oslo Archaeological Series, 7: 65-86.

Lillehammer, G. (2006b): Kunnskap og kunnskapsoverføring i forhistorisk tid. *Universitetet – Idé og Institusjon* (Å. Dahlin Hauken ed.), Seminarrapport Utstein Kloster 2006, Haugaland Akademi, Stavanger: 5-19.

Lillehammer, G. (2007): The past in the present. Landscape perceptions, archaeological heritage and marginal farmland in Jæren, South-western Norway. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 40 (2): 159-178.

Lillehammer, G. (2008a): Something about children. *Children, Identity and the Past* (L.H. Dommasnes; M. Wrigglesworth, eds.), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge: 96-112.

Lillehammer, G. (2008b): Transforming images: Exploring powerful children. *Childhood in the Past*, 1: 94-105.

Lillehammer, G. (2009a): Making them drawn: The use of drawing when researching public attitudes towards the past. *Heritages Studies. Methods and Approaches*. (M.L. Sørensen, J. Carman, eds.), Routledge, London.

Lillehammer, G. (2009b): Historieformidling og historiebevissthet: Den utfordrende fortellingen om den fjerne fortiden. *AmS-Varia*, 49: 1-11

Lillehammer, G. (2010): Introduction to socialization. Recent research on childhood and children in the past. *Socialization. Recent research on childhood and children in the Past* (G. Lillehammer, ed.), Am S-Skriter 23, Stavanger.

Lillehammer, G. (in press): The children in the bog. *The Archaeology of Infancy and Childhood: Proceedings of the Conference held at the University of Kent, 6-8 May 2005.* (M. Lally, A. Moore, eds.), Archaeopress, Oxford.

Lohrke, B. (2000): *Kindergräber. Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 16, Walter Gruyter, Berlin-New York: 540-543.

Löndahl, V.; Nilars, M.; Svensson, E. (2002): Who did what-and where? An attempt to visualise the social space at Skramle during the late 13th and 14th centuries. *Skramle- the True Story of a Deserted Medieval Farmstead* (S. Andersson, S. E. Svensson, eds.), Lund studies in medieval archaeology, 27: 132-162.

Lowenthal, D. (1998): *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lucy, S. (2005): The archaeology of age. *The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion* (M. Díaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babíc, D. N. Edwards, eds.), Routledge, London: 43-66.

Luoti, K. (2007): Artefacts and enculturation – Examples of toy material from the medieval town of Turku. *Hortus Novus. Fresh Approaches to Medieval Archaeology in Finland* (V. Immonen, M. Lempiäinen, U. Rosendahl, eds.), Archaeologia Medii Aevi Findlandiae, 14: 10-20.

Maalouf, A. (2000): *On Identity*. The Harvill Press, London.

Marcuse, H. (1994): *One-dimensional Man. (With a new introduction by Douglas Kellner)*. Routledge, London.

Mays, S. (2000): The Archaeology and history of infanticide, and its occurrence in earlier *British populations. Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.), Routledge, London: 180-190.

McKeown, N. (2007): Had they no shame? Martial, Statius, and Roman sexual attitudes towards slave children. *Children, Childhood and Society* (S. Crawford, G. Sheperd, eds.), IAA Interdisciplinary Series Vol I, Studies in Archaeology, History, Literature and Art, BAR International Series 1696, Archaeopress, Oxford: 57-62.

McKerr, L. (2008): Towards an archaeology of childhood: Children and Material culture in Historic Ireland. *Children, Identity and the Past (*L.H. Dommasnes, M. Wrigglesworth, eds.), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge: 17-36.

MEJSHOLM, L. (2009): *Gränsland. Konstruktion av tidig barndom och begravningsritual vid tiden för kristnandet av Skandinavien* (Borderland. Construction of Early Childhood and Burial Rituals during the Christianisation in Scandinavia). Occasional Papers in Archaeology, 44, Uppsala.

MERLEAU-PONTY, M. (1994): *Kroppens fenomenologi* (Phénoménologie de la perception, Trans. Bjørn Nake). Pax Forlag, Oslo.

MEYROWITZ, J. (1985): *No Sense of Place: The Impact of the Media on Social Behaviour*. Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford.

MOLIN, A. (1999): Barngravfältet i Hulje. (The children's cemetery in Hulje and the view of children in prehistoric society). *Olika Perspektiv — På en Arkeologisk Undersökning i Västra Östergötland* (A. Kaliff, ed.), Riksantikvarieämbetet, Avdelningen för arkeologiska undersökningar, Skrifter, 28: 43-56.

MONTGOMERY, H. (2001): *Modern Babylon? Prostituting children in Thailand*. Berghahn Books, New York.

MONTGOMERY, H. (2009): *An Introduction to Childhood. Anthropological Perspectives on Children's Lives*. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester.

MOORE, H.L. (1990): Paul Ricoeur: Action, meaning and text. *Reading Material Culture,* (C. Tilley, ed), Basil Blackwell, Oxford: 85-120.

MOORE, H.L. (1994): *A Passion for Difference*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

MOORE, J.; SCOTT, E. (eds.) (1997): *Invisible People and Processes. Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*. Leicester University Press, London.

MYGLAND, S.M. (2008): *Children in Medieval Bergen. An Archaeological Analyses of Child-related Artefacts*. The Bryggen Papers, Main Series, 7, Fagboklaget, Bergen.

MYRVOLD, L. (ed.) (1979): *Gjemt og Glemt — Barn i Fortiden*. AmS-Småtrykk, 5, Stavanger.

Neils, J.; Oakley, J. H. (eds.) (2003): *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece. Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

NELSON, S.M. (2004): *Gender in Archaeology. Analysing Power and Prestige*. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek.

OLWIG, K.; GULLØY, E. (eds.) (2003): *Children's Places. Cross-cultural perspectives*. Routledge, New York.

ORME, N. (2003): *Medieval Children*. Yale University Press, New Haven and Londres.

ORME, N. (2008): Medieval childhood: Challenge, change and achievement. *Childhood in the Past*, 1: 106-119.

PARK, R.W. (1998): Size counts: The miniature archaeology of childhood in Inuit Societies. *Antiquity*, 72: 269-281.

PARKER-PEARSON, M. (2003): *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Sutton, Stroud.

QVORTRUP, J. (1994): Introduction. Childhood Matters. *Social Theory, Practice and Politics* (J. Qvortrup, M.Bardy, G. Sgritta, H. Wintersberger, eds.), Public Policy and Social Welfare, 4: 1-23.

RAWSON, B. (2003): *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

RAPPORT, N.; OVERING, J. (2000): *Social Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology. The Key Concepts*. Routledge, London and New York.

RENFREW, C.; BAHN, P. (2004): *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*. Thames & Hudson, London.

RENFREW, C.; BAHN, P. (eds.) (2005): *Archaeology: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, London.

ROBERTS, S. (2006): Minor concerns: Representation of children and childhood in British museums. *Museum and society*, 4 (3): 151-165.

ROGERSDOTTER, E. (2008): *Socializing Children's Toys. An Archaeological Inquiry into Third Millenium BC Harappan Terracotta Remains from Gujarat, India*. VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, Saarbrücken.

ROLFSEN, P. (1978): En barnegrav fra romertid. *Agder Historielag Årsskrift*, 56: 103-107.

ROVELAND, B. (1997): Are children unknowable archaeologically? *Anthropology Newsletter*, April 1997: 14.

ROVELAND, B. (2000): Footprints in the clay: Upper Paleolithic children and secular contexts. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.), Routledge, London: 29-38.

RÖDER, B. (2002): Statisten in der Welt der Erwachsenen: Kinder auf archäologischen Lebensbildern. *Kinderwelten. Anthropologie–Geschichte –Kulturvergleich* (K.W. Alt, A. Kemkes-Grottenthaler, eds.), Böhlau Verlag, Köln Weimar Wien: 95-105.

RÖDER, B. (2008): Archaeological Childhood Research as Interdisciplinary Analyses. *Children, Identity and the Past* (L.H. Dommasnes, M. Wrigglesworth, eds.), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge: 68-82.

SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (2008): Childhood and the construction of gender identities through material culture. *Childhood in the Past,* 1: 17-37.

SCHWARTZMAN, H.B. (1978): *Transformations. The Anthropology of Children's Play*. Plenum Press, New York and London.

SCHWARTZMAN, H.B. (2006): Materializing children: Challenges for the archaeology of childhood. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, 15: 123-131.

SCOTT, E. (1999): *The Archaeology of Infancy and Infant Death*. BAR International Series 819, Archaeopress, Oxford.

SELLEVOLD, B. (1997): Children's skeletons and graves in Scandinavian archaeology. *Death and Burial in Medieval Europe – Papers of the Medieval Europe, Brugge 1997 Conference* (G. de Boe, F. Verhaeghe, eds.), 2: 15-25.

SELLEVOLD, B. (2008a): Child burials and children's status in medieval Norway. *The Northern World. Youth and Age in the Medieval North* (L. Simpson, ed.), Brill, Leiden: 57-71.

SELLEVOLD, B. (2008b): Archaeological bones — The anatomy of an abandoned churchyard. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 41 (1): 71-84.

SILLAR, B. (1996): Playing with God: Cultural perceptions of children, play and miniatures in the Andes. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 13 (2): 47-63.

SHARPE, K.; VAN GELDER (2004): Children and Paleolithic 'art': Indications from Rouffignac Cave, France. *International Newsletter on Rock Art*, 38: 9-17.

SHARPE, K.; VAN GELDER (2006): Evidence for cave marking by Paleolithic Children. *Antiquity*, 80: 937-947.

SOFAER, J. (1994a): Where are the children? Accessing children in the past. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 13: 7-20.

SOFAER, J. (1994b): Perspectives on children and childhood. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 13: 2.

SOFAER, J. (1997a): Engendering children, engendering archaeology. *Invisible People and Processes* (J. Moore, E. Scott, eds.), Leicester University Press, London: 192-202.

SOFAER, J. (1997b). Linking age and gender as social variables. *Ethnografisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift*, 38: 485-493.

SOFAER, J. (1997c): Age and gender at the site of Tiszapolgár-Basatanya, *Hungary. Antiquity*, 71: 875-889.

SOFAER, J. (2000): Material cultural shock. Confronting expectations in the material culture of children. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.), Routledge, London: 3-16.

SOFAER, J. (2006a): *The Body of Material Culture. A Theoretical Osteoarchaoelogy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

SOFAER, J. (2006b): Gender, bioarchaeology and human ontogeny. *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains* (R. Gowland, C. Knüsel, eds.), Oxbow Books, Oxford: 155-167.

SOKOLOWSKY, R. (2000): *Introduction to Phenomenology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

STAPERT, D. (2007): Finger flutings by Paleolithic children in Rouffignac Cave, France: Comments on a paper by Sharpe & Van Gelder. *Antiquity*, 81 (312).

STEARNS, P.N. (2006): *Childhood in World History*. Routledge, New York and London.

SVEDIN, M. (2005): The significance of children, animals, and teeth in life and death. Kin and gender negotiations at Styrmansberget, Gotland, Sweden, 100-550 AD. *Gender Locales and Local Genders in Archaeology* (T. Hjørungdal, ed.), BAR International Series 1425, Archaeopress, Oxford: 47-61

SØRENSEN, M.L.S. (2000): *Gender Archaeology.* Polity Press, Cambridge.

THEDÉEN, S. (2002): Livcykel och landskap: Om bronsåldersrösen och skärvstenshögar i Södermanland. *Tidsperspektiv*, 1-2 (2001): 62-82.

THEDÉEN, S. (2004): *Gränser i livet — Gränser i landskapet. Generationsrelationer och Rituella Praktiker i Södermanländska Bronsålderslandskap* (Boundaries in Life – Boundaries in Landscapes. Relations between Generations and Ritual Practices in Bronze Age Landscapes of Södermanland, Sweden). SAR Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 33, Stockholm.

THEDÉEN, S. (2008): Who's that girl? The cultural construction of girlhood and the transition to womanhood in Viking Age Gotland. *Childhood in the Past*, 1: 78-93.

THOMAS, K. (1989): Children in Early Modern England. *Children and Their Bodies: A Celebration of the Work of Iona and Peter Opie* (C. Avery, J. Briggs, eds.), Clarendon Press, Oxford: 45-77.

TILLHAGEN, C.H. (1956): Barnlek. *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*: 349-352.

TOREN, C. (1993): Making History: The significance of childhood cognition for a comparative anthropology of mind. *Man (N.S.),* 28: 461-478.

TRIGGER, B.G. (2003): *Understanding Early Civilizations. A Comparative Study*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

ULRICH-BOCHSLER, S. (1997): *Anthropologische Befunde zur Stellung von Frau und Kind in Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Soziobiologische und Zoziokulturelle Aspekte im Lichte von Archäeologie, Geschicte, Volkskunde und Medizingeschichte.* Berner Lehrmittel- und Medienverlag, Bern.

ULRICH-BOCHSLER, S. (2002): Zur Stellung der Kinder swischen Frühmittelalter und Neuzeit – Ein exemplarischer Exkurs. *Kinderwelten. Anthropologie – Geschichte –Kulturvergleich* (K.W. Alt; A. Kemkes-Grottenthaler, eds.), Böhlau Verlag, Köln Weimar Wien: 188-207.

UNICEF (2008): *Maternal and Newborn Health.* The State of the World's Children 2009, United Nations Children's Fund, New York.

Uzzell, D.; Ballantyne, R. (2007): Heritage that hurts: Interpretation in a post-modern world. *The Cultural Heritage Reader* (G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. H. Jameson Jnr., J. Schofield, eds.), Routledge, New York: 157-171.

Vankilde, H. (2007): *Culture and Change in Central European Prehistory 6th to 1st Millennium BC*. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.

Vinsrygg, S. (1979): Våre "eldste" barn. *Ottar*, 115: 30-34.

Verhoeven, U. (2002): Kind und Kindgöttern im Alten Ägypten. *Kinderwelten. Anthropologie – Geschichte – Kulturvergleich* (K.W. Alt, A. Kemkes-Grottenthaler, eds.), Böhlau Verlag: Köln Weimar Wien: 120-129.

Vik, B. (2007): *Barn og Identitet. Ei Analyse av Barnegraver frå Eldre Jernalder i Norge.* Unpublished Master Thesis in Archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, University of Bergen, Bergen.

Vogel, C. (2002): "Wer wird dann Wasser für dich ausgiessen?" Zur Rolle des Kindes im Totenkult der Eltern/ Fallbeispiele aus dem alten Ägypten. *Kinderwelten. Anthropologie –Geschicte – Kulturvergleich* (K.W.Alt, A. Kemkes-Grottenthaler, eds.), Böhlau Verlag, Köln Weimar Wien: 130-139.

Wartofsky, M. (1981): The child's construction of the world and the worlds's construction of the child: From historical epistemology to historical psychology. *The Child and Other Cultural Inventions* (F.S. Kessel, A.W.Siegel, eds.), Praeger, New York: 188-223.

Weber, B. (1982): Leker eller? *Viking*, 4: 81-92.

Welinder, S. (1997): Att växa upp till man på stenålderen. *Gender och Arkeologi (The archaeology of gender)* (B. Johnsen; S. Welinder, eds.), Mitthögskolan, Östersund: 63-87.

Welinder, S. (1998): The cultural construction of childhood in Scandinavia 3500BC-1350AD. *Current Swedish Archaeology*, 6: 185-205.

Wileman, J. (2005): *Hide and Seek. The Archaeology of Childhood*. Tempus, Stroud.

Whittle, A. (1996): *Europe in the Neolithic. The Creations of New Worlds*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Wilk, R.; Schiffer, M. B. (1979): The archaeology of vacant lots in Tuscon, Arizona. *American Antiquity*, 44 (3): 530-536.

Wilkie, L. (2000). Not merely child's play: Creating a historical archaeology of children and childhood. *Children and Material Culture* (J. Sofaer, ed.), Routledge, London: 100-113.

Whiting, B.; Whiting, J.M. (1975): *Children of Six Cultures. A Psycho-Cultural Analysis*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Ylönen-Peltonen, R. (2000): Interpreting children's graves in Early Christian cemeteries in Finland. Two 11th-13th century cemeteries in southwestern Finland. *META*, 3: 46-53.

Youngwood, S. *et al.* (1999): *The Future according to Kids*. Nickelodeon Books Roundtable Press, New York.