Fields|Terrains
Reflections

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Letter From the Editors

On behalf of the 2021-2022 editorial team, we are delighted to present to you the 12th Volume of McGill's Undergraduate Journal of Anthropology, Fields|Terrains: Reflections. This year's theme was chosen as a way to turn our gaze inwards and reflect upon the past couple of years' change throughout the pandemic and the new demands on anthropology as a discipline. Our theme emerges from a desire to reflexively engage with anthropology's past, present, and its future trajectory, and to reflect on our individual roles as anthropology students in shaping the kinds of knowledge we acquire. This year's authors all engaged in some form of reflection–self-reflection, reflection upon the discipline, or reflection on our new post-pandemic realities. We wanted to give voice to the diverse ways in which students have engaged with these reflections through various media: text, photographs, drawings, graphic design, research, and interviews. We would like to thank you for the continued support received for Fields|Terrains, and we hope that you enjoy reading this year's edition.

Au nom de l'équipe éditoriale 2021-2022, nous sommes ravis de vous présenter le douzième volume du journal d'anthropologie de premier cycle de l'Université McGill, Fields|Terrains: Réflexions. La thème de l'édition 2022 a été choisi afin de tourner notre regard vers l'intérieur et de réfléchir aux changements des deux dernières années tout au long de la pandémie, et aux nouvelles exigences de l'anthropologie en tant que discipline. La thème émerge d'un désir de s'engager de manière réflexive avec le passé, le présent et sa trajectoire future de l'anthropologie, et de réfléchir à nos rôles individuels en tant qu'étudiants en anthropologie dans la formation des types de connaissances que nous acquérons. Les auteurs de cette année se sont tous engagés dans une forme de réflexion–autoréflexion, réflexion sur la discipline ou réflexion sur nos nouvelles réalités post-pandémiques. Nous voulions donner une voix aux diverses manières dont les étudiants se sont engagés dans ces réflexions à travers divers médias: textes, photographie, dessins, graphisme, recherche et entretiens. Nous vous remercions de votre précieux soutien et espérons que vous apprécierez l'édition 2022 de Fields|Terrains.

Claire Berthelot & Charlie Littler
Editors-in-Chief | Éditrices en chef

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Ancestry DNA, Anti-Indigeneity and Me: Intimate Reflections on Indigenous Insecurities, Conceptualizations of the Self and "Dual" Indigenous Identity

Dallas Karonhia'no:ron Canady-Binette

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (Crow Creek Sioux) defines anti-Indianism (or anti-Indigeneity) as a phenomenon whose "distinguishing purposes have been to socially isolate, expunge or expel, to fear and menace, to defame and to repulse Indigenous peoples" (2001:4). What has been of utmost interest to me are the ways in which anti-Indigeneity manifests within the self; not just some abstract Indigenous subject, but quite literally myself. Cook-Lynn remarks that most often this manifests as "pervasive self-hatred" (2001:11), something "seemingly inherent" (2001:15) in contemporary Indigenous realities. As a child, I was isolated from the Indigenous side of my family and quite literally displaced in my frequent moves across the United States. Recently, in a conversation I had with my mom she said: "a reservation was one place I never wanted you to be [...] I thought that they would treat you badly because you looked white"- but added, "maybe that was wrong." (L.C., personal communication, August 30th, 2021) I don't identify with the reserve as much as the land beneath. That is Kanesatake, that is my home. But being excluded from family and growing up with no knowledge of who I was left me feeling disoriented and scared. On the path to reconnection, it was all too easy to fall into anti-Indigenous mindsets. What my heart was yearning for more than anything was validation.

So, in walked the Ancestry DNA test. I would say that this test has been plaguing my mind for well over a year. Maybe having to socially isolate during the pandemic left my mind wandering? Maybe the psychological mind games of capitalist advertising finally got to me? Maybe my insecurity became too much? Regardless, Ancestry spokesperson Crista Cowan has remarked

that the number one question that her company receives about their DNA test is "where is my Native American ethnicity?" (Ancestry, 2015). I think this speaks to the fact that there is a clear fetishization and exotification of Indigeneity embedded within the fields of genealogy and genetics within our contemporary realities. Kim TallBear (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate) validates this concern in many of her publications on DNA. Tallbear points out that not only are "genomic articulations of Indigeneity" (2013:509) at odds with the ways in which Indigenous peoples understand our own identities (i.e., in relation to land, community, etc) but that the former also actively seeks to subvert the validity of the latter. DNA tests are celebrated as objective and accurate, while Indigenous knowledge systems are disregarded as subjective and unreliable. DNA is blood quantum's 21st-century successor, confining Indigeneity to biology and defining it statically: you either have "enough" Indigenous DNA, or you don't.

I believe that my choice to take a DNA test was a way of upholding anti-Indigeneity, because it was more comforting to have a "concrete" and "objective" answer about who I am in light of the fractured relationships I have with my Indigenous family and the reserve. What I wanted, alongside security, was the ability to accept myself and I truly believed that a test result would be able to deliver on that front. However, I felt ridiculously self-aware of how what I was doing was in conflict with Kanien'keha:ka conceptualizations of identity. What if you get an answer you don't like? That's fine, I'll be able to deal with it. My genes are not my dogma. Are you sure you want to do this? No. Your dad and partner already validate you, isn't that enough? I wish it was,

but a brain perturbed by anxiety finds more comfort in reliability and tangibility than the kind words of others. So, I bit the bullet or rather, spat into the tube. I stared hesitantly at my saliva through the clear plastic, still questioning my motives, then packed it up, drove to the mailbox and put it inside. It would take up to eight weeks to receive my results, so all I had left to do was wait.

While I was left to anticipate the results of my DNA test, I began visiting my reservation, Kanesatake, more frequently with my dad. Kanesatake is a beautiful place, located about an hour west of Montreal on the banks of the Lake of Two Mountains. The reason for these increased visits was that my dad had rekindled an old friendship with a cousin that he hadn't spoken to since he left the reserve at the age of 15. Interestingly, Ancestry played a role in forging a connection between the three of us. Our cousin, Linda, had been working on a genealogy of our family by hand long before I had even started my research online. In the short time since I had made my Ancestry account, I had mapped out more than 2,500 people and connected them to almost 3,000 archival records. So I gave Linda everything that I collected related to our family. On one occasion, my dad and I went to visit Linda and her partner, John. We all sat down at the kitchen table with coffee and toast, and I watched silently as the three of them spoke. They got to talking about identity, and Linda brought up my cousin Sean whom I met through Ancestry. He had experienced a similar displacement from culture and community as I had. Linda was wary of his intentions to reconnect, understandably so and voiced her concern about outsiders coming in and exploiting Indigeneity to gain access to resources. Then John said something that has stuck with me for quite some time: "It's a tricky thing, that. Would we rather have someone who's "full-blood" Indian and doesn't care about the culture, or someone who's 10% and wants to get involved?"

These words have clung to me though I'm not sure John was aware of their effect. To me, they embodied that validation and comfort that I had been searching for. So much so that when I eventually got my results back, it didn't hurt me as much as I thought it would. My original "ethnicity estimate" readout as the following: 55% England and Northwestern Europe, 15% France, 10% Wales, 10% Indigenous North America, 6% Scotland and 4% Ireland. I say "original" because it has since changed. Now my ethnicity estimate is 52% England and Northwestern Europe, 16% Wales, 10% Scotland, 10% Indigenous North America, along

with much smaller percentages of countries that I've never heard or seen evidence of in my genealogy. For example, the result that I'm allegedly 4% Spanish doesn't line up with either oral histories that have been shared with me, or the primary source documents that I've found through the archives on Ancestry. So why have these estimates changed? AncestryDNA operates using a global database, meaning the more people that take DNA tests, the more "identifiable" certain genes become. This is called a "reference panel" (Adrion et al., 2021); customers have their DNA compared to the reference panel, of which there are 77 for each of the regions Ancestry has distinguished. Your DNA is then compared to people on the reference panel, who are supposed to have "strong ties" to the geographic area in question. Therefore, the test is only as reliable as their research panels and the number of people who choose to get tested. Finicky much?

With John's affirmation in my back pocket and the knowledge that this test wasn't capable of telling me much of anything, I shifted from pondering the question of whether or not I'm "Indigenous enough" to having an impassioned interest in my Cymreig (Welsh) heritage. I originally conceptualized this as a form of "white Indigeneity," but later realized that this phrase was oxymoronic. I think the mere idea of a "white Indigeneity" embodies Cook-Lynn's definition of anti-Indigeneity, in that it attempts to deny the Indigeneity of my Cymreig ancestors by focusing on the colour of their skin. On the other hand, in a recently published piece Duperron and Edwards argue that "Indigeneity [...] opens new ways to see the Celt, the Irish, the Welsh, the Basque, and even the Saxon, as conquered and colonized peoples." (2021: 96) They explicitly rebuke the idea that Indigeneity should be used in a European context to uphold the idea that "we're all colonized" (2021: 96) as a means of validating settler-colonial land claims in North and South American contexts, or in a way that obscures violence currently being perpetrated against Indigenous peoples today. Rather, Indigeneity in a European context "sees a layered history that produces situated knowledge" (2021:103) and offers a chance to understand the complexities of colonization, contact and desire.

My Cymreig identity is something that I'm still trying to unpack. In terms of reconnection, I'm much farther along in my journey towards embodying my Kanien'keha:ka identity than my Cymreig identity, but I've decided to take up these efforts conjointly. I've noticed similarities when it comes to experiences with

colonialism and resistance strategies to it, especially as it relates to language. For example, both Y Gymraeg (the Welsh language) and Kanien'keha have undergone a considerable loss of speakers, but both are actively being revitalized in their respective contexts. But in using the lens of Indigeneity to see a layered history, I also acknowledge that Ancestry has enabled me to see that my Cymreig ancestors directly participated in the colonization of the United States and Canada; a particular branch of the family even purchased land allotments in Alberta in the early 20th century. Were my ancestors possessed by ignorance? Why were they not able to recognize their own Indigeneity in the Indigenous peoples of this continent? Seeing the land deeds, in particular, left me with a stinging disturbance. What was this, if not anti-Indigeneity manifesting in the flesh? But what to make of anti-Indigeneity being displaced from one Indigenous group onto another, while entangled in the settler-colonial project; could this be understood as an externalization of the "pervasive self-hatred" (2001:11) that Cook-Lynn says is inherent to Indigenous identity?

I believe there could be something to understanding this phenomenon as a result of the disruption of Cymreig Indigeneity via displacement. If by using TallBear's definition, Indigenous peoples understand our own identities as "coherent groups and cultures in intimate relationships with particular places," (2013:510) then a severed connection with a previously occupied space would result in a diminished and distorted comprehension of oneself. In the case of my Cymreig ancestors, in particular, I know from oral accounts that they left Wales under the pressure of a dying 19th-century economy, crippling poverty and increasing pressures by the British government to subvert Cymreig ways of life. And in a settler-colonial context, the word that has been most often used to describe Welsh settlers is "invisible." Post-immigration, there was a considerable "loss of cultural memory" (Lewis, 2009: x) as Cymry (Welsh people) melted into assimilationist settler identities in Canada and the United States. This is evident in the fact that my 2nd great-grandmother Elizabeth Pritchard's first language was Y Gymraeg and she likely taught her children the language, but by that point, it was reduced to a second-language status. Two, three, four generations having passed now, nobody speaks it. My mom recalled learning Y Gymraeg when she was growing up in the 60s because Elizabeth used to live at the family house, but it was eventually lost to both her and our family as a whole after Elizabeth died in 1971.

I suppose this paper was an exploration of the diverse manifestations of anti-Indigeneity that persist within me but have also plagued my ancestors for generations. On a personal level, I see my writing as an exercise in reflection and in many ways it has been therapeutic to work through these very intense and complex feelings by transferring them from the inside of my head into words that I can see, feel and sit with. Although I originally started out exploring TallBear's genomic articulations of Indigeneity, I found myself venturing further into the more difficult feelings that arose after I received the results of my DNA test. Realizing that these percentages were useless to me offered a means of accepting who I was beyond my biology. I feel closer to understanding my ancestors than I was before, again not thanks to the DNA test but because of the questions that emerged for me afterwards. And I am forever grateful to be able to hear the words of living elders in my community who remind me that I don't need to prove to anyone what it means to be me. So in sum, although this paper did not articulate any particular "thesis," I believe that it was nonetheless an invaluable exercise of deep introspection- an opportunity to sit with thoughts and emotions that I had yet to process. It would be my hope that if another Indigenous person read this, it would offer insights into the ways that they too can approach the anti-Indigeneity that lives within and ideally, move beyond it.

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Being and Becoming in Zora Neale Hurston's Ethnographic Fiction

Madeleine Balliette

Known for her prolific writing in American classics such as Their Eyes Were Watching God, Zora Neale Hurston's ethnographic methods set her apart from her fiction-writer counterparts. As a student of anthropologist Franz Boas, Hurston learned about the field as a methodological tool used to uncover the objective 'truth' about whatever culture was being studied. With this understanding, ethnography would be ideally presented as a collection of data, acquired without bias or partiality. Hurston's work could not be more different: her ethnography resembles a story that includes subjectivity, her struggles in acquiring information, her thoughts, and her overall experiences in conducting research. Hurston's approach to ethnography was revolutionary in two clear ways: firstly, she did not just live alongside her subjects; she either was or became them; secondly, she blurred the lines between ethnography and literature to favour human authenticity over assumed objectivity.

In a 1935 ethnographic collection of African-American folklore entitled "Mules and Men," Hurston reveals her view of anthropology as a "spy-glass" that allowed her to look closer at herself and others, to see the details and imponderabilia which form the essence of a culture (Hurston 1935). This view is especially evident in her fieldwork and subsequent ethnography that she conducted in her hometown of Eatonville, Florida. Before Hurston, it was customary and expected that an anthropologist go to an outside culture and live alongside those that they studied. By being her own subject, she was able to uncover aspects of southern African-American culture that would have otherwise been hidden from an outsider: "you see we are a polite people and we do not say to our questioner, 'Get out of here!' We smile and tell him or her something that satisfies the white person because, knowing so little about us, he doesn't know what he is missing" (Hurston 1935, 2). In this way, she articulates the problem with white anthropologists creating ethnographies from marginalized groups: people are understandably hesitant to reveal their internal discourses to the historical oppressor. Even in her ethnographies in which she is not a member of the culture that she is studying, such as her work with hoodoo in New Orleans, she still becomes a part of it. She similarly speaks of the secrecy of hoodoo, saying "mouths don't empty themselves unless the ears are sympathetic and knowing" (Hurston 1935, 185). Despite the hidden nature of hoodoo worship, she is able to reveal the concealed dialogues by using her own body as an element of ethnography: she commits fully to hoodoo and allows herself to be completely enveloped in it. She shows her subjects sympathetic, authentic interest in their culture/religion, and thus is let in on the "hidden nature."

The structure of Hurston's ethnography also questions the analytical, objective, 'truthful' presentation of past anthropological research. She presents her findings in a literary way, keeping herself in the narrative as a central character. She writes of the difficulty in extracting stories from the men in Eatonville, the discomfort she felt when witnessing more gruesome elements of hoodoo, even violence that she experienced in collecting information in a hands-on, personal way. She does not aim to appear as a cold and objective relayer of scientific information, but rather as a very active participant in uncovering a hidden element of culture. In some way, the transparent attitude towards her own natural, human subjectivity was actually a more authentic way to present information; total objectivity is an unattainable feat; it is more valuable to be honest.

Zora Neale Hurston's ethnographies have important literary qualities: they emphasize the storytelling aspects of anthropological research rather than neutral collections of data. The novelty of her work lies in her approach to either be or become her own subject, thus revealing a perspective that would otherwise be hidden from an outsider. Second, she presents her ethnographies as subjective by nature, achieving a level of authenticity that could not be found in the ethnographies of anthropologists who strive for objective truth.

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Zoey Yang, 'The Demise of our Planet / Funeral of Mama Bear,' 2022

The Demise of our Planet / Funeral of Mama Bear

Zoey Yang

The silent tears in all of the eyes scattered around the work, including those of the baby bears, project a pronounced sadness felt by the world's creatures. The baby bears huddle together fearfully by the side of their dead mother, who has been turned into a skin rug. The red splash of ink on her head echoes the red used in the eye at the top of the page, with the shape of a bear replacing the pupil, implying that raging revenge is on its way.

Symbols of the land and the sea serve as a parallel with rising sea levels. Although the mushrooms, the goldfish, and the lemon tree are presented colourfully, the lyrics from Phoebe Bridger's (2017) "Funeral" and a stanza from W. H. Auden's (1991) "Funeral Blues" insinuate the inevitable death of the earth, should humans choose to continue to treat it the same way as we have.

The link between the female body and nature is often seen in artwork and is sometimes criticized as being misogynistic. In this case, however, the female figure acts as a connection between the skull of the goat-like creature and the swimming goldfish, bridging the dead and the living. This conveys the idea that nature's hope depends on the fertility she and other female creatures have inherently.

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The Inca Capacocha Ritual: Sacred, Social and Political Ties to Landscape

Susannah Clinker

Introduction

By the mid-fifteenth century A.D., the Inca Empire dominated the western coast of South America, making it the largest state ever formed by an Indigenous people in the Americas (Besom 2009:4). The mountainous landscape of the Andes was essential to the Incas' success. The altitudinal variations of the mountains produced different kinds of tropical vegetation at different elevations, the slope enabled irrigation for agriculture, and, subsequently, animal husbandry was possible (Reinhard 1985: 304-5). While the importance of mountain environments to Inca expansion has long been studied, the consideration of mountains as dynamic aspects of Inca culture only became primary to archaeological concern with the post-processual critique. This movement emphasized the importance of phenomenology whereby landscapes were no longer viewed as passive settings for human activities but as "the spatial manifestation of the relations between humans and their environment" (Marquadt and Crumley 1987: 1; Ashmore 2002; Marquadt and Crumley 1987; Anschuetz et al. 2001; Smith 2003). As such, more recent landscape archaeological studies have provided new insights into how mountains were important to the Incas beyond their environmental characteristics. In essence, Inca identity was synthesized through their relationships with their mountainous landscapes and reaffirmed through ritual mountain veneration. The recursive relationship between mountains and the Inca is just one example of the dynamic relationship between landscapes and those who occupy them. To illustrate the importance of mountains to Inca culture and collective identity, this essay examines the many ways in which mountains and the mountain-veneration *capacocha* ritual influenced the cosmological and spiritual beliefs, social and political systems, and imperial legitimacy of the Inca empire. Furthermore, this essay will demonstrate the broader importance of considering the recursive relationships between landscapes and those who occupy them in archaeology, as evidenced by the multi-faceted relationship between the Inca and their landscape.

Introduction to the Capacocha Ritual

The *capacocha* (also written as *Qhapaq Hucha*) ritual as practiced by the Inca were one of the most sacred and revered forms of mountain veneration. Children would be selected or offered by their families to be taken to the capital, Cuzco. These children were typically beautiful young girls who had no significant moles, birthmarks, deformities or scars; they reflected the most pure and unscathed of the Inca people and their subjects. To be selected was of the highest honour (Besom 2009: 25-8). The young girls would travel to Cuzco to live in an *aqlla wasi,* or "house of the chosen women" (Besom 2009: 29), where they would weave textiles, prepare food and make *chicha* (corn beer) and, most importantly, be kept pure (i.e. virgins; Besom 2009: 29-30). Once they reached adolescence or their early twenties, they would be divided into three groups: *mama-kuna* (the women who cared for the chosen women in the *aqlla wasi*), servants or concubines for the emperor and other nobles, and the honourably sacrificed *qhapaq huchas* (Besom 2009: 30).

Those who were selected for sacrifice as *qhapaq huchas* were redistributed to the provinces that had been conquered by the Inca. Upon arrival in the provinces, the *qhapaq huchas* were met with grand celebrations before making their final journey to the provinces' respective *waqas* (holy sites imbued with sacred power, typically on mountain peaks), some of which were as high as 6700 meters above sea level (Reinhard 1985: 299). During this long and arduous journey, a number of festivities and rituals were performed by the priests. Once the *qhapaq huchas* and priests reached the *waqa*, the young woman would be sacrificed, typically by strangulation, blunt force to the head, drowning or suffocation from being buried alive (Besom 2009: 30-5). The *capacocha* ritual is one of the most extreme

and rare cases of mountain veneration. However, the elaborate and careful practices involved in the ritual depict the Incas' deep devotion to mountains and the sacred meaning imbued into the landscape through ritual.

Inca Mountain Mythology and Beliefs

Although the Inca had no formalized writing system, Spanish chroniclers took note of a variety of ways mountains were central to Inca cosmological and religious belief (see Besom 2013: 34-56; Ceruti 2004). While the veracity of these chronicles and colonizer accounts should be questioned, they nevertheless offer rare insight into the Incas' relationship with mountains. Mountains were sometimes considered to be the fossilized remains or residences of deities (Besom 2009: 65-8). These beings were thought to have exemplified their power through storms, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and even illness. As such, the local populations were at the mercy of mountain deities. Keeping these powerful beings happy was seen as essential for the well-being and success of the Inca (Reinhard 1985: 313-4). To do this, mountains were not only worshipped through various ceremonies and rituals, but were placated with precious gifts. The most sacred and valuable of all offerings was human sacrifice and, more specifically, the *capacocha* ritual (Besom 2009: 25-8). By offering the "best" and most pure members of the empire, the Incas showed their devotion and allegiance to the lofty summits. However, this was not a one-sided relationship. In return for the most beautiful and pure, the Inca expected protection and good-fortune from the mountain deities (Besom 2009: 92). This reciprocal tradition between the Inca and their landscape demonstrates how mountains were not merely the backdrop of Inca activity, but active agents in Inca culture and expansion.

It is also important to note that Andean cultures (including the Incas and their predecessors) did not make a sharp distinction between animate and inanimate beings and forces. Rather, *camay* (life force) was believed to be "concentrated in greater or lesser degree at certain times and places and in certain things" (Quilter 2014: 48). For instance, *camay* was strongly associated with water and the mountains because "mountains [were] linked in a cycle to the waters of the ocean which return to the mountains as rain and snow falling from clouds" (Quilter 2014:48).

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, some mountains (called *paqarikus*) were regarded as the places of origin of particular ethnic groups (Besom 2009: 65, 69-70). Many Incas believed that the local mountain or mountains shaped the local people from clay, painting their distinctive clothes, giving them their own languages to speak, songs to sing, and seeds to grow (Besom 2009: 69-70). Even in death, mountains played a crucial role in Inca identity; the dead would often be returned to their *paqarikus* and interred amongst their ancestors and their shared creator, the mountain (Reinhard 1985: 309). This association of mountains with the life cycle exemplifies how Inca identity was seen to have literally stemmed from mountains, making it one of the most fundamental pillars of Inca culture and identity. Mountains, as such, can also be seen as ethnic landscapes as they were used "to signify ethnic or cultural boundaries based on customs and shared modes of thought and expression that might have no other sanction than tradition" (Anschuetz et al. 2001: 179). Accordingly, mountain veneration in the *capacocha* ritual reaffirmed the legitimacy of Inca political and social systems. The cyclical relationship between the Incas and mountains meant that mountains were not just imbued with sacred power, but were a part of Inca identity, life and death. In these ways, mountains were ritual landscapes as they "represent[ed] the socially prescribed orders by which communities define[d], legitimize[d], and sustain[ed] their occupation of traditional homelands" (Anscheutz et al. 2001: 178).

Social and Political Significance of Capacocha Rituals

While the *capacocha* ritual was certainly important to the Incas' religious and cosmological beliefs, its purpose extended into other Inca systems as well. As places of traditional wisdom, these mountain rituals also held power that helped structure activities and organize relationships. The practices of the *capacocha* ritual were essential to the unification of the Inca Empire. The Incas grew to be the largest pre-Columbian empire ever formed in the New World, and it included most of what is now known as Ecuador, western Peru, northern and central Chile, western Bolivia, and northwestern Argentina by the early sixteenth century. As such, a large number of ethnic groups, some of whom adopted Inca identity, were incorporated into the Inca imperial system—a remarkable feat. In part, Inca leaders were able to validate and exert their authority over their vast conquered territory through ritual (Besom 2013: 4).

Mountain rituals, in particular, established boundaries between people while unifying others to consolidate imperial power (Besom 2013: 34-5). By sending a *qhapaq hucha* to each of the conquered provinces, Inca leaders were able to establish both a ritual and imperial presence even in the farthest corners of their empire. As mountains were considered sacred to most Andean cultures, the *capacocha* ritual was an expression of shared ideology through mountain veneration. As discussed by Ceruti, "mountains were already sacred in the eyes of the local people [allowing] the Incas to frame the ceremonies performed on the summits within a broader context of political strategies to [legitimize] the power of the empire" (2004: 113). As such, mountain veneration through *capacocha* ritual practices were visual representations of Inca power over conquered landscapes in displays of spatial appropriation (see Johansen 2014). By strategically engaging ritual and politics, the Incas "establish[ed] (and legitimize[d]) new ideologies and relations of power… within established sociocultural landscapes [i.e. mountains]" (Johansen 2014: 59).

Inca-built structures located on the peaks and slopes of mountains served as markers of Inca authority over particular peoples, deities and landscapes. *Capacocha* ceremonies required ceremonial buildings for the many rites performed by the priests on the journey up the mountain before reaching the *waqa* where the *qhapaq hucha* would meet their inevitable immolation. Archaeological evidence of these structures on the slopes of the mountains usually come in the form of rows of arranged stones or low walls in circular or rectangular formations (Reinhard 1985: 301). Intricate larges-cale complexes have also been found, and it is believed that these were used as residences for participants in the *capacocha* ritual and other elite mountain ceremonies. Besom (2013) notes that these structures likely served as shrines dedicated to mountain deities and as garrisons tasked with keeping conquered peoples from revolting (2013: 53). By placing Inca structures on top of a mountain considered to be the "national" god of a particular area and periodically climbing to the peak during a *capacocha* ritual, the Incas marked their domination over the supernatural being, the people who worshipped it, and its resources (Besom 2013: 54).

The *capacocha* ritual was not just important to Inca imperial power and legitimacy, but was also crucial to the agency of conquered peoples. As discussed by McEwan and van de Guchte (1992), the *capacocha* ritual provided an opportunity for local villages to assert their agency by performing the ritual for their own benefit. For example, one seventeenth-century Spanish document recounts that a man from the Peruvian village of Ocros dedicated his daughter as a sacrifice to the sun in return for being awarded lordship by the Inca king. Village elders expressed how honored and willing the lord's daughter was to be sacrificed after she was celebrated so grandly at Cuzco. Not only did the *capacocha* ritual allow village chiefs to climb the imperial political hierarchy, it also helped to reinforce the kinship bonds between villages.   During the ceremony at Cuzco, the son of one village chief married the daughter of another, thereby cementing kinship ties between the two villages. Being selected for sacrifice or even just to move to Cuzco to live in the *aqlla wasi* was of the highest honour bestowed by the empire, and by offering their young daughters as possible sacrifices, non-Inca families had the opportunity to raise their status and influence. This meant that practices involved in the *capacocha* ritual were not just cosmologically and imperially important but were "an expression of a brute political reality" (Pitches 2020: 62) whereby families could adopt the customs and identity of the Inca in return for status. This reciprocal relationship between Inca imperial identity and conquered peoples illustrates how administrative power was constantly being negotiated. Clearly, considering the *capacocha* ritual as nothing more than a representation of Inca imperial power neglects "ancient rulers' constant struggle to extend their hegemony" (Flanner 1998: 21).

Discussion and Conclusions

The relationship between the Incas and their landscape is just one example of the significance of landscapes for those who inhabit them. As discussed by Pitches (2020), mountains are known to hold symbolic meanings for cultures across the world. This is not surprising as prominent features in the landscape are often inscribed with the significance of place. As distinctive landmarks within an environment, these places often mark thresholds or boundaries both physically and symbolically, as exemplified by the association of mountains with life and death in Inca mythology (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 2016: 36). These features are therefore not distinct from culture. Rather, prominent ecological features and culture have a dynamic, reciprocal relationship whereby identities are both projected onto and created by landscapes. In earlier approaches to landscape archaeology (i.e. the

processual approach), these places were understood from a predominantly functionalist perspective, where landscape was purely the physical terrain or environment in which people lived (Ashmore 2002). However, this approach only reveals a small portion of the significance of landscape. For example, while cartesian/geographical or ecological analyses reveal some aspects of the Incas' relationship with mountains (e.g. their function in weather patterns, water access, etc.), they neglect its social and political dimensions. In reality, mountains were fundamental to Inca cosmology and belief systems, and they served as important sites where leaders could assert their authority over conquered lands and or conquered peoples could exert their agency. In this way, mountains as landscapes could appear and function differently depending on who was interacting with them (Bender 2002). Nevertheless, through forms of mountain veneration such as the *capacocha,* the cosmological, social and imperial aspects of Inca identity were reaffirmed. The case of the Incas and their intimate relationship with landscape is a prime example of why it is crucial to analyze landscape using a multifaceted approach. Using analysis that considers both a cartesian/geographical perspective as well as a more phenomenological interpretation, the archaeologist can aspire to understand landscape in the most constructive and comprehensive way possible.

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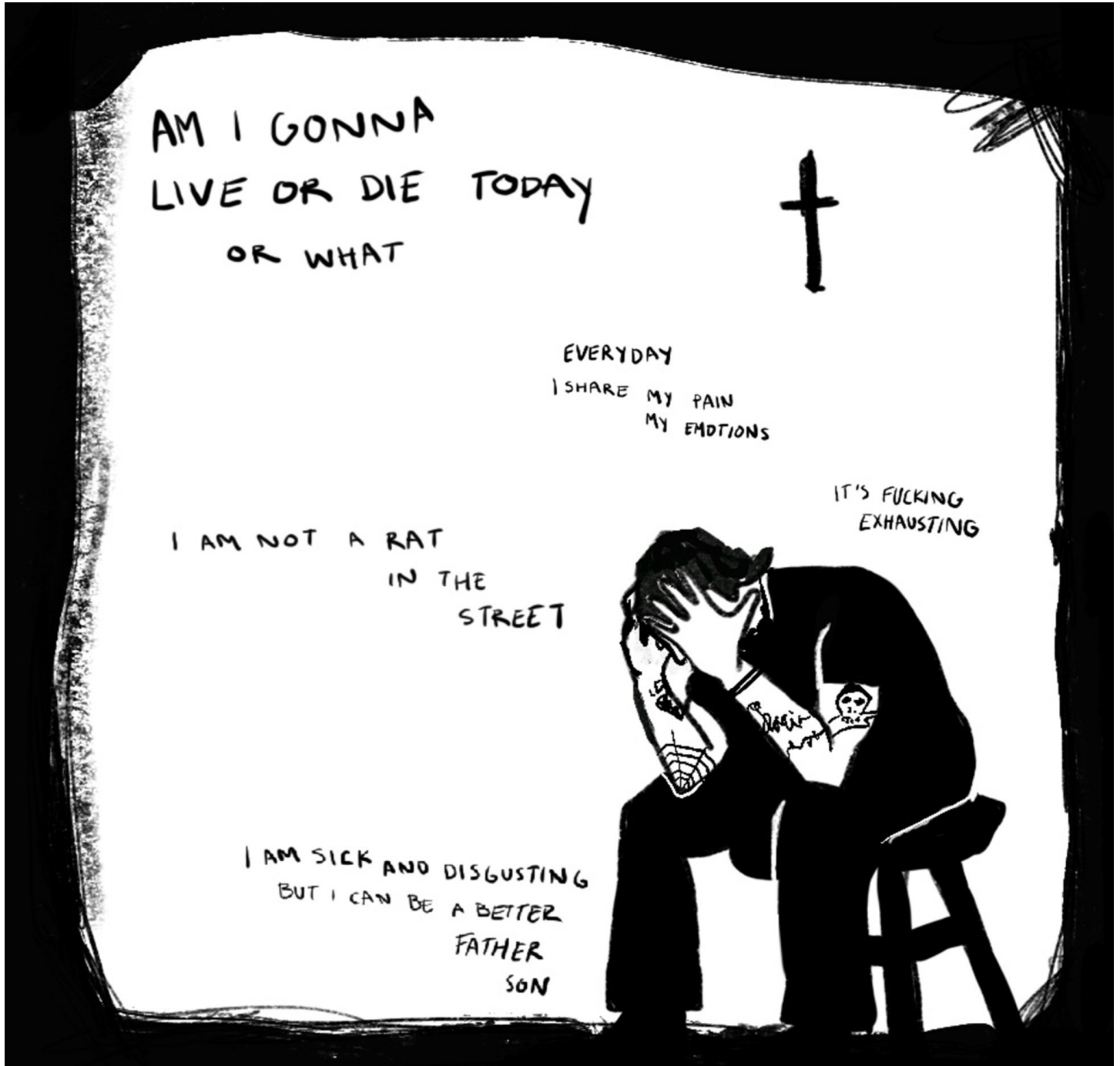
Xara Jamey, 'Men Am I Rite,' 2022

Men Am I Rite
Xara Jamey

Pain is no foreign concept to Catholicism. Look no further than the star quarterback, Jesus Christ! But do, and take into account the asceticism, flagellation, and sacrificial suffering that gives Roman Catholicism that particular *oomph.* There are several angles to analyze the "benefits" of pain and suffering, but of interest here are *anexos. Anexos* are treatment centers for addiction and alternative therapeutic spaces where the work of recovery is sometimes supported by violence itself, and where physical pain potentiates healing (Garcia, 456). *Anexos* are an example of how a religious dimension can combine with a therapeutic approach to dealing with the truth of life for many in Mexico, which can involve drug use as a means of survival or coping. Substance abuse always poses risks, but even more so in a context where drugs feed war. Because of this, those who surround *un perdido muy perdido* (a very lost person), are gripped with their own anxiety, fear, and pain. As a non-judgemental drinker herself, Santa Muerte also provides a place of healing for those dealing with substance abuse.

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Altar-Ego
Xara Jamey

In Catholicism, by undoing the work of God, suicide is tantamount to murder. In the past, and still in some orders, the Church would not conduct funeral services for or bury someone who had taken their own life and the religious taboo around suicide can impact those around the deceased within their community. Indisputably immensely painful and traumatic before, during, and after a suicidal event, doctrinal religiosity can prevent people from processing loss in a way that addresses and educates about the psychological reasons that lead to suicide (464, Jones et al). Santa Muerte's ability to give insight into the world of death, free from doctrinal constrictions and ideals, is a unique offer to her devotees. Free of judgement and threats of sin, Santa Muerte "offers protection and empathy to people with feelings of suicide" (476, Jones et al), and a point of access for those left to contend with the grief.

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Xara Jamey, 'Altar-Ego,' 2022

Social Restrictions, Sex, and Solitude

Tracing shifts in social behavior among young adults in Montréal during the COVID-19 pandemic

Willa Holt and Manuel Soldevila

Introduction

Québec's first case of COVID-19 was confirmed on February 27, 2020. In the ensuing months, the pandemic took hold of the province, peaking in the week of December 27, 2020, with 17,787 new cases. During 2020 and continuing into 2021, Québec imposed a series of public health measures in the hopes of curbing the pandemic's effects. These measures included the closure of restaurants and other businesses, prevention of visits to hospitals and long-term care facilities, limits on the size of gatherings, and evening curfews to discourage socializing (INSPQ 2020). Post-secondary learning primarily went online, as did many jobs. Many young people, including those in school, continued to work as the pandemic became more severe. Those who had to care for family carried new and different burdens, and many also navigated grief and loss while trying to keep their lives – including their social lives – together.

The pandemic itself has had a significant and direct impact on all of our lives. Government and institutional guidelines in response to it have also shaped and changed our behaviour, sometimes in ways we could not have anticipated. As opportunities for human connection have become few and far between, they have also grown increasingly important. The significant health risk posed by COVID-19 means that certain social behaviors and trends have changed in light of new restrictions and safety measures. Although the desire for human connection remains present, government restrictions have limited the ways in which people can safely and comfortably interact.

In particular, public guidelines surrounding safe sexual practices have tended to be vague, often failing to regulate sexual behavior as it exists in the real world. The Québec government's guidelines advise that Québec residents limit sexual contact to at most one partner outside the household (Gouvernement du Québec 2020). These well-intentioned statements are operating with limited information about how the Canadian and Québecois publics are actually engaging in sexual activity. As evidenced by the issues with public health statements and guidelines on sexuality during this pandemic, the Québec and Canadian governments (among other institutions) are missing the crucial subjective and individual information that could develop into productive and cost-effective public health measures. This gap in knowledge is one anthropology is uniquely positioned to fill with additional research into the pandemic's effects on sexuality and communal relationships.

As anthropologists, the social changes associated with the COVID-19 pandemic force us to reconsider the basis of sociality: "we are in a historical moment which demands us to engage in public debates about core issues of our discipline such as the construction of social relations in everyday life and the very nature of social formations" (Presterudstuen 2020:335). Efforts to limit sexual interactions have changed the way in which people socialize. In such circumstances, actions hold different legal and ethical weight. As new norms are established, individuals must also push for new types of relationships.

Our preliminary research has pointed to several areas of tension between institutional advice and interpersonal behavior, including the complications that arise when someone has multiple sexual partners (whether for work or in their personal life). The advice to simply limit one's sexual contact outside the home recalls abstinence-first, or even abstinence-only, styles of standard sex education, which have been shown to be largely ineffective, and certainly less effective than

comprehensive risk mitigation (Columbia Mailman School of Public Health 2017). Such mitigation approaches have arguably been adopted in institutional guidelines, but suggestions like "wear a mask during sex" are questionable. Furthermore, in our conversations with young people in Montréal, nearly every participant in our research explained that the decision to have sex with anyone outside their household entailed a decision to let go of any COVID-19 safety measures. In other words, once they reached the stage of approaching someone closer than six feet, the question of masks was long since over. This is a nuanced social trend and it certainly is not universal. It is, though, only one of many shared behaviors that emerged in our preliminary research.

In our research, we interviewed six young people (between 18 and 25) in Montréal about their experiences with relationships, sex, and socializing during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. Through these interviews, we hope to show that there are many areas critically in need of anthropological examination, specifically regarding the pandemic's impact on the ways people form relationships with others and with themselves, and how institutional guidelines fail to capture – and more often, create challenges for – excluded people. All of our participants were white, most identified as either queer or LGBTQ+, and each had engaged in social and sexual relationships in the context of – and often in spite of – local restrictions on these behaviors.

Our research shows that, in the face of questionable or ambiguous health guidelines, there is a culture of risk and ethical calculation that takes place during casual dating. This changes the ways people choose to engage with each other at every stage of the dating process. These moral calculations result in a boundary-making that is continually negotiated, changing the nature of social interactions writ large. Increased solitude has increased introspection, which also holds significant power in determining how people choose to engage in intimacy with others. This takes place in the broader context of guidelines which fail to accommodate for non-heteronormative experiences.

Excluded Sexual and Intimate Experiences

The Québec government and institutional guidelines for socialization and intimacy often seemed to exclude what we will call "excluded" sexual and intimate experiences. This comprises sexualities and relationship patterns that are considered outside of the model of family and sexual relations envisioned in most pandemic policies–the heterosexual nuclear family. "Excluded" encompasses polyamory, relationships in which both partners work high-risk jobs, those having casual sex or intimate relationships, and those engaged in sex work. It also includes, but is not limited to, queer experiences.

Many queer people, who may also be more likely to have familial relationships which diverge from the (nuclear) "household" which Quebec's lockdown policy has been structured around, will have particularly challenging experiences during heavy lockdowns (Christoffersen 2020). Through our preliminary research speaking to young people in Montreal, we have seen how those who are non-monogamous have had to navigate the restrictions differently than monogamous people: the ethical or moral perception of the restrictions have been expressed by our interviewees as feelings of exclusion.

Isolation: the Nature and Politics of Bubbles

Isolation does not remove social movement and interaction altogether. When isolated from others, we are still in reciprocal communication and contact with each other; we affect each other "not only through infection but through the shifting and straining social bonds that are now, perhaps more than ever, inescapable" (Brenman 2020:229). This claustrophobic quality of social bonds is another unique circumstance of pre-vaccination social life, and our research leads us to believe that it has a significant effect on how people experience sexuality and sexual relationships. When in limited "bubbles" or communicating only online, acts of intimacy, both casually and in more committed relationships, seem to become constrained and pressured in ways they would not otherwise be.

Formally, the concept of "bubbles" during the pandemic is a great and impactful novelty in the formation of our social relations. Even if not everyone uses or understands the concept of a bubble, it was part of a lot of people's lives, and it was officially mandated (Authier 2021) as the optimal and desirable social structure during the pandemic: In Québec, the "family bubble" represents the possible legal social structure; it is formed by members of a shared household (Ross 2021). As a preventive social formation, bubbles work to limit the risk of contagion. Yet, perspectives on bubbles show how people can find them inept, or

not drastic enough, and how others find the concept too restrictive. Others appropriated the concept, felt included in its purpose, and were able to abide by it.

From our interviews, we have gathered that the concept was subject to interpretation, making its definition malleable and adaptable. It is not that the concept is not clearly defined, but rather that people in their day-to-day lives might not respect their bubbles. For example, they might have bubbles larger than recommended, or have a bubble but "cheat" and see other people. The relationship of people within bubbles has to be constructed; their formation has to be developed and debated by the members of the household, friend group or family. We will call these interactions the politics of the bubble: the management of accommodation, respect, boundary setting and expression within the socially confined space of the bubble in relation to the high risks associated with the pandemic.

The Ethically Responsible Individual Navigating an Emergent Dating Culture

Being a part of a community, a bubble, or any other social formation during COVID-19 comes with an ethical responsibility. Decision-making processes, perceptions of laws, relationships, and actions ranging from banal to important have become ethically fraught. State intervention motivates change in terms of sexuality, and these changes must be individually assessed. Social security in terms of health becomes the responsibility of the individuals, as citizens. A state-enforced "ethical citizenship" defines the new individual in the era of COVID, whereby individuals become the actors of self-enforcing security and protection through their actions and choices. Thus, "the burden of social responsibility [shifts] from the state to citizens" in a neo-liberal fashion (Marchesi 2020:318). Sexuality, as a motivator for actions and as an embodied practice, relates to an ethical citizenship because it resides in the identity or in the relationships of the ethical citizen. It becomes a source of decisions, dilemmas, conflicts and debates that can either contradict or correlate with the ethical laws.

Each participant who engaged in dating described their experiences as part of a changing but predictable culture in which new behaviors (social distancing before physical contact, learning about the other's distancing habits) became accepted as ethical or responsible to the same degree as non-pandemic-related behaviors (using protection during sex, opening with small talk).

Andy, a bisexual student who entered a committed relationship during the pandemic after several brief interactions with others, explained that, to him, interrogating someone about their safety measures "implies that you're suspicious of how the other person is handling themselves." Discussing how to meet – and clarifying safety precautions – seemed to have become more sensitive, in ways other participants compared to conversations around safe sex in 'normal,' pre-pandemic times. Lily, a bisexual student and line cook who also engaged in many casual sexual interactions before committing to one partner (all during the pandemic), made this comparison directly, saying that "with other partners [besides her girlfriend], I kind of compared it to like... asking people about STIs? […] You hope that people are being honest with you, but like, the consequences are potentially quite bad if they're not being honest with you, especially if they think they're being honest with you, but their definition of 'COVID-safe' is different than yours." Lily, who describes herself as "pretty comfortable asserting [her] boundaries," continued to state that, "most people that I talked to that were interested in hooking up were pretty upfront" about their interests in response to her clear and confident statements.

This comparison has also been drawn in popular media. In one article, a sex educator's statement on why the use of a condom is important and "why it's aligned with your values and why that's something that you need from [a partner]," is similar to the explanations of personal and health values that accompany asking someone to wear a mask (Dembosky 2020). This, and Lily's statements, capture the moral and risk calculations associated with both negotiations, and the potential each type of conversation holds for social rejection or conflict. It is possible that those who have more comfort and practice establishing safe boundaries in sexual situations may find it easier to transition to setting firm boundaries in relation to COVID-19. However, COVID-19 boundary-setting is quite different from traditional sexual health boundary-setting in many ways, namely that setting boundaries during the pandemic impacts everyone you come into contact with, not just your other sexual partners.

Boundaries and Moral Calculations

Justine is a francophone and recent CEGEP graduate. During the first wave in Montréal, before moving in with their roommate, Justine and their boyfriend did not adhere to public health restrictions, socializing with friends as normal. It was only after

they moved in with their roommate that Justine started to closely respect the rules, not for fear of being afflicted by the virus, but because of a sense of social responsibility and because their roommate's girlfriend was at risk of especially severe symptoms were she to contract COVID-19. This socially entrenched boundary-setting became an inevitable part of Justine's life. They needed to repeatedly negotiate how the apartment would respect certain rules and circumvent others. For example, Justine and their roommate agreed that their respective partners were allowed to visit them. Justine's boyfriend's roommate was also welcome in the apartment.

This social calculation was also shared by other participants. Andy stated that: "[One potential partner] lived with his mom, and I was worried about going to see him because I didn't want to infect his mom. [pause] And if I were dating someone who had roommates or something like that, I'd be worried about infecting their roommates and them. Like I don't want to, [laugh] I don't want to get other people sick. But particularly, I don't want to get old people sick." Andy lives alone, and his concerns about risking others' safety extended far beyond his direct circle, expressing a heightened awareness of the broader societal consequences of these actions.

In this situation, like Justine's, the boundaries being set were constantly in discussion, partly because so many people would be affected by any change or violation of a boundary. If any individual in the bubble made a choice considered dangerous by the group's rules, the entire group was put at risk.

In addition to shifting moral and risk calculations, our interviews also point to the fact that there is an increased level of commitment that comes with intimate connections under social restrictions. When being physically close to any person poses a health risk, bad dates become more of a concern. Following the same logic, Andy felt that the texting stage – prior to meeting up with a potential partner – was expected to last longer during pandemic dating; this is another effect of these new social calculations. Andy felt that this was partially why his vetting process for a potential partner was increased: he anticipated taking a substantial risk when finally meeting in person. All of the participants had physically intimate interactions, ranging from kissing to sex, despite social restrictions. None described taking further precautions than normal during those interactions.
Equally, though, none described contracting – or

passing on – COVID-19 at any point. Spending more time to determine compatibility seemed to be part of this trade-off, allowing people to feel more comfortable once they reached the phase of physical intimacy. Here, it is important to note that research conducted pre-pandemic indicates a correlation between time spent texting prior to meeting up and unsafe sexual interactions, suggesting that those who spend longer vetting their partners are less likely to engage in risky behaviors (Hahn et al. 2017).

Solitude and Introspection

As social structures and expectations shifted, and as socialization became harder and less frequent for many, some people experienced this additional "free" time as constructive introspection, leading them to new conclusions about their social identity, needs, and desires. Marie is a straight recent graduate working as an intelligence analyst and living alone for the first time, and she has never been involved in a committed relationship. She described feeling more difficulty socializing with new people, saying, "I word-vomit a lot more, and I'm just like… I can't find the balance between 'Oh, we're just meeting,' and […] overshar[ing] a lot." But Marie also explained that her time alone and away from bars and socializing "helped [her] be more just aware of maybe what [she's] looking for" out of a relationship.

Justine came out as nonbinary and polyamorous almost directly because of the conditions of the pandemic. For them, the months they spent unemployed and out of school allowed them to question their identity in a manner and intensity that would have been impossible without the pandemic. Introspection became routine, and it led them to understand their need for polyamorous relationships. This understanding, for them, was a result of the new time available to them and the changing relationship they had with their partner. By constituting their relationship differently, they were understanding themselves differently. The change in relationship Justine mentioned was emphasized by other participants who were in relationships during the pandemic. Laurianne, a part-time pole dancer and student, described how the initial pace of her relationship differed from previous pre-pandemic relationships. The foundational steps that typically characterized her monogamous relationships – meeting the friends and family of the other person – were postponed or drastically limited due to social restrictions. This allowed for a

slower process of developing a new relationship – an acclimation that facilitated more boundary-setting and open discussion with her new boyfriend.

Lily described the changes in her relationship as one resulting from the primary social changes due to COVID-19: "because we started dating during the pandemic, it just was automatically so serious so quickly. Because, like, ideally, our relationship would be more open, I think, but just because of the situation, it can't be. Because of COVID. […] It's a really weird situation where, you know, we've only ever dated each other under threat of death or immediate bodily harm, you know what I mean? Like, there's never been a second of the relationship where I haven't been a little bit afraid of getting a potentially deadly illness. […] Her immune system is also not very strong, so mostly I'm just stressed about her getting COVID. […] Because we already live together, it just meant that everything was escalated quite quickly. And so we've never gotten a chance to date without also just like, holding on for dear life." The nature of Lily's relationship was thus heavily structured by COVID-19.

Lucas, a gay man working in a production company, has been in a relationship since last summer, and although he describes himself as "super happy" with his partner, he mentions that relationships feel different during COVID-19, almost forced. He started to disagree with the curfew and other rules late during the pandemic, pointing out contradictions in the guidelines, and rejected measures that would be too extreme for his lifestyle. He mentions, similarly to Lily, how couples during COVID-19 seemed different than before. He explains how his own couple was created during COVID-19 and that he normally would not be in a relationship. His relationship is not less real, nor is his love for his boyfriend. It is simply that for him, the situation, the restrictions, and the fear pushed people to opt for relationships rather than celibacy. When asked about the effect of a "return to normal," he answered that he thinks a lot of couples will break up or cheat on one another. These statements, taken together, indicate an increased interest, unique to the pandemic and contained by it, in engaging in committed relationships.

Varied Adherence to Moral and Legal Guidelines

Although personal and social boundaries are closely tied to moral and legal guidelines, they also seemed to be flexible. Several participants described their adherence to public health guidelines as inversely proportional to their intimacy with another person. Beginning with a 'first date' video call or two, moving towards masked and distanced outdoor meetings, then finally deciding to engage in direct physical contact was a process that may have become normalized during the first waves of the pandemic.

Marie describes herself as more cautious than many of her friends, but despite this, she briefly disregarded local health guidelines while on a trip abroad. During the summer of 2020, she traveled to a rural area in France, where the pandemic was much less severe. She described feeling a sense of normalcy — which she also characterized as her own poor judgment — that led her to have closer contact with those around her, including casual sex with a man she met while out one evening. This spontaneous intimacy, which would have been unconscionable for Marie in Montréal, came with feelings of guilt. During her retelling of this story, Marie caught herself over-explaining, "because I'm trying to stop judging myself" for crossing what she believes should have been a firm boundary. She did not contract COVID-19 from these choices, and to her knowledge, neither did the man. Marie's reflexive judgment was based on her estimation of not only the potential health risk, but also the social risk of seeming irresponsible, or the moral risk of becoming a hypocrite — both qualities that she found to be out of character for her.

Across the board, the people we spoke to were more comfortable putting themselves at risk than those in their community, including people with whom they had little, if any, personal relationships. The health of roommates' families, or roommates' partners' families, seemed more morally significant than their own health. This is supported by findings from Schiffer et al., who determined that in moral dilemmas centred around COVID-19, participants prioritized their families' safety above their own (Schiffer et al. 2021). There is an element here of choice and consent — putting others at risk involves making a health and safety decision on their behalf with potentially fatal consequences

Conclusion

Governmental definitions and instructions surrounding relationships cannot account for the diversity of situations within households and groups, or within bubbles. Furthermore, the concept of bubbles itself cannot account for the variety of identities and relationship patterns of the population. Different types

of bubbles exist: familial, sport, school, work, and friend bubbles. During the pandemic, those already existing social formations became exclusive. The 'one size fits all' social bubble mandated by the Québec government excludes families, groups and individuals whose social formations, or definitions of family or other relationships, differ from normative ones. When sexual identities or practices differ from the normative and state sanctioned ones, an additional moral and ethical weight is added onto people. Their citizenship becomes different; it is situated in a legal grey zone where it is not addressed nor acknowledged. Unlike others who follow guidelines fitting the structure of their families or self, some excluded people have to alter themselves, or the foundation of their relations, in order to be legal or ethical.

For example, Justine's relationship structure, which differs both in terms of intimacy and family, was altered to align with such ethical standards. As a polyamorous person, the potential of having multiple partners is reduced to a single one. Also, their understanding of family is different from the concept of the nuclear family seen in governmental instructions. Kinship, for them, extends further than blood relatedness, and is defined in terms of proximity: a proximity lost during the pandemic. As a nonbinary and polyamorous person, Justine were excluded by government restrictions, and said as much. They dismissed the subject by stating that they are used to it, and that for them, only seeing one partner was okay considering the dangers of seeing many. Through their sense of social responsibility, they found a way to reconcile their desires and life with the needs of their community without the mediating force of institutional guidelines. But this decision is not made in the same way by every excluded person.

Formulating universally-fitting social structures would be impossible, and it is understandable that the government would put in place measures that intend to correspond to the majority of the population. What is detrimental, we found, is the lack of recognition of the different ways people form their identities and relationships. Not recognizing or addressing the plurality of sexualities, families, and partnerships within our society forces people to fit into the secular-Christian nuclear family model and either alter themselves or not respect the rules. It also works towards their exclusion and marginalization from society more broadly. The regulations referred to, and reinforced, a specific social structure that prioritizes committed monogamy, heterosexual nuclear families, and white-collar workers. These expectations, although present pre-pandemic, became ethically, legally, morally and socially upheld and heightened by both media and the government during the pandemic. This extraordinary emphasis on the restructuring of sociality led to exclusion and separation as casualties of universal propositions.

Further research is necessary to fully understand the social changes that emerged during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic in Québec, especially as they relate to public health restrictions on social behaviour. Future restrictions need to consider the myriad sexual and social realities that they are intending to regulate, opting for collaborative harm reduction rather than imposing universal models that will marginalize excluded lives and groups.

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What You Call Home: Photographs

Claire Berthelot

These photographs were taken on a cold, rainy, and drab day using a 35 mm point-and-shoot film camera as I ventured out to the rural edges of Georgia in 2020. Having grown up for many years in the city of Atlanta, amongst other places and countries, I now often reflect on the idea of place as home. There is both a familiarity and simultaneous alienation with the experience of returning 'home,' or perhaps a former home. When I return to the place where my memories are palpable yet fuzzy, I am reminded of that which is part of me and that which is so far removed from me. The changes of one's familiar home, after years passed, can render one feeling external to that which once seemed so intimately familiar. Yet, it also feels as though perhaps it is my experiences and the changes within myself which have left me feeling alien to the world and to the people I once knew well. Did the physical space of home even change at all, or was it me who changed? Or perhaps it was simply that my idea of home shifted? Or maybe my memories do not serve me well at all, and this place was never my home. Perhaps this disorienting contemplation is a result of the dis-ease of being a settler on Indigenous lands. Nevertheless, I am wrestling with these paradoxes and contradictions taking root inside of me that make me question the identities and worlds I inhabit, have previously inhabited, and will inhabit in the future. This temporal theme runs through each of the three photographs, with the first representing a

Clarie Berthelot, 'House on a Hill Tucked in the Northern Georgia Mountains,' 2020

Clarie Berthelot, 'Abandoned Bicycle on the Lawn,' 2020

decaying past, while the second represents childhood memories in the present, without the child itself. The last photograph represents a walk towards the future.

Walter Benjamin, a German philosopher and writer, writes about the notion of 'precipitates of experience' when recounting his childhood in Berlin in the 1900's (2006 [1950]). Precipitates of experience refer to the recounting of memories through disjointed imagistic and non-narrativizing forms that have continuity up into, and which inform, present thought. Film and images may act as a vehicle for such precipitates of experience to unfold as they occur, unmediated through text. It lets the experience speak and live through itself, without re-organizing it, or trying to translate it into factual, coherent, or narrativizing forms. As anthropologist Lisa Stevenson suggests from Walter Benjamin's notion of precipitates of experience, these imagistic memories we think through continually "resonate, animate us, for a lifetime, without necessarily having any narrative or biographical value" (Stevenson 2014: 42). Such memories and images do not add to the facts. On the contrary, they make the facts hesitate—*was*

it ever really home? Yet, something in the images of past memories continues to hold us in the present. Memory, as such, sometimes unsettles certainty and disrupts the coherence of narrativizing forms when articulating these memories, or 'precipitates of experience.' Photographs that distill the way in which memory is bound up in place, past, and present temporalities, may therefore be best suited to articulate and express such stories and memories without trying to tell the story. I wanted to convey the affective resonances that are part of these internal questions on memory and the idea of place-as-home. I intended to bring these internal reflections to material fruition through these images, which may feel at once nostalgic and familiar, yet also haunting, and eerie, as they convey a sense of loss or abandonment.

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Looking Beyond the Walls: Castle Landscapes in Medieval Britain

Charlie Littler

Introduction

This paper will examine the relationship between 'castle landscapes', and the social, political, economic, and cultural changes that occurred in Medieval Britain. I define 'castle landscapes' as comprising the castle building and any surrounding landscape features that have come to be associated with the main castle structure. In this paper, 'designed landscapes' are taken to mean any landscape that has been intentionally physically or symbolically altered for reasons that are not primarily pragmatic. However, it should be noted that these definitions dichotomize between natural and unnatural, or "human", landscapes, a dichotomy that has long been problematic in landscape archaeology (Smith 2003). Castle landscapes have long been understood in functionalist terms that see the castle as simply a military fortification. This is an assumption that has been challenged in recent years as many historical and landscape archaeologists attempt to move beyond the "orthodoxy of castle-as-fortress," (O'Keefe 2004:58) and towards an interpretation of castles that recognizes the social, cultural, and political dimensions of castle landscapes. These recent approaches endeavor to see castle landscapes as primarily designed landscapes. This paper will approach castle landscapes from a perspective that blends spatial analyses, such as access analysis, with symbolic analyses that are based on architectural embellishment and aesthetics. Castle landscapes were created as a physical embodiment of social relations and functioned as active social forces within the wider landscape. Specifically, designed castle landscapes were constructed both to assert and enforce claims to authority, and to elevate the social status of the castle builder through the creation of recreational castle parks. Social relationships and claims to power were embedded in the castle landscape through: (1) the creation of parks and gardens as recreational spaces to create and enforce boundaries between elite and non-elite activities within the castle; (2) the construction of moats to enhance the visuality of the castle and increase the difficulty of accessing the main castle structure, and; (3) the situating of castles on ancient sites to link the authority of the castle builder to ancestral claims to space.

Theoretical Approaches

This paper draws from primarily archaeological sources that blend access/spatial analysis with symbolic analyses. Additionally, historical sources are used, albeit sparingly, to situate medieval castles and their landscapes within larger social, cultural, and political contexts. Past approaches to medieval landscape archaeology have been dominated by pragmatic (militaristic and economic) analyses of landscape. This obscures much of the complex social relationships people had with landscape, as well as how landscape is socially produced. Lefebvre's (1991:68-92) discussion of social space forms the basis of the theoretical approaches to landscape taken in this paper. Lefebvre (1991:70-71) distinguishes natural and social spaces, arguing that natural space is 'created' spontaneously, while social space is 'produced' as an expression of power relations. Space is produced because it is the physical outcome of the labour, or modes of production that construct it. Social relationships are produced, "as a result of the perceptual navigation of a place differs between those who control it and those who do not" (Johansen 2014:76). Thus, space is 'socially produced' because it embodies the social relationships between the means and modes of production (Lefebvre 1991:90). Understanding medieval castle landscapes as socially produced spaces is critical to understanding how

they produce authority and negotiate social structures between those dwelling within the castle landscape and those who dwell externally from it.

Spatial analyses, and specifically access analysis, are the primary theoretical approaches taken in this paper. Access analysis can be broadly defined by Richardson (2003:373-374) as the interpretation of past spaces according to their ease of access. This theoretical approach is designed to quantitatively identify and interpret the spatial relations that structure interactions between people within a built space (Stockett 2005:385). Richardson (2003:383) advocates for the value of access analysis in medieval studies, arguing that access analysis has the potential to reveal "the hidden social properties" of built space. Additionally, Richardson argues that the qualitative nature of access analysis makes it possible to interpret space free from modern "value judgements" (Richardson 2003:373). However, recent work has identified significant problems associated with access analysis, and those who employ it often caution against using access analysis in isolation from other methods (Fairclough 1992; Johnson 2015; Fisher 2009).

The central critique of access analysis is that it is dependent on built space and neglects how spatial boundaries are constructed in other ways. Fisher (2009:444) criticizes access analysis for neglecting how symbolic aspects of space, such as architectural embellishments, furniture, and design, create and structure meaning within space. Additionally, Fisher (2009:440) notes that access analysis privileges certain forms of interaction within space. Specifically, he distinguishes 'gatherings,' such as informal conversations that are, "loose and transitory," and 'social occasions,' which are larger events that are temporally and spatially bounded. Fairclough (1992) echoes Fisher's (2009) concerns, arguing for a focus on spatial analysis with symbolic analysis as a secondary method of interpretation. Combining these two approaches is particularly apt for medieval landscape studies because of the well preserved archaeological and historical evidence available for interpretation. Historical sources provide a wealth of information on architectural embellishment and aesthetics which can be combined with archaeological evidence to form a more comprehensive picture of the social role of medieval designed landscapes. Additionally, as Giles (2007:107) points out, medieval understandings of space emphasize the role of sight and visuality as an "active accumulation of the senses" that aids in "understanding the world through the body."

Historical Context

A brief overview of the medieval period in the British Isles is necessary to situate designed landscapes within a larger framework of social, historical, cultural, political, and economic changes occurring during this time, and to understand how designed landscapes became increasingly important as enforcers of social status and power. In the British Isles, the medieval period began with the Norman invasion in 1066 and ended at the beginning of the Tudor period in 1485. This span of 400 years was a contentious period for the British Isles in which control of power, specifically over the kingdom of England, was hotly contested. Increasing travel and interaction between the British Isles and continental Europe led to the spread of international thought and politics through British society, challenging the islands' previous relative isolation from the Continent (Stenton 1935).

Economic changes are among the most significant factors that shaped medieval Britain. The late medieval period witnessed a decline in feudalism, an economic system in which the king was the absolute owner of the land and appointed lords as vassals to manage his property. The decline of feudalism correlated with the increasing centralization of power around the English monarchy, and the rise of merchant economic systems that were vital to international trade (Stenton 1935). For peasants, the decline of feudalism marked a shift in the kind of relationships people had to land. Previously, peasants worked on the land as serfs under the control of a vassal. As feudalism was replaced with early forms of capitalism, peasants needed to form new social and cultural connections to the land on which they lived and worked. From an elite perspective, the decline of feudalism also meant significant changes in social structures and the methods that elites used to exert power over the peasantry and maintain their claim to their land and titles (Stenton 1935). During this period, the ability to control economic resources became increasingly important for elite individuals. Stenton (1935) identifies a growing desire for elite landowners to be seen as part of the aristocracy, leading to a trend among elite landowners of emulating aristocratic architectural styles to display their social status. The castle is one such example of how elite landowners sought to associate themselves with the aristocracy. Castles, which were previously associated almost exclusively with royalty and the

aristocracy, were constructed by local lords who had been able to amass immense wealth through their participation in the merchant economy. By constructing castles, this new class of elite landowners was able to participate in architectural, aesthetic, and cultural practices that had until then been only accessible to the aristocracy (Creighton and Higham 2004:1-9). Thus, it is evident that the Medieval period was a time in which elite and non-elite relationships to land were changing economically and socially as a result of the shift from feudalism to capitalism.

Finally, it is important to note that there are significant problems with the historicity of sources on medieval castles. Creighton and Higham (2004:6) note that medieval castles have long been attributed as central places within a cohesive political landscape. However, as the archaeological evidence demonstrates, this was not the case. Instead, castles were frequently situated within a politically fragmented regional landscape. This incongruity between sources demonstrates the need to be critical of understanding medieval castles from a solely historical perspective. Drawing from archaeological sources provides a means to challenge the historicity of these castles, which has long obscured the socially and politically complex landscapes in which they are situated.

Castles and Leisure Landscapes: Gardens and Parks

Moving beyond pragmatic understandings of castle landscapes, the social and cultural complexity of these landscapes becomes apparent. Creighton and Higham (2004:12) note the rise of garden and park spaces in later medieval castles. Given historical evidence that points to the later medieval period as a time in which power was increasingly institutionalized and centralized around the monarchy, the rise in gardens could represent a shift in focus from the use of the castle landscape to enforce the power of the castle builder towards the construction of castle landscapes for leisure purposes that signaled the immense wealth of its inhabitants. The study of the "contrived ornamental landscapes" (Creighton and Higham 2004:12) that increasingly surrounded castles is a particularly apt example of how spatial analyses and symbolic analyses can be combined to understand how individuals moved within space, as well as what castle parks and gardens symbolized for its elite and non-elite observers. Castle parks and gardens represented a

desire to separate elite spaces from the mundanity and labour of the castle proper and actively enforced social status, dichotomizing the social relationships between elites and non-elites.

An example of the role of castle parks and gardens enforcing social status can be found at the Pleasance, a 15th-century pleasure garden constructed as part of the castle landscape of Kenilworth (Jamieson and Lane 2015). The Pleasance was located a kilometer from Kenilworth castle and was situated to be accessible by water. This was intentional and reflected an interest in creating physical boundaries between leisure and labour spaces. Jamieson and Lane (2015:259) note that in addition to its role as a pleasure garden, the Pleasance also functioned as a royal residence frequently used by Henry V for leisure and private activities. Additionally, the presence of moats despite a lack of strategic value enhances the visual effect of the Pleasance (Jamieson and Lane 2015:265). The park's proximity to water was of primary importance in increasing its visual impression on international and other high-ranking visitors, who would have likely approached the castle by water. Both the castle and the Pleasance would have been fully visible to an approaching ship. As Jamieson and Lane (2015:263) note, this was likely intentional because Henry V's military interest in Continental countries created a desire to, "measure up" to the grandeur of continental castle landscapes. By increasing the visibility of Kenilworth and the Pleasance in relation to the surrounding landscape, Henry V embedded his authority as a ruler within the landscape.

Another example of the significance of parks to the castle landscape comes from north of the English border. In Scotland, the Middle Ages were a period in which England was steadily encroaching on Scottish political and cultural life (Malloy and Hall 2018:157-59). Kincardine castle and its attached park were constructed in Aboyne, Scotland during this period. The rise of royal parks and gardens in Scotland such as Kincardine Park have been interpreted by Malloy and Hall (2018:171) as representative of Scotland's desire to emulate English culture and compete with England politically. As with the Pleasance, Kincardine Park was located a kilometer away from the castle, however the park did not serve a solely recreational purpose (Malloy and Hall 2018:158). Evidence from faunal remains suggests the presence of hunting activities in the park, particularly deer and boar hunting, as well as evidence of cow husbandry in a separate area of the park (Malloy and Hall 2018:171). A watercourse and palisade created

a boundary between the hunting and agricultural zones. These boundaries embed physical and social borders in the landscape by separating the 'mundane' and heavily controlled subsistence areas and the 'exciting' wildness of the hunting grounds (Malloy and Hall 2018:170-71). Kenilworth and Kincardine both illustrate how castle landscapes were designed to maximize their visual impression, as well as create and enforce physical and social boundaries between elite and non-elite activities.

Moated Sites: Visuality and Mobility in the Castle Landscape

Visuality and mobility are two critical ways that castle landscapes produced and legitimized the authority of the castle builder. Moats are an example of how the visuality of a castle landscape was maximized, as well as how access to the internal structures of moated sites was controlled. In Medieval England alone there were more than 5,500 moated sites, many of which were not associated with military activity or fortification (Johnson 2015:234). Like previous functionalist understandings of castles, moats were long considered purely pragmatic and militaristic castle features (Johnson 2015:233). But, as with the Pleasance at Kenilworth Castle, moats frequently served aesthetic and social purposes (Jamieson and Lane 2015). Moated sites increase the "duration, distance and effort required to enter a dwelling" (Johnson 2015:238). By increasing the duration of time needed to enter the interior of a moated site, the approaching individual was forced to experience the impressive visuality of moated spaces for a longer duration. This prompted interaction with moated sites that engaged both sight and movement to make the experience of approaching the site a "bodily" one (Giles 2007:107). In this way, moats did not just restrict access to the castle landscape but were active landscape features in themselves, emphasizing the power of the castle builder through the individual experience of approaching the castle landscape.

A problem with this theoretical approach, and a persistent problem in access analysis, is that each person approached castle landscapes with an individual set of social relationships with the castle and its inhabitants. This unique experience shaped how they viewed and moved within the castle landscape. Assuming one experience of castle landscapes fails to recognize these landscapes as, "relational", in that they "defined boundaries and arranged subjects […] in relation to one another." (Johnson 2015:236) To illustrate the

role of moats as active relational landscape features, Johnson (2015:238-43) uses the example of The Mote, a 14th century lord's home in East Sussex. Edmund de Pashley, the lord who constructed the home, was part of the growing group of elite landowning individuals looking to establish a connection with the "castle-holding magnates" of England's aristocracy. The primary residence of the manor was on an inner island separated by a moat. This separation increased the distance one had to travel to the "island," from 145m, to approximately 455m. Additionally, one could only enter the residence by first passing through gatehouses and outer courts, forcing each visitor to view the entire manor and its landscape in the process of entering the residence. The Mote is an example of how social boundaries were materialized through the use of moats to distance the castle physically and socially from approaching individuals.

Labour is another aspect of how moats produced and maintained the authority of the castle/manor builder. The labour required to construct and maintain moats was immense. Glottenham castle in Robertsbridge, England, which was constructed in the 13th century provides an excellent example of this phenomenon (Johnson 2015:243). The castle's moat measured from 6-19m wide and would have required two summer seasons to construct (Johnson 2015:243). This would have strengthened the local labourers economic and social ties to the castle, as well as provided the castle builder with a way to operationalize their claims to power and status by mobilizing a large regional labour force. Lefebvre's (1991) understanding of the social production of space is helpful in this context. The different social relationships between the castle builder and the labourers exemplifies Lefebvre's argument that social relationships with space are conditioned by one's place within the factors of production (Lefebvre 1991:90). Whether an individual laboured or leisured within castle landscapes shaped how they viewed themselves and others in relation to these spaces. This is a critical way in which social relationships with space are individualistic and are made and remade as one's association with the castle landscape shifts over time.

In short, moated sites were active social forces that produced the authority of the castle builder. Moats emphasise the visual impression of the castle's internal structures and restrict access to the moated site by increasing the difficulty and time it took to access its internal structures. How these factors influenced social relationships within space depended on an individual's

social status in relation to the authority of the castle builder.

Ancient Places in the Castle Landscape

The final way in which castle landscapes are constructed to legitimize power and shape social relations is through the use of ancient places to embody authority by evoking the memory, tradition and genealogy associated with ancient places. The use of ancient places in the construction of medieval castles has taken many forms. Of particular importance is the practice of situating castles near ancient places, as well as the reuse of materials from ancient places in castle construction functioning as a way of producing the authority of the castle builder (Jamieson 2019:338-40). In Britain, the vast majority of ancient places used in the construction of castle landscapes date to the Romano-British and prehistoric periods of British Isles history (Jamieson 2019:338). Like how moats become active social forces by restricting movement within the castle landscape, the use of ancient places in the construction of castles was a way of staking claim to the landscape. This involved a process of allowing older generations to"speak through space" in ways that legitimized the castle builders' claim to power by making the castle appear like a natural extension of the ancient place (Jamieson 2019:346). This practice also established the castle builder as the natural descendants of ancient inhabitants of the British Isles. However, as has been pointed out by Creighton and Higham (2004:15), there was no nationally organized method by which castles were sited near ancient places or were a "superimposed template of an ideal landscape". Rather, the location and construction of castles were adapted to the social and economic conditions in which the castle builder found themselves.

One such example of the significance of ancient places to medieval castle construction comes from Marlborough Castle in Wilshire, which was constructed in the early 12th century (Jamieson 2019:338). Recent excavations revealed that Marlborough castle was constructed around a pre-existing moat and mound dating to the later Neolithic period (Jamieson 2019:347-49). This Neolithic structure was likely part of a larger system of mounds that formed a "ceremonial landscape", and which has long been associated with folk stories and memories of pre-Saxon Britain (Jamieson 2019:338). The name 'Marlborough' has long been interpreted as meaning 'merlin's barrow', which further associates

the castle with prehistoric Britain by evoking the Arthurian legends that are deeply embedded in British ancestry (Jamieson 2019:346). Williams (1998:366) likens these castle builders to the prolific monument builders of ancient civilizations. He argues that castle builders wanted to be seen in the same light that ancient monument builders were, and that they presented ancient places as exclusively representative of elite lineages. Harvey (1999:51) supports this perspective, arguing that heritage in the medieval period was treated as a "resource" that "can be related to a particular identity […] and specific sense of the past." The Neolithic mound at Marlborough remained a feature of the landscape, however it was enclosed as a private royal space within the castle, demonstrating how ancient places were seen as resources to be controlled and experienced by the aristocracy (Jamieson 2019:347). The example of Marlborough castle demonstrates how the repurposing of ancient sites often represented an attempt by castle builders to control heritage and situate their claims to power within a larger ancestral relationship to the landscape.

Conclusions

Castle landscapes have played a critical role in creating, structuring, and controlling social relations and in enforcing the authority and status of the castle builder. Spatial and symbolic analysis of castle parks, the construction and function of moats, as well as the use of ancient places in the siting and construction of castle landscapes all demonstrate that castle landscapes were not simply pragmatic but were constructed to structure social relationships and produce and enforce the authority of the castle builder.

It is important to recognize that castle landscapes are part of a much larger regional and national landscape. There is a paucity of evidence from historical and archaeological sources concerning non-elite manipulation of landscapes for social purposes. However, in more recent years, historians and archaeologists alike have recognized the elite biases of past interpretations of the medieval period. As more archaeological work is conducted revealing the lifeways of medieval non-elites, the value of combining historical and archaeological approaches to medieval studies becomes even more apparent, as in doing so, we can enable a deeper understanding of the medieval period that rejects the marginalization of non-elites in the historical and archaeological records.

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Meng Xuan, 'Time Tunnel,' 2022

Time Tunnel
Meng Xuan

This image was taken in my mum's hometown, a small town in Northern China called Yaocun. My mum and I entered a shopping center where most of the shops sell clothing. What I found compelling was the contrasting elements on the first floor, such as the confined corridor with few people present. The space here appeared to be extremely tight. It was not even technically a "floor" since two rows of adjoining stores mostly filled the space, leaving a narrow corridor in the middle. Large banners hung from the top, making this compact space even more oppressive. However, it was also spacious. It was a feeling not arising from the space itself but from the absence of a crowd. There was no selling happening at that moment. Instead, three vendors sat outside the shops, looking at their phones, and no one even lifted their head when customers passed by.

Images are highly visualized yet they carry nuanced meanings and layers of interpretations that are subjective to the viewer's positionality. In this image, viewers might interpret that this shopping center lacks vitality as there are not many customers. But another interpretation could be that the image was taken in a day when vendors have just had a moment to relax. The photographer's presence, although physically absent from an image, is still entangled with the subjects of the image. Their subjective position in relation to the image is inevitably different from the viewers, which creates complex layers of interpretation. For me, I held a deep sense of attachment to that space. Walking through the shopping center, I had a chance to see what the small town center of my mum's birthplace currently looks like for the first time. It also spurred my imagination of Chinese markets in the late 20th century, which have mostly been from the media.

March Drawing: Reflections on a Ghost

Leo Stillinger

In a frail orange notebook, I found a drawing which I made in the first days of March, 2020. It's a drawing of a crowd of people, many heads designated by small circles, filling a street beneath the outlines of palm trees and traffic lights. I was in Puebla, Mexico on my exchange semester, and that morning, at 7:30 a.m., I had joined more than 100,000 students from the many universities of Puebla in a protest sparked by the murder of three medical students in a nearby town the previous February. The murders had crystalized the widespread sense of fear and outrage in this state plagued by increasing violence, and now the students were marching to demand safety and justice. The sights and sounds were awe-inspiring: the sea of bodies moving as one, pre-planned songs rippling through the masses, beneath the magnificent, enormous trees which characterize the boulevards of Puebla. *Por qué, por qué? / Por qué nos asesinan? / Si somos el futuro de América latina?[1]* Overwhelmed, hardly believing my eyes, I began to draw. The songs continued flowing into my ears.

Coming across the drawing again, months later, at my parents' house at the height of a strange summer, I was struck by a powerful and unnameable emotion. The picture reached out and struck me, like a spirit from a previous era, a vanished existence. Less than two weeks after I had made the drawing, I left Mexico in the early days of the COVID-19 pandemic to spend the summer with my family in the U.S. My memories of Mexico often come back to me sepia-tinted: it seems to have been a different world then, when one could still gather in groups, be close without a second thought. Many of these memories have faded into incomprehensibility. Against this disappearance into incomprehensibility and forgetting, my drawing reached me with a vivid immediacy that stunned me. Gazing at the workings of my black pen, fairly basic by any standard, I was transported. The songs of that day began to flow into my ears once more.

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The possibility for images to act upon us in a ghostly way is explored by Michael Taussig in his essay, "What Do Drawings Want?" (2009). For Taussig, the image's spirit-like agency, its ability to reach out and affect us, is tied to a kind of "sympathetic magic" (Taussig 2009:263). The term, drawn from the early 20th-century anthropologist Frazer and his discussions of religion, denotes a special, even magical bond between the image and that which it represents: "pictures take power from what they are of" (Taussig 2009:264). This intrinsic link between the image and its signified— the same link which would cause great offense if I tore a photograph of your loved one in half, right in front of you, even though it's "only" a picture—is, for the image theorist W.J.T. Mitchell, a sort of survival of animism in the modern period (Mitchell 2005:72). In Taussig's interpretation, this survival creates a "trap," in that the modern Western subject tends to explicitly disavow this animism as a false superstition, held only by children or "primitive" peoples, even as the Westerners themselves continue to partake in it (Taussig 2009:264). A double consciousness is created: "we can *believe and disbelieve* at the same time" (Taussig 2009:264).

Seeking to move beyond this trap, Taussig takes the spirit-like capacities of the image as a given. With the notion of the sympathetic magic of images as his starting point, Taussig delves into distinctions between different *kinds* of images, specifically between drawings and photographs. In an age dominated by the photographic image, Taussig wants to reexamine the value of the hand-drawn image, and find an answer to our instant-reflex question: "Why draw? Why not take a photo instead?" (Taussig 2009:265). The difference matters, Taussig argues. While all images possess a sympathetic magic, this magic works differently in drawings than in photographs. This difference has to do with their conditions of creation.

The creation of a drawing is different from the creation of a photograph in its relationship to *time*. Taussig draws on John Berger, who captured this difference in his essay "Drawn to That Moment": "[a] photo-
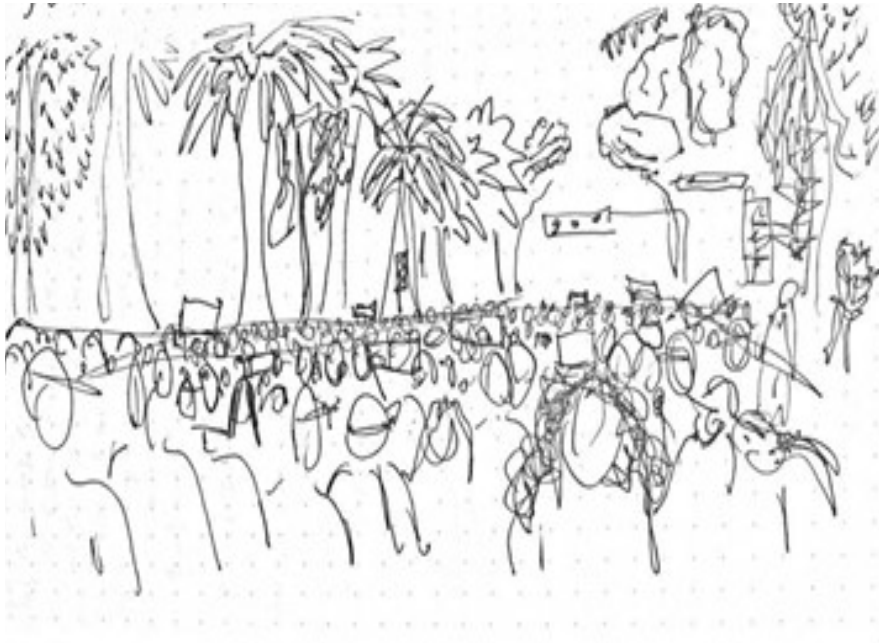
Leo Stillinger, 2020

graph is static because it has stopped time. A drawing or painting is static because it encompasses time" (Berger 1985:149). A drawing encompasses time because, unlike the photograph captured in an instant, a hundredth of a second, the drawing is the result of a prolonged contemplative process. This process is what Taussig, paraphrasing Berger, describes as the dialectic between looking and sketching: "[d]rawing tends to be a mute conversation with the thing drawn and can involve prolonged and total immersion. You stare and draw and stare again. Back and forth it goes" (Taussig 2009:269). This dialectic results in different parts of the drawing being created at different times; in the final result, these different moments are stitched together into a "totality" which is the "simultaneity of a multitude of moments" (Berger 1985:150). It is in this paradoxical sense of a simultaneity of moments that a drawing achieves the impossible: it is a stillness which encompasses time.

Thinking back to my experience of making the drawing in Puebla, I vividly recall my own process of looking and sketching and looking again. The crowd had temporarily paused its march, but the scene was still awash in movement: heads bobbing, signs waving, trees flickering their leaves in the wind. My rushed lines indeed strove to coalesce a multitude of moments into one image. Yet I remember that, as I sketched, it was not only *appearances* which struck me. There were noises, too—the murmur of the crowd cresting into exuberant songs; the distant roar of traffic and car horns; the diffuse cacophony of street vendors which imbues the life of that city. There were smells—asphalt, fried

tamales, sweat, flowers. And then there were the affects which defy the simple divisions of sense perception—the buzzing hopes, anxieties, angers, and energies which radiated from the mass of students who had gathered in the shadow of murder to demand their own safety; the quivering potential of 100,000 young bodies occupying the same boulevard. Were these vibrations recorded in the drawing, too?

In *Listening to Images*, Tina Campt proposes that one can listen for these kinds of low, more-than-visual frequencies in images: "[a]ttuning oneself to such frequencies and affects is more than simply looking and more than visual scrutiny … Listening requires an attunement to sonic frequencies of affect and impact. It is an ensemble of seeing, feeling, being affected, contacted, and moved beyond the distance of sight and observer" (Campt 2017:42). While Campt is focused on photographs, I find her analysis doubly apt for the extended procedure of drawing, for what Campt wants us to listen for is precisely the kind of frequencies which poured into my body in the minutes that I feverishly sketched. If, with Berger, we accept that drawing coalesces a multitude of visual moments into a single simultaneity, I'd like to suggest that, alongside appearances, a whole range of sensations and affects are also recorded by the quick, uncertain pen. These extra-visual perceptions, more than the image itself, were what struck me with such force when I first saw my drawing after many months. Could we say that listening to drawings means listening for what the drawer was listening to? This is a kind of listening which reaches beyond the present and the material--a kind of listening to "the beyond" itself, in the spectral frequencies which inhere in the image yet transcend it.

"Listening to the beyond" may recall ghost-stories, séances; and on that note I'd like to return to the notion of the image as ghost. Taussig examines the question of ghostliness somewhat superficially: "ghost" and "spirit" appear in his text as basically synonymous. Yet what can we learn about drawing from the specific relation that ghosts have to death—their ability to transcend it, to return from the beyond? Here it is instructive, once again, to dive into Berger's essay, which revolves around a drawing he made of his father shortly after his death and the way that this drawing maintains

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his father's spirit as an absent presence, hovering above Berger's writing desk. For Berger, the drawn image is miraculous not only because it encompasses a multitude of moments, but because the act of drawing takes a stand against the *impermanence* of appearances, the flux of the visual world, and the tendency towards disappearance in all things: "[t]he act of drawing refuses the process of disappearances" (Berger 1985:150). This is what makes drawings like ghosts—they are appearances which upend the destructive nature of time, visions grasped across the void of perpetual disappearance, of death.

For the filmmaker Kevin Jerome Everson, film and storytelling serve the same function. In two films, *Shadeena* (2016) and *Ears, Nose and Throat* (2016), Everson films the woman, Shadeena, who witnessed his son's murder and testified in court to convict the murderer. In both films, Everson records Shadeena as she recounts, yet again, the story of the murder as she witnessed it. This retelling conjures the scene again to the mind's eye: it is a sort of auditory drawing, doubled by Shadeena's vivid gestures as she enacts the various moments; it is an embodied performance of a painful yet

somehow cherished memory. With these films, Everson rescues his son's last moments from the void opened by his death. He performs the same work that a drawing does, on an infinitely more raw and painful scale: a multitude of affects, of moments, the complexity of a life and an entire unspoken history, coalesces for the viewer at the site of Shadeena's spoken and embodied testimony.

It is clearly impossible to compare anything to the death of a son. Without roaming into that territory, however, I'd like to explore the possibility that the ghostliness which pervades Everson's films may be the same kind, pushed to its outer limits, as what I felt when I stumbled upon my March drawing in the middle of the summer. When I looked at it then, and when I look at it again today, I am struck by the immediacy with which a swarm of affects, sounds, and memories returns to my body. This "simultaneity of a multitude of moments" (Berger 1985:149), moments both visual and extra-visual, reaches out to me across the chaos of disappearances and discontinuities of the subsequent seasons which rendered early March of 2020 such an impossibly distant time period. In stitching together these

moments into an unlikely unity, my drawing captures and re-transmits, against the grain of time, the ghost of a lifeworld.

This, for Taussig, is what all images do; yet drawings do it perhaps more intensely, because, in encompassing time, they also come to possess and transmit the whole multitude of movements, vibrations, affects, sounds and smells which entered my body as I sketched. In the title of his essay, Taussig asks: what do drawings want? (Taussig 2009:263). My March drawing wants me to close my eyes and listen.

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Life Beyond Reality: Romance in "Occupation Double"

Xavier Grandsen

Introduction

The final step in the elimination process leading up to the popular Québécois reality TV show *Occupation Double* is the "Red Carpet."[1] One by one, contestants present themselves to the public. Before an intimate group of invitees, they walk out on stage perfectly groomed and wearing flamboyant dresses. As they recite their memorized speeches, attempts at being laid-back and natural often give way to slip-ups and awkward moments of overly scripted babble. The viewer is instantly touched by their humanity. Stuck between trying to be sexy and attractive while being cool and "authentic," contestants have already started to navigate the fundamental contradiction that permeates reality TV: they are both actors in an elaborate commercial, and humans in the thralls of day to day existence.

The following essay discusses the experience of romance in *Occupation Double*. Part ethnography, part philosophical discussion, I explore what it means to love in an artificially constructed world. My research focuses on the show's most recent season, which took place in Quebec during the fall of 2020.[2] The essay will be divided into three parts: The section on authenticity will describe the logic of *Occupation Double*. The second, on love, provides a brief historical account of the merger between consumerism and romantic narratives. The third section will describe how *Occupation Double* provides an example of "simulated reality." Using Jean Baudrillard's concept of the "simulacrum," I will explore the process through which artificial worlds are made real.

Authenticity

As previously mentioned, the contestants are trying to be "themselves." They crack jokes and provide anecdotes about their past romantic life. In Sacha David's article on Hollywood's film industry, she describes the process through which actors link "self-expression" with "self-objectification" (David 2007:11). In *Occupation Double*, "selfness" was built through various objectifying qualities. Men, to reinforce their appeal, described themselves as "fuckboys" and "romantiques" (Cédric, Episode 3, 00:02:48). Women also associated seductiveness with play, as one contestant referred to herself as "tannante"[3] (Anne-Catherine, Episode 3). Interestingly, the objectified self was often established through cultural affiliation. French-Canadian contestants felt obliged to state their cultural authenticity and prove that they were, in the words of Julie, "une vrais femme du terroir"[4] (Julie, Episode 3). If they were not of French-Canadian descent, their affiliation with Québec was of equal importance. Emilia, having been adopted by an Italian mother and an Indigenous father, stressed that her "background multiculturel" represented Québec's diversity. As though they were trying to prove their "Québécoisness," selfness was established through "essential" qualities inherent to the province. Nevertheless, there were some exceptions. Patrick, commenting on the nature of masculinity in the 21st century, described himself as "un homme moderne"[5] (Patrick, Episode 3), emphasizing his cooking technique, his carpentry skills, and sociability.

This quest for a "true self" can be further analyzed through Dean MacCannel's concept of "staged authenticity" (MacCannel 2011). Analyzing tourism in the late 20th century, he gives a contemporary critique

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1   Tapis rouge

2   All the references to the show are taken from the show's distributor's internet page. It can be found at : https://www.noovo.ca/emissions/occupation-double-chez-nous

3   "Naughty"

4   A true women of the local soil

5   A modern man

of Goffman's idea of a "personal back" and "personal front." Ervin Goffman's 1959 publication *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* described the process through which individuals "strategically controlled" personal secrets in society. This meant actively defending a public "front" assembled out of one's most prized qualities and hiding a quirky/private "back" only accessible to family and close friends (MacCannel 2011:16*).* MacCannel argues that contemporary tourism has inverted the back-front dialect*.* "Authenticity" in tourism is marked by the emergence of the "personal back" as the new sought-after commodity. He gives the example of chefs now emerging from their kitchen to cook food in front of their clients (MacCannel 2011:17).

Another instance of this transformation, and one that goes beyond tourism, is the blurring line that splits private and public life. Although social media is the example par excellence, reality TV is also emblematic of that process; the private lives of contestants becomes the marketable "front." MacCannel is fascinated by tourism's obsession with the idea that "true experience" can emerge from a veneer of superficial and symbolic meaning. He evokes Lacan's definition of "paranoid structures:" "The difference for the Paranoid is meaning has to be stopped. Any gap in knowledge is unbearable. The Paranoid has 'got it.' He can see what is going on" (MacCannel 2011:22).

In tourism, the "true" other becomes the object of desire. Everywhere and everything can be experienced at its foundations, revealing a new, non-superficial, world. The tourist no longer acknowledges that authenticity is itself a system of superimposed meaning. If the front-back dialectic reminded people that social life was inherently symbolic, the post-modern tourist is convinced of an essential cultural truth.

The tourist's inquisitive gaze compares to the voyeurism inherent to reality TV. Indeed, the reality TV consumer also strives to uncover "true" human experience. Cameras are everywhere in *Occupation Double*: in the kitchen, inside the rooms, even in the bathrooms. There is a funny incident in the 35th episode where two contestants are desperately looking for a place to kiss away from the cameras. Finally, they find a corner, the male leans in, their lips touch, and boom! His head smacks into a camera right above them (Episode 35, 00:34:00).

MacCannell compares the omnipresent gaze of the tourist to Bentham's infamous panopticon. Dreaming of a prison where inmates are always visible to the guards, Bentham imagined a setting where indi-

viduals would "become the source of their own subjugation" (MacCannell 2011:30*)*. According to him, prisoners could be moulded into better citizens if they felt watched at all times. A similar process is visible in *Occupation Double*. The show provides a striking example of individuals that must police themselves according to the omnipresent gaze of the viewer. Incidentally*,* the line between self and other disappears as contestants adapt to what they imagine are the whims and wishes of the public. Although they can only guess at what the viewer would like to see, one can observe how they actively seek out certain tropes. In the same way that contestants confuse "self-expression" with "self-objectification," they confound personality with performance. Although it was hard to observe, certain contestants, such as Charles, became caricatures of themselves. From an overconfident but friendly male, Charles became self-imbued and opportunistic.

Nevertheless, contestants were surprisingly calm considering the voyeuristic nature of the world around them.. At one of the parties, a glass cubicle called "the aquarium" had been set up in the middle of the room (Episode 17, 00:31:00). Although it was soundproof, what happened inside was visible to everyone (the box looked like a giant aquarium with a little table and a romantic candle burning at its center). As if it were perfectly normal, couples flirted inside drinking champagne and exchanging jokes*.* Having literally become furniture, their romance was the room's most prized object.

Love

The main marker of authenticity in *Occupation Double* is love*.* On the show's webpage, "la recherche de l'amour"[6] (*Occupation Double* 2020) is noted as the force that brought contestants together. And indeed, contestants are living true emotions throughout the show. The viewer sees people crying, kissing, and giving in to romantic gestures. There is something incredibly intimate and endearing about the whole experience - For my friends that watch a lot of reality TV, *Occupation Double* is considered "high quality." The purpose of this section is to consider how love is used as a marketable commodity, and what that says about the relationship between advertising and romance in the show.

In Colin Campell's *Romantic Ethic and the*

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6   Searching for love

Spirit of Consumerism[7] (Campbell 2018)*,* the author describes the historical process through which consumerism and romance converged. Through a re-evaluation of consumer trends in 18th and 19th century Europe, he considers a parallel "consumer revolution" that created the demand for the industrial revolution (Campbell 2018:159-211). Ultimately, he argues that an ideological shift made *pleasure* take precedence over *need* (Campbell 2018:110). As inner life acquired more and more importance, emotions came to lie within the individual rather than out in the world (Campbell 2018:122). Campell describes the process through which the inner life of consumers became populated by "fantastic" narratives. Using the example of literary characters such as Walter Mitty and Billy Liar, he highlights the "illusory" quality of modern hedonism (Campbell 2018:132) and its dependency on fantasies people produce about themselves. It is in this perspective that people "daydream" not about impossible things, but about realities slightly better: "our dreams purged of life's little inconveniences" (Campbell 2018:139). Most importantly, pleasure has a different temporality than need. Unlike needs that serve the present, the dreams that shape desire are built into the future. Thus, it is in this "semi-fiction" that consumers are faced with a dissatisfied reality – always on the quest for something slightly better and marginally more extravagant.

In this sense, romance is a fundamental component of the modern consumer's dreams. An interesting example is the emergence of a fiction reading public in the 18th century. As a growing advertisement industry offered subscription plans and part-publications, literary romance was consumed by more and more people (Campbell 2018:61). Today, such stories are used to market all sorts of products, especially the ones featured in reality TV. *Occupation Double* is actively creating romantic stories while promoting their consumption. Although the sunset dinners and extravagant parties appear cliché, they create advertisement space for different items. Whether it be the private jet sponsored by the energy drink *Guru*, or the romantic getaways fueled by *Poppers*, the entire show is staged around the promotion of certain products. Contestants are part and

parcel of the objects being sold, and the line separating both is dangerously blurry.

We can also consider how the characters themselves are playing into the narratives provided by the show. Moments where Jay DuTemple (the host) discloses who will have a chance to go on a romantic getaway are extremely tense. When the word is given, the winners scream out in joy, hug each other, and talk about their ambitions. As we saw previously, anticipation takes precedence over the activities themselves. This is also present in the montage. We catch glimpses of contestants cycling, or fishing in fantastic locations, but the main emphasis is either on the conversations leading up to the activities or the moments after, where both lovers decompress with sponsored drinks in their hands.

Simulation

In the previous section, we saw how the contestants in *Occupation Double* are both engaged in creating romantic narratives and consuming the narratives provided by the show. As they provide the raw material for various advertisement agencies, their nature is doubled: they become objects of consumption for the public and subjects consuming for themselves. For the contestants in *Occupation Double,* love is not simply an ideal*;* they are actively engaged in its constitution. As active agents, they provide the stories that give meaning to a first kiss or a date under a full moon. Throughout the show, we see how one deals with heartbreak or pursues the love of one's dreams.

However, as David Miller has shown in his ethnography of love rituals of suburban London, love can be much more than an ideal. According to him, it is also a mode of consumption where the consumer "asserts his agency within a given community" (Miller 2004). For example, he describes how "treats" are bought by housewives to show love for members of the family (Miller 2004:40). Love is an alternative mode of consumption that "transcends the logic of exchange" (Miller 2004:48). Love is synonymous with care and empathy. Buying a treat for someone means that you are actively seeking out their satisfaction. In this sense, love is an active process, only becoming palpable through charitable acts of consumption. In other words, values are enacted through action: "shopping has its own integrity and has become a means of objectifying certain values" (Miller 2004:65). Can we compare this form of "lovemaking" to the kind observed in *Occupa-*

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7   Before I continue, it is important to clarify that the "romance" I describe is not exactly the "Romantic" evoked by Campbell in his title. The Romantic is a reference to the Romantic period of 18th and 19th century Europe. However, as I will demonstrate below, "romanticism" as a historical trend had a big influence on the courtship practice called "romance".

tion Double?

There are probably certain instances where this is the case. However, due to the way the show is structured, such acts are almost impossible. According to David Miller, "responsibility" is necessary in the making of love. Treats respond to the sacrifices that are engendered by family care. For example, a wife will buy herself a treat when buying food for the house (Miller 2004:41)*,* or a mother will give a treat to her child because she has been shopping rather than caring for him (Miller 2004:42). Treats require a dissymmetry between lovers. They appear where one feels compelled to re-establish a balance of mutual reliance.

In *Occupation Double*, contestants owe nothing to each other because they have nothing to give. Indebted to the camera, they offer to the public their perils and triumphs. Every day, they sacrifice the most minute instances of their lives to the obsessive gaze of the people standing behind the screen. In return, they wish to be appreciated by the public once they have left the show. Many contestants appear on *Occupation Double* to become "influencers" or public personalities. For example, I would not be surprised if Nadeei's modeling, or Renaud's legal practice were positively affected by the show. It is not surprising that the viewer sees contestants engage with cameras more and more as the show progresses. There is even one instance where Karin, left alone by an uninterested male, confides to the camera that *it* is her number one crush: "C'est toi mon top 1" (Episode 35, 00:12:00).

Even when contestants couple up, their relationships cannot be compared to the ones described by Miller. To solve this ontological conundrum, we need to uncover the levels of abstraction that confront the contestants in *Occupation Double*. On the first level, we can consider the symbolic reality of the contestants. As described by Clifford Geertz, symbols mediate between objects and subjects. Thus, subjective perception is built according to the different levels of meaning one gives to the world: "Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance that he himself has spun" (Geertz 1973:5). However, in *Occupation Double*, a second symbolic layer operates beneath the original. Reality is not only produced by subjective interpretation, it is also constructed by external forces that include the public, the production company, and the promoters.

Thus, contestants in *Occupation Double* no longer have jurisdiction over Geertz's "web of significance" because their web of "reality" is constructed by someone else. In the first pages of *Simulations*

(Baudrillard 1983), Jean Baudrillard distinguishes "dissimulate" (in French "dissiumuler") from simulate ("simuler"): "To dissimulate is to feign not to have what one has. To simulate is to feign to have what one hasn't. One implies a presence, the other an absence" (Baudrillard 1983:5). He argues that "dissimulating" keeps the concept of reality "intact", while the simulation "threatens the distinction between true and false, real and imaginary" (Baudrillard 1983:5). In *Occupation Double*, the experience of contestants is plagued by a false sense of control over one's emotional life. As fabricated moments of courtship evolve into serious emotional connections, the line between reality and fiction slowly melts away, making the distinction between real and "non-real" impossible.

According to Jean Baudrillard, the "simulacrum" is a level of simulated reality where symbols have no longer any relation with the objects that they represent (Baudrillard 1983:10). By concealing the absence of reality, they acquire a life of their own. He describes this process using the example of medieval iconoclasm where it was feared that icons would eventually become their own Gods (Baudrillard 1983:11). In this case, the painting of religious images does not hide the existence of God, but the absence of his existence, creating a false sense of truth. This merger between the signifier and signified is what Baudrillard describes as the "hyperreal," where formerly untouchable ideals become contained in images or objects:

> "Then the whole system becomes weightless, it is no longer anything but a gigantic simulacrum – not unreal, but a simulacrum, never again exchanging for what is real, but exchanging in itself, in an uninterrupted circuit without reference or circumference" (Baudrillard 1983:11).

Tension between a fictional "game" and "true" sentiment defines the *Occupation Double* experience. An interesting example is when Éloise, during a short covid-related isolation, secretly searched videos of the show on YouTube (Episode 35). When the other contestants found out, their opinions were surprisingly divided. Some believed she had the right to stay because of her relationship with Charles. Others valued the rules of the Game over the preservation of the couple (Episodes 36-37). Confronted by the ambiguous nature of reality they fought for truth inside "the game;" unaware the debate was itself part of the game experience. By considering the possibility that true love existed within the show, they merely concealed its absence.

Conclusion

In a quest to uncover certain qualities of the experience of romance in *Occupation Double*, the essay was divided into three parts. The section dedicated to authenticity deconstructed the objectifying sense of identity created by life lived in a panopticon. The second segment drew a link between love and consumerism, connecting advertising with romantic narratives. The final section unfurled the "simulation" to uncover the "simulacrum" – a hyperreal space where the semblance of truth hides its own absence. Although Jean Baudrillard is rarely cited in the world of anthropology, some of his concepts offer an interesting way of exploring the nature of reality in the 21st century. *Occupation Double* is an extreme example. However, the way characters appear in the show says a lot about life for many individuals today. Whether it be the video recordings taken of us at work or at school, the social media pages we carefully curate, or the State's extensive surveillance apparatus, citizens across the world are learning to live within the lens of other people's cameras.

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Air sample preparation and analysis. All sample preparation procedures were carried out in a class 1,000 cleanroom environment. All polypropylene tubes used during the procedure were initially cleaned by acid washing with 1% v/v double-distilled HNO_3 and 18 Ω/cm water prior to use. Sections (approximately 2.54 cm × 2.54 cm [1 in × 1 in]) were cut out of the center of each air filter with a stainless-steel blade scalpel and placed into 50-ml precleaned polypropylene tubes to which 25 ml of 1% v/v double-distilled HNO_3 was added. Each tube was capped and vortexed for 30 seconds. After 2 days, the extraction solutions were diluted to approximately 50 ml total ...

Gasoline sample preparation and analysis. Aliquots (2 ml) of each of the gasoline samples were pipetted into 3 separate 15-ml polypropylene tubes that had been prerinsed with 1% v/v double-distilled HNO_3. Dilute v/v double-distilled HNO_3 (3 ml of 10% HNO_3) was added to each sample tube. The mixtures were ... thoroughly ... 15 min. and were then centrifuged at ... 000 rpm ... 10 min. Aliquots of the leach solutions were ... into prerinsed tubes so that ... solutions resulted ... 600,000– ... sum of all lead isotopes on ...

While for the most part the conquistadors were rapacious in their very looks and intent, nevertheless there were a few among them who occasionally stopped and marveled at the civilizations into which they had stumbled or swaggered. Occasionally even the most heartless conquistadors stopped to wonder in awe at the people they were conquering and their handiworks. While their attentions were focused on gold and silver, they often could not help but appreciate other achievements. They sometimes saw the exquisite craftsmanship of gold ornaments but they also noted the intricacies of a beautiful textile or the engineering triumph of a temple with perfectly fitted stones. Some might have denied it, but others recognized that they were confronting highly organized societies with complex social systems and elaborate court rituals. They encountered landscapes completely transformed by human hands: the very word "Andes" derives from the Spanish *andenes*, referring to the hillsides the slopes of which had been converted into broad terraces for agriculture. It was not simply a "New World" but an entirely "Other World" that they encountered, a term employed by Columbus himself.[2] It is this complex, rich different way of living, with a deep historical past built on highly varied solutions to the basic human issues of survival, reproduction, and the search for meaning to life and the world, that intrigued conquistadors to various degrees, and which has certainly drawn subsequent explorers, scholars, tourists, and citizens into long-term pursuits concerned with studying the past.

Although the conquistadors generally did not have historical bents they wrote reports of what they saw and did, and these accounts are important for scholars because they describe indigenous politics and customs relatively unaffected and before European war, famine, and air had swept ahead of the military men, throwing the local population into disease, due to a disruption in royal dynastic succession, so that European influences were present long before face-to-face confrontations. Nevertheless, the crews' best-written accounts from the first Europeans in the New World are extremely valuable for reconstructing a picture of what the independent indigenous societies had been.

Different kinds of documents were made with the gold letters written above to ap... events they discuss, such as those of Gonzalo Pizarro, brother to Francisco. Others are nar... written well after events had transpired by the account of Mansio Serra de Leguízamo, one of four of the last conquistadors ... conquest.[3] Still others are official documents ...

Blood sample preparation and analysis. Teflon® digestion tubes (20 ml) were acid washed in triplicate in concentrated HNO_3, heated with 1 ml of concentrated HNO_3 in each tube at approximately 100 °C for 1 hr and then rinsed with 18 MΩ/cm water and air dried before use. Aliquots (0.25 ml) of each blood sample were pipetted into a separate Teflon® digestion tubes. The tubes were sealed and heated for 1 hr at approximately 100 °C on a heating block. The digestions were allowed to cool ... then transfer to 15-ml polypropylene Falcon tubes which were prerinsed with 1% v/v double-distilled HNO_3 and diluted to approximately 10 ml with 18 MΩ/cm water for analysis. Following digestion and dilution, samples were clear yellow solutions with no observable solids. All blood digestion procedures were conducted in a class 1,000 biological safety cabinet. Biological protocols were ...

Charlie Littler, 'Poisoned Pages,' 2020

Poisoned Pages
Charlie Littler

This piece uses a combination of different mediums layered upon one another. The landscape was created using watercolor, and then tape transfer was used to add layers. The painting is based on a photo of the Santa River in Peru, which runs between the Cordillera Negra and Cordillera Blanca. The tape transfer layers are excerpts from a textbook on ancient Andean societies and a paper on the use of isotope analysis to identify lead poisoning in Peruvian children, as well as two images of Aymara people in modern-day Peru. The past is a palimpsest, layers of moments, people, and meanings that shape our history. In using these images and texts, I want to emphasize this while also recognizing that the past is produced in ways that silence some perspectives and highlight others. I also want to represent how the past is not temporally bound but is very much alive in how it is represented and understood today. This artwork also aims to highlight the continuing existence of the Aymara people, as well as the persistent issue of lead and metal poisoning in Peruvian mining communities. In representing the places of the past (especially in non-Western countries), I also hope to convey how the voices of those who continue to live in those places are often silenced. As archaeologists, we tend to look at the past in very simplistic ways: we rely on chronologies and stratigraphy. In doing so, we often forget that the people and places we study have vibrant and contemporary lives. While some people are pessimistic about the modern use of archaeology, I am not. I think that archaeology can be made useful when we recognize how it has been used by a privileged few, and we use the tools that archaeology provides to make it useful to those who have long been silenced by the hegemony of Western voices.

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Reckoning with McGill University's History: What Should be Done with the James McGill Statue?

Alyssa Cohen

James McGill, a Scottish merchant from Montreal, was heavily involved in the transatlantic slave trade. He was a slave owner and trader, and he imported goods from the Caribbean that were produced by slave labor (Nelson et al. 2020). He owned five slaves of Black and Indigenous descent over the course of his lifetime, a "number [that] was extraordinary for Montreal, where owning more than two enslaved people at a time was well above average" (Nelson et al. 2020, 55). Following his death, part of the wealth that he had amassed through his "slave based capital" was used to open McGill University (Nelson et al. 2020, 15). With the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement in the spring of 2020, McGill students petitioned to have the James McGill statue removed. In spite of much protest, including a public demonstration and a petition, the administration refused to remove the statue from its prominent location on lower campus near the Roddick Gates. The university installed a plaque to contextualize the statue, but many members of the McGill community did not believe that this measure went far enough to confront James McGill's history. During the summer of 2021, the statue was removed for repair after being vandalized with red paint, which added to previous damage (Caruso-Moro and Shields). The university has yet to decide what to do with the statue once the repairs are finished.

Statues are powerful symbols through which political and cultural values can be represented and negotiated. By considering the symbolic weight of statues, we can begin to understand why McGill University is considering putting the statue back, while a substantial subset of the McGill community wants it permanently removed. Given that slavery was a dehumanizing and deplorable practice whose harmful consequences persist to this day, it is puzzling that until recently, McGill University insisted on keeping its founder's statue in a place of honor on campus. Restoring the statue and arguing that it represents a respectable part of McGill University's history results in what Burström and Gelderblom refer to as the heritage effect, wherein "the very conferring of heritage status is perceived as ascribing positive value to the historical events [or person] in question" (2011, 279). As Charmaine Nelson and her students shrewdly point out, "[t]his uniform celebration of James McGill as a wise, forward-looking, and selfless philanthropist relies on the active erasure of other more troubling aspects of his biography" (2020, 56).

In *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, Katherine Verdery unpacks the significance of statues as symbolic capital. She argues that a statue's materiality (i.e. its nature as a physical, material thing) is essential to its ability to function as an effective symbol. As a concrete material embodiment of the person it represents, a statue allows that person and their values to "[transcend] time, making [the] past immediately present" (Verdery 1999, 27). Not only does a statue symbolize that person, but it is also "in a sense… the body of that person. By arresting the process of that person's bodily decay, a statue alters the temporality associated with that person, bringing him [and his values] into the realm of the timeless or the sacred" (Verdery 1999, 5). The James McGill statue therefore not only embodies the values that inspired his actions, but renders them somehow "timeless" or "sacred" in a way that suggests they continue to exist and ought to be revered. However, are racism and white supremacy really values that the McGill community should uphold and honor? Permanently removing the statue would not only remove "that specific body [and the values it embodies] from the landscape, as if to excise it from history, but also proves that because it can be torn down, no [timeless or sacred power] protects it

[and its associated values]" (Verdery 1999, 5).

In her book about the historical and present racial climate at McGill, Rosalind Hampton argues that the James McGill statue's materiality personifies his character, thus inviting visitors to interact with it (e.g. by posing for pictures with it), thereby further reinforcing its personification. When an object embodying the past is personified, it comes alive in the present, bringing with it all of its baggage, which in James McGill's case includes racism and colonialism. Hampton further contends that those who interact with the statue "[reinforce] the understanding of McGill as institutional 'father' hosting an extended family of 'McGillians' on 'his' property. The statue thus reinforces the idea of a historical trajectory seamlessly connecting past and present, which serves to naturalize racialized social hierarchy and settler colonial notions of national belonging" (2020, 62).

The fate of a statue is intimately intertwined with how society perceives the person it represents. Therefore, as historical circumstances and the perception of a person's legacy change, a statue's fate changes accordingly. However, the perception of a historical figure's legacy is not uniform within a society; disagreements about that person's legacy can be a source of contention that manifests in debates about the relevance of their statue. Every historical figure "[comes] with a curriculum vitae or résumé – several possible résumés, depending on which aspect of their life is being considered… Their complexity makes it fairly easy to discern different sets of emphasis, extract different stories, and thus rewrite history" (Verdery 1999, 28-29). Each side of the debate about the fate of the James McGill statue emphasizes particular aspects of his "curriculum vitae" and downplays others to arrive at their conclusion. For McGill University, James McGill was a successful merchant and the revered founder of a world-class academic institution (although it can be argued that this perception is beginning to change for the university), so his statue should remain standing. For dissenting members of the McGill community, James McGill was an abusive slave owner and trader who founded an academic institution that still has much work to do in terms of reconciling with its history, part of which includes taking down his statue.

In *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot offers an expert analysis of the role of power in the production of historical records and the crafting of historical narratives. Specifically, he discusses how history is "a social process" wherein power works in invisible ways to include or highlight some facts and exclude or downplay others (Trouillot 1995, 23). In other words, a "historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences… and the operation required to deconstruct these silences will vary accordingly" (Trouillot 1995, 27). In the case of James McGill's history, a small part of this required "operation" is the permanent removal of his statue from its place of prominence on lower campus. The university has constructed a historical narrative which at best minimizes, and at worst omits, James McGill's role as an active and direct participant in the oppressive slave economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Trouillot emphasizes, the creation and maintenance of silences is "an active and transitive process: one 'silences' a fact or an individual as a silencer silences a gun. One engages in the practice of silencing. Mentions and silences are thus active, dialectical counterparts of which history is the synthesis" (1995, 48). The racist history of James McGill was not simply forgotten: it was and continues to be silenced. Every day that McGill University considers putting the statue of its founder back up, it makes an active choice to silence the devastating aspects of his history. Every day that concerned members of the McGill community protest in favor of removing the statue and speak out about the horrors of James McGill's participation in the colonial institution of slavery, they make an active choice to resurrect the silences that the university has created and continues to uphold.

Trouillot distinguishes between two types of historicity. Historicity 1 refers to "the materiality of the sociohistorical process," which concerns how facts are created and preserved (Trouillot 1995, 29). Historicity 2 refers to narratives about the past formed on the basis of historicity 1. With regard to the legacy of James McGill and the fate of his statue, it is historicity 2 that is in question. The university and a sizeable portion of its community disagree about how to commemorate and institutionalize the Scottish businessman and slave owner.

Understanding the significance of historical silences, and the implications of recovering those silences, may help us to better understand why the legacy of James McGill is so contentious. Trouillot describes four moments in which silences enter the process of historical production: "the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment

of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)" (2020, 26). In debating the nature of James McGill's legacy, the university and dissenting community members are revisiting the third moment of the production of silences, and are wrestling for control of the fourth moment. In compiling their report about the university's ties to slavery, Nelson and her students attempted to retrieve forgotten and/or silenced facts about James McGill's biography and the history of slavery in Canada more broadly. This process is being continued by members of the McGill community who wish to see James McGill's statue removed and institutional reforms concerning anti-black and anti-Indigenous racism implemented. In confronting this process of fact retrieval by activists and concerned community members, McGill University is attempting to manage the extent to which the discovery of and emphasis on once silenced facts about its founder affect the institution's reputation.

Paradoxically, while removing the statue would correct a historical silence, destroying the statue could create another harmful silence. The statue that has stood on lower campus for the past twenty-five years represents the university's implicit endorsement of James McGill's legacy, including its most unspeakable dimensions (McGill News, n.d.). To destroy the statue would be to destroy a concrete reminder of the university's appalling insistence on honorably commemorating its founder's history. If we forget that McGill once cast its founder in an uncritically positive light, then we risk forgetting the harmful effects of the university's denial of James McGill's destructive actions. While it is crucial to move beyond that denial, we must remember it so that we do not engage in it going forward.

On that note, I believe that while removing the statue from its place of honor is a necessary step toward eradicating the legacy of slavery and the continuation of systemic racism on campus, the statue should not be destroyed. Instead, it should be relocated to another place on campus and properly contextualized within a larger exhibition revealing McGill's history of colonialism and racism. Perhaps such an exhibition should be set up in the Burnside Building, since it was his Burnside Estate that James McGill left towards the "endowment of an academic institution" upon his death in 1813 (Nelson et al. 2020, 60). The statue should be placed in such a position that it is either below or face to face with the viewer. Positioning the statue below the viewer would have the humbling effect of lowering

the status of James McGill's legacy. Positioning the statue face to face with the viewer would force the viewer to look into the statue's eyes and confront James McGill's legacy on a more intimate level in order to grapple with its lasting effects in a more emotional way. Either position would remove James McGill from his pedestal, both literally and figuratively, thus forcing viewers to engage in critical reflection about the university. Furthermore, the exhibition should inform visitors of McGill University's ties to colonialism and racism more broadly. For example, the exhibition could include material evidence related to McGill University professors' engagement with eugenics during the twentieth century, McGill "Redmen" athletic gear and advertisements, and materials related to the Redpath family's colonial ties to slavery. This exhibition could be organized by a curatorial committee composed of students and faculty, and it could focus not only on exposing the dark chapters of the university's history, but on actively promoting reconciliation and engaging in reparations. Jane O'Brien Davis, one of the students who contributed to "Slavery and McGill University: Bicentenary Recommendations," provides a perfect justification for the need for such an exhibition on campus when she writes: "Without understanding McGill's colonial legacies, we run the risk of perpetuating these legacies in our lives at McGill and after leaving" (Nelson et al. 2020, p. 9).

Equally as important as the need to condemn the university and its founder's ties to slavery and colonialism is the need to commemorate the lives of the Indigenous and Black slaves that James McGill owned. In addition to the slaves he traded and those whom he exploited in the Caribbean, he owned two Indigenous children (Marie and a child whose name remains unknown), as well as two women and a man of African descent (Marie-Louise, Sarah Cavilhe/Charlotte/Marie Charles and Jacques; Nelson et al. 2020, 62-64). All of these individuals deserve to be remembered with dignity and respect, as McGill University owes an insurmountable debt to them. Therefore, a memorial commemorating the slaves whose labor, trauma and suffering enabled the founding of the university should replace the James McGill statue on lower campus.

While I think that the James McGill statue should be removed and contextualized in an exhibition, and a memorial to those who suffered due to James McGill's actions should be erected in the statue's current location, there are other voices and opinions that need to be amplified. My ancestors are not the ones who suffered

at the hands of James McGill. I do not suffer the lasting traumatic effects of his ties to slavery and colonialism. I do not experience anti-Black or anti-Indigenous racism on campus. As someone who inadvertently and regretfully benefits from James McGill's involvement with slavery by attending an institution founded in his name and financed by the slave labor he supported, I have a responsibility to amplify the voices of those who bear the most painful brunt of James McGill's legacy, as well as to ensure that the harmful effects of his legacy are rectified. While I can offer support to those who are affected by James McGill's history, as well as suggestions about how to address his legacy, my voice is not the one that should be prioritized in discussions about the fate of his statue. The voices of Black and Indigenous members of the McGill community should be prioritized above all else in deciding the fate of the James McGill statue.

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