

TAG '83

FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF THE
THEORETICAL ARCHAEOLOGY GROUP

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CARDIFF

12 – 14th. December 1983

Programme & Abstracts

FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE THEORETICAL ARCHAEOLOGY GROUP
12 - 14 DECEMBER, 1983, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CARDIFF

Holmes took the bag, and descending into the hollow he pushed the matting into a more central position. Then stretching himself upon his face and leaning his chin upon his hands made a careful study of the trampled mud in front of him. 'H a l l o a!' said he, suddenly, 'what's this?' It was a wax vesta, half burned, which was so coated with mud that it looked at first like a little chip of wood. 'I cannot think how I came to overlook it,' said the Inspector, with an expression of annoyance. 'It was invisible, buried in the mud, I only saw it because I was looking for it'.

Arthur Conan Doyle,

Silver Blaze

"Don't ask so many questions!" Sylvie interposed, anxious to save the poor old man from further bewilderment. "Suppose we get the Professor to tell us a story."
Bruno adopted the idea with enthusiasm.
"Please do!" he cried eagerly. "sumfin about tigers - and bumble-bees and robin-redbreasts, oo knows!"
"Why should you always have live things in stories?" said the Professor. "Why don't you have events, or circumstances?"
"Oh, please invent a story like that!" cried Bruno. The Professor began fluently enough. "Once a coincidence was taking a walk with a little accident, and they met an explanation - a very old explanation - so old that it was quite doubled up, and looked more like a conundrum - "he broke off suddenly.
"Please go on!" both children exclaimed.
The Professor made a candid confession.
"It's a very difficult sort to invent, I find".

Lewis Carroll, Sylvie and Bruno Concluded

GENERAL NOTES

1. Please ensure that you have paid your conference fee and registered on arrival. Please keep your ticket with you, and wear your name-tag.
2. Lecture Theatre no. 1 - ground floor
Lecture Theatre no. 2 - second floor
Room 129 - first floor
JCR - ground floor
Conference office) Committee room, first floor
and bookstall)
3. Dinner and breakfast will be served in the main cafeteria on the second floor of the Union. (The steps from Park Place opposite Main College take you to the second floor). Dinner will be at 7.15 p.m. Breakfast will be from 8-8.45 a.m. on Tuesday, and from 8.30-9.00 a.m. on Wednesday. Pre-paid lunches will be in the JCR of the Law Building, as well as coffee and tea breaks. The JCR will also be available for refreshment during the day at your own cost. The Dyfed bar on the first floor of the Union will have a late licence on Monday and the party will be held there on Tuesday at 8.30 p.m.
4. Floorspace: Those wanting floorspace should meet in the conference office at 6.00 p.m. on Monday.
5. For those foraging elsewhere there are many restaurants, cafes and pubs in Cardiff. A full list and map will be found in the foyer of the Law Building. Nearby places to eat include the Peppermint Lounge on Woodville Road and the Sherman Theatre on Senghennydd Road, and nearby pubs include the Woodville and the Flora in Cathays Terrace, and the Mackintosh and the New Ely on Wyeverne Road.
6. The conference bookstall will be open throughout the conference, situated in the committee room of the Law Building.
7. We thank University College, Cardiff for its support for TAG 83, and all those students of the Department of Archaeology who have helped to run the conference.

TAG 83 organisers

Peter Berridge
Annie Milles

Viola Dias
Alasdair Whittle

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Monday 12 December pm

1. Towards a Critical Historiography of Archaeology : Lecture Theatre No. 1

Organisers: James McVicar and Valerie Pinsky

Chair: Mike Rowlands (UCL)

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|--|
| 2.00 | James McVicar (Cambridge) | Antiquarianism, Science and Capitalism in Seventeenth Century England. |
| 2.30 | Alison Girdwood (Durham) | Archaeology, the Historical Movement and the Idea of Progress. |
| 3.00 | Polly Fahnestock (Cambridge) | History, Science and Archaeology in the Early Twentieth Century. |
| 3.30 | TEA | |
| 4.00 | Valerie Pinsky (Cambridge) | Archaeology, Ethnography and Tradition. |
| 4.30 | Grant Chambers (Cambridge) | Archaeology, Antiquities and 'Taste'. |
| 5.00 | Discussion | |

2. Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Settlement Patterns : Lec. Theatre No. 2

Organiser: Robin Holgate

Chair: Robin Holgate and Andrew Sherratt (Oxford)

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--|
| 2.00 | Chris Scarre (Cambridge) | Settlement patterns in Neolithic West-Central France : Interpreting the Evidence. |
| 2.20 | Nick Starling (Oxford) | Changes in Settlement Structure in the Late Neolithic of Central Germany. |
| 2.40 | John Howell (Oxford) | The Prehistorian as Human Geographer |
| 3.00 | TEA | |
| 3.30 | Richard Bradley (Reading) | They were only playing leapfrog. |
| 3.50 | Jill Fisher (Reading) | The Early State Module: A Critical Assessment. |
| 4.10 | Richard Hingley (Oxford) | Site type or society group? Concepts in the analysis of iron age society in the Upper Thames Valley. |
| 4.30 | Heinrich Harke (Oxford) | Changing patterns: Early Iron Age settlement in Central Europe. |
| 4.50 | Discussion | |
-
- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 6.00 | Conference reception, given by University College, Cardiff.
(Senior Common Room, Law Building) | |
| 7.15 | Dinner in the Students' Union. | |
-

Tuesday 13 December am

3. Material Culture Theory : Lecture Theatre No. 1

Organiser: Ian Hodder

Chair: Danny Miller (UCL)

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 9.00 | Ian Hodder (Cambridge) | Against the middle range: cultural and historical change in Baringo. |
| 9.20 | James McVicar (Cambridge) | Pottery, style and society in Medieval England. |
| 9.40 | James Deetz (UC Berkeley) | Material culture and changing world view in Early America |
| 10.15 | COFFEE | |
| 10.45 | Russell Handsman (American Indian Archaeological Institute) | Why Karl Marx does not live in Litchfield; Connecticut. |
| 11.15 | Paul Lane (Cambridge) | The past as ideological resource: an example from the Dogon. |
| 11.35 | Sheena Crawford (Cambridge) | From mules to Mercedes: perceptions of progress and changing expectations in a Greek Cypriot Village. |
| 12.00 | Discussion | |

4. Theoretical approaches to Urban Archaeology : Lecture Theatre No. 2

Organiser: Christopher Evans

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|--|
| 9.00 | Steve Roskums (Museum of London) | Introduction to the archaeology of towns. |
| 9.30 | John Schofield (" " ") | Sampling complicated societies. |
| 10.00 | Christopher Evans (" " ") | Urban population and economics. |
| 10.30 | COFFEE | |
| 11.00 | Derek Keene (" " ") | Documentary sources in research designs for urban archaeology. |
| 11.30 | Martin Carver (Birmingham) | Urban research design. |
| 12.00 | Discussion | |

1.00 LUNCH in JCR, Law Building

Tuesday 13 December pm

5. Approaches to archaeological reconstruction: The Social

Dimension : Room 129

Coordinators: Peter Berridge and Alasdair Whittle

- 2.00 James Bell (South Florida) Scientific Method as a Tool.
- 2.15 Mansel Spratling (Cambridge) On Aesthetics in Archaeological Theory,
Precept and Practice
- 2.30 Jim Doran (Essex) Computer modelling of Socio-Cultural
Systems.
- 2.45 James Whitley (Cambridge) Archaeology and the Social Sciences:
why they should not be 'Integrated'.
- 3.00 Jordi Estevez, et al (Barcelona) Archaeology as archaeology
- 3.15 TEA
- 3.45 Marek Zvelebil (Sheffield) (Transition to farming in Northern
Europe)
- 4.00 B.R. Goetze (Abensberg) Practice strikes back: some social
statements out of continental mud.
- 4.15 S.S. Hansen (Copenhagen) Property relations and social division
of labour in Late Bronze Age/Early Iron
Age Denmark.
- 4.30 Mark Gardiner (UCL) Power/knowledge: the alternative
analysis of Michel Foucault.
- 4.45 Discussion

6. Time Scales and Forms of Explanation : Lecture Theatre 1

Organiser: Tim Ingold

Chair: Mike Rowlands

- 2.00 Chairman's introduction
- 2.05 Geoff Bailey (Cambridge) Is the past necessary? The problem of long-term uniformities in quaternary prehistory.
- 2.40 Peter Burke (Cambridge) Time-scales and form of explanation in history.
- 3.15 Tim Ingold (Manchester) The form of time in evolution and history.
- 3.45 TEA
- 4.15 Tommy Carlstein (Lund) Time, sedimentation and structuration
- 4.45 Discussion

7. Ritual and Archaeological Analysis : Lecture Theatre 2

Organiser: Nick Thorpe

Chair: Richard Bradley

- 2.00 Nick Thorpe (London) Ritual: another concept for archaeologists to misuse?
- 2.30 Clive Gamble (Southampton) Blowing in the mind : the case for palaeolithic ritual behaviour
- 3.00 Colin Richards (Glasgow) and Julian Thomas (Sheffield) Ritual activity and structured deposition in Late Neolithic Wessex.
- 3.30 TEA
- 4.00 John Barnatt (Sheffield) The distribution of ceremonial monuments in the British Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age: The potential for the reconstruction of social, economic and political patterning.
- 4.30 John Barrett (Glasgow) The archaeological identification of 'ritual' and the case of the southern British Iron Age.
- 5.00 Discussion
-
- 7.15 DINNER in the Students' Union
- 8.30 Conference party in the Dyfed Bar, Student's Union.
(Please bring your conference ticket)
-

Wednesday 14 December am (nb 9.30 am start)

8. Theory and Practice : putting theory in its place

Organiser: Polly Fahnestock

Discussants: Francis Pryor (Fenland Archaeological Associates) and Clive Gamble
(Southampton)

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|---|
| 9.30 | Polly Fahnestock (Cambridge) | The philosophical case for demystifying 'theory'. |
| 9.55 | Glynis Jones (Cambridge) | Theory in practice in archaeobotanical studies. |
| 10.20 | Todd Whitelaw (Cambridge) | Over our heads or beneath our dignity: middle range concerns and the link between data and theory in archaeology. |
| 10.45 | COFFEE | |
| 11.15 | Bob Bewley (Cambridge) | The practising of theory in regional survey in Britain. |
| 11.40 | Paul Halstead (Cambridge) | Digging for theory: the ecological/evolutionary quarry. |
| 12.05 | Roger Thomas (Cambridge) | Kramer vs. Kramer: the divorce of theory from practice in British Archaeology. |
| 12.25 | Discussion | |

9. The Nature of Cultural Change: Recent work in Scandinavian Archaeology

Organiser: Marie Louise Stig Sørensen

Discussant: Kristian Kristiansen (Copenhagen)

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|--|
| 9.30 | M.L.W. Sørensen (Cambridge) | Movements within the study of cultural change. |
| 9.55 | K.J. Spaang (Lund) | The transition phase from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic - the local aspects of change. |
| 10.20 | A.B. Gebauer (Aarhus) | Stylistic changes within TRB ceramics. |
| 10.45 | COFFEE | |
| 11.15 | I. Bodilsen (Aarhus) | Changes within ritual activities - the Danish Bronze Age. |
| 11.40 | K.E.T. Levinsen (Aarhus) | The processes behind the introduction of iron. |
| 12.05 | E. Vestergaard (Aarhus) | The development of mediaeval society and the structural transformation of heroic literature. |
| 12.25 | Discussion | |

1.30 LUNCH, JCR, Law Building
Conference ends

ABSTRACTS

TOWARDS A CRITICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The history of archaeology has been conceived as a domain of enquiry quite separate from wider theoretical discussion within the discipline. Most attempts to write a history of archaeology end in the production of descriptive accounts of the subject's development or in anecdotal outlines based on the lives of notable archaeologists. Such work is essential since it provides the raw data on which interpretations are built and against which they may be discussed; but it cannot be thought of as a satisfactory end in itself. The development of an adequate historical consciousness in archaeology has, moreover, been impeded by the creation and maintenance of a number of narrowly defined, and deeply entrenched, boundaries within the wider sphere of knowledge: the separation of history from science, and of science from society.

There are few examples of historiographic studies in archaeology which succeed in moving beyond narrative history towards a more critical account of the subject's development. Even those scholars who have set themselves such a goal seem to have acquiesced in a synthetic description of archaeology or antiquarianism, being content merely in pointing to contemporary influences upon the subject's evolution. Yet it is only the interpretation of the historical record, the exercise in critical historiography, which can give meaning to the whole endeavour.

The aim of this session is to suggest that there is an alternative approach to the study of the history of archaeology which does not ignore the causes and mechanisms of intellectual change. Such an approach is truly historiographic in that it is concerned with an understanding of the social context within which intellectual development take place and in showing the transformations which both undergo. It also deals with the influence of deeper trends within society upon the growth of ideas, and the part played by particular historical events and personalities in realising, and decisively transforming, those trends. It is through such a study of the history of archaeology that we come to understand the ways in which the creation of archaeological knowledge arises out of, and is embedded in, social action. This understanding provides the basis for a more searching analysis of contemporary archaeological practice, and our perception of the past.

It is intended, in contrast to previous TAG format, that this symposium be limited to no more than five papers, each of 25 minutes in duration. This will allow a short 5 minute discussion period to follow each paper during which time specific questions may be addressed. A longer discussion period of 50 minutes will take place at the end of the session. This will be chaired by the discussant and will provide the opportunity for a more wide ranging discussion based around issues raised by the papers.

Antiquarianism, Science and Capitalism in Seventeenth Century England (James McVicar)

The paper discusses developmental links between antiquarianism, empirical science and incipient capitalism in seventeenth century England. It also attempts to trace some of the deeper trends within

early modern English society, which linked these various attitudes towards the physical environment to late mediaeval (Renaissance) thought. Emphasis will be given to the effect of particular historical events on the course which English empiricism and antiquarianism took after the 1590s, and it will be argued that these two intellectual pursuits laid the ideological ground for the aggrandisement of the merchant gentry. A close and complex relationship is suggested between economic, ideological and intellectual developments within the period; this has implications for the way in which the construction of knowledge about the past should be understood.

Archaeology, the Historical Movement and the Idea of Progress
(Alison Girdwood)

This paper treats the changes in Enlightenment thought from the rise of historicism to the development of positivism, and their implications for the emergence of archaeology as a discipline. The distinctive evolutionary character of mid-nineteenth century archaeology, and its conception of man and his past, is seen in the light of central social and intellectual influences: the theological nature of universal history, the contemporary emphasis on classification in the natural sciences and the interaction of new fields of knowledge.

History, Science and Archaeology in the Early Twentieth Century
(Polly Fahnestock)

Standard histories of prehistoric archaeology agree in placing the beginning of coherent development of the discipline in its modern form in the early decades of the twentieth century. The purpose of this paper is to consider this beginning in the context of contemporary thought, with particular reference to attitudes regarding the nature of history and science. It is suggested that a number of the theoretical issues which have become controversial in the recent development of archaeology can be traced to these attitudes and the influence they exercised on the discipline during this formative period.

Archaeology, Ethnography and Tradition (Valerie Pinsky)

The systematic use of ethnographic material by archaeologists can be traced to the late nineteenth century and the early formation of the discipline in both the United States and Britain. While ethnography played a central interpretive role, the context in which it was used were significantly different and resulted in correspondingly different uses; American archaeology developed within general anthropology and was distinctly historical, while Britain archaeology was more closely associated with the natural sciences. This paper treats these differences, the traditions from which they emerged, and their implications for contemporary approaches to the use of ethnographic data.

Archaeology, Antiquities and 'Taste' (Grant Chambers)

The development of antiquarian pursuits through the eighteenth century is fundamentally linked to a much wider network of opposing, or complementary notions of "taste" which are themselves embedded in social and political factors. The conception of

archaeological activity held by antiquarians emphasized (1) a body of directly aesthetically relevant objects (objects d'art), and (2) antiquarianism as a pleasurable activity. This is contrasted with the nineteenth century idea of the discipline as providing, and progressively enlarging, a body of knowledge (culture-historical "facts"). The disjunction between antiquarianism and the growing strength of nineteenth century archaeology will be noted with reference to later manifestations of "fringe" archaeology: hyper-diffusionism and ley-lines, as an indicator of the self-imposed restriction on "relevance" inherent in academic archaeology.

2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The study of settlement patterns, long part of the geographical tradition in Britain prehistory, was given a theoretical impetus from the New Archaeology of the '60s and '70s. The information which was generated by this interest remains basic to the interpretation of prehistoric and later societies. Not all the expectations of a simple identification of patterns have been realised, however, and it is now important to devise theories appropriate to this kind of information. This includes both a critical awareness of methodological problems (eg sampling bias) and a more sophisticated set of concepts to deal with the specific nature of certain types of archaeological site.

Settlement Patterns in Neolithic West-Central France: Interpreting the Evidence (Chris Scarre)

In attempting to study prehistoric settlement patterns it is essential to make allowance for the effect which the unevenness of research, recovery and survival has had on the content of the archaeological record. Settlement hierarchies, regularities in site location, and the overall distribution of prehistoric settlement may all have become obscured or seriously distorted. An assessment of the reliability of the evidence is therefore an essential part of any settlement pattern study. The predominance of such naturally more conspicuous sites as ditched settlements and monumental tombs in the neolithic record of west-central France provides a graphic illustration of these problems. Despite these difficulties, a cautious appraisal of the likely sources of distortion has allowed many of the leading features of the neolithic settlement of this region to be identified, and has suggested directions for future fieldwork.

Changes in Settlement Structure in the Late Neolithic of Central Germany (N.J. Starling)

The appearance of the Late Neolithic (Corded Ware and Bell Beaker) in Central and Northern Europe marks a striking change from the preceding Middle Neolithic, with marked differences in settlement patterns, burials and patterns of cultural contact. In the settlement pattern there appears to be a regression from incipient hierarchisation to a uniform pattern of settlement without the major foci characteristic of the Middle Neolithic. The nature of this change is here examined with particular reference to Central Germany, and the impact of social, economic and technological developments and external factors on the settlement structure assessed. This example demonstrates the importance of the consideration of internal dynamics in a settlement approach and the avoidance of models based exclusively on external factors such as population pressure or environmental change.

The Prehistorian as Human Geographer (John M. Howell)

Despite the wide extent of theoretical speculation there have only been two models proposed in the last decade which have significantly advanced our understanding of the European Neolithic - Janusz Kruk's geographical approach and Andrew Sherratt's Secondary Products Revolution. Both of these stress the role of the prehistorian as human geographer.

The common features of these include a normal rather than an inverted pyramid of speculation; they can be related to hard, archaeological data and can be tested. Their spiritual home can be found in the long-ignored work of the French geographical tradition of Vidal de la Blanche. A return to these values is advocated.

They were only playing leapfrog (Richard Bradley)

Studies of the development of complex monuments commonly contain two hidden assumptions: that smaller, simpler monuments are gradually replaced by larger, more elaborate examples; and that these changes take place within finite geographical areas and reflect a process of internal socio-economic change. These ideas blend a concept of unilinear evolution with elements of Central Place Theory. This paper suggests that neither of these empirical patterns occurs very widely and that we should pay more attention to the importance of monument building as a phenomenon worth investigating in its own right. The argument is illustrated by case studies from southern Britain.

The Early State Module: A Critical Assessment (Jill Fisher)

The Early State Module model predicts specific, archaeologically testable, spatial attributes for early states. Further, it suggests that social complexity develops as a result of interaction between equal-sized polities, and that degree of complexity and territorial size are related. The spatial patterns of some early states presented to support the ESM model are tested statistically, and are found not to satisfy the predictions of the model. Case studies of non-state and state societies indicate that the spatial attributes of ESMs are not unique to early states, that interaction does not always lead to state formation, and that territorial size and complexity are not necessarily related. It is concluded that neither the spatial predictions of the ESM model, nor the underlying concepts are valid.

Site Type or Social Group? Concepts and the Analysis of Iron Age Society in the Upper Thames Valley (Richard Hingley)

The 'site type' approach, which is basic to Iron Age settlement study does not really work as a basis for research. The site type approach involves the classification of settlements on the basis of empirically observed factors (such as the presence/absence of a defensive earthwork around a site, as well as some more detailed aspects of site morphology), but these clearly visible and easily observable factors have unspecified significance (individual hill forts appear to have a variety of distinct and overlapping functions).

The site type approach is based on a further set of unspecified assumptions, which are perhaps even more basic - for instance, what is the site? What makes the site a more valid concept for the understanding of society than terms such as the social group, society or the region?

Instead we require theory that enables us to distinguish factors of relevance for interpreting sites and sets the individual site in its social context. Sites can only be typed according to an understanding of their social significance.

In the Upper Thames Valley two regions can be distinguished by contrasting patterns of settlement. In the Oxford Clay Vale settlement is densely distributed and typified by 'open settlements'. By contrast in the Oxford Uplands sites are enclosed and widely dispersed. These observations can be interpreted (settlement organisation can be related to social relations of production), sites can be set in context and classification become a tool rather than the object of research.

Changing patterns: Early Iron Age settlement in Central Europe (Heinrich Härke)

Chronology and character of prehistoric settlement evidence do not normally facilitate the detection of short-term changes, the Early Iron Age (Hallstatt period) in West Central Europe being one of the happy exceptions. Between circa 800 and 500 BC, a widespread break in continuity, the development of a new settlement hierarchy, and later a major shift in the settlement network may be observed. Character, speed and timing of the changes afford opportunities for the identification of internal and external stimuli, with the social and economic development reflected in the settlement patterns. This example demonstrates that phases of rapid change can better highlight the main determining factors, and therefore may be better starting points for the analysis, than periods of continuous, apparently static settlement.

MATERIAL CULTURE THEORY

The current definition of ethnoarchaeology as 'materialist', 'outside' and 'archaeological' constrains the development of archaeology itself. The study of material culture, which archaeology is dependent on and contributes to, should be interdisciplinary. Similarly, theories about material culture and the formation of the archaeological record cannot adequately be 'middle range', but should be part of general social theories. A general theory of material culture practice needs to be debated between archaeology, history, social anthropology, ethnography etc. Four components of a material culture theory are explored in this session:

- i) Material culture as meaningfully and actively produced: the relationship between meaning and practice.
- ii) Mundane material culture as covert discourse.
- iii) Material culture as historically produced: the importance of the historical context for material culture practice in social change.
- iv) Material culture and the relationship between the past and the present.

Against the middle range: culture and historical change in Baringo (Ian Hodder)

Previous work in the Baringo district, Kenya, recorded a contemporary pattern of material culture differences used to maintain tribal, age and sex distinctions. But to understand why a decorated calabash container, for example, is used to express a particular social role, it is necessary to see how the material culture item has come to take its place within a set of social meanings. More recent work in Baringo has examined the historical development of the use of calabash decoration. Rules and meanings in Ilchamus society, Baringo, are determined overtly by elder men. Younger women are 'not supposed to speak' in front of men, but they can negotiate social position effectively by using the covert discourse of songs, proverbs, and material culture. In the nineteenth century the Ilchamus lived in large villages with irrigation agriculture. In the early twentieth century they dispersed and adopted cattle pastoralism. More recently, outside contacts, the cash economy and a return to agriculture have brought new changes. In these three periods, women have gradually extended the use of decoration from their bodies, to milk calabash containers, to the insides of huts. This expansion of decoration is part of a process by which women negotiated an extension of their influence in a male dominated society. In the practice of material culture the social meanings were changed and the position of women altered.

Pottery, Style, and Society in Mediaeval England (James McVicar)

Studies of Mediaeval pottery in Britain have concentrated on local typologies or on the description and explanation of exchange and production. The results of this work are undoubtedly of value but they do not touch upon broader issues of stylistic variation in the form and decoration of vessels. Typological analyses produce relative chronologies of types and studies of exchange focus on similarities in vessel fabric; but the questions of why there are regional and chronological differences in stylistic traits, and why they assume the patterns observed at a particular moment in time are rarely addressed. To attempt to answer these questions requires both a general theory of style and an historical approach to a particular set of data.

This paper explores the idea that stylistic variation in Mediaeval English pottery can be understood in terms of particular historical trends and events. It emphasises the part played by style in material culture items in the construction and modification of an individual's sense of identity; and it argues against the current division of economic and ideological explanations. The contextual nature and limitations of material culture symbolism is also discussed. Drawing on the available archaeological and historical data for the period 1000 to 1500 A.D., the paper explores correlations between variations in pottery styles and particular economic and social developments and offers a provisional interpretation.

Material culture and changing world view in early America (James Deetz)

The paper will apply the paradigm devised by Henry Glassie (Folk Housing in Middle Virginia) to a broader range of objects and in an earlier time. Not only housing, but ceramics, foodways, burial

practices, traditional musical styles, and trash disposal patterns can be seen to support the Glassie paradigm, both in New England and the south, from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. The point of departure will be the main thesis in In Small Things Forgotten, using a more explicit structural framework.

Why Karl Marx does not live in Litchfield, Connecticut
(Russell G. Handsman)

Archaeological thought today is poised at the second significant intellectual juncture that it has faced in two decades. Although the earlier New Archaeology has yet to complete its entire program, some ideas derived from symbolic and critical theorists are being refashioned to create yet another perspective for archaeological inquiry. This perspective is defined in part by an axiom which states that the relationship between the past and the present is neither natural nor inevitable but historically-specified and determined. This paper explores the processes through which mercantilist, capitalist, and contemporary societies created and shaped their views of time, history and the past. It is about the emergence and transformation of ideas which reflected and delimited the premises, principles, and relations - the systems of taken-for-granted - posited for everyday life.

Some of the "newest archaeology's" initial efforts have been empiricist and particularist and thus have been unable to contribute to the development of general theory. This dilemma is examined through realism by exploring the processes and forms used to construct and reconstruct taken-for-granted in a 19th and 20th century New England village. Among the processes identified are legitimization, penetration, validation, and valuation, whose histories are represented by evidence as diverse as architectural and landscape renovations, settlement inventions, the denial of history, the equalization of labour and objects, and the financing of projects.

Most of the processes effected a cultural reordering of the separations which encompassed everyday life and much of this reordering was composed as a shift towards different kinds of lineal realities through the construction of history, the past, algebraic equations, and logical definitions. Such shifts seem to be associated with historic and modern periods of significant societal transformation when stress, tension, and conflict were abundant. While the loci of contradictions were variable - they could be class relations, institutional or cultural separations, beliefs, or premises themselves - it is evident that material culture was both a reflection of and a vehicle for ideology. So the symbolic order has an archaeological dimension and can be examined within a materialist framework.

The past as an ideological resource; an example from the Dogon
(Paul Lane)

I shall be addressing the question of how meanings are attributed to objects and how in certain contexts these meanings can be manipulated. Using data concerning Dogon classificatory systems, I shall argue that material culture should be seen as a form of practical discourse. More specifically, I will discuss how Dogon

male elders maintain their position of authority by drawing on the past to legitimate their position. This is particularly clear in ritual contexts where Dogon men proclaim close links with their ancestors and traditions. The exact nature and extent of male control over the material world and its spatial organisation is less clear cut. At first glance, Dogon women appear to be the principal agents of material production and the organisation of living space. Since women do not occupy a position of dominance, they might therefore be considered to be giving material expression to the dominant male ideology. However, women are clearly not passive actors, and daily routine provides ample opportunity for both innovation and 'resistance' in terms of the organisation of space and the production of new artefact forms. By contrasting the instances where social boundaries, such as male: female and young: old divisions, are made explicit in material and spatial terms with those instances where this does not occur, I hope to demonstrate how material culture operates as discourse. It will also be argued that focussing on the adjudication of classificatory boundaries can provide archaeologists with a greater insight into the processes of ideological control, and by extension social change.

From Mules to Mercedes: Perceptions of Progress and Changing Expectations in a Greek Cypriot Village (Sheena Crawford)

Individuals' desires to change their lives for the better -- to progress -- involve not only change of lifestyle in physical and material terms, but also changes in values and expectations. In the ideal perception, these two areas of change operate in harmony. In reality, they are often in conflict, the desire for change in the material world far outrunning the possibilities of change in longheld value system. In this paper, I shall discuss these issues with regard to social change in a village in Southern Cyprus. Using the illustration of change in the system of marriage and the provision of dowry payments in recent years, I shall look particularly at the way in which desires for a 'modern' and 'european' lifestyle are envisaged and fulfilled throughout the acquisition of luxury consumer goods and modern conveniences in the home. The location of aspects of progress in conspicuous display of wealth, and the realisation of change away from the 'traditional village' way of life, has brought challenges against previously unquestionable ideas of personal worth and status and thrown these beliefs into conflict. With particular reference to the way that the relative status of men and women is changing I shall discuss the effect of the recent social changes and their perception as progress. Villagers' spoken expressions of the roles, worth and qualities of women and men often exist in complete contradiction to the social relations that can be seen in operation. I shall consider why this should be so and how some of the 'traditional' views on women's place in society have been maintained despite the conflicts and challenges of the modern lifestyle. I shall explore the ways in which the present order -- which can no longer stress ideas of harmony and balance between women's and men's roles -- has in many ways led to the devaluation of 'women's work' and to a sometimes unfavourable change in their status and personal estimation of worth.

4. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY

This session will consider the archaeology of British towns, which has largely been conducted within a rescue context and carries with it that stigma. As an archaeological sub-discipline, urban archaeology has largely to do with levels of interrelationships, both between populations and structural entities (physical and temporal) and between various sources of information. The continuity of development in urban centres and the resulting complexity of stratigraphy, and the multi-faceted nature of urban sources (excavation, documentary/historic and cartographic), do not lend themselves to easy research designs. However, far from existing within a theoretical void, urban archaeology certainly demands a theoretical framework if it is to understand the dynamics of urban settlement and development, and if it is to make meaningful sense of its own 'data mountains'. The theoretical issues which arise from the study of change and continuity among populations and their structures within a restricted physical environment, are directly relevant to our understanding of the larger societies of which they were part of, and too, of the contemporary urban environment.

This session will consider approaches to urban research design and some fundamental issues within urban archaeology.

The archaeology of towns: an introduction (Steve Roskams)

Urban archaeology might be defined as archaeology in towns or archaeology of towns. These seem at first sight to be very different in approach, the one concerned with rescue archaeology because of modern urban redevelopment, the other with the definition and development of a town in historical and archaeological terms. However, in one sense, any redevelopment is the culminating event in the history of that site and any archaeological investigation will be endeavouring to trace its development up to that point. Also, any modern settlement will have documentary evidence relating to its previous history which will be complementary to any archaeological results (Schofield and house reconstruction) and may be of paramount importance in setting out research strategies (Keene).

Definitions of what constitutes an urban settlement are many and various, relating to administrative, economic and social functions. But in terms of archaeological evidence, these reduce to concentrations of different types of features in specific places, with relationships both through time and in plan. Urban archaeology (chronologically and physically) is therefore as much about inter-relating these features as in defining them as entities (indeed, problems of incomplete survival often mean that complete entities can only rarely be investigated).

The way in which the shortage of space relates to the organisation of urban communities and generates types of "urban" buildings is of fundamental importance. Equally, however, gaps (i.e. non-urban aspects of towns) - either in terms of open spaces at one time, or in the development of the settlement, also deserve attention. Lastly, if a town can be defined, it can be investigated in contrast or in conjunction with its hinterland and the town as a whole with respect to non-urban surroundings. These relationships are the wider counterparts of those between features within the settlement itself.

Sampling Complicated Societies (John Schofield)

This paper is in four parts: firstly, a short review of what I take to be the most important groups of ideas behind urban archaeology in Britain in the last twenty years; secondly, the question 'what can archaeology by itself supply?'; thirdly, how archaeology and documentary history can enmesh or complement each other, and fourthly, the particular case of regionalism and the regional study of towns and society.

Urban population and economics (Christopher Evans)

The continual re-deposition of stratigraphy within towns often leaves very few instances of primary refuse/activity deposits. As a consequence our understanding of urban populations in the archaeological record is largely based upon property, rather than household residence. Similarly, archaeological approaches to the economy within towns are often directed towards aspects of trade, rather than production. This paper will address the problem of how we can approach the study of social organisation and stratification within the urban archaeological record.

Documentary sources in research designs for urban archaeology (Derek Keene)

Documentary sources can assist in 3 main ways: in identifying the function and status of specific sites or other assemblages; in assessing the representativity of assemblages within the context of a given town or class of urban monument; and in providing a body of information, accompanied by systematic conclusions and well-founded theories, on the nature of urban life and development, both in general and in relation to specific towns within their wider setting. Of these 3 aims the last is the most important and, if pursued with an awareness of why archaeological evidence may be able to contribute, will provide the most effective means of achieving the other two. The method of using the written evidence will vary according to the quantity and quality of surviving material. When they survive in quantity, the written sources have a high predictive value for the archaeologist; but even then he must beware of forcing both his research design and his final interpretation into a framework suggested solely by the written record. In reconstructing the original process with which both historian and archaeologists are concerned, the paths immediately arising from the two types of evidence may widely diverge, although their convergence should be the ultimate goal. This offers a means of developing the methodologies employed in both disciplines.

APPROACHES TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION: THE SOCIAL DIMENSION

This session comprises a miscellany of individual papers offered to the organisers. In the first part various approaches to archaeology are discussed; in the second part, some specific social interpretations are offered.

Scientific Method as a Tool (James A. Bell)

The various and conflicting views of scientific method inherited by archaeologists are puzzling enough. Adding to the confusion is the tendency to regard one or more views ideologically, or authoritatively established. The theme of this paper is that scientific method is best regarded as a tool, not as an absolute. Like all good tools,

it should be designed for certain types of tasks, and modified or even rejected in favour of other views when required by alternative tasks.

A brief synopsis of the different scientific views confronting archaeologists will begin the paper. The philosophical and historical roots of scientism -- dogmatic adherence to a view of science -- will then be traced. Understanding the sources of scientism should help free us from its shackles. It will then be argued that scientific method functions best when considered as a helpful guide in the formulation and legitimization of archaeological theory. Insights are provided by use of scientific method, but there are also notable limitations. Further, there is more than one guide. Selection should depend on the problem facing an archaeologist. While an induction view may be very appropriate for field reports, for example, it would not seem so helpful for theoretical explanations. Even within theoretical work there are different tasks. Sometimes a refutationist view seems best, while at other times a paradigmatic or even a cover-law approach would be most helpful. Case illustrations from archaeology will be used throughout the paper.

On Aesthetic Judgement in Archaeology (Mansel G. Spratling)

The purpose of this paper is to take a look at the role of aesthetic judgement in archaeology, in framing our thinking and seeing, our precept and practice at every level - from the trimming of the grass at the edge of our trenches to the formulation of our competing aetiologies. My interest and intent in this short essay are to extend our discourse on the nature and evidentiality and even the experientiality of our precept and practice. A brief commentary will be offered on a few examples of the kinds of seeing and thinking that have raised my cumulating hackles - all in the field of European prehistory - and the difficulties of perceiving will be discussed in relation to 'early Celtic' (pre-Roman Iron Age) art in Britain.

Computer Modelling of Socio-Cultural Systems (James Doran)

The progress that has been made in the use of computer modelling techniques to gain insights into the processes of long-term socio-cultural change has yet had little theoretical impact. This paper reviews past and present work and argues that criticisms of computer modelling are often misconceived, that the computer modelling approach is compatible with most theoretical positions, and that it offers a potentially crucial means by which proposed socio-cultural processes may be rigorously elaborated and their implications derived.

The discussion is specifically illustrated by reference to experiments with a computer program, MASMOS, written in the LISP programming language, which embodies an abstract model of certain basic processes of production, exchange and technological and organisational development in a spatially distributed society.

Archaeology and the Social Sciences - Why they should not be 'Integrated' (James Whitley)

This paper argues that the discipline of Archaeology cannot and should not be subsumed under the rubric of the 'Social Sciences'.

The notion of 'integration' suggests that Archaeology and the 'Social Sciences' share the same concerns, yet the aims of the two are fundamentally different. A distinction is made between 'Social Sciences' (anthropology, sociology) and historical disciplines. The former, though they may proceed by observation and experiment, are primarily theoretical. They seek to understand the 'underlying forms', the rules of social life. The latter are, in a descriptive and observational sense, empirical. They 'explain' through providing an account that is ultimately modelled on historical narrative. They may use social theory but it is not their purpose to refine it. It is further argued that archaeology is ultimately modelled on historical narrative. They may use social theory but it is not their purpose to refine it. It is further argued that Archaeology is the most empirical of the historical disciplines as it deals with the raw material of the past. The enterprise of Archaeology has been seriously warped by attempts to make it fit into the mould of the 'Social Sciences'. For one thing it has reduced the tangible and visible facts of Archaeology to a purely instrumental role. Facts are only seen as being important insofar as they help to resolve 'problems'. These 'problems' are more often than not imported from the social sciences. This leads to a more serious distortion. Recently it has been proposed that the matter of Archaeology can help the social sciences not only in the resolution of the strictly theoretical but also in the political and ethical questions that presently obsess them. It is concluded that Archaeology cannot and should not be used as a political instrument.

Transition to Farming in Northern Europe: A Hunter-Gatherer Perspective (Marek Zvelebil and Peter Rowley-Conwy)

The transition to settled farming communities in the European part of the boreal zone was a far more gradual process than elsewhere in Europe. This made it possible to trace the transition to farming archaeologically at a finer level of resolution than elsewhere and to isolate discrete phases in the decelerated process of early agricultural development. In this paper we shall trace the shift to cultivation in two areas: Denmark, where the shift to farming was rapid (a few centuries at most) and Finland, where it was slow (1500-2000 years). Despite the difference in time scale of agricultural evolution, and despite other chronological, functional and environmental differences, we can see three distinct stages in the transition from hunting to farming in both cases: their existence does not seem to be culture-specific but arises from conditions inherent in these two ways of obtaining food.

Each stage can be defined by the extent of farming practices, their intensity and the relationship between the farming and non-farming communities or sectors within a single, integrated economy. We therefore distinguish 1) availability phase, 2) substitution phase, 3) consolidation phase. Our model is guided by two basic observations 1) there is no inherent advantage that primitive farming can offer in conditions of northern Europe, 2) transition to farming and its merits should be understood in terms relative to those of indigenous foraging: its productivity, its organisation, and its vulnerability.

The analysis of the transition to farming in Denmark and Finland suggest that, in the process of neolithisation, major social and economic changes did not occur until the later stage of the process,

the substitution phase, when the agricultural practices become predominant. This effectively extends the existence of foraging societies in Scandinavia long after the first indication of farming, and counters the idea of automatic acceptance of agriculture as the superior mode of production.

Both the case studies emphasise the long continuation of foraging adaptations, and the long delay before the appearance of a predominantly agricultural economy. For both Denmark and Finland we believe that the cause of this was the existence of successful maritime adaptations. These have remained for a long period a viable alternative to farming and as such delayed spread of farming, until a specific trigger - a decline in marine resources - occurred and initiated the substitution phase.

Once the major shift to agriculture began, its effects were so disruptive for foraging that increased reliance on agriculture was inevitable. While the initial adoption of elements of farming might have taken place for a variety of reasons, the subsequent outcome of this process was bound to result in the demise of foraging economy and in full transition to farming. If this is a general pattern, the implications are clear: far from being adopted for its social and economic benefits, the neolithic economy was in the end adopted because of lack of alternative strategies which would preserve the hunting and gathering way of life.

Practice strikes back : some social statements out of continental mud
(B.R. Goetze)

In 1976 during a lecture delivered at the Institute for Pre-history and Ancient History of the University of Freiburg, West Germany, M.J. Rowlands presented a model dealing with social organisation in the Hallstatt culture as reflected by grave barrows in southern Germany. The criteria he used were size and relationship of the mounds to each other as well as their association with known so-called princely residences of the Hallstatt period. Rowlands distinguished between "paramount chief", "vassalls", "tribal chiefs", and "subchiefs". Limited by the state of knowledge then, this model met with a certain amount of scepticism. It is true a few so-called princely residences such as the Heuneburg near Hundersingen, were superficially known through partial excavation, but there was virtually no evidence of Hallstatt tribal settlement over the open land.

Since the beginning of routine aerial archaeological prospecting in Bavaria, and especially through the systematic excavation of the Altmühl Valley in connection with the building of the Rhine-Danube Canal, the situation has changed for the better.

In just eleven kilometers upstream from the mouth of the Altmühl, nine Hallstatt settlements could be excavated, two of them fortified with palisades of split planks. Some of these settlements, fortified as well as unfortified, can be associated with groups of previously known burial mounds.

Significantly, the material from the fortified settlements as well as from their associated graves is richer. It can be suspected, then, that with the observation of a large-scale colonisation on the Altmühl, the two lower ruling groups of Rowlands' social structure, the "tribal chiefs" and "sub-chiefs", have been located in a settlement context.

Property Relations and Social Division of Labour in Late
Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Denmark (Steffen Stummann Hansen)

In Scandinavian archaeology the transformation process turning Bronze Age into Iron Age traditionally has been explained by theories of catastrophe, for example climate deterioration, hunger, population pressure. The transformation has been regarded as the degeneration of an "advanced civilization" into a "dark age". Recent explanations have tried to develop this theory of devolution.

With basis in archaeological material (settlements, field-systems and burials) an argumentation against these theories will be proposed, and another model of explanation - based on an analysis of the ownership of cultivated land - will be presented. Consequently the variations in the archaeological material from 1000 B.C. - 200 A.D. will be put into another theoretical framework.

Power/knowledge : the alternative analysis of Michel Foucault
(Mark Gardiner)

The recent work of the French thinker, Michel Foucault provides an alternative form of analysis from the Marxist theories which are being used in archaeology at present.

At the core of his work is the study of the power/knowledge association. Power is not defined in the restricted terms of Marxists, as economic or political power, but as a ubiquitous system which exists in all social relationships between groups and individuals. In hierarchical societies of course, these relationships are not equal for those higher in the social order have a greater opportunity to exercise power.

Power is also not conceived of only in negative terms, for while it makes prohibitions it also produces objects and the knowledge of them. Power operates to limit and control knowledge, to produce the media by which it can be propagated and the criteria by which it can be judged as truth. Conversely knowledge creates the conditions in which power is exercised. It defines the framework of thought, the fields in which power operates.

This power/knowledge linkage may be examined in the context of changes which were taking place in the High Weald of Sussex in the thirteenth century AD. Using documentary and the somewhat scant archaeological evidence it is possible to trace a change in settlement patterns from large, probably extended family groups to smaller dispersed settlements. The feudal lords used this opportunity to increase their power by imposing dues on individuals rather than on settlement groups. With this change in the distribution of power there was a corresponding alteration in the knowledge of space. Land which had had no direct value became the object on which manorial dues were assessed. Space was newly categorised and divided up in terms of these values. Such new divisions even included a suen, a pig-unit area! This patterning of space is a distinctive feature of the Sussex High Weald and can be contrasted with adjacent regions where the power relationships were different and operated to produce other spatial forms.

The power/knowledge analysis thus provides a link between two of the present concerns of archaeology, social organisation and cognitive patterns, while being an alternative to the Marxist view.

TIME SCALES AND FORMS OF EXPLANATION

Is the past necessary? The problem of long-term uniformities in quaternary prehistory (Geoff Bailey)

Time concepts in prehistoric archaeology can be considered from two distinct though not unrelated points of view: 'internally', as experienced by past peoples, and 'externally', as they enter into our present interpretations of past activities. The latter point of view reveals both substantive and methodological problems, and leads to a consideration of two major questions:

- (i) are there long-term processes or uniformities of behaviour not apparent to the observer of behaviour over shorter time spans (in recent history or contemporary events, for example)?
- (ii) are these long-term processes methodologically accessible to the archaeological observer 'fixed' in time? The justification for much current archaeological theory and practice depends on how these questions are to be answered.

Time-scales and forms of explanation in history (Peter Burke)

Historians occupy some kind of middle position between the anthropologists, with their emphasis on the relatively short-term, and the archaeologists, with their stress on the extremely long-term. Not only do the particular interests of historians vary between these two extremes, but a number of them are currently engaged in controversy over the question of what history is, a controversy in the course of which time has come to be perceived as problematic.

This paper attempts

- (i) to outline what is at issue in the attack on traditional event-centred history, in the name of the 'history of structures', or 'serial history' by Braudel and others; and
- (ii) to show how this debate is related to controversies over the nature of historical explanation, with the innovators suggesting a shift away from concern with the actors' intentions and towards more structural explanations - which include explanations of why change has not taken place.

The form of time in evolution and history (Tim Ingold)

Much of the recent anthropological discussion of time has been couched in terms of the opposition, taken from Saussurian linguistics, between synchrony and diachrony. Both terms invoke a chronological, hence Newtonian and abstract sense of time, which is absolutely opposed to the Bergsonian sense of real time as duration. This opposition, linked in Wiener's Cybernetics to a distinction between 'mechanical' and 'statistical' systems, underlies the difference between Darwinian and Spencerian paradigms of evolutions. It also separates two deeply entrenched traditions in anthropological thought, going back to Boas and Radcliffe-Brown respectively, one of which focuses on the history of populations as a process of culture change, the other on the history of persons as a process of social life. In the structuralism of Levi-Strauss these two traditions are confused but not reconciled, on account of a failure to distinguish between two classes of event: those constitutive of a life process, and those that mark off successive transmutations in the objective structures channeling this process.

Time, sedimentation and structuration (Tommy Carlstein)

The paper will focus on the relation between time resources and the basic factors of production in a space-time framework. This relation will be discussed in conjunction with the problems of conceiving history as structuration. The idea of social reproduction will be linked to a view of the future as open. This will provide a basis for a critique of Giddens's theory of structuration.

7. RITUAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Ritual : another concept for archaeologists to misuse? (Nick Thorpe)

This paper discusses the prospects for a more controlled use of the concept of ritual in archaeological analysis, and the possible benefits of this. At present ritual is frequently used as a catch-all encompassing that which archaeologists do not, or cannot understand. This involves us in a brief examination of the various definitions of ritual from Durkheim's distinction between the sacred and the profane to Goody's definition of ritual as any form of behaviour which has become stylised and repetitive.

Some attempt will be made to distinguish between those approaches felt by the author to be useful to archaeologists and those held not to be so. The conclusion of this examination is that archaeologists can use concepts of ritual despite these varying definitions, and indeed that they can be seen as a strength rather than a weakness in opening up a series of new approaches to the archaeological data. Finally, a brief attempt is made to suggest how the concepts drawn from the general literature on ritual may be used in the analysis of archaeological data as an introduction to the other papers in the session.

Blowing in the mind: the case for palaeolithic ritual behaviour (Clive Gamble)

Ritual in the palaeolithic is whatever palaeolithic archaeologists make of it. Their desire to capture precise moments of time in the archaeological record has led to absurd criteria by which palaeolithic material culture is judged to bear on questions of ritual. In their obsession with footprints, neanderthal flower-power, mud slinging at initiation rites, and above all with paintings on the ceiling they have forgotten that ritual is a means of communication that is not just apparent in particular items of material culture but is rather an integral part of any social process. One avenue of investigation is therefore to consider the particular properties of ritual as a means of communication and how this would condition the formation of the palaeolithic record.

Moreover can we conceive of a human society without ritual and all the communicative procedures it entails? Under what conditions does such a basic trait become an element for selection? Only in the palaeolithic can these questions, pertinent to an archaeology of mind, be adequately answered .

Ritual activity and structured deposition in Late Neolithic Wessex
(Colin Richards and Julian Thomas)

This paper seeks to examine the possible effects of periods of enhanced ritual activity on the archaeological record. It is argued that where the relations of production are dominated by a ritual authority structure there will be a large expenditure of energy in ritual, often leading to an enhancement of its archaeological visibility. Under such a system, social roles are defined through an emphasis on categorisation and rigidly prescribed behaviour. We will demonstrate that within the explicitly bounded ritual areas of Durrington Walls, Mount Pleasant and Marden this categorisation is imposed on the deposition of all classes of the material culture record.

The distribution of ceremonial monuments in the British Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. The potential for the reconstruction of social, economic and political patterning. (John Barnatt)

This paper will highlight the diverse nature of spatial patterning exhibited both by different monument classes and within selected types of sites. It will discuss the interaction of topographical and cultural variables and how these may influence monument distribution.

The occurrence of similar monuments throughout Britain is often assumed to imply cultural similarities across the country. The differences in the distribution patterning could be interpreted as suggesting regional differences in the nature and organisation of society. Ceremonial sites can also be viewed hierarchically in that they reflect societies which built monuments as social focal points operating on various levels. These range from the purely local, through next-neighbour interaction locations to regional focal points at the other end of the spectrum. Each is probably an intricate mixture of ceremonial, socio-economic and socio-political factors which influence the monument location.

The archaeological identification of 'ritual' and the case of the southern British Iron Age (John Barrett)

The aim of this paper will be to question the use of the term ritual within archaeological analysis. It will be suggested that if the term is to sustain any analytical strength within anthropology then it is inappropriate in the analysis of archaeological data.

This then raises the question of what distinguishes different types of social discourse, the material results of which are observed by archaeologists, and some of which are traditionally identified as 'ritual'. An example is the distinction drawn between the 'highly ritualistic' Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in southern Britain and the seemingly 'non-ritual' Iron Age of the same region. It will be suggested that the distinction is not a measure of the amount of ritual activity which might have taken place in those societies. Instead the distinction is to be explained in terms of:

- (a) The cultural difference which we perceive between ourselves and the societies in question.

- (b) The relationship between the modes of discourse by which power and status are achieved, and the mode of production. The relationship between the two is problematic and requires analysis.

The argument will be explored with reference to the southern British Iron Age.

8. THEORY AND PRACTICE: PUTTING THEORY IN ITS PLACE

One result of archaeology's recent self-conscious concern with matters theoretical and philosophical has been that "theory" has come to appear as a monolithic and almost mystical entity, an end in itself which must be achieved for epistemological credibility and legitimation. This result is a potentially damaging one in that, in the process of mystification -- of prescribing (and proscribing) types of reasoning or explanation, and making "theory" an epistemological arbiter -- the notion of theory in archaeology has been impoverished. The immediacy and intricacy of its relationship with practice has tended to be lost sight of, and its function as an active tool in developing thought and explanation, in constant interaction with observation and method, has been overlaid by an ascribed status as a separate level of knowledge to be attained at all costs. It has tended to appear as a dictator, imposing requirements and restrictions on the working of the discipline, rather than as a complex and vital element in the process of thought, both shaping and being shaped by the material to which it is applied. In effect, then, the concept of theory in archaeology has been deprived of much of its vitality, and thereby to some degree of its usefulness. In being identified as a product and criterion of correct thought, it has tended to become alienated from the complex process of generating archaeological knowledge to which it is essential.

The purpose of this session is to examine archaeological theory as a working rather than as an abstract entity and to demonstrate the integral relationship which exists between theory and practice. The intention is both to explore the complex and various nature of theory itself, and to provide case studies illustrating different aspects of the interaction of theory with data and method in practical context. The aim of this approach is to show that theory is neither a uniform epistemological end in itself nor an ingredient which may be included as and if convenient, but which is essentially irrelevant to "getting on with" practical work. On the contrary, theory and practice are inextricably interlinked, and each can be properly understood and "got on with" only in the context of the other.

The philosophical case for demystifying 'theory' (Polly Farnestock)

The purpose of this paper is to examine the concept of theory in its philosophical context as a basis for understanding and fruitfully exploiting the relationship between theory and practice in archaeology. It is argued that theory in archaeology has been mystified and artificially distanced from its working context due to the adoption of rational reconstructions of theoretical structure and function as procedural dogma. Recent philosophical

work emphasizing the inter-relationship of theory and data is also discussed as a basis for arguing that neither theory nor practice in archaeology can function productively unless the integral link between the two is taken into account.

Theory in practice in archaeobotanical studies (Glynis Jones)

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the process of archaeological inference is really a dialogue between theory and data. The end-product of research is thus the result of cumulative feedback.

This will be illustrated by describing an archaeobotanical investigation as it would be presented as a finished piece of work for publication. The actual process of study, however, is far from the organised edifice it seems. The manner in which the research was actually conducted will be presented as a contrast to the finished product.

Over our heads or beneath our dignity: middle-range concern and the link between data and theory in archaeology (Todd Whitelaw)

The purpose of this paper is to identify and explore some of the different levels within which data and theory interact in archaeological investigations of past human behaviour. Stress is laid on the differing concerns, concepts, and processes of reasoning relevant to the different levels, and in bridging the gaps between them. These distinctions are developed through a consideration of the 'levels of archaeological theory' as formulated by David Clarke, Schiffer's 'Behavioral Archaeology' and Binford's 'Middle Range Theory'. The concept of Middle Range Theory currently stands as the most comprehensive of the formulations which deal explicitly with the process of linking archaeological data and theory. Yet this in itself seems insufficient to account for the very negative reaction to Middle Range Theory in this country. Viewed as a model of archaeological inference, rather than as programmatic dictum, its value can be assessed as any other model's: whether it is useful or not. An argument for the usefulness of the concept will be given through a critical appraisal of recent interpretations and analysis of settlement data from prehistoric Britain.

The practising of theory in regional survey in Britain (Robert Bewly)

The study of archaeology involves a number of processes, like links in a chain. All the links must be present before the chain can work. Similarly, theories must relate to practice for archaeology to function.

The problem with theory and practice in regional survey in Britain is that there is no specific theory and very little practice. The practitioner's brief is not to be concerned with theory, and theoreticians are not in a position to produce operational theories unless they are actually doing a regional survey.

Regional survey in Britain is rarely carried out on a systematic basis, with certain notable exceptions. Survey as a method of archaeological discovery on the regional level is avoided for non-archaeological reasons. For example, if the powers that be were interested in the purpose of archaeology, rather than saving money in government departments, then the frontiers of knowledge actually might be pushed forward.

Problems concerning regional surveys in Britain are usually considered in practical terms. The general theory of regional survey is either too divorced from the practice to be useful, or it is ignored completely. The question of 'Why do we do regional survey at all' is rarely asked.

This paper will present the relevant points of the theory and highlight some of the problems in their application. It will discuss ways in which theories are adapted for greater applicability as a result of their practice. As a specific example, research in the Solway Plain, Cumbria, will be used.

Digging for theory: the ecological/evolutionary quarry
(Paul Halstead)

This paper is concerned with the errors of practice which arise when the multi-dimensional character of theory is not taken into account. Specifically, it reviews the diversity of ways in which ecological/evolutionary theory is used, misused and abused by archaeologists. Such theory is appropriated at three different levels: at the paradigmatic level, at the level of heuristic model-building, and at the middle-range level of generating archaeological 'facts'. It is argued that a clear distinction between these different levels (and in this respect both protagonists and critics have erred) is the key to applying ecological-evolutionary theory to archaeological practice.

Kramer vs. Kramer: The divorce of theory from practice in British archaeology (Roger Thomas)

The notion that archaeological 'theory' and theorising could, or should, constitute an autonomous area of activity separate from the process of collecting archaeological data arose in Britain at about the same time that the bulk of fieldwork began to be done by full-time rescue archaeologists, who often had no links with university departments. This led to a wide and sometime antagonistic gap opening between 'diggers' and academics. This separation may have had deleterious effects on the work of both sides. Fieldworkers may not realise that they are involved with problems of theory, as much as the theorists themselves; while 'theory' may itself become impoverished because of its lack of interaction with data.

This separation probably happened because both groups had an implicit belief in the separability of theory and data, fact and observation. This philosophical stance also became enshrined in the organisation of government-funded archaeology.

The situation might be improved by better communication between 'theorists' and practitioners, and by major organisational changes. What is really necessary is a change in underlying attitudes, and a realisation that theory and practice are two sides of the same coin, which cannot be separated without devaluing the currency as a whole.

9. THE NATURE OF CULTURAL CHANGE

Recent works within Scandinavian Archaeology

This session on Scandinavian archaeology will present a sample of theoretical work in progress. Approaches to problem formulation and to the interpretation of material culture will be stressed.

The papers are centered around the problem of understanding and explaining cultural change through its reflection in the archaeological record. The individual papers will focus on different aspects of the material and will refer to different stages within the cultural development of the area. These different aspects of the archaeological record will be used as the empirical basis for detailed descriptions of the form and manifestation of change within material culture. The relationship between changes within material culture and different kinds of cultural mechanisms will be discussed. On this basis the nature of change and the characterisation of the specific local course of cultural development within the Scandinavian area will be assessed.

Movements within the study of cultural change (Marie Louise Stig Sørensen)

As a general introduction to this session the trends within the recent studies of cultural change within Scandinavian archaeology will be presented. It will be argued that the 'why-questions' formerly were emphasised as the approach which could provide understanding of the mechanisms causing cultural change. It will further be demonstrated how that approach now increasingly is being replaced by a focus on 'how-questions' as essential steps towards the understanding of the local and historical specific aspects of the cultural development. This implies a growing attention towards the local material manifestation of change in order to distinguish the specificity of change from its generality. This attention towards the specificity of the development has caused an emphasis on the potential active rôle of material culture in its local setting, and increased attention is therefore being paid to the problem of integrating theory and empirical observation.

The transition phase from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic - the local aspects of change (Kristina Jennbert Spaang)

The division between the Ertebølle, as the last hunter-gatherer culture, and the TRB, as the first agrarian community, has separated these prehistoric phases rather than presenting them as a sequence. This perception of the division has determined the modes of understanding and explaining the introduction of farming as reflected in the application of either diffusionist or ecological models. This distinction between the Mesolithic and the Neolithic therefore needs to be 'softened'.

The settlement of Løddesborg in Scania is the basis for an analysis of this transition phase. The changes within the material will be approached from a structuralist point of view. The

relationship between changes within the material culture and mechanisms within the social structures will be touched upon through a description of the conditions for the beginning of farming activities in the Southern part of Sweden. The conditioning of the changes is assumed to be contained within the local Ertebølle culture. It will be suggested that the subsistence basis gradually changes as a result of exploitations between the local groups.

Changes within ritual activities - The Danish Bronze Age
(Inge Bodilsen)

The stray finds from the Danish Bronze Age constitute the empirical basis for considering the changes within the specific local use of bronze objects in ritual activities over a considerable time period.

The theoretical and practical problems involved in the study of ritual activities, their assumed empirical reflection, and their ascribed social functions will be discussed.

The necessity of a general theoretical framework and aim is accepted at the same time as the specific historical aspect of the society is being recognised. Our perception of and assumptions about the nature and function of religion determine our interpretation of this archaeological material, and the problems related to the interaction of theoretical considerations and empiristic analysis is therefore emphasised.

The processes behind the introduction of iron (Karin E.T. Levinsen)

Studies of the introduction of iron and iron technology and of the social implications of this change have in general ignored the empirical evidences.

It will be argued that in order to discuss why iron was introduced it is necessary to investigate how and in which ways this introduction took place. Through this the introduction of iron can be placed within a specific social context. On this basis the function of iron within this context and its potential influence on the further trajectories of the social system can be discussed.

The quantitative and qualitative aspects of the introduction of iron will be described, and the general characteristics of the process of introducing iron and iron technology will be extracted.

The development of medieval society and the structural transformation of heroic literature (Elisabeth Vestergaard)

In the study of cultural change archaeologists base their theories on the analysis of material culture whereas social anthropologists focus on institutions, norms etc.. For Scandinavian Middle Ages it is possible for the anthropologists to supplement the archaeological knowledge of society with an analysis of epic poetry, law texts and other historical sources.

It is my aim to demonstrate how the social structures as represented in epic poetry are transformed in correspondance with a process of state formation. The focus is on the relationship between king and retinue and members of the retinue and their kin.

The material for my analysis derives from one cycle of epic texts covering several centuries and rooted in closely related societies.