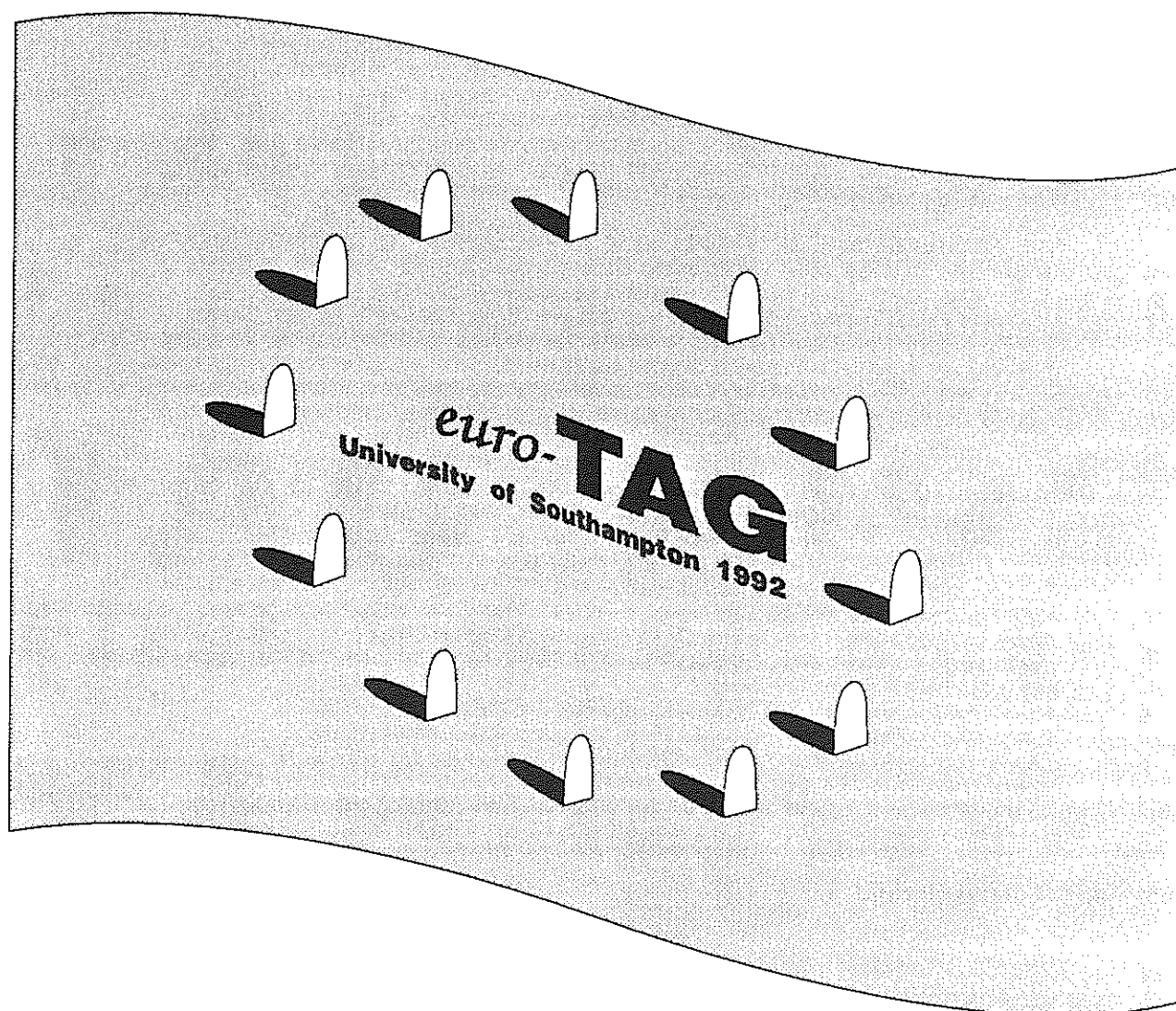


# TAG 1992



**The Theoretical Archaeology Group 1992 conference**

**Southampton University**

**14th - 16th December 1992**

## MONDAY 14th DECEMBER AFTERNOON SESSION

**MEANINGFUL ARCHITECTURE; SOCIAL INTERPRETATIONS OF BUILDINGS**

Organizer, Martin Locock, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust

**Session Abstract**

Archaeologists have amassed considerable experience in the analysis of buildings and settlements, but the materialist and functional explanations usually advanced for their form have proved unable to explain the observed diversity of style, material and layout. In contrast, architectural historians have long accepted that buildings can only be understood by looking beyond the functional, and have developed a suite of techniques to decode structures, thus revealing their meanings, and firmly placing the decisions made by the builders within their perceived reality. The current trend in archaeological theory towards the study of context and meaning makes the cross-fertilisation of the disciplines most timely, and this session brings together studies of diverse subject matter and approach, sharing a common interest in buildings as social statements. The papers in this session will be published in the forthcoming volume *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings* (Worldwide Archaeology Series).

## Abstracts

**Meaningful Architecture** Martin Locock, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust

Recent approaches to buildings, attempting to recover meanings rather than structures, have emerged as a separate body of work alongside mainstream building studies. Since the new studies combine elements of theoretical and formalist archaeology, they have been considered marginal to the interpretation of specific excavated buildings. This paper asks the question "Why meaningful architecture?", and examines the alternatives to such an approach; it is concluded that some attempt to ascribe meaning must be included in building studies, and hence that all architecture must be meaningful architecture.

**Entoptic phenomena in rock art: The case of Irish passage tomb art** Jeremy Dronfield, University of Cambridge

This paper explores some of the problems involved in testing the hypothesis that a prehistoric art tradition contains representations of entoptic/hallucinatory phenomena experienced during altered states of consciousness. As a corpus for analysis, Irish Late Neolithic Passage Tomb art differs from upper Palaeolithic art in several respects: it is entirely nonrepresentational (in that it contains no identifiable iconic images); it is tightly restricted in time and space; it occurs almost exclusively within a specific class of monument; it provides a large but manageable sample; and it is largely unladen with past theoretical and interpretative baggage. The study sheds new light on some of the issues in the debate on entoptic art, bringing attention to problems and possibilities which have been unrecognised or understated. The problems include the use of data from clinical and ethnographic sources, and the unexpected difficulty of identifying art which is unequivocally not derived from entoptic experience.

**The Minoan hall system: Writing the present out of the past** Louise A Hitchcock, Athens

In Minoan archaeology, a religious meaning for various architectural features is often uncritically assumed; a great deal of energy is expended in trying to distinguish the purely religious from the purely secular, as if such essentialist categories were necessary or relevant to the functioning of Minoan society. This paper approaches the problem through an analysis of the syntactical relationships between the Minoan Pier and Door Partition Hall and its surrounding spaces, and questions the previous interpretation of the rooms, structured by historicist dichotomies based on oppositions of male : female, public : private, secular ; religious, grounded in empiricist archaeological practice. The social meanings of the rooms cannot be understood in isolation from their architectural context; their meaning is not located solely in the room form: it is partially dispersed, inscribed and deferred in associated rooms and artefacts. The paper concentrates on five sites; Nirou Chani, Tyllissos, Akrotiri, Haghia Triada and Knossos. The purpose is to illustrate the complexity of Minoan material practice and to engage it in an active relationship with the present.

**Patterns of movement: Architectural design and visual planning in the Romano-British villa** Sarah Scott, Linacre College, Oxford

This paper considers the relationship between social life and villa architecture in Roman Britain. The primary concern is the use of space within the villa and the techniques employed to define, emphasise and personalise this space. Case-studies demonstrate the importance of the architecture as a potent symbolic code, revealing the status and aspirations of the owner. These examples also illustrate the use of interior decoration, and particularly the mosaics, as a means of influencing movement within the house. On this basis, it is clear that Romano-British villa architecture and interior decoration is invariably anthropocentric, and should be seen as both integral to, and active within, social relations.

**Seven Odd Facts about Carolingian Palaces** Ross Samson, Glasgow

Ingelheim and Aachen were excavated early in the century, Paderborn and Frankfurt in the 1970s. Despite widespread acquaintance with their plans and hypothetical reconstructions, little of their distinct characteristics (oddities) has been publicly noticed. Most of these interesting elements relate to control of movement: unique forms of enclosure; spatial contrivances to display the king to various audiences; processual links between palace and church. Much has been made by a few British scholars recently of the Carolingian 'palatial renovation', of Carolingian political ideology. Can the architectural changes truly be understood in terms of ascribed and understood political and cosmological meaning when the final oddity of Carolingian palaces is their unparalleled eclecticism: imitating ancient Roman architecture, utilising vernacular tradition, inventing various novelties?

**The propaganda of monastic benefaction: Statement and implication in the art of St Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry** Ian Soden, Coventry Museum Archaeology Unit

This paper will examine the art and iconography seen in the standing and excavated remains of Coventry's medieval Carthusian monastery of 1381-1539. Using surviving heraldic devices, wall paintings, and the design of the buildings, the paper will demonstrate that very little benefaction was made for the sake of piety and the cure of the donors soul alone: instead, benefaction was a matter for the worldly and the politically aware - with careers, kudos, and social status at stake. From the lowly local manor to the Crown, St Anne's was unavoidably embroiled in politics over which it had no control.

**THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF VALUE: NEW APPROACHES TO DECISION MAKING**

Organizer, Douglass Bailey, UC Berkeley

**Session Abstract**

Traditional archaeological investigations of motivation have relied on function and efficiency models of human behaviour and decision making. Assessments of function and efficiency models have shown that motivation of human preference for one artefact or course of action over another is a complex matter which involves social as well as material and biological parameters. Papers in the present session will investigate decision making by examining strategies of valuation from a variety of periods and regions. Though of diverse theoretical and material foundations contributions address the recovery and interpretation of strategies of valuation. A valuation is any contextually dependent strategy through which things, events or people are compared, evaluated and arranged and which results in a preferred course of action, selection of artefact or identity of individual or group. Participants are asked to consider the ways in which people made valuations and decided on preferences (i.e. how were material and social elements of past cultures assessed, graded, compared, evaluated and preferred to other material and social aspects of those cultures).

## Abstracts

**Realms of Value: Technology and Society in the Late Upper Palaeolithic** Anthony Sinclair, Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation, Tokyo

It is often thought by archaeologists that the technology of hunter-gatherers stands outside of a realm of value. The necessary functions which tools perform take them outside of the social realm in which value is constituted and put them in a utilitarian realm. This approach misunderstands the nature of technology. On the basis of a careful examination of a series of assemblages from the upper palaeolithic of southwestern Europe it will be shown that this technology can only be properly understood within the context of a social realm where a system of differential values embrace both tools, tasks and the perceptions of the landscape.

**The Possession Revolution: Neolithic Southeast Europe Reconsidered** Douglass W. Bailey, UC Berkeley

Traditional explanations of cultural development during the 6th millenium in southeastern Europe emphasize changes in climatic, technological, and agricultural and stockbreeding principles. Thus the use of the term Neolithic Revolution to describe the wide ranging changes of this period. By reinterpreting the changes in Neolithic and Copper Age material inventories, an alternative explanation of these changes is offered. The alternative holds that these changes are best understood as developments in peoples' preferences for durable and possessible objects. Thus a new system of values appears which is based on the durability of man-made objects, most importantly of fired pottery, but also of houses, settlements, land rights and social continuity.

**Sado-Masochism and the Bulgarian Copper Age** R. Price, University of Oxford

This paper examines the social conditions in which objects become valued as symbols of power and status, and the circumstances in which value is transmitted from one social context to another. Sado-masochism, as explored in modern literature and art, is applied as a metaphor and a source of ideas to be developed in the study of funerary assemblages from the Neolithic and the Copper Ages in Bulgaria.

**Memory and Value in the Mortuary Practice of the Earlier Bronze Age in Southern England.** Koji Mizoguchi, University of Cambridge**Inverted World: A Fearless Expose of Archaeological Law** John Carman, University of Cambridge

Every country in the world has some form of law to protect archaeological material. This is normally justified on the grounds that archaeological resources are valuable and therefore deserve some form of legal protection. This justification is false. Historically, archaeological material became valuable as a result of the passage of laws giving it protection. In practice, it is the application of law which creates value in archaeological material. Moreover, proponents of laws to protect archaeological material have been aware of this. In this paper, these dangerous propositions will be shown to be true and their serious implications for the future of archaeology will be outlined.

**ETHNOARCHAEOLOGY, FUNCTIONALITY AND TECHNICAL STUDIES OF CERAMICS: COMPLEMENTARITY OR CONFUSION?**

Organizer, Mark Pollard University of Bradford

**Session Abstract**

Ceramic assemblages have been used to provide, amongst many other things, information on the social context of pottery. Several sources of information have been used to assist in the interpretation of the relationship between the form, fabric, decoration, symbolic function and usage of the pottery in the archaeological record and its social context. One such method has been ethnoarchaeology, discussed at a TAG session in Bradford in 1987, but more recently technical studies of factors such as

the material properties and residual contents have become possible. The purpose of this session is firstly to re-examine the value of ethnoarchaeological ceramic studies, and secondly to consider the relationship between modern laboratory studies and ethnoarchaeology in the interpretation of ceramic assemblages. Areas of interest might include, for example, the linkage between choice of temper, (as observed petrologically), resultant physical properties of the finished vessel (derived from replica studies or from theoretical material science considerations), and ethnoarchaeological field studies of temper selection. The session will attempt to illustrate the interrelationship between a number of practical approaches, and consider whether expanding the information available results in complementarity in interpretation or merely causes confusion and discord.

## Abstracts

**Tradition and innovation** Sander van der Leeuw, University of Cambridge

The paper argues that the making of material objects such as ceramics requires a conjunction between the dynamics of the realms of the 'ideal' and the 'real' respectively. It focuses on the cognitive aspects of pottery-making, introducing the concept of "problem (or possibility) space", and notably tries to reconstruct some of the cognitive dimensions of shape in the contemporaneous tradition of pottery-making in Michoacan, Mexico. Among these, it distinguishes between the conception of shape (**topology**), the distinction of parts (**partonomy**), and the retention of a **sequence** fundamental to the coherence of the mental map of the tradition. Such a conception is articulated by means of a series of **tools executive functions** with the raw materials involved. The paper finally looks at some of the factors, social and other, which may be responsible for varying degrees of innovativeness in a potter's community, and finds that in the particular case of the Michoacan potters, the particular role of the **molderos** has been important, because it has distributed the knowledge of pottery-making over the society, requiring a social conjunction in order to innovate. At present, however, the potters find their own means to make their moulds, and these constraints are rapidly disappearing.

**Not so much a pot as a philosophy modelled in clay: Avoiding Functionalism in Ceramic Analysis** Bill Sillar, University of Cambridge

Too often the techniques of ceramic analysis have come to dominate the questions and answers rather than informing further interpretation of the culture under study. Ethnoarchaeology can help us consider pottery's role in social relation, and its results should encourage archaeologists to incorporate social questions at *all* levels of ceramic analysis. Thin section and petrology have become successful at defining ware types and more rarely at provenancing the pottery, but too often interpretation seems to stop when it has got to the point of characterising a ware. Equally the search for vessel use has too often been half-hearted, we must begin to look at the social context of vessel use, as it is this that gives the vessel meaning within its cultural setting. Archaeologists can't hope to know the relationship between individuals, however, we do recover the material culture that was used in the creation and expression of those relationships, and from these material remains we can try to reconstruct how activities both enacted and engendered social relations. It is my conviction that by seeing changes in material culture as part of a process of changing social relations we can hope to penetrate the meaning and effects of such changes. From this viewpoint changes in ceramic production don't just serve as dating devices for archaeologists or markers of changing economic relations, but the pottery itself is seen as a significant part of the process of social change. Using the results of an ethnoarchaeological study in the Andes I shall show how a consideration of the complete 'pottery cycle' (production, trade, use and disposal) can lead to a better understanding of the pottery assemblages. A consideration of the ubiquitous Inca period pot, the 'Aryballus', will be used to illustrate the ideas expressed above.

**Resource Procurement and Ceramic Production: 'local' theories** Elaine L Morris, Wessex Archaeology

Archaeologists have been presented with a gift - Dean Arnold's model of resource procurement for pottery production (1985, *Ceramic Theory and Cultural Process*, CUP); but few, if any of us, have applied it to our own investigations of prehistoric ceramic production. We use the terms 'local' and 'non-local' with unqualified ease but with no real framework for comparison between collections or production systems. Each writer seems to define his or her own perspective about resource procurement zones, or not define them at all. Arnold's model, derived from a large number of ethnographic examples, provides us with a framework for investigating the structure of pottery production and distribution systems. This paper presents a case study which uses that model and in so doing alters dramatically our current understanding of pottery production in Wessex during the Iron Age. Petrological analysis of pottery samples provides the basic evidence and quantification of large, phased collections of material from several sites provides diachronic information for a regional study.

**Lipid Residues as an Indicator of Vessel Use** R.P. Evershed, S. Charters, L.J. Goad, University of Liverpool, P.W. Blinkhorn, Northamptonshire C.C. Archaeology Unit and V. Denham, English Heritage CAS

Systematic analysis has been performed on the organic residues associated with an assemblage of nearly one hundred reconstructed vessels from a single archaeological site. The analyses have focused on sherds taken from different parts of the same vessel, i.e. rim, body and base. The techniques of gas chromatography and gas chromatography/mass spectrometry have been used to analyse lipid extracts of the sherds quantitatively and qualitatively. The results obtained show differential accumulation and preservation of lipid in various parts of the same vessel, and widely varying lipid contents between different vessels. This paper will examine the validity of the traditional archaeological terminology of medieval vessel forms, and the implied functionality thereof, in the light of the use suggested by organic residue analysis.

**Ethnographic Pessimism? - The Last Resort in Interpretation** Peter Wardle, University of Oxford

Ethnographic evidence has been used to formulate the theoretical basis for the interpretation of data generated from ceramic petrology. This paper aims to discuss firstly if this has been a help or a hindrance to the study of British prehistoric pottery and secondly if analytical data complements or contradicts the ethnographic evidence. For example: Arnold (1985) has suggested, from ethnographic evidence, that petrology has a maximum possible resolution of 20 km. Similarly ethnographic evidence suggests that using pottery to map kinship cannot be justified and it can be argued that temper selection mirrors availability and therefore distribution of fabrics result from geology not social groups. Taken with the proposition that

prehistoric pottery production was largely a localised and non industrial affair then this suggests that ceramic petrology can only rarely contribute to the study of prehistoric trade. Analytical data from Britain shows this to be both simplistic and pessimistic. It will be shown that in a number of cases that the complexity of the clay geology is such that an enhanced resolution is possible allowing regional and "local" trade to be detected. This evidence can be used to suggest that the case for prehistoric pottery production being "an entirely localised affair" has been overstated. This therefore greatly increases the value of analysing such pottery.

**Context composition, dating, residuality and quantification: an approach to understanding ceramic data from archaeological data** R P Symonds and P D Hinge, Museum of London Archaeology Service

The 'industrialized' nature of Roman pottery in particular adds a separate dimension to problems of residuality and their solution which is often poorly understood by researchers concerned with other periods. Dating of Roman pottery is often concerned with the identification of quite subtle stylistic changes form part of a general stylistic evolution of shapes occurring at all Roman pottery production centres in north-western Europe. Innovation appears to have been politically controlled as at no other period before or since, undoubtedly because the transformation of eating habits was considered as important an aspect of the Romanisation of the provinces as the construction of roads and buildings. The recent concentration of various researchers (Orton, Evans and Millett, and others) on the problem of residuality seems to be partly aimed at achieving a better understanding of aspects of context deposition - at any period - and partly aimed at improving the possible recognition of long-term economic trends in ancient economies, recently described in terms of 'long waves' by Going (OJA, 1992). The new analytical methods presented in this paper have the same aims, but with an additional concentration on the specific problems of pottery of the Roman period.

## TUESDAY 15th DECEMBER MORNING SESSION

## THE REGIONAL TRADITIONS OF THEORETICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN EUROPE

Organizers, euroTAG committee members

## Abstracts

**Where are we now? Theoretical Archaeology in Britain 1992** Julian Thomas, University College, Lampeter

Through the 1980s it could justly be claimed that some of the more important developments in archaeological theory took place in the British Isles. Many of the innovations of this period have by now found their way into orthodoxy (consider the number of times that the word 'power' now finds its way into lecture titles), but at the same time an atmosphere of uncertainty prevails. Several different interpretations of this state of affairs are possible. In one, archaeological theory has advanced so far, so fast, that it has lost touch with the rest of the discipline. Equally, there remain certain areas of theory (relativism, the critique of totalisation, analysis of discourse, feminism, overt political commitment) which many otherwise sympathetic archaeologists find hard to stomach. Alternatively, British archaeology might be seen as so fundamentally empiricist that the impact of theory could never be more than incidental. Finally, the political and economic circumstances of the universities in 1990s Britain provide an unhappy context, with few research grants and fewer jobs for those engaged in theoretical forms of archaeology.

**Theory and practice in Irish archaeology** Gabriel Cooney, University College Dublin

Irish archaeology has not figured in recent discussions of the development of archaeological theory. The paper will examine the lack of explicit archaeological theory in Irish archaeological research from a number of different perspectives. There has developed since the 1930s a distinctive mode of archaeological practice which on the one hand shows features of a post-colonial, national tradition but on the other has some unexpected aspects, such as the dominance of migration as an explanation of cultural change. The strength of 'strict empiricism' in research will be examined in the light of the particular context of Ireland in the past and present and the contact between Irish archaeology and a number of different international traditions of research. Finally the implications of the limited concern with theory for archaeological practice now and in the future will be assessed.

**Theoretical approaches in Dutch archaeology: the last three decades** Jan Slofstra, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam

A striking aspect of Hodder's excellent volume 'Theoretical archaeology in Europe; the last three decades' (1991) is the absence of a chapter on recent developments in Dutch archaeology. In my contribution to the TAG 92 I will try to fill in this gap and to indicate some characteristics of modern Dutch archaeology compared with the archaeological traditions in surrounding countries. Dutch archaeology in the 60s did not really differ from the culture-history orientation dominant at the time in NW-Europe. A distinctive feature was the sound field tradition and (especially in prehistoric archaeology) the broad application of scientific (i.e. ecological and physical-geographical) methods. After 1968 at least a number of young Dutch archaeologists were aware of the New Archaeology, but the impact of this revolutionary approach proved in the next decade to be limited. As a consequence, Dutch archaeologists failed to contribute to the theoretical debate in the seventies. I will examine which internal and external (sociological) factors influenced this initial, slow reception of the New Archaeology. About 1980 the influence of the new or processual archaeology increased. Typical of the Dutch reaction were a number of successful attempts to operationalize the new archaeological theories within regional projects based on surveys and large scale settlement excavations. Two main trends stand out: on the one hand the adoption of new ecological and geographical methods (often combined with a neo-evolutionist approach), on the other (particularly in Provincial-Roman and Medieval archaeology in the southern Netherlands) the development of a specific theoretical approach, based on the conception of archaeology as a historical-social science. This focus on theoretically informed field research projects is probably one of the reasons why the less empirically oriented post-processual archaeology of the 80's had little effect in the Netherlands. There are however more factors which prevented a full participation in the recent theoretical debate. The prospects for the 90s are full of promise. An

intensification of the theoretical debate is indicated by the organization of a Dutch version of the TAG (for the first time in 1990) and the appearance of a new theoretical archaeological journal.

**"The Hun is a methodical chap" : reflections on the German tradition of pre- and protohistory** Heinrich Härke, University of Reading

German archaeology has tended to neglect theory in favour of method. This tendency has been reinforced by the unholy alliance between German prehistorians and the Nazis, which led to a rejection of all interpretation in the post-war generation in West Germany. As a consequence, West German archaeologists developed methods of source criticism, conventional chronology and fieldwork to a high standard, but failed to reflect on the theoretical background and context of these methods. Their East German colleagues, by contrast, were forced by political circumstances to do just that, but within clearly defined limits. For these reasons, the 'New Archaeology' has had virtually no effect on German archaeology, whereas regions previously under the sway of the German tradition (the Netherlands, Scandinavia and Central Europe) have been influenced by processual archaeology to varying degrees. It is only now, in the wake of re-unification and faced with the legacy of state-controlled Marxist archaeology in the former GDR, that German archaeologists are beginning to realize the relevance of post-processual theory for their subject and the particular situation they find themselves in.

**Between theory and practice: the tradition of Danish Archaeology** Marie-Louise Stig Sørensen, University of Cambridge

It is often claimed that Danish (Scandinavian) archaeology unites theoretical and practical concerns and interests in a way which has resulted in a particular Scandinavian tradition of archaeological research. The aim of this contribution is to trace those characteristics in Danish archaeology which are specific to that area and to establish whether they in fact reflect such a tradition. The contribution will further offer speculations as to how such a tradition will survive and develop in the archaeology of the 1990s.

**An old world tradition of theoretical and archaeological research from the French point of view**

Laurent Olivier, University of Cambridge and Anick Coudart, CNRS, Paris.

abstract to follow

**The theoretical traditions in contemporary Polish archaeology** W. Raczkowski, D. Minta-Tworzowska, Poznan

The aim of the paper is an attempt to present a synthesis of the theoretical traditions in Contemporary Polish archaeology. These traditions are connected with the application of one of the following theoretical systems: (1) the general theories covering the whole historical process (eg. evolutionary, structuralist and materialistic approaches); (2) the detailed theories connected with related to the systems and historical processes, the categories of facts (eg. theory of economic growth, theory of settlement systems etc.), (3) the theoretical terms enabling conceptualization of complex facts. The dominating role of theory in understanding particular problems will be presented and the relation between theory and explanation will be stressed.

**Theoretical underpinnings of Portuguese archaeology in the 20th Century** V.O.Jorge and S.O.Jorge, University of Oporto and M.M.Martins, University of Minho

Throughout most of the 20th century, Portuguese archaeology has displayed features that can be characterized as typical of its situation on the periphery of mainstream European archaeological science. One of the main reasons for this situation can be found in the totalitarian political regime that ruled Portugal from the 1920's to the mid 1970's. The reliance on foreign research is marked: some of the fundamental field projects have been carried out either by German or French archaeologists, or under the influence of their schools. This led to a situation where inductivist, empiricist archaeology became dominant, although its authors rarely made it explicit in their works. Until recently most of the work carried out by Portuguese archaeologists was undertaken under amateur or even defective conditions. In the 1960's Coimbra University was a pioneer in developing a programme of serious archaeological research and teaching, but mainly focused on Roman archaeology. When this background is taken into consideration it is no surprise to state that Portugal doesn't have a theoretical tradition in archaeology. In the late 1950's the work of Eduardo Serrao exemplifies the first attempts concerned with field work methodology and with the theoretical principles on which to base the synthesis in prehistory. His work was quite important in encouraging a new generation of archaeologists, some of whom nowadays occupy posts. One of his collaborators (V.O.J.) has made several efforts to both promote Portuguese archaeology as an equal to history, relieving it from the latter's predominance and to consider the subject within the wider setting of human sciences. However, such predominance still persists today. In Portugal the 1980's correspond to an explosion of fieldwork that was carried out by people trained in the rigorous methods of modern archaeology. Also in the 1980's, theoretical problems were no longer seen as taboos. Under the influence of the processual and the post-processual schools, often combined in an eclectic approach, several seminal regional research projects were undertaken, and a new synthesis of Portuguese prehistory was recently published. The most influential work produced are the PhD's done by university lecturers. It is hoped that this influence will develop a new generation of young archaeologists which will lead Portuguese archaeology into an increasing maturity where the discussion of theoretical problems per se will form an integral part. The latter are of strategic importance in order to overcome the weight of the traditional positivist atmosphere still prevalent in the academic milieu.

**Archaeology and capitalism - Spanish experiences** Juan Vicent Garcia

**The Italian Pluriverse: different approaches to prehistoric archaeology**

A. Guidi

The history of Italian archaeology is influenced by the idealist philosophy of Benedetto Croce. It was not until the 1980's that there had developed a strong interest in prehistory and the possibility of testing data explanations by using anthropological and experimental science models. This approach was soon replaced by the old structural division between different local

"schools". In Italy today there are now, thus, a range of different traditions which Maurizio Tosi has labelled as the "Italian Pluriverse": 1) a "practical" one based upon field research and/or the publication of data, which is common in southern Italy and the islands 2) a "mainstream" approach well represented in northern Italy and Tuscany which is based upon the integration of archaeology and the naturalistic sciences. This is normally sceptical about data explanation. 3) a Rome-based school in which data explanation is considered to be one of the prime research objectives 4) a "processual school" in northern Italy where interest is focused upon the dynamics of archaeological record formation.

**COMPLEX SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN HUMAN AND NONHUMAN PRIMATES: EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES part 1**

Organizers: J. Steele and S.Shennan, University of Southampton

in association with the Human Evolutionary Interdisciplinary Research Group

It is said that the social sciences all share a common interest in human behaviour in groups, but that each discipline develops a distinctive and restricted agenda constrained by the nature of the specific research field. The introduction will map some of the concepts and research traditions of this morning's cross-disciplinary session, and describe the lines of convergence.

**Cluster 1: synthesizing primatology with palaeoanthropology.**

**The finite social space model and the evolution of human social behaviour** R.A. Foley and P.C. Lee, University of Cambridge

The concept of sociality is used in highly divergent ways in different disciplines. In this paper the focus is on the structure of social relationships as derived from social interactions and leading to social structures. The Finite Social Space Model (Foley and Lee 1989, Lee, in press) provides a means of describing social variation in terms of within- and between-sex relationships for sexually reproducing species. This model can be used to investigate pathways of social evolution and the determinants of socio-ecology. In this paper we develop this model in terms of some life history parameters, and examine the light it throws on patterns of social evolution during the course of hominid evolution.

**Neocortex size and the co-evolution of group size and language in the hominid lineage** R.I.M. Dunbar, University College, London

Group size has been shown to be a function of relative neocortex volume in nonhuman primates. Extrapolation from the regression equation for this relationship yields a predicted group size for modern humans that is very similar to certain types of social grouping commonly observed among hunter-gatherers and traditional horticulturalists. Groups of similar size are also found in other forms of contemporary and historical society. Among primates, the cohesion of groups is maintained by social grooming, and the amount of time devoted to social grooming is linearly related to group size among the Old World monkeys and apes. Maintenance of the stability of the large groups characteristic of humans by grooming alone would place intolerable demands on time budgets. It is suggested (1) that the evolution of large groups in the hominid lineage depended on the development of a more efficient method for time-sharing the processes of social bonding, and (2) that language uniquely fulfils this requirement. Data on the size of conversation and other small interacting groups of humans is in line with that predicted for the relative efficiency of conversation compared to grooming as a bonding process. Analysis of a sample of human conversations shows that about 60% of time is spent gossiping about relationships and personal experiences. It is suggested that language evolved to allow individuals to learn about the behavioural characteristics of other group members more rapidly than is possible by direct observation alone.

**Socio-mental bimodality - agonistic and hedonic** M.R.A.Chance

Four mechanisms of social cohesion were discovered by comparing and classifying the attention structure of sub-human primate societies (Chance and Jolly 1970). The acentric type divided their attention in defence between the society and the environment. Socio-centric types retained their attention in defence within the society. Two types of socio-centric society were found; agonistic (baboons and macaques) and the hedonic (chimpanzees). In the agonistic mode individuals are primarily concerned with self-security and protection and engage information processing systems which are specifically designed to attend, recognize and respond to potential threats especially to their social station; to which they respond by either dominating (overcontrolling others) or by excessive submission, thereby creating rank social relations. In the hedonic mode individuals typically offer mutual support, and social relations are rewarding, creating a network of social relations in which information exchange is maximised and hence collaboration and intelligence are enhanced. Kemper and Collins (*Am. J. Sociol.* 1990) show that factor analysis studies of social interaction in small groups, cross-cultural studies and the examination of physiological processes and structures linking social relations by emotions all support this dichotomy. In addition studies on the behaviour of children reveal a similar distinction. Finally the discovery of the triune brain by Paul MacLean provides a neuro-anatomical basis out of which the two modes are constructed in primates including humans.

**Brain, language, and social behaviour** J. Steele, University of Southampton

The foregoing papers identify several areas of convergence between primatology and palaeoanthropology: comparative studies of social systems (reproductive and life history traits, group size, and relationship structure), and comparative studies of brain size and structure (in relation to the physiological, cognitive, and communicative or discursive dimensions of primate social behaviour). This paper attempts a conceptual and methodological synthesis of these dimensions of comparative analysis, and integrates this synthetic model of variability in primate social behaviour with models of innovation and cultural transmission by social learning in populations structured by different combinations of these traits. This will then be applied to analysis of Palaeolithic data sets on the extent of variability and the rate of change in technological assemblages associated with early African *Homo* spp.



**Cluster 2: synthesizing sociobiology with structural anthropology.****The origins of language** C. Knight

This paper links the emergence of symbolism with evidence for changing female reproductive strategies across the Middle/Upper Palaeolithic boundary. As cold and aridity intensified reliance on hunting, mothers burdened with offspring needed to minimize the energetic costs of travelling with the hunt, instead making the meat come to them. They achieved this by denying sexual access to all males except those who returned "home" with provisions. Symbolism was an intrinsic property of the emergent political dynamic. Whilst primates can give vocal labels to physical reality, and can also individually deceive, human symbolism consists of *collective* deceptions. The new female strategy generated the necessary collectivism to sustain these. Periodic sexual inviolability could most effectively be expressed by means of pantomime, in the form of illusion-inducing communal dance. Once vocal labels could be attached not merely to physical reality, but to the stable communal fantasies so generated, speech was the result.

**Female strategists, male dupes: blood solidarity in human evolution** C. Power

This paper offers a sociobiological explanation for the increasingly pronounced use of ochre among Pleistocene hominid populations from the Late Middle to Upper Palaeolithic. Sociobiological models suggest that features of the modern human female reproductive cycle - ovulation concealment and the tendency to ovulatory synchrony - evolved under selection pressures for greater male parental investment. However, these models fail to take account of the strongest signal in the human cycle - menstrual bleeding. As an indicator of imminent, though not immediate, fertility menstrual bleeding would have attracted more 'faithful' males, and acted in tandem with ovulation concealment to force males into longer consortships. But the salience of the menstrual signal would have marked out females with impending fertility from pregnant and lactating females. This would have negated the effects of inter-female synchrony which rely on all local females appearing similar in reproductive condition. Aspects of early symbolic behaviour, including ochre use, can be interpreted as responses to this problem.

**Haematite use in menstrual observances: possible continuity between Middle Stone Age 2 and the ethnographic present in an aboriginal southern African people** I. Watts

San hunter-gatherers appear to have occupied the same region for longer than any other aboriginal population. Some of the earliest evidence for symbolic traditions comes from the last interglacial in southern Africa, including regular use of haematite, notched bones, and elaborated burial. Arguably, the first evidence for collective hunting of large ungulates (eland) comes from this period. In the San ethnographic present, the most socially inclusive use of haematite is in the context of menstrual observances. There are indications that such observances were lunar phase-locked and involved synchrony. The most productive form of hunting among several sub-Saharan hunter-gatherer groups was dry-season night-stand hunting which was also lunar phase-locked. Notched or perforated bones in the ethnographic present served as lunar calendars. The paper will address two issues: (1) what relationship, if any, exists between these disparate elements of the ethnographic record, and (2) whether there is any ground for inferring continuity in tradition between the ethnographic present and the Middle Stone Age 2.

**No sex please, we're modern humans** P. Graves, CRNS Paris

Differences between male and female are now so controversial that many 'politically correct' discussions reject out of hand any biological basis for gender. Meanwhile, theories of Human Evolution are, more often than not, written by those who are oblivious of what is 'politically' acceptable. Generally such theories present an account in which women are either completely invisible or else relegated to the 'home base' where they wait patiently for the men to 'provision' them (with the threat of a 'sex strike' if no provisions are forthcoming). Clearly male and female must have had an equal part to play in the evolution of our species. But biological differences between the sexes cannot be ignored. I suggest that we may find differences in the evolutionary history of males and females which depend upon independent differences in their interests. Here, interdependence, 'division of labour' and dominance, at least in any economic sense, must be seen as derived conditions reflecting particular social and ecological contexts. Our ancestors were born free, but men and women are everywhere chained to one another. It is a mistake to deny differences between male and female activities which reflect bio-social differences in their goals, a mistake which goes beyond the simple refusal to acknowledge reality. If there were indeed no differences between the sexes, we would not be able to detect specifically male or female activities in the archaeological record. Thus a prehistory of women (or for that matter of men) would be impossible. But perhaps that isn't such a bad idea....

**THE VISIONS OF ARCHAEOLOGY**

Organizers, Brian Molyneux, University of Southampton and Roberta Gilchrist, University of East Anglia

**The fashions of archaeology**, Ian Ferris Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (Abstract on p. 28)

**Notes on the past: music and the medium of time** Richard Morris CBA, London. (Abstract to follow)

**Equivalents and Chance: British Art and Archaeology in the 1930's** Christopher Evans, University of Cambridge.

Producing images that are still startlingly new, during the 1930's the avant garde drew upon archaeological sources. Unlike so much work produced at present, archaeology was not so much appreciated for sentimental purposes nor sites merely employed as signatures of locality. It provided grist for surrealist notions of 'chance', was a vehicle for the introduction of formal modernist elements into landscape, and served as a national counterpart to international ethnographic primitivism. This is an alternative dialogue with the past, one not dictated by the discipline's conventions. This paper explores how archaeology was drawn upon as an artistic resource and its background interaction with popular imagery (e.g. travel guides).

**The Archaeology of Visions** Sylvia Hays, Oxford and Orkney

Having a vision for a painting is like forming a theory which unites and relates a multitude of observations: it is instantaneous, intuitive and ruthless. In a flash it dispenses with all that is extraneous to the central idea. If one is lucky it asserts a truth which at that moment exceeds the capacity of the artist to comprehend it. Its implications may be worked out later; on the other hand, they may never become fully conscious or explicit. But what makes this vision possible? What are its breeding grounds? The talk will explore the archaeology of vision formation from a painter's point of view.

**Ritual and relics** Carolyn Trant, Lewes

Drawing earthworks on the South Downs - a commission from S.E.Arts and East Sussex County Council, resulting in a touring exhibition showing the interaction between contemporary art and archaeology. The exhibit tries to show the dynamic nature of a landscape which is entirely the result of man's activity, in contrast to the static vision on 'Heritage Culture' which tries to preserve the past in aspic. Drawing is itself a process of discovery and I believe the constant re-interpretation of the past is an exciting and relevant part of our ongoing culture.

**The gallery as art work and environment** Stephen Foster, John Hansard Gallery, Southampton

**THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF FOOD**

Organizer, Pippa Smith, University of Southampton

**Session Abstract**

For those of us who have the luxury of choice the selection of food is more than a desire to stave off hunger. As an introduction to this session the motivation behind the choice of what food is eaten, how this is prepared and served, and with whom it is shared will be looked at.

**The final cut** Ruth Charles, University of Oxford

Recent innovations in faunal studies have focused on the information which can be gained from butchery studies. Much research in this area has focused on Palaeolithic and Mesolithic data sets. I will explore the potentials of this technique, drawing on evidence gathered from the British and Belgian late-glacial and early post-glacial. In particular I would like to address the possibilities for identifying individual and group 'style' in butchery practices. The possibilities for identifying evidence for the processing and storage of meat will also be examined.

**The transformation of cultural resources: some ideas on the social uses of food in the epipaleolithic of the southern Levant** Brian Boyd

Despite a wealth of faunal and floral remains and artefacts connected with food processing recovered from a range of depositional contexts, archaeologists working in the Near East have limited discussion to the "economy" of sites: subsistence strategies, diet and health and the reconstruction of local or regional environmental conditions. The late epipaleolithic (Natufian c. 12 500 - 10 200 BP) of the southern Levant witnesses, it is generally argued, the appearance of the first sedentary communities and early steps towards the domestication of animals and increased manipulation and processing of wild cereals. These steps are often seen as somehow natural and inevitable, as people made the social progression from foraging to farming. It should be realised, however, that societies do not necessarily adopt the food strategies which best fulfil their nutritional needs. Selective practises which are socially defined and culturally specific intervene in the acquisition, transformation and consumption of cultural resources. As a demonstration of this Natufian mortuary rituals are studied in order to consider how food and its association material culture were employed in a particular series of transformative practises.

**Small seeded Legumes: Food for the hunter gatherers** Ann Butler, Institute of Archaeology, London

Amongst the charred plant remains recovered from Epipaleolithic and Early Neolithic sites in North Africa and South-West Africa, numerous small legume seeds are commonly found. They have rarely been identified beyond tribal level and have largely been recorded as from the clover tribe (Trifolieae). Their volume and associations suggest that they were deliberately collected and might have played a significant role; but why and how? Were they exploited as a human food resource? The case for clovers in hunter-gatherer diet is explored in the light of modern ethnographic evidence.

**Cookery without pots** Frances McLaren

The cooking of food is not necessarily concurrent with the introduction of pottery. Although there is plenty of ethnographic evidence for the processing of foods without pottery it is usually assumed that the spread of cookery began with the Neolithic Revolution. If a plant which is known to be toxic is found in a botanic assemblage it is immediately assumed to be animal fodder at best or more likely an intrusive element of a crop. This paper will discuss the detoxification, including fermentation, of such plants. The role of food processing in general in an aceramic context will also be considered.

**Food or fodder: feast or famine** Paul Halstead University of Sheffield

From 'Origins of agriculture' lectures, we all know that cereals are nutritionally and agronomically complementary; and from late night visits to Italian, Indian and Chinese restaurants we know that the particular suite of staple cereal and pulse grains consumed, and the manner in which they are prepared for consumption, varies regionally for both biogeographical and cultural reasons. At a more local level, many societies consume an impressively wide range of cereals and pulses and the value assigned to individual species is often very variable. To some extent this ranking may be interpreted in terms of 'practical reasoning' but the culture:nature debates over the Hindu sacred cow or Jewish/Islamic pork prohibition could easily be restaged over the less emotive topics of bread and beans. Rather than take a partisan stance this paper explores the synergistic interplay between cultural rules and practical reasoning in shaping the ranking of different cereals and pulses in Greek rural society in both the recent and distant past.

**Categorisation of food: The wild, the domesticated in the context of the Mid-Holocene Baltic** Liliana Janik University of Cambridge

Food as a commodity has often been defined in terms of its origins, as deriving from plants versus animals and domesticated versus wild. This type of categorisation has its roots in different classifications of archaeological cultures and labour division related to food procurement. The emphasis which we attach to cultivated plants and domestic animals is frequently misleading in underestimating the importance of the wild component. Another aspect, labour division in terms of food procurement and its implications for social relations, plays an important role in the interpretation of the past. Activities performed by different members of the group itself have to be considered. It is almost impossible to underestimate the significance of food in social relations and therefore, it is this issue which will be discussed in this paper. I shall explore aspects of our understanding of food by referring to archaeological data from two regions and archaeological phenomena. The first one is connected with communities in Poland where they practise agriculture and the second is represented by hunter-fisher-gatherer communities in Lithuania, Latvia and Northern Byelorussia.

**The role of chemical analytical techniques in archaeological interpretation: science or sorcery?** Sue Wales, Institute of Archaeology, London

Archaeological interpretation has always involved the synthesis of a number of different disciplines. Increasingly more specialized scientific techniques are available to the archaeologist. In endeavouring to reconstruct ancient diet a variety of specialist skills are currently employed. This paper will discuss whether chemical analytical techniques have a role to play in this reconstruction. This paper will also discuss the relationship between the archaeologist's approach to analytical techniques and the analysts approach to the archaeological problem.

**Feasting, sacrifice and the interpretation of Iron Age animal bone** JD Hill University of Cambridge

Ethnographies point to the important role feasting and sacrifice play in small scale societies, both in terms of raw consumption of agricultural produce and their role in reproducing social structures. However, feasting and sacrifice have been rarely considered by archaeozoologists as the origins of the assemblages they study. This paper suggests that the majority of bone from one specific archaeological record- the Wessex Iron Age - was the result of ritual consumption. This paper will suggest it is impossible to distinguish sacrifice from feasting and argue that approaches to bones and plant remains in prehistory are limited by an inappropriate rigid separation of sacred:profane, ritual:economic. It was through the practices of sacrifice/feasting that the symbolic structures which permeated all use, perception and consumption of animals were articulated. Such deposits provide unique evidence to consider prehistoric folk zoological classification schemes, and it will be argued the wild resources were only consumed/utilized in these clearly prescribed practices. This is not to argue that ritual consumption, nor symbolic schemes were an icing on the top of an animal husbandry regime determined by environmental constraint or economic utility. Rather the dominant social discourse articulated through these practices structured the agricultural system, defining the social form of surplus production and consumption. As such it is impossible to separate symbolic/ritual concerns from those of paleoeconomy. Equally, such assemblages speak no more directly or securely of herd composition and subsistence strategies, than of symbolic classifications and social organisation.

**HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY - THE ESCAPE FROM SUBORDINATION**

Organizers David Austin, Lampeter, Charles Orser, Illinois and Pedro Funari, Brazil

Abstracts

**Broadening historical archaeology** Charles Orser, Illinois State University

As a field, historical archaeology is generally characterized as a text-aided kind of archaeology that studies the modern world. Just what is meant by "modern world" however, is open to some debate. In this paper I discuss the developmental history of historical archaeology, as it is practiced primarily in the United States, and explore ways in which to broaden the field to include the other archaeologies of the "modern" world, namely the Medieval and post-Medieval archaeologies of the United Kingdom and the Continent. In including these archaeologies in a more broadly conceived historical archaeology, the contributions of the countless non-Europeans who often played significant roles in creating the modern world cannot be ignored. As a result issues such as domination and resistance must be considered. My overarching theoretical position is that network theory can be used to make this broadening possible along both spatial and temporal dimensions.

**An archaeology of colonial landscapes** Matthew Johnson, University of Durham

This paper explores some aspects of early colonial landscapes. It starts with a consideration of ordered landscapes in New England and Ireland and outlines the early modern cultural mentality from which they stem. The material patterning of this mentality is then examined with reference to Carew Castle and the landscape of South Pembrokeshire, Wales. Two 16th century occupants of the castle modified it and its surrounding landscape in ways that are later employed in other colonial contexts. They also drew in turn on a Medieval past and on the Anglo-Norman planned landscapes of the area. The theoretical implications of this story are considered. These include: the necessity of telling different stories, tracing the archaeology of different practices; the recursive role of structure and agency; and the basis of a theoretically informed historical archaeology.

**How green were my wellies: archaeology and the subversion of history in Swaledale** Andrew Fleming, University of Sheffield

The written medieval and post-medieval history of Swaledale has been largely based on the documentary record. As such it has largely been the history of the lawyer and the landowner; a landscape of ownership and profit. Landscape archaeology and the study of toponymy discover things beneath history's notice, but actually constituting a more eloquent record of historical change and the recurrent features of the world of work and production. The valley has a strong collectivist, egalitarian tradition, with many acres of land still subject to common rights. It is argued that survivals of this tradition are not accidental; in various ways, the (mostly illiterate) people have made sure that a historical record has survived, as well as important features of an

older, more collectivist society. Decoding and hence reviving this record brings the archaeologist into an almost 'subversive' alliance with the people of the past in their workscape confronting the historian's patrician gaze.

**The emergence of the modern world setting: broader parameters for the historical archaeology of post-Medieval Britain ?** Keith Ray, Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery

Two major themes in European history for the centuries following 1450 are industrialisation/commodification and the expansion of trading and venture activity onto a global canvas. In the British practice of post-medieval archaeology, the fulcrum of such changes tends to be treated as a series of disjointed arenas of technological innovation. Different elements of the material domain are too often treated in isolation, and with little attempt to situate physical traces as the outcome of social interrelations and processes. In contrast, the archaeology of European and contact societies at the 'periphery' is full of emphasis on the social conditions of urbanisation, on ethnicity and power, and on the ideology of European settlement. In this paper, I shall explore why 'historical archaeology' appears to remain a chronologically-divided and agenda-less sphere of enquiry in Britain. I shall espouse a wider set of research objectives for archaeology in relation to the origins of the world we inhabit today. My argument will be illustrated with reference to the importance (and relative neglect of the archaeology of our major trading ports.

**Redefining historical archaeology from a feminist perspective** Suzanne M.Spencer-Wood, Radcliffe College

This paper discusses how feminist theory redefines historical archaeology. Feminist theory not only changes the way we research gender, but has fundamental implications for archaeological theory. Feminist theory has critiqued the androcentric foundations of scientific theory used by processual archaeologists. The scientific championing of objectivity as superior male reason versus inferior female emotionalism. Feminists reject the dichotomization of the world into objective versus subjective realities and instead view objectivity and subjectivity as intrinsically dialectically interrelated in reasoning processes. Feminists have also critiqued the use of the passive voice in scientific discourse, presenting interpretations as objective facts and conclusions in an authoritarian disengaged voice that is difficult to critique because it masks assumptions and thought processes. Feminists have critiques either/or thinking not only in processual approaches, but also in structuralism, post-structuralism, post processualism, in Marxist and critical archaeology. Feminists correct simplistic dualisms and universal overgeneralizations with a both/and inclusive epistemology that analyzes the diversity in ideologies, identities, roles and behaviours/actions of individuals not only in different social groups, but in the same gender, religion, class or ethnic group. Feminists have also critiqued post-modern (i.e. post-structural and post-processual) epistemologies for maintaining their hegemonic position through a polyvocal relativism that dismisses feminist and other non-dominant critiques as simply other voices. The post-modern ideology that all interpretations are equally valid results in failure by the dominant group to respond to non-dominant critiques by correcting androcentric, ethnocentric and elitist models. Modern feminist theory rejects monolithic overgeneralizations not only about gender, but also about ethnic groups, religions, and classes. In sum, feminist epistemology critiques redefine historical archaeology by correcting fundamental biases in current theory, research questions, and constructions of the past.

TUESDAY 15th DECEMBER AFTERNOON SESSION

**THE IDENTITY OF EUROPE - AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Organizers, euroTAG committee members

Abstracts

**One Europe - One past?** Liliana Janik and Hanna Zawadzka, University of Cambridge

The past is our international heritage without the present day political divisions upon which the future of the international community have been built. The political changes which have been taking place in Europe with the disintegration of so-called Eastern Bloc and the collapse of the Soviet Union has meant that the question of identity of Europe has been given new dimensions. In this paper we will discuss what impact these developments are having on the perception of Western Europe by ex-Eastern Europeans and vice versa. We would also like to examine how it affects archaeological practice and archaeology's understanding of the past. The borders of prehistoric Europe vary in different periods and publications. In the past it was divided into East and West, soon it is going to be divided into European Community and non-European Community. Two questions, will be considered in the course of the paper, how far the definition of Europe will be expanded, first, in the mass media and second in archaeology, so that both the ex-Eastern European countries and then prehistory can become an inherent past. We would argue that the "Iron Curtain" boundary is not dissolving and that Western European theoretical perspectives will take some time to be 'digested' and used appropriately and vice versa.

**Why do we need a European association of archaeologists?** Michael Rowlands, UC London

The answer is fairly obvious. Because archaeologists will respond to the call by the European Commission for cultural measures to make people more aware of their European identity. The Commission was alarmed by the fact that in a recent survey of EC members, a range from 15% of people in Germany to 79% in UK did not feel themselves to be European and had no idea of what constituted a shared European cultural heritage. The Euro elites also have a significant Other to contend with, if not abolish - that of the Old Europe - the culture that ended in two world wars. That Old Europe was expansionist and defined itself against the rest of the world - historically Islam and the Communist Bloc. The new elites want a different non expansionist cultural definition of European identity that would resist the dominance of the nation state and would allow for regional interests. Nationalism is deemed to be a Europe of regions, or of citizens - ie a new idea of Europe is 'being imagined' for us and archaeology has its role to play and will be regarded for doing so. A more responsible answer to the question would be to ask whether archaeologists know what kind of heritage to provide and how should such an Association act responsibly and in an informed manner both in a European and a global context?

**Indoeuropean origins, transition to farming and the identity of Europe** Marek Zvelebil, University of Sheffield and Alex West, Ancient Eye Productions, London

This contribution will address several issues, centred on three questions: What defines European culture and identity as a shared set of values and concepts? How have these values and concepts been reflected and articulated by the visual media? When in the past can we recognise the development of societies that are distinctly "European"? These questions are discussed with particular reference to the beginnings of the Neolithic, the process of the transition to farming in Europe, and the spread of the Indo-European languages. In the first part of the paper, we pose the question of European identity as presented in television and "educational" films dealing directly or indirectly with the subject. We show (using clips from films, if time and facilities permit) how the question of European identity is inseparably connected to nationalism and national identities of European nation states. Two major themes emerge (among others) on a European-wide scale which most societies in Europe share: the peasant farming roots of European culture and the shared Indo-European linguistic heritage. In the second part of the paper, we review the historical and archaeological evidence for the coalescence of these two phenomena in the past. We discuss the implications of the Renfrew's modified diffusionist model for the colonisation of Europe at the agricultural transition by the Indoeuropeans and critically appraise the genetic evidence for such movements. We discuss the alternative model of separate developments of the Neolithic in Europe from largely indigenous roots, and of the later arrival of the Indoeuropean languages in the context of social differentiation and elite dominance in the Neolithic and the Bronze Age. In conclusion, we appraise the political context of the current debate surrounding the Indoeuropean origins, the constitution of the Neolithic, and of the projection of the roots of European identity to these two events.

**Myths of origin: Barbarism and civilizations** Kristian Kristiansen, Ministry of the Environment, Hørsholm  
Two models or myths of the origin of modern Europe has prevailed historical and archaeological interpretation: One that traces European culture from the near East and one that considers European history to have autonomous roots.

**Problems in understanding the origins of ethnicity in Europe**, Colin Renfrew, University of Cambridge  
(Abstract on p. 28)

**Islam and the archaeology of Europe** Ian Hodder, University of Cambridge  
Europe exists referentially: the idea of Europe grew historically through various definitions of the non-European. One of the clearest examples of this process is the formation of a Christian European identity in contrast to Islam. Archaeology has long played a role in the dialectical tension between Europe's dependence on the Orient as the source of much of its cultural energy and Europe's notion of its own superiority. The major writers with the dependence on but superiority of Europe from the near East. Recent finds from the Neolithic of Turkey as well as a changing political climate allow the potential for thinking about this dialectic in new ways.

**Intellectual history and national identities** Felipe Criado Boado, Santiago  
The spread and development of Historical Discourse was closely connected to the construction of modern Europe through the development of national styles, but since the 1960s it has been in crisis. During exactly the same period Archaeological Discourse has come of age. We can link its development to the crisis of a written and universal discourse and to the extension of communication through visual media characteristic of the Post-Modern World. This paper considers the way in which archaeological discourse is linked to the construction of national identities in a Post-Modern Europe.

**Kultur Kreise models and Nationalism** Margarita Diaz Andreu, University of Southampton  
This paper aims to explore the relation between the appearance of Kultur Kreise models in archaeology and its use to create national identities in Europe. At the end of 19th century and in the first part of 20th century this archaeological model led to a certain political role of archaeologists and to a growing interest of politicians in it. As a consequence this discipline entered in the university and was regulated by law to protect sites, to organize excavation, to subsidise its activities, etc. The consequences of the abandon of the Kultur Kreise model are going to be analyzed. Finally it could be useful to discuss on the certain present renaissance of the model in Europe, mainly focused on the recreation of the Celt archaeology.

**Palaeolithic paradigms and the identity of Europe** Daniela Zampetti, Università La Sapienza, Rome  
The present geographical and/or political definition of Europe works in many cases like a conventional container for the Palaeolithic of our regions, whose comprehensive image is, as we know, mediated by the "state of archaeological art", linguistic and in some cases ideological problems. The presence of glacial phenomena or the barrier presented by the Mediterranean during the Pleistocene might partly justify the existence of a European Palaeolithic at least in ecological terms. However, if we take for example certain classes of tools into account, we see that their distribution extends beyond the European boundaries and also the related question of the local origins of European cultural traditions (for example the Aurignacian) is far from established. Alternatively, the European Palaeolithic is usually presented as an heterogeneous complex of various provinces, so showing a solid identity. Nevertheless sometimes a single assemblage - for example the Magdalenian - is described as representative of an entire period of the European Palaeolithic perhaps because of its apparent broad diffusion, cultural complexity and internal homogeneity.

**COMPLEX SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN HUMAN AND NONHUMAN PRIMATES: EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES. part 2**

Organizers: J. Steele and S. Shennan, University of Southampton

**Cluster 3: aspects of cultural evolution**

In recent years there has been a major attempt to re-introduce ideas from Darwinian evolutionary theory into anthropology. Initially this was dominated by ideas from sociobiology but subsequently approaches have developed which use the Darwinian

framework to explore the mechanisms of cultural transmission and the role of social learning. These approaches will be briefly introduced, their significance outlined and some links with other approaches indicated.

**One million years before the present: how many useful parameters of archaeological evidence can we isolate?** J.A.J. Gowlett, University of Liverpool

Early archaeological evidence has been seen in a traditional view as representing 'culture', the data from which can be employed in some way to reconstruct past society. But direct evidence remaining from the Lower Palaeolithic is at least 99 per cent technological, and debates of the last twenty years show how difficult it is to provide a positional context which can be expanded into social information. This paper examines L.A. White's view that culture as a whole has three significant aspects: technological, sociological, and ideological, and considers the extent to which these are the necessary divisions, and how much their content might overlap. From this I turn to the question of how much the first, surviving on its own, might serve to reconstruct the others in a Lower Palaeolithic context. To examine this point, which hinges on tracing the palaeopsychological 'connectivity' of the artefacts with the routines of activity which generated them, the paper takes the prime time of *Homo erectus* one million years ago; it considers from scratch how many separate useful lines of evidence we have in the contexts, the artefacts and the faunal evidence - and how this compares with the scenarios which we derive from studies of the earlier transition to *Homo* and the later emergence of modern humans. It concludes by looking at the problems of fitting these parameters into an evolutionary trajectory.

**Technology and society during the Middle Pleistocene: Hominid group size, social learning and industrial variability** S. Mithen, University of Reading

A model is developed for the relationship between the tool behaviour and social behaviour of *H. erectus*. This explores the role of social learning as the link between social organization and techniques - the methods used to manufacture stone tools. Predictions are made for how techniques should vary with increasing group size and this is evaluated by using a case study from the Middle Pleistocene of south-east England. This suggests that the differences between the Acheulian and Clactonian can be attributed to different intensities of individual and social learning arising from varying hominid group size and social interaction in glacial and interglacial environments. As such, the paper seeks to integrate material from three fields - comparative socioecology, primate social learning, and palaeolithic archaeology - to explore the relationship between society and technology.

**Signal integration in human evolution** M. Lake, University of Cambridge

Ten years ago Passingham argued that humans possess exactly the brains to be expected of a large brained primate. Similarly, some continuum in behavioural evolution is suggested by recent observations of chimpanzee tool use, 'cultural traditions' and symboling behaviour, and more generally by the flexibility of primate social strategies. Nevertheless, the recent trend towards viewing humans as *just* another unique species risks neglecting a real human uniqueness. Clearly humans are different: according to current thinking, the cause is the human capacity for complex and flexible behaviour. I propose that humans are unique because in exercising this capacity we tinker with links of the life chain that are inaccessible to other higher order primates. More specifically, we perform signal integration at higher and lower levels in the ecological hierarchy than would be expected given our primate heritage. In the first part of this paper, the notion of signal integration will be developed, and some examples of our extended instrumentality provided. Among the more obvious examples are genetic engineering and ozone depletion; more subtly they include the human ability to maintain social relations at spatial and temporal scales far removed from those normal of a higher primate. It will be argued that social strategies and technology have enabled humans to greatly increase the range of 'frequencies' over which they can integrate signal. Essentially these provide non biological mechanisms (though made possible by biological change) for extended perception and memory. The second part of the paper will attempt to explore the considerable potential of this definition of human uniqueness. Discussion will be on two themes: the scope of neo-Darwinian evolutionary theory and the role of archaeology within palaeoanthropology.

**The importance of being pernicious** B. Cullen, University of Sydney

In recent years the 'biology versus culture' distinction has come under fire, and many archaeologists, 'biologists' and 'cultural anthropologists' alike, are of the view that it is entirely sterile. But there are actually two basic dichotomies which are often confused, the biology/culture distinction, and the genes/culture distinction. And while the literally interpreted, mutually exclusive contrast of biology and culture is obviously false, the distinction between 'genes' and 'culture' is extremely valid. The great heuristic value of the distinction between genetic and cultural transmission can be illustrated by contrasting the concept of pernicious 'traits' with the concept of pernicious 'parasites'. Pernicious human traits can be legitimately referred to as maladaptive, whereas pernicious parasites may be highly successful despite their effect on their hosts, and are usually therefore neither maladaptive nor maladapted. If we ignore the difference between human traits and cultural phenomena, it could obscure the fact that cultural transmission grants genealogical independence to human behaviour patterns, so transforming them into a class of parasite. Thus the genes/culture distinction allows us to recognize that human behaviour patterns are parasites, not traits. Pernicious behaviour patterns are therefore adapted parasites rather than maladapted traits, and beneficial behaviour patterns are viral symbiotes rather than traits.

**Organised dissonance: multiple code structures in the 'genetics' of culture** R. Fletcher, University of Sydney  
A process of cultural evolution equivalent in its operation and structure to the specifications of the Neo-Darwinian model of biological evolution, requires three key characteristics. First, a replicating code which possesses internal coherence is necessary. This produces heritage constraint. Secondly, the process of replication must result in some degree of 'error' which generates variability. This process must also be liable to produce more entities than the local environment can carry. Thirdly, the replicated entities must be subject to the stresses produced by a selective field. This external environment must affect the degree to which similar entities, of varying form and function, can persist and differentially replicate. The central issue of a cultural equivalent of the Neo-Darwinian model and its new synthesis is the nature and operation of the cultural equivalent of genetics. We have to identify the nature of the replicative units which produce cultural entities, the internal logic of the coding



and the way in which the replication works. I wish to argue that although human cultural behaviour has the same overall operational nature as the biological process, it does so using three basic codes, not one main code base. The three codes are expressed in (1) material entities such as buildings or tools, (2) actions such as proxemics or kinesics, and (3) aural expression such as speech. The units of the three codes are made up respectively of spatial, spatial/temporal and auditory signals. Each class of code has a different replicative rate, endures differently in the cultural milieu and has its own distinct, internal code logic. Because they replicate at different rates the three codes must generate 'error' and change differentially. Therefore it is not possible for a human community to maintain complete coherence or simple synchrony between the grammars or meaning structures of the three forms of cultural code. Dissonance between the three codes is a fertile source of recombinations and may be the unique source of the rapid shifts which human culture can produce, while retaining heritage constraint.

#### **Inheriting material culture** S.J. Shennan, University of Southampton

Within the field of post-Palaeolithic prehistory recent attempts to explain patterns of long-term stability and change in prehistory have been largely ecological or structural in tone; the former based on ecological or economic constraints, like Braudel's *longue duree*, the latter on the postulation of deep-lying structural principles which generate the surface phenomena of the archaeological record and which are slow to change. The problems with the established ecological approaches is that they reduce cultural phenomena to responses to the environment and lack any notion of 'heritage constraint'. The structural approaches, on the other hand, tend to be rather mystical, in that the status of the structures is uncertain while the mechanisms by which they are maintained or changed are only vaguely specified, if at all. A solution to these shortcomings was advocated some years ago by Sperber in his proposal for an 'epidemiology of representations'. This proposal ties in directly with the recent biologically inspired attempts to see social learning as an inheritance mechanism with a variety of specific properties. Some archaeological implications relevant to post-Palaeolithic archaeology will be briefly examined.

#### **BRIDGING EMPIRI AND THEORY. THEORY IN PRACTICE IN CURRENT SCANDINAVIAN ARCHAEOLOGY.**

Organizers, Marianne Rasmussen and Helle Vandkilde, Institut for Forhistorisk Arkaeologi, Moesgard

#### **Session Abstract**

In view of the European perspective of this year's TAG Conference, it may be pertinent to focus on general differences in the way archaeology is being practised in Europe today. Two main tendencies can be observed. In the first one, particularly dominant in Britain, archaeology has evidently become a theoretical discipline with an increasingly slender connection to the archaeological material. Besides, emphasis appears to be on the monumental rather than the artefactual side of the archaeological record. The second one has its centre of gravity in central Europe, where archaeology appears absorbed in basic classifications, and the discussion rarely touches theoretical issues above the level of artefacts. Besides, emphasis seems to be on objects rather than monuments. These striking oppositions, on the one hand an archaeology devoid of *empiri* and on the other hand an archaeology without theory, seem to be scientific cul-de-sacs. It may be argued that it is through a dialectical dialogue between theory and data that knowledge is born, and moreover, that establishing a bridge between these two constituents is a major archaeological problem of today. What is happening on a European scale seems, however, to be an increasing disintegration of theory and *empiri*. With an archaeological record above the average, quite sophisticated methods for data recording and data analysis, in addition to a growing interest in theoretical matters, Scandinavian archaeology apparently occupies an intermediary position between the above archaeological ideologies, perhaps implicating a key position in future archaeology? Anyway, this is how we would like to see ourselves. The question is, naturally, if this assessment is correct. Eight lectures have been chosen to exemplify the archaeological potential of this midway attitude, and to draw attention to instant problems in Scandinavian archaeology.

#### **Abstracts**

#### **Doing "KULA" in the Danish Mesolithic** George Nash, University College, Lampeter

In this paper, I wish to outline the possible similarities between the economic and symbolic exchange of the "Kula Ring" with that of the symbolism linked to the motif decoration and distribution of artifacts from the Danish Mesolithic. Over the past sixty years, many have observed the "cultural package" of the Kula exchange system. The Kula Ring, situated north-east of Papua New Guinea uses symbolic prestige goods as a 'passport' for means of economic, social and political gain. Involved in this package are raw materials, the converted artifact, transport and most importantly, people. Equally, these same traits may be applied to the Danish Mesolithic. Here, the mechanisms of exchange may be argued as being in place. Decorated bone, antler, and amber with associated canoes and decorated paddles suggest a highly mobile and above all artisan society. These symbols of art, mobility and subsequent social interaction suggests that the Mesolithic is far more than just lithics and middens. In many ways, it is easy to link such a contemporary system of exchange with a little known area of the Mesolithic: effectively, questions conveniently become answers! With the available evidence and in particular, certain designs occurring on bone and antler from the Danish Ertebolle, I will attempt to argue the case for a Danish Kula exchange system. Any assumptions when formulated can and will be debated. The following assumptions and ideas made from this paper is no exception to this.

#### **Post-theoretical archaeology?** Jes Martens, University of Copenhagen

The aim of this paper is to discuss the existential problems which arose with the last decade's farewell to the Great Narratives and the declaration that all things are of equal value. The result was a complete theoretical relativism and hence following a loss of meaning of the scientific project. It is claimed that a re-formulation of the grammar and syntax of archaeology will be necessary, if the project is to be put back on the track. The road forward is to return to the starting point - the archaeological record - and to define a theoretical practise in unison with this and with our project.

#### **The ethnohistorical link - on the interplay between archaeological sources and interpretation** Bjarne Gronnow, University of Copenhagen

Archaeological interpretation is now a one way process - it should be based on a dialogue between the researcher and the empirical material. The present paper presents a case from the field of Arctic archaeology where ethnohistory proved to be a fruitful media for this dialogue. The excavation of the caribou-hunting camp, Aasivissuit, West Greenland, yielded comprehensive archaeological and archaeozoological material. Dramatic long and short term changes in the subsistence economy of the site could be documented. An interpretation based on an ecological approach - a model of climatic change, resource fluctuations and rational human behaviour - seemed to provide us with an acceptable explanation. Taking ethnohistory into consideration, however, cultural conditions such as tradition, trading (and other social relations), psychological needs and demography appeared on the scene. New dimensions in the subsistence economy emerged as this information was brought into play with the archaeological empirical material, leading, in the end, to a revision of theories.

#### **From basic classifications. Towards an historical reconstruction of the stone-bronze transition c. 2350-1500 B.C.** Helle Vandkilde, Moesgard

In Denmark the introduction of metallurgy went through three radically different stages, each characterized by significant shifts in the relationship between stone and metal, and in the way metal objects were produced, distributed, used and deposited. These three stages seem to express important socio-political changes, and a comparison with central and west Europe reveals a similar pattern of change. These synchronous transformations in north Alpine Europe may be understood within the framework of cyclical shifts between peer polity and core-periphery interactions.

#### **Graves, settlements and society. Towards a comprehensive view of South Scandinavian Early Bronze Age society** Marianne Rasmussen, Moesgard

The general idea of a hierarchical and dynamic South Scandinavian Early Bronze Age society is based almost exclusively on evidence from graves. Lately, however, a new category - the settlements - has appeared in great numbers, and it is now a question how this affects the traditional picture of Bronze Age society. The present paper deals with some of the problems and possibilities created by this situation. In particular, the large cultural changes during the 12th to 10th Century are discussed in the light of this new, and apparently often contradictory evidence.

#### **Developments in the late neolithic and Bronze Age. A Norwegian case study** Christopher Prescott, University of Bergen

Recent excavations in Sogn, Norway (the Nysset-Steggje and Skrivarhelleren projects) have unearthed large quantities of material. The present study deals with the Late Neolithic, Bronze Age and Pre-Roman Iron Age material from alpine and sub-alpine zones. After an initial analysis of I.A. chronology, subsistence and cultural affinities, this material provides a starting point for a diachronic study of long-term social and economic developments. The study also examines "low-level" social aspects such as the division of labour. Dynamics and mechanisms involved in the outlined trends are discussed in an attempt to understand a society on the fringes of Southern Scandinavian centres.

#### **From stray finds to early kingdoms** Karen Høilund Nielsen, Moesgard and Bonn

The aim of my research project was to reconstruct aspects of society in south and east Scandinavia in the Late Germanic Iron Age through a continuous confrontation of the archaeological material with various theories, including in the later stages of the project a comparison with written sources. The archaeological finds from this period are very heterogeneous; in some areas most finds are stray finds and they are frequently without any contextual information. A multitude of analyses of typology, chronology, regional variation, style, and social structure, and continuously a lot of theoretical thinking resulted in the outline of a history, long forgotten because the older generation of scholars would not accept the society sketched in the ancient poems and sagas, since the archaeological record at that time did not support such a view. However, metal detectors and new perspectives have changed that picture.

#### **The ideology of migrations - understanding Post-Roman Europe** Lotte Hedeager, University of Copenhagen

In this paper it is suggested that migrations are rooted in the political ideology of Iron Age societies. Rather than seeing post-Roman Europe as a turmoil of Barbarian invasions driven by greed and overpopulation we must focus our attention upon the ideology of migrations as a structural outcome of Iron Age social organisation.

#### **VISUAL INFORMATION AND THE SHAPE OF MEANING**

Organizer, Brian Molyneux, University of Southampton

#### **Session Abstract**

Images are a particularly complex form of cultural information, as they carry the authority of explicit representation and at the same time lack the directness of language. Because of the problem of meaning, the study of visual images in archaeology has been largely confined to the analysis of form, or style, as a way of identifying social groups and as a marker of social change. As interest in cultural analysis has continued to shift from the creation of hypothetical general models to the exploration of individual and group adaptations in specific situations, however, interest in meaning has been revived. This new concern is not another search for content, but rather an attempt to examine the shape of meaning - a study of the cultural life of images, from common objects to cultural icons, as the representation of meaning changes according to shifting conditions in material and social environments.



WEDNESDAY 16th DECEMBER MORNING SESSION

**The shape of meaning** Brian Molyneux, University of Southampton

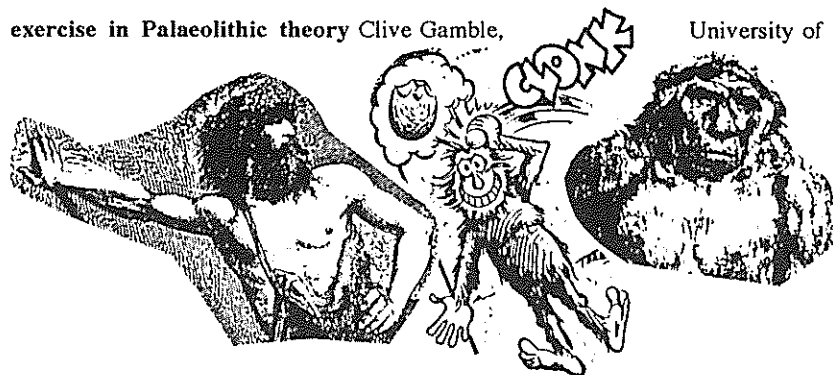
How can meaning have shape? meaning is a metaphorical reference that individuals make to aspects of objects and events. It is also relative to the position of an individual in social time and space. But meaning only exists when it is expressed as a physical act and a material form. using images depicting social situations in paintings from the tombs of high status commoners of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty, and some images and texts from later cultures, I will examine how meaning takes shape, through the eyes and hands of artists and writers, and how the material and social aspects of such representations can be analyzed - using both quantitative and qualitative methods - to provide information about the society from which these works emerge.

**Iconography and interpretation in prehistoric archaeology: the visual representation of early humans** Stephanie Moser, University of Sydney

This paper will present the argument that the variety of media and medium through which archaeological meaning is communicated - films, novels, and artistic reconstructions - provide important insights into the various ways that archaeologists use and make sense of the archaeological record. I will be examining the ways in which these different forms of archaeological discourse raise the issue of representation in archaeology. Essentially representation is taken to mean the way that archaeological ideas are communicated. While the issue of representation has been taken up with reference to archaeological writing, it has not yet been taken up with reference to the use of visual imagery in archaeology. For instance, recent work in postprocessual archaeology has raised the idea that different forms of archaeological writing reflect different ways of knowing about the past. The subject of representation and illustration is currently being taken up by historians and sociologists of science who have examined the use of graphics in their attempt to document the alternative ways in which scientific knowledge is produced. The argument that I will be presenting is that visual images constitute a completely different means for constructing or 'shaping' archaeological meaning. I will be trying to clarify some of these differences in the type of information that images and text convey, by examining how early hominids have been visually portrayed in artistic reconstructions of past lifeways. For instance, what do images of early hominids tell us about the way that the scholarly debates about our human ancestors have been constructed and structured? In essence, what do the images of the various hominid species tell us that the verbal text does not?

**The three faces of Man: an exercise in Palaeolithic theory** Clive Gamble,

University of Southampton

**The power of the picture: visual representations of the Celts** Tim Champion University of Southampton

This paper is concerned with the importance of non-textual representations of later prehistoric individuals (specifically the so-called Celts), which have played a major role in the interaction of developing archaeological knowledge and the public perception of the past. Rapid growth in archaeological research from the middle of the nineteenth century allowed progressively more detailed and 'authentic' pictures to be produced, a potential which was realised through the development of new means of communication such as book illustrations and museum displays, so that the past could be drawn into contemporary political debates. Archaeology provided powerful images to illuminate the redefinition of national and ethnic identities, but was itself also shaped by these concepts, with consequences that still affect our current construction of the past.

**On Learning to See: Craft Traditions in British Field Archaeology** Richard Bradley, University of Reading

The practice of archaeology has been compared with reading a text, but the literary analogy has its limitations. Field archaeologists learn their skills mainly through visual clues. Despite a stance of complete objectivity, they tend to repeat those observations that they have learned how to make. This paper examines the importance of visual information in field archaeology by tracing different learning traditions through the careers of some distinguished excavators. It also considers how far their field observations are also conditioned by traditions of archaeological illustration. Current practice in large field units tends to mask individual perceptions by imposing a visual house style. The results may look more professional, but they can be very misleading.

**Myth, metaphor and the "other": the historical formation of archaeologists' conception of humanity**

James Kenworthy, University of Nottingham [abstract to follow]

**WORLD PERSPECTIVES ON EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY**

Organizers, euroTAG Organizing Committee

**Session Abstract**

How far - if at all - have the world's archaeologies been influenced by *European* archaeological theory? Has such influence been tied to the particular archaeological theory of the European period of the countries concerned? In parts of the world which have had no European periods, what kind of alternative archaeological developments have occurred? Each speaker will pay attention to any theoretical developments deriving from the specific conditions of the practice of archaeology of their particular country or region. Each will also explore why theoretical archaeology has - or has not - "taken off" in their area of the world. Where applicable, discussion of each presentation - or set of presentations - will be led by one or more European Discussants from the country or region responsible for the European period concerned.

**Archaeology against the State: roots of internationalism** Christopher Evans, University of Cambridge

This paper explores the roots of "World Prehistory" arguing that it can be directly linked to reactions to the extreme nationalistic archaeologies of the 1930s. Focusing on British responses, analysis is made of conferences held in London in the late War years, specifically *The Conference on the Future of Archaeology* of 1944. This split over the question of state sponsorship and its *Proceedings*, document the division between internationally-oriented academics and government-funded fieldworkers - a schism which continues to dog archaeological practice. Simultaneously reactionary and idealistically motivated, an awareness of these mixed roots of the current World Archaeology programme is essential, yet rarely acknowledged.

**Changing theoretical perspectives in Indian archaeology** K. Paddayya, Deccan College, Pune

India has a long oral tradition of history consisting of five distinct forms: *gatha* (songs celebrating the heroic deeds of ancient rulers or sages); *narasamsi* (praises celebrating men); *akhayana* (historical narratives); *itihasa* (historical compositions); and *purana* (ancient lore). The antiquity of the former two stretches back to the Rigvedic times. The *itihasa-purana* traditions are closely interlinked and underwent some elaboration during the later Vedic period but still remained at the level of a loose mass of legends and experiences. It was only in the early historical period (400 B.C. to 400 A.D.) that these traditions assumed a fixed literary form. From this foundation eventually royal biographies or historical narratives came up in the later historical period (400 A.D. 1200 A.D.). Despite these early oral and literary traditions expressing historical consciousness and even the incredibly long time duration for human history (*yugas* or eras called Krita, Treta, Dvapara and Kali, altogether covering 4 million years) provided for by Indian cosmology, India unlike other eastern lands such as China and Japan unfortunately failed to develop any definite trend of recording and studying material remains of bygone ages. In this presentation I would like to emphasise that the rediscovery of India's cultural heritage was basically a gift given by Europe. Following upon a brief survey of the main stages in the development of Indian archaeological studies and the theoretical perspectives employed for this purpose from the European workers from the later part of the 18th century till the middle of the present century, I shall examine the nature and extent of the impact made by the more recently developed processual and post-processual perspectives. Then I shall briefly touch upon a few general aspects of the study of the past including its possible relevance in the contemporary context. In the early phase stretching from the 16th century through the 18th century the European interest in Indian antiquarian remains was one of satisfying personal curiosity on the part of travellers and sailors who visited some of the ancient sites in southern and western India. The foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784 under the leadership of Sir William Jones was the first attempt to put the pursuit on an organised basis. Apart from being the manifestation of an urge to know the land better for ruling over it more effectively, this event simultaneously also reflected the influence exerted by the rise of antiquarian societies in Britain and further symbolised the desire of the Western mind to free itself from the Judaeo-Christian thought. It is the latter attitude, as fostered by the Age of Enlightenment, which led some of the thinkers to recognise India as the original home of civilisation: Voltaire dared to say that 'Everything has come from the Ganges.' Jones himself thought of India's past as forming a part of Universal History; his recognition of the affinities between Sanskrit, Persian and some of the European languages laid the foundations of Indo-European studies. He regarded Persia as the original home of civilisation. Some of the writers even went to the extent of detecting Buddhist influences in lands as far as Scotland. It is only after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 that this trend of thought was reversed; India was now placed at the receiving end of movement of cultures and peoples. Archaeological research in a regular sense began to take shape in the country by the middle part of the last century. Meadows Taylor, Alexander Cunningham, Robert Bruce Foote and James Fergusson are the major figures that immediately come to our minds. Some recent work to subject their contributions to Deconstruction notwithstanding, the efforts of these four persons taken together laid the foundations of four major branches of Indian archaeology: pre- and protohistory, historical archaeology and ancient Indian architecture. *Meadows Taylor's* excavation of graves belonging to the Iron Age in the Deccan during the 40s was an excellent example of field archaeology. His careful recording of evidence found in the field, particularly the preparation of site plans and use of the principle of stratification, was far ahead of his times. He was probably influenced by the excavations of Austen Layard and others in the Near East. Basically a military engineer by profession but deeply interested in the Indian archaeological remains, Alexander Cunningham had the distinction not only of submitting a Memorandum in which he reminded the British government of its sad neglect of the colony's rich cultural heritage but also argued for the creation of a separate Department for Archaeology. Heading the newly created Department and employing as his guide the text of the Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Tsang, Cunningham traversed the whole of northern India and identified scores of ancient sites. He thus succeeded in laying bare a Buddhist phase in Indian history. *Robert Bruce Foote*, a geologist by profession, was familiar with and was in fact influenced by the writings of Charles Lyell, John Lubbock and Charles Darwin before touching the Indian soil. His knowledge of evolutionary thought and discoveries in Europe concerning the antiquity of man prompted him to look for similar vestiges of prehistoric research in India. He organised the material he had obtained under three cultural phases - the Palaeolithic, the Neolithic and the Iron Age. His observations about the distribution of cultures in relation to raw material sources, vegetation and terrain conditions betray his mental attitude of

relating human cultures to environmental features, and are by and large still valid. By his detailed survey of temples spread over two decades *James Fergusson* put the study of Indian temple architecture on a scientific footing, such that he justifiably claimed that, shown a picture of any temple, he could place it in its temporal context with an error margin of 20 years. Surely did Fergusson imbibe the essence of contemporary evolutionary thought! *Sir John Marshall* of King's College, Cambridge, dominated Indian archaeology in the first quarter of this century. In addition to creditable achievements in conservation, publication, etc. Marshall's large-scale excavations at the sites of the Indus Civilisation and the early historical period helped him translate into reality the reconstruction of lifeways paradigm. His objective of recapturing the 'total culture of India in past ages, with their cities and streets...' was influenced by his experiences of field archaeology in Greece and Mycenae and the spirit of earlier workers like Schliemann and Dorpfeld. In prehistory the Soan culture-sequence recognised by the Yale-Cambridge Expedition in northwestern India, the cultural-climatic sequence postulated by Cammiade and Burkitt in the Kumool area and the environmental studies conducted by Zeuner in western India, all dating from the 1930s through the 1950s, supplied the foundations for culture history framework. The emphasis was on the reconstruction of regional culture-sequences and correlating the Stone Age cultures with climatic episodes (wet/dry) inferred on the basis of study of river deposits in which artefacts were found. This river sediment - and secondary site - oriented (in other words, geological) approach to the Stone Age past, obviously adopted from Western Europe where it developed in the later part of the last century, exercised enormous influence on prehistoric research in India. It is not altogether dead even now. Descending as he did on the Indian soil in response to a call from the Secretary of State to retrieve Indian archaeology from the bad shape in which the Sir Leonard Woolley Committee found it, *Sir Mortimer Wheeler* accomplished in a span of four years (1944-47) the work of four decades. The initiation of problem-oriented field research, bringing about important qualitative changes in field archaeology, and creation of interest in archaeology among the universities are among the major achievements of his tenure. Wheeler's archaeology was influenced as much by the theoretical ideas of historians like Haverfield and Collingwood as by the improvements brought in field archaeology by Flinders Petrie and Pitt-Rivers. Examining the level of theory use in India during the post-Independence period, one has probably to conclude that Indian archaeologists basically continue to operate within the traditionalist framework let behind by the British. Building up local culture-sequences, treatment of cultures as assemblages of recurrent types, imprecise use of central concepts like site, and selection of present-day administrative divisions as regional units for investigating the archaeological record are the major elements of this framework. Workers like the late B. Subbarao tried to elevate the study of the role of geographical factors in human lifeways by introducing concepts like nuclear areas, areas of relative isolation and areas of isolation, but no real progress could be made at the level of inferring past human adaptations on account of the failure to recognise the importance of the functional dimension of material culture. Unrestrained coining of new culture complexes on the basis of the recognition of a new pottery fabric or stone tool type and accounting for novel features of the archaeological record of a given area by tracing them back to outside sources, particularly West Asia, are the other component elements of traditional archaeology. This dullness on the scene notwithstanding, India must be grouped among those few regions in the world which began to experience the impact of stirrings created by the New Archaeology immediately after their appearance during the sixties. The late Professor Sankalia is one person who must be given a large measure of credit for taking upon himself the task of examining the relevance of these theoretical developments in the Indian context. Thus came up his book *New Archaeology: Its Scope and Application to India* in 1977. True to his ceaseless quest for fresh approaches to investigate the mute archaeological remains, Sankalia not only began to experiment with some of these novel trends in his own work but also began to encourage his colleagues and students at the Deccan College and elsewhere to try these ideas in their respective research projects. The seventies and eighties thus saw the emergence of a number of studies, particularly in prehistory and protohistory, which employed with varying degrees of success the major perspectives of processual archaeology - conception of cultures as adaptive systems, the importance of identifying primary sites, identifying regional units in terms of natural features, need for intensive survey in lieu of previous hit-and-run type of field studies, use of ethnoarchaeological models and, finally, the decipherment of a region's archaeological record in terms of settlement system organisation and functioning. Some of these perspectives were also adopted by the foreign archaeologists working on the Indian materials. It is interesting to note that during the same period some of the workers in the parent discipline of history started moving away from a concern with political history to a holistic approach encompassing even the economic and sociocultural factors. These workers were obviously influenced by the functionalist, *Annales* and Marxist approaches. In more recent years certain elements of post-processual archaeology too have been introduced into the discipline. However, discussions about theory use are still far from commonplace in Indian archaeology. There are various factors leading to apathy (sometimes downright antipathy) towards theoretical discussions. I shall conclude my presentation by attempting to show: a) that the Indian systems of philosophy and epistemology could possibly make some important contributions to general archaeological theory; b) how the rediscovery of the country's past initiated by the European workers contributed to the growth of renaissance in modern Indian history and, paradoxical though it may sound, how it proved to be a powerful ideological weapon to the Indian people in their liberation struggle against the colonial power; c) and how a non-partisan understanding of the past of the land could serve as a counterweight to forces tending to manipulate it for promoting their self-interest in the present, and thereby disrupt the social order.

**Theory in West Africa** Basseyy Andah, University of Ibadan, Nigeria (Abstract to follow )

**Mixed features of archaeological theory in Brazil** Pedro Paulo A. Funari, UNICAMP, Sao Paulo  
Brazilian Archaeology is a result of European theoretical trends. From its inception in the 19th century, Brazilian Archaeology was being shaped by European outlooks, namely the search for early men and the search for our European roots. In the 20th century, there was a decline in interest in these subjects, resulting in an overall decrease in Archaeology's standing in the scholarly world up to the 1950s when a Humanist school, mainly inspired in the French Tradition, tried to develop archaeology as a cultural activity. Archaeological theory, although not a subject in itself, was being introduced through the Humanist approach. From the mid 1960s an empiricist trend developed and emphasized the supposedly technical character of archaeological field work. Even though explicitly avoiding theory, this empirical movement expressed its links with a conservative and positivist outlook. Its avoidance of theory enabled it to become an important tool for the traditional way of controlling the scholarly world in Brazil: patronage. Patronage could not be challenged, thanks to the Dictatorial regime

backing it. Recently, critical approaches were able to develop, re-enacting the links between the academic world and social life. Archaeological theory, mainly American and European socially engaged approaches, has begun to be discussed of late. Unfortunately, though, foreign theoretical fashions still continue to be used by archaeologists in power to control archaeology. However, thanks to foreign researchers cooperating with Brazilian scholars, and exchanging ideas and outlooks, archaeological theory has been very important for Brazilian social thinkers trying to criticise material culture's current discourses and to propose counter-discursive strategies.

**Theoretical trends in Indonesian archaeology** Daud A Tanudirjo, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta  
Interest in the archaeology of Indonesia began in a colonial background when European travellers recorded ancient artifacts and monuments in the early part of the eighteenth century. Since then, the richness of archaeological resources in the country were explored more intensively and systematically. For almost two centuries, European scholars had dominated the conduct of archaeological activities. It was not until the 1920s that a few Indonesian scholars, mostly philologists, started paying attention to their own archaeological heritage. Only after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 did native archaeologists play a greater role in archaeological research. In such circumstance, it was understandable that the development of European archaeological theory had always overshadowed that of Indonesia. Thomsen and Worsaae's classification and periodization were influential in the early development of Indonesian prehistoric archaeology. Later on, migration and diffusion, brought by the Vienna school, had become the main framework in explaining the culture history of the country. Prior to 1975 archaeological thought in Indonesia remained stagnant, although the new ideas of Childe and Clarke were partially adopted. A significant change occurred in the 1980s as a new generation of archaeologists emerged. They were more affiliated to the theories of American anthropological archaeology rather than those of European culture historical archaeology. This is evident in their attempt to implement system theory, cultural ecology, environmental determinism, quantitative approach, and the likes in explaining their archaeological data. Nowadays, Indonesian archaeology is coloured by debates between culture-historical and culture-processual schools.

**Forschung durch Technik: the empiricist tradition in Namibian archaeology** John Kinahan, State Museum, Windhoek, Namibia

During the last fifty years Namibian archaeology has developed a strong empiricist tradition which effectively postpones theoretical discourse in the absence of "complete evidence". German institutions in particular have brought to this field a clearly articulated approach combining technical exactitude with the apparent belief that this will ensure objectivity. However, the empiricist programme is firmly anchored in the suppositions of colonial history and is therefore not unproblematic. Under colonial rule, apologist historians explained the cultural diversity of Namibia as the cumulative result of successive invasions from the north. This fitted the paradigm of ethnic destiny which was used to legitimate a policy of segregated land allocation. Operating within the same general framework of premises, archaeologists equate artefact assemblage with ethnic identity, and assemblage sequence with ethnic succession. Since the empiricist approach offers no means to evaluate these correspondences other than by the comparison of incidental evidence, further research strives for greater comprehensiveness of inventory and description. For this reason, research is primarily artefact-centred and emphasises technology and subsistence rather than social institutions, with the further effect of reducing precolonial Namibia to a static primitivity. An alternative approach is offered by some general postulates of critical theory which help to identify and explain evidence of shifting economic relations in Namibia during the last two millennia. Contrary to the conventional view, this research suggests that nomadic pastoralism which largely dominated the precolonial economy, arose locally from within hunter-gatherer communities responding to the expansion of settled agriculture. This and other evidence from wide-ranging field surveys underlines the potential for a new theoretical approach to Namibian archaeology.

**Theory or absence of theory in the archaeology of Madagascar** J. A. Rakotoarisoa, Institut de Civilisations, Université d'Antananarivo, Malagasy Republic

In the case of Madagascar it would be more correct to talk of strategies rather than theories. The first communal discussions between Malagasy archaeologists only took place some ten years ago. Before then it was impossible to have theories rather than a succession of hypotheses dependent on the backgrounds of individual researchers, most of whom were not Malagasy. Their major preoccupations concerned the original colonisation of Madagascar. Despite the continuing fascination of this question, it is unlikely that one will ever know either the date or the place that the first human being reached Madagascar. It is important to ask what - apart from its inherent scientific worth - the real importance of this question is to the modern Malagasy Republic. It is more important, and more urgent, that Malagasy should develop a national identity without always searching for external reference points. Major published works about the origin of Malagasy have certainly helped us to understand major stages in our past, but they have also sown the seeds of confusion. Since the recognition of archaeology in Madagascar, we have tried to find a viable thread which will allow us to link all the potentials of archaeological enquiry with the actual possibilities allowed by the situation of the country. The first point, which was not really a surprise, was to recognise the gulf between what we wished to do and the actual possibilities of doing them. Beyond material considerations, the basic problem was to position the subject of archaeology in relation to traditional university academic divisions. All our archaeologists had become archaeologists via either diplomas in history or in geography. To begin with, therefore, there was no possibility that what could develop would be an inward-looking exclusive type of archaeology. On the contrary, our approach has been to open our doors to all other disciplines which could help us with the interpretation of archaeological data: palaeontology, nuclear physics, geophysics, ethnobotany, information technology, statistics, etc. Malagasy archaeology had, very quickly, to bridge the gap between the first periods with written documents and those of the first human occupation of Madagascar. In order to accomplish this our basic idea was to create - as a priority - an atlas of archaeological sites in Madagascar, before undertaking any major excavations which would necessitate major financial support accompanied by the risk of destruction through excavation. The programme undertaken would allow us to identify key sites on which to then concentrate, forcing us at the same time to resist pressure to carry out immediate excavations. This strategy met with a certain resistance, even from archaeologists who were only able to conceive of their profession as being concerned with excavation, a lesson which they had gained from outside sources. The success of applying theory in archaeology depends on several non-archaeological factors:

political, economic, etc. It is necessary to remember that in a country such as Madagascar, archaeologists must first work to finish their theses; at the same time they have to convince the authorities of the importance of the archaeological discipline. Only when they succeed in this latter endeavour do they gain even the minimum support which allows them to carry out their work. At this moment we are reassessing our orientation and strategy in the context of the country's new circumstances. It is becoming more and more evident, even without wanting to so become or being directly implicated, that archaeologists can no longer stay outside of general socio-political developments. We have contributed to a better knowledge of the past of Madagascar, but in so doing we have also destroyed certain values which are deeply embedded in the population and which have been transmitted from generation to generation from time immemorial. In the reconstruction of the past, some myths have become common reality, and not always to the advantage of those who have inherited them.

#### Archaeological theory in Japan Hiroshi Tsude, Osaka University, Japan

In most Japanese universities, archaeology departments are attached to history faculties. It well suggests in what theoretical background Japanese archaeology has been operated: the study of archaeology has long been considered to be intrinsically culture-historical studies. The work of V.Childe has been very influential in the study of Japanese archaeology. Especially his historical-materialistic logic of explaining social evolution has been adopted by many archaeologists. This phenomenon is closely connected with Marxists' domination in the study of Japanese history until up to the end of the 1960s. Through the re-examination of the oversimplified model of developmental stages proposed by Marxist historians, some archaeologists have gradually realized the importance of economic and political interactions among neighbouring regions, in the evolution of social systems. Some methods invented in the New Archaeology have been adopted; the study of settlement pattern and seasonality in subsistence activities are some example. Leroy-Gourhan's three dimensional recording method has also been applied to some excavations. These, however, have contributed just to the elaboration of methods. It is the epistemological status of archaeology which has never been given serious attention. In these instances, Japanese archaeology has neither been processual nor post-processual. Despite the accumulation of data of gargantuan amount mostly from well organised rescue excavations (some 3000 reporting volumes published per year!), sophisticated techniques of digging, and highly organised chronological order which enable scholars precise and minute discussions, Japanese archaeology suffers from the absence of epistemological debates. Insularity is another characteristic which appears to encourage the above tendency. Pre-modern Japan has rarely seen incoming of large scale immigrants since the establishment of the bureaucratic ancient state since the 8th century. This makes Japanese archaeologists believe "reading the past" to be an easy task; pursuits of their direct ancestors whose custom and way of thinking being understandable without painstaking theoretical struggle. This view tends to overlook ethnic minorities in the Japanese archipelago. However, these ten years have seen the development of new trends that seek to re-examine Japanese past in East Asian perspective, taking the issue of ethnic minorities and regional diversities into account.

#### MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES IN EUROPEAN PREHISTORY

Organizers, Siân Jones, University of Southampton and Paul Graves, CNRS, Paris

##### Session Abstract

This session focuses on the inter-relationship between archaeological reconstructions of past cultural groups and contemporary representations of group identity. There is a critical appraisal of concepts such as 'tribe', 'ethnic group', 'culture' and 'people', with relation to their use in archaeological interpretation. The construction of group boundaries emerges as a central concern and a number of articles question the nationalist assumption that cultural groups represent simple, homogeneous, bounded entities. The idea that multiple levels of inclusion and exclusion are involved in the construction of identity both in the past and the present is also considered. Not surprisingly, in the context of potential European unification and heightened ethnic and nationalist sentiment, the use of archaeology in the reinforcement of various symbols of culture and identity is a theme in a number of the papers. In particular, the ambiguous role of the Celtic concept as a basis of both a European culture and regional identities is discussed, and its validity as an archaeological concept critically assessed.

##### Abstracts

#### Who's in and who's out? Species, race and identity Paul Graves, CNRS, Paris

Identity, be it ethnicity, nationality or race has a growing poignance in contemporary world affairs. The biological concept of species is one of the criteria on which our ideas of identity are based; the UN statement on race and racism, for example, specifically stresses our unity as a biological species. Yet biology is often blamed for the worst aspects of group identification (e.g. Nazi eugenics). In this paper I argue that a more thorough understanding of what the biological concept of species is can lead to new insights into concepts of identity generally. In my view biological concepts should not be regarded as purely negative. Indeed I believe they can lead to a more positive and balanced view of the situation. In particular, I suggest that there are complementary inclusive and exclusive elements within the species concept that rest more upon behaviour (or as I would prefer to say activity) than upon a reified bio-physical definition of a species. The species concept, then, is more open ended than at first appears and, I suggest, a similar balance between inclusive and exclusive factors may exist in other forms of identification. Within the complex of factors which are recognised as sameness and difference, the possibility exists of multiple levels of identity. As a species, we should not regard any social group as a single, simple bounded entity.

#### Discourses of identity in the interpretation of the past Siân Jones, University of Southampton

As ethnicity and nationalism become increasingly prominent issues in contemporary Europe it appears that the ethnic group may again emerge as an overt aspect of European archaeology. Furthermore, some recent representations of past and present European culture suggest a desire to establish a cultural basis for European unity. Investigation of the relationship between archaeological reconstructions and contemporary identity often focuses on particular national histories and their changing political circumstances. I hope to complement this research with a discussion of the more abstract make-up of concepts of cultural identity as they have developed within 'western' historical traditions; in particular the idea that socio-cultural groups form discrete, bounded and homogeneous units. I will argue that recent theories of cultural identity can be used to devise fresh

approaches to cultural identity in the past. Such approaches must recognise the dynamic and situational nature of group identity and the likelihood that multiple boundaries may be constructed relating to different domains of social interaction. This will enable analysis of the relationship between a consciousness of larger scale 'imagined communities', and the particularity of identity constructions at local and regional scales, without denying the existence of one or the other as a matter of principle.

#### Narratives of the island Veøy: on the scientific and poetics of archaeology Brit Solli

The paper presents some ideas, problems and results from an ongoing dr.art. - project in the fjord-district of western Norway. Both written and archaeological sources indicate that there was some kind of Medieval marketplace on the island of Veøy situated in the fjords of the region Romsdal. "Veøy" means "holy island", and beside the historical and archaeological known "facts", the island is enmeshed in local tradition and popular narratives. The archaeological historical narratives of the academic experts clashes with very well preserved local tradition. The ambition of the project is to transform the incommensurable narratives of folkloristic landscapes and archaeological landscapes into a discourse valuing the diverse and often opposing views of the past. The role of the archaeologist as a "terminator" of local myths and narratives is discussed. Furthermore, the ethnographic aspects of archaeological fieldwork is in this case further complicated by the fact that the present archaeologist grew up in the region, and is herself one of the "others".

#### Archaeological sources as ethnical evidence - the case of the western Vistula mouth Aleksander Bursche

The paper focuses on changes in the ethnical border between German and Balts populations on the right bank of the Vistula mouth in the period A.D. 1-500. Analysis of grave goods and funeral rites, in conjunction with written records and some theoretical explanation, provides the basis for ethnic inferences. In particular, this suggests changing relationships between ethnically different populations of the Sambian Peninsula and the Vistula mouth area.

#### The identity of France: Archetypes in iron age theoretical studies Beatrice Fleury Ilet

The last 15 years have seen in France a rapid increase of iron age archaeological studies both as part of the development of "National Archaeology" and of changes in the balance of political forces. This neo-structural analysis aims to objectivise archaeological studies. It underlines how the need for a national identity influences iron age archaeological constructions and strategies. After describing the "total" context of French archaeology, the analysis unveils the symbols underlying iron age studies in France which fit familiar archetypes - including a common ancestor - contained in the collective memory, and enables one to apprehend how the permanence of archetypes may contaminate archaeological constructions, thereby reinforcing the original ideological archaeological strategy.

#### Celts and Iberians: ideological manipulation in Spanish prehistory Gonzalo Ruiz-Zapatero, Madrid

This paper addresses an historiographic analysis of the concepts of "Celts" and "Iberians" in Spanish prehistory. It is argued that there has been an ideological manipulation of the importance of these two ethnic groups according to different political situations in the country. The concept of "Celts" in Spanish prehistory comes from long ago, at least around the middle of the 19th century, and it is related to the classical written sources and the impulse of the Romantics to the study of Celts - Celtomania. Following the European ideas of those days the megaliths were attributed to Celtic people. But the situation with the concept of "Iberians" - paradoxically - was quite different, because the first notions about their archaeology arise at the beginning of the 20th century. The concept was closely related to Mediterranean colonists, especially Greeks. An evolution of both concepts is drawn looking at different attitudes - with a clear political component - during three periods: (a) from 1900 till 1936 (Spanish Civil War); (b) 1939-1975 (Franco's dictatorship); (c) with democracy. Finally, the relevance of ethnic identities is discussed with two different approaches. One is the rejection of the use of ethnic groups as it results in a distortion of the archaeological analysis, and the other is interested in the construction of theoretical and methodological bases for the study of ethnic identities, arguing that when we have written sources and linguistic evidence we must search for the ways in which ethnicity can be related to material culture.

#### Europe and the people without prehistory, Tim Taylor, University of Bradford

Could Hindu gods appear on a Celtic art work? Did pre-Socratic Greek philosophy interact with early Buddhism? Was 'Indo-European' the original patois of forgotten itinerants? Were prehistoric European cultures neither monocultures nor solely European? In *Europe and the people without history*, Eric Wolfe wrote (1982: 6): "By turning names into things we create false models of reality. By endowing nations, societies, or cultures with the qualities of internally homogeneous and externally distinctive and bounded objects, we create a model of the world as a global pool hall in which the entities spin off each other like so many hard and round billiard balls". 'Europe' is one such name itself. It fulfils an important role in an ethnic tyranny of dominant 'culture' names created for prehistory by politically engaged archaeologists from established or emergent European nation states. This tyranny is not benevolent, nor does it properly accord with all the observable patternings of archaeological data. I want to press two alternative concepts into greater use: 'Eurasia' and the 'LIG' (Limited Interest Group). By using these concepts a number of nagging loose ends in archaeology, philosophy, art history, comparative mythology and linguistics may be viewed from afresh.

#### 'Celtic' iron age Europe: the theoretical bias, Andrew Fitzpatrick, Wessex Archaeology

The current theoretical basis of an iron age Europe is structured by beliefs in (i) the Celts, (ii) the Three Age system and (iii) Europe. Of these, the belief in the Celts is central and this draws on language, material culture and literary sources. However, recent criticisms of iron age Europe have largely focussed on nationalism and modernism. A consideration of the materials used to identify the Celts shows that the construct is not just a modernist phantasy; much of Europe was 'Celtic' in the iron age. What Celticity meant and how it was achieved and sustained were important issues in the past.

#### The Celts in Europe John Collis, University of Sheffield

The role of the Celts in present political propaganda presents an unusual case, in that they are used both to emphasise European unity (e.g. the Venice exhibition), and at the same time regional character if not separatism. As chairman of the Council of



Europe Committee on Celtic Cultural Roots, I will discuss how a group of European scholars has tried to come terms with the popular presentation of concepts with which they are not entirely sympathetic, but which fire the public's appetite for archaeology.

**Poster paper:**

**Material cultures, Sean Hides**

This paper will examine the theoretical and methodological issues raised by the use of everyday objects in the construction and regeneration of cultural identity in contemporary society. The discussion will draw heavily on my own fieldwork in the Gujarati and Punjabi communities of Leicester, and in particular on the utilization of traditional style clothing as an aspect of the processes of cultural identification. This case study will inform a wider evaluation of theories of cultural identity and their relation to artefacts and the use of contemporary evidence in archaeological theory building.

**NEW DIRECTIONS IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY**

Organizer, Nigel Spencer, University of Reading

Abstracts

**Monuments and monumentality: the archaeological impact of Greek constructions of time** Lin Foxhall, University College London.

In classical Greece, as in all societies, time was socially constructed in culturally specific ways. In this case, the numerous written sources allow a very clear understanding of how the elite Greeks understood time, "posterity", and the place of mortal humans among them. Greek notions of time have structured not only what archaeologists find, but also how they interpret what they found. But generally classical archaeologists have been unconscious of this process. Hence, interpretations of ancient Greece from the archaeological sources frequently replicate the masculinist, elitist ideologies of the ancient Greek producers of "monuments" (a very limited sector of the society). This paper is an attempt to analyse the effects of "native" Greek concepts of time on the production of "monuments" and artefacts, as a first step in reconstructing a multi-dimensional vision of ancient Greek society.

**Approaches to ethnicity in the Early Iron Age of Greece** Johnathon M. Hall, King's College, Cambridge.

Greek literary sources paint a very consistent picture of the existence of various different Greek-speaking ethnic groups throughout the Greek world. This paper questions the validity of previous attempts to identify these groups in the archaeological record. By drawing on social anthropological studies on ethnicity and social psychological work on group behaviour, it proposes a fresh approach to the problem by examining the archaeological, linguistic and mythic evidence for the Argolid between the years 900 to 600 BC. The aim of this paper is threefold; to show how ethnic groups in the Argolid actively used material, linguistic and mythic symbols to signal their identity; secondly to demonstrate that such symbols become emblematically-loaded only at times in which ethnicity is perceived as being a salient dimension of identity; and lastly to show that the choice of symbol can change over time.

**Meaning and context: the case of the Parthenon** Robin Osborne, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Our reactions to visual images are dramatically affected by the contexts in which the image is viewed. In dealing with images from past societies our information about context is often restricted, and thus the image is viewed within only one sort of context. But some works offer the possibility of reconstructing more contexts of viewing. One example is architectural sculpture, where context is provided by the nature of the building adorned and by the ensemble of the sculpture adorning it. This paper looks at the sculptures of the Parthenon in that light: one element is viewed against another, and sculptural elements which could be seen in the same glance are considered together. It explores the way in which questions and issues put on the agenda in the first view (from the west) are further developed by the sculptural sequences which come into view as the spectator moves around the temple.

**Monumentalising the landscape: investment and symbolism in the hinterland of Archaic Greek poleis** Nigel Spencer, University of Reading

The finds of substantial towers and enclosures noted in the hinterland of Greek cities have been viewed hitherto in a strictly functional way. The tower and enclosure complexes which exist on many islands and in some parts of mainland Greece are merely said to represent "farms", "mining installations", "refuges" or simply "watchtowers". In other fields of archaeology, notably the British Neolithic, such monumental construction work in areas marginal to settlement is given alternative, non-functional treatment, and the purpose of this paper will be to explore some alternative approaches to the data for Greece. The towers and enclosures from the Aegean island of Lesbos, constructed in an elaborate style of masonry, will be considered in a more theoretical light. The possible reasons for this investment in such marginal areas, the symbolic meaning attached to the structures by those who built them, and especially the unnecessarily elaborate construction, will be examined.

**Familiar death: other ways of looking at ancient monuments** K. E. Stears, King's College, London.

Classical Athenian funerary monuments have long been studied from the art historical perspective, identifying sculptural "hands", workshops, and attempting to locate the figurative scenes portrayed. In opposition to this approach, the present paper attempts to reconstruct their social position and function and by so-doing aims to illuminate questions of gender construction, kinship structures and social memory, as well as attitudes towards death.

**Tomb cult and hero cult: the uses of the past and the re-creation of the present in Archaic Greece**

James Whitley, University College, Cardiff

Since the work of Saxe, archaeologists (both "processualist" and "post-processualist") have shown great interest in, and generalised grandly about, the role of ancestors, and cults of ancestors, in the maintenance of social order. In Neolithic studies nowadays, it seems, mortuary practices are seen as ideological in character unless proven otherwise. However, such grand theory does not allow us to explore the relationship between particular mortuary practices, particular ideologies, and particular social forms. Here, the rich body of evidence from Classical archaeology can make a distinctive contribution to the refinement of archaeological theory. This paper examines the tomb cults and "hero" cults of Archaic Attica, which are broadly analogous to circum-funerary ancestor cults in other parts of the world. The relationship between changes in mortuary cult and socio-political change will be explored, suggesting that greater care is needed in distinguishing between the metonymic, metaphorical and political/ideological aspects of mortuary practices.

**MANAGING ARCHAEOLOGY**

Organizers, Antony Firth, Dave Wheatley, University of Southampton, Malcolm Cooper, Hereford and Worcester CC.

**Session Abstract**

Management is a term used frequently in the discipline and profession of archaeology, but this will be the first conference in the UK at which it has been examined critically. The session grew out of a chance meeting at TAG'91 of several people each looking at aspects of management and archaeology. It has blossomed in the course of organisation to bring in a number of perspectives and studies which may have very little in common except the words "management" and "archaeology". The session is intended to raise management as an issue in theory, to demonstrate diversity, and to see whether there is any evidence of coherence in the study of management and archaeology. The organisers are currently exploring ways to publish the proceedings of the session.

Abstracts

**Heritage and Human Consciousness - Explorations of Identity** Mim Bower, University of Cambridge

Human consciousness is a complex thing governed by many processes and formed from a confusion of heredity and life experience, and yet most conscious and probably all subconscious reactions to outside stimuli are governed by the basic reactive thought of 'how does it affect me'. This hypothesis can and has been used, though probably unconsciously, in the presentation of heritage to the public. It is the way in which archaeologists and museum directors present what is perceived to be fact that shapes the public's view of the past. But how far should this be taken and on what levels should we be appealing to the human consciousness?

**How to Get Something out of Nothing: The way to 'Heritage'** John Carman, University of Cambridge

"Nothing", it was said recently, "was built to be an ancient monument". But an area little considered in our field is how things become identified as specifically archaeological. At last year's TAG it was suggested that the 'archaeological heritage' exists in a special cognitive realm raised above that of the day-to-day world - the public domain. What was not, however, addressed was how it got there. This paper will outline a theory of how things from the past pass into this special realm. This process will be illustrated by references to commercial auctions and the application of law to archaeological material. It will be suggested that the same social mechanism is at work in both contexts, but that these two contexts differ in one crucial respect which is nevertheless predicted by the theory.

**Theory and Archaeological Management** Malcolm A. Cooper Hereford and Worcester

In a paper given at the 1991 TAG conference the author argued that 'Theoretical Archaeology' should investigate not only the use of theory in the interpretation of past behaviour, but should also focus on theory as applied to the structure and function of archaeological organisations in the present. The conclusion of this earlier paper was that much research in the management field had application for archaeologists wishing to create an environment where archaeology can be undertaken effectively in a manner which is of value to contemporary society. The current paper explores in much more detail the application of management theory to archaeological organisations and their environment. Using contemporary management models the paper explores the relationship between archaeological organisations and their internal and external environment(s). It illustrates that the impact of changes in the external environment have had a wide-ranging influence on archaeological practice and that archaeologists have reacted in an extremely limited fashion to recent changes in management theory and thus to the change factors in the external environment. Examples are used to illustrate the effect of external change on archaeological project management, career structures, and archaeological research, and to explore the reaction of archaeologists to such changes. The paper concludes by suggesting that the success of archaeologists is related as much to their control of the archaeological environment as it is to the continued development of archaeological theories of the past, and that far-greater attention needs to be paid to management theory in order that the archaeological environment provides suitable vehicles for continuing the development of our understanding of the past.

Timothy Darvill, Bournemouth University (Title and abstract to follow)

**Ghosts in the management machine** Antony Firth, University of Southampton

This paper will consider effects on archaeology arising from the institutions through which archaeology is managed. Examples will be drawn from the management of archaeology underwater in Europe. The idea that institutions can have an effect on activities over and above the intentions of the actors within the institution is commonplace in social and political science. It is frequently alluded to in discussions about archaeology but it is rarely considered as a subject of study in its own right. I hope to show how this issue can be approached and to point to processes through which institutional arrangements may have archaeological effects. For the purposes of this paper, 'institution' can be taken to include organisations such as agencies,

companies and trusts and procedural systems such as regulations, administration and communications. I shall focus on state institutions in order to explore the link between institutions as a manifestation of a state's past, and the archaeological record which state institutions attempt to manage.

**MAP2 - Theory and Practice** Roger Thomas and Gill Andrews, English Heritage  
'MAP2' - Management of Archaeological Projects, 2nd ed. (English Heritage 1991) attempts to set out a framework for the management of large scale archaeological projects. This paper will outline the model of archaeological project management which was developed for MAP2 and examine the wider policy context which led to the production of the document. The paper will then attempt to explore some of the possible implications of MAP2 for the theory and practice of archaeology and archaeological management in the future.

**The Andalucian model of archaeological protection** Arturo Ruiz Rodríguez and F Homos, University of Grenada  
The Junta de Andalucía assumed the responsibility for administering the region's archaeological heritage in 1984. This provided an opportunity to develop a model of heritage protection distinct to that of the Spanish State as a whole. This aimed to reduce the number of indiscriminate and poorly funded archaeological excavations, define categories of archaeological fieldwork and ensure that they had sound project designs, and to develop archaeological management along the lines of that in other European countries. Archaeological research was understood as embracing the widest range of investigative and analytical techniques and the integration of surveys and conservation within archaeological projects. The same period has also seen the development of the legal framework governing the management of the archaeological heritage, through laws passed in 1985, 1989 and 1991. This first phase in the development of a model for the protection of the archaeological heritage of Andalucía is now complete and is being critically reviewed. Various issues arising from this are discussed in this paper.

**Square Pegs in Round Holes: Problems of Managing the Palaeolithic Heritage** Francis Wenban-Smith, University of Southampton

This paper briefly reviews the concept of "managing the heritage" as applied in this country, and concludes that it consists mainly of attempting to decide which parts of the physical archaeological evidence of the past are of "value" and so worth promoting, preserving, or researching in advance of destruction. There are many problems with this, in areas such as: the overlap between the role of English Heritage and more local planning departments, who pays for what, how value is attributed, who decides, and who appoints those who decide. However the main point of this paper is that the current framework and application of heritage management, with all its problems, has developed to deal exclusively with clearly visible "Sites and Monuments". Such an approach is inadequate when applied to Palaeolithic evidence, which appears in different forms and whose value resides in different areas.

**Information Technology and the Archaeological Object** David Wheatley, University of Southampton  
To date, the theoretical object on which archaeological management has been practised has been the 'site' - a bounded spatial entity to which the practice of archaeological management ascribes either absolute or relative archaeological value. This paper observes that new information technologies are rapidly being assimilated into the practice of archaeological management, most significantly 'computer aided design' and 'geographic information systems' technologies. These, it is argued, will require not only the pragmatic re-organisation of the practice of archaeological management which is already underway, but also a more fundamental reappraisal of the theoretical usefulness of the 'site' as object. It is argued that as a consequence of this, the ways in which value is ascribed to the archaeological resource will, in the near future, be subject to different constraints forcing the value judgements of archaeological managers to be made far more explicit than is currently the case. Examples from the author's research into the archaeological applications of geographic information systems will be used to illustrate these points.

#### WEDNESDAY 16th DECEMBER AFTERNOON SESSION

##### WORLD PERSPECTIVES ON EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY

Organizers, euroTAG Organizing Committee

**Archaeology in Latin America today** Gustavo Politis, University of La Plata, Argentina (Abstract on p. 28)

**A review of Chinese archaeology** Zhang Chi, Peking University, Beijing  
In the 'Yue Jue Shu', a Chinese text written around AD 200, Yuan Kang describes the materials used for weapons in different Chinese historical periods as falling into four stages, "Weapons were made from stone in the Xuanyuan, Shennong and Zhuanxu periods; from jade in the Huangdi period; from bronze in the Yu and Tang periods; and from iron in recent times" (Xuanyuan, Shennong, Zhuanxu and Huangdi were emperors in Chinese legend history; Yu and Tang were emperors in Xia and Shang dynasty). This was not the result of archaeological enquiry, although it has been partially proved by modern archaeology. In the Song dynasty (around AD 1000), scholars began to study ancient inscriptions from stela and bronze vessels in order to elaborate Chinese historical texts, so bringing about Chinese antiquarianism. Until the beginning of this century, people believed that the records from ancient Chinese texts were the real Chinese history (see above, from Xuanyuan onwards), which scholars never questioned. Around 1920, the influence of Western culture and science became stronger and eventually led to a New Cultural Movement. Charles Darwin's evolutionary thought also became well known. A group of historians, meanwhile, began to criticise the established ancient history system, arguing that ancient history before the Shang dynasty should belong to the period of legend (since 1909, a large quantity of inscriptions on bone had been found in one of the Shang dynasty's capital sites, which indicated the existence of the Shang dynasty), and therefore, needed to be brought to light by archaeology. In the early 1920s, a Swedish geologist employed by the Chinese government, G J Anderson, and his Chinese assistants found and excavated a series of palaeolithic and neolithic sites. Anderson believed these to be Chinese prehistoric cultures. Meanwhile, Chinese archaeologists, some of whom had learned their archaeology and anthropology in the

West, began to conduct their own excavations in China. By the end of the 1940s, hundreds of prehistoric sites had been found all over China, shedding light on the Chinese remote past. Since the 1950s, with the growth of Chinese economic development, more and more rescue excavations have been conducted. In order to deal with ever growing archaeological records, and to try to order them to re-establish Chinese prehistory in general, V Gordon Childe's Archaeological Culture approach became the main strategy adopted by archaeologists (another reason being Childe's relationship with Marxism and the USSR). By the early 1980s, an enlarged archaeological culture theory had developed into the mainstream of Chinese theoretical archaeology. This included the "cultural element analysis" in order to identify the "assemblage" of artefacts based on typology, and the so-called "area, system and type" approach in order to establish the time-space framework of archaeological cultures at different levels and sources. In this way, some cultures which had already been equated with certain early historical peoples, could be traced back to their sources, and it was also hoped that some late neolithic cultures could be identified with certain peoples mentioned in legendary texts. From the mid 1950s the influence of Marxism on Chinese archaeology increased due, firstly, to the general background of Chinese politics at that time and, secondly, to the influence of Soviet archaeology. Young archaeologists, especially students in Peking University argued that archaeology placed too much emphasis on artefact typology and classification and ignored the people who had created them. They argued that the archaeological records must be explained by Marxism, and that one of the main tasks of archaeology was to try to work out the social aspects of past societies. Since then marxist archaeology became another mainstream theory in China. Most archaeologists tried to elaborate on the basic principles of Marx and Engels laid down a century ago, and some of them were also influenced by the idea of Soviet ethnology in trying to explain prehistoric societies. Despite considerable dissatisfaction with this approach in recent years, a Marxist approach has enabled great progress to be made in social archaeology in the past three decades. By the early 1980s, a so-called Marxist archaeology of a Chinese character had evolved by a group of archaeologists which combined the enlarged archaeological culture theory with Marxist archaeology in trying to explain the change and development of archaeological cultures. Meanwhile the influence of Western contemporary archaeology increased and Chinese archaeology began to enter a period of diversification. In comparing Chinese archaeology with Western archaeology from the theoretical view, there are not too many differences to be seen, especially when we pay attention to those coincidences that happened in the history of both Chinese and Western archaeology.

**Politics and history in Ireland** Peter Woodman, University College Cork

The fact that Ireland only recovered some form of Independent Status seventy years ago might have been expected to: 1) influence the manner in which Irish archaeologists viewed the past; and 2) result in the archaeological record being used to bolster a particular image of the Irish Nation. In reality the actual impact of the former 'Colonial Status' has been rather more subtle and manifested itself more in a lack of willingness to address the problems associated with later material culture. On the other hand the Ulster Loyalists who have increasingly felt under threat have made a more conscious attempt to dip into the archaeological record to justify their apparent ethnic separateness.

**Post-apartheid/post-modern? The lost city and the cultural colonization of the South African past** Martin Hall, University of Cape Town

The earliest European colonists of South Africa brought with them the idea of the "lost city"; a place of fabulous wealth, somewhere in the interior, and the home of a light-skinned, civilized people whose culture stood in contrast to the barbarism of the dark continent. This myth continues into the present, and forms the core of one of the most expensive and ambitious multinational investments in "post apartheid" South Africa. In this paper, I trace this myth of the lost city, showing how it intersects with the contribution of European archaeology to the study of the South African past. In particular, I argue that structuralist anthropology has helped entrench notions of timeless, inherent gender and ethnicity that have been congruent with the colonial project. Today, fashionable North American and European celebrations of ethnicity, combined with the theoretical pastiches offered in the name of post-modernism, contribute to ongoing cultural colonialism. The challenge lies in developing theoretical critiques of these approaches from the "outer rim" of the European world.

##### INTRA-SITE ANALYSIS AND STRUCTURED DEPOSITION

Organizers, JD. Hill and Jonathan Last, Cambridge, Julian Thomas, Lampeter, and Louise Turner, Glasgow

##### Session Abstract

The emergence of an interest in intra-site analysis in the archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s can be connected with a number of the preoccupations of the time: formation processes, mathematical and statistical techniques of spatial analysis, more rigorous on-site recording and the reconstruction of past economic practices. However, such an approach is predicated upon the assumption that the patterning of archaeological evidence represents a record which 'reflects' past patterns of behaviour, and which is contaminated by distorting factors which the archaeologist must strip away. Recent developments in archaeological theory have questioned these presuppositions in a number of ways. A concern with symbolism, structure, and meaning has focussed attention upon cultural rules which may govern the formation of archaeological deposits. Perhaps more importantly, archaeologists have come to realise that the material world is not somehow exterior to society, but is the very stuff through which social relations and cultural traditions are negotiated, transformed and maintained. Consequently, depositional practices (whether 'ritual' or 'domestic') are not a mere representation which requires decoding in order to give access to past social and economic processes, they are an integral part of social reproduction. Moreover, they represent an aspect of culture which archaeologists are particularly well positioned to investigate, as well as an area of inquiry where theory and practice are inextricably bound up with one another. Structured deposition is increasingly being recognised in the material record throughout the later prehistory of Britain. This practice has been discussed in works on the deposition of metalwork in the Bronze Age (Needham 1988), and it has also been suggested that it occurred within certain Neolithic monuments: henges (Richards and Thomas 1984) and chambered tombs (Hodder 1990, 189-93). We may see it as action aimed at fixing or negotiating the meaning of particular locations in space and time by manipulating the symbolic references of certain material categories. The objects used in such activities are often seen to be of quite specific types, usually those which appear to be in some way exotic (i.e. bronze weapons, jadeite axes, specific pot forms). We suggest that this boundary between the deposition

of exotic goods in a ritual context and the treatment of objects used in day to day practice may represent a false dichotomy. Deposits which have been interpreted as residues from such industrial practices as metalworking have, for example, been used to draw conclusions about the organisation of production (Rowlands 1976). Similarly, domestic refuse is usually seen as the remains of functional activities which, by understanding the regularities of c-transforms (Schiffer 1976) or by applying appropriate middle range theories (Binford 1977), can yield direct evidence of the organisation of the activities from which this material derives. In opposition to this, we argue following Moore (1982) that such 'rubbish' (whether from the household or the waste products of manufacture) can be as meaningful and as symbolically manipulatable as other categories of deposits. Hence, such deposits have to be re-thought in the same terms as those of a more obviously structured character. In this session, a number of speakers will present a series of short case studies. These will demonstrate the ways in which contemporary theoretical concerns can inform the interpretation of excavated materials, but at the same time will indicate that we now need to reconsider research design, recovery techniques, and sampling practices.

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#### Abstracts

**Domestic Refuse as Structured Deposition: A New Look at LBK Settlements** Jonathan Last, Clare College  
This paper suggests that the location and patterning of domestic refuse is as meaningful as structured deposition identified on so-called ritual sites. Discard is seen as a repetitive aspect of human practice operating at the level of practical consciousness, and as such might be expected to reflect cultural meanings and attitudes. In addition, refuse is a symbolically-loaded category of material which may be used and located in meaningful ways. My case study refers in particular to the LBK settlement sites of Bylany and Miskovice in Bohemia. Like nearly all sites of the period they are known only through sub-surface features, and the use of space on these sites must be approached through studying the patterning of 'secondary refuse' deposits in the pits. However, many attempts have been made to discuss functional and symbolic aspects of the use of space on LBK sites without an adequate consideration of the formation processes implicated in these feature fills. Without adopting a processualist or scientific approach this paper argues the case for a 'middle range theory' dealing with such issues. I have used sherd erosion and pit-fill data to attempt to characterise the nature of the deposits on these sites. From this I offer some tentative suggestions as to how we may begin to view the meaning and use of space on these sites.

**Neolithic Histories, Structured Deposition and Stonehenge** Joshua Pollard, University College of Cardiff  
The context and content of depositional activity at Stonehenge during its pre-Beaker phase are examined. As well as providing additional detail on the history of the site's use, the changing character of depositional practices and their relationship to the spatial structure presented by the monument are seen in the perspective of a discontinuous process of re-negotiation and re-creation of the site's meaning. Increasing formality of action with time is one theme, and will be considered in relation to patterns of physical access and cosmology. Whilst the spatial structure of depositions in the latest Neolithic phase has much in common with that present in contemporary monuments in the region, the range of material incorporated was far more restricted, with an emphasis on the inclusion of human bone. The particularities of the monument's history and its consequent position in the local traditions of Neolithic communities may well lie behind such divergence in practice. It is argued that, paradoxically, through its re-creation the site became strongly associated with the past, ancestry, and a timeless social order.

**A Correct Place for Everything: Social Practices and Structured Deposition within a Neolithic Settlement in Orkney** Colin Richards, Glasgow University

In this paper I wish to examine the complex relationship between spatial order, social practices and material deposition within the context of a Neolithic settlement. Material deposits inside houses and in open areas of the settlement will be examined in terms of cosmologically derived principles of order which serve to structure people's lives within different spheres of temporality. Deposition as a strategy in the definition of 'place' will also be examined.

**Tradition, Deposition and Place: Mount Pleasant** Julian Thomas, University College, Lampeter

The henge monument at Mount Pleasant in southern Dorset presents a rare opportunity to consider the use and deposition of material items within enclosed spaces through a great depth of time. From the construction of the earthen enclosure in the later Neolithic, through to the building of the timber palisade and stone cove, a series of different classes of objects and materials were introduced to the site. It will be argued that the changing configuration of the architecture of Mount Pleasant and the disposition of material things within it worked together to allow the reordering and evaluation of traditions emerging within complex social reality outside of the monument.

**Barrows as 'Locales'** Koji Mizoguchi, University of Cambridge

This paper will argue that the burial mounds of the final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age have to be understood to be the places where relations of dominance were reproduced in various practices related to the deposition of the dead. The deposition of individual corpses took place in unique time/space contexts, and pre-existing architectural structure resulted from previous burials and the memory of those burials enabled and constrained the way a deposition was conducted.

**The Power of Transformation: Metalworking as Metaphor in the Later Bronze Age of South-East England** Louise Turner, University of Glasgow

Traditional interpretations of the so-called 'founder's hoards' which characterise the Later Bronze Age of south-east England focus upon utilitarian explanations for their accumulation and subsequent deposition. In this paper, I will propose an alternative interpretation for such hoards. Although they can be characterised by the wide variety of objects incorporated within them, certain recurring themes can be isolated. These occur both in the objects found, and the way in which these objects have been treated prior to deposition. Besides including substantial amounts of weaponry, 'founder's hoards' also contain items linked with agricultural production and metalworking. As a result, these hoards are interpreted as the residue from purely utilitarian practices. This interpretation may be illusory. Such objects can also be linked with the process of transforming natural resources into products fit for human consumption. The deposition of collections of such material may therefore play a vital role in the way in which social relations are played out. This suggests that the division between a 'voive' and a 'utilitarian' hoard is entirely of our own making, with implications for the interpretation of changing depositional practices in the Later Bronze Age and Iron Age.

**Ritual and Rubbish in the Wessex Iron Age** JD. Hill, University of Cambridge

This paper will consider the problem of the identification of ritual activity in structured deposits located within Iron Age settlements in Wessex. Pit and ditch deposits of 'rubbish' are clearly structured, but does it actually matter whether they represent ritual or not?

**Sex and Death: Sexual Differentiation in Mortuary Ritual** Lynne Bevan, University of Birmingham

Mortuary ritual can reflect, reinforce, disguise or invert the character of the society in which it occurs. Roles in death, as mourner, grave-digger or the corpse itself, can be complex and incomprehensible, even to those directly involved, influenced by concepts of an afterlife, a fear of pollution or of ghosts. Death can be inextricably bound to the seemingly opposing forces of life and fertility, the latter often being expressed in relation to women and the extent of their involvement in funerary rites, or in the inclusion of certain items in female burials. For the purposes of this paper sexual differentiation in death will apply to items deliberately deposited in female graves. Some insights into the thought processes responsible for the selection and deposition of 'grave goods' can be gained from the study of ethnographic data. Specific instances of the contrasting treatment of male and female at death are brought together for comparative purposes from both archaeological and ethnographic sources. This paper is an attempt to decode the 'symbolic language' surrounding the grave and its contents, to view the burial as a process: a "whole range of activities from that point that the individual was clearly dying, up to the moment when the refilling of the grave was completed, or even after".

**THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN IBERIAN PREHISTORY**

Organizers, Simon Keay, University of Southampton and Isabel M.G.Lisboa

#### Abstracts

**Conceptualizing environmental change on Spanish archaeology** Vincente Lull and Robert Risch

The present-day landscape in many parts of the Iberian peninsula suffers from severe degradation. The "naturalness" of these landscapes has been questioned in the natural and social sciences for some time. Foreign scientists have defended the existence of unaltered environmental conditions over the last 8000 years, while many of their Spanish counterparts have stressed the importance of anthropic alterations and climatic fluctuations. Archaeology has not been isolated from this debate. During the last decades an ever increasing body of palaeoenvironmental data has been published in the context of a more "scientific" approach to archaeology. However, this data has been seldom collected systematically or interpreted in non-mechanistic terms. Taphonomic evaluation and an awareness of ecological theory and method are still rare and isolated. It is therefore of prime importance to discuss the socio-environmental relations which have coloured the archaeo-ecological debate, if the current state of research is to be evaluated.

**Periodization without diachrony - time without chronology (The later Prehistory of the Iberian Peninsula - or of everywhere else)** Pedro Castro, Paloma Gonzalez Marcen, Vincente Lull, Rafael Mico and M. Encarna Sanahuja

The discussion about concepts of change and time implied in the creation of the current periodizations of the later prehistory of the Iberian Peninsula (typological series or cultural sequences) is systematically obviated. In fact, periodizations only appear in the interpretations or models of the later prehistory of the Iberian Peninsula as the indicators of precedences, subsequences or as interruptions between calendar dates. Consequently, different and opposed explanations of historical and cultural dynamics can be founded on identical periodizations (with variations in their spatial or nominal expression). On the other hand, periodizations may change while the explanations or models may remain unaltered. As a result of this, archaeological literature commits the fallacy of conceiving of periodization as being synonymous with diachrony or, in other terms, conceiving of time only as chronology.

**The dynamics of change in the Iberian bronze age,** Margarita Diaz Andreu

This paper compares the degree of social complexity in two main areas of the southern plateau: La Mancha and the Tagus valley. In the former, the structured organisation of the landscape seems to reflect the emergence of chiefdoms in the early Bronze Age. The absence of a similar archaeological record in the latter has been understood in terms of social continuity from the preceding copper age. However, two problems have to be considered. In the Tagus valley, for example, it is contradicted by the presence of individual burials. Moreover, the disappearance of defended sites in the Late Bronze Age could be interpreted as either a return to earlier social systems or as the emergence of a more complex one. This analysis can be of use in understanding the Bronze Age dynamics of the remainder of the arid area of the Iberian peninsula. Yet, spatial patterning similar to that in the Tagus valley is to be found in the northern plateau, Aragon, Catalonia, Portugal, Extremadura, western Andalusia and southern Portugal; similarly that in Valencia, eastern Andalusia and the south-east resembles that of La Mancha.



**The funerary world and the dynamics of change in south-eastern Spain (4th to 2nd Millennium BC)**

Almudena Hernando Gonzalo

This is an attempt at analysing the dynamics of change in south-eastern Spain between the 4th and 2nd millennium BC in the broader context of the western Mediterranean. The paper defends the thesis that the process of the consolidation of the rural way of life allows one to explain:

a) an archaeological record whose beginnings are dominated by funerary as opposed to habitation evidence, and which, in its later phases, sees a reversal of the trend b) a coherent dynamic of transformation of the funerary world throughout the region. The south-east will be compared to neighbouring areas, essentially the islands of the western Mediterranean and the region of La Mancha in Spain. The aim is to show how their risk strategies help to explain why they differ from those of peoples in south-eastern Spain. It is suggested that this is to be sought primarily in the way the dead were treated in the early phase of the period under study.

**Change and continuity. The problems and perspectives of a dialectical phenomenon in archaeology**

Juan Manuel Vicent Garcia

The dialectical phenomenon of social change, as it is understood in the marxist tradition, has been discredited by the mechanistic interpretation which characterises the orthodox marxist wing. This paper suggests that it is thus appropriate to resuscitate a dialectic based upon a development of "critical marxism". Particularly, it proposes a revision of the ideas of Lukacs as a starting point for a historical understanding of social change as it is applied to our visions of the past. By way of example, the paper puts forward an application of Lukacsian concepts of "totality" and "intercession" to the construction of a matrix of categories suitable for the analysis of the development of social inequality in the prehistory of the Iberian peninsula.

**Changing styles of ideology** Isabel M.G. Lisboa

Change in the archaeological record tends to be conceptualised within a materialist point of view, whereby economic and technological factors determine the whole of the social and ideological structure of a society. In Iberia this approach has become the orthodoxy. Ideology is understood to be a secondary by-product, with no explanatory potential. Yet, in the Chalcolithic period in south-western Iberia, there is a marked change in the material culture between the pre-Beaker and Beaker phases which cannot be explained in terms of economic factors. This paper argues that there is no fundamental categorical separation between different human activities. All human production is social and significant, whether it is directed towards subsistence or towards ideological practises. It proceeds to examine the ideological products of the Chalcolithic of south-western Iberia. It suggests that these are not an irrelevant by-product but are, in fact, fundamental to the understanding of those societies and the change visible in their material record.

**Migration revisited: "Urnfields" in Iberia** Gonzalo Ruiz Zapatero

In this paper the old invasionist theories of Bosch Gimpera and Almagro are revised and, through consideration of the anti-invasionist theories of the 1960's and 1970's, are discarded. The 1980's saw the advent of critical analysis of prehistoric migrations (Neustupny 1983, Rouse 1986, Anthony 1990 and Kristiansen 1991), and it is within this framework that the presence of "Urnfields" in the Iberian Peninsula is studied. They are a phenomenon which, in the archaeological record, comprises two fundamental phenomena: the diffusion of rilled pottery and the introduction of the cremation burial ritual. Alternative explanations for the diffusion of these cultural phenomena are discussed, as are elements of continuity in population and subsistence. Finally, a model for the appearance of the first "Urnfields" in the Iberian peninsula is put forward. This sees the small-scale ethnic penetration of population groups into the more geographically and culturally "accessible" areas, and a process of interaction between local peoples and those to the north of the Pyrenees which concluded with the introduction of cremation and the material culture of the "Urnfields".

**Moments of change in the historical process of the southern Iberians** A. Ruiz Rodriguez

The development of the Iberians is understood in the context of the consolidation of the aristocracy. Nevertheless nature of the Iberian evidence suggests that it is different from that of other parts of the Mediterranean during the Iron Age where similar developments usually ended in the formation of the classical town. Thus the development of the Iberian aristocracy, which had begun in the Tartessian period, can be understood in terms of an aristocratic self-perpetuation. At the time of the Roman conquest of the Guadalquivir valley in the 3rd century BC, instead of yielding to pressure from other social groups, the aristocratic elites had begun to centralise political power. This process is analysed in the course of the following phases: 1. The middle-late 7th century BC: the development of the Tartessico-Orientalising aristocracy and their impact upon the peoples of the east Andalusian periphery 2. The late 6th century BC: a crisis in the Tartessico-Orientalising aristocracy leading to the emergence of nucleated centres and local aristocracies in eastern Andalusia 3. The Middle 4th century BC: second crisis and the formation of new historical peoples through conflicts between regional aristocracies 4. The second half of the 2nd century BC: nucleation of aristocracies and their conversion into urban oligarchies.

**From Iron Age to Roman in the Iberian Peninsula** Simon Keay

Our understanding of this transition is fraught with conceptual and methodological problems. These stem from the relationship between the dual historical and archaeological data. In simple terms, current explanations seek either to suggest that Roman cultural symbols were imposed by Rome as part of a "civilising mission" by Rome, or that they were willingly adopted by native elites. This paper makes three contributions to the debate. First of all, it is suggested that the adoption of cultural symbols was by a by-product of native communities being drawn into Roman political and administrative structures in the later 2nd and 1st centuries BC. A second proposal is that networks of personal and municipal patronage played an important role in the bonding of provincial Roman elites into the broader Empire and their adoption of Roman cultural symbols from the mid 1st century BC onwards. A final contention is that the cultural "romanisation" of most urban communities was largely tied up in the development of imperial ideology and symbolism from the Augustan period onwards.

**Additional abstracts and changes****MEANINGFUL ARCHITECTURE**

**Entering alternative realities: mind, art and architecture in Irish Passage tombs** Jeremy Dronfield, University of Cambridge

This paper is a reflection on ideas rather than a summary of research. It sets out and discusses some ideas which have been suggested by the author's main line of research into the identification of entoptic phenomena in megalithic art. It explores three themes and their inter-relationships in the construction and use of Irish passage tombs, namely the experience of altered states of consciousness, the visual impact of decorative art and the modes of expression and function in passage tomb architecture, taking the main tomb at Newgrange as a model.

**ETHNOARCHAEOLOGY OF CERAMICS**

**Hand-wheel pottery-making in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia** Richard Carlton, University of Newcastle

This paper presents and discusses some results of research into domestic earthenware production by village potters in ex-Yugoslavia. After a general introduction to the nature and geographical extent of the industries, the paper will concentrate upon the concept of change and the definition of 'tradition', highlighting local and regional variations in different aspects of production. The willingness or otherwise of potters to change raw materials, paste composition, and various aspects of technique and organisation of production will be commented upon with particular reference to two Croatian industries. Possible ways of examining the material consequences of change and variability using traditional means of analysis will also be discussed.

**THE VISIONS OF ARCHAEOLOGY**

**From culture to catwalk; the museum as a fashion archive** Ian Ferris, University of Birmingham

"Technique and industry have confronted art with a problem of construction as an active process and not a contemplative reflection. The sanctity of a work as a single entity is destroyed. The museum which was a treasury of this entity is now transformed into an archive (Varvara Stepanova)." While trained as a textile designer, Stepanova's Futurist vision of art transformed by mass production and mass consumption was not to affect the art of fashion in Britain until at least the 1960's, from when the emergence of a self-conscious youth-culture and street-fashion created the framework for such a vision to become a reality. The consequent destruction of the class basis of fashion, linked to the marginalisation of the dictates of the haute couture houses, and a denial of both the past and the future allowed designers to pitilessly plunder what had now become for many of them a simple archive with value only in the present. The vision thus conjured up is disconcerting; 'we experience a sense of the uncanny when we gaze at garments that has an intimate relationship with human beings long since gone to their graves. For clothes are so much a part of our living, moving selves, that, frozen on display in the mausoleums of culture, they hint at something only half understood, sinister, threatening; the atrophy of the body, and the evanescence of life'.

**THE IDENTITY OF EUROPE**

**Problems of understanding the origins of ethnicity in Europe** Colin Renfrew, University of Cambridge

The Indo-Europeans have been insufficiently debunked. It is argued that origins of material culture, language, genetic constitution and ethnicity must be carefully separated. Language and ethnicity do not automatically correlate: ethnicity is a very moveable feast. It will be argued that language family (as opposed to specific language) has little to do with ethnicity or identity. Do we feel the Hungarians to be less European than the Albanians? The question of the origins of the Indo-European languages is indeed relevant to what happened at a relatively early stage in European prehistory. It is suggested that the origins of ethnicity, as we view it today, lie in the chiefdom societies of the first millennia BC and AD.

**WORLD PERSPECTIVE ON EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY**

**Archaeology in Argentina in the Latin American Context** Gustavo Politis, La Plata University Argentina.

This paper will present the development of Argentinian archaeology and will compare it with some other countries in Latin America. Originating at the end of the last century, framed in the Darwinian evolutionary tradition, Argentinian archaeology received strong influences from Europe and more recently from the USA. Along with local developments these shaped our contemporary archaeology. Different circumstances have made the discipline distinct from other countries in Latin America: the Southern Cone does not frequently receive European or North American research teams as happens in Peru and Mexico; Argentina hosted some Italian and east European archaeologists between the two world wars, especially after the Second, when they strongly influenced archaeological thought. Finally, the lack of tourist-attracting monuments, as in Bolivia, Peru, Mexico or Guatemala, have not encouraged state or contract archaeology. Argentina, like other Latin American countries had a long tradition of alternating between democratic periods and military governments. The way in which this affected archaeological theory and practice will also be discussed.

**Corrections with apologies**

Andrew Fitzpatrick, for "iron age" read "Iron Age", for "bias" read "basis"

John Collis, for "roots" read "routes"

Ian Soden is Iain Soden

Johnathon M. Hall is Jonathan M. Hall

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