

**Programme and Abstracts  
for the Sixteenth Annual Conference  
of the Theoretical Archaeology Group  
University of Bradford  
14th-16th December 1994**

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## Programme

### Wednesday 14th December

10.00 - 14.00	Registration in the Small Hall, Richmond Building, Richmond Road
10.00 - 12.30	Tea and coffee available in the Small Hall
11.30 - 12.30	Opening address - Contesting Theory: The Archaeological Record as Constraint <i>Bruce Trigger (Dept. of Anthropology, McGill University, Canada)</i>
12.30 - 14.00	Pre-paid lunch in the Communal Building
14.00 - 17.40	Conference sessions in the Chesham Building
14.00 - 17.30	Tea and coffee available in Chesham C3.8 and C3.7
18.30 - 20.00	Pre-paid dinner in the Communal Building
From 20.30	Beer Reception in the Communal Building - while stocks last!
21.00 - 01.30	Disco in the Communal Building
01.00	Bar closes

### Thursday 15th December

07.30 - 08.30	Breakfast in the Communal Building for those in University accommodation
08.30 - 13.00	Conference sessions in the Chesham Building
09.00 - 13.00	Tea and coffee available in Chesham C3.8 and C3.7
12.30 - 14.00	Pre-paid lunch in the Communal Building
14.00 - 17.50	Conference sessions in the Chesham Building
14.00 - 17.30	Tea and coffee available in Chesham C3.8 and C3.7
18.30 - 20.00	Pre-paid dinner in the Communal Building
21.00 - 02.00	TAG Party in the Communal Building
01.30	Bar closes

### Friday 16th December

07.30 - 08.30	Breakfast in the Communal Building for those in University accommodation
08.30 - 12.30	Conference sessions in the Chesham Building
09.00 - 13.00	Tea and coffee available in Chesham C3.8 and C3.7
12.30 - 14.00	Pre-paid lunch in the Communal Building
14.00 - 17.30	Conference sessions in the Chesham Building
14.00 - 17.00	Tea and coffee available in Chesham C3.8 and C3.7

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## Conference Sessions

### Wednesday 14th December Afternoon

Room 1 14:00 - 17:30

#### Investigating Urban Hinterlands

Session organisers: *Henry Owen-John, Chris Scull and Tim Williams*  
Chair: *Henry Owen-John*

14:05 - 14:25	What is a 'hinterland'? <i>Martin Carver</i>
14:25 - 14:45	Beyond mapping: addressing the questions <i>Tim Williams</i>
14:45 - 15:05	Excavating an urban hinterland <i>Martin Millett</i>
15:05 - 15:25	Plotting Lincoln's urban field <i>Alan Vince</i>
15:25 - 15:30	Discussion
15:30 - 16:00	Tea break
16:05 - 16:25	Defining the Wroxeter Hinterland Project: the boundaries of research and resource management <i>Vincent Gaffney and Simon Buteaux</i>
16:25 - 16:45	Urban needs! Rural supplies? <i>James Rackham</i>
16:45 - 17:05	Mao reconsidered: investigating the environment of urban hinterlands <i>Terry O'Connor</i>
17:05 - 17:30	Discussion

Room 2 14:00 - 17:40

#### The Origins of Language, Gender and Culture: Darwinian Approaches to the "Human Revolution"

Session organiser: *Chris Knight*  
Chair: *To be confirmed*

14:05 - 14:25	Blood, ochre and petroglyphs in early Aboriginal Australia <i>Josephine Flood</i>
14:25 - 14:45	Synchrony in human evolution: a female reproductive strategy <i>Leslie C. Aiello and Catherine Arthur</i>
14:45 - 15:05	Menstruation and the origins of language <i>Chris Knight</i>
15:05 - 15:25	Ochre use in southern Africa: analogical argument and a materialist model of the origins of symbolic culture <i>Ian Watts</i>
15:25 - 15:45	Memory out of mind. An investigation of Upper Palaeolithic systems of notation <i>Francesco D'Errico</i>
15:45 - 16:00	Discussion
16:00 - 16:30	Tea break
16:30 - 16:50	The woman with the zebra's penis <i>Camilla Power</i>
16:50 - 17:10	Gender, symbols and ritual in contemporary Australian Aboriginal belief systems <i>Josephine Flood</i>

- 17:10 - 17:20 Discussion of a paper to be handed out during the session: Ochre usage in the triple burial and the lunar calendar found at Dolni Vestonice *Hans Geer, B. Klima and E. Emmerling*
- 17:20 - 17:40 Discussion

**Room 3 14:00 - 17:30**

**Theoretical Approaches to the Successive Occupation of Space Within the Built Environment**

Session organiser: *Victor Buchli*  
Chair: *To be confirmed*

- 14:05 - 14:25 Cosmological slobos or slaves to tradition? Rebuilding the world of Jomon Japan  
*Simon Kaner*
- 14:25 - 14:45 Household and settlement in the Neolithic of Central Europe *Jonathan Last*
- 14:45 - 15:05 Continuity and house form in Iron Age Britain *Melissa Goodman*
- 15:05 - 15:25 From beginning to end: storage practices of long-term history in Bronze Age Crete, examples from Fournou Korifi to Kavousi *Louise Hitchcock*
- 15:25 - 15:45 Terraced house to mansion: changes in the organisation of space in Greek houses from the fourth and third centuries BC *Lisa Nevett*
- 15:45 - 16:00 Discussion
- 16:00 - 16:30 Tea break
- 16:30 - 16:50 Memory and 'flexi-typology' in the long-term built history of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, USA *Joseph Kovacic*
- 16:50 - 17:10 Constructing and de-constructing socialism *Victor Buchli*
- 17:10 - 17:30 Discussion

**Room 4 14:00 - 17:30**

**Artefacts in Archaeology: Beyond Provenance and Dating**

Session organisers: *Paul Blinkhorn and Chris Cumberpatch*  
Chair: *Chris Cumberpatch*

- 14:00 - 14:10 Introduction *Chris Cumberpatch*
- 14:10 - 14:30 Ceramics, theory and the rumblings from the potshed *Paul Blinkhorn*
- 14:30 - 14:50 Why did pots change in the later Pre-Roman Iron Age? *J.D. Hill*
- 14:50 - 15:10 Much ado about dinner: the social context of eating and drinking in early Roman Britain  
*Karen I. Meadows*
- 15:10 - 15:30 All together now *Duncan H. Brown*
- 15:30 - 16:00 Tea break
- 16:00 - 16:20 Why Aristotle and Mendeleev were very clever indeed but bonkers! Resources, artefacts and the nature of perception *Roger Doonan*
- 16:20 - 16:40 Making culture material: ceramic technology as cultural identity *Bill Sillar*
- 16:40 - 17:00 The material form and cultural construction of humanity *Kurtis Leswick*
- 17:00 - 17:10 Discussant: *Chris Cumberpatch*
- 17:10 - 17:30 Discussion

**Thursday 15th December Morning**

**Room 1 09:00 - 12:20**

**Sexuality, Society and Archaeology (Part 1)**

Session organisers: *Despina Christodoulou and Lynne Bevan*  
Chair: *Despina Christodoulou*

- 9:00 - 9:10 Introduction *Despina Christodoulou*
- 9:10 - 9:30 Body imagery in the Neolithic: ideology, sexuality and anthropomorphic figurines from the Aegean *Dimitra Kokkinidou and Marianna Nikolaidou*
- 9:30 - 9:50 Material imagery of the Yarmukian, a Neolithic culture of the sixth millennium BC in the southern Levant *Estelle Orelle and Avi Gopher*
- 9:50 - 10:10 Concepts of sex and gender in figurine studies *Naomi Hamilton*
- 10:10 - 10:30 Rite, ritual or ...? Towards an interpretation of Bronze Age figurines *Jo Heron*
- 10:30 - 11:00 Tea break
- 11:00 - 11:20 Venus in furs: sex in the Ice Age *Tim Taylor*
- 11:20 - 11:40 Sexual metaphors in the Neolithic *Peter Ellis*
- 11:40 - 12:00 Masculinity on the rampage? Towards an understanding of phallic imagery *Lynne Bevan*
- 12:00 - 12:20 Discussion

**Room 2 09:00 - 12:50**

**The Social Construction of Landscape (Part 1)**

Session organisers: *John Howells, George Nash and Mark Patton*  
Chairs: *Mark Patton and George Nash*

- 9:05 - 9:25 "By their works ye shall know them": settlement distribution and social organisation in the Neolithic of the Tavoliere, South-East Italy *Keri A. Brown*
- 9:25 - 9:45 From the house of the dead *Richard Bradley*
- 9:45 - 10:05 Combining the monumental with the transitory: lowland landscapes in Eastern Hungary  
*John Chapman*
- 10:05 - 10:25 Living on the edge and other clichés: cultural boundaries and landscapes in Copper Age Bulgaria *Richard Price*
- 10:25 - 10:45 Death in the landscape: a contextual study of the Iron Age square barrow cemeteries of East Yorkshire *Bill Bevan*
- 10:45 - 11:00 Discussion
- 11:00 - 11:30 Tea break
- 11:30 - 11:50 Faces of the Etruscan landscape *Simon Stoddart*
- 11:50 - 12:10 Tuchar: a landscape on the borderland *John Howells*
- 12:10 - 12:30 Spiritual and spatial segregations: an implication of the changing physical and mental landscapes of leprosy in Medieval England *A.E.M. Satchell*
- 12:30 - 12:50 Discussion

Room 3 09:00 - 13:00

## Current Theoretical Perspectives in African Archaeology: The Challenge of Socio-Political Reconstruction

Session organisers: Rachel MacLean and Timothy Insoll  
Chair: Timothy Insoll

- 09:05 - 09:25 Early states in Sudanic Africa - beyond history *David N. Edwards*
- 09:25 - 09:45 The external creation of the Western Sahel's past: archaeology and the use and abuse of the Arabic sources *Timothy Insoll*
- 09:45 - 10:05 Title to be confirmed *Pierre de Maret and Olivier Gosselain*
- 10:05 - 10:25 Recognising the social dimension in the Early Iron Age of East Africa *Rachel MacLean*
- 10:25 - 10:45 The emergence of social formations and inequality in the Great Lakes region *Andrew Reid and David L. Schoenbrun*
- 10:45 - 11:00 Discussion
- 11:00 - 11:30 Tea break
- 11:30 - 11:50 Chiefdoms, cattle and warfare: social change in southern Madagascar *Mike Parker-Pearson*
- 11:50 - 12:10 Title to be confirmed *Alinah Segobye*
- 12:10 - 12:30 Archaeology - another state of emergency? Towards a post-processual perspective of 'cultural weapons' in apartheid South Africa *Quinton Waddington*
- 12:30 - 12:40 Discussant: John Alexander
- 12:40 - 13:00 Discussion

Room 4 09:00 - 12:45

## Digging Up People: Biological Anthropology and the Archaeologist

Session organiser: Mary Lewis  
Chair: Charlotte Roberts

- 09:05 - 09:25 Digging up cemeteries in theory and practice *Stephanie Pinter-Bellows*
- 09:25 - 09:45 The on-site osteoarchaeologist *Trevor Anderson*
- 09:45 - 10:05 Infanticide and its recognition in the archaeological record *Simon Mays*
- 10:05 - 10:25 The impact of urbanisation: maxillary sinusitis in later Medieval populations *Mary Lewis*
- 10:25 - 10:30 Discussion
- 10:30 - 11:00 Tea break
- 11:00 - 11:20 Indicators of stress: potential and limitations *Rebecca Wiggins*
- 11:20 - 11:40 Male and female health patterns in antiquity *Philip Boocock*
- 11:40 - 12:00 Cremation: can the noun describe the verb? *Jacqueline McKinley*
- 12:00 - 12:20 In the ground and on the hoof: people and cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England *Elizabeth Rega*
- 12:20 - 12:30 Discussant: Chris Knüsel
- 12:30 - 12:45 Discussion

Thursday 15th December  
Afternoon

Room 1 14:00 - 16:20

## Sexuality, Society and Archaeology (Part 2)

Session organisers: Despina Christodoulou and Lynne Bevan  
Chair: Lynne Bevan

- 14:00 - 14:10 Introduction *Lynne Bevan*
- 14:10 - 14:30 Gender and space at Great Zimbabwe: a critique of recent interpretation *Gwilym Hughes*
- 14:30 - 14:50 Bodies of evidence: the sexuality of barbarians in Roman art *Iain Ferris*
- 14:50 - 15:10 The civic significance of the brothel: ideological and archaeological space *Despina Christodoulou*
- 15:10 - 15:30 Towards a geography of sexual encounter: 'hot streets' in English Medieval towns? *R.A. Holt and N.J. Baker*
- 15:30 - 15:50 Clones, queens and kato: an archaeological approach to male homosexuality *Keith Matthews*
- 15:50 - 16:20 Discussion

Room 2 14:00 - 17:30

## The Social Construction of Landscape (Part 2)

Session organisers: John Howells, George Nash and Mark Patton  
Chair: John Howells

- 14:05 - 14:25 The monument as landscape: the cultural stratigraphy of La Hougue Bie, Jersey *Mark Patton*
- 14:25 - 14:45 The social appropriation of place and resource during the Early Neolithic of southern Britain *Jan Harding*
- 14:45 - 15:05 Megaliths in the mist: a Mesolithic ritual landscape *Stéphane Rault*
- 15:05 - 15:25 Towards a second order construction of megaliths *Cornelius Holtorf*
- 15:25 - 15:30 Discussion
- 15:30 - 16:00 Tea break
- 16:05 - 16:25 Monumentality and the landscape: the possible symbolic and political distribution of long chambered tombs around the Black Mountains of Wales *George Nash*
- 16:25 - 16:45 From settlements to monuments: site succession in Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Jutland *Brian Jones and Nick Thorpe*
- 16:45 - 17:05 The materially structured social environment of the Maltese islands during the temple building phase *Andrew Townsend*
- 17:05 - 17:30 Discussion

Room 3 14:00 - 17:20

### The Production of Prehistory: Convention and Invention

Session organisers: James A. Delle and Amy Gazin-Schwartz

Chairs: James A. Delle and Amy Gazin-Schwartz

- 14:05 - 14:25 The Dane's Cast and Black Pig's Dyke: politics, nation building and archaeology in Ireland, 1894 - 1994 *James A. Delle*
- 14:25 - 14:45 Constructing ancestors: archaeological and folkloric interpretations in ancient landscapes *Amy Gazin-Schwartz*
- 14:45 - 15:05 "Man emerging from savagery": prehistory in the British Museum *Paul R. Mullins*
- 15:05 - 15:25 Contextualising the history and practice of Hamburgian archaeology at the German site of Pennworthmoor *Blythe E. Roveland*
- 15:25 - 15:30 Discussion
- 15:30 - 16:00 Tea break
- 16:00 - 16:20 The creation of the past through nineteenth century Irish Ordnance Survey maps *Angèle Smith*
- 16:20 - 16:40 The forest and hunter: contemporary images, postglacial reconstructions *Joannah L. Whitney*
- 16:40 - 17:00 Discussants: Barbara Bender and H.M. Wobst
- 17:00 - 17:20 Discussion

Room 4 14:00 - 17:50

### From Decoration to Society: Different Approaches to the Study of Style in Past Societies

Session organisers: Karen Høilund Nielsen and Reinhard Jung

Chair: To be confirmed

- 14:05 - 14:25 Beazley as theorist *James Whitley*
- 14:25 - 14:45 Structured human sacrifice - analysing Minoan seal images *Reinhard Jung*
- 14:45 - 15:05 Changing art in a changing society: the rock carvings of western Norway *Eva M. Walderhaug*
- 15:05 - 15:25 Style and technology - cultural and symbolic aspects of iron working *Randi Barndon*
- 15:25 - 15:45 Symbols of prestige and power in German society of later Antiquity *Aleksander Bursche*
- 15:45 - 16:00 Discussion
- 16:00 - 16:30 Tea break
- 16:30 - 16:50 Contexts of Style I in southern and western Norway *Siv Kristoffersen*
- 16:50 - 17:10 Art as a symbol of power, politics, and myth in early Medieval Europe *Karen Høilund Nielsen*
- 17:10 - 17:30 Breaking up style: looking at the world through Viking Age art *Eva-Marie Göransson*
- 17:30 - 17:50 Discussion

Friday 16th December  
Morning

Room 1 09:25 - 12:20

### Time: The Fourth Dimension (Part 1)

Session organisers: Linda Hurcombe and Karen Stears

Chair: Karen Stears

- 09:25 - 09:45 Introduction: *Linda Hurcombe and Karen Stears*
- 09:45 - 10:05 Logging time: alternative reference frames for the sequence and duration of events *Andrew Chamberlain*
- 10:05 - 10:25 Time out of joint: the case of the 'archaeologically unacceptable' *Robin Dennell*
- 10:25 - 10:30 Discussion
- 10:30 - 11:00 Tea break
- 11:00 - 11:20 Packaging time: types of time as a factor in gendered production activity *Linda Hurcombe*
- 11:20 - 11:40 The running sands of time: archaeology and the short-term *Lin Foxhall*
- 11:40 - 12:00 Time for sex? Gendered time in Classical Athens *Karen Stears*
- 12:00 - 12:20 Discussion

Room 2 09:00 - 12:30

### Breaking the Mould: Politics, Power and the Bronze Age (Part 1)

Session organisers: Jane Downes and Louise Turner

Chairs: Richard Bradley and Ramon Fabrega Valcarce

- 09:05 - 09:25 Conceptualising the past: the state of British Early Bronze Age studies *Paul Garwood*
- 09:25 - 09:45 Conceptualising change: the Earlier-Later Bronze Age transition in southern Britain *Joanna Bruck*
- 09:45 - 10:05 Fire and water: an analysis of change in our Bronze Age *Gavin Macgregor*
- 10:05 - 10:25 "When is a Beaker not a Beaker?": death and deposition in Early Bronze Age Britain *Nicola Bestley*
- 10:25 - 10:45 A pit, a pot, a macehead and the dead *Kevin Taylor*
- 10:45 - 11:00 Discussion
- 11:00 - 11:30 Tea break
- 11:30 - 11:50 Regarding the dead: Bronze Age funerary rites and funerary architecture in Orkney *Jane Downes*
- 11:50 - 12:10 The gendering of children at the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Mokrin, Yugoslavia *Elizabeth Rega*
- 12:10 - 12:30 Discussion

Room 3 09:15 - 12:00

### General Theoretical Perspectives

Session organisers: TAG committee

Chair: John Hunter

- 09:20 - 09:40 Genesis: the age of the Universe *Harry Orenstein*
- 09:40 - 10:00 Oral prehistory: this week's theory *Cornelius Holtorf*
- 10:00 - 10:20 Culture: an indispensable predicament in the archaeological project *Jens Ipsen*
- 10:20 - 10:30 Discussion
- 10:30 - 11:00 Tea break
- 11:00 - 11:20 The fundamental things apply: an archaeological parable *Max Adams*
- 11:20 - 11:40 Alternative Context: fifteen minutes of stand-up comedy about archaeology *Louise A. Hitchcock*
- 11:40 - 12:00 Discussion

Room 4 09:00 - 12:30

### Further Considerations on the Contemporary Context of Archaeology: the Study of the Past in the Capitalist Present

Session organiser: Michael Tierney

Chair: Michael Tierney

- 09:05 - 09:25 Gender as mediation of embodied knowledges *Mary Baker*
- 09:25 - 09:45 So what is this ethnicity stuff anyway? *Ian Banks*
- 09:45 - 10:05 Excavation: misdirected? *Mark Johnston*
- 10:05 - 10:25 Museology as ideological practice *Donald Preziosi*
- 10:25 - 10:45 Choosing our origins - the post-partition context of the study of Irish court tombs *Margaret Ronayne*
- 10:45 - 11:00 Discussion
- 11:00 - 11:30 Tea break
- 11:30 - 11:50 Can political archaeology be good archaeology? *David Silkoff*
- 11:50 - 12:10 Archaeology and the creation of a European identity *Michael Tierney*
- 12:10 - 12:30 Discussion

## Friday 16th December Afternoon

Room 1 14:00 - 17:30

### Time: The Fourth Dimension (Part 2)

Session organisers: Linda Hurcombe and Karen Stears

Chair: Linda Hurcombe

- 14:05 - 14:25 Ritual time in early Latium *Christopher Smith*
- 14:25 - 14:45 The power of time *Ray Laurence*
- 14:45 - 15:05 Io Saturnalia! Festivals (and birthday cakes) in Roman Britain: explorations of public and private time *Raphael Isserlin*
- 15:05 - 15:25 Undifferentiated time? Medieval models of remote time *Julia Crick*
- 15:25 - 15:30 Discussion
- 15:30 - 16:00 Tea break
- 16:05 - 16:25 Death and time: death as a way of marking time *Mike Parker-Pearson*
- 16:25 - 16:45 The creation of a historical landscape: monuments and the past in Messenia, South-West Greece *Nigel Spencer*
- 16:45 - 17:05 Dead lines and time limits: kinship, memory-loss and memorialisation in a modern Greek farming community *Hamish Forbes*
- 17:05 - 17:30 Discussion

Room 2 14:00 - 17:30

### Breaking the Mould: Politics, Power and the Bronze Age (Part 2)

Session organisers: Jane Downes and Louise Turner

Chairs: Richard Bradley and Ramon Fabregas Valcarce

- 14:05 - 14:25 Atreus and his unfeasibly large treasury *Michael Boyd*
- 14:25 - 14:45 Neither here nor there: landscape, tradition and cosmology in the Bronze Age of Rousay *Andy Jones*
- 14:45 - 15:05 Between the devil and the deep blue sea: life and death in coastal Bronze Age Scotland *Tony Pollard*
- 15:05 - 15:25 Perceptions of the landscape *Carleton Jones*
- 15:25 - 15:45 Structure and meaning in Early Bronze Age designs *Jane Dickins*
- 15:45 - 16:00 Discussion
- 16:00 - 16:30 Tea break
- 16:30 - 16:50 Some cautionary words regarding typology and the Wilburton complex *Louise Turner*
- 16:50 - 17:10 The passage of bugle-shaped objects: metalwork deposition in the Bronze Age of South-East England *Martyn Barber*
- 17:10 - 17:30 Discussion

Room 3 14:00 - 16:30

## All Things Weird and Wonderful: Past and Present Nationalist Ethnicities in Archaeology

Session organiser: Angela Piccini

Chair: Nick Merriman

- 14:00 - 14:10 Introduction Angela Piccini
- 14:10 - 14:30 Museum and ethnic identity in South Wales Carolyn Graves-Brown and Paul Graves-Brown
- 14:30 - 14:50 Filming through the mists of time: the Celt and television documentary Angela Piccini
- 14:50 - 15:10 Mysterious Picts or mundane barbarians Ross Samson
- 15:10 - 15:30 Who killed the Celts? English nationalism and the colonisation of the British past Alex Woolf
- 15:30 - 15:50 Archaeology, representation and the state of Greece Heather Paxson
- 15:50 - 16:10 Discussants Nick Merriman, Vincent Megaw and Ruth Megaw
- 16:10 - 16:30 Discussion

Room 4, 14:00 - 17:20

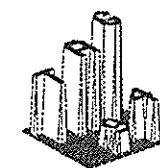
## Theory and Model building in Environmental Archaeology

Session organiser: Terry O'Connor

Chair: Terry O'Connor

- 14:00 - 14:10 Introduction Terry O'Connor
- 14:10 - 14:30 Towards a broader view of environmental stress Don Brothwell
- 14:30 - 14:50 Not everyone's a fruit and nut case: prehistoric agriculture in Orkney Julie Bond
- 14:50 - 15:10 A spatial model versus structured deposition as an explanation of bone patterning Bob Wilson
- 15:10 - 15:30 Discussion
- 15:30 - 16:00 Tea break
- 16:00 - 16:20 Modern to prehistoric ecosystem parameters: an examination of some inherent problems Roberta Dods
- 16:20 - 16:40 Putting the horse before the cart: formation processes in environmental archaeology Annie Milles
- 16:40 - 17:00 Invasion by six-legged aliens: insect colonisation as a guide to duration and continuity of human occupation Harry Kenward
- 17:00 - 17:20 Discussion

## Paper Abstracts



### Investigating Urban Hinterlands

Session organisers: Henry Owen-John, Chris Scull and Tim Williams (English Heritage)

Chair: Henry Owen-John

The relationship between town and country has long been a focus of archaeological interest, both nationally and internationally, with studies ranging in chronological span from the origins of urban centres to the post-Medieval period. It is, however, sometimes difficult to discern the theoretical concepts which should underpin such work. This makes it difficult to define directions for future research, and can result in funding agencies trying to assess the strength of project applications in a vacuum.

This session draws together the views of a number of scholars active in this field on the following topics:

1. Definitions: what is a hinterland? What criteria should be used to define a hinterland?
2. Approaches: should the line of enquiry be research or management driven or both? Should investigations be thematically driven, e.g. victualing, supply and exchange, or geographically and topographically orientated.
3. Methodologies: what criteria should be used in the selection of the data? What use can be made of field survey, artefact analysis, environmental evidence and documentary sources? And how does one approach the imbalance of evidence from rich urban sources and sparse rural sites?
4. Output: what do we want from hinterland studies?

The session includes both conceptual papers and case studies looking at the practical application of existing theoretical approaches with examples drawn from Europe and North Africa as well as from England.

#### What is a 'hinterland'?

Martin Carver (Dept. of Archaeology, University of York)

Defining a hinterland as a research area is the hard part. At Stafford (1980) it was a day's journey by

cart, later modified to the area that fitted (at 1:10,000) on A4. This is obviously a bit arbitrary. Perhaps we are starting at the wrong end?

Three kinds of use of settlement space are considered, illustrated by examples from Rome, Norway and Algeria. These are seen to offer useful information in changing ideology, control, and economic dependence. The role of the 'urban' concept in these studies is then questioned. Is it helpful, or does it beg the question?

A suggestion is offered: select a region, topic and/or network on general research or management criteria, and then interrogate it for urban tendencies. The definition of hinterland then becomes the end product rather than the starting point.

However, in the early middle ages at least, the chronicling of urban tendencies is fundamental. If 'hinterland' projects are invalid, so are 'rural surveys'. There is also an important matter to resolve for 'use-of-space' projects: whether they are research-driven (favouring topic rather than geography) or management-driven (favouring geography rather than topic). These need not be incompatible, but sponsors will have to be clear in which area their objectives lie.

#### Beyond mapping: addressing the questions

Tim Williams (English Heritage)

We need to escape from simplistic definitions of regions, based upon deterministic attributes which undermined the theoretical base for subsequent analysis, if we are to explore the complexity and dynamics of human interactions - ideological, economic, social, and political. While a thorough knowledge of the physical environment seems to be a basic requirement for understanding most complex interactions on this scale, the assertion that the next step is the mapping of settlements belies the complexity of the relationships. It also tends to produce simplistic single focus models (one settlement and its hinterland). Often mapping becomes an end in itself, and while it certainly represents an important management tool, it is perhaps not best suited to understanding the complex relationships inherent in hinterland studies.

What sort of questions do we wish to pose? Some suggestions are made.

It is axiomatic that the scale of most hinterland studies will require data gathering and analysis on a substantial scale. While some of this may be new work, one is conscious that a vast body of information already exists within British Archaeology: can this be exploited for such studies? Problems lie in differing data collection and documentation standards.

Possible means of exploiting existing data are also discussed.



### Excavating an urban hinterland?

Martin Millett (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Durham)

There has long been a theoretical research interest in the archaeological investigation of the relationship between town and country. This paper reviews some previous suggestions for the use of finds assemblages in the investigation of this problem and discusses some problems that have been encountered. Proposals are made for the types of field methodology and mental attitudes which will be required to produce tangible results in future.

### Plotting Lincoln's urban field

Alan Vince (City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit)

This paper reviews the geographical concept of the 'Urban Field', and examines measurable variables which vary, or which appear to vary, from town to countryside. These are then considered against the data from Lincoln, and in particular the suburbs and satellite settlements which aroused little interest at a time when effective archaeological investigation could have been undertaken cheaply.

### Defining the Wroxeter Hinterland Project: the boundaries of research and resource management

Vincent Gaffney and Simon Buteaux (University of Birmingham Field Archaeology Unit)

The Wroxeter Hinterland Project was designed as a vehicle for the development of new, interdisciplinary methods for the investigation of rural-urban relationships. Centred on the Roman town of Wroxeter (Viroconium Cornoviorum) in Shropshire, the project seeks to explore the problems of rural-urban relationships through analysis of the development of Wroxeter and its impact upon the town's hinterland. Key concepts in the project brief include mapping the material correlates of 'Romanisation' within the town's hinterland and the creation of a GIS-based pro-active resource management system. This system should be able to combine the capability to manage a wide variety of archaeological and environmental data with the ability to define and test hypotheses concerning economic and social relationships within the Wroxeter hinterland. The project operates on the fundamental assumptions that it is not possible to manage resources which are not properly understood and that there should be a useful interplay between research goals and resource management strategies.

Despite the conceptual difficulties of defining apparently abstract phenomena including that of 'Romanisation', the incorporation of research as a necessary part of cultural resource management can also be viewed as problematic for many British archaeological institutions. This paper argues that it is essential for this topic to be widely discussed, and

that only by breaking down some of the dubious boundaries between research and 'applied' archaeology will we be able to utilise the archaeological record to its full extent.

### Urban needs! Rural supplies?

James Rackham (25, Main Street, South Raunceby, Lincs.)

The resource demands of a developing urban community cannot be supplied internally and must be obtained from the 'surrounding' area. Such a demand places new pressure on an agricultural system likely to have been previously geared largely to subsistence and tax or rental generation. This resource demand will require the generation of food surpluses and the more rapid exploitation of resources such as timber or firewood and introduces the opportunity for wealth generation in rural areas.

The nature of these demands is indicated by the results of the many urban excavations carried out over the last twenty years or more. The requirements are not necessarily consistent between urban centres or different periods in the same urban centre. The nature and scale of, and change in, this resource requirement can now, to some extent, be defined by the results of these urban excavations.

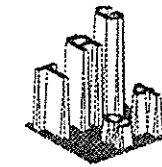
The need to service this demand must have produced changes in the rural environment, intensification of agricultural activity, and specialisation. The impact will have led to major changes, the development of local wealth and trade exchange systems. The supply of urban centres would move through local marketing or controlled supply to a need for an extensive infrastructure that could manage the movement of resources across great distances, hold supplies against need and includes a class of traders and merchants. Can we, therefore, generate a model of resource demand on the basis of the results to date from an urban centre within which we can study both small farmsteads, larger rural communities and market towns and more general landscapes within the 'hinterland' of that centre?

### Mao reconsidered: investigating the environment of urban hinterlands

Terry O'Connor (Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford)

Examining the environment of a town and its hinterland presents difficulties which are at once conceptual and practical. Definitions of the urban/hinterland boundary are unclear, and the hinterland biophysical environment may intrude onto the urban environment both as patches of 'rural' biotic communities and pedogenesis within a town, and as fossil biota derived from and representing the hinterland but deposited within the town as a consequence of resource collection and transportation. The challenge which must be faced is

twofold. First, conceptual models must be developed which chart the interchange of biota and soil components between a town and its hinterland. Second, practical and interpretive methodologies must be developed which will permit the urban environment to be filtered from the imported hinterland environment, and which will accommodate and make best use of the overwhelming abundance of urban, rather than rural, data.



## The Origins of Language, Gender and Culture: Darwinian Approaches to the "Human Revolution"

Session organiser: Chris Knight (University of East London)

Chair: To be confirmed

By 50,000 years ago, the effects of a "symbolic explosion" - an efflorescence of human art, song, dance and ritual - were rippling across the globe. The evolution of symbolic culture was now well under way. A testable theory to account for this improbable event is long overdue.

Darwinian models stress sexual selection and conflicts in reproductive strategies between the sexes as central to the ways in which primate (and by implication hominid) signalling, mating and social systems co-evolve. Can such approaches be integrated with ethnographic and archaeological understandings of "ritual" and "gender" as factors in the emergence of human symbolism? Can the gendering of rock art studies, for example, shed light on the emergence of symbolic ritual?

Understanding "the human revolution" poses major challenges to Palaeolithic archaeologists. What processes drove the encephalisation which made possible symbolic culture? Should we treat the products and effects of symbolism as epiphenomenal, or as central to adaptation? To what extent, and in what forms, is symbolic activity likely to be present before it becomes manifest in the archaeological record? How would such activity relate to the advent and development of complex and highly structured language? Can the emergence of syntactical speech itself be considered a prime mover in the "Human Revolution"? Or should symbolism be understood to emerge from underlying processes of social transformation, including changing male/female reproductive strategies?

Symbolic culture-bearing anatomically modern humans reached Australia some 15,000 to 20,000 years before the Upper Palaeolithic "explosion" of art and symbolism in Europe. Still more strikingly, manufactured red ochre crayons and pigment deposits may constitute evidence for the use of cosmetics by anatomically modern humans in sub-Saharan Africa some 70,000 years in advance of the Upper Palaeolithic. What is the status of this and comparable claims for early symbolism, and how do they affect the idea of a "human revolution" - a concept with historical roots in an older, Eurocentric perspective on cultural origins? Finally, what are the implications of all such evolutionary questions for formulating hypotheses testable in the light of mythic, ritual, rock art and other symbolic data from past and contemporary hunters and gatherers? In addressing such issues, our session will bring together Palaeolithic archaeologists, palaeontologists, rock art specialists, hunter-gatherer ethnographers - and students of the evolutionary dynamics of primate and other animal communication and display.

### Blood, ochre and petroglyphs in early Aboriginal Australia

Josephine Flood (The Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra)

This paper outlines the evolution of symbolic culture in Aboriginal Australia as revealed by recent archaeological discoveries. Petroglyphs in South Australia are the world's earliest firmly dated rock art, and the same motifs have continued in use to the ethnographic present. Pieces of utilised ochre have been found in the earliest occupational deposits in rock-shelters in Arnhem Land, dated to >50,000BP. Human blood has also been found mixed with pigment in Pleistocene rock paintings in several rock-shelters in northern Australia and in total darkness in one Tasmanian limestone cave, suggesting ritual activity deep inside the cave during the Pleistocene.

### Synchrony in human evolution: a female reproductive strategy

Leslie C. Aiello and Catherine Arthur (University College London)

During the course of human evolution females, with their high costs of reproducing large-brained, heavily dependent offspring, managed to secure high levels of paternal investment. The costs of reproducing large-brained offspring are examined and it is shown how females best able to provide the investment required for offspring survival would have had greatest reproductive success. Modelling techniques are used to assess the costs and benefits of reproductive synchrony as a female strategy for securing a greater amount of male investment. Females who pursued a strategy of reproductive synchrony may well have had greater reproductive

success than non-synchronisers when offspring survivorship was at a premium.

#### Menstruation and the origins of language

Chris Knight (University of East London)

Whilst primates may express motivational states and may also respond vocally to environmental events, in some cases deceptively, human symbolism (art, religion, myth etc.) is unique in consisting of *collective* deceptions. Human speech is a set of cryptic mutual references in the first instance not to the real world but to these "deceptions".

A testable Darwinian evolutionary hypothesis is proposed. As climatic changes intensified seasonal dependence on meat, child-burdened *Homo sapiens* mothers needed to minimise the energetic costs of travelling with the hunt. A logical possibility was to *make the meat move*, denying sex to all males except those returning with provisions, repeating this as supplies ran out.

Animal courtship involves signalling "*right time; right sex; right species*". Sexual refusal, by the same token, would most emphatically have been conveyed by reversing these signals. However, females claiming to be in the "*wrong*" cyclical phase, of the "*wrong*" sex and of the "*wrong*" species would have encountered - to use the language of Darwinian signal-evolution theory - "sales resistance" to such improbable messages. To overcome male incredulity, female coalitions (backed by male kin) would be predicted to amplify using energetically expensive, repetitive, elaborately explicit pantomime. Runaway exaggeration of "menstrual" ("*wrong time*") signals, symbolic ochre usage, animal dance, gender-inversion and other well-documented features of Aboriginal Australian ritual traditions can be interpreted in this light.

#### Ochre use in southern Africa: analogical argument and a materialist model of the origins of symbolic culture

Ian Watts (University College London)

The earliest use of ochre is attributable to archaic grade *Homo sapiens* rather than *Homo erectus*. This early use is geographically far flung, but appears irregular and involves only small amounts. Possibly by the terminal Middle Pleistocene, and certainly by the onset of O.I. Stage 5e, ochre use has become habitual and copious in southern Africa. There is suggestive evidence that this behaviour may extend throughout the range of the earliest anatomically modern *Homo sapiens* (eAMHs), from the Cape to the Levant. There are marked contrasts in the patterns of pigment use between Neanderthals and eAMHs: Neanderthal usage remains irregular until the Chatelperronian, with a preponderance of black pigments, whilst the southern African data shows an almost exclusive focus on strong reds, with a

number of pieces clearly indicating some symbolic intent.

In the southern African context, hypotheses concerning possible technical roles for ochre in hide processing or bodily protection are inadequate as a general explanatory framework. Symbolic interpretations have a long history, but it is only recently that advances in neo-Darwinian theory have enabled us to propose testable processual hypotheses for the emergence of collective ritual and the symbolic domain.

The hypothesis being explored here is that female coalitions of archaic *Homo sapiens* significantly reduced levels of male philandering and created the conditions for male parental investment through a strategy which involved the collective cosmetic manipulation of menstrual (imminent fertility) signals. This was raised to a higher level, that of a symbolically structured sex-division of labour, as such amplified signalling became a matter of habitual performance independent of the presence of real blood, referring to a construct of 'Blood'. It is suggested that the ubiquitous use of ochre by the MSA2b testifies to this earliest ritual tradition. Independent support for symbolic traditions by this period is provided by notational artefacts.

#### Memory out of mind. An investigation of Upper Palaeolithic systems of notation

Francesco D'Errico (Centre National de Préhistoire, Université de Bordeaux)

Humans differ from other primates in being able to conceive artificial devices for structuring and recording knowledge. Recording systems on bone, antler and ivory are probably the first graphic expression organised by formal codes. They offer the possibility of studying the way in which the human brain elaborated and used formal codes for the first time. In the past, interpretation of Palaeolithic objects as systems of notation have faced severe challenges because no model or definition of such devices was proposed; nor were analytical methods validated by a replicative experimental approach. A model based on the study of ethnographically known recording systems and experimental criteria based on a technological analysis of each type of mark are currently being applied to a large number of Palaeolithic objects.

#### The woman with the zebra's penis

Camilla Power (University College London)

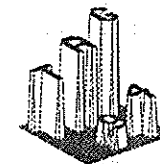
This paper investigates the construction of gender among African hunter-gatherers (Khoisan and Hadza) from an evolutionary perspective. Within these cultures, gender reveals a peculiar mutability, precisely at the point where it is constructed. During initiation ritual, girls acquire 'masculine' characteristics, such as penises and hunting weapons; boys are treated as menstruants. Rigid

Western gender models of a hierarchised 'masculine'/'feminine', correlated with biological sex, do not adequately deal with this anomaly. Using illustration from southern African rock art, contextualised with ethnography on ritual and myth, an ideal model of gendered symbolic oppositions will be presented. Gender is seen to be mutable through time, and correlated with ritual potency, not biological sex. This syntactical analysis matches predictions of a neo-Darwinian model for symbolic cultural origins based in changing female reproductive strategies.

#### Gender, symbols and ritual in contemporary Australian Aboriginal belief systems

Josephine Flood (Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra)

Ethnographic information from one Aboriginal 'tribe', the Wardaman people of the Victoria River district of the Northern Territory of Australia, is used here to elucidate traditional lifeways and the function of rock-shelters and rock art in one hunter-gatherer community. The question of the stability and continuity of Aboriginal culture is addressed, together with the significant time-depth of certain Aboriginal oral traditions such as the widespread Rainbow Serpent myth. Other issues explored are gender symbolism, ritual and mythology, the distinction between sacred and secular, and men's and women's sites, and the relevance of ethnoarchaeology to illuminating our understanding of the past.



### Theoretical Approaches to the Successive Occupation of Space Within the Built Environment

Session organiser: Victor Buchli (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)

This session addresses issues related to the interpretation of successive occupancies of the built environment. Questions to be addressed are concerned with what exactly is involved when built environments are successively occupied? What models of culture change, and appropriation of material culture are relevant to understanding successive occupancies? How are cultural continuity, discontinuity, and transformation to be dealt with? Is a theory of successive occupation possible or even desirable?

The papers represent different geographic regions and time periods from the American South-West to Bronze Age Greece and Japan. They encompass variations in scale, from individual units to settlements, different time durations, and different theoretical orientations and approaches.

#### Cosmological slob or slaves to tradition? Rebuilding the world of Jomon Japan

Simon Kaner (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)

This paper discusses the significance of building and rebuilding practices in fisher-gatherer-hunter societies in the Japanese archipelago. Architecture enters the discursive sphere when it is created, altered and abandoned; critical episodes in the social reproduction of households and communities. Focusing on archaeological evidence for critical episodes in the occupational histories of buildings and settlements, I argue for an approach that incorporates time, change and practice into interpretations of social and symbolic space. I also discuss how changes in traditions of building practices through the ten-millennia of the Jomon period relate to the developmental trajectories of some of the most materially-rich non-farmers of the archaeological record.

#### Household and settlement in the Neolithic of Central Europe

Jonathan Last (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)

The household is a useful concept for understanding the social and spatial organisation of Linearbandkeramik and Middle Neolithic settlements on the central European loess soils. Household space may extend beyond the boundaries of the house itself and is marked out by features like refuse pits and fences. The extent to which such features are organised, with respect to the location of particular houses rather than to their position within the settlement as a whole, indicates the relative importance and independence of the household and its corresponding minimal social unit.

This paper traces the way in which the household-based organisation of LBK settlement gives way to somewhat more communally ordered, village-like settlements in the MN. This shift can be tied in to changes in material culture and house form during these phases.

#### Continuity and house form in Iron Age Britain

Melissa Goodman (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)

The roundhouses of Iron Age Britain continue as a stable house form through the substantial changes in settlement distribution, population, ritual deposition, technology and trade. Within the period

of roundhouse use, manipulation of the basic house form is manifest through changes in settlement layout including axial alignments, emphasis on doorways, and clustering of structures. This paper explores the use of a familiar domestic form, the roundhouse, by communities expanding onto previously undomesticated lands as a means to both retain continuity with parent communities and to differentiate from them.

**From beginning to end: storage practices of long-term history in Bronze Age Crete, examples from Fournou Korifi to Kavousi**

*Louise Hitchcock (Dept. of Art History, University of California at Los Angeles)*

The origin of storage practices in the Minoan Palaces as exhibited architecturally, artefactually, and symbolically, can be traced at least as far back as the Early Bronze Age (EMII) Minoan settlement at Myrtos Fournou Korifi. Traces of a continuous tradition of social practices connecting storage with ritual persist after the destruction of Minoan civilisation at the Late Bronze Age (LMIIIC) "refuge" settlement at Kavousi. This paper explores the social and symbolic aspects of those practices as a gradually changing set of social processes and patterned relationships between architectural features and artefact distribution over the long term from their beginnings, to their incorporation in monumental public buildings, through to their final occurrence at the end of the Bronze Age.

**Terraced house to mansion: changes in the organisation of space in Greek houses from the fourth and third centuries BC**

*Lisa Nevett (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Durham)*

A matter of pride amongst a number of Classical Athenian authors is the poverty of the Greek house, and the fact that even the homes of famous politicians are virtually indistinguishable from those of their anonymous neighbours. In this paper the archaeological evidence for the Greek house is explored: it is argued that although there is evidence from a number of Greek cities to support this picture, there was also rapid change. Within the space of less than two hundred years, considerable differentiation took place in house construction, and a new type of large, lavish house appeared, which was organised differently from its predecessors. It is suggested that the development of this new house form is linked with broader social and political changes which were affecting the Greek world at this time.

**Memory and 'flexi-typology' in the long-term built history of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, USA**

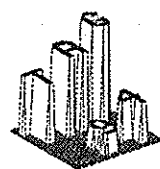
*Joseph Kovacic (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)*

The role memory plays in the initial building and subsequent long-term maintenance of everyday social and ritual spaces is often addressed in terms of ethnohistory. Not explicitly rejecting ethnohistorical approaches to long term re-occupation histories, I instead outline a way of thinking about long term pattern recognition that begins with a 'flexi' or 'fluid'-assemblage based typological perspective, the structure of which is maintained through corporate memory. The data used to illustrate this are drawn from the pithouse and puebloan sites of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, USA.

**Constructing and de-constructing socialism**

*Victor Buchli (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)*

There is a tendency in archaeology to understand house plans and spatial geometries as socially determining. This paper examines an ethnoarchaeological study of a utopian socialist housing complex in Moscow: The Narkmofin Communal House (1928-1930) designed by the Constructivist architect Moisei Ginzburg to transform bourgeois Muscovites into socialist citizens. It investigates how state imposed socially deterministic architectural geometries can be subtly subverted by individuals in subsequent occupations, creating vastly different spatial cosmologies with the most ephemeral manipulations of material culture.



**Artefacts in Archaeology: Beyond Provenance and Dating**

*Session organisers: Paul Blinkhorn (Northamptonshire Archaeology) and Chris Cumberpatch (9, Louth Rd, Sheffield)  
Chair: Chris Cumberpatch*

This session is intended to develop and extend some of the themes which emerged in the *New Approaches to Artefact Studies* session which formed part of the TAG conference in 1993. The emphasis of the papers is on the social context of artefacts rather than on questions of provenance, technology and dating. It is hoped that the emphasis

on substantive examples drawn from the active research experience of the speakers will serve to illustrate the practical application of some of the stimulating theoretical perspectives which have emerged over the past few years.

**Ceramics, theory and the rumblings from the potshed**

*Paul Blinkhorn (Northamptonshire Archaeology)*

Pottery is deeply boring. Despite the development and application to the study of scientific analyses, statistics, regional syntheses and ethnographic studies, as well as consideration of theoretical perspectives, pottery remains deeply boring. This can be seen to be partly the fault of the ceramicists themselves, who appear reluctant to take on board 'new' methodologies which can result in the material being used as an interpretive tool, rather than just providing a broad chronology and some nice pictures for the excavation report. Similarly, in field archaeology, the recent application of Thatcherite dog-eat-dog economic principles, coupled with an apparent total disinterest in the potential ceramics has to offer at an interpretive level, is threatening to condemn ceramicists to an existence similar to that of those strange men in parkas that can be found at the end of railway platforms. This paper will attempt to identify the way in which the current situation has arisen, show examples of the contribution that ceramics can make to the archaeological process and, hopefully, upset lots of field archaeologists.

**Why did pots change in the later Pre-Roman Iron Age?**

*J.D. Hill (Churchill College, Cambridge)*

No abstract received

**Much ado about dinner; the social context of eating and drinking in early Roman Britain**

*Karen I. Meadows (Sheffield University)*

No abstract received

**All together now**

*Duncan H. Brown (Southampton Archaeology Unit)*

Last year I considered the relative significance of pottery for the people of Saxon and Medieval Southampton. That analysis was based upon a chronological comparison of quantities of excavated ceramics. This presentation examines pottery in relation to artefacts of other materials, especially glass and metal. I examine the value placed on pottery by the medieval consumer, its actual worth in the market place and the ways in which its production was influenced by competition from other artisans. A principal purpose is to show how productive it can be to examine one class of find in relation to others. I shall concentrate on the later

medieval periods, employing historical sources as well as archaeological data in order to elucidate my latent neo-Spatlesian anastomotic conglobate philosophy.

**Why Aristotle and Mendeleev were very clever indeed but bonkers! Resources, artefacts and the nature of perception**

*Roger Doonan (British School at Athens)*

The remains of many technologies used by ancient cultures have been investigated by scientific workers using advanced machinery to probe the microstructural and atomic nature of these materials. The 'innate' realism of these science workers has allowed them to make interpretations concerning the parameters of the ancient technologies and the resources exploited, but rarely include any mention of the ancient technologists. Surprisingly, these studies have, however, culminated in many hypotheses regarding the boundaries of ancient perceptions.

This paper reviews the ongoing problems concerning the earliest copper alloys in early metallurgy. It will postulate that the scientific analysis of artefacts and technological debris cannot alone answer questions which are essentially philosophical. The scientific questions raised concerning alloys, their resources and the artefacts are deconstructed to show their nonsensical nature. Instead the problems of early alloying and resource perception are considered from the perspective of a phenomenological analysis of scientifically procured data in the hope of clarifying this contentious issue.

**Making culture material: ceramic technology as cultural identity**

*Bill Sillar (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)*

That material culture is 'meaningfully constituted' is now a commonplace of archaeological theory, and it is widely acknowledged that techniques are as dependent on cultural choices as they are on the physical properties of the materials being worked. In this paper I discuss how techniques can be understood as an expression of cultural ideology, where the perception of materials and appropriate ways of working them are integral to a more encompassing world view.

Modern pottery-making techniques in the Andes are embedded in wider aspects of Andean cultural perception and social organisation. Using this as an example I shall demonstrate how the interdependence between a wide range of technologies and aspects of cultural ideology serve to reproduce not only material culture but also cultural knowledge and aspects of social organisation. Four areas of interdependence between technologies will be noted:

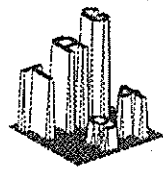
- 1) the use of the same tools and facilities within different technologies
- 2) the cycle of technical acts, where the product of one activity becomes the raw material or tool for another
- 3) how technological understanding cross-cuts between different spheres of activity (pottery making, agriculture, house construction, and remembering the ancestors)
- 4) how the performance of various techniques is socially defined, so that people are classified into the performance of certain techniques and technical spheres.

All of these aspects of technological interdependence are potentially recoverable from the distribution of archaeological materials. This could be used to allow technology, as a sphere of cultural expression, to inform us about social organisation and cultural understanding, as well as to open up the study of technological change to more socially-oriented interpretations of human agency.

#### The material form and cultural construction of humanity

Kurtis Leswick (Sheffield University)

No abstract received



## Sexuality, Society and Archaeology

Session organisers: Despina Christodoulou (Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge) and Lynne Bevan (Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit)

Chairs: Despina Christodoulou (part 1), Lynne Bevan (part 2)

Sexuality today is often viewed as a matter of personal identity. But trans-historically and trans-culturally, sexuality is a way of ordering society. Ancient Greek society, for example, was organised around a masculine ethos, which translated into pederastic social rituals and the categorisation of women into those whom it was legitimate to feel desire for and those whom it was not. But sexuality is not merely about sex. What one did (does) with one's body had major implications for conceptions of politics, citizenship and ethnicity. Material culture both reflects and organises this social sexuality, from the division of domestic space, the outlay of palaces and areas of civic power, urban design and

the seedy parts of the city, to vase-paintings, sculpture, household and religious' products.

Sexuality can thus help us to imagine new interpretations of the archaeological record. It can also take us to the heart of a society, by suggesting how that society conceived, understood and constructed itself. Sexuality is not just a private matter, it is a structuring and legitimating principle of society. Marriage and the family unit are ways of organising society through sexuality. Combining a notion of gender with that of sexuality can also help us to 'read' non-familial institutionalised groups and areas, such as male drinking-groups, the military, taverns and bath houses. On the other hand, there are those who would deviate from the norm. Society sometimes legitimises these extra-normative tendencies, e.g. through prostitution, sometimes it marginalises, e.g. 'homosexuality'. The tension between expectation and desire, legitimate and non-legitimate ways of being, and how the community deals with them is suggested by the organisation of civic space: red-light districts, lovers' lanes, rent-boy hangouts.

#### Body imagery in the Neolithic: ideology, sexuality and anthropomorphic figurines from the Aegean

Dimitra Kokkinidou and Marianna Nikolaidou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Human figurines are the very category of material culture which can provide evidence for gender ideologies and sexuality in early societies. Although these artefacts have been frequently dealt with by archaeologists, little attention has so far been paid to their possible significance as indicators of gender identity. This paper attempts to treat figurines as material manifestations of a framework of notions and values interwoven with the cultural construction of sexuality and the symbolic negotiation of power between the sexes. Some possible aspects of the multi-dimensional function of anthropomorphic idoloplastic are discussed which may shed some light on the way that gender ideologies were shaped and 'acted out' within the historical context of the Neolithic Aegean.

#### Material imagery of the Yarmukian, a Neolithic culture of the sixth millennium BC in the southern Levant

Estelle Orelle and Avi Gopher (University of Tel Aviv)

This study describes material imagery portraying anthropomorphic subjects executed in stone and clay which appear on sites of the Yarmukian culture in the Southern Levant during the sixth millennium BC. Interpretations are offered for the incised stone and clay images which are regarded as artefacts broadcasting encoded information. One group associated with age and reproductive status is

related to gender categorisation, and another concerns symbols of male-female dualism.

#### Concepts of sex and gender in figurine studies

Naomi Hamilton (University of Edinburgh)

This paper is concerned with traditional interpretations of anthropomorphic figurines from prehistoric sites in the eastern Mediterranean. The initial classification has always been between male and female, and the terms sex and gender have been used interchangeably. However, a growing body of anthropological and sociological data shows that sex and gender are two distinct concepts, one biological and the other cultural. A wide range of social inferences have been drawn from this material based on assumptions about the association of sex with gender roles.

I focus on figurines which cannot be easily classified as male or female, yet which have generally been forced into one of these categories. Anthropological examples demonstrate that a far wider range of gender options is available than Western culture permits. To take these 'difficult' figurines at face value, rather than as mistakes to be explained away, can open up new possibilities in our interpretations of prehistoric cultures.

There are no easy answers, and it is simpler to deconstruct than to replace the old interpretations. At present it is only possible to point out the problems with the old methods and to offer new avenues of exploration. New interpretations must await re-evaluation of large amounts of data. The guiding principles, however, are to take the data at face value, to avoid generalised interpretations, to use contextual analysis and to go beyond the confines of Western culture in search of answers.

#### Rite, ritual or ...? Towards an interpretation of Bronze Age figurines

Jo Heron (University of Edinburgh)

For too long, any unusual item found on an archaeological site has automatically been categorised as of 'ritual' significance. Is this always the only answer? Should we be looking for others? The ideas of early antiquarians were that they represented deities from the past. Was this too simplistic and has it been taken too far? Have we just blindly followed traditional views of this category of artefact never questioning the reality? Evidence from modern and not so modern anthropological research suggests that objects such as figurines have a much more varied usage and also have several different meanings depending on type and use. Perhaps we should start to look for other explanations for their production and their significance for the producer. Maybe we should also look at other materials that could have been used but which have not survived. This paper will try to show that there may be other reasons for the

production of these objects. I would like to suggest that perhaps the time has come for us to re-evaluate figurines in the light of evidence from other sources that could give us a more realistic idea of their usage and their significance to their producers and users.

#### Venus in furs: sex in the Ice Age

Tim Taylor (Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford)

In Jean Auel's *Clan of the Cave Bear* novels, the heroine, Ayla, conforms to a modern, slim and lean, concept of female fitness, but women in Ice Age art are notoriously 'fat'. Are these so-called Venuses depictions of an ideal type of beauty, either 'Mother Goddesses' of a matriarchal society or patriarchal 'pin-ups'? Do they represent, as has been claimed, realistic clinical depictions of different types of obesity, or were they exaggerated? I assess various theories from a biocultural perspective and (i) suggest that the figurines were the product of a polygynous society; (ii) argue that the term 'fat' is inappropriate for these figurines, for both biological and stylistic reasons; and (iii) comment on the significance of nakedness (why should the first direct evidence of humanity's striking lack of body hair appear in a glacial environment?)

#### Sexual metaphors in the Neolithic

Peter Ellis (Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit)

The changes in social structures occurring in the Neolithic and consequent anxieties about fertility and sexuality are argued to have had a profound effect on the structure of the human mind, reflected in contemporary images and monuments and the development of language. Understanding the effect may be assisted by psychoanalytic theories.

#### Masculinity on the rampage? Towards an understanding of phallic imagery

Lynne Bevan (Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit)

This paper, a continuation of work first introduced at TAG in 1991, considers instances of phallic imagery and 'display' from the archaeological record and from ethnographic sources. Previously, most occurrences of phallic imagery/display have been linked in non-specific ways to concepts of 'fertility' and 'magic'. This paper seeks to remove the phallus from this magico-religious sphere and re-examine it within the context of aggressive masculinity, a perspective put forward in recent feminist literature. Is the phallus an 'instrument of domination' (Brittan, A., 1989, *Masculinity and Power*, Blackwell, Oxford, p. 56) and what is the nature of its recurring association with violence and war?

### Gender and space at Great Zimbabwe: a critique of recent interpretation

Gwilym Hughes (Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit)

A recent structuralist analysis of the organisation of space at Great Zimbabwe has been tied to the symbolism of a number of features of the stone walls. For example, V-shaped slots in walls have been interpreted as female symbols and monoliths as male symbols. This analysis has culminated in the identification of two series of binary oppositions encoding concepts of social status and of the sacred and profane. These have been used to identify the residences of particular individuals, including the king and the royal wives, or buildings used for specific ritual or social activities. A recent examination of the Valley Enclosures by the conservation team at Great Zimbabwe, however, has highlighted the importance of chronological control in the development of such structural and symbolic interpretations. In particular, they fail to consider complex changes in the meaning of space through time. Such difficulties of interpretation introduce a note of caution into recent attempts to identify similar spatial patterns in the later prehistory of Britain, where the quality of data is inevitably more limited.

### Bodies of evidence: the sexuality of barbarians in Roman art

Iain Ferris (Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit)

The portrayal of barbarian men, women and children on Roman monumental sculpture, and on coinage, can be interpreted as acting not only as historical and political narrative but also as an indicator of sexual competition both on an individual and collective basis. Imperial power relations are here being written on the body.

### The civic significance of the brothel: ideological and archaeological space

Despina Christodoulou (Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge)

Fifth century Athens was a city famous for, amongst other things, its prostitutes. For Athenians, the sexuality of male citizens was as much a matter of political concern as were voting rights. In the development of democracy, the institution of state brothels played a levelling role amongst citizens - or so later writers would have us believe - assuring that sexual pleasure was available to all, rich and poor alike. Such dichotomies as citizen/slave and male/female were upheld by the citizen's control of this commercialised exchange. We know, therefore, where to find these brothels in the imagined archaeology of Athens, that is, in the city's constructed image of itself, but, given that there is no evidence of brothel structures in Athens, the

actual material culture can shed much light on the politics of such democratic rhetoric.

As a counter-image to the democratic brothels, hetairai, or 'high-class courtesans', represented an aristocratic tradition, located in the drinking-clubs of the rich and famous. How did democratic rhetoric attack such aristocratic tendencies in its ideological mapping of the city? In investigating such questions, this paper will pursue the tensions and contradictions, and reasons thereof, between ideological and archaeological space within the city of Athens.

### Towards a geography of sexual encounter: 'hot streets' in English Medieval towns?

R.A. Holt and N.J. Baker (Dept. of Geography, University of Birmingham)

The traditional view of prostitution in pre-industrial towns has been that it was one of the most marginalised of activities: its practitioners on the margins of urban society, its setting the margins of the town - the 'suburbs of sin'. Current research on English medieval towns is drawing attention to a class of medieval street names (that may be considered particularly offensive to modern sensibilities) that appear to reflect settings for commercial or semi-commercial sexual activity. The majority of these streets have a very distinctive geography that suggests that, far from being marginal, such activity was closely integrated with commercial and political functions at the heart of medieval towns.

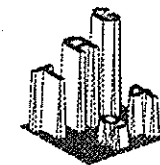
### Clones, queens, and katoi: an archaeological approach to male homosexuality

Keith Matthews (Chester Archaeological Service)

What is the origin of human sexuality? An examination of so-called 'deviant' sexuality raises issues about the role of material culture in not only gender identity but also gender-bending and homosexual desire.

This paper seeks to show that although much homosexual behaviour is historically constituted, there is also an important ahistorical element. It is argued that this latter enables the identification of a distinctly gay material culture which can be recognised tentatively in the archaeological record.

I argue that the prevailing subculture of the archaeological profession has clouded approaches to gender and sexuality; that my experience as a gay man has created a personal model of societies - both past and present - which may differ radically from those of heterosexuals.



## The Social Construction of Landscape

Session organisers: John Howells (Trinity College, Carmarthen), George Nash (St. David's University College, Lampeter) and Mark Patton (Trinity College, Carmarthen)

Chairs: Mark Patton and George Nash (part 1), John Howells (part 2)

The aim of this session is to explore the ways in which the landscape has been constructed, conceptualised, manipulated, and transformed by societies in the past, and to look at the ways in which it can be interpreted archaeologically. The papers cover a broad range of periods and geographical areas and they reflect a variety of different theoretical approaches. Themes include:

- The landscape as artefact: concepts of "natural" and "cultural" landscapes, deliberate transformations of the landscape and the organisation of activities within it.
- The landscape as symbol/social metaphor: natural features as cultural symbols, concepts of "sacred geography", natural and cultural boundaries in the landscape, changing perceptions of the landscape.
- The landscape as arena for social action: the social manipulation of the landscape, social structure and cultural change, the social appropriation (and transformation) of past cultural landscapes.
- The landscape as producer/provider: socio-cultural and symbolic dimensions of agricultural and industrial production in the landscape.

### "By their works ye shall know them": settlement distribution and social organisation in the Neolithic of the Tavoliere, South-East Italy

Keri A. Brown (Dept. of Biochemistry and Applied Molecular Biology, UMIST)

Many Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes are composed of funerary monuments and/or field divisions. In these landscapes settlement sites are scarce and their integration within the complex is poorly understood - the emphasis is on ritual and environmental aspects. The reverse situation exists in SE Italy. In the region known as the Tavoliere, over 500 Neolithic ditched enclosures of varying size have been located through aerial photography. There are no funerary monuments (there is scarcely any formal burial rite!) and no land division system. A different approach is needed in order to

understand the social construction of this particular landscape. The starting point for this approach is contained in the suggestion made by Whittle (*Problems in Neolithic Archaeology* 1988: 38, 87, 194) that settlement distribution patterns can be viewed as an expression of the rules and values of Neolithic society: they are not merely the result of agricultural requirements. If this is so, then it should be possible to gain some understanding of Neolithic social organisation from the spatial organisation of settlements within the landscape. A second approach was made by investigating the amount of time and effort involved in excavating the enclosure ditches of a representative sample of settlement sites. By this method the assumption that small enclosures were the work of single families (or social groups) while larger, more complex, multivallate sites were built by many families (or social groups) can be tested. It can also be shown that even the largest enclosures could have been built within a reasonable length of time by the occupants themselves, without the need for additional help from other communities.

### From the house of the dead

Richard Bradley (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Reading)

Neolithic archaeology is studied as if there were two quite different kinds of landscape in North-Western Europe: a pattern of agricultural settlements on the loess, and a distribution of specialised monuments which first developed at and beyond its limits. For the most part only the latter is seen as a social construction. This paper questions the traditional interpretation of LBK settlement sites. It highlights a number of striking anomalies and argues that these provide one source for the monumental landscapes that have commanded so much attention in recent years.

### Combining the monumental with the transitory - lowland landscapes in Eastern Hungary

John Chapman (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne)

Mircea Eliade once remarked that a landscape represented humans taking upon themselves the role of time. If landscapes are indeed places deliberately created to speed up or slow down the process of nature this raises many important questions: the social definition of time itself, the range of roles which time may play and the manner in which the act of representation may occur in landscapes. An exploration of these questions using the medium of symbolic landscapes is deepened by an analysis of the distinction drawn by Jackson between 'vernacular' and 'political' landscapes. The implications of this distinction are assessed for Barrett's notions landscapes of becoming and landscapes of being.

An example of the intersection of vernacular and political landscapes is taken from the Neolithic and Copper Age of Eastern Hungary. Here, the Upper Tisza Project's recent fieldwork and GIS-based analysis has led to the identification of a variety of natural and human cycles which frame the social constitution of those local lowland landscapes which are dialectically created through the development of relations of social power.

#### **Living on the edge and other clichés: cultural boundaries and landscapes in Copper Age Bulgaria**

*Richard Price (St. John's College, Oxford)*

This paper explores the role of social perceptions and use of "landscapes" in the creation and maintenance of a cultural boundary in North-East Bulgaria during the Copper Age (5000-4000 calBC). Within an area of c50 Km south-west of the Varna Lake, there are significant changes in material culture, the forms of settlements, burial practices etc., which have been described in terms of a cultural boundary. Whilst the material forms are well defined, however, the questions of how and why the boundary exists have not been considered in depth. Here it is argued that the question "how" can be approached through a consideration of differences in the perception and use of the landscape (social and physical) by individual communities through the region, and also in time. This is achieved by the use of data from a number of excavations of settlements and cemeteries, as well as regional and environmental and economic evidence.

The meanings and strategies invested in the production and use of the social landscapes discussed will then be used to briefly address the question of "why" the cultural boundary exists, and takes the forms it does, through the Copper Age.

#### **Death in the landscape: a contextual study of the Iron Age square barrow cemeteries of East Yorkshire**

*Bill Bevan (Peak District National Park)*

The Iron Age square barrow burials of East Yorkshire, also known as the Arras Culture, form one of the largest groups of the prehistoric dead in Britain. The distinctive funerary monuments and rites are probably best known through the richly furnished cart burials of Wetwang and Garton Slacks. There are also men whose graves were stuck with spears, women who died in childbirth, and even a male and female couple staked at the wrists and with a new born baby.

Many of the burials are grouped into cemeteries of up to hundreds of burials, each marked with a square barrow and ditch. These cemeteries give place and expression to the dead in the landscape, and suggest a duality of individual and community in the living society. Locations of cemeteries are

structured through the topographical and archaeological landscape, creating patterned relationships between the places of the dead and of the living. The majority of cemeteries are located in valleys, and next to watercourses and trackways, whilst avoiding pre-Iron Age funerary sites and other earlier archaeological features. These deliberate associations incorporate concepts held socially about liminality, group identity, ancestors, access to resources, fertility and regeneration.

#### **Faces of the Etruscan landscape**

*Simon Stoddart (Dept. of Classics and Archaeology, University of Bristol)*

The paper will explore the interfaces between the symbolic, political and productive landscapes in Central Italy (c600 BC). One facet of the Etruscan landscape is highly symbolic: the placing of cemeteries and sanctuaries. Another is highly political: the spacing of cities, the placing of intermediate boundaries between territories. A third is linked to the practicalities of feeding the large nucleations of population present in the primate cities of Etruria.

The symbolic facet has been available for study for many years. With the increasing quantities of survey data and urban excavations, however, it is possible to explore the developing landscape of Etruria by adding the political and productive facets to the equation. Too sharp and simplistic a division along these lines is simply naive, but the approach does allow a deeper reading of the archaic landscape of Central Italy.

#### **Tuchan: a landscape on the borderland**

*John Howells (Dept. of Archaeology, Trinity College, Carmarthen)*

The Canton of Tuchan lies within the département of Aude, in South-West France, approximately 20km from the Mediterranean Sea, and 30km from the Spanish border and the Pyrenees. The present landscape is one of sharp contrasts between rich, green valleys carpeted with vineyards, surmounted by walls of rock, invincible cliffs and breathtaking crags. Research and fieldwork into this landscape began in earnest in the summer of 1994 and examined the archaeological evidence for land use and economy of the Canton; attempted to create a chronological sequence for human influence upon the landscape; examined monument and settlement patterns and the spatial relationships of monuments (both at specific moments in time and across time); and the linkage of archaeological and historical data.

#### **Spiritual and spatial segregations: an implication of the changing physical and mental landscapes of leprosy in Medieval England**

*A.E.M. Satchell (Dept. of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield)*

Hitherto, the outcast status of medieval lepers has been viewed as the leper being physically segregated within the landscape. The division between the two groups is, however, more complex.

As one of the defiled categories of Leviticus the leper was by definition 'separated from the communion of mankind'. There is no evidence for a general segregation of lepers within the landscape before the late thirteenth century. Indeed, segregation of groups or individuals is not automatically a geographic division. Before 1175 lepers can be characterised as living in either small religious communities or as recluses or mendicants. It is suggested that these individuals were separated from the community spiritually not spatially. They 'dwelt' apart within a geographically non-specific *mental* landscape of exile akin to the desert of the patristic tradition.

The thirteenth century development restricting the movement of lepers within the landscape by external sanction is examined in relation to more general social changes and the attitude of medieval society towards lepers. It is argued that this period represents a major transformation in the discursive practices which enveloped the leper with the outcast status of the leper becoming inscribed within the landscape in an innovative way.

#### **The monument as landscape: the cultural stratigraphy of La Hougue Bie, Jersey**

*Mark Patton (Dept. of Archaeology, Trinity College, Carmarthen)*

The passage grave of La Hougue Bie is one of the largest and best preserved monuments of its type in Europe. Although the megalithic chamber was discovered in 1924, the cairn which covers it had never been investigated prior to the current research project, which began in 1991 and which was completed this year. The recent excavations revealed a far more complex sequence of Neolithic activities than had previously been suspected, and also drew attention to the significance of later activity on the site.

This paper will look at the ways in which the site was transformed through time, from open passage grave to sealed mausoleum to grass covered mound in prehistory, and, in more recent times, from Medieval chapels to eighteenth century folly, to nineteenth century beauty spot and modern museum complex. It will be argued that the site can be viewed as a microcosm of wider landscape transformations, and that the archaeological stratigraphy of the site reflects a deeper cultural stratigraphy, in which each

generation adapts and transforms the landscape inherited from the past, in accordance with its own social and cultural needs.

#### **The social appropriation of place and resource during the Early Neolithic of southern Britain**

*Jan Harding (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Reading)*

This paper will examine the way in which episodes of landscape clearance, beginning during the later Mesolithic, resulted in pronounced changes in the means by which places and resources were classified and categorised. I will argue that intrinsic to the process of clearance was the cognitive delineation of the social "self" from the non-human "other", and it was this ideological separation which enabled land, plants and animals to be seen as objects which could be controlled during the routine social transactions of the early Neolithic. This realignment in the relationship between the human community and the natural world generated a process of symbolic "invention" (the construction of monuments and the ritual use of domesticated plants and animals) as the landscape was increasingly a vehicle for the negotiation of relations between lineages. Access and ownership became an important aspect of social discourse and this involved the creation by groups of historical texts which invoked a mythic "past" and "future". Long barrows and causewayed enclosures were fixed arenas for commemorating and celebrating these communal histories, with the former acting for the kin-group and the latter for the inter-lineal network. These monuments inscribed the spirits of group ancestors in the landscape, and the belief of mythical ownership was encouraged by the regular movement of communities at this time.

#### **Megaliths in the mist: a Mesolithic ritual landscape**

*Stéphane Rault (English Heritage)*

When one conceptualises landscapes in Mesolithic Europe, it is generally assumed that since the inhabitants were nasty, brutish, and short, their only view when they came ashore on their hollowed log would be of pristine tundra or forest, interspersed with the odd pile of limpets. This paper suggests an alternative view through the mist of ritual landscapes from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, to greet the unloading of their exotic catch.

#### **Towards a second order construction of megaliths**

*Cornelius Holtorf (Dept. of Archaeology, St. David's University College, Lampeter)*

Both today and in the (historic) past megaliths are, or were, part of the landscape and of its social constructions. In this paper I will offer an interpretation of how megaliths were historically

interpreted in the past. Towards this aim I will present the results of my investigations of a chosen case-study, which will be a set of megaliths in a particular historic landscape (which at the time of writing is not yet known to me). My approach is one of a "second order construction": I will deal with how Time (1) has been ordered and constructed in Time (2), as seen from Time (3), which is today. My results are bound to be informative about the role that megaliths play as such, about a specific historic landscape, and also about how we today construct both the landscape and the past.

**Monumentality and the landscape: the possible symbolic and political distribution of long chambered tombs around the Black Mountains of Wales**

*George Nash (Dept. of Archaeology, St. David's University College, Lampeter)*

In this paper I wish to explore the possible symbolic and political relationship between a series of long chambered tombs of the "Cotswold-Severn" tradition and the landscape. This series of tombs, the only inland group in Wales, are located around a large mountain block, the Black Mountains. Nearly all the surviving tombs, seventeen in total, are both locally orientated and strategically sited on intermediate slopes of the three large, fertile valleys that dominate the western, northern and eastern slopes of the Black Mountains. All tombs appear to be drawn towards various topographical features around the Black Mountains, thus suggesting a symbolic relationship with the landscape, as well as sharing a social and political affinity through tomb intervisibility, tomb orientation, passage and chamber orientation and distinct clustering. The geographical distribution also suggests territoriality, in that each tomb marks the extent of Neolithic activity. Using the available archaeological evidence, and drawing on various ethnographic analogies, I will argue that, outside these areas of high Neolithic activity, a possible strict metaphysical taboo existed, whereby both the mountains and the land immediately outside the safety of the valleys was considered dangerous. I will also consider the importance of inner (tomb) and outer (landscape) space, and use architecture as a means of perceiving tomb morphology.

**From settlements to monuments: site succession in Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Jutland**

*Brian Jones (Thy Archaeological Project, University College London) and Nick Thorpe (Dept. of Archaeology, King Alfred's College Winchester)*

Excavations by the Thy Archaeological Project in Northern Jutland have shown that in many cases Late Neolithic settlements were succeeded by fields, and then by Early Bronze Age round and long barrows. The relationship between the three

categories is explored, together with the influence which previous land use and monumental form had on the eventual monumentalisation of particular places in a culturally created landscape.

**The materially structured social environment of the Maltese islands during the Temple Building Phase**

*Andrew Townsend (Dept. of Classics and Archaeology, University of Bristol)*

The paper sets out to show how material culture, namely in the form of large cult statues, statuettes and figurines, operated at different levels within the social structure on the Maltese Islands during the Temple Building phase (c4100-2500BC).

From their initial colonisation at about 5000BC, the Maltese Islands undergo one of the most remarkable transformations (physical and social) to be found anywhere in the Mediterranean, culminating in the apparent breakdown of social structure at the end of the Tarxien Phase (c2500BC). A fundamental component in this transformation is human intervention in the natural landscape which eventually sees the appearance of monumental constructions in the form of hypogea and megalithic temples. These monumental edifices, along with the cult imagery (anthropomorphic and zoomorphic), seem to be mechanistic in the maintenance of the social structure of the islands. Social strategies are played out within the monuments themselves, and at a wider social level across the islands using anthropomorphic and zoomorphic imagery.

What was a natural physical environment at the time of colonisation, through time, is one that becomes materially structured at the social level during the Temple Building Phase. This is reflected in the ritualised landscape, the evidence of which we can still see to this very day.

Recently excavated material from the Brochtorff Circle on Gozo, combined with prehistoric material from elsewhere on the Maltese Islands, illustrates the hypothesis being advanced.



**Current Theoretical Perspectives in African Archaeology: The Challenge of Socio-Political Reconstruction**

*Session organisers: Rachel MacLean and Timothy Insoll (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)*

*Chair: Timothy Insoll*

*Discussant John Alexander (St. John's College, University of Cambridge)*

Africa has, perhaps, often been relegated to the peripheries of the wider archaeological world and, as a result, African archaeology remained largely unaffected by the theoretical developments which took place elsewhere. In addition, those outside Africa have frequently denied the existence of a black African history prior to the arrival of Arab or European traders and colonists. This is a misconception which has led to a disproportionate emphasis on the study of human origins and of later colonial history. Exciting developments are now taking place, however, and archaeologists, working from a more advanced theoretical perspective have begun to tackle the problems of socio-political reconstruction. This work is resulting in the recognition that African societies were rich, varied and complex.

This session presents a selection of papers arising from this ongoing debate, drawing data from a wide range of geographical regions and chronological periods.

**Early states in Sudanic Africa - beyond history**

*David N. Edwards (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)*

The predominance of Eurocentric and historical perspectives has seen research into early state development in Sudanic Africa being much constrained by the lack of external historical sources and archaeological fieldwork. Moreover, where good data sources exist for states developing as early as the second millennium BC in the Middle Nile in the Sudan, the dominant Egyptological research traditions have tended to ignore indigenous developmental processes and have avoided more theoretically informed approaches.

Recent work exploring power networks which defined early states provides new insights into processes of political development and integration

encountered in 'Sudanic' Africa. A consideration of studies in the political and economic anthropology of the region have brought to the fore new questions concerning the study of more segmentary forms of political organisation, ritual suzerainty, prestige and its material manifestations, and in particular require a reworking of traditional historical interpretations of the role of 'trade' as a source of power in early Sudanic kingdoms. A case-study of Meroe as a 'Sudanic state' will suggest some new approaches which will try to broaden perspectives on African socio-political developments as well as establish more common ground with research in other fields of archaeology.

**The external creation of the Western Sahel's past: archaeology and the use and abuse of the Arabic sources**

*Timothy Insoll (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)*

The area encompassed by the modern republics of Mauritania and Mali was the home of the three great empires of West Africa; Ghana, Mali, and Songhai. Beginning in the ninth century AD, Arab historians and geographers began to record the history of this region and of the empires. These external observers were often far removed from the areas they were writing about, both culturally and geographically, however, their writings have been extensively used by archaeologists and historians alike as a means of reconstructing the medieval past of this region. How accurate are these sources and do they just present a one-sided view of events? Three case studies are examined in an attempt to answer these questions and to assess the validity of the Arabic sources.

Firstly, the structure of the city of Gao, as portrayed in the Arabic sources, is examined in the light of recent archaeological research. Secondly, the supposed critical role the Almoravid movement played in the destruction of the empire of Ghana and its reputed capital, Koumbi Saleh, is assessed. Thirdly, the claims for an external origin for the distinctive 'Sudanese' style of architecture are evaluated. The use of these three examples offers a chance to provide a very brief outline of the history and archaeology of this important region.

**Recognising the social dimension in the Early Iron Age of East Africa**

*Rachel MacLean (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)*

Archaeologists discussing the prehistory of East Africa too often describe a procession of changing technologies and economies, seeing a progression from stone to metal, from foraging to agriculture and pastoralism. The social dimension of these early societies is generally missing from the archaeological debate. Admittedly, the evidence for first millennium BC activity in the region of the Lake Victoria basin is seriously limited, yet even here it is

possible to discern distinct social groups in the archaeological record. At the most basic level, society can be divided along the lines of gender, age and class/caste, and in present East African society these divisions are strongly marked. It is possible to extend these fundamental identities into the archaeological record, to see the functioning of distinct groups in the activities of iron-working, pottery manufacture, pottery use and land clearance; activities associated with the beginning of Early Iron Age (Urewe) settlement in the middle of this millennium, and which can be clearly recognised in the available evidence. In addition, there appear to be factors limiting Urewe population size which may, therefore, indicate elements of social control and the restriction of fertility.

#### **The emergence of social formations and inequality in the Great Lakes region**

*Andrew Reid (Archaeology Unit, University of Botswana) and David L. Schoenbrun (Dept. of History, University of Georgia)*

There has long been interest in the antecedents of the kingdoms of the nineteenth century AD which existed in the Great Lakes region of Africa. Using information generated by oral traditions, historians created a series of explanatory models which revolved around new and superior population groups migrating into the region. The appearance of a radically new pottery type in the second millennium AD lent archaeological support to these ideas. Such migratory models were important ideologically in isolating royal elites from the general population and in legitimising their power.

Following on from new critical perspectives in history and anthropology, recent work in archaeology and historical linguistics demonstrates, however, that the millennium was characterised by major internal political, social and economic change. Nowhere is this more clear than in the consideration of pastoralism in the central part of the region which became a prominent, if not dominant, component of several of the kingdoms. Both the archaeological and the linguistic work demonstrate that, rather than migrating into the region with a ready formed political and social system, these societies were moulded in a series of social changes which occurred during the course of the millennium. Taken from this viewpoint, African societies are (not surprisingly) shown to have the capability of being dynamic, innovative and ultimately historical.

#### **Chiefdoms, cattle and warfare: social change in southern Madagascar**

*Mike Parker-Pearson (Dept. of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield)*

The concept of the chiefdom in archaeological literature has been largely the preserve of processualist and neo-Marxist modelings of social evolution. These models tend to incorporate notions

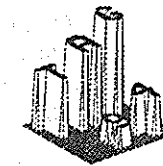
of increasing and directional social complexity, and to assume generalised processes such as monument building, corvee labour, chiefly redistribution and long distance prestige goods exchange. The rise and fall of royal chiefdoms in southern Madagascar between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries contrasts with much of the conventional wisdom on the archaeological recognition of chiefdom societies and their evolutionary trajectories. This study integrates archaeology with written accounts and oral traditions to examine the origins of Andatory kingship, the nature of its manifestation, and the reasons for its demise. In common with other pastoralist societies in southern and eastern Africa, cattle, feuding, warfare and migration are significant elements of Andatory history, but there are aspects which are specific to Madagascar's past. In particular, shifts in ritual elaboration, from circumcision ceremonies to funerary practices, and the collapse of nucleated settlement centres have had profound effects on structures of power and authority. Most of these changes pre-dated the arrival of invading French armies in the south at the turn of this century.

#### **Archaeology - another state of emergency? Towards a post-processual perspective of 'cultural weapons' in apartheid South Africa**

*Quinton Waddington (Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust)*

Archaeological theorists, particularly those from the left, have criticised post-processualism for having no real agenda (e.g. D.Hawes, unpublished BA dissertation, University of York). The recent election campaign in South Africa has focused the world's attention on the personalities and politics of this nation. The positive potential for a post-processualist analysis of the active symbolism involved in the use of 'cultural weapons' in pre-election South Africa will be examined in this paper.

The knobkerrie and assegai were adopted by the Zulus as symbols of their past, the possession and display of which was considered an act of defiance, often punished by imprisonment. This resulted in their adoption as natural symbols of freedom during the liberation struggle. Perhaps it is the greatest irony that these symbols of resistance re-emerged to play a role in a reactionary attempt to rehabilitate the 'Zulu' identity by the apartheid regime in the 1980s. In contrast, the ANC has rejected the tribal view of society and has sought a Marxist-Leninist form of analysis. In this sphere the Kalashnikov assault rifle has long symbolised the link of the socialist liberation forces with the Soviet and Chinese governments.



## **Digging Up People: Biological Anthropology and the Archaeologist**

*Session organiser: Mary Lewis (Calvin Wells Laboratory, University of Bradford)*

*Chair: Charlotte Roberts (Calvin Wells Laboratory, University of Bradford)*

*Discussant: Christopher Knüsel (Calvin Wells Laboratory, University of Bradford)*

Over twenty years ago, Dr. Calvin Wells stated that "... the pathology of a group of people is never randomly produced, it reflects the environment in which they lived, the geographic and climatic influences which bear on them, the pressure of competing and coexisting forms of life and their behaviour in the environment."

Replace 'pathology' with 'health' and in the above statement you have all the ingredients of the 'biocultural' approach to the study of human skeletal remains, coined by Zvelebil *et al.* in the 1988 TAG Conference. Biological anthropologists and in particular palaeopathologists, have been criticised for ignoring archaeological questions and concentrating on diagnosing a particular disease in isolation. The papers in this session will, however, aim to illustrate that this criticism is now outdated and that, given a well excavated cemetery population, biological anthropologists can employ palaeopathological, environmental, archaeological, medical and documentary evidence to answer the broader questions about health in past societies. After all, we study the people that created the material culture and their skeletons are valuable artefacts that testify to the success of human interaction with environmental and cultural factors.

#### **Digging up cemeteries in theory and practice**

*Stephanie Pinter-Bellows (University of Birmingham)*

Cemetery excavation strategy states that the ideal situation for extrapolating from a cemetery sample to the general population is the complete excavation of a large cemetery with sieving of all soil within the grave cuts. This paper will examine the theory behind these requirements, the problems in meeting them and the steps which can be and are being taken to help ensure as complete a recovery of bone as possible.

#### **The on-site osteoarchaeologist**

*Trevor Anderson (Canterbury Archaeological Trust)*

The degree of accuracy with which standard of health in past societies can be assessed is directly related to the quality of the recovered skeletal material. Preservation is dependent on soil condition and is outside the control of the excavators. The recovery of the smallest bones, fragile pathological remains and abnormal calcifications, however, is related to the expertise of the excavation team. In Canterbury, an experienced osteologist is on site during the excavation of human skeletal material. Such an approach leads to the highest level of bone recovery and permits detailed in situ photography of all palaeopathological lesions. In addition, valuable information can be gained from bones too fragmentary to survive excavation and transport to the laboratory. The accurate separation of articulated individuals from 'loose' gravefill material speeds up the post-excavation analysis.

#### **Infanticide and its recognition in the archaeological record**

*Simon Mays (English Heritage)*

Infanticide, the killing of unwanted infants, is a frequent practice in many cultures the world over. It has been extensively studied by historians and social anthropologists but has hitherto received little attention from archaeologists. In this paper anthropological and historical studies are drawn upon to help illuminate why, where, when, how and by whom infanticide may be carried out. Means by which it might be recognised archaeologically are discussed, as are the ways in which it might be expected to influence the demographic profile of cemetery populations.

#### **The impact of urbanisation: maxillary sinusitis in later Medieval populations**

*Mary Lewis (Calvin Wells Laboratory, University of Bradford)*

Archaeological, documentary and environmental evidence were combined with the primary evidence of human skeletal remains to assess the impact of urbanisation on population health. Wharrah Percy, a Medieval deserted village in the Yorkshire Wolds and St. Helen-on-the-Walls, a poor parish in the Medieval city of York were examined for evidence of chronic maxillary sinusitis, a condition which today is associated with allergies and, more importantly, air pollution. The frequency of maxillary sinusitis was significantly higher in the urban population and it is proposed that occupational activities and neighbouring industries in the city of York contributed to the different character and frequency of this condition in St. Helen-on-the-Walls. This paper aims to illustrate how evidence for even one condition can complement archaeological observations and contribute to our understanding of life in the Middle Ages.



### Indicators of stress: potential and limitations

Rebecca Wiggins (Bristol University)

Until the 1970s, palaeopathology was concentrated on the identification of individual diseases. Invaluable though this information is, it is sometimes limited in its application to population health. The past twenty years of palaeopathological research has seen an expansion into general population stress of both specific and non-specific varieties (using human skeletal material). The potential for information about past peoples in this line of research seems limitless: in theory, it should be possible to identify chronically malnourished and/or diseased individuals and sudden changes in general population health. This can be taken further and linked to palaeodietary studies, palaeoepidemiology and even major historic events such as the breakdown of past societies.

There are, however, certain limitations that govern the study of stress indicators, and these happen to be all pervasive, and to a large extent unsolved. All too often the skeletal and dental anomalies called stress indicators, seem to be highly subject to individual variation. Possible causes of the appearance of the lesions are hotly contested between anthropologists, and particularly between anthropologists and medics. Many theories have been put forward as facts, with enormous assumptions being made from sparse evidence. This paper suggests, however, that a re-examination of the whole concept of physiological stress, and a more cautious approach to the diagnosis of the skeletal and dental lesions, could provide archaeologists with accurate information about general past population health.

### Male and female health patterns in antiquity

Philip Boocock (Calvin Wells Laboratory, University of Bradford)

In recent years there has been an increased interest in the differences between male and female susceptibility to disease and other stressors. Although it has generally been assumed that females have a stronger immune system than males, the modern clinical and archaeological evidence is ambiguous and the male:female disease ratios differ between place and time period. This paper will argue that cultural factors play a major role when considering disease susceptibility in the past and it is only through a close relationship between the archaeologist and the biological anthropologist that these patterns can be interpreted.

### Cremation: can the noun describe the verb?

Jacqueline McKinley (Wessex Archaeology)

Cremated bone is the product of a process of deliberate burning and its analysis involves not only the recovery of demographic and palaeopathological

data but also information pertaining to pyre technology and ritual. It should be assumed that all cremated bone recovered from archaeological contexts represents a cremation burial.

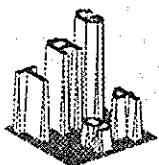
Other remnants of the cremation process i.e. pyre debris dumps or possible pyre sites, may also contain cremated bone. So how do we know when cremated bone is a 'burial' rather than just buried?

Observations at modern crematoria, experimental work and routine analysis of archaeological cremation burials and other cremation related contexts combine to give an insight into how the process was likely to have been conducted, some of the ritual associated with it, and what type of context a particular deposit of cremated bone represents.

### In the ground and on the hoof: people and cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England

Elizabeth Rega (Sheffield University)

It has become apparent in recent years that the purposes for which palaeodemographic analysis has been traditionally applied are inappropriate. Utilising skeletal data from most cemeteries to determine population parameters, such as life expectancy and health, is inappropriate because of inherent methodological limitations. Instead, by employing knowledge of the demographic characteristics of stable and biologically-realistic populations, we can more profitably address the cultural and taphonomic factors determining cemetery inclusion. I propose that ideological factors had a large part in determining access to cemetery burial throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. This hypothesis is supported by demographic data from seven cemeteries which span the fifth through the eleventh centuries.



## The Production of Prehistory: Convention and Invention.

Session organisers and chairs: James A. Delle and Amy Gazin-Schwartz (Dept. of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts at Amherst)

Discussants: B. Bender (Dept. of Anthropology, University College London) and H.M. Wobst (Dept. of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts at Amherst)

The papers in this session examine the construction of some European Prehistories from North American points of view. The individual papers discuss the trajectories of archaeologies in England, Germany, Ireland and Scotland. Some consider the

conventions of archaeological constructions, e.g. museums, landscapes, maps and site reports. Others suggest alternative routes to regional prehistories, including folklore and myth. As participants in the Europeanist Anthropology Program at the University of Massachusetts, and as North Americans, the contributors come to their studies from "outsider" perspectives. One of the purposes of this session is to engage our research questions and results in a European discourse on European prehistories.

### The Dane's Cast and Black Pig's Dyke: politics, nation building and archaeology in Ireland, 1894 - 1994

James A. Delle (University of Massachusetts at Amherst)

This paper considers how archaeology and archaeologists contributed to the development of Irish national identities in what has become Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The paper re-considers the history of archaeological interpretation of one class of Irish field monument, known in the archaeological literature as "linear earthworks," from the late nineteenth century to the present day. In doing so, I suggest how modern political and social boundaries have been shaped, legitimated and reified by extending them into the mists of prehistory. My purpose is to examine the reflexive relationship between archaeology and popular political discourse in Ireland from the years immediately preceding Home Rule to the present.

### Constructing ancestors: archaeological and folkloric interpretations in ancient landscapes

Amy Gazin-Schwartz (University of Massachusetts at Amherst)

The histories of an ancient landscape are constructed through interpretations of the features of that landscape and the material remains of its inhabitants. Archaeological accounts and traditional lore may both construct histories, but they often do so from very different perspectives. Referring to Scottish material, this paper will explore the different conceptions of historical time which may be found in archaeology and in folklore, and suggest how these strands may be woven into new understandings of the past.

### "Man emerging from savagery": prehistory in the British Museum

Paul R. Mullins (Dept. of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts at Amherst)

This paper examines how concepts like prehistory and savagery negotiated social inequality by suggesting that the nineteenth century underclass had no relationship with the cultural and temporal

others presented in the British Museum. Using the Museum's presentation of archaeological remains from throughout the world and the organisation of the Museum's administration, the paper approaches the presentation of the past as a continual effort to bond antagonistic classes in Britain. The British Museum's presentation of prehistory was widely copied and adapted throughout the colonising world, and the institutional conflicts played out in the British Museum have been recreated in many other museums. The negotiations which have taken place continually in the Museum illustrate the sociohistorical instability of the fundamental concepts used to define and give meaning to archaeological remains.

### Contextualising the history and practice of Hamburgian archaeology at the German site of Pennworthmoor

Blythe E. Roveland (Grinnell, Iowa)

Recently, archaeologists have been giving considerable thought to the contexts in which archaeological "knowledge" is produced and reproduced. Among other things, that which we perceive as the archaeological record has been shaped by research priorities, strategies, assumptions and techniques embedded within particular historical and contemporary contexts. In this paper, I discuss some of the factors that influenced the archaeology carried out on the German Hamburgian site of Pennworthmoor in Lower Saxony. I attempt to contextualize the fieldwork that was done at the site in the 1930s by an avocational archaeologist and then again in the 1990s by myself, an American doctoral student, and a small, predominantly German team of archaeologists. By doing so, I stress the necessity of scrutinising our own practices as well as those of past researchers. Topics to be explored include the role of avocational archaeologists in late-glacial archaeology in Germany, the challenges of working as a North American within a European context, and the utility of viewing archaeological practices through an ethnographic lens. Using these strands, I explore the ways in which the history and contemporary practices of archaeology at one particular German Hamburgian site interdigitate with broader expectations within archaeology about Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers.

### The creation of the past through nineteenth century Irish Ordnance Survey maps

Angèle Smith (Dept. of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts at Amherst)

The representation of the past as images upon public maps can be viewed as a powerful tool that can conform to, or manipulate perceptions of the land, the people and its history. These images of the past are artefacts of their historical social and political contexts. The mapping of Ireland by the

British Ordnance Survey during the nineteenth century can be regarded as an act of colonial hegemonic control. This paper will explore these issues by focusing specifically on how the Ordnance Survey mapped and publicly represented archaeological sites and monuments on the topographic maps. The new developments in the field of archaeology supported and were supported by the representation of the past that was created by the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps.

#### **The forest and hunter: contemporary images, postglacial reconstructions**

*Joannah L. Whitney (Dept. of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts at Amherst)*

Hunter/gatherer adaptations to the forests of the early Holocene are a key issue in Quaternary archaeology. This interest is underlain by the assumption that the composition of habitat shapes human behaviour in mundane and abstract ways. This perspective has led archaeologists to actively collaborate with paleoecologists in the belief that the more we know of the composition and nature of postglacial habitats, the more able we will be to interpret the archaeological record.

While debates about the attributes of postglacial environments and hunter/gatherer cultures comprise much of the archaeological discourse, the debate itself is rarely examined. I argue that the act of interpretation is not only the product of scientists attempting to transcend the limits of methods and data, it is also a struggle with meaning. The body of literature published in Starr Carr is used to explore how archaeologists construct images of forests and hunters. By treating site reports and journal articles as literature, I seek to identify additional dimensions of meaning evident in our interpretations of the past.



### **From Decoration to Society: Different Approaches to the Study of Style in Past Societies.**

*Session organisers: Karen Høilund Nielsen (University of Aarhus) and Reinhard Jung (Freien Universität Berlin)*

The study of Style, especially in the terms of Art, has been in focus from the dawn of archaeology. In the later decades the approach has changed from a study of art to a study of style comprising a much broader part of the material culture. Furthermore, from seeing decoration as Art in a modern sense or

just as decoration, we are now using the decoration/art/style in our search for past societies - trying to read "further information" from the pictures. Semiotic, structural, symbolic, critical and contextual approaches etc. are in this session applied to various sets of archaeological data, such as Athenian vase painting, Aegean seal images, African iron technology, rock carvings, Germanic animal art, picture stones, and wall-hangings.

The decoration may not only be for aesthetic reasons. It is suggested that it has a social meaning and in some cases is a sort of code, which - if we can decipher the code - can provide us with information about the societies in which they were used. Through "decoding" it seems possible to acquire information about e.g. individual craftsmen, gender, world-view, ideology, religion, rituals and myths - areas which are often wrapped in symbols. In the same way a "decoding" of the context of decorated objects leads to further information about their symbolic use ranging from clairvoyant women to political propaganda.

#### **Beazley as theorist**

*James Whitley (School of History and Archaeology, University of Wales, Cardiff)*

There is now a lively debate within Classical Archaeology on the role of theory within this particular sub-field, as evidenced by works like I. Morris (ed.) *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*. This debate, however, has sometimes led to the misleading impression that Classical Archaeology is something of a theoretical virgin, a field that needs to be introduced gently to the delights of processual and post-processual archaeology. This paper seeks to show that Classical Archaeology is not theoretically innocent by examining the theories implicit in the achievement of Sir J.D. Beazley. Beazley is famous for his list of Athenian vases arranged by painters; painters whose 'artistic personality' is detectable by the archaeologist's attention to the 'significant details' of draughtmanship. Beazley was deliberately reticent about his methods and said nothing about theory. Beazley's method has, however, been transferred to areas other than Athenian vase painting (e.g. Late Bronze Age amphoroid kraters; Cycladic figurines). As a method, it appears to work. This paper argues that the apparent success of his approach depends on a conscious theoretical stance, and on a particular view of the relationship between style and individual personality. It is a theory also closely tied to a particular 'Renaissance' allegory or meta-narrative. Fruitful theoretical debate in Classical Archaeology will depend on our revealing such aspects of the sub-field's particular 'theoretical unconscious'.

#### **Structured human sacrifice - analysing Minoan seal images**

*Reinhard Jung (Seminar für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Freien Universität Berlin)*

Recently, structural analysis has proven to be one of the most thorough methods - when used in a theoretical way - for extracting meaning from the Aegean seal images of the Bronze Age, a rich picture-book without text. Regarding the different depicted entities as meaningfully related to each other, opens the way for deciphering the compositional principles which have been followed by the seal engravers. It has been shown that specific pictorial structures were used for different subjects (M. Wedde, 1992 and forthcoming). Pictorial structure seems to form a basic part of the code used for transmitting information by means of seal images. It is suggested here that images showing the same structure also have in common most of the depicted objects (i.e. differing in just one object) should have a related meaning as well. Finally, analysis should not only take into consideration the static composition of the entities forming the picture, but also their dynamic character and their function as signs in a process of communication. One finally comes to the semiotic problem of coding and decoding the images. This approach is demonstrated by an example from religious iconography relating to sacrificial symbolism, more precisely to the symbolism of human sacrifice. Hopefully, the results can be tested and will then be analysed with regard to their social relevance in Bronze Age Crete.

#### **Changing art in a changing society: the rock carvings of western Norway**

*Eva M. Walderhaug (Arkeologisk institut, Universitetet i Bergen, Norway)*

The paper will focus on the tradition of rock art production in the county of Sogn and Fjordane, Western Norway. Rock art in this area may represent an unbroken tradition stretching from the early Middle Neolithic period into the Early Iron Age. The art is marked by stylistic variation, comprising art forms commonly interpreted as belonging to two different cultural and chronological traditions - so called "hunters' rock art" (primarily of Neolithic date) and "farmers' rock art" (primarily of Bronze Age date). It will be argued that such a division of the art is both rigid and simplistic. The paper aims instead to analyse the rock art in a contextual perspective, showing how the changing style and structure of the art can be read in relation to the changing structure of society. In this perspective, rock art can be seen as having a mediating function; acting as a response to external influences and ideological developments within society. In the particular context of Sogn and Fjordane, rock art is interpreted in light of the introduction of farming into a hunter-gatherer society.

#### **Style and technology - cultural and symbolic aspects of iron working**

*Randi Barndon (Arkeologisk institut, Universitetet i Bergen, Norway)*

A presentation of ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological material of traditional iron working among the Fipa in South-West Tanzania is approached as a cultural phenomena. Both material and mental aspects of their iron technology were observed and will be addressed. As pointed out by Gosselain; "...only the finished object has been the focus of cultural study and not the action leading to its achievement" (Gosselain 1992: 559). Within a cultural framework, Fipa iron smelting exhibits a specific "technological style" and technological activities evoke and communicate social and moral values. This "style" can be related to a more general Bantu system of thoughts. Technological behaviour is characterised by many elements that make up technological activities, for example, by technical modes of operation, attitudes towards materials, some specific organisation of labour, and ritual practices and observances - elements that are unified non-randomly in a complex of formal relationships (Lechtman 1977:6). Together these elements form a technological style. The use of this concept prevents the more traditional polarisation between technology and symbolism. Finally, with the assistance of academic constructions and categorisations partly produced through the ethnoarchaeological and ethnographic data, the significance of recognising "technological styles" in Late Iron Age and Recent Iron Age societies in East Africa is discussed.

#### **Symbols of prestige and power in German society of later Antiquity**

*Aleksander Bursche (Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw)*

Prestige and rank symbols are a particularly important key to the study of the sources of power within societies. To understand this subject within early state communities it is necessary to go further back, to high ranked societies such as the Germans of the fourth and fifth centuries AD. Contacts with developed urban civilisations often played an important role in the rise of new elites and in the creation of their symbols. Roman gold medallions, their native limitations, their iconography, context and function are confronted with Indian peace medals and modern European tradition.

#### **Contexts of Style I in southern and western Norway**

*Siv Kristoffersen (Arkeologisk institut, Universitetet i Bergen, Norway)*

Style I functioned within different contexts in Migration Period society. Based on an investigation of distribution of items decorated with animal art in

South and West Norway, an area which held a central position in the development of the art and aspects of associated gravegoods, two contexts are discussed: 1. *General aspects of the role of the art in the strategies inherent in the social and political situation of the area.* The investigation area consisted in the Migration Period of a number of socio-political units connected by similar cultural traits. The area seems to have been characterised by change and probably by social and political stress. 2. *A more restricted, social context, represented by the image of the women who wore the animal art.* Through a discussion of the burials in which the art occurs, the connection between animal art and an image of a group of women will be focused upon - bronze keys and iron weaving battens also belong to, and are essential for, this image.

#### Art as a symbol of power, politics, and myth in early Medieval Europe

Karen Højlund Nielsen (Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology, Aarhus University, Denmark)

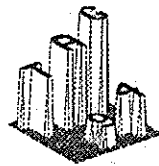
Most research in Germanic animal art has been concentrated on chronology and the origin of the various styles, and the animal art was often seen as art in the modern sense. Only recently research in the social context of this style has come into focus. In other areas e.g. classical archaeology, new approaches were applied to art and style twenty years ago by Danish archaeologists, whereas the Germanic animal styles have remained "untouched" until recently by any kind of New Archaeology and modern theoretical approaches. In this paper it will be suggested that the uneven time and space distribution of Style II, in particular, is better explained in a "political" context. The style is supposed to have a symbolic value in state formation processes, political factions, and myths of origin, legitimating the rights to power. The actual artisan only worked according to the wishes of his employer. Furthermore, the same use of other styles is seen in similar situations in other areas and at other times.

#### Breaking up style: looking at the world through Viking Age art

Eva-Marie Göransson (Dept. of Archaeology, Stockholm University, Sweden)

Style is here seen as a perspective on material culture in general and art in particular that builds up a special kind of world-view through the material in question. Style controls and tames art. What kind of world is it that the concept of style generates? It is a world of order, of almost military discipline, unquestionable, unambiguous, balanced, stagnant ... dead! Yes! An image of a dead world inhabited by absent people, a harmless image. If the same patterns or structures that have by tradition been labelled "style" are looked upon as world-views,

attitudes, I believe we could open up alternative ways of writing archaeology out of prehistoric art. These patterns are not considered, however, to be a mirror of the actual social structure in the prehistoric society of the art-producers. Rather, they are to be seen as a view of how people wanted to be looked upon, a view constructed by archaeologists watching, meeting and "styling" the art produced in the past. I would like to present some alternative perspectives on Viking Age art, where human figures on the Gotlandic picture stones are compared to those on the wall-hangings from Överhogdal in the north of Sweden. The patterns that come out of this are building up a somewhat contradictory structure of gender, attitudes to time and space, movement and rest; constructing a world-view that breaks up style into interpretation.



#### Time: The Fourth Dimension

Session organisers: Linda Hurcombe and Karen Stears (Dept. of Classics and Ancient History, Exeter University)

Chairs: Linda Hurcombe (part 1), Karen Stears (part 2)

In *The Time Machine*, one of H.G. Wells's characters explains that in order to exist three dimensions are not enough, there has to be a fourth dimension - Time. The session explains this idea by looking at how time is defined and measured. Like any other measure, there is great variation in the systems used due to social and political manipulations and needs. It is these aspects which form the focus of the session rather than the usual archaeological notions of time as chronologies and dates.

The papers are concerned with both historic and prehistoric contexts and explore the varying social constructions of time together with the archaeological and historical problems of recognition, reconstruction and deconstruction, and last, but not least, the problems of recognising diachronic time archaeologically whilst employing theoretical methodologies which concentrate on the synchronic.

#### Logging time: alternative reference frames for the sequence and duration of events

Andrew Chamberlain (University of Sheffield)

We are accustomed to measuring time by employing a *timescale*, a polarised sequence of intervals of uniform duration against which the relations of *earlier than*, *concurrent* and *later than*

can be established for any two distinct and unique occurrences. Such timescales have three properties: *direction*, the polarity of before and after that is imposed by the irreversibility of time; *sequence*, the ability to impose a unique order to any series of events through iterative use of the before and after criterion; and *duration*, the agreement on a regular and reproducible time interval that can be counted in order to estimate elapsed time.

On a cosmological scale time has a unique and determined origin, but the concepts of sequence and duration lose much of their fixity of meaning and are retained as a parochial convenience for describing everyday life in our local galactic cluster. Long time scales for ordering events in the Earth's geological and biological history employ a logarithmic measure of time, and it is argued that all linear clocks can be replaced by logarithmic ones. The consequences for the historical sciences of this change in perspective are explored.

#### Time out of joint: the case of the 'archaeologically unacceptable'

Robin Dennell (University of Sheffield)

No abstract received.

#### Packaging time: types of time as a factor in gendered production activity

Linda Hurcombe (University of Exeter)

Time is often considered in studies of production, exchange and discard: time to extract an amount of raw material, time to travel to a source, time to make, time to mend, time to break. All these can be measured in our metronomes of seconds/minutes/hours. Robin Torrence suggested that time was budgeted, and the notion of time as a limited resource is inherent in many of the discussions on production. Torrence, however, linked this with ideas about space, resources and risk. More recently, Chris Gosden linked time with space and social being. This paper develops ideas about the social setting of time related to production and craftwork. In particular, the gender-associations of different craft activities will be examined for the social contexts of their time. Thinking about packaging time into social types, rather than quoting total elapsed time, leads to categories such as 'continuous time', 'intermittent time', 'time away', 'time to learn' and 'expert time'. All these types are aspects of the time involved in craft production.

#### The running sands of time: archaeology and the short-term

Lin Foxhall (University of Leicester)

Social life operates on a wide range of different scales. In recent years archaeologists have frequently focused on the *longue durée*, approaching the material record in terms of 'culture history'. In

contrast this paper explores the impact of short-term human activities on both the documentary and material cultural records of ancient Greece. Seasonal, daily, gender and life-stage variations in activity patterns are analysed in conjunction with short-term time scales imposed by political and religious structures. The impact of short-term scales on the uses of space form a major focus of the argument.

#### Time for sex? Gendered time in Classical Athens

Karen Stears (University of Edinburgh)

This paper examines the concept of time as a gendered phenomenon. Based on material and literary sources from Classical Athens it considers a number of time-cycles as sexually (biologically) specific and evaluates these as a factor in the social construction and experience of gender, both male and female, as well as studying the engendering of time outside biologically determined cycles. The paper evaluates the archaeological and historical visibility of gendered time and assesses its possibilities for future studies.

#### Ritual time in early Latium

Christopher Smith (University of St. Andrews)

This paper examines some of the earliest rituals which are attested through archaeology and literary sources in Rome and the surrounding region it also explores their relationship to the calendar and the impact of their duration on the experience of the participants. This paper also attempts to demonstrate changes in the importance of calendrical timing and duration through the Republican period. The evidence will be presented in the context of recent theoretical approaches to time.

#### The power of time

Ray Laurence (University of Reading)

This paper addresses the Roman construction of time and temporality through the study of material culture, rather than literary texts. In doing so, the paper questions the artificial divisions between history and prehistory, and the dichotomies of 'civilised:barbarian' and 'prehistoric:historic', which are a product of the West's 'classical tradition'. Finally, the paper will discuss the role of time in the creation of Roman identity, history and the power of the emperor.

#### Io Saturnalia! Festivals (and birthday cakes) in Roman Britain: explorations of public and private time

Raphael Isserlin (EEC Archaeology)

Festivals from Britain, Gallia Belgica and Germania present evidence for seasonal activity at

monuments such as temples and ritual shafts. Evidence from some excavated sites bears this out and can be compared with the evidence for time-keeping and festivals in private contexts.

#### **Undifferentiated time? Medieval models of remote time**

*Julia Crick (University of Exeter)*

As Paul Ricoeur and others have shown, we all construct our experience according to learned models, especially when writing. Narrators, whether journalists, historians, witnesses of any kind, fit observation and acquired information into inherited frameworks. When the language of writing is too learned (Latin in the case of the Medieval West; English or Spanish, for example, in the case of colonial administration) such models acquire enhanced importance. This paper will examine the way in which Medieval writers dealt with time totally beyond their own experience: the remote past.

Generations of historians in the search for a usable past have sorted Medieval writing into two unequal piles. Useful material has been processed for general consumption - discussed, excerpted, translated and stored on library shelves - and the remainder, the conventional, the repetitive, the uninformative, whose bulk dwarfs that of the first category, left on one side. Even if Medieval historians no longer believe in the dichotomy, they certainly live with its effects. The canon of edited texts, translations and student-friendly extracts has its origins in the scholarly zeal which fuelled the search for a usable past. Only relatively recently has historical and, more especially, literary study been devoted to unhistorical history, among which medieval attempts to cope with prehistory loom large.

#### **Death and time: death as a way of marking time**

*Mike Parker-Pearson (Dept. of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield)*

The prospect of death wonderfully concentrates the mind. It is a mainspring of human activity, shadowing and directing the lifelong projects of existence on which we are all embarked. Knowledge of the inevitability of death provides the most significant time frame for human beings, that of our personal life span. And yet funerary rites are frequently materialised denials of this subjective time-as-lived. Rites of passage embody collective representations which transcend and negate individual experience. They institutionalise the human condition, animate the gods and ancestors, and naturalise the social order as something more than the here-and-now or past-present-future of subjective time. Social perceptions and institutions of death reveal the objectified time and sequence of events experienced beyond individual selfhood.

Our objectification of time is intimately bound up with conceptions of death. Coping with death's presence provides not simply a way of marking time but the very means by which we have learned to recognise time and to call it into existence as a thing in itself. Roll calls of ancestors, quests for immortality, denials of death, regenerative schemes of fertility and rebirth, and rites of passage are some of the means by which humans have developed and refined notions of temporality, memory and forgetting. This paper investigates some of the archaeological implications of this link between conceptions of time and death that we may find in material treatments of the dead.

#### **The creation of a historical landscape: monuments and the past in Messenia, South-West Greece**

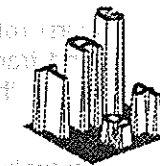
*Nigel Spencer (Institute of Archaeology at Oxford)*

The archaeological structure of a landscape in terms of the history of its settlement there through time together with the construction, development and importance of monuments placed in it has become a feature of recent landscape archaeology in the study of Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain. This paper introduces some of these themes into the study of a Bronze age landscape in Messenia, South-West Greece, examining questions such as how the landscape was constructed through time and the relevance of past monuments to the later settlement patterns in the area around the Palace of Nestor in Messenia.

#### **Dead lines and time limits: kinship, memory-loss and memorialisation in a modern Greek farming community**

*Hamish Forbes (University of Nottingham)*

The short time-depth of the kinship system of a rural community in Greece can be shown to be the result of structural features within the cultural system, including the preferential cultural emphasis on non-linear aspects of time. This situation is compared with that of some anthropologically 'paradigmatic' tribal societies which have a greater time-depth built into their kinship systems. It is argued that, in effectively non-literate societies, time-depth of memorialisation beyond the grandparental generation is only maintained if it serves a useful social/cultural function: for non-elites in complex societies, it has little importance whereas in many tribal societies it is embedded in the organisation of society.



## **Breaking the Mould: Politics, Power and the Bronze Age**

*Session organisers: Jane Downes (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow) and Louise Turner (Heritage Section, Strathclyde Regional Council)*

*Chairs: Richard Bradley (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Reading) and Ramon Fabregas Valcarce (Departamento de Historia Artes, Universidade de Vigo, Spain)*

Britain's main contribution to the Council of Europe's two-year campaign which promotes the Bronze Age has been the organisation of an international conference to be held at the British Museum. This event, however, highlights only the researches of those who hold established positions of authority within the academic and museum communities, with contributions requested from invitees only. This effectively excludes those who are currently exploring new avenues of research within the interpretation of this period of prehistory.

The intention of this session is to provide a platform for those who believe that ongoing discourse is possible and, indeed, necessary within Bronze Age studies. The provision of this forum will invigorate an area of study which has, in many respects, stagnated over the past decade.

#### **Conceptualising the past: the state of British Early Bronze Age studies**

*Paul Garwood (6, Harmony St, Tunbridge Wells)*

The study of the British Early Bronze Age has suffered from profound neglect in recent years. This is in marked contrast to the lavish attention that the Neolithic period has received, clearly reflected in the quantity of relevant academic papers and the number of doctoral students in each field of research. Ambiguous and often contradictory explanations for this situation are sometimes voiced, though rarely with any serious concern. It is sometimes argued, for example, that our understanding of Early Bronze Age society (especially the round barrow evidence) is already far-reaching; or that the sheer quantity and variety of the material evidence drawn from ritual-funerary and monumental contexts is somehow 'intractable'; and even that the detailed material typologies that pervade Bronze Age studies are so inherently tedious that few students have wanted to study them anyway.

These perceptions are deeply flawed and certainly misleading. Nonetheless, it is apparent that Early

Bronze Age studies have generally suffered from the absence of materially- and culturally-specific methodological and interpretive frameworks that offer convincing new avenues for research. It is proposed here that the reasons for this lie in methodological failures that are essentially concerned with chronology, in some fundamental misconceptions regarding the cultural constitution of much of the archaeological evidence, and in the widespread mis-application of interpretive models drawn mainly from Neolithic studies. These themes are explored with reference to the existing radiocarbon chronology; the ideal and partial (social) constitution of the funerary evidence; and interpretive premises regarding the nature of social structuration and cultural change in the Early Bronze Age.

#### **Conceptualising change: the Earlier-Later Bronze Age transition in southern Britain**

*Joanna Bruck (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)*

In recent years there has been a renewal of interest in the major transformation of society that is argued to have taken place at the end of the earlier Bronze Age in Southern Britain. What factors have influenced archaeologists' perceptions of the Earlier-Later Bronze Age transition and how has this affected the ways in which they have attempted to explain or interpret the changes in the archaeological record? It is argued that an attempt to deal with the variability of the archaeological record without constructing inflexible chronological categories may lead to a different conceptualisation of this 'transition'. Furthermore, it is proposed that we cannot directly relate the changes we identify as the Earlier-Later Bronze Age transition to factors external to society (such as soil exhaustion), as archaeologists have sometimes attempted to do, but must explore how changes in social relations are more immediately implicated wherever the characteristics of the archaeological record alter dramatically. It is suggested that a study of changes over this period in the cultural construction of settlement space may cast light on significant shifts in the nature of social relations.

#### **Fire and water: an analysis of change in our Bronze Age**

*Gavin Macgregor (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow)*

Previous stereotypes, both explicit and implicit, relating to the Bronze Age in Britain will be considered. The implications of each will be addressed, in particular as regards the nature of society and change in the Bronze Age. Through reference to aspects of the Bronze Age in Scotland a possible series of alternative narratives will be suggested. These explore the mediation of social understanding via material culture.

**"When is a Beaker not a Beaker?": death and deposition in Early Bronze Age Britain**

Nicola Bestley (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)

This paper seeks to address the phenomenon of 'Beaker' burials in Britain, to assess not only how pottery typology has restricted our interpretation of the symbolic nature of these pots, but how it has also thwarted our interpretation of the actual act of burial and its surrounding paraphernalia. The construction of rigid typologies as a framework of understanding has meant that similarity has been expressed at the expense of variability, thus failing to take account of the considerable diversity present in depositional context in which this particular pottery occurs. This typology can also be further criticised for removing individual pots from their meaningful situations by classifying and treating them in isolation thus rendering them and their context effectively meaningless. The actual act of burial and the deposition of other material culture items alongside it is, seemingly, overshadowed by the discovery of a Beaker pot, which then dominates how this context is perceived and interpreted. This paper attempts to demonstrate that death and deposition can be more effectively understood through a framework of 'cultural variability', and will compare and contrast a limited number of Beaker burials from North-West Scotland and the Wessex region of southern Britain in an attempt to attach equal importance to the body and its associated goods, treating the Beaker pot simply as any other item of the assemblage. As a result it is hoped that Beaker pottery with all its variation in not only form, decoration and situation, will from now on be treated as merely a constituent part of an assemblage and not as its defining characteristic, thus allowing for a more meaningful understanding of death and deposition in the early Bronze Age.

**A pit, a pot, a macehead and the dead**

Kevin Taylor (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow)

This paper concerns an interpretation of a specific depositional juxtaposition.

**Regarding the dead: Bronze Age funerary rites and funerary architecture in Orkney**

Jane Downes (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow)

In this paper the social practices concerned in cremation as a burial rite will be integrated with a consideration of the reflexive nature of the monuments created through these practices. Recent excavation of a Bronze Age barrow cemetery in Orkney have produced many cremation burials as well as pyre sites in and around the mounds. The investigation of these remains focused on following the journey taken by the corpse involving the

procurement and transport of materials and artefacts, the preparation and transformation of the corpse and construction of the repository for interment.

The architecture created through these actions not only modified the landscape and structured future actions, but also acted as an indicator to the way in which the dead were regarded by the living. Thus the funerary architecture played a dual role both in containing the dead, and in acting as a referent for further funerary rituals and possibly ancestor rituals. These aspects are discussed through a consideration of the history of the burial mound, cemetery development, and the position of mounds within the landscape.

**The gendering of children at the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Mokrin, Yugoslavia**

Elizabeth Rega (Dept. of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield)

This paper addresses the construction and depiction of gender in the graves of the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Mokrin in Yugoslavia. Mokrin is an extensive flat inhumation cemetery, whose 310 excavated graves represent perhaps two-thirds of the original cemetery. Although similar in most regards to other cemeteries of the same 'culture group', what sets Mokrin apart is the fact that the orientation of the graves appears to be very highly correlated with the biological sex of the skeletal remains. Females in the cemetery are buried with their heads to the south, males with their heads to the north. Particular types of grave goods are also apparently partitioned along lines of gender, including sewing needles and knives. This partitioning of the mortuary treatment appears to have been extended to the children as well. Because of the impossibility of accurately determining the biological sex of sub-adult skeletal remains, the evidence of grave goods and discriminant functions analysis of dental metrics provided sex estimates for the juveniles which agreed with the gender as encoded in the grave orientation. Further evidence from dietary analysis, demography and pathology manifested no significant differences in biological quality of life between men and women, suggesting that whilst biological sex represents one of the major partitioning factors for this community, this did not entail differential access to food resources.

**Atreus and his unfeasibly large treasury**

Michael Boyd (British School at Athens)

No abstract received.

**Neither here nor there: landscape, tradition and cosmology in the Bronze Age of Rousay**

Andy Jones (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow)

The way in which the dead were perceived and treated in the Orcadian Bronze Age and the relation of these perceptions to landscapes of the living is explored through a discussion of the ways in which the social landscape is constructed through a variety of structuring principles which constitute a cosmology involving reference to earlier architectural forms as well as the wider landscape itself.

The changing forms of mortuary architecture, their position within the landscape, the particular form of mortuary rites enacted, in particular those involving the body itself, and the ways in which these rites actively incorporate notions of cosmology and landscape will allow us to begin to understand the constitution of the early and middle Bronze Age world. These issues are discussed with particular reference to the transformation of perceptions of the landscape and cosmology from the late Neolithic to the middle Bronze Age on Rousay, Orkney.

**Between the devil and the deep blue sea: life and death in coastal Bronze Age Scotland**

Tony Pollard (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow)

The Bronze Age funerary record in coastal contexts displays some degree of variety. This paper considers this evidence and its relationship to both the marine environment and the transformational processes of marine exploitation. It is demonstrated that 'economic' practice and 'ritual' activity are intimately bound and that the coastal environment played an important role in the creation of cosmologies.

**Perceptions of the landscape**

Carleton Jones (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)

The Early Bronze Age inhabitants of Burren, an upland area on the west coast of Ireland, lived in and added to a landscape accented by tombs, burial cairns, and field boundaries. These highly visible modifications of the landscape no doubt affected their perception of the landscape and the way in which they interacted with their surroundings. By studying the way people modified their landscape we can begin to explore the ways in which they may have perceived their surroundings. These modifications of the landscape, which are still visible today, can be viewed as points of correspondence between the prehistoric peoples' perception of the landscape and our perception of the landscape today.

**Structure and meaning in Early Bronze Age designs**

Jane Dickins (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)

This paper is concerned with the formal analysis of design structures and the interpretation of decorated objects in Early Bronze Age Ireland. A collection of decorated flat axes form the focal point for an exploration of issues relating to meaning and structure in the formation of designs. Theoretical conceptions of style are discussed with a view to investigating the relative significance of change and continuity in the construction of design and the role of decoration in Early Bronze Age communities.

**Some cautionary words regarding typology and the Wilburton complex**

Louise Turner (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow)

Traditional discussions of Bronze Age metalwork offer a compartmentalised chronological framework as a backdrop against which all interpretations of such material are set. One of these discrete chronological frameworks is known as the 'Wilburton complex', a horizon viewed by many as the first manifestation of a truly 'Late Bronze Age' society. Most writers have, however, tended to neglect the fact that the Wilburton material displays a marked concentration in certain limited areas of South-East England. Some recent interpretations have credited the rest of Britain with a more progressive outlook than the traditional explanations have led us to believe but there still seems to remain a belief that the Wilburton complex stands alone as a discrete, almost disembodied phase of development in an unassailable chronological scheme.

I would like to argue that we can offer alternative explanations which can account for the localised distribution of the Wilburton complex. By focusing not so much upon the differences between the representative attributes of different industries as on their similarities, it can be argued that the Wilburton complex may not be so isolated or unique as has been traditionally believed. Instead, we may regard its distinctive nature and limited range as representative of a geographically defined entity as much as a chronological one. This argument has repercussions for the chronological framework of Bronze Age metalwork studies in Europe, and, while this paper does not pretend to offer a replacement for this scheme, it will instead suggest that we can no longer blindly rely upon traditional constructs. We must be more flexible in our approach to the chronological ordering of our material and accept that current interpretations should be viewed as value-laden interpretations imposed upon the material by modern scholars which can and should be open to renegotiation and debate.

**The passage of bugle-shaped objects: metalwork deposition in the Bronze Age of South-East England**

*Martyn Barber (10, Kishorn Close, Swindon)*

The corpus of Bronze Age metalwork consists of items recovered by various means, usually by accident and rarely during controlled excavation. In recent years the metal-detector has also begun to have a considerable impact on both the rate and distribution of discoveries. This paper examines the variable quality of information surrounding recovery of prehistoric metalwork primarily from one particular region, East Kent, and the implications for interpretation of that material.



**General Theoretical Perspectives**

*Session organisers: TAG committee  
Chair John Hunter (Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford)*

**Genesis: the age of the Universe**

*Harry Z.A. Orenstein (Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford)*

Biblical fundamentalists, of all creeds, would have us believe that the world is approximately 6,000 years old. Surprisingly, a hermaneutical understanding of the biblical Hebrew text points to a different period of time. Furthermore, support of the late George Gammow's scientific theory of creation and an expanding universe is supported by a Judaic twelfth century cabalist, Isaac of Akko. If you are endeavouring to cross the theological barrier this paper provides some serendipity.

**Oral prehistory: this week's theory**

*Cornelius Holtorf (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter)*

Drawing together recent interpretive approaches and issues concerning archaeological practice, I suggest Oral Prehistory to be the way forward: it is *this week's* most appropriate theory. An Oral Prehistory approach takes seriously the post-structuralist understanding of (cultural) texts - such as the past - as being 'eternally open for signification'. With Roland Barthes, any privileged interpreting position ascribed to experts/authors (like professional archaeologists) is denied. I hold instead that all knowledge and interpretation (including this one) is contextual and is socially constructed according to specific circumstances. An Oral Prehistorian thus

excavates the past and gains knowledge about the past from where it really is: in the minds of people living *this week*. Once we are empirically informed about local contexts through interviews, Oral Prehistory enables us to deal properly with the 'past(s) in the present' and with associated pragmatic, political, and ethical subtleties. This approach will be discussed in the paper, with some examples from my research (ongoing *this week*).

**Culture: an indispensable predicament in the archaeological project**

*Jens Ipsen (Copenhagen)*

Debate within anthropology has produced books like *The Predicament of Culture* with an introductory essay entitled *The Pure Products Go Crazy*, articles such as *Culture, Demise or Resurrection* and ending with *A Last Minute Rescue*. No better term seems to be available.

Culture can be argued to consist of both structured structures (external forms) and structuring structures (habitus, mentality). The former is the empirical evidence whilst the latter is an analytical abstraction. This applies to both anthropology and archaeology. The following semiotic model illustrates the archaeological project:

Archaeological Record	Habitus, Mentality
(Pre)history CULTURE	

The archaeological project consists both of discovering structured structures and of defining structuring structures. The former is an uncontroversial part of conventional archaeology whereas the latter still forms a predicament.

When studying settlements and rock art of the East Finnish Neolithic and Early Metal Age several structured structures can be detected, reflecting certain structuring structures not in accordance with Western rationality.

**The fundamental things apply: an archaeological parable**

*Max Adams (Archaeological Services, University of Durham)*

**The setting:** The story takes place at a fictitious gathering of the World Archaeological Congress in 2001AD. The place? Casablanca, that exotic point of transit where north meets south. There is all the excitement of old friends and opponents milling through the porticoes of the ancient Moorish University. All the different schools of thought are represented. There are empiricists, inheritors of the Wheeler tradition, carrying around their boxes of slides from last summer's digging to show delegates with bad hangovers. There are idealists, existentialists, functionalists, and Marxists. There are behaviourists, rummaging around in litter bins

for residues to build middle-range theories with. The post-processualist school is here, ready to deconstruct, reconstruct and misconstruct everything that everyone else has to say. A heated debate is anticipated between the relativists, the empiricists and the idealists, with the behaviourists looking on to see who will win. There are also fieldworkers, and refugees of every intellectual hue, but there is a shadow over the proceedings. The omnipresent IFA network of spies and informers. They are here to ensure that the party line is toed by their members and, more sinister, that non-members are made to see the error of their ways. In this incestuous world rumour abounds: word has it that a courier, carrying two blank NERC CASE award cheques, has been murdered - someone will have to pay, and the thief must be caught but at Rick's *Café Americain* session, it won't be the piano-player who gets shot.

**Alternative context: fifteen minutes of stand-up comedy about archaeology**

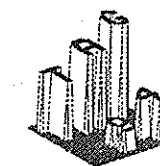
*Louise A. Hitchcock (Dept. of Art History, UCLA)*

Within archaeological theory, a recent trend or tradition has emerged focusing on the personal side of archaeology. This has been exhibited in previous TAG sessions on Emotion in Archaeology (1990), as well as thematic issues of ARC focusing on Affective Archaeology (1990) and humour in the Digging for a Laugh (1992) issue. In this last, Simon James has pointed out that Ben Elton's 'Reality Gap' - the gap between the way things are presented and the way they are - runs throughout archaeological narrative.

The next logical step is to include humour as serious social commentary in the practice of archaeology in the TAG program. Humour can be seen as an effective device for breaking down the Subject/Object dichotomy by pointing out the ironies in our practice of archaeology. At the same time it can be fun using stand-up, alternative comedy to address the following questions, problems, and more:

- What do archaeologists have in common with taxidermists and gardeners?
- What can you say when wealthy friends express envy about your being an archaeologist?
- Why is reading material culture as text really an old-fashioned concept?
- How can theory make the study of faunal remains romantic and mysterious?
- Why don't they do flotation at Athenian Agora?
- What do traditional archaeologists have in common with post-structuralists?

This paper proposes to humourously challenge the authority structures in contemporary archaeology by foregrounding some serious questions and political issues.



**Further Considerations on the Contemporary Context of Archaeology: the Study of the Past in the Capitalist Present**

*Session organiser and chair: Michael Tierney (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter)*

This session can be seen as part of an ongoing critique of the contemporary context of archaeology which has been a consistent current within TAG over the years. It falls clearly within a radical archaeology as identified by Shanks and Tilley in *Norw. Arch. Rev.* 1989/90 with individual contributions working variously at the interstices of considerations of power and discourse, questions of the micro- and macro-politics of archaeology, the relation of theory to practice, issues of democracy and the role of archaeology in the reproduction of capitalist social relations. A loose unity offers a coherence to the papers, which at first glance deal with unrelated topics, a unity which springs from a common desire to contribute to a general counter-hegemonic impulse within archaeology and society in general. Being challenged, are established world views rooted in instrumentalist, authoritarian conceptions of human nature and the organisation of societies past and present.

**Gender as mediation of embodied knowledges**

*Mary Baker (Depts. of Archaeology and History, University of Wales, Lampeter)*

This paper looks at the signifier 'gender' and questions whether gender studies as they have been applied to archaeology are changing ways of thinking enough. I explore gender not as a thing but as something people do in their social relations. With reference to third wave, French feminism I employ 'genderings' as an analytical tool to think about the past 'experiences' of gender as embodied knowledges which have often been inexpressible.

**So what is this ethnicity stuff anyway?**

*Ian Banks (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division)*

The word 'ethnic' is heard with ever-increasing frequency in a variety of contexts, from ethnic motifs in art and design, to ethnic minorities in domestic sociology and politics, to ethnic cleansing in war-torn areas of the world. This paper attempts to define what is meant by the term 'ethnic' and attempts to assess its validity for considerations of human populations, especially from a nationalist

perspective. In view of the importance of assertions drawn from the past within such debates, some conclusions are drawn about the validity of the concept of ethnicity both for nationalists and for archaeologists, based upon material drawn from the past.

#### **Excavation: misdirected?**

*Mark Johnston (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter)*

Locating myself within a tradition of culture critique I begin by offering an interpretation of the Western view of history as being objectivist - an ism which obfuscates the relations of power and domination at play in our work. In terms of excavation I argue that our way of seeing the past and how we relate to it in the present will be objective within the terms of contemporary understandings. Excavation is not objective but is more representative of a shared twentieth century subjectivity. An alternative to the pretence of objectivity may lie in a self-reflexive research strategy, and I use this alternative as a link to a consideration of a political critique of the structures of authority manifest in that aspect of archaeological work which is excavation. We find at the core of the discipline a pyramid of power that is about making sense of the past in a manner which involves a censoring of alternative interpretations of that past.

The hierarchical approach is compared to alternatives which may come from the hermeneutic and dialectical traditions in archaeology. These are, however, also already found within society in current rethinking of management approaches to team-work and the organisation of people in a way which seeks to overcome the alienation which many people experience in the day to day work experience.

#### **Museology as ideological practice**

*Donald Preziosi (University of California, Los Angeles)*

In this paper I consider some of the political and ideological aspects of museum practices in connection with art history and archaeology. The particular focus is on the fabrication of historical fictions by museological practice, in order to provoke discussion on some of the means/mechanisms by which museology, as an ideological practice, produces and factualises knowledge, fosters essentialist and historicist fictions and in general works to domesticate and marginalise difference.

#### **Choosing our origins- the post-partition context of the study of Irish court tombs**

*Margaret Ronayne (Dept. of Archaeology, University College, Cork)*

Irish archaeology has remained a strictly empiricist discipline despite several attempts to introduce

theoretical debate. There is still a perception that we are somehow 'immune' from political concerns, discovering 'the real past', while various other groups within Irish and Northern Irish society misappropriate the past and employ 'origin myths' as political ideology. In fact our own production of knowledge can be tied into political and social contexts, belying the apparent objectivity of the empiricist tradition. These sub-texts are most easily seen in the treatment of court tombs in the archaeological literature, notably by E. Estyn Evans in Northern Ireland and later by Ruaidhri de Valera in the Irish Republic. This culminated in the choosing of different origins for the megaliths, both within the island of Ireland and outside of it. This had several consequences for the study of court tombs and more generally, for the practice of archaeology in Ireland.

#### **Can political archaeology be good archaeology?**

*David Silkoff (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter)*

In this paper I make an argument for the development of an explicitly socialist archaeology. Using the example of the tradition within British history which came from the Communist Party Historians Group in the 1950s, with Eric Hobsbawm, E.P. Thompson etc., I suggest that our archaeological practice will be all the better for the adoption of an explicit left-wing critique expounded as part of a wider critical project.

My paper will kick off by discussing what I think good and exciting history should be, referring to what I feel is so valuable in the work of British socialist and feminist historians. I wish to link this to their political positions, which are often not stated explicitly but shine through so clearly in the way that they write their often deeply empirical yet highly creative history. Moving then into archaeology, I will consider the possibilities of our particular focus on the material culture remains of humans benefiting from such schools of practice, with reference to some work that I have done on the Copper Age of the Middle East.

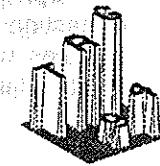
#### **Archaeology and the creation of a European identity**

*Michael Tierney (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter)*

Starting from the argument that all knowledges, including the archaeological variety, are socially constructed I will consider the nature of the newly developing phenomenon called "a common European identity". Instead of viewing the European Union and its predecessors as a benign force established so that there would never again be war in Europe or as an economic 'community' whose purpose was the improvement of the lot of the European citizenry as a whole, I contend that the E.U. functions as the focal point for the interests of

capital in Western Europe to organise against the rival capitals of North America, Japan, Russia etc. The idea of 'being European' tries to subsume the myriad of other contending identities based on class, region, nation, gender, race at work in contemporary society in the name of a false social harmony which is supposed to feed into the maintenance of the Late Capitalist status quo.

As archaeologists we need to consider the work we do within its broader social context. The knowledge we create in our work does not float free of society in some intellectual ether but is always knowledge in the interest of someone. The question to be asked here is in whose interest does the E.U. work and how should we as archaeologists relate to it and to the related project of establishing a European identity.



## **All Things Weird and Wonderful: Past and Present Nationalist Ethnicities in Archaeology**

*Session organiser: Angela Piccini (Dept. of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield)*

*Chair: Nick Merriman (Museum of London)*

*Discussants: Nick Merriman, Vincent Megaw and Ruth Megaw*

Within many archaeological circles there is growing concern with the nature of knowledge, its construction and subsequent use as a source of power. This session is concerned with examining the role of the academic and her or his right/duty to challenge popularly held beliefs about the past. Is this deconstruction of popular knowledge in the quest for more accurate truths, this insistence that "we" know better than "you", actually broadening understanding among the non-archaeological public? If not, if our newer insights into the workings of past societies are either ignored or are perceived as yet another way to appropriate other peoples' histories, is our desire to study the past merely selfish indulgence? In this session we will be exploring these ideas in the context of the archaeology of late prehistoric and early historic Britain. Celts, Picts, Anglo-Saxons, Vikings, Welsh, Scots, Irish: all have been variously constructed to serve the conflicting interests of both the generally Anglocentric academic establishment and the so-called Celticists and Celtic nationalists. Who is right? Who is wrong? Or rather, what questions should we be asking?

#### **Museum and ethnic identity in South Wales**

*Carolyn Graves-Brown and Paul Graves-Brown (85, Glanymor St, Neath, W. Glamorgan)*

Museum curators in Wales often encounter a dilemma; to what extent should their exhibitions and displays confront and contradict popular conceptions of Welsh identity. For example, many in Wales, even those with fairly high levels of education, believe that the modern Welsh druids, the Gorsedd, are direct lineal descendants of their prehistoric predecessors. Similarly, many or most Welsh people have a conception of their "Celtic" ancestry which is reinforced by popular culture and media. How, and indeed should, we confront this? Are all versions of the past equally legitimate, or are there indeed truths which need to be addressed. Moreover, is the appropriation of the past by the nationalist movement a legitimate enterprise, even where that "past" is largely a fiction.

#### **Filming through the mists of time: the Celt and television documentary**

*Angela Piccini (Dept. of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield)*

After the spilling of much ink on the subject, it is now generally agreed that the "Celts" as an ethnic group are a many layered cultural construct accrued over the centuries which, when used as an archaeological model, simply reproduces the British Iron Age in its own a-historic romantic image. This statement, however, does not engage with the reality that all ethnic groupings are, to some extent, constructions. Nor does it address the continuing appeal of the Celtic image to the ever-growing, heritage-consuming public - a public which desires some un/knowable alternative from which their own lives can take meaning. In this paper I wish to explore that most accessible interface between the academic archaeologist and the public psyche - the television documentary. Why are the makers of documentaries which deal with all things "Celtic" so resistant to the newer critical approaches within both archaeology and documentary film making? Who and what is at stake? What does this say about the role and scope of archaeology in a wider context?

#### **Mysterious Picts or mundane barbarians?**

*Ross Samson (Glasgow)*

The seminal publication on the Picts is forty years old this coming year. Its title: *The Problem of the Picts*. And what is the Picts' problem? The paucity of our information. For instance, we cannot pigeon hole them neatly as northern Celts because their language is almost unknown to us. The laity has seized on the mysteriousness of the Picts, embellishing and relishing the enigma. Academic scholars, such as Professor Alcock, have played down the "mystery" and stressed the similarities between the Picts and other "barbarians". And yet...

The Pictish king list does not reveal royal, father-to-son succession. Early medieval legends and ecclesiastical comment from the south suggest that women were more important in Pictish society than women were in Anglo-Saxon society. New research suggests Pictish women were commemorated in stone at death between four and ten times more often than in neighbouring societies, and that the Picts invented a hieroglyphic form of "writing" used for names.

Is it scholastic sobriety or stubborn opposition to any form of romanticism that has played down the real oddities of Pictish society?

#### **Who killed the Celts? English nationalism and the colonisation of the British past**

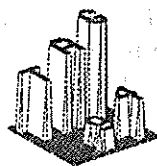
*Alex Woolf (Dept. of History, University of Sheffield)*

This paper puts forward the proposition that the denial of Celtic identity and the recent insistence on Anglo-Saxon acculturation of the native population in the post-Roman period are in part fired by an English nationalist agenda. Traditional historiography portrayed the English as arriving in Britain only in the fifth century AD. Since that time the pre-fifth century past has usually been presented as British, Celtic and pre-English. Of late, some English scholars have promoted the idea that Celtic identities are a modern construct and that the Englishing of Britain was merely a radical fashion statement on the part of the natives. By presenting their opponents as Celtic nationalists, these English have pretended to the moral high ground. It is time that their imperialist attitudes are exposed for what they are.

#### **Archaeology, representation and the state of Greece**

*Heather Paxson*

This paper investigates what can happen to the 'findings' of archaeologists as they are presented, represented, enframed and employed by the nation and by an imagined cultural world that purportedly 'owns' them. In Greece the archaeological 'record' is used to draw a continuous line from ancient Hellenic traditions to the present-day republic. This paper will discuss how monumental and material sign-posts along this path are made meaningful symbols of nationalist ideology, and then are implemented in the very founding of the modern nation-state, used to lock Greece into an ambiguous political position as it is both 'European' and 'not-European', and are presently called upon to 'factualise' the 'Greekness' of Macedonia.



## **Theory and Model Building in Environmental Archaeology**

*Session organiser and chair: Terry O'Connor (Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford)*

The interaction between past human populations and their environment is an active and fruitful area of research. Both the practical methodologies involved and the interpretive paradigms adopted are open to discussion of theory and the implementation of theory as method. The session brings together specialists from within this broad field of research to discuss a range of topics from general considerations of human reactions to environmental stress to specific case studies which bear on the nature and sources of data available to environmental archaeology.

#### **Towards a broader view of environmental stress**

*Don Brothwell (Dept. of Archaeology, University of York)*

Stress is defined at a dictionary level as mental or physical strain, which explains very little. Evidence of stress archaeologically has so far been very much in terms of food stress and its repercussions. In particular, stress during human growth can leave a record of its occurrence in the skeleton and dentition; these stress indicators have been studied, scored and analysed in various early population samples, with due comment on their possible significance.

Stress is a far more complex matter than indicated by studies so far, and we may well ask whether a fuller understanding of this complexity may provide a better perspective for the study of earlier peoples. Indeed, it seems to me that stress has always affected our lives throughout our evolution but, while it is recognised at a physico-mechanical level, psychological and social aspects are still rather ignored.

#### **Not everyone's a fruit and nut case: prehistoric agriculture in Orkney**

*Julie Bond (Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford)*

Recent thought has tended to downgrade the importance of agriculture in the subsistence base of the British Neolithic. A partly mobile population, transient settlements and agriculture, and a heavy dependence on wild foods have all been suggested. Evidence from Orkney requires a different explanatory model. There are well-established and

long-lived settlements, with evidence of manured soils and cereal agriculture. Why was a 'marginal' area of Britain apparently less dependent on wild foods than the more temperate South? The paper concentrates on two sites with good palaeoeconomic evidence from the island of Sanday, Orkney.

#### **A spatial model versus structured deposition as an explanation of bone patterning**

*Bob Wilson (8, The Holt, Abingdon)*

Spatial patterning of bone distributions at archaeological sites has been increasingly investigated since the mid 1970s. In the Thames Valley there have been Iron Age and Romano-British excavations which covered large areas, thus encouraging their spatial analysis. These excavations indicate a cross-cultural, cross-time pattern in the spread of coarse and fine bone debris. Sheep, pig, and bird bones tend to cluster around the centres of occupation or domestic activity such as hearths and houses, whilst spreads of cattle and horse bones tend to be most prominent in peripheral locations. The pattern varies roughly according to the complexity of the settlement and the development and end of site activities. Such patterning is largely explained by the spatial action of scavenging, rubbish clearance and locations of butchery. Some prehistorians, however, have used the species clustering of bones, especially of pig and cattle, as an indicator of symbolic and ritual patterning known as 'structured deposition', particularly on Neolithic sites. Precise spatial information is rather lacking at such sites, but it is possible to reinterpret bone spreads at Durrington Walls and the Abingdon causewayed enclosure in terms of the spatial model and a more mundane view of the results. Only a few sites such as Maumbury Rings may now count as having good evidence of symbolic and ritual activity.

#### **Modern to prehistoric ecosystem parameters: an examination of some inherent problems**

*Roberta Dods (Okanagan University College, British Columbia)*

In North America, and elsewhere, the problem of studying the economic use of prehistoric species through population density and distribution models devised from extant species has been exacerbated by the disruptive influence found with the introduction of European technology driven by European economic objectives and demands. In North-Western Ontario, these demands led to serious, if not nearly disastrous, depletion of faunal resources. Many mammalian species, not only the fur bearers, were drastically reduced in numbers by the pressure of the fur trade and the introduction of firearms. Also, during the later historic period the utilisation of large areas for economic activities (harvesting for lumber-pulp and burns to prepare for plantings) only added to the problems initiated in the

early stages of contact. The principle of community was violated further by artificial reforestation that encouraged a "levelling out" of the vertical mosaic of the boreal forest. In addition, we have ignored some possible patterns resting in natural regimes, such as forest fires, which offer more diversity than we find with today's industry-based reforestations, better called plantings. In the prehistoric period the devastation of cyclical fire regimes cannot be discounted although questions arise as to whether some of these fires could have been the artefacts of human manipulation. Thus when attempting habitat analysis for prehistoric human populations, what lessons can be taken from the present into the past?

#### **Putting the horse before the cart: formation processes in environmental archaeology**

*Annie Milles (Dept. of Biology, University of York)*

Interpretation based on ecological characteristics may be flawed if an understanding of how an assemblage of "ecofacts" comes to be in the same sample has not been reached. How easy is it to model such processes and to apply these models to real data?

#### **Invasion by six-legged aliens: insect colonisation as a guide to duration and continuity of human occupation**

*Harry Kenward (Dept. of Biology, University of York)*

Human settlement creates for insects a range of habitats which are not closely matched in nature. In North-West Europe, occupation sites are characterised by the presence of numerous species which are rare or absent in natural habitats. Most of these are probably aliens, relying for survival on high temperatures in buildings or in artificial accumulations of decaying organic matter and thus largely or entirely dependent on human activity. Very characteristic associations of insects thus recur in deposits at intensive occupation sites. It is postulated that, because there were no local populations of these synanthropic insects, new artificial habitats formed when settlements were established and were not immediately colonised by a wide range of species. Rather, there was probably a gradual accretion of species with time. Concepts developed in studies of island zoogeography are relevant to such 'islands' of habitat. The first colonisers were probably opportunist scavengers from nearby natural habitats, species dependent upon human activity arriving later. The order of arrival of species may have had some pattern determined by their migratory activity and closeness of association with transported materials, but chance factors are likely to have been important in the early stages of invasion. The rate of accretion of synanthropes and the species composition of the synanthropic fauna would have been related to some factors of profound archaeological significance, including the nearness of, and volume



of trade and contact with, existing settlements. The total number of synanthropic species supported by the new settlement might depend upon its size and ecological complexity. The survival of the synanthropic species would also have depended on size and ecological diversity but in addition upon continuity of occupation. It is suggested that insect remains can, when combined with information from other sources concerning trade and distance from pre-existing settlements, provide a measure of the duration of continuous occupation at a site, of the length of breaks of occupation, and perhaps even give indications of seasonal occupation.

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