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**ABSTRACTS**

**Re-conceiving Archaeological Fieldwork****Organiser: C. Richards (University of Glasgow)****Discussant: Julian Thomas (University of Southampton)****C. Richards (Glasgow)***Unthinking Archaeological Field Methodology*

Many observers have now commented on the failure of post-processual archaeology to engage with archaeological fieldwork or with the majority of those working in the field. Where attempts have been made to implement new or alternative approaches, they have tended to be within a 'research' situation, and criticism has been directed towards a lack of appreciation of the apparent restrictions of 'contract archaeology'. In this paper I wish to examine this problem and hopefully show that changes in practice are more restricted by resistance to change than by the context of 'contract archaeology'. The basic premise here is that archaeological fieldwork needs to change because it is still stuck within a discredited discourse which promotes a concept of objectivity which is clearly unattainable.

**K. Brophy (RCAHMS)***Up to My Pits in Phenomenology: the Ambiguity of Excavation*

Despite the exciting debates of the previous twenty years in developing archaeological theory, there has been relatively little impact made by this on many aspects of how we do archaeology, even within academia. This ranges from how we classify sites to how we dig them. Using the example of narratives based on an excavation recently carried out on a cropmark site in Perthshire, I will discuss the implications of recent 'post-processual' and 'interpretative' approaches to excavation (Hodder at Catal Huyuk, Tilley and Bender at Leskernick), and move from these to suggest that excavation is a little bit like life.

**Mark Bowden (RCHM England)***An Investigator's Tale*

Contemporary archaeology may be characterised by cross-cutting and sometimes contradictory expectations or approaches- practical vs. theoretical, recording vs. interpreting, hi-tech vs. touchy-feely. The discipline must embrace both sides of each duality. It is suggested that the traditional idea of 'Investigation' has tried to achieve this within the area of analytical earthwork survey. Investigation means writing historical narratives, but the building blocks for those narratives are what survive in the field and that must be dealt with properly. This demands thought, particular skills, and an appreciation of appropriate methodologies.

**Gavin Lucas (Cambridge)***Constructing Sites: The Temporality of Excavation*

Are there problems with the way we conceive the temporality of an archaeological site- and of the way we excavate it? This paper attempts to explore several aspects of current excavation and recording practice in Britain and draw out problems in its conceptualisation. In particular, it will move between two key points: the definition of deposits or contexts and the construction of phasing and stratigraphic sequences. Both are questioned over the restricted view of time they portray and the interpretative issues related to this. In concluding, the paper will broaden its scope to look at the implications this critique has for the temporality of archaeological practice in general.

**Ann Woodward and Gwilym Hughes (University of Birmingham)***A Sense of Time and Space: Sensual Sitescapes at the Iron Age Settlement of Crick, Northamptonshire*

A major fieldwork project has just been completed at Crick in Northamptonshire involving the 13 hectare excavation of a major Iron Age settlement complex. From the outset the fieldwork was led by an ambitious and detailed research design which covered traditional areas such as economy, society and settlement structure. However, it also incorporated a more holistic aim, by attempting to consider the site from the viewpoint of the human body and in particular in terms of the five human senses. An attempt has been made to involve all members of the project team from site diggers to finds and environmental specialists in the development of this sensory interpretation.

**Sian Jones and Ann MacSween (Manchester & CBA)***Fieldwork Publications and the Production of Archaeological Knowledge: Theory and Practice*

The question of how to record and disseminate the results of archaeological fieldwork has been an important subject of debate within the discipline. The initial emphasis on preservation by publication of a comprehensive record has been superseded in recent years by debates about the level of publication. Debates have ranged from practical issues, such as cost and speed of publication, to epistemological questions concerning the nature of archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, with a few exceptions, the basic format and structure of fieldwork reports has not changed greatly.

Many of the principles governing the level and format of fieldwork publications depend upon assumptions about how people use them and their role in providing information for future research. With this in mind a number of state organisations recently initiated a new project, The Publication of Archaeological Projects: a Survey of User Needs. The aim of the project is to look at how people use fieldwork publications, with particular attention to the relationship (or lack of a relationship) between theory (expectations and assumptions) and practice. This approach marks a significant departure from most previous initiatives, which largely focused on problems relating to the production of such publications (e.g. the 'Frere' and 'Cunliffe' Reports). In this paper, we will discuss the design and preliminary results of this survey, which is being carried out by the Council for British Archaeology. In particular we will focus on the theory and practice behind the use of fieldwork publications and the

## TAG 1998 Abstracts

question of how they contribute to the production of archaeological knowledge.

**Norma Challands, Duncan Garrow, Mark Knight, Duncan Mackay, Lesley McFadyen, Paula Whittaker and others (Cambridge)**

*Don't think.....Dig!*

Between the performance of excavation and the writing up, a lot of our experiences of archaeology are removed, at the expense of cold data retrieval. At the moment, the post-excavation process does not tell the whole story. Is there a place for these absent narratives?

**John C. Barrett and Others**

*The Archaeology of Inhabitation: From Theory to Practice*

This paper will present a case study in which it will be demonstrated that recent developments in archaeological theory, particularly those concerned with the practices of inhabitation, have clear and demonstrable implications for all levels of field practice, from recording techniques, publication format to management.

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### **Escaping the Gender Ghetto**

**Chair: Dierdre O'Sullivan (University of Leicester)**

**Discussant: Jenny Moore (IFA and University of Sheffield)**

#### **Session Abstract**

Feminist theory and gender studies first infiltrated archaeological and historical theory in the 1980s. This session aims to look at the state of play at the present time, following the post-Feminist backlash of the early 90s. Are gender studies peripheralised as they initially were, or are they now an integral part of mainstream archaeological and historical theory? It may be argued that with the publication of volumes such as 'Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood Into European Archaeology' (1997: Jenny Moore and Eleanor Scott, eds.), such approaches are alive and well, still challenging stereotypical male interpretations and endeavouring to write other categories of people into the past. How far, however, is such a statement true outside discussion forums such as this? Have female archaeologists and historians created a 'ghetto' for themselves where we must be forever writing about women and children, even though our findings impact upon mainstream interpretations of how societies lived and functioned? If they are ghettoised, how do we break out? It is not by design that all the papers in this session are presented by women. Does this express a disinterestedness on the part of our male colleagues or a sense among them that they are outside/excluded from the ghetto? With this in mind, these five diverse papers present a variety of new approaches that we hope will provoke discussion and inspiration.

**Joanne Delaney (University of Birmingham)**

*G.I. Juno: In Defence of the State*

A comparison between the female ritual expiation of prodigies and the Roman triumph is the cornerstone of this paper. In comparing these two entities, this paper seeks to demonstrate the need for a wider appreciation of the role and presence of women in Roman society. Within the study of Roman militarism the muted presence of all but the most transgressive of women has gone unquestioned. Recent attempts at understanding female household roles within Roman imperialist ideology has challenged this quietude, but only within a passive framework. This paper will suggest a more dynamic relationship, drawing on the evidence for women in a militaristic frame, as well as the female expiation of the prodigies of 207 BC. My aim is to suggest that women also played an active role in the defence of Rome by virtue of their religious roles in maintaining the pax decorum.

**Katrina Fell (University of Birmingham)**

*Beyond the Classical Historians: Some Thoughts on a More Integrated Approach to Celtic Marriage*

This paper examines the concept of marriage in the Celtic Iron Age through analysis of the Greek and Roman literature. Amongst the major historians, Caesar's works are particularly useful in this field. It aims to present a range of possibilities for some of the different aspects of marriage as they might have been experienced in the Celtic world, drawing on anthropological and ethnological theory and parallels. At the same time, it will endeavour to place these images within the context of Greek and Roman views on ethnicity, gender and kinship, whilst touching on the stereotypical portrayal of barbarians and contemporary Greek and Roman attitudes to marriage and family life.

**Dawn Hadley (University of Sheffield)**

*Title and Abstract Not Received*

**Helena K. Berry (University of Birmingham)**

*Please Return my Rose Coloured Spectacles- Gender, Material Culture and Osteoarchaeology in Funerary Archaeology*

The complexity of the role of gender in structuring societies has not been fully appreciated within social archaeology. I suggest that gender is a composite construct and active agent in defining society, the cumulative outcome and creation of both horizontal and vertical social structure. Within funerary archaeology, interpretations of material culture operate as a mechanism by which the concept of gender as a bipolar phenomenon is created and sustained. An examination of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Norton in Cleveland illustrates this phenomenon in action. Gender is not alone as a facet of social archaeology in which dichotomous categorisation is used as a key to interpretation. Funerary archaeology frequently witnesses the play-off between old/young, rich/

poor categories. This paper will show that these categorisations are not only delusive in an examination of social structure, but redundant in themselves, given their function as composite variables in the construction of gender. The Norton example suggests that osteoarchaeological analysis of funerary remains, far from giving recourse to structures based on biological sex or age categories, is a tool of fundamental importance in asserting the complex nature of gender (the articulation of individuals in society) as mediated through material culture. The approach advocated here can be shown to have wide-reaching consequences for the ways in which archaeologists interpret material culture from mortuary contexts and beyond.

**Rebecca Gowland (University of Durham)**

*The Use of Prior Possibilities in Ageing Perinatal Skeletal Remains: Implications for the Evidence of Infanticide in Roman Britain*

The skeletal remains of substantial numbers of perinatal infants have been excavated from a variety of archaeological contexts dating to the Romano-British period. Recently Mays (1993) aged a sample of these perinatal skeletons from long bone length using the method derived by Scheuer et al. (1980). The resulting distribution exhibited a strong peak at approximately full term and this has been interpreted as evidence for infanticide.

Several authors have demonstrated that the age structure of a reference sample exerts a profound influence on the ages estimated from a skeletal population. This study investigates the extent to which the neonatal peak apparent in the Romano-British data is an artefact of the ageing method used. The long bone diaphyseal lengths of a sample of 396 perinatal infants from 19 Romano-British sites were compared with data for known age perinatal mortality records. These probability distributions were then used to determine the gestational age of the archaeological skeletons and the results were compared with those obtained using the Scheuer method.

Significant differences in the age distributions were revealed, with the ages derived from the fixed prior probabilities falling within parameters expected for natural perinatal mortality. It is argued from this analysis that there is no osteological evidence for infanticide in Roman Britain, instead the age distribution is comparable with that expected when both stillbirths and neonatal deaths are accorded similar burial rites.

## **Archaeology and World Religions**

**Organiser: Tim Insoll (University of Cambridge)**

### **Session Abstract**

Although there has been some debate on the relationship between archaeology, ritual, and what is in general termed 'sacred', the archaeological study of religion itself has been a taboo subject, and largely neglected until recently. This is unfortunate, as religion has, until the recent onset of increasing secularity and materialism in various parts of the globe, formed the super-structure into which all aspects of life- economic, social, ritual- are placed (and still are in many places). The aim of this session is to examine the contribution archaeology can make to the study of what are today termed 'World Religions' (using the examples of Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism). The papers will focus on a variety of challenging cases studies which address both methodological (the archaeological recognition of sects and schisms, iconography, the reconstruction of sacred space) and theoretical issues (politics and religious sensitivities, religious texts and archaeology). Yet equally, the papers are written with an emphasis upon a broad focus, and cross-cultural applicability.

**Rev. Anders Bergquist (St Albans Cathedral)**

*Ethics and the Archaeology of Religions*

Archaeologists can find themselves caught in sharp conflicts over the excavation, study and display of material remains that are charged with special significance for members of faith communities. Traditions about appropriate ways of dealing with sacred people, places and things can clash with ideals commonly espoused by archaeologists, about the pursuit of knowledge and scholarship for its own sake. If archaeologists can no longer take privileged access to the material remains of the past for granted, how (if at all) is that access to be negotiated? This paper looks at a wide range of examples of this type of conflict between archaeologists and religious adherents in the last two decades (and at some examples of lack of conflict). It identifies the kinds of argument to which appeal is commonly made, and looks at different possible ways of adjudicating between them.

**Robin Coningham (University of Bradford)**

*The Archaeological Visibility of Caste*

Caste is one of the most powerful dynamics ordering social space within settlements in South Asia. It is a dynamic which controls marriage partners, ritual purity, diet, occupation and the location of habitation. Present in rural and urban settings, it is a dynamic which is found in Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim communities throughout the Subcontinent from Sri Lanka to Nepal, and from Bangladesh to Pakistan. A recognisable modern phenomenon, attempts have been made to demonstrate that it forms a very real and pervasive link with the oral and written histories of South Asia. Such a powerful dynamic has not been ignored by archaeologists and historians; a number of scholars have attempted to trace and identify it in architectural and artefactual distributions, ranging in date from the Prehistoric to the Medieval. This paper will evaluate the success of these attempts, frame a methodology for testing two archaeological indicators- diet and occupation- and, through their application to archaeological evidence, examine the archaeological visibility of caste.

**Frank Trombley (University of Cardiff)**

*Sacred Space, Archaeology, and Christianisation*

This paper seeks to update theories of 'sacred space' and the 'numinous' in the light of recent archaeological work. This will be applied to the problem of Christianising pagan temples and sacred enclosures in late antiquity. It will be shown how Christian bishops and monks devised liturgies for deconsecration that exploited pre-Christian ideas of sacred space. A common technique was the ritual defilement of the temenos by the importation of martyr relics, erection of chapels for them, and the cutting of aggressive sounding 'One God' inscriptions encased by Christian symbols, particularly the Chi-Rho or Christogram and the Alpha-Omega, all of which had a vitiating effect on sacrifices unless the sacred space was reconsecrated. Even if justified from the theological standpoint, these intrusive objects and symbols served the function of forcing the adherents of the old cults away from the centres of the Mediterranean towns and into the countryside. The churches were unable to break down the older ethos in rural districts in spite of these victories and were ultimately forced to resort to devices of acculturation, the 'Christianisation of rite', which kept the older liturgical forms but supplanted the names of the old divinities with monotheistic formulae, the name of Christ, and martyrs. Numerous archaeological and epigraphical examples will be utilised to illustrate this process of syncretism, which is of significance beyond the study of early Christianity.

**Tim Taylor (University of Bradford)**

*Hindu Deities in Iron Age Denmark: the Religious Iconography and Ritual Context of the Gundestrup Cauldron*

This paper considers aspects of the 2nd century BC iconography of the Gundestrup cauldron in relation to the idea of death in various frameworks of thought and belief: Shamanistic, Mithraic, Pythagorean, Hindu, Celtic, Orphic, and Christian. Following from this, some general theoretical considerations about the relationship of iconographic, ritual, textual and oral religious modes are presented. In the light of this, a precise context for the cauldron's production and use is suggested.

**Tim Insoll (St John's College, Cambridge)**

*A Few Reflections on the Archaeology of Islam*

This paper considers a number of theoretical and methodological issues which arose during the writing of a book, 'The Archaeology of Islam', but which also have some bearing upon the archaeological study of other World Religions. The issues which will be briefly considered include; whether it is necessary to be a believer in the religion one is studying in order to pursue effective research; the degree to which religion can structure all aspects of life and its possible archaeological visibility; and the notion of whether Islam can be considered as a unity for the purposes of study or does diversity render such a concept invalid. Finally, a couple of points concerning the methodology of Islamic archaeology as a part of the discipline of archaeology will be discussed.

**Mike Parker-Pearson (University of Sheffield)**

*Death, Being and Time: the Impact of World Religions*

The World Religions might be distinguished from the religious beliefs of traditional societies by transcendence of localised, kinship-based notions of ancestor veneration and worship. In some cases, such as Christianity, fictive kinship is employed to link the deity to the people. Within the long-term history of humanity, the World Religions appear within a brief and recent time frame, between 3000 and 1500 years BP. Their central themes revolve around concepts of immortality, eternal life after death, and reincarnation. These ideas involve notions of the transcendence of death and time, whose earliest manifestations may be found in the elite funerary practices of Egypt and Mesopotamia in the preceding millennia. Such fundamental changes in the concepts of death, being, and time have been largely ignored by archaeologists in their formulations of the emergence and development of state societies which occurred in that period. The processual approach, stressing materialist concerns of population, technology and resources, has continued to dominate the study of state formation despite the central significance of religious symbolism in those changes. What is now required is a rethinking of not simply how these societies came into being but why.

**Reiner Koch (Archaeological Consultant, Yorkshire)**

*Elvis Presley- Saint or Rock Star in a Secular Society*

The aim of this paper is to explore the concept of veneration of objects or places associated with the cults of two very different men- St Thomas à Becket (died 1171) and Elvis Presley (died 1977). They lived in two very different cultural backgrounds. It appears that the collection and veneration of relics (the transformation of artefacts by human desire into cultural icons) associated with these figures- one religious and one secular- reflect a fundamental human wish to create cultural icons, which has transcended many cultures. This concept means that the interpretation of many archaeological artefacts as 'ritual' or functional should be reconsidered.

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***Approaches to the Study of Waste and Recycling***

**Co-ordinators: Eleni Asouti & Astrid Lindenlauf (Institute of Archaeology, UCL)**

**Session Abstract**

This session is concerned with studying waste and the processes of recycling in all kinds of material culture systems. More specifically, we are interested in examining waste and processes of discarding and recycling within a broad range of theoretical frameworks, including philosophical, anthropological, sociological, historical and psychological approaches. Archaeological approaches considered may include Schiffer's formation theory, Thompson's rubbish theory and the rather post-processually-orientated dirt-theory. The study of waste and recycling practices may deal with one society at a particular time, processes of change within a society or with inter-cultural processes.

**A. Lindenlauf (UCL)***Psychology of Body Waste*

Body wastes play a crucial rôle in magical practices. More specifically, body wastes of past and present spiritual and religious leaders, including the Roman flamen dialis and the British occultist A Crowley, have been buried at special and secret places to ensure that nobody may gain power over these leaders by using their body wastes in magical practices. Some societies conceive of cut hair, nails and faeces as containing parts of the person whom they are from. This phenomenon may be convincingly explained within the psychoanalytical framework of Melanie Klein in which physical processes are interpreted in terms of mental and emotional processes. More specifically, the framework of Klein allows the interpretation of the manipulation and destruction of body wastes as a manipulation and destruction of the 'Ego' of the producers.

**S. Stallibrass (Durham)***Not Those Old Bones Again?*

If we accept the principle that different types of rubbish can be curated, deposited and redeposited independently, then we need to devise methodologies that can address issues concerning waste and recycling, separately, for each type of material. The presence of anachronistic ('residual') pottery types should not be used to presume that animal bones are residual. A new methodology has been tried out on material from some Roman- Medieval sites where preservation characteristics of the animal bones themselves have been utilised to assess the natures of their depositional histories. The methodology is described and evaluated, and a plea is made for interchange of ideas with excavators and other post-excavation analysts.

**E. Asouti (UCL)***Little 'Dirty' Secrets Revealed: Waste Disposal and Recycling in a Modern Greek Household*

The question of what constitutes 'rubbish' and what does not, is being currently addressed by archaeologists, in their attempt to interpret the different types of deposits encountered during excavation. One of the aims of this article is to demonstrate that apparently clear-cut definitions might, more often than not, overlap an observation with obvious implications for the viability of several interpretative approaches. It will be argued that 'rubbish' has in fact its own life-cycle determined, amongst other things, by cultural and/or individual attitudes, the social environment and political conditions.

**N. Baker (Archaeological Consultant)***Recycle your medieval town: building materials in Shrewsbury 1000-1800*

The historic shire town of Shrewsbury, Shropshire, is widely known for its many timber-framed buildings. But archaeological research has shown that the medieval town was characterised by a large population of wealthy stone buildings, and an even larger number of buildings with stone cellars or undercrofts, the remains of which survive beneath later, rebuilt, superstructures. However, a substantial minority of underground masonry remains were built in the 18th and 19th centuries from salvaged masonry taken from earlier houses, cellars and, in one case, a church. This is but one aspect of a substantial long-term market for recycled building materials. Masonry is archaeologically the most visible aspect of this market, but it included timber and roof tiles; between 20 and 30 town buildings (including 18th-century ones) retain crested ridge tiles of medieval type.

Explanations for this phenomenon must initially be sought in terms of prevalence of building in stone in the medieval town- the product of a complex set of social, economic, and geographic variables. The re-use of masonry by builders in the 18th and 19th centuries is likely to have been free of the social values implicit in its original use, and determined by simple economics. But it is an instructive irony that the earliest archaeologically-recorded structure in the town, a late Saxon phase of the royal minster church of St Mary, was built from material from ruined Roman buildings at nearby Wroxeter. Economic factors may have been instrumental in this choice, but in this first instance of recycling the social-political message of building in stone remained undiluted.

**A.R. Millard and N. Rimmington***Who Turned Crap Into Crops? Detecting Manuring Through Soil Chemistry*

It is generally recognised that farmers of many times and places have recycled household and farm wastes in the form of manure in order to improve fields and increase crop yields. In fieldwalking studies there is often a thin 'off-site' scatter of sherds, which is termed a 'manuring scatter'. Can we say more than that past people did or did not manure? In the absence of written sources can, we hope to answer questions such as: What was it acceptable to use in manure (human waste? vegetable matter? animal waste?)? What limits were there to recycling wastes as manure?

As a first step towards the detection of the quantity and type of manuring, this paper describes a model of elemental inputs and outputs for the soil of a small farmstead operating an infield-outfield system. We show that there should be detectable and quantifiable changes in soil, but that background data on the composition of the inputs and outputs will be required for each case studied. Extension to larger settlements is explored to give an indication of how much less we can expect to know about a more open and variable recycling economy.

**J.L. Bintliff and P. Howard***Dead Sherds Walking: Socio-political and Methodological Insights from the Study of Ancient Manuring*

Abstract not received.

**Germanic Burial Ritual**

**Chair: Sally Crawford (University of Birmingham)**

**Discussant: Helena Hamerow (Institute of Archaeology, Oxford)**

**Session Abstract**

The Germanic, furnished-burial ritual of the early Medieval period appears to represent a coded message about ethnicity, religion or ritual identity, but decades of study of this material have still not achieved an agreed explanation of the behaviour and guiding principles behind this ritual. In this session, the participants will explore new aspects of mortuary interpretation, test new theories, and revise the basic methodological principles of analysis of this dataset.

**Neville Taylor (University of Birmingham)**

*Cemetery Analysis: the Triumph of Archaeology over Data*

The analysis of cemetery data involves its translation into information. It is vital that processes selected to accomplish this transformation do not garble the message. This paper discusses a number of theoretical concepts in data-handling that, whilst of a basic nature, seem not to be appreciated by some archaeologists. It also suggests that greater use should be made of Exploratory Data Analysis and Distribution-Free techniques. No sums are used in this paper!

**Sonja Marzinzik (Oxford University)**

*Bringing the Dead Back into Burial: Some Thoughts on the Meaning of Grave Goods in Early Medieval Burial*

The rather romantic 19th-century view that grave goods in Germanic burials were provisions for an afterlife in Valhalla has long been obsolete. Instead, the Anglo-American school of thought has interpreted the burial ritual and the deposition of grave goods in particular as a means of negotiating social status among the bereaved. This paper questions the concept of burial as an arena for social interaction and proposes modifications in view of the archaeological and historical burial record of the earlier middle ages.

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**Views on the Past**

**Chair and Discussant: Vince Gaffney (University of Birmingham)**

**Session Abstract**

Archaeological interpretation frequently brings together two important aspects of the archaeological record- how the peoples of the past viewed and understood their environment and how contemporary archaeologists view and interpret the surviving remains. This session brings together a selection of papers which analyse physical, social and material space and which offer a critique on how archaeology attempts to reconcile past and present perceptions.

**Christina Fredengren (Stockholm University)**

*Crannogs and the Use of Island Space*

This lecture deals with how one can interpret the use of artificial islands, called crannogs, through time. These sites bear similarities to tell structures. I will discuss the material re-interpretation of these sites and the use of the internal space on these islands from the Late Mesolithic to the Early Christian Period. The work focuses on a lake called Lough Gara on the borders of Co. Sligo and Co. Roscommon in Ireland.

**Joanna Bruck (University of Cambridge)**

*Ritual and Rationality: Some Problems of Interpretation in European Archaeology*

The definition and archaeological identification of ritual has long been a focus of interest in European archaeology. Yet, neat material correlates have not been forthcoming and many archaeological sites provide evidence that is difficult to reconcile with the widespread notion that ritual and secular activities are mutually exclusive.

In this paper, it will be argued that the conception of ritual employed in both archaeology and anthropology is a product of post-Enlightenment thought. Because it does not meet modern western criteria for practicality, ritual is frequently described as non-functional, symbolic or irrational action. However, anthropological studies do not bear this out. Many other societies do not perceive a sharp distinction between ritual and secular action. Activities that anthropologists have identified as 'ritual' usually have essentially practical aims and are perfectly logical, given a particular (non-Western) understanding of how the world works. For archaeologists, adherence to the notion that there is a fundamental disjunction between ritual and secular action has resulted in a serious misunderstanding of the nature of prehistoric rationality. In particular, 'secular' activities (for example, subsistence practices) are assumed to be governed by a universally-applicable, functionalist logic. Hence, application of the concept of ritual has the effect of obscuring rather than clarifying the nature of past human practice. Archaeological understanding of the past will therefore be greatly enhanced if we abandon the concept of ritual altogether and begin to explore the essential difference between prehistoric rationality and our own notions of what is effective action. A discussion of some 'odd' finds from Middle Bronze Age settlements in southern England will provide a working example of how one might begin to move towards this goal.

**Andrew Fleming (University of Wales, Lampeter)**

*Phenomenology and the Welsh Megaliths*

Tilley's Phenomenology of Landscape offers some stimulating suggestions for thinking about the notions of 'sacred geography'

held by the megalith builders of the early British Neolithic. However, some of the assumptions and observations made in his case studies of Welsh megalithic tombs are not unproblematic. This paper argues that source-critical approaches and consideration of alternative interpretations must be vital components of any phenomenological approach which is to be more than a rhetorical exercise.

**Robert Johnston (University of Newcastle)**

*Joyce, Time and the Multi-Temporality of Landscape*

A landscape can be seen to embody many separate and contingent temporalities. Realising and representing these temporalities within the archaeological narrative remains one of the major challenges facing interpretative theory. This paper will explore the ways in which multi-temporality can be conceived within the existing frameworks of enquiry by considering the experimental narratives used in early modern literature. The prehistoric cairnfields of northern Britain and southern Scandinavia have acted as both the impetus and the focus for the research.

### **The Archaeology of Medicine**

**Co-ordinator: Robert Arnott (University of Birmingham)**

#### **Session Abstract**

This session, a first for TAG, will be devoted to exploring the theoretical and practical approaches of archaeologists and palaeopathologists in their understanding of the nature of medical practice in the past. It will centre around the practical issues of the identification and use of buildings and objects, of plants used in medicines and the ways in which palaeopathologists can identify medical practice from the skeletal record.

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

*Palaeopathology and Archaeology: the Current State of Play*

Health and disease are a continuous part of our lives today from birth to death; they often impact on our normal activities of work, rest and play but we often take for granted the medical and surgical care available to us, certainly in the Western world. In the past, the ravages of disease were also at work to affect how people functioned within their social groups; but how did people adapt to, and cope with, health problems?

This paper introduces the session on 'Archaeology of Medicine' by highlighting the ways in which archaeology can inform us about health and disease, and how people developed coping (and more formal) mechanisms. It focuses firstly on the material evidence needed to undertake this study, the pitfalls and limitations, and the progress and development of the study of palaeopathology in British archaeological contexts. The second part deals with the work already done to date by using case studies to highlight important knowledge acquired through palaeopathology, and also emphasising the need to integrate biological and cultural data for interpretation. The final part considers the way forward and makes recommendations for a team approach, using multidisciplinary evidence.

**Joyce Filer (Department of Egyptian Antiquities, The British Museum)**

*Ancient Bodies But Modern Techniques*

This paper will present some of the results of the application of modern scientific techniques to ancient Egyptian human and animal remains. Before the advent of radiography, the only way of revealing the contents of an Egyptian mummy was by unwrapping it, inevitably a destructive and irreversible procedure. Radiography, allowing a non-invasive examination of mummy packages, has proved a boon to Egyptological research. The Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum holds a large number of human and animal mummies and these are currently being examined using computed tomography (CT) scanning and conventional X-raying. The results from several of these examinations will be presented giving information about ancient mummification techniques and pathological features. Recent cemetery excavations in Egypt and Nubia have provided new material, both bone and soft tissue, for anthropological study. The second part of this presentation will describe the material, how it is being studied and what questions about ancient burial practices, diet, disease and population movement can be addressed through anthropological investigation.

**Duncan J Robertson, Mouli Start, Annsophie Witkin, Susan Boulter and Andrew Chamberlain (University of Sheffield)**

*Morbid Osteology: Evidence for Post-Mortem Procedures from the Newcastle Infirmary Burial Ground (1753-1845)*

A skeletal assemblage consisting of 200 articulated burials, together with the disarticulated remains of about 400 people, was excavated from the site of the Newcastle Infirmary burial ground during the winter of 1996-1997. The inhumations were of unclaimed bodies of individuals who had died in the hospital during the 18th and early 19th centuries. The burial ground has produced irrefutable primary physical evidence that autopsy and dissection were practised in this provincial paupers' hospital long before the passing of the Anatomy Act 1832. More than 70 craniotomies and several prosections and autopsy procedures were identified on the skeletal remains. The location, direction and depth of saw and knife marks were analysed to reveal patterns which imply precise post-mortem procedures compatible with contemporary autopsy reports.

**Chrissie Freeth (Calvin Wells Laboratory, University of Bradford)**

*Tooth Worms and Pelicans: Dentistry in Archaeology*

Dental diseases are one of the most common pathological conditions seen in archaeological remains and consequently one of the most reported. However, that evidence for this conditions treatment is less widely reported and little appears to have been done to



pull the evidence that does exist together. The aim of this paper is to review the archaeological evidence for the treatment of dental diseases in antiquity. This evidence includes marks left on the teeth by treatments and their tools, artefacts found in situ, for example false teeth, and artefacts not found in direct association with teeth, for example the dentistry tools themselves. This paper will also discuss the contemporary concepts of dental disease in the past and will make use of documentary evidence to place dental treatment within a historical context.

**Megan Brickley (University of Birmingham)**

*Treatment of Osteoporosis Related Fractures, 1700-1850: Thank Goodness for the NHS*

Osteoporosis is a metabolic disease of bone, in which bone mass is reduced and changes occur in the micro-architectural arrangement of trabecular bone, resulting in fracture. The condition is currently a major health problem in many areas of the world, due to the morbidity and mortality that results from related fractures. Unlike many other metabolic bone diseases an individual may be unaware of such bony changes, until a fracture occurs. This would certainly have been the case during the period covered by this study. Due to the 'silent' nature of the condition in historical material relating to fractures, the result of bone changes was examined. Although it is impossible to be completely sure that cases described in texts are osteoporosis, significant numbers were discovered that conform to what would be expected in modern cases. Using the source material gathered, this paper examines ideas on the causes of these fractures and approaches to their treatment.

**Debby Banham (Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, University of Cambridge)**

*Investigating the Anglo-Saxon Materia Medica: Latin, Old English and Archaeobotany*

Our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon materia medica comes in the first place from the medical texts of the period. Most of these are in Old English, but a few pieces are in Latin. This in itself makes it possible to compare the Latin and Old English vocabulary, and thus make some attempts at identification, a task made easier by the fact that one of the main Old English collections is a translation of the pseudo-Apuleian Herbarium. But when it comes to correlating early medieval and modern names, problems arise. Many Old English plant names (and most of the materia is botanical) still exist in Modern English, but it cannot be taken for granted that they apply to the same plants. Indeed, what does 'the same plant' mean? Where we recognise two species of nettle, the Anglo-Saxons may have only seen one type of plant. Or variations such as flower colour may have been given more significance in classification than they are today. The same considerations apply to the medieval Latin names and modern scientific Latin.

Beyond identification, important questions such as whether ingredients were really known and used, rather than existing only in texts, require a comparison to be made between texts and archaeological evidence. Here all the problems of identifying plant remains that have been in the ground are combined with those of translating medieval plant names. Perhaps surprisingly, it has been possible to draw some preliminary conclusions.

**Marina Ciaraldi (University of Bradford)**

*A Pharmacy in the Countryside*

This paper deals with the plant assemblage found during the excavation of a farmhouse (villa rustica) near Pompeii (Southern Italy). The villa was clearly a farmhouse where agricultural activities were carried out. I will discuss the plant remains found in one of the dolia (large storage vat) found in the house. The deposit found at the bottom of this storage vat produced a high percentage of seeds of plants known for their 'active' properties (such as *Papaver somniferum*, some *Solanaceae* etc.). Associated with the plant remains there were also bones of small reptiles and amphibians. I believe that this assemblage represents the residue of the preparation of a pharmaceutical product. Its contents are similar to the ingredients mentioned in the preparation of ancient drugs called mithridatium and theriac. Further indirect archaeological evidence seems to support this hypothesis and will be also discussed.

**Brendan Derham (University of Bradford)**

*The Mary Rose Medicine Chest*

In order to understand the historical contribution of medicine to society's health, it is necessary to consider the provision of primary health care and in particular, techniques of wound management. In Medieval and Post-medieval Europe such work was undertaken by Barber-Surgeons. The practice of Barber-Surgery, like any other undertaking, will leave evidence in the archaeological record. In 1545 the Mary Rose sank rapidly in the Solent, with the loss of the majority of the crew. The ship was excavated during the 1980s, with part of the work focusing on excavating the Barber-Surgeon's cabin and the lifting of the ship's medicine chest. This resulted in the recovery of a wide variety of material, including both personal possessions and professional equipment. The assemblage included containers, many of which still retained residues of their original contents. The development and application of a systematic programme of chemical analysis was undertaken in an attempt to ascertain the nature of these 'pharmaceutical' preparations. The paper will present a resume of the method, results, and interpretation to date.

**Ralph Jackson (Department of Prehistoric and Roman-British Antiquities, The British Museum)**

*The Evidence of Surgical Instruments*

Medical implements and surgical instruments are the most tangible remains of Roman medical practice. They are fascinating and instructive in many ways, not least their design and manufacture, yet they undoubtedly raise more questions than they answer. I shall pose and consider the following questions

- How can instruments be distinguished from other implements and tools?
- How representative a sample are the surviving instruments?
- What did a 'normal' doctor's kit look like?
- How uniform was surgical equipment and surgical practice throughout the Empire?

- Who used surgical tools and can the instruments help us to estimate the level of medical activity ?
- Do the instruments assist us in gauging the success of Roman practitioners ?

**Patricia Anne Baker (University of Newcastle upon Tyne)**

*The Roman Military Valetudinaria: Fact of Fiction?*

There is no debate as to the existence of the Roman military valetudinaria (hospitals), yet the buildings are often identified without much question, making their classification in need of re-examination. The first valetudinarium was identified at the legionary fortress of Novaesium in the late nineteenth century when a hoard of surgical and toilet instruments was found in one room of the structure. The plan of the building also suited the modern nineteenth century perception of how a hospital should be designed. Following the identification of the building at Novaesium, all other buildings of similar plan located within legionary and auxiliary fortifications were recognised as hospitals without much consideration of the archaeological remains, as most hospital buildings have no remnants of surgical instruments. Consequently, it is necessary to ask whether the buildings identified as valetudinaria are hospitals or whether they served another function. Moreover, it is important to question the anachronistic views placed on the buildings' identification, because they affect beliefs about healthcare in the Roman army. The examination requires a discussion of Hyginus, in conjunction with a description of the buildings identified as hospitals on the Rhine, Danube and in Britain. Finally the valetudinaria will be compared with Medieval hospitals to demonstrate the problems of assuming Roman hospitals were similar to modern ones.

**Sally Crawford (University of Birmingham) and Tony Randall (University of Oxford)**

*Transmitting Anglo-Saxon Disease Through Texts*

Bald's leechbook is a practical text, apparently designed to help the Anglo-Saxon doctor to identify and treat diseases. Some of the treatments were copied from Mediterranean exemplars, but the compiler was also drawing on native tradition and exercising some form of judgement in his selection of remedies. The purpose of this paper is to assess whether it is possible to identify the diseases described in the text and to assess whether the medical preoccupations of the 10th century doctor and our modern understanding of how diseases behave can offer new insights into the environmental and social conditions of late Anglo-Saxon England.

**Ghislaine Lawrence (The Science Museum)**

*Object-Based Research- What Is It and Who Cares?*

Abstract not received.

**Power of Rhetoric: Performing Representational Figures in Rock Art**

**Chair: George Nash (University of Bristol)**

**Discussant: Christopher Chippendale**

**Session Abstract**

Recently, within rock art research, there has been an attempt to interpret representational figures and motifs by way of establishing a narrative. Mechanisms creating the panel narrative, syntax and grammar have been discussed in depth by Nordbladh, Tilley and Yates, the idea being that rock art is a performance that conveys rhetoric to an audience. Moreover, rock art figures, as well as the artist who creates the 'performance', may also be controlling the audience; who sees what, how and when. By adding designs over time, the artist persuades the audience to witness performance after performance. The act (of creating art) becomes an on-going drama. Individuals not only witness the panel components in sequence, but are also compelled to read the instalments. Further, audience participation not only ensures art is continually observed, but, more importantly, that it is added to and changed over time. However, the longer the art remains in its original form, the more powerful the art and the artist may become. Within this session, participants will present papers that explore the power of performance, in particular the role of rhetoric and representational figures, both as a collective panel narrative and as a chronological and geographical study.

**George Nash (University of Bristol)**

*The Power and the Violence of the Archers: All is Not Well Down in Ambridge (A Study of Representational Warriors from the Mesolithic Spanish Levant)*

Within the [Mesolithic] hunter rock art assemblage of Levantine Spain and Northern Africa, there is a group of representational figures which displays a society whose social and political framework rests, in part, upon violence. In some instances, rock art portrays scenes of extreme brutality, including execution and open warfare. The message depicted to the audience can be questioned in several ways. Firstly, are scenes where violence is displayed reflecting a realism within Levantine society? In other words, is warfare a way of life? Secondly, do these scenes, in particular the executions, show a society in political turmoil? Do they counter the more traditional portrayal of hunter/gatherers as a society in harmony with nature and each other? The complexity of the panels displays a violent power that within our own society would be immediately repugnant. Furthermore, could one consider a regime advocating capital punishment in this way as unstable and insular?

This paper deconstructs and discusses a number of Levantine and North African panels, arguing that the artists who painted these images were concerned more with the power and drama of the subjectivity, than with merely recording what he or she witnessed; the artist becoming the performance. Although representational, the figures are arranged in a stylistic way, and by 'encoding' the art in this manner, the artist(s) could be attempting to manipulate and control this distinctive style, prevalent throughout the northern Levant and North Africa, yet limited elsewhere.

**Stephen Keates (The University of Birmingham)***Monumentality, Memory and the Rock Art of the Valcamonica*

The Valcamonica in Northern Italy provides a rich corpus of rock art imagery, beginning possibly in the Mesolithic and enduring until the end of the Iron Age. This paper explores the significance of representations of the human figure in the landscape during the Chalcolithic, which in the Valcamonica are present not only in the panels of rock art themselves but also in three dimensional form as statue stelae which are erected as part of ritual sites, and are incorporated into rock walls, as at the site of *Il Capitello delle Pini*.

A dual process involving the creation of monuments within the landscape and the monumentalisation of the landscape itself appears to be taking place, in which the representation of human anatomy plays a central role. Other writers have recently pointed to the significance of both architecture and socially-constructed landscapes as metaphors drawn upon by prehistoric communities in the construction of social memory. Here, I will explore the role of human anatomy as the central focus as a point of spatial orientation in the construction of memory and the interaction of these three basic types of metaphor (anatomy, architecture and aspect) in material culture which provides cognitive reference points in strategies of memorialisation. The interaction between these nodes of reference serves to create social arenas or theatres where social memory can be constructed in the time and space of ritual performance. The net effect of repeated social performances in arenas such as these has the result of transforming spaces (a neutral term) into places (a term bearing an emotional charge in psychological and social terms, and consequently a strong sense of attachment).

**Mark Pluciennik (University of Wales, Lampeter)***Art, Artefact, Metaphor*

Representations of, and references to, bodies- human, animal and both- occur in several contexts in final Pleistocene and earlier Holocene southern Italy and Sicily. In the final Late Upper Palaeolithic, certain animals dominate the inscribed cave art, although there are also human representations, and we have evidence for carefully-marked or remembered burials, often paired, in the LUP and early Mesolithic. By the later Mesolithic both burials and human representations are unknown. Later, in the Neolithic, schematic painted human figures and artefacts dominate the caves, and the nature of both the place and treatment of bodily and other, often fragmented, remains is altered. Without attempting to deny either the partial nature of the archaeological record or the potential variability in societal practice and understanding across the region, this paper examines the context and content of such references and their associations, and attempts to relate differences in practice to changing cosmologies and conceptualisations of individual and social bodies and other worlds. I especially want to address the extent to which our own analytical strategies, based in textual analogies, and our modernist aesthetic sensibilities in which 'art' is an intellectualised object, both distance us from an embodied understanding, through privileging particular ontologies. How might we circumvent a world in which the language of textual analogy necessarily distances us from an embodied experience and understanding? How might we develop archaeological frameworks (ways of thinking, writing, doing) which do not necessarily assume that things are always in a metaphorical or representational relationship to the 'real'?

**Stuart Reavell (University of Cambridge)***Fencing Posts, Writing Boundaries: the Law of Landscape. The Prison/Brothel in 20th Century Archaeology (Reproduced as submitted [Ed.]*

'For Jacques Lacan the unconscious was structured like a language. For me, power is structured like a knowledge' (Olssen, G. 1992 p.86).

Between Lacan and Olssen 'lies' space. And it 'is' inscribed.

This paper argues that naive, but none-the-less violent, mimetic considerations of landscape are inseparably tied to the archaeo-cartographic 'mission' of placing the Self in the world: mapping and uncovering the place of the Self and of the World.

Rock-Art: Nature-Man. Culture's natural supplement to nature, a non supplement, we are meant to believe, that simply marks the Original presence of Man, if not always in time, then always in space- 'I was here'. Yet Landscape, like language, is what we are born into. And in the Coa 'taphonomic logic' [sic] are hints at how landscape and discourse share the same 'Rubric'. Thus, space is the 'Art' of 'Law': position is everything and place is a product through deferment and deferral.

When one writes grammatologically there is no escape from Class [or] violence. The 'origin' of landscape always already seems to be Marx [sic] in caves, showing Plato's prison as the site of domesticity originally expanded across all horizons of the self's [non]possibility.

Yet if power is structured like a knowledge rest assured that it is Carnal. Or at least, and increasingly, not all rest, assured that it is Carnal. It is the Carnality, and the hetero-carnality of [Man's] 'Presence' which the Coa, we desire to show, disrupts even as it enacts. It is in this 'sense' that the extension of the domicile of/as the symbolic [Plato's, now infinite, cave ordered parallel to Lacan's prison] .... is still the space of domesticity, whose mark is also 'the wound' which bleeds as the sign of virgin-whore: Woman.

From Sacred Cave to Landscape, that is from Church to Brothel, the extension of the symbolic is no mere symbolic extension. The landscape is the site of sexual politics and policies-. It is the re-writing, as reading, of place: 'location' in both its senses. The phallic ordering of the Coa is not erected by men, it Erects. By encasing such responses in 'nature' Man [the Hunter] denies [His] Homophobia whilst maintaining his fetishism for the Same...

These are just some of the threads that the deconstruction of Palaeo-art, as the Origin of landscape, re-weaves. Showing how representation is a myth of phallogocentric desire, and that the symbolic constitutes a never fully present politics of the Self, determines an inherent sexual injustice: at the Centre of either Archaeology or the Origin of Humanity- neither of which are a choice, rather the Origin of Humanity- neither of which are a choice, rather the impossibility of choosing.

This then is not simply to perform some psychoanalytic ex/orcise on the archaeo-cartographic project. In writing such a nomadic

text through the 'Coa', I desire to highlight a movement choreographed from within the logic of mimesis. A move which traverses and Errs [the] landscape as always already inscribed through a dissemination of un-limitable slippages, whose recovery is always already a reality of the 'phallacy'-of-violence, and whose 'boundaries' are marked by 'lines of Power'.

### **The Origin of Spaces**

**Organisers: Richard Bradley and Sturt Manning (University of Reading)**

#### **Session Abstract**

Recent years have seen many studies of ancient landscapes, from the use of individual monuments to increasingly detailed studies of how particular places were perceived and used in the past. These are increasingly interpreted in terms of ancient cosmologies. Yet although such studies often share similar objectives, they tend to take place within quite separate regional traditions of research. This session explores the archaeology of monumental landscapes in two quite separate regions and allows a number of different case studies to be compared with one another. Four papers are concerned with areas in or around the Mediterranean-Egypt, Crete, Sardinia and the Aegean- while the other four consider the prehistory of the British Isles.

#### **Lynn Meskell (University of Oxford)**

*Beyond the 'Place of Truth': Social Memory, Mortuary Landscape and Hybrid Cultures*

In New Kingdom Egypt the village of Deir el Medina was known as the 'Place of Truth', referring to the location where the reigning king constructed his tomb. The workmen's village was situated in a nearby wadi to the Valley of the Kings. Apart from the settlement, there were some 400 tombs which encircled it. Many Egyptologists have characterised the village as primarily a New Kingdom site, ignoring the substantial ritual, mortuary and social practices which continued from 1070 BC well into Christian times. This potent locale held special significance to the hybrid cultures of Graeco-Roman Egypt, and important burials continued to be placed amongst the long-abandoned structures of the New Kingdom community. Both dwellings and tombs took on special, sacred meanings for these new groups and whilst they desired to reinforce their links and ritual continuity with the religion, the specificities of the Pharaonic sites seemed to be lost to them, or rather were irrelevant. The place itself was deemed sacred, numinous and perhaps even awe-inspiring. It was a fitting place for pilgrimage, acts of homage and re-instating the dead into an already ancient mortuary landscape. The past was ever-present in Egypt, but was not always historically-embedded, so that later associated memories were often contingent, multiple and stratified with layers of cultural meaning.

#### **Richard Bradley (University of Reading)**

*The History of the World in Ten and a Half Postholes: the Structure of Structured Deposition*

Material culture will always have a structure if it is to act as a system of communication, but that structure may be more apparent in some settings than in others. That is the reason why there have been so many studies of 'structured deposition' at ceremonial monuments. Paradoxically, these have often been investigated as an end in themselves: such deposits provide evidence for particular rituals, and so their presence helps to account for the monuments where they occur. The same applies to the decoration found on stone-built monuments.

A closer analysis of these deposits often shows that they must have been made in a certain sequence and the results of these actions might also be viewed in a prescribed order; the same applies to megalithic art. In that respect they are rather like a narrative. Both may have been made in the course of telling an origin myth, so that the experience of moving around such places recreated the processes by which the world was made.

#### **Elinor Ribeiro (University of Reading)**

*Space and Experience in the Late Bronze Age Frescoes of Thera*

Ideological landscapes are not only constructed from the earth; they may also be realised as pictorial depictions: for example, as maps, paintings or as frescoes. In this paper I shall be examining the hypothesis that the Late Bronze Age wall-paintings found on Thera constitute the ideological projections of a fresco-commissioning elite and depict a series of contrived and ordered landscapes, rather than naturalistic reflections of the Aegean environment, as is so often surmised. The individuals pictured in these structured landscapes are integral to our understanding of these ideological spaces. One continuous landscape brackets groups of individuals into a structured hierarchy of status and experience; other depicted spaces in the frescoes define 'extraordinary' regions where activities take place that lie outside everyday social discourse.

#### **Mike Williams (University of Reading)**

*A Life in the Day of a Hillfort*

Much has been written recently about the potential for hillforts to be interpreted as symbolic rather than defensive structures. To support this hypothesis much has been made of the patterns resulting from structured deposition and concerns with the correct alignment of the structures. However, whilst these patterns may be relatively straightforward to distinguish, the reasons for their presence can be much more difficult to discern.

Inasmuch as a purely functional use of hillforts can be rejected, their existence can be viewed as a monumental manifestation of the day-to-day concerns of contemporary people. The agricultural cycle, death and rebirth, and the cosmological ordering of society are played out against a background of food production and the declining fecundity of the land. These concerns are effectively written into the landscape within the defined space provided by the hillfort. By adopting such a dialectical approach to the origins of hillforts, it becomes possible to attempt a reading of this seemingly impossible text.

**Emma Blake (University of Cambridge)**

*Intervisibility and the Nuragic Gaze*

This paper examines the discursive possibilities of monumental visibility. While awareness of the cosmological significance of megalithic monuments has informed recent analyses, further work is needed to determine how this significance was exploited. The dearth of contemporary settlement evidence has hindered attempts to situate the monuments literally and figuratively in a social space. The extensive traces of Sardinia's Nuragic period settlements offer a rare opportunity to embed the contemporary megalithic tombs in the social landscape. Typically a Nuragic tomb and settlement tower (nuraghe) are a few hundred metres apart and intervisible, the tomb placed at a lower altitude than the nuraghe. This difference of altitude establishes an asymmetrical relationship between the two monuments, in which the tomb chamber and forecourt are perpetually exposed to the gaze of the nuraghe's residents. While the tombs' orientations and the traces of activities in the forecourts demonstrate their cosmological relevance, the condition of intervisibility may be interpreted as a way of monitoring the tombs and thus appropriating their symbolic power for use in other contexts.

**Tim Phillips and Aaron Watson (University of Reading)**

*Chambered Cairns and Settlement: the Living and the Dead in Northern Scotland, 3600- 2000 BC*

The Moray Firth in northern Scotland marks the boundary between two monumental traditions. To the south, and centred on Strathnairn, the cairns of the Clava tradition have recently been dated to the Early Bronze Age. To the north, on the Black Isle peninsula, the Orkney Cromarty cairns appear to date from the Early Neolithic. Not only do the two traditions differ radically in architecture and date, they also contrast in their location within the landscape. Another contrast between them has been emphasised by recent fieldwalking projects in the two areas. Activity, as represented by lithic scatters, occurs close to Clava Cairns but is overlooked by, and at a distance from, the Orkney Cromarty tombs. A separate but visible landscape of the dead in the Neolithic became incorporated into the landscape of the living in the Early Bronze Age.

**Sturt Manning (University of Reading)**

*Knossos, Landscape and Memory: the Creation of Meaning on Crete*

Legend has it that when Zeus died he was buried in Crete. Where? The tomb was said to be in the area of Knossos or more specifically at Archanes. These were, and are, special places where memory is stored and which carry the mark of time. Several recent studies have highlighted the special nature, placement and role of Knossos for the prehistory of Crete, and the surrounding landscape must also be considered in this regard. In particular, the significance of settlement size and associated population levels as likely indicators of changes in settlement structure and the development of political hierarchy has been stressed and applied to this precocious site. What is less appreciated is the very unusual status of the peak Middle to Late Minoan settlement of Knossos in terms of world settlement history, and the implication of this for understanding the non-urban countryside in Minoan culture and ritual.

**Aaron Watson (University of Reading)**

*Circles of Earth and Stone: Monuments, Landscape and Prehistoric Cosmology*

Stone circles and henges constitute some of the most dramatic prehistoric monuments in Britain, and this investigation suggests that they are placed to interact with the landscape in specific ways. These sites are often set within natural basins or valleys where their architecture visually resembles the physical properties of the surrounding topography. While a participant moving within these monuments is enveloped by earthworks or standing stones, the enclosures themselves are contained and enclosed on a grander scale by surrounding higher ground. Inside a henge this raised horizon parallels the earthen banks, while in an open stone circle the stone settings have a backdrop of hills. In some senses it can be difficult to distinguish between natural and architectural components, as these become inseparable elements in the experience of the monument.

These locational attributes cannot usually be extended to other types of monument in the vicinity. The location and configuration of these monuments may reflect a perception of the world in terms of a circular cosmology, which is expressed throughout later prehistory in forms as diverse as enclosures, round barrows and rock art motifs.

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***Diversity in Unity: Regionality in Roman Britain***

**Organisers: Vince Gaffney and Roger White (University of Birmingham)**

**Introduction and Chair: B. Burnham**

**Session Abstract**

*Assimilation, Imitation, or Assuming the Role of Rebellious Exotic are Not the Only Options and Never Have Been (Bell Hooks 1990)*

Romanisation and the impact of Roman imperialism on provincial communities has been an enduring topic of debate amongst Roman historians and archaeologists for many decades. Most recently this debate has re-surfaced and centred on the need for a post-colonial narrative which is both cognisant of the interpretative problems imposed by our own past and attempts to write inclusive histories: ones which acknowledge the role and influence of non-Roman populations. Can this be achieved? Recent papers on the subject frequently carry debate at the level of the province, at best, or jump from province to province in search of supporting evidence. Such an approach apparently ignores the important differences that existed at local and regional level and which surely must be the key to understanding past interaction.

Despite the best of intentions, regional characteristics seem to be subsumed within provincial personalities which do no more to explain the nature and processes of interaction than previous paradigms which interpreted apparent differences purely in terms of the economic. This situation exists despite emerging evidence for regional cultures and their effect on the archaeology of Roman

Britain. It may be that these regional personalities may have more to say about perceived differences in the archaeology of the province, and even the spread of 'Romanised' features, including urbanism, than the assumed impact of prolonged military occupation or State-rule.

The goal of this session is to examine the nature of regionality in Roman Britain: how regionality can be identified theoretically and practically; how and whether it developed; and what was its role within the larger Roman province? Of particular interest is the identification of long-term identities and the continuity of such identities not just from the pre-Roman iron Age into the Roman period, but also looking beyond into the post-Roman world.

**T. Blagg (University of Kent)**

*South-East Britain and North-East Gaul Compared*

The cultural affinities between south-eastern Britain and northern Gaul in Britain's late pre-Roman Iron Age prompt the question of how far this continued after the Roman conquest. The major categories to be considered here will be urban architecture, rural houses and religious practice. Comparison of Canterbury with Amiens, of the villas of Kent and Essex with those of the Somme valley, or of British and Gaulish religious sculptures, is as instructive for the divergences that emerge as for the similarities.

**B. Eagles and M. Corney (University of Bristol)**

*Title and Abstract Not Received*

**M. Corney (University of Bristol)**

*Title and Abstract Not Received*

**David Longley (Gwynedd Archaeological Trust)**

*Social Status and Settlement Hierarchy in Late Iron Age and Roman North-West Wales*

Within the regional landscape of north-west Wales during the late Iron Age and Romano-British centuries, the evidence for settlement is represented by, on the one hand, overly-fortified sites whether on hill tops, inland promontories or the cliffs of the sea coast and, on the other hand, by a variety of un-fortified roundhouse settlements. Recent field-work and excavation has identified a class of settlement on Anglesey which occupied the middle ground in a hierarchy of size and status not represented throughout the rest of the region. It will be argued that the emergence of such settlements is a reflection of the differential agricultural potential of the region as a whole and that, on internal evidence and in their appearance, the Anglesey settlements represent an expression of middle-level status made manifest by access to surplus capacity in the agricultural economy through the food rents and labour services of tenants in a particularly rich farming landscape. Elsewhere within the region this expression of status is visible at the highest level in the defences of fortified sites.

During the Roman centuries the occupants were unable to maintain the outward expression of status in the continued upkeep of grandiose earthworks but, nevertheless, retained some semblance of their former status in the receipt of high quality artefacts. While farms throughout the region appear to have flourished during the Roman centuries, the productive capacity of Anglesey was not such that it could support the continued maintenance of the outward trappings of status at the previous level under the additional top-slicing effect of Roman taxation.

**Roger White (University of Birmingham)**

*The Northern Marches: Reluctant Romans, or Canny Natives?*

In the 90s, three major landscape surveys have transformed our perception of north-western Britain from the central marches to the Cumbrian fells. The North-West Wetlands Survey, Central Marches Upland Survey and Wroxeter Hinterland Project have all in their way fleshed out the inadequate and poorly-understood picture of Iron Age to Roman transition and have characterised the cultural signature of the region. Settlement is far denser than previously thought, with inter-site spacing of 1km on the lowlands being not uncommon. The increasingly centralised nature of the salt trade in later prehistory has focused attention on the emerging elite in the southern part of the region, and the economic importance of the Mersey corridor is becoming increasingly apparent. Given these trends, the emergence of first Wroxeter and then Chester as major settlements is no surprise, but the size of the latter now becomes more understandable in relation to the apparent wealth of the later Iron Age people of the area and their peaceful co-operation with the invading Roman force.

At a micro-regional level, the Wroxeter Hinterland Project in particular has shown how cultural material was readily absorbed into the countryside in the initial period, but only on those sites with ready access to the infrastructure established by the conquerors. In turn, the input of raw materials into the expanding town is readily apparent both from the immediate hinterland and from further afield. On a macro-regional level, development seems stunted, however, and especially so in the later period with little sign of local centre development throughout the region. Possible mechanisms for this apparent failure will be further developed in the course of the presentation.

**B. Bewley**

*Looking Forward- Prehistory to Romans: Approaches to Understanding Regions and Romans*

The germ of an approach often starts in a small way, in a small area or region and if successful can be developed, moulded, or expanded. This paper will explore how a morphological approach to analysing archaeological evidence, mainly from aerial photographic data, might be a valuable tool in answering questions of regionality. From the experience of working in northern Cumbria, the methodology has been applied more widely. Now that England's National Mapping Programme has covered 20% of the country it is possible to begin to test questions of regionality, as well as the validity of using information derived solely from aerial photographs. The paper will also explore the ways in which our interpretations of past human settlement have changed and

are conditioned by our own education and background.

**Neil Herbert (Archaeological Project Services)**

*Small towns. Small minds? Economic Diversity vs. Prime Movers: Lincolnshire in the 1st to 4th centuries*

This paper aims to address the session title through discussion of the material remains of Romano-British Lincolnshire. It will attempt to dismiss the relevance of military-led explanations for the emergence and continuity of Romanised settlements within Lincolnshire. Using a broad spectrum of archaeological evidence, I will suggest that simplistic prime-mover explanations of development are irrelevant, because of the diversity of response to the invasion of Britain and to the centuries afterwards. Instead I will suggest that the way forward is by direct reference to material evidence, with emphasis placed upon the economic differences between sites, within a chronological context. It is from a study of such remains that patterns of economic diversity can be recognised against a background of more general trends. The paper will progress from the material evidence of diversity to how this is presented within the media, including both local newspaper reports and the few museums and displays of the period in Lincolnshire. These interpretations reach a much broader audience than any archive report and continue to shape the minds of future generations, perpetuating the myth of military dynamism and reducing the role of the real players—the occupants of the countryside— in all their guises.

**Judith Plouviez (Suffolk County Council)**

*Lagging Behind? Views of East Anglia*

The low level of urbanisation and relative scarcity of extravagant villas in East Anglia was previously explained as a result of military subjugation following the Boudiccan revolt. More recently, the problems of preservation in a region of intense arable cultivation, combined with the lack of good building stone, have been cited. At present, the strongest aspect of the resource is the portable artefacts and these will be explored to see whether they offer ways of seeing local identities.

**J. Evans (Birmingham)**

*Regional Identities in Roman Britain; the North*

This paper intends to examine regional identities within the area defined by the Humber-Mersey line and Hadrian's Wall. To do this, it is intended to look at some patterns in the use of artefacts on basic level rural sites, where most of the population might be found in the later Iron Age and Roman periods, and to ignore urban centres, many of which may represent alien communities planted in the region. The organisers' invitation to employ a 'post-colonialist perspective' will be eschewed, as this is viewed as anachronistic.

Several regional groupings appear to emerge, most continuing from the later Iron Age, some regional identities in the study area do appear to continue into the post-Roman period.

**Alicia Wise (University of York)**

*Continuity and Change in South-Eastern Scotland from 500 BC to AD 500*

Recent settlement research in South-Eastern Scotland suggests a surprising amount of stability among some indigenous communities before, during and after the Roman army appeared. Other communities, not very far away, seem to have undergone a great deal of change. Unravelling this complex tale involves the normal caveats of gaps in existing knowledge, contextualisation of our theoretical perspectives, and taking care when relying on historical sources, but it also leads us to more radical re-assessments of the interaction between Romans and residents. The study of local and regional differences in the course of Romanisation is challenging, as we have traditionally had difficulty even coming up with names or terms for referring to the very different people that inhabited places in the pre- and post-Roman periods.

**P. Freeman (University of Liverpool)**

*Title and Abstract Not Received*

**A.S. Esmonde-Cleary (University of Birmingham)**

*Title and Abstract Not Received*

**J. Taylor (University of Leicester)**

*Title and Abstract Not Received*

**W. S. Hanson (University of Glasgow)**

*Discussant*

Synthesis tends to conflate and mask local variation. But regional differences are readily apparent in even the most superficial overview of the archaeology of the Roman province of Britain. The literary accounts also record regional differences perceived by the Roman authorities in terms of reaction to their presence. The epigraphic evidence indicates different regional administrative subdivisions based on pre-Roman 'tribal' identities. But further progress is unlikely without more detailed quantitative and comparative analysis of material culture against a regional and chronological background.



**John Oxley (City of York Council)***Deposits, Artefacts and Monuments: Abandoning the Orthodox*

The system of statutory protection of archaeological sites in this country is centred on the concept of the monument. This orthodoxy allows the protection of an archaeological site (recognised as an event) through the definition of the site as a monument. However, this orthodoxy fails to protect the archaeological resource where the resource cannot be defined as a monument: e.g. artefact-rich deposits and anoxic deposits.

Following Carver's arguments in *Antiquity* (1996), this paper challenges this orthodoxy. It argues that the monument model constrains archaeological understanding; it fails to protect the valuable archaeological deposits and protects the known resource at the expense of the as-yet-unknown resource.

**Anthony Beck (Oxford Archaeological Unit)***One For All and All for One: Data Sharing in an Ideal World*

Artefact analysts currently report and disseminate their information broadly in isolation. It is still very rare for them to receive the up-to-date site information which is essential for the understanding of an artefact assemblage, never mind the site. However, imagine a world where this information is available. Not just the context sheets, but the whole spatial relationships of the site. Furthermore, continue to speculate about the usefulness of an archive where the artefactual data is completely integrated, allowing the project manager total access to the archive from its lowest level, enabling the artefactual and spatial data to be used for 'real' analysis at virtually any scale, thus reducing data generalisation and the need to work from secondary sources. Relational Database Management Systems and CAD and GIS models have attained an unprecedented level of maturity, and are regularly used by other spatial disciplines to articulate their datasets, but not archaeology. Why is this so? Why don't we do this?

**Greg Campbell (Oxford Archaeological Unit)***A House Divided, or Why the Numismatist Left the MIFA for the Pollen Specialist*

Communication between the various broad groups in archaeology is disjointed and not as effective as it should be. Field archaeologists and artefact specialists often seem to be talking at cross-purposes, and this has led to confusion, frustration, and bad-mannered exchanges. Field archaeologists and environmental archaeologists also have a similar difficulty in understanding each other, with similar results. What is curious is that the reason for this disjointed communication continues in spite of all the parties involved accepting that each group has a contribution to make.

The reason for this disjointed communication is more fundamental: artefact studies and environmental reconstruction share a common logical structure, and this logic is different to the logical structure employed by field archaeology. All artefact specialists (regardless of the artefacts each studies) and all environmental specialists (regardless of the material each studies) are concerned with assemblages, and their logic is inductive. The field archaeologists' logic is deductive. This difference in logic is responsible for most of the failures to communicate.

**Paul Spoerry (Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeology Unit)***Title and Abstract Not Received***Alan Vince (Internet Archaeology)***Collapse or Transformation: The Production and Distribution of Early Anglo-Saxon Pottery in Midland England*

In late 4th/early 5th century Britain, pottery was distributed using road, river and coastal transportation. Production was nucleated and extensive kiln-fields have been excavated. Traditionally, the pottery of the succeeding periods, from the 5th to the 9th centuries, is seen as being sharply contrasting in terms of its manufacture and distribution. However, an intensive survey of Anglo-Saxon pottery in the midlands has used petrology to show that this contrast has been overstated, and that throughout the period there is evidence for nucleated production and extensive distribution of pottery. The implications of these results for the understanding of Anglo-Saxon society, and the differences between that society and those preceding and following, are explored in this paper.

**Jess Tipper (University of Cambridge)***Interpreting Anglo-Saxon Settlement Space: Grubenhauser and their Refuse Deposits*

The organisation of early Anglo-Saxon settlement space is examined through a detailed analysis of depositional behaviour. In order to understand patterning in the archaeological record, we need to understand why and how the archaeological record was formed. This paper will explore the complexities involved in the creation of Grubenhauser assemblages, specifically through the study of pottery fragmentation

**J D Naylor (University of Durham)***York and Its Hinterland In the Eighth and Ninth Centuries AD*

Research concerning the early medieval economy has mostly examined the long-distance exchange undertaken at, and between, the emporia sites of north-west Europe, with little interest in hinterland studies. This paper will focus on the region around York, examining distributions of artefacts, such as pottery, quernstones and coinage, to argue the importance of the hinterland in the early medieval economy. These results will also be used to discuss the implications for current theoretical work

**Jon Humble (English Heritage)***The Archaeological Find of the Century*

Exposed.



**Alex Norman (University of Sheffield)**

*Bounded Space*

Abstract not received.

**David Howlett (Bodleian Library, Oxford)**

*Abstract Art in Artefacts and Texts*

Abstract not received.

**Fran Colman (University of Edinburgh)**

*Pennies and People in Anglo-Saxon England*

Abstract not received.

**Ellen Swift (Institute of Archaeology, London)**

*The Objects of Late Antiquity and the End of the Roman Empire in the West*

Collection of data on several thousand objects from the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire has enabled a detailed study of spatial variability to be carried out. The objects themselves, crossbow brooches, bracelets, beads and belt fittings, range across a number of categories – male/female, military/civilian, high/low status – and their analysis provides an opportunity to test out theories of style in an historical period. This paper will attempt to provide a fresh perspective on the desired objects of late antiquity, what they might signify, and how they created/were created by the social reality of the late 4th century AD and the transition to the post-Roman west.

**Paul Blinkhorn (Independent Ceramic Analyst)**

*'They Loved their Life and Sought No Other': Material Culture as Evidence for the Survival of Paganism in Early Christian England*

Our understanding of Anglo-Saxon pagan practices is largely obscured by the fact that early Christian writers refused to record them on the grounds that they were sinful. At the same time, our knowledge of pagan resistance in the 7th and 8th centuries relies primarily upon a few tantalising fragments in the writings of Bede and others. They indicate that the acceptance of the new religion by the masses was not as widespread as the church would have liked us to believe, and in many cases, conversion to Christianity appears to have been an act of political expediency on the part of the elite, whereas the lower orders were less quick to give up their traditional beliefs. This paper will examine the historical record of post-conversion pagan resistance, then extrapolate it using archaeological evidence, particularly the symbolic aspects of the decoration of material culture, to suggest that the death of paganism was a far more drawn-out affair than Christian hagiographers would have us believe.

**Duncan Brown (Southampton City Museum)**

*Pottery and Humans*

Humans and pottery.

**C. G. Cumberpatch (Archaeological Consultant)**

*The Transformation of Tradition: The Origins of the Post-medieval Ceramic Tradition in West Yorkshire*

This paper will examine the hitherto-untheorised changes in practice and perception which constitute the transition from the medieval to the post-medieval ceramic traditions in South and West Yorkshire. Using a phenomenological perspective developed to explain aspects of medieval pottery, the rise of the post-medieval ceramic tradition will be investigated from the point of view of the changes in social structures, perceptions and practices which occurred between the later 15th and early 17th centuries.

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### ***Boundaries and Liminal Zones in Early Medieval Britain***

**Co-Chairs: Andrew Reynolds (UCL) and Sarah Semple (University of Oxford)**

**Session Abstract**

Not received.

**Nathalie Cohen (MOLAS)**

*Boundaries and Settlement: The Role of the River Thames*

This paper will present some possible models for the origins and development of Anglo-Saxon settlements on the River Thames from Teddington to Greenwich. A variety of sources of information will be examined in an attempt to elucidate patterns of settlement: these include environmental and hydrological data, evidence from archaeological excavations and surveys (both modern and antiquarian), charter records, site-specific settlement studies and place-name evidence. The concept of the River Thames and its tributaries as boundaries and as transport routes will be explored.

**Sam Turner (University of York)**

*Boundaries and Religion: Christian Demarcation in the Early Middle Ages*

This paper seeks to investigate the definition of boundaries by the church and the role of these boundaries in society. It draws on archaeological, historical and literary sources and aims to examine developments and changes throughout Britain in the early

middle ages. The ideology of ecclesiastical settlement is considered in relation to evidence for both the immediate boundaries of church settlement, and its role in the definition of larger territorial units. The relationship of religious boundaries to secular settlement is also discussed.

**Sarah Semple (Queen's College, University of Oxford)**

*Boundaries in Literature: Liminality in Anglo-Saxon England*

Through a selection of excerpts from Anglo-Saxon poetic texts, this paper will investigate early medieval belief in the supernatural and in particular consider the mythology surrounding the habitats of creatures such as dragons, goblins, demons and monsters. Place-name, archaeological and historical evidence will be considered in a search to explain the emergence of folk beliefs concerning the haunting or supernatural inhabitation of specific places in the landscape. The Anglo-Saxon belief that such creatures were restricted to what may be termed liminal zones, leads to the question of whether these 'monsters in the wasteland' were the result of the emergence of an increasingly organised and finely divided topography. The intensified partition of the landscape for personal ownership in the later Anglo-Saxon period resulted in an increasing control on the movement of the early medieval population. This may, through a growing awareness of territorial boundaries, have resulted in the emergence of folk belief surrounding peripheral areas of the landscape.

**Dave Petts (University of Reading)**

*Death, Property and Boundaries in Early Medieval Wales*

In early medieval Wales burial grounds were placed on boundaries and were the sites of legal disputes about property rights, whereas by the eleventh century burials were located in churchyards at the heart of settlements. By this later period legal procedures concerning claims to land had been relocated onto settlement sites, and were focused particularly around the hearth. In this paper I will try and trace the changing relationship between death, burial and boundaries in early medieval Wales. By considering other forms of boundary (such as sanctuary or *nawdd*) in the early period it is clear that the church was able to control many important aspects of early medieval society, by emphasising the conceptual and physical centrality of the Church in the landscape. It was in the increasing control of the written texts that the control of boundaries comes to be administered by ecclesiastics. It was through such practices that the church was able to carve itself such an important role in mediating medieval Welsh society. It is paradoxical, that in centralising control over land and burials the church was able to assert its control over liminal and peripheral areas of the Welsh landscape. It is sometimes only by looking at the centre that we can understand what is happening at the borders.

**Victoria Thompson (University of York)**

*The View from the Edge: Dying, Power and Vision in Late Anglo-Saxon England*

This paper will consider the late Anglo-Saxon understanding of the death bed as a liminal place whose inhabitant is straddling two worlds, in a peculiarly vulnerable yet privileged position, able to transcend the usual limits of human perception of time and space. It will focus on the death-bed of King Edward the Confessor.

**Andrew Reynolds (UCL)**

*Boundaries and Burial: an Early Medieval Perspective*

The reconstruction of early medieval administrative territories relies traditionally on the evidence provided by written documents and place-names. Recent research has demonstrated that Anglo-Saxon execution cemeteries were located with startling frequency upon the limits of judicial territories or hundreds. This paper explores the range and character of the evidence, which includes both excavated cemeteries and contemporary written descriptions of the boundaries of estates, in an attempt to demonstrate how the identification of such sites can allow for the reconstruction of early medieval territories. The paper concludes with a consideration of the ideological use of landscape by early medieval elites and explores the origins of the formal public display of executed wrongdoers in early England.

### ***Marginality and Liminality: the Archaeology of Socially Excluded Groups***

**Organiser: Nick Thorpe (King Alfred's College, Winchester)**

#### **Session Abstract**

There are groups and processes which have been marginal to traditional archaeological discourse. While there are some themes which have begun to receive attention, such as infancy, slavery and to some extent homosexuality- others, particularly old age, the disabled and 'aliens'- remain largely invisible. Where marginal groups and processes have been discussed within archaeology, this has primarily been on an anecdotal rather than an analytical basis.

By examining the experience of past individuals and social groups subjected to social exclusion, we may achieve a more sophisticated understanding of marginality than if we were simply to focus on processes such as class and gender.

**Nick Thorpe (King Alfred's College, Winchester)**

*Archaeology at the Margins*

Despite its general rejection a generation ago, the influence of culture history may still be seen to permeate archaeology with its emphasis on cultural norms structuring society, so marginalising within the study of archaeology those who were marginalised in the past. If societies may be judged by how they treat those at the margins, one may take this further and suggest that academic

disciplines might be judged by how they treat those at the margin of their study. Archaeology would not fare well in such a judgement. The excuse is all too often made that archaeology can only deal with the average, while the post-processual rediscovery of individual agency has yet to encompass 'the other'.

Equally, disciplines such as Disability Studies have, not surprisingly, seen archaeology as marginal to their concerns. Disability scholars have generally taken the view that in medieval and earlier times life was 'nasty, brutish and short', and that little more needs to be said. However, even a brief examination of Palaeolithic evidence suggests that such a simplistic view cannot be sustained.

**Miranda Aldhouse-Green (University of Wales College, Newport)**

*Metaphors of Marginality: Contested Somatic Symbolism in European Antiquity*

The focus of this paper is the suggestion that marginality in later prehistoric European society was, on occasions, expressed in the iconography of the human body. Associated with this concept is the hypothesis that the disposal of human remains belonging to individuals, who had in life been (for whatever reason) on the margins of their communities, might also be expressed in their 'liminal' placement within the landscape after death. One of the criteria for attributing marginality was, perhaps, associated with symbolic gender ascription.

A central issue in considering the iconographic aspect of marginality concerns the rarity of human representation in Iron Age Europe, compared to, for example, the Classical world or Roman Gaul and Britain. Such scarcity has conventionally been explained in terms of artistic tradition, which veered towards the non-figural. Of the few Iron Age depictions recorded, some may be images of deities or ancestral heroes. But one way of interpreting these rare human depictions is that they represented what was special or marginal in society. Such 'exclusion' from communities might obtain on grounds of transgression from the perceived norm, either because of innate difference (physical appearance, deformity, hermaphroditism or other somatic abnormality), on account of untimely and inauspicious death (the young, death in childbirth, murder or execution, for instance) or because of behaviour that was considered unnatural (bisexuality, cross-dressing). It could be argued that, by expressing deviant individuals as images, this perhaps served to challenge, contest and thus neutralize the dangerous forces deemed to be associated with such deviancy.

It is my contention that iconographical expression of 'asymmetrical' beings might be analogous to 'special' burials, like the pit-disposals at Danebury and elsewhere in southern England, or the bog-bodies of northern and western Europe. Both pits and marshes are, after all, liminal places which were, maybe, thus perceived as appropriate places to inter those on the threshold or margins of communities. I should, at this point, make it clear that, in speaking of deviancy, I do not necessarily mean that such people were treated as outcasts, to be shunned in life, but simply that special individuals may have been considered to require special symbolic treatment, in order to balance the disorder they may have engendered, and thus restore harmony. Such somatic treatment might equally be signified by iconographic representation or special post-mortem treatment.

**Keith J Matthews (Chester Museum)**

*A Queer Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum...*

The archaeology of gender has been with us for a decade or more. Influenced by feminist history, it has taught us not to accept that there is such a thing as a gender-neutral past. All archaeology- practice as well as interpretation- is gendered and we cannot ignore this fact. Few archaeologists have questioned this view. This has happened partly through inertia (few old-school male archaeologists are even prepared to accept the archaeology of gender) and partly through enthusiasm for the new sub-discipline. It has come to us with impeccable feminist credentials, and to criticise it might be seen as reactionary. However, some of us (especially self-identified queers) cannot accept the archaeology of gender as it has come to be practised. Much of it accepts the gender duality that is regarded as the social norm in the West.

Occasionally it deals with female sexuality, but it is often conceived as one tied up with reproduction. Queer perspectives challenge this normative gender model by focusing on desire, which is seen as the source of sexual response. Desire can destabilise self-perception and, even more powerfully, self-control. Throughout history, there has been a tension in the representation of the male form which positions it in a dangerous ground between sexually and socially desirable contexts. The feminist view that these are symbols of male dominance and oppression is too limiting because it ignores desire (which we might regard as the 'pornographic' aspects). From a queer viewpoint, there are few images of males without an erotic charge, a charge that usually appears to be deliberate.

In recent years, there has been a reaction against the social constructionist hegemony in queer studies. Some have suggested that the self-identifying homosexual male is not a modern phenomenon and that the old 'third sex' (or third gender) model of male homosexual behaviour has some validity. Is it possible to use archaeology to look for evidence of triple (or multiple) gender identities in the past?

**Chris Gerrard (King Alfred's College, Winchester)**

*'Convivencia' - Exploring Muslim Identity in Medieval Christian Spain*

Medieval Spanish society has too readily been accepted as a model multi-cultural collaboration. A recent museum catalogue commented that 'the more one understands the concept of convivencia, the more one appreciates the necessity of maintaining it, even with its intrinsic tension, as a model for many endeavours'.

This paper addresses the issue of identity among Christian and Muslim groups in medieval Spain after the reconquest in the 12th century. A wide variety of archaeological evidence, including artefacts, graffiti, settlement morphology and standing buildings suggests that ethnic and racial divides were etched into material culture and endured until the final expulsion of the Muslim population at the beginning of the 17th century. It is argued that individuals played multiple roles, sometimes sharply structured by ethnic boundaries, at other times blending in, so that the nature of convivencia is as variable as the ability of archaeologists to

document it.

**Edward Herring (Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, London)**

*Greek Traders in Native Contexts in Iron Age Southern Italy: Issues of Interaction and Marginality*

The aim of this paper is to review the evidence for the presence of Greek traders resident in the native communities of Southern Italy. The study begins with the period immediately prior to Greek 'colonisation', for which there is evidence of Greek trading enclaves at several native coastal settlements. The importance of such alien communities as harbingers to full-scale Greek settlement is considered.

After the foundation of Greek settlements in Southern Italy, trade between the Greeks and natives began to flourish, although Greek traders resident in native settlements are, for the most part, elusive in the archaeological record. The site of Cavallino, which may have had a Greek enclave, is a rare exception. Here the precocious development of some urban features may suggest not so much social exclusion but rather the high level assimilation of the alien population into the local elite.

The general pattern, however, is for a pronounced acceleration of trade between the two communities, especially from the late 6th century onwards. Yet despite intensifying trade, the evidence for Greek traders resident among the natives remains all but absent. Possible explanations for their lack of archaeological visibility are offered. In particular, issues connected with the native control and marginalisation of trade are considered.

**Nick Thorpe (King Alfred's College, Winchester)**

*Old Age and the Loss of Social Identity*

The old are a category almost entirely missing from archaeological analyses. Despite a fairly long tradition of discussion in classical studies, archaeologists have rarely attempted to deal with adulthood as anything other than an undifferentiated mass. While there are undoubtedly operational difficulties in a study of old age- producing accurate age estimates for the old is vastly more complicated than for infants- we cannot assume that to lump together all adults is a sound analytical procedure. Anthropological and the small amount of archaeological and historical evidence available suggests that significant changes do occur within the adult section of the human life-cycle, such as the likelihood of increasing disability and the potential loss of social identity where that is defined in terms of active roles.

**Julian Thomas (University of Southampton)**

*Discussant*

**Land use and Landscape**

**Organiser: Helen Lewis (University of Cambridge)**

**Discussant: Andrew Reynolds (UCL)**

**Session Abstract**

The idea of land use is central to our perception of past cultural landscapes. Many recent landscape studies in archaeology have focused on the architectural ('ritual'/monumental or settlement) landscape. Very few authors, however, have discussed the connotations of land use in landscape archaeology, or the role of modern perspectives in the interpretation of ancient land use. The apparent lack of attention to these issues can be seen to be based on two elements: first, there has often been difficulty in obtaining the type of data needed to directly assess the land use-landscape link specifically, there has been a concentration on locating residential settlement sites and on excavating monumental evidence, while it is information on land-use patterns that would be more useful in addressing this link. Second, specific sorts of land use carry certain landscape connotations- modern preferences regarding land use are attributed to the past with little attempt to understand their role, or to explore how land use is perceptually linked to landscape.

Assessment of the nature of the presumed relationships between land use and settlement patterns, and exploration of how contemporary landscape preferences influence archaeological interpretation of the links between ancient land use and landscape are greatly needed.

**Stephanie Koerner (University of Pittsburgh)**

*Ritual, Ecology, and Social Life in Pre-Columbian Venezuela (900-1400 AD) and Neolithic Denmark (3500- 3100 BC).*

*Views Beyond a Nature-Culture Dichotomy in Studies of Land Use and Landscape*

The last decade has seen archaeologists develop considerably more sophisticated procedures for investigating the diversity of human ecologies than they once possessed. Light is being thrown on methodological problems and areas of epistemic confusion created by paradigms which envisage nature and culture as ontologically-antithetical domains. Alternative frameworks are now available with an explicit focus on the roles played by human perception and capacities for symbolic creation in relationships between social and ecological processes. Rich information on the previously-unimagined diversity of human ecologies is renewing interest in comparative projects.

This paper builds on these developments to contribute in three ways to the session. Firstly, it explores the reasons why paradigms based on a nature-culture antithesis can be expected to impede satisfactory ecological analyses of human environmental relationships. Secondly, a framework is developed to investigate archaeological evidence for patterns of articulation between change in ceremonial activities, techniques for using natural resources and buffering environmental hazards, and socio-political structure. Finally, the framework is examined in the light of data on pre-Columbian Venezuela (900-1400 AD) and Neolithic Denmark (3500-3100 BC).

**Richard Tabor**

*Artefacts and Boundaries: Associating Surface Data with Geophysical Images in Regional Research*

The South Cadbury Environs Project seeks to determine the ideological, social and economic conditions in which Cadbury Castle emerged as a centre of human activity, culminating in the construction, maintenance and subsequent refurbishment of a hillfort. Successive patterns of landscape division have been revealed by controlled linking of geophysical data to ploughzone artefact distributions. This has provided insight into multiperiod perceptions and uses of large tracts of land within the region.

**Andrew Reynolds (UCL)**

*Avebury and Anglo-Saxon Civil Defence: A Case Study in the Landscape Archaeology of Governments*

This paper explores the landscape context of later Anglo-Saxon civil defence in the Avebury area of north Wiltshire. Traditionally, scholars have concentrated on the major fortified settlements listed in the document known as the *Burghal Hidage* and dated to the reign of Edward the Elder. This paper combines the results of excavations and fieldwork and historical research to reconstruct what was clearly a highly-organised local network. Re-use of prehistoric monuments is a noticeable feature of civil defensive sites and the study serves as a reminder that monument re-use need not always have ritual or religious connotations.

**Dragos Gheorghiu (University of Missouri-Columbia, USA)**

*The Emergence of Landscape in the Iconography of the Late Phase of Cucuteni-Tripolye Chalcolithic Culture*

An analysis of Cucuteni-Tripolye painted ceramics of phase B reveals that a change in the way that the land was utilised was accompanied by changes in iconography. The changes are seen in the move from anthropomorphism to topomorphism. Ceramic vases are no longer formed in the shape of the female body with funerary wrapping decoration typical of anthropomorphism. Scenes of cultured landscape and wilderness typical of topomorphism are used for decoration.

The first type of landscape painted on ceramic vases shows a hill, reflecting land divided into strips and situated between rivers which form a lateral frame. Most of the Cucuteni-Tripolye settlements were located on terraces and hills, and were surrounded by ditches, stockades and cultivated land that marked the limits of the cultured landscape. The second type of landscape, frequently seen in the settlements from the area neighbouring the North Pontic steppe, is that of the 'wilderness', of the steppe, represented by continuous painted images and by images of domestic animals chasing wild ones. As people changed to a pastoral way of life so did their perception of their surroundings. The abstract style used to decorate ceramics becomes iconic, and illustrates abstract ideas such as 'space', with its limitations, 'wilderness' and 'domesticated' nature, 'settlement', 'unlimited surface' and 'unlimited movement'. These are suggested by the segmentation or the continuity of decorative images.

**Quentin Carroll (University of Cambridge)**

*Preconceptions of Christianity in Ecclesiastical Landscape Studies*

What is a landscape? An arena in which human and natural phenomena interact, as on a stage. The knack of successful set construction is to provide hints to human consciousness, and pre-conception will do the rest. For example, what influence did the impact, spread and location of Anglo-Saxon churches have on human features in the landscape, *i.e.* what effect did the set (church) have on the actors (clergy) and audience (people)? When looking at churches, basic questions do not get asked. Current ecclesiastical landscape studies look at the purpose of landscape but not of monument. Why? Christianity. We have an assumption that we understand Christianity. Most people in the West have received a Christian or Christian-influenced education. The parish church is a regular feature of our lives. We think we understand the church building because of the preconceptions we attach to the label. This paper will address the assumptions we make about Christianity related to historic ecclesiastical landscapes. If we pre-conceive the functions of a church, we cannot perceive its purpose and thus its impact on a landscape.

**Robert Shiel (University of Newcastle)**

*Refuting the Land Degradation Myth for Boetia*

Abstract not received.

**Helen Lewis (University of Cambridge)**

*Agricultural Land-use Connotations in Landscape Archaeology*

Modern preferences for viewing past landscapes as 'idyllic' or 'wild' pervade archaeology, especially in studies of later prehistory, when perceived relationships between settlement patterns and land-use practices are central to landscape studies. Agricultural land uses and their social connotations play an especially important role in landscape perception. The interpreted division between agriculturalist/hunter-gatherer and, in studies of later periods, between arable/pastoral farming systems denotes certain types of social organisation which link land use to landscape. Influential ethnographic works, such as Esther Boserup's *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth*, have frequently been cited as providing support for the existence of specific relationships between land use, technology and socio-political organisation, and these relationships have often been used as 'universals' when interpreting past landscapes. From a theoretical perspective these ideas of universal relationships between land use, settlement, technology, social organisation and landscapes are both interesting and frequently drawn upon. However, the perspectives underpinning such models may not account for the archaeological record, at least in regions such as Wessex, and this should lead us to question these evolutionary assumptions.

In Wessex, a wild-to-tame landscape evolution, once firmly placed at the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition, has been moved to the middle Bronze Age, if not later, based on the same basic body of evidence. Bradley's contention that the 'evidence for agricultural change during the Bronze Age in Wessex is so well known that a detailed account is not needed' is patently untrue. The agricultural prehistory, and the relationship of land use to the prehistoric landscape of this region in particular, is very poorly conceptual-

ised. In addition, the importance of agriculture and land use to recent archaeological perspectives on Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes has rarely been addressed. In regions like this, where existing land-use evidence is understudied relative to monumental and later 'domestic' settlement evidence, it is especially important to address modern biases relating to land-use connotations when interpreting ancient landscapes.

### ***Bodies With Feelings: Understanding Embodied Emotion***

**Organisers: Mary Baker and Matt Leivers (University of Southampton)**

#### **Session Abstract**

In this session we wish to address issues of embodiment through theoretical perspectives informed by feminism, post-structuralism, queer theory and political agency, amongst others. Recently within archaeology there has been a concern with emotion and bodies which, it is argued, confronts Cartesian understandings of persons. It seems to us that some of this work instead relies upon a mind/body division and that rather than opening up spaces for debate these approaches often result in uncritical universalisation of bodies and emotion. We hope to broaden the debate to include the complexities of socially and physically located bodies.

#### **Mary Baker (University of Southampton)**

##### *Emotional Approaches: The Problems*

Emotion has recently become an area of discussion in archaeology which has gained a reputation for being a thoughtful, touchy-feely approach that is somehow pure because it is about personal experience. Theories of embodiment as I practice them are about experiencing the world from locations in corporeal realities- the two are being confused and the result, as I see it, is the inhibiting of critical practice.

This is a problem that feminists faced two decades ago in the debates surrounding the great feminist declaration 'the personal is political'. I would like to explore the complexities of this second wave feminist motivation and look at what the poststructuralist feminisms and queer theory have added to the political and critical potential of the study of issues of embodiment. In so doing I hope to avoid the danger we face of being suffocated (silenced) by the universals created in the untheorised uses of the concept emotion.

#### **Brian Boyd (University of Wales, Lampeter)**

##### *Title and Abstract Not Received*

#### **Thomas A Dowson (University of Southampton)**

##### *A Queer's Thoughts on Epistemological Privilege in Archaeology*

I recently saw a manuscript discussing the depictions of genitalia and sex in the art of the European Palaeolithic. In remarking on the incorrect anatomical representation of female genitalia, the author makes reference to Leonardo da Vinci's well-known anatomical drawing of a male and female engaged in sexual intercourse. Like many Palaeolithic artists, da Vinci incorrectly drew the vulva pointing forward. The author goes on to assert 'from Leonardo's history it seems he was without first-hand knowledge of how coupling occurs between men and women, and so persisted with this intuitive but incorrect adolescent boy image.' We all know what is meant by 'Leonardo's history' and it is this 'history' that is used to call into question da Vinci's claims to knowledge.

Archaeology is in fact rife with this sort of epistemological privilege, some instances perhaps more subtle and insidious than others. Sexual identity operates on a number of levels to qualify or disqualify people: 'Homosexual' men and women manage to maintain an authority to act by closeting or downplaying their queer sexuality. In this rather personal account, I explore the levels on which my being a 'queer' archaeologist affects my authority to speak about the past... Hang on... perhaps those Palaeolithic artists were all gay? Just a thought.

#### **Robert Eaglestone (Royal Bedford and New Holloway College)**

##### *Responding to the Body in Time*

The aim of this paper is to examine- and to critique- claims made that 'the body' represents a universal, trans-historical way of understanding subjectivity. The paper will engage with the strong philosophical claims which I take to be the firmest basis for this understanding of the body; those developed from Darwin's 'dangerous idea' and made by thinkers like Dawkins and Dennett. Following their arguments, and concentrating on the idea of the 'meme' or 'cultural genetics', the paper will argue that these claims which rely on a certain naturalism in fact contradict any approach to the body that suggest that it is a stable site for the 'human' subject across time and space.

#### **Matt Leivers (University of Southampton)**

##### *Beyond the Grave: Emotion and the Archaeology of Death*

Sigmund Freud wrote that 'there is scarcely any other matter... upon which our thoughts and feelings have changed so little since the very earliest times, and in which discarded forms have been so completely preserved under a thin disguise, as our relation to death.' It appears to me that this is the basis upon which the majority of the archaeology of death has been constructed, and especially so where written sources are non-existent. People's responses to death are taken as given: that is, there is assumed to be some sort of universally-authentic emotional response to death involving grief, mourning and respect. It is clear that this is often no more than an extrapolation backwards from the present. An understanding of the historical contingency of our deathways is therefore essential.

This paper will explore the variety of emotional responses to death manifest both historically and in the present, and will demonstrate the inadequacy of Freud's contention. The implications of this for the prehistoric archaeology of death are far-reaching, and will be outlined.

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**Remembering and Forgetting: Exploring the Past in the Past**  
**Organisers: Richard Hingley & Howard Williams**

**Session Abstract**

The session focuses on the enduring influence of ancient monuments upon the ways in which past societies construct and reproduce their concepts of time and memory, cultural identities, histories and mythologies. Drawing upon increasing interest in the reuse of ancient monuments, this session applies these themes to archaeological case studies and discusses new directions in archaeological research concerning time, memory and the past in the past.

Old structures and ancient places can be regarded by people in a variety of ways from indifference to fear and veneration, leading to a diversity of possible ways in which ancient monuments can be treated. In particular, 'monument reuse' can signify numerous processes: the continuation of ancient traditions, the invention of new links with a mythical past, or even the wholesale forgetting of certain histories in preference to others. Archaeological evidence for activities at ancient sites might incorporate strategies through which the past is negotiated, reinvented and selectively remembered.

The papers will address 'the past in the past' from a variety of perspectives but all display the importance of detailed analyses of archaeological data, sometimes combined with historical and anthropological evidence, and the need for focused case studies in addressing these issues.

**Andy Jones (University College Dublin.)**

*Passing Time in Neolithic Orkney: Memory, Metaphor and Materiality*

Memory is a curiously intangible aspect of the past, yet it permeates the way in which past activity was ordered. In this paper I wish to consider how we can arrive at a better understanding of the perception of memory in the past, by examining the material nature of both artefacts and monuments.

While the experience of time itself is a universal, the understanding of temporal experience can be considered to be ordered in a culturally-specific manner. Given this, I wish to propose that we can consider time and memory as being structured metaphorically. With this in mind I intend to explore the way in which the material word was drawn upon metaphorically as a means of ordering and understanding both the passing of time and the evocation of memory.

This paper sets out to examine ways in which both time and memory structured the production, use and deposition of material culture in the Orcadian Late Neolithic: through an exploration of the material biographies of a set of artefacts including pottery, stone tools, flint and bone. Finally these material biographies will be drawn on as a means of illustrating the role of monuments, especially houses, henges, and passage graves, in wider processes of memorialisation and forgetting.

**Aaron Watson (University of Reading)**

*Containing the Past: Bronze Age Barrows and Neolithic Monuments in the British Landscape*

Today, Bronze Age round barrows are often integral components in the experience of visiting Neolithic monuments. There has, however, been relatively little consideration of the ways in which these mounds physically influenced people moving through these landscapes in prehistory. This is paradoxical, given that the collective visual impact of barrow cemeteries can be considerable.

This paper will contrast the placing of barrows within landscapes which are dominated by large-scale Neolithic monuments against those regions where none is known, revealing that Bronze Age barrows may perform at a number of different levels. While these earthwork mounds literally contain the remains of the ancestral dead, the placing of barrows may have been determined to a large extent by the presence and configuration of pre-existing monuments. This is most clearly illustrated on the chalklands of Wessex, where substantial enclosures like Avebury and Stonehenge are themselves contained by some of the greatest accumulations of Bronze Age mounds in the British Isles. By contrast, the distribution and density of barrows changes with distance away from these monuments, suggesting that areas which were not dominated by older sites may have been perceived in rather different ways.

**Thea Politis (University of Reading)**

*Constructed Memories and the Technologies of Power: Symbolic Systems and the Creation of Identity in the Aegean Bronze Age*

Identity is a social construct stimulated by an awareness of 'other' which distinguishes an individual, community or national belief system, and which is actively expressed and negotiated through choices of material culture. Perceptions and relationships with the past form an integral part of these belief systems, and prompt the development of tangible means of communication across space and time in order to legitimise claims to the past. Yet the reality of the past may be manipulated and memories invented or distorted as a social strategy. While considered prehistoric, the Minoan people of the Aegean begin to leave evidence of the ability to record and communicate using limited writing systems during the Middle Bronze Age. The appearance of these writing systems coincides with an influx of other new technologies, and is articulated primarily through portable objects rather than monuments. The successful manipulation of this new mnemonic device then becomes a strategy used for social domination and control as power nucleates and evolves in the region.



**Bill Sillar (University of Wales)***Time and the Other? The Use of the Past in Inka State Ideologies*

If we wish to analyse how previous state societies used the past as a political resource we must consider how time itself was understood and what aspects of the past were available for re-working in the present.

This paper considers why the Inka appropriated the site of Cacha by erecting a large temple near the base of the volcano, and incorporated the site into sacred processions along the Vilcanota valley. The Inka deliberately appropriated archaeological sites throughout the Andes which they incorporated into myths (such as the legendary journey of Viracocha) and rituals (such as pilgrimages, including the human sacrifices offered as *capac cocha*) which served to link the empire together. These pilgrimages marked the expanding frontiers of the Inka state, a control over space which could also be understood as a control over time. Diverse ethnic groups were thus linked together as their sacred origin places were united into a single religious cult, although the presence of the state did not undermine the continuing significance of the volcano as a burial site for the local population.

**Chris Gosden (Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford) and Gary Lock (Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford)***Iron Age Aesthetics of Place on the Ridgeway*

A sense of place is created through attaching values to particular spots on the landscape and the process of valuation takes place both through practical action and rhetoric. A central term in the process of valuation is aesthetics, which denotes both styles of life and the qualities of objects and places. We will compare a number of Iron Age sites on the Ridgeway to look at how they are created in a manner which weaved together space and time. An important element of this was the re-use of old sites in the area. One outcome of this work is to move away from seeing hillforts in purely functional terms, but to look instead at their important role in creating a meaningful landscape.

**Melanie Giles (University of Sheffield)***Ancestral Identities in the Iron Age of the Yorkshire Wolds*

This paper explores the idea that a community constructs itself through a continuous engagement with its own past. During the routines of agricultural life in later prehistory, encounters with the past were both somatic and spatial, involving the unearthing and disturbance of material remains, as well as broader narratives through which communities made sense of the world they inherited. Through orchestrating particular ways of living and working within these inherited landscapes, it would have been possible to 'tell' authoritative histories about the community's rights to these places.

Focusing on the complex system of Iron Age land boundaries, settlement and cemetery at Wetwang Slack on the Yorkshire Wolds, this paper traces long term structural histories in the community's sense of belonging and place over a millennium. The use of the past was a process of selective remembering and forgetting by the community, in order to reproduce an identity that could at one time be embedded very firmly within an inherited architecture and materiality, and at another, dissociate that identity from the landscapes of the ancestors, to allow a more dynamic and mobile physical reinscription of people and place.

**Jeremy Taylor (University of Durham)***Monuments as Social Affordances: Method and Motivation in the Adaptation of Past Places*

When looking at the biographies of monuments it is soon apparent that there is a multiplicity of ways in which, at any given time, they can be distanced or presented in a contemporary social discourse. In this respect monuments from the past can be seen as affordances or properties of the environment as directly perceived by an agent in a context of practical action. The purpose of the current paper is to illustrate how six concepts help to clarify the changing social roles of inherited monuments through time; these are Avoidance, Gradual Neglect, Disregard, Occupation, Adaptation and Extraction.

Illustrated with a single case study from Grendon in Northamptonshire, it is possible to show how, using these concepts, monuments could be seen as affordances within the dynamic and often divergent or conflicting social landscapes of later prehistory. Three distinct phases can be identified in the relationship between societies and their inherited monuments at Grendon from the Later Bronze Age until the Early Roman period. In each case the treatment of monuments from the past can be seen as part of similar processes of social organisation taking place through the exploitation and restructuring of the broader landscape.

**Richard Hingley (Historic Scotland)***Monumentality and Time – Later Prehistoric Atlantic Scotland Revisited*

This paper will re-explore the topic of the later prehistoric reuse of Neolithic/Early Bronze Age monuments in Orkney (previously discussed in *World Archaeology* 1996). It will be argued that later prehistoric people actively redefined earlier monuments through a process of physical intervention. These acts of intervention at the same time derived inspiration from a comprehension of the form of past monuments but actively modified the monumentality of these ancestral structures.

The acts of intervention may have drawn upon the powers of ancestral remains and the space which contained them. They brought the past into an active articulation with the present and in so-doing redefined it. Two case studies will demonstrate the ways in which archaeological evidence may help with a more detailed understanding of the motivation of these actions in the broader context of later prehistoric society.

**Andrew Baines (University of Glasgow)***Breaking the Circle – Tradition and Change in the Later Iron Age Archaeology of Caithness and Sutherland*

The form of the later prehistoric domestic architecture of northern Scotland is almost exclusively circular, and the appearance of rectangular buildings has been conventionally viewed as invasive, linked to Scandinavian settlement during the latter part of the first millennium AD. There is, however, a group of prehistoric rectangular buildings, found in south-eastern Caithness and eastern



Sutherland and known locally as 'wags', which may pre-date Scandinavian settlement in the north. This paper will explore this group of monuments, and suggest ways in which the apparently radical change in architectural practice which they represent might have drawn on, and transformed, traditional building practices stretching back into the earlier Iron Age. It will go on to consider the ways in which the changing social practices which gave rise to this domestic architecture may have been articulated through the landscapes which formed its setting.

**Howard Williams (University of Reading)***Making Myths and Memory: High-Status Burials in the Early Medieval Landscape*

Studies of early medieval written sources, such as genealogies and chronicles, have identified their ideological role in manipulating processes of remembrance and narrating the myths of origin for elite groups and the peoples they ruled. This paper suggests that material culture, monuments and the landscape were employed by early medieval mortuary practices in a similar way. Taking the wealthy barrow burials of the 7th century AD from southern and eastern Britain as a case study, existing data and new field-work identify patterns in the location of high status burial sites in relation to ancient monuments, routeways, boundaries, settlements and topographical features. This logic behind burial location seems to be central to the symbolism of mortuary practices and the ways that mourners and on-lookers experienced the funerals, and subsequently understood elite burial sites in the landscape. In the context of the shifting political and religious allegiances of the 7th century AD, the placing and monumentality of graves orchestrated the selective remembrance of the past and the nature of contemporary social relations and cultural identities.

**Sarah Semple (Queen's College, Oxford)***A Fear of the Past: The Prehistoric Burial Mound in the Ideology of Middle and Later Anglo-Saxon England*

Archaeological investigation is revealing a consistent tradition of Anglo-Saxon secondary activity, occurring at Bronze Age burial mounds and Neolithic long barrows. Through a discussion of archaeological, historical, literary and linguistic sources relating to barrows and other types of prehistoric monument, this paper seeks to illustrate the distinctive place of the barrow in middle and late Anglo-Saxon society. It is intended to demonstrate that the written material of the period contains vital evidence of the Anglo-Saxon perception of their surrounding landscape.

**Hannah Sackett (University of Glasgow)***Re-placing the Past: Contested Visions of the Past in 19th Century Orkney*

An important way in which individuals and communities trace their histories is through their engagement with the landscape and, in particular, with specific places within the landscape. This relationship is not a static one; an engagement with these places, either through word or action, needs to be maintained if the memory of their significance is to stay alive. Through the use of a case study, this paper seeks to examine what happens when a group's relationship with a place or landscape is threatened or brought to an end. The broader aim of this study is to demonstrate the complexity of beliefs that may be associated with a single landscape, and examine the means by which a group's perception of a contested landscape may achieve dominance. The changes made by landlords to the landscapes of Orkney during the 19th century constituted an attempt to re-write the history of the islands. This paper examines the nature of those changes, and also explores the ways in which the Orcadian farmers and tenants attempted to hold onto their own sense of the past, place and, ultimately, identity.

**Debbie Anderson (University of Durham)***Title and Abstract Not Received***Paul Frodsham (Northumberland National Park)***Forgetting Gefrin*

This paper seeks to apply a phenomenological approach to the sequence of activity at Yeavinger in Northumberland, from the Mesolithic through until the present day. Yeavinger is famous for its splendid Iron Age hillfort and the adjacent Anglo-Saxon royal palace site of Gefrin, and much debate has taken place about the possible relationships between these two sites. This is indeed an important area of research, but so are many other aspects of the archaeological record at Yeavinger, not the least of which is the apparent wholesale abandonment of the site in the mid-7th century following over 3,000 years of intense (if perhaps intermittent) activity. Could a phenomenological approach have anything to tell us about the nature of this abandonment, whereby Gefrin was effectively 'forgotten' for over a thousand years? And can such an approach help us to understand the current level of public interest in Yeavinger, which could soon turn it once again into one of the most 'popular' places in the Cheviots; this time as a tourist attraction?

**Richard Bradley (University of Reading)***The World Turned Upside Down*

In 1935, Oxford University Press published a rather unusual excavation report, describing a field project in Brittany funded by the industrialist Sir Robert Mond. The book was Vera Collum's 'The TressJ Iron-Age Megalithic Monument, Its Quadruple Sculptured Breasts and their Relation to the Mother-Goddess Cosmic Cult'. In some respects her report anticipates ideas that are current on the fringes of archaeology today, but its main interest lies in why she believed that megalithic tombs were a Gallo-Roman phenomenon. This paper re-examines her account of the excavation, showing how Collum's failure to identify a period of Roman reuse at TressJ and other sites led her into such deep waters. It also suggests an explanation for Roman activity at megalithic monuments in this part of France.

**Theorised Approaches to Living in Medieval England****Organisers: Tim Allen (University of Sheffield) and Mark Brennand (Norfolk Archaeological Unit)****Session abstract**

Accounts of the past written by medieval archaeologists often appear to have been produced in isolation from the academic discourse of social theory. Medieval material has, with some notable exceptions, not been approached with the same theoretical vigour as material from the prehistoric periods.

Medieval archaeology forms a significant proportion of development-led excavation in England, carried out at enormous expense and with considerable technical expertise. This process has produced a vast corpus of literature and yet, unfortunately, little of this offers any account of how people perceived their world and acted upon it. While there are sophisticated theoretical methodologies within the historical discipline these are not always directly relevant to archaeology, and hapless field archaeologists find themselves without developed, social theory frameworks through which to approach medieval material. Through uncritical approaches to written sources archaeologists have frequently attempted to bang the square pegs of their excavation and survey into the round holes of historical text, without evaluating their previously-held assumptions. On those occasions when a theoretical approach has been systematically adopted, functional and economic interpretations have been dominant. Denied agency, individuals have been seen as helpless onlookers to economic, religious and environmental factors.

Without the development of relevant and accessible theoretical approaches to their sites, archaeologists will continue to overlook the subtle and complex inter-relations of people, spaces, social structures and material culture that are integral to both documentary and archaeological material from the period.

**Tim Allen (University of Sheffield)***Villages as microcosms: Nucleated Communities, Grace and Oxen*

No matter how long we continue to pursue redundant arguments of definition, nucleated medieval villages with fields divided into strips around them are, for me at least, dramatic constructions. They frequently incorporate great spatial formality, a formality which is situated and qualitative, rather than universal and strictly geometric. People created these spaces and lived through them, with a diversity of experience and practice. This diversity can, however, be framed within themes of medieval Christian cosmology and social structuration. In this paper I will explore some formal traits recognisable in the roadways and fields of medieval townships. I will attempt to implicate these constructed features in the creation and reproduction of the nucleated village as a social and pious body.

**Karin Altenberg (University of Reading)***Dwelling in the Past: On Space and Community in Rural Medieval Europe*

Medieval Archaeology lacks a specific model for the study of use of space in medieval rural settlements, as spatial studies are often based on ideas developed by prehistorians. We need to establish a methodology for the study of social structures within medieval rural communities, that deals with the specific problems and possibilities of historical archaeology.

For the archaeologist, social space should not be seen as measurable or objectively definable. Nor is it a mirror reflecting human behaviour and social identity. It is an arena for the construction and negotiation of material culture, ideology and time. Social space is a physical and conceptual construction of the human mind, formed through an on-going process according to functional, economic or connotative ideals and social conventions.

This paper outlines a methodology for exploring the ways in which rural communities in two different areas of medieval Europe, Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor in South-western England and the Ystad area in Southern Sweden, used the natural landscape and the constructed environment in order to express important aspects of their social and cultural systems. The emphasis is on the interdependent relationship between farming communities and nature, and how this relationship is reflected in the architecture, boundaries, trackways, fields and natural features of the two selected areas. A comparative analysis of two well-defined areas can be expected to demonstrate in what ways, and to what extent, specific social and cultural traces in the landscape and building tradition reflect aspects of regional identity. By widening the geographical perspective, new questions can be asked in order to gain deeper knowledge of rural medieval life.

**Alex Woolf (University of Edinburgh)***Towns as Rural Settlements*

Much of the discussion of the re-emergence of towns in early medieval England has focused upon the role of long-distance exchange or royal control. Emporia, palace sites and monastic 'cities' have all been discussed with reference to the rise of urbanism. This paper seeks to look at the origins of the market town, often located far from the centres of power or the prestige exchange trade routes, and to pose the question- how did the existence of towns within the rural landscape affect the dynamics of communities which had hitherto been largely self-sufficient? Rodney Hilton admitted that towns could exist as islands in a feudal landscape, but at the centre of this discussion will lie the proposition that the small town is fundamental to the rise of manorialism and what Marx called the feudal mode of production. The interdependence of urban production and peasant society will be explored with reference to both social and material manifestations of identity.

**Adrian Chadwick (Wessex Archaeology)***Mad as Fish? Towards a Social Archaeology of Change in English Urban Landscapes and Material Culture, 1200-1600*

The title of this paper refers to a colleague's jocular observation concerning the way in which medieval people are sometimes popularly portrayed as living in superstitious squalor. In academic studies, however, their individual strivings and lives are often subsumed to larger socio-economic themes. Both extremes fail, of course, to take into account the complexities of medieval life.

## TAG 1998 Abstracts

Urban rescue excavations in England have generated a vast corpus of information, but these results have generally been published as unwieldy, site-specific reports. The few syntheses that have been written have taken largely banal, normative approaches to the data, whilst material culture studies have been orientated primarily towards chronological or economic concerns. Accounts of English medieval urban archaeology have thus often been very dull to read, and have been largely untouched by theoretical developments within the wider archaeological discipline. In contrast, many wonderfully-detailed studies of medieval urban life have been carried out by historians in the last two decades.

This paper seeks to redress this schism by investigating the profound changes that were occurring in English urban landscapes during the period 1200-1600 A.D. Using similarly diverse approaches to Deetz and Johnson, I will draw upon more contextual themes to investigate the roles that social space and material culture played in the lives of medieval townsfolk, and how gender may have been implicated in this. I have used the term 'landscape' in its broadest sense, to include all those physical manifestations of the material world which were encountered as part of the daily practice of medieval people. These will be used to consider how archaeologies of inhabitation may be written for the people who dwelt in these urban spaces.

### **Helen Evans (University of Sheffield)**

#### *Mythical Geographies: Perceptions of 'Forest-Wilderness' in the Middle Ages*

In the Middle Ages perceptions of the forest and its inhabitants served to create and maintain social order. These views of the wild became implicit in the mentality of a society where the spatial and symbolic aspects of social structure were becoming increasingly important and defined. It has been recognised that 'deviant' social groups were marginalised in the Middle Ages, but the inhabitants of peripheral geographical zones have largely been ignored in these analyses. This paper examines the marginalisation of the forest and its inhabitants through geographical myths. These created cosmological distinctions between the city and the wilderness, and implicitly between order and disorder.

### **Robert Waterhouse (Archaeological Standing Buildings Consultant)**

#### *Style and Display: Exploring Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Gentry Houses*

Can we move towards an understanding of the social meaning inherent in the layout of medieval high class houses? This paper seeks to illustrate the messages given off by:

- The siting of certain architectural components in relation to each other;
- The architectural expression of the building, particularly in relation to martial display; and
- The hierarchical progression through a building to its highest-status areas.

All these aspects have been found to be symbolic: of power and authority, wealth, segregation of rich and poor, and of the invocation of a perceived martial heritage. The paper will be illustrated with examples from Devon.

### **Kate Giles (University of York)**

#### *Medieval Archaeology, Post-Medieval Archaeology and the Discipline of History*

Medieval archaeologists have long been obsessed with the ways in which our research agendas have been dictated by historical narratives of the past. Processual archaeologists such as Rahtz (1981) and Austin (1992) have suggested that we should therefore ignore historical sources and debate, producing purely archaeological narratives of the past that can be integrated with historical research only at the level of synthesis. This paper will challenge such an approach, arguing that in order to understand the material conditions in which medieval men and women lived, we must engage in a critical way with all the discourses through which their lives were structured. This type of approach is routinely practised by historical archaeologists, and the main part of the paper will therefore be concerned to examine and question the relationship between medieval and post-medieval archaeology. It will suggest that the continuing disciplinary separation of the historical period in British archaeology tends to mask the processes through which medieval society became 'early modern', or suggest that such processes were axiomatic and inevitable.

Despite recent work by Johnson (1996) and Gaimster and Stamper (1997), our understanding of the material construction of cultural, social and political change during this period is still limited. Through the case study of a particular type of medieval public architecture the paper will suggest that material culture was used to structure a sense of continuity, as well as change between medieval and early modern society. Such an observation forces us to re-think both the theoretical and methodological justification for the continuing disciplinary separation of medieval and post-medieval archaeology

### **Chris Constable (University of Durham)**

#### *An Interpretation of the Great Tower of Bowes Castle, County Durham*

The object of this paper is to analyse and interpret the architectural form chosen for the construction of the great tower of Bowes Castle in the later 12th century. This analysis is made up of two parts, firstly an examination of the architectural form of the great tower, and secondly an investigation of the landscape context of the tower. This examination of the landscape includes an analysis of the village plan and field system, and a consideration of the changes to the road system. This analysis is then placed in a social and political context with an illustration of the political developments of the later 12th century in the north of England.

### **Charlotte Foster (English Heritage)**

#### *Alone in the Crowd? Meaux Abbey: A Monastic Paradox*

This paper will consider examples of manipulation of material culture and dominant symbols within the monastic context. Examples will be drawn from the Cistercian order, with particular reference to Meaux Abbey in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

**Dawn Hadley (University of Sheffield)***Performing Masculinity in the Later Middle Ages*

This paper discusses the varied ways in which masculinity was 'performed' in the later Middle Ages. It has been observed that gender identities may be created and reinforced through repeated rehearsal and performance. This paper seeks to explore ways in which we may develop approaches to the performative nature of gender roles in the later Middle Ages. This paper will concentrate on gesture and bodily movements as important constitutive elements in the construction of Medieval masculinities.

**Chris Cumberpatch (Archaeological Consultant)***Some Observations on the Possible Significance of Anthropomorphic and Zoomorphic Pottery in Later Medieval England*

The prevailing etic and objectivist approach to medieval ceramics, while leading to the accumulation of a considerable body of valuable data relating to production technology, chronology and distribution, has tended to draw attention away from aspects of the consumption and use of medieval pottery. In this paper I shall focus on vessels with overt anthropomorphic and zoomorphic characteristics, with the intention of investigating the possible significances of these decorative features. I shall attempt to draw some inferences from this body of data regarding the nature and status of human and animal bodies in the period between the later 11th and later 15th centuries. The paper will use examples drawn from a case study area covering north-eastern England (North Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Cleveland, Tyne and Wear and County Durham).

**Mike Parker Pearson (University of Sheffield)***Medieval Animal Bones: Good to Think or Good to Eat?*

Animal bones from medieval villages, castles, monasteries, manor houses and towns provide a useful comparison with documentary sources for learning about the meat component of medieval diet and its class differences. The exploitation of animals in the medieval period can be variously interpreted, either as functional adaptation to the environment or as symbolic representation of social class divisions. A structuralist interpretation would concentrate on the association of wild species with aristocratic (and monastic) sites and domestic species with commoners' sites (notably villages), with elaborate sub-classifications at work among the aristocracy (for example, in the types of falconry associated with different statutes). It would also show how classification systems in different spheres inter-connect, namely animal edibility, heraldic totems, and personal names. Post-processual approaches go beyond structuralism in considering that cultures are not only thought but are also lived, analysing classificatory structures as mediated through practice. We can then look at aspects of continuity and change, and the way that medieval attitudes to animals lie behind the political antagonisms that surround the practice of hunting in Britain today.

**David Hinton (University of Southampton)***Closing*

The single word 'close' is being used in three different ways at present, with boundless room for confusion and misunderstanding. The concept of the 'closed' village stems from nineteenth-century landowners who exercised control by preventing outsiders both from leasing and from 'squatting'; similar control mechanisms may have been practised in single-manor medieval villages. 'Closure theory' is used by some social historians to examine hierarchies in the Middle Ages, with groups seeking to retain their status by preventing competition from outsiders, excluding them on the basis of their perceived 'differences'. In this view, conflict may be caused by dysfunctional social relations. The third and most recent use of the word stems from its incorporation with 'enclosure', and the shaping of lifestyles by new uses of space in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. In this view, commodification becomes increasingly relevant to changing social objectives. This paper will stress the need for clarity in theoretical debate on the later Middle Ages, and will also seek to look again at sumptuary legislation and the availability of resources for conspicuous display, as revealed in physical material.

***Environmental Archaeology: Meaning and Purpose***

**Organisers: Umberto Albarella and Andrew Hammon (University of Birmingham)**

**Chair (morning): Julie Bond (University of Bradford)**

**Chair (afternoon): Dragos Gheorghiu (University of Missouri-Columbia, USA)**

**Session Abstract**

The aim of this session is to explore the limits, the potential and the perception of environmental archaeology. More specifically we would like to discuss the reasons why so much confusion still exists about these concepts, and why environmental archaeologists are often considered 'scientists' whose research interests are detached from the main emphasis of most archaeological investigations. These problems are of great importance for the future of archaeology and a 'theoretical' discussion about what we mean by environmental archaeology can have many 'practical' implications.

**Yannis Hamilakis (University of Wales, Lampeter)***Re-Inventing Environmental Archaeology*

In a recent paper Terry O'Connor advocated the alignment of environmental archaeology with ecology and the deployment of notions such as ecosystems and food webs. I am in agreement with O'Connor on the need for a holistic, dynamic approach and on the merits of the ecological and trophodynamic paradigm for certain research goals and questions. But I suggest that if we are to adopt this approach as the main guiding force for the subdiscipline, we will maintain an extremely reductionist framework which

will keep the field in the margins and peripheries of mainstream archaeology. I suggest that environmental archaeology should participate in the current debates and thinking in archaeology, interjecting in the current theoretical dialogues the detailed empirically grounded studies of archaeo-environmental and bioarchaeological material. The paper will focus on two main issues: the notion of resources, and the notion of food consumption. Environmental archaeology should expand to include in its considerations a broad range of resources: 'economic' and 'symbolic', allocative and authoritative. In addition to the notion of food webs we should develop a theoretical framework for the study of food consumption in archaeology which sees the phenomenon as a multi-layered, embodied meaningful experience, rather than simply as trophodynamic interaction.

**Andrew Hammon and Gwilym Hughes (University of Birmingham)**

*Environmental Archaeology and the 'Digger'*

Field archaeologists can have very different perceptions of environmental archaeology. Very often the only contact that excavation assistants have with environmental archaeology is filling plastic bags up with soil. Project Managers frequently view environmental archaeology only in terms of budgets and timetables charts. Conversely, environmental archaeologists are often unaware of many of the complications faced by excavators that have resulted from the increasing commercialisation of modern field archaeology. For example, the integration of environmental archaeology into research designs has been made particularly difficult with the advent of contract archaeology and competitive tendering. Using a number of recent case studies this paper will try and outline the differing approaches made by field archaeologists to integrating EA in the field and in subsequent post-excavation programmes and the sometimes-tense relationship and interaction between the practitioners of different branches of a common profession.

**Susan Limbrey (University of Birmingham)**

*What's Soil to the Archaeologist?*

Archaeologists don't much like soil. They brush it aside, actually and metaphorically. They wash it down the plug hole to get at the 'environmental evidence'. Where soil analysis or micromorphology helps with site taphonomy, it is valued, but what about soil as the vital resource base? We can provide a lot of detail about little patches of soil which happen to get buried or piled up in hollows, but it fails to excite the archaeologist. This is not surprising, because we have a poor record of providing archaeology with an assessment of the soil resource at a particular time in a particular place, or of showing how this can be useful. The paper considers the obstacles which confront us in making soil maps or land-use capability maps of the past, and discusses approaches for incorporating the soil factor into analysis of agricultural economy as time, changing environment and developing technology impinge upon it.

**Chris Loveluck (Humber Field Archaeology Service) & Keith Dobney (University of York)**

*A Match Made in Heaven or a Marriage of Convenience? The Problems and Rewards of Integrating Palaeoecological and Archaeological Data*

The marriage of archaeological science and 'conventional archaeology' continues to be uneasy at best, and irreconcilable at worst. Lack of trust, being taken for granted or ignored, are all common problems encountered by both parties. Rarely are the parties found hand-in-hand, or locked in an intimate embrace. The statistics all too often tell a sad story of separation and divorce. There is still a problem in the perceived value of environmental archaeology, which results in much of its interpretative potential remaining unfulfilled, often as a direct result of the 'compartmentalisation' of the discipline and the lack of real integration of common research aims and results.

In this paper we discuss the problem and, using data from the Middle-Late Saxon site of Flixborough, N. Lincs., provide examples of how integration of all lines of evidence has provided a series of important and significant insights into the life of the inhabitants. Here, the range and quality of the evidence has provided an excellent opportunity to establish archaeological criteria for defining the character of Middle to Late Saxon high-status rural settlements, both within the area of the Humber estuary and more widely in England. The assemblage is of particular value for investigating different facets of the economy of such a settlement, especially animal husbandry, exploitation of wild resources, craft and industrial activities and the changing character of the settlement through time.

**Jenny Moore (Institute of Field Archaeologists and University of Sheffield)**

*Can't See the Wood for the Trees. Interpreting Woodland Fire History from Microscopic Charcoal*

Microscopic charcoal data, as a palaeoecological indicator of forest fires, whether natural or anthropogenic, has been used successfully in identifying historic fire events, but equally has failed catastrophically to correlate with known phases of burning. The key to evaluating microscopic charcoal is an examination of taphonomic processes and in this instance the definition of taphonomy should be extended to the mechanism of production, the fire. In this sense it is essential to consider not only the chemical process, but fire ecology, and integrate this with ecological principles and ethnographic analogy. Application of social theory to palaeoecological data enhances cognition of prehistoric anthropogenic manipulation of the forested environment through the use of fire. By shifting our perception of fire, woodlands and the landscape, it is possible to build a model of human interaction with woodlands in prehistory, even in a forested environment regarded as incombustible. Whilst science provides the data, this is effectively meaningless without interpretation within a social framework.

**Terry O'Connor (University of Bradford)**

*Why There is no Such Thing as Economic Prehistory and Environmental Archaeology*

Environmental archaeology is informed by a reductionist paradigm which subdivides the study of past environments from the study of past peoples and their acts and ideas. Worse still, some within the discipline would make a division between the study of past subsistence economies (economic prehistory) and the study of long-term change in major environmental parameters (prehis-

toric geography, Quaternary studies, palaeoecology). This paper argues that there is no sensible division to be made between the 'longue duree' of past environmental change and the shorter-term activities of people: we cannot comprehend the latter without the former. Furthermore, attempts to write the archaeology of people without regard to their biophysical context are as futile as deterministic attempts to present people as inactive in environmental change. People both act upon, and are acted upon by, the ecosystems in which they live. The ability of people to modify both their habitat and their niche to facilitate global colonisation and a diversity of lifeways is the most distinctive characteristic of our species, and should therefore be the principal concern of archaeology, not just the preoccupation of a rather narrowly-focused sub-discipline.

**Rebecca Roseff (Hereford Council)**

*Environmental Archaeology and its Responsibilities to Conservation*

Much of the information we use as environmental archaeologists derives from large development schemes, typically roads, quarries and out-of-town supermarkets. The messages received from Government on conservation are confused and conflicting. On the one hand, Government states that there are policies to protect nature and to safeguard local distinctiveness. On the other, little is actually done. Hence, car use, road building, quarrying and the loss of greenfield sites continues apace. There are many reasons for this: vested interests, resistance to lifestyle change, and the unquestioning submissiveness of the general population. Archaeology should be all about interpretation and promotion of local distinctiveness. However, in practice, it is very often about its destruction. Can archaeologists be conservationists when their wages are paid by developers? I would argue that there are many ways for an individual and a country to earn a living, and that academic research shows that building roads and supermarkets is not necessarily conducive to a 'healthy' economy.

Environmental archaeologists in particular, because of the very nature of their work, should be constantly working towards solutions both within the system and lobbying for changes to it. They should also unashamedly state the social context, origins and circumstance of the sources of their excavation material (be it to students and/or the general public). The past failure to do this has led to political unawareness in the archaeological community.

**Steve Roskams (University of York) & Tom Saunders (Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research)**

*The Poverty of Empiricism and the Tyranny of Theory*

Almost since its non-coincidental emergence, in the 1970s, as a distinct sub-discipline alongside New Archaeology, the practitioners of environmental archaeology have been criticised for their undue focus on the development of methodology, and an all-too-rare interest in cultural and social issues. Nowhere has this attack been more virulent than amongst the 'posties' of the 1990s. However, this paper will seek to suggest that the failure of recent perspectives to impact on much environmental work is not due to closed minds on either side, but because those trends themselves offer very little to anyone wishing to come to terms with detailed trajectories of past social development. Using a variety of examples from this country and beyond, we will show how Marxism allows the study of the processes of production and distribution of food to be linked properly to an analysis of the patterns of consumption and disposal, thus avoiding the polarisation between a traditional empiricism and the idealism of post-processual theory.

**Helen Smith (University of Bournemouth)**

*Reconstructing House Activity Areas*

Recent theoretical and methodological interest in house organisation has highlighted the need for detailed scientific analyses of floor deposits and 'rubbish' to reconstruct domestic practices and routines. The SEARCH project on South Uist (Outer Hebrides) has been developing a long-term perspective of changes in settlement and house form from the Late Bronze Age to the 19th century. Recent excavations of a series of Viking houses at Cille Pheadair have yielded samples from floor deposits and associated external contexts such as middens, gullies and outhouses. Analysis of these deposits using a suite of analytical techniques, combining soil analysis with the distribution patterns of ecofacts and artefacts, has provided a means of examining the use of space within these buildings.

**Wendy Smith (University of Birmingham)**

*When Method Meets Theory: The Use and Misuse of Cereal Producer/Consumer Models in Archaeobotany*

Theoretical economic reconstruction of ancient societies can be made by many different types of archaeologists. Interpretations put forward by environmental archaeologists are often adopted without question by other archaeologists. This paper explores one example of the dangers which such an uncritical approach to environmental evidence holds for any archaeologist, by considering the case of cereal producer/ consumer models in archaeobotany.

Cereal crops were introduced to the British Isles in a process which began in the Neolithic period and, indeed, could be considered to be continuing today. As a result, the detection of producers and consumer sites of cereal crops is often an important research objective. The conflation of biological and ethnographic analogous data on cereal crops has resulted in the development of a method to identify cereal producer and consumer sites based on the ratio of cereal grain to cereal chaff to cereal weeds. This method has previously been considered flawed, but has not yet been rejected.

The use, or indeed misuse, of cereal producer/ consumer models in archaeology provides an ideal opportunity to explore the interface between method and theory in archaeobotany and dissemination of information between environmental archaeologists and other archaeologists. Environmental archaeology is not without its own theories. These need to be recognised but, more importantly, made clear to the non-environmental archaeologist who may adopt somewhat theoretical conclusions as 'fact'.

**Art for Art's Sake? The Potential of Art(s) for Archaeology****Organiser: Cole Henley (Cardiff University)****Session Abstract**

This session has been proposed to address an issue that has been widely observed in recent archaeological discussions, but in itself has seldom been the subject of attention. As archaeologists we use art all the time to illustrate and to reinforce our texts, but what are the possibilities, or even limits, of this in our attempts for a 'valid' archaeology? Is art a genuine resource for archaeologists or is it just window dressing? Should we differentiate between art and illustration? How is, or has, art been used by archaeologists? What can art tell us that texts cannot? The speakers and papers here provide a broad range of experiences and perspectives on sensitive areas of discussion, and it is hoped that from these papers we can begin to appreciate the diverse possibilities in how we represent and present the past.

**Cole Henley (Cardiff University)***Is All Art Quite Useless: Post-processualism in Representing the Past*

In the past few decades we have explored new ways of looking at archaeology, new ways of thinking about archaeology, and new ways of expressing archaeology. Post-processualism has provided new ideas, new methodologies, new practices and now new ways of excavating, but there has been little or no attempt to think about visual representation in archaeology. Illustration in archaeology is still very structured, with limited interpretation and an apparent unwillingness to try and depict the elements at the forefront of recent archaeological thought: character, meaning or the individual.

As an introduction to this session, this paper will briefly outline the uses and roles of art in archaeology and their place in the archaeology of today. By more closely examining the current situation, and borrowing some ideas from art theory, I hope to suggest that visual representation is not only an important and under-appreciated tool in archaeology, but is inextricably linked with how we do archaeology and how the past is perceived and understood.

**Yannis Hamilakis, Mark Pluciennik, Sarah Tarlow and Luci Attala (University of Wales, Lampeter)***Body, Vision and Representation in Archaeology*

A recently organised workshop on archaeologies of embodiment, called Thinking Through The Body, involved collaboration with Cambria Arts to present an exhibition of paintings, other images and sculptures by artists who also deal in various ways with the human body. This presentation explores the results of these various collaborations and the implications for representations of, and within, archaeology.

**L Janik (University of Cambridge)***What Art Has to Do With it? Or Archaeology After Post-processualism*

Abstract not received.

**Assimina Kaniari (Oxford)***Clocks for Seeing: Archaeological Vision and the Visuality of the Past*

Drawing on Barthe's term 'clocks for seeing' to describe photographic machines in 'Camera Lucida' (Barthes 1982), this paper explores the technology of the visualisation of the past as it becomes apparent in archaeological practice from the 19th century until the present day, by looking at archaeological reports and publications.

The term vision usually refers to sight as a physical operation and visuality as a social fact. This paper will explore the concepts of vision and visuality in relation to archaeology and in the light of the following questions: How socially or historically-conditioned is the archaeological vision, can it be taken to describe a shared vision among the archaeological community, is this practice equally ruled by visual as well as scientific conventions, and how can we describe the relationship between this 'archaeological vision' and the visual reconstruction of the past as a social fact?

**Quentin Drew (University of Wales, Lampeter)***Situation and Immersion: Fluidity and Flux in the Archaeological Record*

Abstract not received.

**Vicky Cummings (Cardiff University)***Understanding and Representing the Landscape: a Case Study from Neolithic South Uist*

The role of the landscape in shaping people's world views has risen to the forefront of debate in recent years. An archaeological landscape is often viewed as meaningful, lived-in, experienced and fluid through time and space. This paper will initially examine the role of the landscape in the lives of individuals in the past and then look at a variety of illustrations that have accompanied such discussions on landscape. I will then offer alternative ways of representing landscapes visually, using my research into the Neolithic of South Uist as an example.

**Colin Renfrew (The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge)***Monuments Without Phenomenology: Walking with Richard Long*



The important thing with art is to experience it. Some contemporary artists produce works of great intensity using very simple means. By experiencing these and carrying that experience with us, we can recapture more directly some of the qualities inherent within monuments and other products of the early past in cases where their impact may be diminished by imperfect preservation or other factors. It is argued that this direct approach can be more immediate than the study of weighty treatises. This is exemplified by the work of Richard Long and of Antony Gormley. It is argued that the appreciation of their work makes more apparent the significance of various prehistoric works.

**Chris Chippindale (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) and Paul S Taçon (Australian Museum, Sydney, Australia)**

*The Several Meanings of Aboriginal Rock-art in North Australia Today*

The painted images of western Arnhem Land provide a great research opportunity in studying hunter-gatherer rock-art: there is a story being told here in terms of absolute chronology, classification and the analytical categories and frames of academic research. The Aboriginal visitor centre in Western Arnhem Land presents a different story in a different cultural spirit, affirming a different place for rock-art and other archaeological materials in the order of things. And the re-use of a celebrated Arnhem Land rock-painter's imagery as emblems of various organisations, and even on Australian national bank-notes, both takes on, and transforms, the meaning of the original pictures.

**Chris Tilley (University College London)**

*Art and the Representation of the Past*

This paper considers what conceptual links might be made between producing installation art works in the present and the understanding and interpretation of prehistoric life-worlds. In it I consider connections between the work of contemporary 'landscape', 'environmental' or 'ecological' artists and an on-going landscape archaeology project centred on Leskernick Hill, Bodmin Moor in the south-west of England. I argue that the production of art works in the present provides us with much more than a contemporary cultural work. It permits us to actively engage with the past in a new manner and acts as a powerful and empowering means of interpreting the past in the present. Both the practices of interpreting the past and producing art result in the production of something new, transforming our understanding of place and space, resulting in the creation of new meaning.

***Through the Looking Glass: Archaeologies of the 18th and 19th Centuries***

**Co-Chairs and Organisers: Susan Buckham and Alasdair Brooks (University of York)**

**Session Abstract**

The archaeology of the 18th and 19th centuries is one of the fastest-growing areas in British archaeology. Traditionally, there has been a perception that the archaeology of this period- as practised in Britain- was intrinsically atheoretical. This perception may have had more validity in the past, but it is certainly no longer the case. Indeed, the term 'historical archaeology' is increasingly being used to refer to the theory-informed archaeology of the post-medieval period. This symposium demonstrates that current research in British historical archaeology is not only aware of current theoretical developments in the discipline, but is also applying those developments towards recognisably British agendas, as well as developing its own theoretical and methodological background. This session examines these agendas, theories and methodologies through papers on such diverse topics as assemblage analysis, landscapes, nationalism, and social identity.

**Susan Buckham (University of York)**

*Written in Stone: Documenting the Past by Means of Artefact and Text*

Gravestones, described as stone books, by their very nature express the tensions inherent in constructing a narrative of the past from both artefact and text. Two distinct, yet interwoven, accounts of the past are offered by the material culture of the archaeological record and documentary sources. In this paper I would like to examine the interaction between these two sources using a case study of the monuments of York cemetery and the business records of the York Cemetery Company to discuss how documents can be most-fruitfully employed in conjunction with material remains. This paper will look closely at the nature of compilation of each source to critically assess how authorship and audience articulated and transformed social ideologies over time.

**Steve Dobson (University of York)**

*Towards a Social Archaeology of Industry*

Industrial archaeology, in the past, has often concerned itself with the typological classification of material culture. The basis of this has been the documentation of artefacts with a view to understanding mechanical process, almost independently of the understanding of its interaction and development within a complex environment of social change. This has been demonstrated by the attribution of importance to the atypical or specific histories of the individual site, process or relationship. It is only really in the last few years that industrial archaeology has started to address the role of spatial and social interactivity. Such approaches obviously involve the appreciation of landscape, the relationship of context to the machine process and the influences of social interaction. These aims, however, often fail to be fully realised with social documentation and the landscape frequently being used to recreate and interpret the material culture of industry. If we are to consider the role of the archaeologist as one of attempting to understand past society through its remains, then these approaches should arguably be reversed. In this case it is the landscapes, material culture and industrial processes that are examined to help interpret social activity. Our understanding and appreciation of the mechanics and mechanisms of industry are a step toward this goal, not the goal itself.



**Martin Lowe (University of York)**

*Paul McCartney Slept Here: Problems in the Brave New World of Post-war Conservation*

Over the last decade the post-war period has increasingly been reinvented and placed within a historical context. From the nostalgic experience of a 60s dance night to the opening of Paul McCartney's childhood home to the public by the National Trust, the post-war years are gradually forming a new part of our National Heritage. Such a process was anticipated by the government and English Heritage and the 1990s have seen a three-year period of research and a comprehensive set of listing proposals being produced. The reaction to these proposals raised controversy from the media and the public which has still not abated. This debate revolves around two issues. Firstly what values should constitute a National Heritage and secondly the future economic and functional viability of post-war architecture in a fast-moving world.

This paper will explore these tensions. They must be seen as not only specific to the post-war period, but to any recent period of the past. It is suggested that a recent past has a more direct and important influence on the present, which must be understood if we are to resolve the current tensions surrounding conservation measures. To value post-war architecture purely in terms of architectural innovation and as indicative of its time is seen as too limiting. Instead it is suggested that a most social of architectures should be judged socially, i.e. by its performance for the user rather than by the principles of the designer. Conservation measures should then be tempered by an understanding of a building in transition and possible consolidation. Using a case study of the University of York Campus, I will show how traditional methods of assessing a building's significance are still fundamental in forming an understanding of value.

**Kate Meatyard (University of York)**

*International Issues in Landscape Archaeology*

The formal landscapes and parklands of the 18th century remain one of the most visible parts of the archaeological record of the landed classes of Europe and America. International influences and interaction in the development of these landscapes have been studied from an archaeological perspective; examples include the rise of the 'Georgian world order' at the William Paca garden in Annapolis, and the influence of Palladian concepts of landscape design on Thomas Jefferson's garden at Poplar Forest. Yet despite the obvious benefits, until now contact and co-operation between European and American archaeologists has been inadequate. This paper surveys current method and theory on both sides of the Atlantic, and demonstrates how increased international co-operation can benefit the development of landscape archaeology.

**Adrian Green (University of Durham)**

*'A Clumsy Country Girl'? The Material and Print Culture of Elizabeth Bowes*

A 1759 inventory itemises the house contents and books (over eighty titles) of Elizabeth Bowes (1699-1759) of Durham. This source, together with building surveys of the houses she lived in, enables an analysis of a gentry woman's lifestyle and reading. Elizabeth's unmarried status and position within a leading country gentry family, together with the location, layout and contents of the houses she lived in and built, place her in a very distinctive context. Her books, houses, and furnishings indicate the inter-relationships between material and print culture in the 18th century. The case study also raises key theoretical concerns; how can the study of an individual's life answer wider cultural questions about gender, lifestyle, and reading? What was the relationship between Elizabeth's material and print culture, and the social demands expected of her in terms of gender, family and social status?

**Alasdair Brooks (University of York)**

*'I Vow to Thee My Country': The Archaeologies of 19th Century Nationalism*

The development of European nationalism in the 19th century has provoked a considerable amount of debate over the last two decades. In archaeological circles, this debate has frequently focused on how the rise of nationalism has affected the interpretation of the archaeological record, for better or for worse.

Yet while the effects of 19th century nationalism on archaeology have been widely discussed, its archaeology itself has been largely ignored. This paper examines a wide range of examples to demonstrate how theories of nationalism, identity and ideology in the last 200 years have both informed, and been informed by, contemporary material culture. The paper further demonstrates how these examples can forward our understanding of the archaeology of the 19th century as a whole.