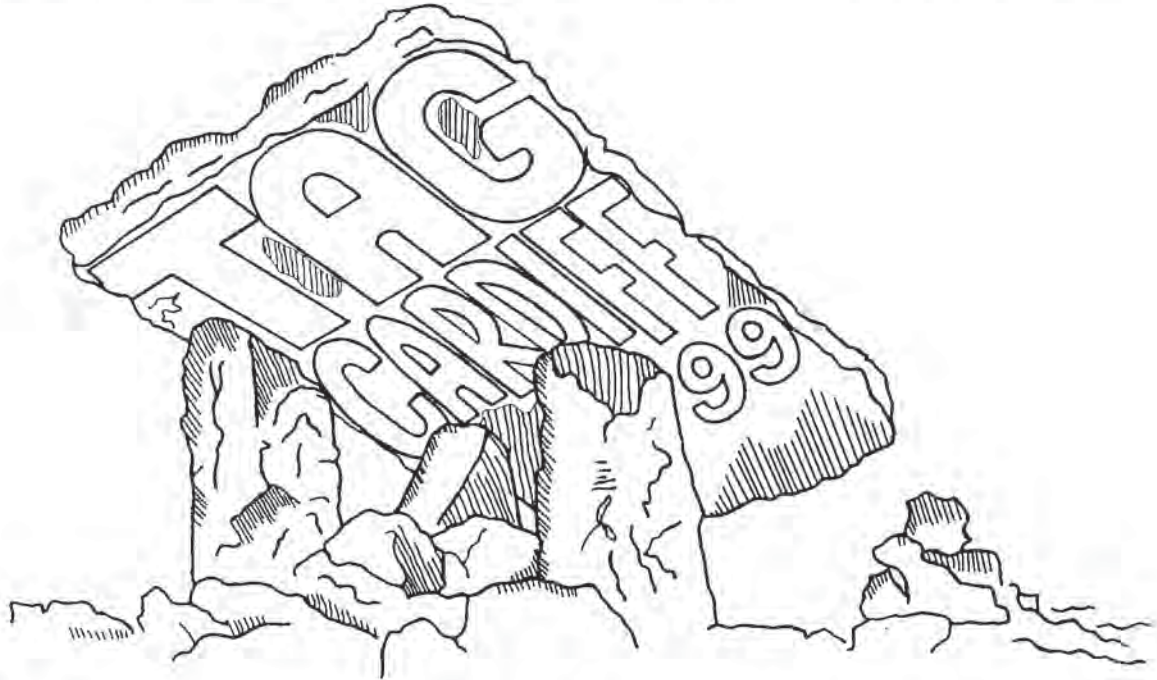


Cardiff University



Theoretical Archaeology Group 14th - 17th December 1999



with



University of Wales
LAMPETER

Tuesday pm

Plenary Session: History and Histories of Archaeology: Getting Beyond the Whig Genealogy of Prehistory

Session Organiser: *James Whitley (Cardiff)*

Development in archaeological thought requires that we look back as well as forward, if only to gain a better (and of course, 'more critical') awareness of where archaeological thought and theory is moving. In the last few decades the history of archaeology has become something of a popular topic. Many books have been written on the subject, and in most of these it is prehistorians and English-speaking prehistorians in particular who occupy centre stage. Such narratives, of course, serve as convenient whiggish genealogies for both American 'anthropological' archaeology and British post-processual prehistory alike. Still, it may be doubted whether we yet have an adequate account of how archaeology as a whole has evolved. The primary purpose of this session is to address this question. How has archaeological thought developed in Continental Europe, Asia and Africa? and how might the histories of other traditions of archaeological endeavour (notably Medieval and Classical Archaeology) be written?

The plenary session will be divided into two parts. The first (on the Tuesday) will take the form of a 'Millennial Review' on how archaeological thought has developed in this last century. Can we legitimately claim that we have made progress? and is archaeological thought today genuinely more enlightened or more critical than thinking twenty, thirty or fifty years ago? and have there really been any 'paradigm shifts'? The second part (on the morning of the Wednesday) will examine a number of archaeological traditions of investigation which (in Anglo-Saxon historiography at least) have not been regarded as central to 'progress' in archaeological thought. This session will therefore try to pay particular attention to the view from the continent (France, Germany and Italy in particular) and to perspectives from elsewhere in the globe. The anomalous position of archaeological traditions traditionally left out of accounts of the history of archaeological thought (such as Classical and Medieval Archaeology) will also be considered.

By their fruits ye shall know them ... *Colin Renfrew (Cambridge)*

If "Whig" means "antiquated liberal" (OED) then the term itself in the title threatens to be self-fulfilling for a TAG plenary session! My suspicion is that anyone outside the Anglo-American theoretical tradition to which anglophone TAG participants inescapably belong may view the theorisings of processual and "post-processual" archaeologists alike as irrelevant to their concerns.

The incontrovertible advances are those of method: of stratigraphic excavation leading to detailed publication, of remote sensing, systematic and probabilistic field survey, archaeozoology, archaeobotany, radiometric dating, characterisation studies, DNA research and so on. In much of the world the best archaeology is still exploratory and descriptive, and probably the German tradition (e.g. Troy from Schliemann through Doerpfeld and Blegen to Korfmann; Koldewey at Babylon; and the work at Uruk-Warka) scores as well as any. The reputation of the Deutsche Archäologische Institut and its French and Italian equivalents stands as high as those of the British and American Schools overseas.

Good theory develops good questions, and good questions lead to good techniques. If that criterion is applied to our anglophone theoretical traditions, do we have so much to be pleased about? Maybe in the next millennium?

Back to the Future: An Archaeological Agenda for the Early Years of the 3rd Millennium BCE *Philip L. Kohl (Wellesley College, USA)*

This paper critically reviews theoretical developments in Anglo-American archaeology and contrasts these with the practices of archaeology in the continental European (primarily German) and Soviet/Russian national archaeological traditions. This review will stress differences not only in the ways archaeologists from these separate traditions have collected and interpreted their data, but also in how they have published and presented archaeological materials to broader audiences; that is, in what archaeologists have (or have not) done beyond field research itself. It next discusses the possibilities for pooling the strengths - and eliminating the weaknesses or excesses - of the Anglo-American, continental European, and Soviet/Russian archaeological traditions. The paper argues that theoretical trends in Anglo-American archaeology have typically followed (and, at times, obsequiously imitated) developments in related social sciences; correspondingly, as these new approaches inevitably decline in popularity in the social sciences, their counterparts in archaeology also fade into oblivion. The paper concludes by exploring the question of whether such developments are cyclical in nature. Will post-processual archaeology (whatever that is) inevitably yield to a less reductionist but invigorated processualism or give place to a more thoughtful form of cultural history? Combining the strengths of existing archaeological traditions makes possible the projection of a desirable archaeological agenda for the beginning of the new millennium.

Walking with the Whigs: two models for the history of archaeology *Ian Morris (Stanford)*

Butterfield's *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931) made "Whig" a term of abuse for historians. Butterfield's Whig historians were presentist, addressing the public, and simplifying. He called them Whigs because most concentrated on religious and political freedom, equality, etc. Butterfield wanted to balance Whiggery by understanding Tories and Catholics.

Most historians of archaeology are archaeologists, writing what intellectual historians call Whiggish "practitioner history," explaining how we got here. They posit underlying forces and decisive moments: what Butterfield called "overdramatized" history. Intellectual histories focus on shorter periods, disconnected from the present, in greater detail. Whiggish practitioner history offers causal explanation, models, and large audiences. Its problem is that "historical personages can easily and irresistibly be classed into the men who furthered progress and the men who tried to hinder it" (Butterfield p. 11).

Since the 1960s, North American and North European prehistorians have dominated archaeological thought. Most recent histories of archaeology make the shifts from culture history to new archaeology to postprocessualism their explanandum. In the 1990s postprocessualists have focused on agency and the construction of meaning, but cannot work on a human time scale in the North European Neolithic. But theoretically oriented archaeologists of textually documented societies like modern North America and Europe or the ancient Mediterranean can

address these questions, through tighter archaeological chronologies and texts. They are taking a bigger role in archaeological thought, but our current histories cannot explain this.

I conclude that we should not "get beyond" Whig models, because presentism underpins practitioner history. But we must recognize their limits, and the strengths of intellectual history. The history of archaeology does advance, through a dialectic. As our concerns change, we must rewrite our histories to explain them; but as we rewrite our histories, our concerns will change.

The Heart of Whiteness *Martin Hall (Cape Town)*

Africa has long been invented in the European imagination as the heart of darkness; a place without history, signified by jungle and bush, an eternal ethnographic present. This myth persists today in Western scholarship, media and the new images of the digital age. But there is another perspective. From the vantage point of the south, many of the characteristics ascribed to Africa seem inscribed on the map of the north - the re-discovery of tribal warfare in Europe, the primordial violence of the American suburb. Such repositioning suggests, in turn, the outline of an archaeology of the new millennium - a discipline concerned with the materiality of place in a global information age, and with the ways in which artefacts serve to construct new ethnicities within intercontinental diasporas.

Antiquaires et archeologues: continuité ou discontinuité *Alain Schnapp (Paris)*

L'évolutionnisme, sinon la téléologie, dominant l'histoire de l'archéologie: la Renaissance a été entendue comme le moment de la création d'un modèle antique occidental largement nourri par la tradition gréco-romaine. Cette fondation correspondait à la mise en place d'un modèle de savoir qui distribuait les objets et monuments en des séries fonctionnelles qui relevaient peu ou prou de la distinction varronienne entre *res divinae* et *res humanae*. Les antiquaires cependant ne possédaient pas les moyens d'échelonner les objets dans le temps, leurs catégories étaient fixes comme les tiroirs des meubles où ils entreposaient leurs collections. L'idée de l'évolution des types dans le temps est une invention des lumières. Sous l'influence des naturalistes les antiquaires auraient découverts que la déposition des objets dans le sol pouvait permettre de leur attribuer un lieu et un date. Cette idée commune à bien des antiquaires scandinaves, britanniques ou allemands a été reprise par Winckelmann et Caylus qui, pour la première fois, proposaient d'ordonner et d'expliquer les collections au moyen d'une règle d'évolution applicable à chaque type d'objet ou de monument. Les précurseurs de la préhistoire au début du XIX^{ème} siècle auraient repris cette méthode à leur compte pour l'appliquer aux origines de l'homme et des espèces animales et abolir ainsi la séparation entre histoire de la nature et histoire de l'homme.

Ce schéma, tel quel, a le mérite de la lisibilité et il permet de rendre compte des différentes étapes de la discipline mais il n'échappe pas au travers d'une téléologie un peu superficielle. Dès le XVI^{ème} siècle un certain nombre d'érudits se posaient la question des rapports entre l'histoire de l'homme et l'histoire de la nature et certains des naturalistes les plus éminents comme Robert Hooke et Buffon faisaient des méthodes des antiquaires le modèle de l'exploration de la nature. En m'interrogeant sur la relation entre antiquaires et archéologues je voudrais tenter d'élucider les conditions de la naissance et de l'affirmation de ce que nous appelons les disciplines archéologiques.

Wednesday am

A bird, a bee and a butterfly: the contribution of British prehistorians to archaeological theory *Richard Bradley (Reading)*

Prehistorians are generally consumers rather than creators of theory, and in Britain archaeologists have never strayed very far from the study of empirical data. That is partly because of the British educational system, in which philosophy hardly features and the natural sciences have not always been popular with students. It is also because archaeology is conceived as a field skill that is often learned as an amateur. The result has been that the techniques of excavation and field survey have often showed a greater sophistication than theoretical interpretations.

That is both a strength and a weakness. It is an obvious weakness because it has encouraged a split between doers and thinkers, but it has also meant that theoretical approaches imported from other disciplines have often been applied to detailed case studies. That pragmatic blend of the abstract and the concrete has been the main strength of British prehistory during this century and its main lesson to the wider world.

Radical Pluralism and Theoretical Diversity *Julian Thomas (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton)*

From within the Anglo-American academic world it is sometimes tempting to impose a universal typology of archaeologies on the rest of the globe: the first stirrings of scientific investigation give rise to a unilinear evolutionism, which is displaced by culture history as increasing quantities of evidence begin to be synthesised. Increasing methodological sophistication leads to the development of some form of processual archaeology, which may eventually be complemented or replaced by symbolic or interpretive perspectives.

However, this is to neglect the significance of distinct local traditions of investigation, promoted by specific social conditions and cultural circumstances. While ideas may be exported from the wealthy western nations, their reception in other areas will involve a degree of recontextualisation. Thus what the canonical works of the New Archaeology mean in Africa, Eastern Europe or Latin America is at least in part a consequence of the context in which they are read. These local traditions are to some degree incommensurate, but this does not preclude the possibility of their engaging in a dialogue which is enriching for all involved.

Classical archaeology for a classical country: Magna Graecia, nationalism and histories of archaeology *Giovanna Cesarani (Cambridge)*

The Whig genealogy of archaeology-as-prehistory involves a post-1850 date for the birth of prehistory as a scientific discipline. But when seen from the viewpoint of Classical archaeology, all of this is changed and problematised. In Classical studies, 'archaeology' was defined as such and debated, as early as the very late eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. This alternative genealogy is usually dismissed, on account of either the antiquarian or the pre-eminently art-historical character of the Classical archaeology in question. Such a dismissal limits the understanding of the complexity in the emergence of the conceptualisation of artefacts as material culture. Furthermore, it runs the risk of misreading the nature of its implication with modern ideologies, in particular nationalism, which were themselves rooted in the late eighteenth century. The study of Greek material evidence in South Italy - Magna Graecia - illustrates the rich contribution of classical archaeology to the

history of archaeology as a whole. From the early nineteenth century artefacts were understood in terms of the 'Greeks' and the other 'ancient nations'. Both the rise of philhellenism and the emerging modern conceptualisation of 'peoples' were implicated in this process. Thus nationalism was actively influencing scholars' interpretations of the past at the same as it was shaping the new 'archaeological' institutions in which they worked. An awareness of the historical development of such interpretative paradigms should elucidate our constructions of modern archaeological theory.

Archaeologist as Hedgehog, or Archaeologist as Fox? The Debate Between Childe and Beazley *James Whitley (Cardiff University)*

Both Childe and Beazley are key figures in the development of archaeological thought in Britain in the earlier part of this century. Whilst Childe the prehistorian occupies centre stage in most archaeological histories, Beazley the Classical Archaeologist is frequently not even mentioned. But Beazley was at least as influential as Childe, perhaps more so. It is not often recognised that both scholars knew one another, and engaged in what might be seen as an oblique debate throughout their working lives. The aim of this paper is explain what was at stake in the difference between Childe's and Beazley's interests, approaches and priorities, and whether historians are right to praise the varied intellectual interests of Childe (who knew many things) and to ignore the singular achievement of Beazley (who knew one big thing).

Romano-British and Römisch-Germanisch a tale of two countries *Anthony Snodgrass (Cambridge)*

Both Britain and Germany were countries partially conquered by the Romans, each later providing the setting for a monograph by Tacitus. Each was traversed by a *limes*, which has since become a prime target of archaeological research. But their solutions to the question of handling their past as a Roman province stand in polar opposition.

In late 19th century Germany, a series of high-level decisions (which still hold today) placed not only the archaeology of *Germania*, but German prehistory too, under the Römisch-Germanische Kommission, a component of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, which in turn came under the Foreign Ministry. One effect of this was the subordination of archaeology at home to archaeology abroad: another, to subsume prehistory under the archaeology of the literate civilisations.

In Britain by contrast, as everyone here knows, prehistory (and especially native prehistory) is seen as the central aspect of archaeology. This evaluation has been recognised institutionally for the past 150 years, but its roots lie further back still. More recent, however, has been the assimilation of Romano-British archaeology with prehistory and its simultaneous distancing from Classical studies, marked by obvious landmarks extending from the 1850s to the 1980s.

I shall suggest that each side has things to learn from the contrasting experiences of the other.

Medieval Archaeology: its origins within a method *Pamela Smith*

When the renowned Medieval economic historian, M.M. Postan, met the equally accomplished geographer/historian/archaeologist, Axel Steensberg, in a Copenhagen Cafe in June 1947, Postan remarked that Medieval archaeology 'hardly existed in England'. Shortly after, Postan organised a small two day conference to introduce Steensberg's open-area excavation methods to English archaeologists. The pioneering work which resulted from this meeting effectively created English Medieval archaeology. From oral historical, archival, and published records, I produce a case study demonstrating how new method fostered new archaeology.

Performing archaeology

Session organisers: *Jon Price (Director, Time Travellers; Visiting lecturer, Dept of Archaeology, Newcastle University), Peter Stone (Lecturer, Dept of Archaeology, Newcastle University)*

Performance as a tool of archaeological interpretation has been with us for some time, but no serious discourse has taken place on the position of performance within the practice of archaeology. This session aims to make a first step towards a larger scale discussion. The session examines the performative aspects of creating and communicating archaeologies. Does the act of performance subvert or redirect archaeological data and their interpretation? Can the act of performance assist in the creation and development of archaeologies? Are the performer and the performance necessarily subordinate to the chiefly academic process of making archaeologies, or does performance allow a broader engagement by non-academics in that process?

Contributors will look at: the use of traditional performance techniques to interpret and create archaeologies; the value of participatory performance in the development of archaeological understanding; the role, direction and value of performance within the realm of official archaeologies; the performance of invented archaeologies by indigenous cultures for tourists; the use of performance in teaching about the past within formal curricula; and performance within the field of popular events and mass media.

The proposed session includes two short performances and video clips in the belief that it is only through experiencing some aspects of performance that the value of such work can be discussed.

Introduction to the session *Peter Stone (Newcastle University)*

A brief introduction to the aims and objectives of this session, its position within TAG, and of the longer-term aims of the co-organisers.

Is performance an archaeological tool? *Jon Price (Time Travellers; Newcastle University)*

What is the relationship between the academic process of envisioning archaeologies, and the process of creating an interpretive performance? There at first appears to be a direct mapping of physical artefact onto physical replica/reconstruction, but how far is this constrained by the temporality of the process? Does the creation of narrative and hypertext performance obscure the limits of archaeological awareness, or does it assist in the envisioning of archaeological solutions? What are the problems inherent in a process where the archaeologist is generally not a performer, and the performer is generally not an archaeologist?

Performance *Time Travellers*

"Arvyr gyv Catraeth gan dydd..." meet Bebhild and Owein from mid 6th Century Berneicia. Most archaeologies miss most of human life out. Here we perform aspects of a period which has left very little physical evidence. As post structuralists we will obviously burn in archaeological hell for this impertinence.

Performing technology *Alex Croom (Tyne and Wear Museums; and Quinta)*

Experience as a finds specialist and as a re-enactor researching and recreating kit for display provides the opportunity to explore the relationship between theory and practice. In particular the manner in which reconstruction and use of Roman military equipment influences the understanding of artefactual remains will be considered. Quinta is a re-enactment group which performs Roman military and associated civilian activities from the 3rd Century AD.

Performance in teaching about the past *Peter Stone (Newcastle University)*

Traditionally most of those who teach about the past in schools have regarded their role as passing on some form of 'objective truth'. This despite the fact that many theoretical approaches to teaching about the past stress its subjective nature and its reliance upon interpretation. At the same time archaeology has begun to grapple the nettle of post processual theory and its repercussions for interpretation and practice. This paper will describe two projects where the subjective nature of interpreting the past was stressed. In the first example much of the emphasis of interpretation was placed on the children themselves as they created and choreographed a dance relating to a project they were following on prehistory. In the second, the development of the storytelling programme developed by the English Heritage Education Service will be discussed. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the relative merits of the approaches over more traditional teaching and review the opportunities presented by the various National Curricula throughout the UK for using such performance as part of teaching about the past.

Researching and creating understanding through stories *Ben Haggarty/Hugh Lupton (Storytellers)*

Stories have been an integral part of how human groups pass on knowledge for as long as anyone can tell. We have been working as storytellers since the early 1980s researching and reworking traditional Myths and tales for public presentation. We have also suggested and restored new verbal and visual images from fragments where no complete story remains to our knowledge. Our work at historic sites, together with our long-held interests in traditional societies, led us to begin a project to interpret a period of British prehistory through stories, music and ritual performance. Working with our colleague, Pomme Clayton, archaeologists, ethnomusicologists and others, we deconstructed hundreds of stories gathered from comparative peoples living elsewhere in the world, to conjecture a mythology for a hunting/foraging group living near the Humber estuary in the Mesolithic. This talk will discuss how we approached this project, discuss many of the compromises and choices that had to be made, and address some of the issues pertinent to you as archaeologists and to us as storytellers that the performance raises.

A Story *Ben Haggarty/Hugh Lupton (Storytellers)*

We will perform a new story to illustrate, compliment and develop our conference paper and to stimulate debate.

Living history within formal education *Mike Corbishley (English Heritage)*

When English Heritage was first created in 1983 its Education Service had the opportunity to develop new and innovative approaches to education about the past. One of the most exciting of these was the then new and controversial approach of 'Living history' - where groups of children, following formal syllabuses, would work on-site at English Heritage properties re-enacting a day in the past. Since then the approach has been followed by countless heritage sites and groups across the country. This paper will discuss the educational theory and philosophy behind the approach and review the success, or otherwise, of work done to-date.

Performing Archaeology: a modern heritage use of ethnographic analogy? *Peter Ucko (University College London)*

Current commercialisation of heritage is developing its own signature in characterising the 'other'. This new characterisation departs from an interest in the exotic and instead creates a kind of free-floating past, of objects and sites, often purporting to give human significance through performance. 'Heritage as a marketable commodity' is claimed by some to be fashioning a false and distorted ancient past, while others claim that 'visitors' are not actually duped by 'performance'.

Narrative Archaeologies (I)

Session Chair and Organiser: *Douglass W. Bailey (Cardiff University)*

This session explores the practice of narrative archaeology. Contributors are asked to investigate alternative forms of communicating about the past. Special attention is directed to the use of narrative in archaeological writing or performance. The focus on narrative directs contributors to consider the form of the archaeological message (in contrast to the content): attention focuses on the formal, linguistic and stylistic elements of written (or spoken) text and the communicative strategies and social relationships in the communication of archaeological knowledge. Narrative is accepted as one of many ways of providing structure to experience, of endowing experiences with meaning and of organising knowledge. Within a narrative, archaeology contributors address a range of issues: temporality (authorial time, reader's time, story time, the time of text's representation), plot, storyline, dialogue, character, authority, point of view and the aesthetic value of performance output. Overall this session addresses the principals of using narrative in the presentation of archaeology. In doing so attention will be directed at how narrative has been used (to good or bad affect) in other disciplines (e.g. social and cultural anthropology, history) as well as in archaeology. In addition to analytic papers on narrative the session will also include archaeological narratives.

On form: the (strange) attraction of an anti-narrative mode of archaeological explanation *John Bintliff (Durham)*

This paper will explore a progressive disintegration of the single narrative mode of archaeological synthesis. Firstly it will consider historical sequences where multiple narratives cross disjunctively through the reconstruction of separate archaeological, archival, textual and oral historical dynamic scenarios for the same archaeological data. Links will be made to the overlapping timeworlds of *Annales Structural History*. Secondly, but also taking a hint from another aspect of Annaliste theory, I shall discuss the negation of narrative sequence in theories of form associated with 'timeless history' (Le Roy Ladurie) and the concept of 'strange attractors' in contemporary Chaos and Complexity theory.

The idea of the sublime in the world-view and the experience of Neolithic Britons *Chris Chippindale (Cambridge) and Richard Bradley (Reading)*

The 18th-century aesthetic notion of the 'Sublime' identifies that set of attributes and experiences which are united in the terror they inflict on human beings; 18 are named in Edmund Burke's treatise of 1757. Strikingly, these traits are repeatedly evident in the aspects characteristic of the British Neolithic - among them the vast and infinite, difficulty and magnificence, succession and uniformity, dark colours and privations; even the Sublime kinds of light and of sound, as those are archaeologically detectable, seem to be evident. It can be shown that these Sublime traits are not just a set selected by our arbitrary choice as researchers, but genuinely equate to long-recognised and genuinely distinctive features of the Neolithic. What, then, is the relation between the Sublime as part of Neolithic performance and the modern performances of archaeologists studying the Neolithic?

Other ways of telling: the Leskernick (Bodmin Moor) travelling exhibition *Barbara Bender and Henry Broughton (UCL)*

Archaeologists and anthropologists from UCL have been working on Bronze Age settlements of Leskernick and further afield on Bodmin Moor. The project covers not only excavation and surveying and the social processes involved, but also contemporary understandings and engagements with the landscape. The project also attempts new forms of presentation: textual, illustrative, website and a travelling exhibition. Our talk will focus on the production and consumption of the exhibition which, in turn, will also be on show during the conference.

Telling the story: the implications of narrative in American archaeology *John McCarthy (Greenhorne and O'Mara Inc.)*

An increasing number of American archaeologists are turning to a narrative approach in presenting and interpreting data. This trend has sometimes been described as simple 'story telling' to make the results of the archaeological more meaningful to the public in whose interests most archaeological work is ostensibly undertaken. In other cases, it has been described as an attempt to personalise and contextualize the research process. Most of these narratives are strongly grounded in archaeological and historical data, and they broadly follow an approach described by some historians as 'microhistory' in which broad social patterns are described through the detailed study of specific events and individuals. This paper describes this trend and assesses its implications. It will be argued that narrative is more than just 'telling the story'. The ways in which the narrative approach is subtly, but fundamentally, changing how American archaeologists think about site significance and conceive and conduct research will be discussed.

Remains to be seen, heard and touched *Lynette Russell (Monaco University)*

How do we tell stories, what do we leave out and what do we include? Despite the passion felt by many archaeologists, archaeology is not inherently interesting. Yet archaeology provides us with a unique opportunity to encounter people and cultures from the deep past. Constructing a narrative to negotiate that contact is a fundamental, though often unsuccessful, endeavour. To coincide with the new millennium the Museum of Victoria will shift from the site which has been its home for over 100 years to purpose built premises. The new Melbourne Museum, to be situated in Carlton Gardens, will house a series of exhibitions both permanent and temporary as well as providing a series of native gardens and habitation zones. In 1998 I was given the task of providing the background information for the permanent display on the Aboriginal archaeology of Victoria. The exhibition is to be titled 'Remains to be Seen'. This paper considers some of the issues that I encountered in this attempt to develop a mullet-layered, polyvalent narrative which accounted for audiences with various levels of knowledge and interest.

Museum audiences are diverse, they span the entire range of demographic, social and ethnic groups. On any one day the archaeology of Victoria exhibition might host members of the indigenous community, academic researchers, international tourists, elderly citizens groups, city office workers on a break and of course the obligatory school excursion. Each group expecting and requiring information to be accessible. Constructing an archaeological narrative, or more correctly a series of narratives which adequately meets the needs of the museum audience raised some interesting concerns. In particular I was concerned with the following three issues: 1) how do we avoid privileging written 'scientific' testimony at the expense of oral testimony?; 2) how do we show disputes and disagreements, between researchers, researchers and indigenous people and within indigenous communities?; 3) what point of view were we to take, who's story are we to tell? How do we hear many voices?

Constructing Anasazi landscapes in the Red Mesa Valley of New Mexico: an archaeological narrative *Ruth Van Dyke and Sharon Covet (California State, Fullerton)*

The traditional products of archaeological research conducted in the American Southwest are technical reports and articles written in a linear, scientific style reflective of the positivist epistemological paradigms under which much of this work is conducted. Technical writers use the third person and specialised terminology to create an aura of authority and an illusion of objectivity. Authors of these works create the impression that knowledge is received or discovered rather than constructed. At the same time, they alienate the uninitiated reader and fail to provide satisfying understandings of the prehistoric world.

This experimental, collaborative video presentation is part of our attempt to explicitly reveal the mechanisms through which archaeological knowledge is produced and to creatively explore less authoritative, more interactive alternatives. The film is created from footage shot during the course of fieldwork in the Red Mesa Valley in New Mexico during the summer of 1999. We are attempting to use visual media to incorporate the powerful aesthetic and subjective aspects of the field experience, to expose the processes through which archaeological knowledge is interactively constructed, and to render these processes accessible to a non-specialist audience.

Layered networks, fieldwork narratives *Quentin Drew and Mark Pluccienik (Lampeter)*

Despite the rich and varied experiences, materials, relationships, issues, thoughts and memories which are typically the outcome and medium of fieldwork, the reduction of this richness and complexity to single storylines is typical of archaeological fieldwork. The impetus for this paper derived from a project in southern Albania which highlighted many issues ranging from development ethics, the relation of the global to the local, and politics at different scales and in a variety of contexts - academic and research funding, ongoing rights and responsibilities towards individuals and local communities, and relationships with local, national and international communities, organisations and structures, both during the fieldwork and post-excavation. These enabling and constraining networks go beyond the methodological and epistemological concerns typically highlighted in archaeological fieldwork. The academic notions of inter-textuality and ethics of representation are relevant, though insufficient to deal with the issues raised by these concerns. This presentation attempts to evoke some of the intersecting structures and multiple narratives which comprise archaeological experience as well as interpretation, using multi-media representations of fieldwork processes, technologies, people, places and institutions. It engages with questions of partiality, inter-relatedness and the authority of texts and images, as well as asking from what and in what ways we might constitute contexts and relationships in the archaeological present and in the past.

Nothing is true but change: archaeology time and place in the writing of Lewis Grassie Gibbon *Hannah Sackett (Dublin)*

The writer Lewis Grassie Gibbon, best known for his trilogy *A Scots Quair*, had a lifelong interest in archaeology. Writing as Grassie Gibbon, and under his real name, Leslie Mitchell, he wrote a number of archaeologically themed novels, including the time-travel fantasy *Three Go Back*. He also published several articles in *Antiquity* as well as a non-fiction volume *The Conquest of the Maya*.

Grassie Gibbon's most subtle reading of archaeology is to be found in the three books of the *Scots Quair*. Throughout *Sunset Song*, *Cloud Howe* and *Grey Granite* the prehistoric past brings a time-depth to the landscape of Kinraddie in northeast Scotland. Conversely, archaeological remains are also used to convey a sense of human transience. This paper will focus on this aspect of Grassie Gibbon's writing, by examining his use of archaeology in the creation of place and a sense of time and history, and by exploring his use of narrative in binding together the different time scales present within his novels.

Peopling the Mesolithic in a northern environment (I)

Session organisers: *Lynne Bevan (BUFAU, University of Birmingham) and Jenny Moore (Institute of Field Archaeologists)*

In general, studies of the Mesolithic in a northern environment (i.e. northern Britain, Europe and beyond) have concentrated on landscape usage, resource exploitation and artefactual typologies. Contrasted with this are the archaeological investigations of later prehistory which strive to reconstruct the lives and beliefs of the people themselves, through research themes such as social organisation, artefactual patterning and gender relationships, often supported by ethnographic research from non-western farming communities. Traditionally, ethnography has been regarded as useful in understanding Mesolithic hunting strategies and resource utilisation. The potential for reconstructing the lifestyle of people in the Mesolithic is perceived as constrained by the characteristically ephemeral nature of settlement and general paucity of burial data. In this session, the contributors will be moving away from over-used and tired descriptives such as 'hunter-gatherer', with overtones of the superiority of the male hunter contrasted with the undervalued female gatherer. Questions such as 'What is the Mesolithic' are no longer relevant. We will be evaluating people living in an Early Holocene northern environment, leaving behind old social evolutionary discourses, moving beyond lithic typologies and beyond hazelnuts, to consider the people themselves - their lifestyle, their social condition and their cultural environment.

Stag nights and horny men. Antler symbolism and interaction with the animal world during the Mesolithic *Lynne Bevan (BUFAU/University of Birmingham)*

This paper is concerned specifically with gender issues and with the symbiotic relationship, both in practical terms and symbolically and ideologically, between Mesolithic communities and animals, particularly deer. This study utilises sources of evidence including antler and other animal remains in Mesolithic Scandinavian burials, animal imagery in rock art and contextual evidence for the use of perforated antler frontlets at Star Carr.

It will be argued that, although animal imagery, including images of horned men and deities, proliferate in recent and modern popular culture, these are not archetypes to be projected back into the Mesolithic in an unbroken pseudo-tradition. Cultural sources include the works of some recent masculinist writers, the iconography of modern paganism, confessions extracted under torture during the witch trials and the often-cited antler head-dress worn by a 17th century Tungu shaman. While apparently pervasive, these symbols recur in diverse spatial and chronological contexts, and their underlying meanings can be many and varied, resulting from very different and culture-specific magico-religious concepts and beliefs. Moreover, any real understanding of prehistoric belief systems is inhibited by the modern division between what is perceived as 'spiritual' and what is perceived as 'secular', often combined with a strictly functionalist approach to items of material culture. Drawing upon ethnographic studies of the spiritual lives of some past and recent hunting groups, this paper explores possible reasons for the emphasis upon the curation and contextual of certain animal body parts and what they reveal about relationships between Mesolithic people and animals.

Star Carr re-analysed *Richard Chatterton (University of Sheffield)*

The aim of this paper is to re-analyse the data from excavations of the early Mesolithic period in the Vale of Pickering, Yorkshire. Both a landscape approach and ethnographic analysis will be employed to indicate that Star Carr was very different from other sites in the Vale and was, in isolation, a ritual site. Underlying this re-analysis is the belief that economic, demographic and lithic analyses of the Mesolithic period have dominated archaeological thought for too long and that it is possible from the evidence available to think of the Mesolithic in other terms. When Clark excavated the site of Star Carr in 1951-2, his analysis was limited by a lack of evidence from around the early Mesolithic lake shore. Subsequent excavations have filled in these gaps and, it is averred, provide a very different picture from that which Clark would have anticipated.

Time, place and technology: the early Mesolithic of the Vale of Pickering *Chantal Conneller (University of Cambridge)*

The functionalism that has dominated Mesolithic archaeology has worked to subsume assemblage variability to produce a timeless, reductionist model of human settlement patterns in the landscape. In this paper lithic variability amongst Early Mesolithic assemblages of the Vale of Pickering will be examined to explore how technological practices produced temporalities and generated understandings of particular places.

Analytical scale, populations and the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition in north-west Europe *Tim Darvill (University of Bournemouth)*

The Mesolithic/Neolithic transition from hunter/gather to farming economies in northern Europe has been heavily debated in terms of competing models of population continuity versus population change. Much of this debate has been at a theoretical level, in part because the kinds of sites expected to provide answers have not been found. However, another problem concerns the scale of the research and the failure to find good methodologies to implement landscape-based approaches. It is argued here, using data from a project in the Isle of Man, that we have been looking for the wrong kinds of site, and that we should reframe our questions to focus attention on populations and geographically larger scales of analysis that focus on space rather place.

Cache and carry: imagining the Irish Later Mesolithic *Nyree Finlay (National University of Ireland, Cork)*

The Irish Later Mesolithic is a period of contradiction. Dating from 7500-5500 BP, it is characterised by a macrolithic stone tool technology in which the eponymous 'bann flakes' and butt-trimmed forms predominate. Lithic assemblages also contain polished stone axes and a number of heavier tool forms such as picks and borers. Despite this distinctive material culture, the period remains somewhat enigmatic. Subsistence evidence is limited; the star of the British Mesolithic, the red deer is notably absent. There are few base camps and the presence of artefact caches has prompted speculation that the Later Mesolithic was a period of high mobility reliant on a curated technology. Attempts to pigeonhole technological strategies as either expedient or curated, reliable or maintainable imposes a culture of conformity and compromise on researchers. The evidential contradictions demonstrate that such simplistic constructs have limited value.

Rather, we should consider other models and means for imagining the people behind the Irish Later Mesolithic dynamic.

Caught in the act? - Where is this transition? *Paula Gardner (University of Bristol)*

By the late 5th millennium BC hunter-gatherer societies in Britain had a satisfactory sustainable way of life and the transition to farming should be viewed not so much as a *place* where we hope to see something in the process of happening, but more as a period of *time*. Mobility was still essential to foraging communities who, through a network of exchange systems, gradually began to adopt a different material culture and social organisation throughout the 4th millennium BC. Late Mesolithic societies were, therefore, not necessarily becoming more sedentary, but in some areas mobility persisted into the Neolithic way of life, with agriculture not becoming fixed into the landscape for another 1500 years.

The routine and ritual landscapes of Siberian hunter fisher gatherers *Peter Jordan (University of Sheffield)*

The Eastern Khanty are hunter fisher gatherers of the boreal forest zone of western Siberia. Recent ethnographic fieldwork among contemporary communities still practising traditional mobile foraging lifestyles is drawn upon to investigate how landscapes are recursively structured by their users to incorporate routine and ritual activities. Within these landscapes, the maintainance of a complex hierarchical network of sacred sites is bound up with the temporality of the semi-nomadic procurement round, itself interwoven with the strong seasonality that characterises the taiga ecosystem. Activity at these sacred sites is linked to concepts of tenure, kinship, gender pollution and ritualised exchanges between the domains of humans, ancestors and the spirits.

Mesolithic societies of Ukraine: the burial evidence translated *Malcolm C Lillie (Centre for Wetlands Archaeology)*

The lack of cemetery data from which to reconstruct aspects of past population dynamics has been a constraining factor in our attempts to interpret the nature of human activities in the early Holocene. Recent research into an extensive cemetery data-set from the Dnieper Rapids region of Ukraine has produced some informative, and often intriguing insights into the development of these population across the earlier Holocene between c. 10,000-4000 cal. BC.

The results of the analysis of palaeopathological markers of dietary stress on the skeletal remains suggest major social transformations may be occurring across the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition in the region. These transformations are not necessarily seen as power-based constructs, but more as a shift in the perception of the individual, away from Speth's (1989, 1990) ideas of 'non-egalitarian' male dominated food procurement strategies towards more 'egalitarian' approaches.

This paper will present the results of the palaeopathological studies and question the 'reality' of the suggestion that male hunters who have primary access to the kill create an inherently unequal access to resources and therefore society. The significance of a shift towards equality in the expression of the pathologies associated with the diet of the Mesolithic and Neolithic communities will then be evaluated. The results are intriguing in that we see a shift in procurement strategies, that corresponds to a coeval shift in the patterning of the burial ritual and potentially the foundations of females and sub-adults as significant social actors independent of the 'male-dominated non-egalitarian' concepts first espoused by Speth. Given the matriarchal nature of historical and modern eastern European society, the shift away from male dominance at the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition at c. 6000-5000 cal. BC, may mark a shift in perception that continues to pervades these societies up to the present.

The Archaeology of Social Interaction

Session organizers: *Andre Costopoulos (Montreal) and Jari Okkonen, F.L. (Oulu University)*

Discussant: *Professor Ezra B. Zubrow (University at Buffalo)*

Social interaction is an essential and prominent part of human adaptation. It is also a phenomenon which is difficult to approach and study from an archaeological perspective. Participants in this session are encouraged to discuss the nature of social interaction, its role in human adaptation,

methods with which its traces can be recovered from the archaeological record, as well as ways in which it can be represented in archaeological interpretations and theories.

Problems in the Reconstruction of Inter-Class Social Interactions at Moche, North Coast of Peru *Claude Chapdelaine (Université de Montréal)*

Since 1996, the Zona Urbana Moche Project, carried out jointly by the Université de Montréal (Canada) and the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo (Peru), has been documenting the socio-economic organisation of the Moche Site on the Peruvian North Coast. Specialist and artisan quarters have been identified in an urban settlement which was, at the time of occupation, the seat of power for a ruling elite. This paper will examine, from a theoretical perspective and using the documentary evidence of Moche, the question of recoverable evidence of social interaction between segments of a complex organisation. What is available to archaeologists? What is missing? Which conclusions can we draw from available evidence as to social interactions between various sectors of a society?

The Problem of Sequence in Agent Interaction: arbitrary sequential loops versus initiative based planned activity arrays in agent based simulations *Andre Costopoulos (Montreal)*

Agent based simulations are starting to provide archaeologists with a means of testing hypotheses about human behaviour in prehistory (Costopoulos, 1999; Kohler and Carr, 1997). Ideally, agents must poll their environment (including other agents) for information and make decisions simultaneously. Current technology makes it very difficult for simulation programmes to truly resolve simultaneous processes. What is the impact of this limitation on the validity of simulation results when social interaction is the object of study? Which design strategies can be used to minimise the effects of this limitation? I will discuss, through the results of a computer simulation experiment, the traditional linear activity loop in relation to a more open-ended, initiative based planned activity array.

References

- Costopoulos, Andre, 1999, "Simulation and Modelling for Anthropological Archaeology", Ph.D. Dissertation, CD-Rom held at Oulu University, Finland. Department of Archaeology.
Kohler, T. and Carr, E., 1997, "Swarm Based Modelling of Settlement Systems in Southwestern North America", in Archaeological Applications of GIS, J. Johnson and M. North (eds), Sydney University Archaeological Methods Series 5.

The Interpretation of Prehistoric Social Interaction in the Development of Finnish Archaeology: From peoples to people *Milton Nunez (Oulu University)*

Social interaction has been a dominant concern in Finnish archaeology from an early date. Early on, Finnish archaeologists were interested in tracking the social and economic interactions between what they perceived to be the two peoples of prehistoric Fennoscandia, the Fenno-Ugrians and the Indo-Europeans. This search for the nature and extent of contacts between these two entities was important in shaping modern Finnish archaeology. I will discuss how this legacy is felt and the influence it has on current debates in Fennoscandian archaeology.

Cairns, Polygons and Points - An attempt at defining prehistoric territories and land use in Ostrobothnia, Finland *Jari Okkonen (Oulu University)*

This work is based on field survey carried out among the cairns in the Ostrobothnian coastal area in Western Finland. Locational and attribute data was collected altogether from 281 sites with 823 cairns. The aim of this work is to study prehistoric land use from the middle Neolithic to the early Iron Age in order to study spatial distribution of the cairn sites. The starting hypothesis is that each site or cluster represents one local group using maritime resources by the shoreline. Collected spatial data is analysed using the GIS applications ARC/INFO and ArcView. The hypothetical territories are compared with known archaeological site distributions i.e. dwelling sites and other stone structures. The chronological distribution of the sites is discussed as well as the theoretical implications of the results for our understanding of prehistoric territoriality.

General Session

Session organisers: *the TAG sessions committee*

Stylistic Evolution as a Self-Organized Critical Phenomenon *R. Alexander Bentley (University of Wisconsin) and Herbert D. G. Maschner (Idaho State University)*

Archaeologists can learn from current debate about whether evolution is a self-organized critical phenomenon. Self-organized criticality is the tendency for large interactive systems to "organize themselves to a critical state in which a minor event starts a chain reaction that can lead to a catastrophe" (Bak and Chen 1991:46). Self-organized critical systems demonstrate power law distributions in the size of changes, or "avalanches," that occur. The sizes of extinctions in biological evolution show this power law distribution, and a simple model seeking to explain this is discussed. Avalanches may also occur in economic systems over time spans during which artifact styles emerge and disappear. In models of self-organized criticality, events occur according to simple algorithms, and at such a level of abstraction these models are relevant to the appearance and disappearance of interdependent entities in cultural evolution. A historical record of pottery styles shows a power law distribution of life spans compatible with the self-organized critical model, while the life spans of archaeologically-defined pottery types are incompatible with this model. The differences between these two distributions are discussed, with the conclusion that within a market economy, the individuals that produced commodities that are now artifacts may be compared to agents in a self-organized critical system.

The appraisal of digital archaeological sites and landscapes *Antony Eddison (University of Teesside)*

In the field of archaeological and heritage related research, access to appropriate archaeological sites and places is often difficult, time consuming and prohibitively expensive. Access to places may be impossible due to a number of factors including remoteness or political reasons. Sites may be available to the researcher locally but these may be of poor quality and not a prime example of their genre. This paper will

attempt to address these problems by discussing how photo-realistic, 3-dimensional digital models can be developed and made available to researchers via the World Wide Web. These models can be visually accurate in every detail with associated data and contextual information appropriate for this specialised audience. The focus of this paper is not on the technology and methodology used, rather it is on the setting of standards of best practice in procedures, appropriateness and quality for future work at this level.

Questions to be addressed include:

- Is it appropriate to digitise sites for archaeological research?
- Is anything lost/gained in doing this?
- What are the advantages/disadvantages & costs/benefits?
- Is the current state of the art technology suitable for such work?
- Is there a precedence to this work and what is currently being carried out in this area?
- What do researchers want and what can technology currently give them?
- How would the project work on a much larger scale - single site or distributed centres?
- How best to disseminate 'best practice and standards of quality to those involved in this type of work'?

When is a post-hole not a post-hole? Interpretative strategies in site reports *Angela Brennan (University of Southampton)*

Anyone who has had cause to refer to any modern site report will no doubt be familiar with the rather daunting task of sifting through these weighty tomes. These publications seem to follow a very rigid structure to convey information, but why should this be? Archaeology is such a varied and diverse topic that shouldn't different interpretative approaches be undertaken to present the evidence? One consideration is that 'time is of the essence' when composing reports, but with a bit imagination a fuller range of theories and interpretation could be written about. My main consideration is who these reports are aimed at and do they actually serve any purpose in the frame of modern archaeology?

An a priori theoretical prediction and explanation of the nature and sequence of Palaeolithic Age artifacts *David A. Steinberg (S&A Institute, Fiddletown)*

This paper proposes an *a priori* theory of mental evolution whose predictions provide an explanation of - and are verified by - the archaeology of human phylogeny. A system of mental evolution is first hypothesized consisting of an analytic hierarchy of mental states. The hierarchy is analytic in the sense that each stage is defined solely in terms of previously defined stages. Next, by assuming an instantiation of the theory in phylogenetic evolution, mental states become mental capacities whose expression predicts a specific sequence of artifact types. Finally, the archaeological record will be examined to verify or falsify the predictions. The precise correlation of predicted and actual artifacts supports the hypothesis, identifies phylogenetic correlates of the evolutionary levels, and thereby offers an explanation of the problematic nature and sequence of Palaeolithic Age artifacts.

Time, Ideology and Landscape *R. Haeussler (Oxford)*

This paper analyses the creation of time-land-scapes. It aims at a better understanding of the variability of 'approaches' in preserving and creating reference points of 'memory' in the landscape, either integrating ancient 'traditions' or creating new ones. It explores ways how landscapes were manipulated in order to create 'history' and legitimise ideologies, as well as to create unity, harmony, or to set up boundaries. Italy during the last centuries of the 1st millennium BC will represent an exemplary case study.

The Chariot, the Sword and the Táin bó Cúailnge *Neil Davies (Flinders University)*

A 1998 honours thesis centred around the apparently simple question of the archaeological basis for the reality of the war chariot described in the Irish epic, *Táin bó Cúailnge*. It became apparent that the question was more complex than envisaged, questioning definitions of archaeology, at least in this context. The La Tène chariot (as well as the long broadsword) were essential features of this heroic age. Whether these artefacts, as described in the epics, had material reality was irrelevant; their simple presence being an essential feature. Therefore, my concept of 'archaeology' had to be redefined in this context of a proto-historic 'heroic society':

1. Archaeology had to go beyond purely functional definitions and treat mythical tales, tradition, and pseudohistories as archaeological sources, employing comparable methodology as for artefactual evidence whilst avoiding an uncritical 'Nativist' position.
2. The philosophical position of, for example, Collingwood that the past has no objective reality except that which a later society ascribes to it became apparent; a position relevant in recent debate concerning the reality of 'the Celts'. The past is as much an emotional and mental domain as a physical one.

The Roman Auxiliary Soldiers' Medical Identity *Patricia Anne Baker (Department of Classics, University of Newcastle)*

Studies of Roman military medical care often concentrate on the legionary units as a whole, rather than as separate groups of soldiers. Moreover, treatment provided to the auxiliary units is frequently overlooked, or, at least, thought to have been something rather insubstantial because these soldiers were often not citizens of Rome and their pay was less than that of the legionaries, so it is assumed that their lifestyle was not as agreeable. However, an examination of the medical instruments and inscriptions of doctors reveals that there was substantial care provided to the auxiliary soldiers by doctors of the same rank as those who worked in the legions. Yet, with few exceptions (e.g. James 1999), studies of Roman soldiers tend to consider the units as a heterogeneous category of people, rather than culturally distinct (or culturally enmeshed) groups with separate identities. Since the auxiliary units were named after the area from where they originated they make ideal candidates for comparison to see whether there are notable differences in the way they identified themselves. By comparing the units stationed on the Rhine, Danube and British frontiers one can ask whether the medical care varied between areas and units, and on a more specific level, how the different units viewed their bodies and health care. Anthropological studies of medicine have demonstrated that medicine and the body are culturally defined. Such anthropological examinations should be applied to frontier studies and ancient medicine as a means of demonstrating, on a more comprehensive focus, that the Roman empire was comprised of people with various beliefs about their body, which would, therefore, have effected their approaches towards medical practice.

Celts and Politics in the Northwest of Spain *Beatriz Diaz Santana (Madrid University)*

This research concerns with the history of Archaeology in Galicia (northeast of the Iberian Peninsula). As in most European countries, Celt and Celtic concepts have been used following political aims most of times in the XIX century. This misuse caused a change in the methodologies and theories of archaeological research. The traditional misconception of the term Celt has caused a rejection to ethnological studies as a proof of scientific objectivism. My aim is no other than proving that anti-celticism in Galicia is an argument for some archaeologists to prove the historical veracity of the so-called "differential facts" of Galicia. These would show the existence of a Galician cultural and national identity since the prehistoric past (Neolithic) until the present.

Wednesday pm

Domestic Space

Session Organiser: *Ruth Westgate (Cardiff University)*

Everyone lives somewhere: people's homes not only reflect the structures and values of the society that they live in, but also play an essential part in shaping that society and the behaviour of its members. The house thus lies at the heart of every society and of every individual's experience, but until quite recently the homes of the living have been a relatively neglected aspect of the archaeological record compared to the resting-places of the dead, or the less extensive but more imposing and durable buildings of public, religious and military life. Moreover, the tendency to focus on more monumental structures has tended to encourage a bias towards the activities and interests of men, whereas the remains of houses can reveal more about the less visible lives of women and children.

However, in recent years archaeologists have started to devote more attention to the house and its occupants, and have developed various strategies for understanding and analysing the remains of houses, borrowing ideas and methods from architecture and the social sciences. This session will explore some of these developments: papers may relate to either prehistoric or historical periods, and may consider either the internal arrangement of the house or the relationship of the individual house to the settlement. What people choose to spend their resources on is very revealing about their desires, values and status; in addition, therefore, it is hoped that some papers will discuss the significance of the contents and decoration of the house.

The household as a significant unit of social analysis in prehistoric archaeology: some theoretical considerations *Stella Souvatzi (Cambridge University)*

In the social sciences the household has long been recognised as a fundamental unit of analysis of social relations, economy and ideology, and is the focus of a broad interdisciplinary discussion. By contrast, in prehistoric archaeology, especially in Neolithic studies, it has received inadequate attention, whereas the relevant approaches are marked by polarisation and a series of contradictions. In view of the increasing interest in social, economic and ideological aspects of prehistoric life, it is extraordinary how few attempts have been made to formulate such questions at the household level and to construct an integrative theory about household organisation.

This paper presents the main points of the theoretical framework through which the household is approached in the social sciences, focusing on the refinement of the various interdependent yet separate concepts and facets involved in household studies. In turn, it critically discusses the situation in prehistoric archaeology and attempts to underline the practical and theoretical justifications of the selection of the household as a relevant unit for social analysis in our discipline.

Yet another paper on houses *Zadia Green (Cardiff University)*

Houses have been the subject of much study from a theoretical perspective and from the evidence itself. The fact that houses combine the individual inhabitants' ideas, as well as those held collectively by the community as a whole, means that they potentially hold a great deal of information. But how do we, as archaeologists, get to it? How can we begin to understand what is left? Some have examined the evidence to identify the function of individual rooms in a house, whilst others have looked at contrasts in the plan, such as public versus private, male versus female. This paper will put forward another way of looking at the house in terms of its social value.

A statistical study revealed that by analysing the relationship between house size and number of rooms, it is possible to suggest the standing of individual houses' inhabitants, as well as suggesting that the house was used as a social statement within the community. It also suggested a way in which houses in different settlements could be compared individually and collectively.

This paper will expand on the theory behind the study, such as the pros and cons of using statistics, as well as the results that it revealed when tested on two Greek Early Iron Age settlements, Zagora on Andros and Kastro on Crete.

Voyeurism and the Hellenistic house *Sam Burke (University of Newcastle)*

Computer graphics are often used to provide fanciful and visually impressive views of past buildings. The data on which these are based can easily be overlooked and the division between architectural fact and fiction frequently remains blurred or hidden. Reconstructions are not limited to the imaginary when re-building as opposed to inventing, and can provide information that would otherwise remain conjectural. Re-elevating broken walls or pillars can show us, from a given viewpoint, the extent of vision through the house, into rooms, across a courtyard, or out from the house to surrounding streets and properties.

The island of Delos (Cyclades) provides exceptional data for this. Built predominantly of stone, house walls dating to C2-3 BC remain standing upwards of five metres in height, with examples of doorways, windows, niches and stairs in situ. Combining survey with published excavation data enables the partial rebuilding of these houses as an invaluable analytical tool for their study. Resulting models permit an investigation into the visual and spatial accessibility of the buildings, challenging the traditional view of Greek houses being isolated and totally inward-facing.

Washing Dirty Linen in Public: Reconsidering the Use of Space in the Roman Domus *Shelley Hales (Cardiff University)*

The use of space in the Roman domus is usually discussed in terms of the division or elision between public and private. Certainly, the role of the domus in enhancing the public profile of its owner was of paramount importance. Both literary texts concerning the house, and artistic and architectural arrangements within the house were geared towards discussion of the public and private use of domestic space. However, people also lived in these houses. From everyday activities such as sleeping, eating, cooking, washing, to life events such as birth and death, all these had to have a place in the Roman, as in any, house. The fundamental choices people make about the practice and location of these activities reveal their most deep-seated social outlooks. This paper will attempt to apply other anthropological and sociological categories used to investigate domestic space to the specific example of the Roman house. For example, divisions between symbolic/social and dirty/clean. Is it possible to interpret the Roman domus in this way? And what might be the explanation for any difficulties in doing so?

After Vitruvius and Vesuvius: The Cult of the Patron in Roman Domestic Architecture from the Second to the Fourth Century AD *Robert Daniels-Dwyer (University of Reading)*

The analysis of the use of domestic space in the Roman Empire has focused heavily on the norm of the atrium house, as described by the Roman architect Vitruvius and observed at Pompeii. After this, there is a common perception that the archaeological evidence is skewed away from elite dwellings towards tenement blocks. In this paper, I examine evidence from Ostia from the Hadrianic phase onwards, Italian villa sites, and from the African provinces. I argue that the relatively crude Cult of the Patron which we witness in the atrium house becomes more sophisticated with time, with increasing differentiation between levels of access.

Cyclical Time, Anthropomorphic Symbolism and the Use of Domestic Space: An Example from the Late Iron Age of the Northern Isles *Simon Clarke (Shetland College)*

The interpretation of social organisation from archaeological remains, particularly domestic structures, has in recent years been dominated by theories developed for anthropology and architecture. In spite of the enthusiasm with which archaeologists have adopted these theories their application to the sort of data normally available has often been unsatisfactory. Drawing on examples from many periods and geographical areas an attempt is made to explore reasons why this should be the case. The paper concludes with a study of multi-cellular houses in the Northern Isles, at the end of the Iron Age. By interpreting the symbolism of architectural design and identifying variations in the use of space through cyclical time gender roles are tentatively identified.

Housing and Subsistence of the Heuneburg Hill-Fort *Helga van den Boom (Bonn)*

Undoubtedly Heuneburg can be considered as the best investigated hill-fort of the early Celts. Its fame derives mainly from its Mediterranean-type mud-brick wall built on stone foundations about 600 B.C. The fortified hilltop settlement existed for about 150 years. Fourteen times its buildings all made of wood were renewed. The settlement was destroyed three times by force. The most drastic break is marked by the first destruction. There is no renewal of the brick wall; instead, all the succeeding walls were made in the traditional rubble-wood technique. The former pre-urban character of the settlement was replaced by buildings of farmstead type encircled with fences and ditches. The radical economic change shown by the changes in building can be seen as well with the livestock, where the formerly dominant pigs were replaced by cattle. Like other centres of the Hallstatt zone, Heuneburg took control over the resources of the region and over important trade routes. As far as the Heuneburg is concerned, there is a significant break in continuity. The paper aims to show the structure of this change as well as the limits of interpretation set by the incompleteness of the sources.

Domestic space in a Viking Age/Early Medieval log cabin in SW Finland *Juha-Matti Vuorinen (University of Turku, Finland)*

Turku University excavated a Late Iron Age/Early Medieval settlement in Raisio Ihala (SW Finland) in 1994-97, and among the findings there were the remains of the oldest known joint cornered log cabins in Finland, which are dated AD 980-1220. It was also the time when there were major changes in the way of structuring domestic space. Instead of earlier long houses, people began to build smaller separate houses with different functions. The same thing happened at about the same time also elsewhere in northern Scandinavia. What was the main cause in this change: was it environmental, social and/or functional?

In the paper, the space and the functions of the log cabin are presented. Especially the analysis of the burnt clay will be discussed: how far can we go and what information can we get from it? What kinds of domestic spaces there are in a log cabin? Finally, some theories about houses are discussed. Are they of any use in the analysis of a very simple log cabin?

The household at the castle and at the farmstead in thirteenth-century Sweden *Eva Svensson (Lund University)*

The daily life at the castle and the farmstead both differed and shared several similarities. This paper will investigate some of these differences and similarities from the materials of the 13th-century farmstead of Skramle and the 13th-century castle Saxholmen. The aspects in focus of this study will be: household size and structure, household production and consumption, and the patterns of bodily movements within the farmstead and castle areas respectively, and within the surrounding landscapes. The above-mentioned farmstead and castle are situated in the forested region of Värmland in western Sweden, and both sites have been excavated during the 1990s. The excavations have focused on structures connected with daily life and dwelling, and at both sites methods for documenting spatial distribution of finds have been emphasised. According to preliminary excavation results the 13th-century phase at the farmstead of Skramle consisted of three contemporary nuclear-family based households - with some inter-household co-operation, whereas there appears to have been one extended household at the castle of Saxholmen. The economy at Skramle was based on cattle-breeding, agriculture, outland use and handicraft production for sale. The inhabitants of Saxholmen appear to have a relatively high level of self-support economy.

Narrative Archaeologies (II)

Session Chair and Organiser: *Douglass W. Bailey (Cardiff University)*

Emotionally distraught: three pathways to the same Self *Mel MacLellan (Lampeter)*

Emotionally Distraught is the story of three transsexual individuals who are going through the 'transition' stages of their lives: Three stories entwined by the process of Being. Their narratives are read by actors, turning the emotional charged texts into monologic displays that are devoid of feelings and understanding, actors who are themselves reduced through their representation as audio recordings only; creating readings without animation. It is the story-writers themselves who provide the connecting animations. Using video images that they have selected another story is told - the visual transition from a man to a woman. The visual and the vocal merge and depart in a way that is symbolic of the transition process itself. Self and social meet, merge, collide, conflict, fracture and depart. Yet what about the body? It is the body that is primarily in transition; the body as project. The body that the story is told through, upon and around. Through the use of fictional narrative the body in transition is brought to the fore. Creating, identifying and being different bodies. Helping to structure the link between self and social. Yet, we should forget, that it is a journey that I have created, as the author, and I control the information. I am the one who is telling. But who am I? I place myself within this performance. Reduced to a television image, I am distanced, my authority reduced. More so, I am covered by disguise. Telling my feelings and thoughts upon the stage as they occur and happen. Speaking of me and my placement and questioning that which is being said. Finally, against all this I have placed those that shape us. Those academics and social writers that influence us. Through quotations and social reflections their arguments are brought into the arena to be examined against the backdrop of these narratives. Testing them, and their words, against that which is being said.

Narratives in transition? *Mark Pluccienik (Lampeter)*

Topics in archaeology such as 'the origins of' or 'the transition to' seem to demand a particular form of telling - narratives *sensu stricto* understood as structured stories with a beginning, middle and end. Despite a major change in the contents of narratives about the transition to farming in Europe over the last 15 years, (the shifting consensus about causality), they are still placed firmly within and structured by the eighteenth century framework of social evolution - the same meta-narrative which gave rise to the topic in the first place. Anthropologists and archaeologists continue to reproduce the hunter-gatherer/farmer divide which in turn reinforces a particularly narrow view of approaches and ways of telling the transition. Despite renewed interest in the variability of past hunter-gatherer societies, which it is recognised was even broader than that represented in ethnography, the moment at which members of such societies can be said to have become 'farmers' still dominates the literature. This paper considers how changing the form of archaeological texts immediately offers possibilities other than the trajectory and hegemony of subsistence, and the implications of this and 'other ways of telling' for archaeologists interested in this and other periods of prehistory.

Caretaker and dominator *Elisabeth Rudebeck (Lund)*

In this paper I will discuss gendered narratives of the origins of agriculture. As a basis for the analysis are the classical concepts of agriculture as either a caretaking of nature or as a forceful intervention in nature. The conclusion is that these concepts have become gendered through time. Hence, when agriculture is ascribed to men, it is described in terms of control, power and discipline and when it is ascribed to women it is in terms of caretaking, nourishing and love.

It is also argued that woman as the tender 'mother of agriculture' has been a dominant theme within archaeology during this century. As this mother of agriculture idea does not count woman as a social agent, it should not be equated to the idea of a matriarchy emerging with agriculture. I will also set the gendered narratives in the context of the use of the concepts of nature and of culture in anthropology, archaeology and evolutionary biology. It is argued that the deconstruction of this dualism will perhaps contribute to the abandonment of the ideas that the human being (man) must be seen as either being dominated by nature or as dominating nature, and of the idea that woman can only have a mediated relation to the world.

Narrative stratification: an archaeological and historical reading of Kurt Schwitters' collages *James A. Walker (Southampton Institute)*

Kurt Schwitters was a member of the Dada movement and lived in Hanover, Norway and England. His greatest work (the *Merzbau*) was an ongoing assemblage construction within his house. This was destroyed in 1939 as was a subsequent version he made in Norway. Schwitters started a third version during his final years in England; this one can be seen in Newcastle. His other creative work includes, collage, assemblages, painting, graphic design, typography, visual and performance poetry.

In 1919 Kurt Schwitters produced *Mai 191* a collage of overlapping textual fragments and in 1922 *Blauer Vogel* a collage of text, images, coloured and textured paper. While there has been some reference and analysis of *Blauer Vogel*, there has been very little dialogue on *Mai 191*. This paper reviews the construction of these collages in relation to historical events of the time. It is proposed that the analysis of their composition and the material used in their construction can present diverse narratives that extend the voice of the author. It is also suggested that the resulting analysis presents different historical and archaeological narratives, which are non-hierarchical and therefore should be considered as overarching fabulas.

Tall stories (or telling tales) *Chris Fowler (Southampton)*

Poetic narratives have an ambiguous status in archaeology. On one hand we employ poetic description when attempting to convey our interpretations to the public. On the other hand, we are reluctant to use such forms of description in academic contexts. In this paper I respond to a few recent (brave) attempts to integrate academic and poetic narratives in describing the prehistoric past, by comparing my archaeological interpretation of two Neolithic sites on the Isle of Man with poetic narratives about those sites. The emphasis in this experimentation will be on pronouns, personhood and perspective. In what ways do poetic narratives offer a different level of interpretation to conventional narratives? Do

these narratives simply reflect the 'prejudices' we have about the past in an uncritical fashion (and therefore add little to our conventional texts), or do they allow us to meddle with the limits of discourse? Can they provide a useful tool for archaeological imagination, or are they just excuses to write tall stories, to tell tales about the past? Is there an element of honesty in these narratives which demands that we reveal ourselves in the interpretative process? One of my greatest concerns is the uncritical overuse of empathy in interpreting the past; do poetic narratives rely too heavily on empathy, or does the practice of writing them illustrate the problems of empathy in a way which should make us face up to it?

Fieldwalking: choreographic narratives *Sally Watkins (Dartington College)*

Fieldwalking as an act of selection and collection, placed in the context of performance, choreography and storytelling. Field walking, as an act of finding. Storytelling, as an act of fabrication. Re-collection: the choreographic re-patterning of memories and artefact.

Krzysztof Plesniarowicz on Tadeusz Kantor, Polish director, painter, scenographer and writer of the manifesto *The Theatre of Death*:

'In the face of the impossibility of themes (dead memory, absent history, superfluous literature), and of bringing any kind of fable into the present, the individual elements of the seance are connected in formal relations of metonymy (contiguity) and metaphor (similarity).'

Sigrid Weigel on Walter Benjamin:

'"The attitude of genuine recollection" is described in this context in the image of excavation and archaeological activity, in which it is not what is found, but rather the way in which the search is carried out that is of chief importance. And in that it says that recollection should not be afraid to 'return again and again to the same matter', the figure of repetition is simultaneously inscribed into the activity of recollection, 'the same' ('the same matter') has not yet identified its object, but so far only the point of departure for its movement'.

Shanks and Hodder:

'The aim is not to construct a coherent continuity, a complete story of the past. The past is forever reinterpreted, recycled, ruptured'.

The performance/presentation will refer to the site-specific performance *Field-Walking*, a collaborative project between archaeologists and theatre performers exploring notions of narrative and memory. Drawing on the work of Tadeusz Kantor, Mike Pearson and archaeological and performance critical theory, the project explores the authorship of narrative in archaeology and storytelling.

Space odysseys *Mike Pearson (Aberystwyth)*

For several years now, Mike Pearson has been working with archaeologists (most notably Michael Shanks, Julian Thomas and Douglass Bailey) in examining points of convergence between performance and archaeology. In a series of articles and practical projects now entitled 'theatre/archaeology' he has envisaged the creation of a blurred genre, 'a deliberate erasure of the finely etched line between the academic and the artistic', a science/fiction, a mixture of narrative practices and scientific procedures, an integrated approach to recording, writing and interpreting the material past. Performance is here employed to mobilise the past, to make creative use of its various fragments.

In this presentation, Pearson will describe and analyse a series of non-architectonic performances which address notions of place, landscape and memory through the application of technology. He suggests ways in which performance may embody devices which allow the simultaneous exposition of diverse narratives without either appropriating place or monopolising interpretation.

The Green-room *Douglass W. Bailey (Cardiff)*

The Green-room (UK 1998). Continuation of docu-drama featuring entertainment promoter, Max Maxallon, as he struggles to fashion one of his new acts into a success on the popular science lecture circuit in the United States. In this episode, Max battles in vain to get the best out of his latest charge, the brilliant, but often incomprehensible Dr Vic Fizz, during the early stages of a 12-city lecture tour. Watch out for cameo appearances by Phillipe and other darlings of earlier episodes of the series. Produced and directed. Sub-titles and teletext (S) (R) 3431819.

The story inside: between the highs and lows of narrative construction in archaeology *Helen Fry (Cardiff)*

It's four a.m., past tiredness, past sleep. I have been writing at my desk since it was yesterday, or was it the day before, I forget. I am in the story inside.

Inside the excavation trench. Inside the site report and offset plan, the C14 date and the research grant. I am on the inside of the artefacts, the pottery report, the painstakingly recorded lithic scatter. I am on the inside, digging my way out. Someone once said that there is a story inside of all of us, waiting to be written down, and freshly emerged into the world smelling of India ink and Booker Prizes into a world of like-minded literary stars. Perhaps that's more true than the cliché allows us to see. We all want to be great novelists, repressed authors, every one of us. Writing trashy Mills and Boon stories, when we should be writing archaeology. This is self obsession of monumental scale, scientists should not be of the type predisposed to self obsession.

But still my obsession lies with the story inside. Perhaps it's the cheap red wine, or that the dawn is too close to comfort, but as I flick through book after book, the recurring image of a woman squatting by a fire, chipping away at a fresh and jagged flint core punctuates every black and white illustration, every line of text, until she begins to smile at me. I am engrossed by her, and as I fall further and further away from the reality of my desk, I begin to hear the little absent-minded humming as she sings whilst she works. I cannot ignore her, and her story, I keep looking, and suddenly from nowhere, there are children running around her, in the distance there is a tent like, tepee like, house into which I watch the children run to. There are shouts, and screams, and laughter, and talking, and I am motionless on the story inside.

Half an hour later and the woman's fate is more certain, words on a computer screen and images that haunt the reading, cut cold in stone. Engraved in marble perhaps, or knapped in flint maybe. As the woman chips at the core, so I chip away at her life. A smile here, a tear there, and the computer glows back at me with the images, the moments and cherished possessions of her life. I hardly know her, yet I feel that I know things about her, that I can with compassion assume the rest, and know the story from the inside out.

Multimedia operas, intimate narratives, and public rituals: constructing social memory in prehistory *Ruth Tringham (UC Berkeley)*

I explore the medium of fictional narrative as an essential aspect of the multiscalarity and multivocality that characterises the feminist practice of archaeology. I argue that the incorporation of a playful imaginative narrative into more formal archaeological narratives enables us to transform theories of social practice in the past into plausible episodes of social action at an intimate as well as more public scale.

I focus on the use of multimedia technology with its multiple ways of linking and juxtapositioning as a powerful tool in this endeavour. Moreover, this technology enables us to visualise our narratives in ways that text alone cannot, including the visualisation of dreamed and remembered places by prehistoric social actors.

As an example, I juxtapose an archaeological narrative about prehistoric places in Neolithic Southeast Europe and Anatolia as a form of constructing our social memory, with different forms of constructing social memory by prehistoric actors in these same remembered places. In

each of these cases, performance is involved - by the archaeologist and by the participants in the prehistoric past. The archaeologist's performance can be enhanced with multimedia; the storytellers' and ritual practitioners' narratives may well have been enhanced by song, instrumental sound, and the incorporation of the material world into the narrative. To recognise and create all these different narratives and transform them into one narrative mosaic seems to be one way of 'writing prehistory'.

This may be regarded by many as an outrageous way to construct plausible arguments about the past, but it is seductive and powerfully creative, reaching a large and interactive audience. I finish my paper with an appeal (documented with an example) to not forget that, as in any performing art, depth and richness of content is as important as the form of the message, if not more so.

Peopling the Mesolithic in a northern environment (II)

Session organisers: *Lynne Bevan (BUFAU, University of Birmingham) and Jenny Moore (Institute of Field Archaeologists)*

Beyond hazelnuts and into the forest *Jenny Moore (Institute of Field Archaeologists)*

The prevailing attitudes to social relations in the Mesolithic were famously summarised by Richard Bradley in 1984 (11) '...successful farmers have social relations with one another, while hunter-gatherers have ecological relations with hazelnuts.' Bradley encapsulated neatly the view that social relationships and societal construction were not perceived as commencing until the Neolithic, a view which is clearly unrepresentative of Mesolithic society, but continues to hold some credence today.

Exploring social relationships in the Mesolithic is complex archaeologically and human modification of the landscape presents evidence of a more ephemeral nature than other aspects. In Britain, the search for such modification of the landscape in the Mesolithic continues. A key aspect of this is the use of fire in removing woodland. The contradictions in this are the so-called 'silent' Mesolithic in Scotland and the unquestionable removal of woodlands in the uplands, to apparent lack of human modification of woodlands in the lowlands.

Why is this so difficult to clarify? Leaving aside methodological problems such as pollen preservation in the lowlands and perceived lack of flammability of deciduous forests, this paper starts from first principles - how woodlands and individual trees may have been regarded by people in the Mesolithic. Interaction with the environment, specifically woodlands, may have been a significant societal dynamic, imbued with ritual and symbolism, rather than purely economic. By taking the Mesolithic back into forest, the symbolism of trees and their removal may say more about changing social structure than, for example, pots and domesticated crops say about Neolithic society.

The Mesolithic mortuary customs of southern Scandinavia. A summation of tradition and potential directions of enquiry *Kristian L R Pedersen (University of Waterloo Ontario)*

The funerary traditions of the Mesolithic in Southern Scandinavia have figured prominently in modern controversies concerning settlement permanence and nascent social stratification within the region. Moreover, they have assumed a cardinal significance in the discussion of symbolic categories and the manner in which material culture effected a transformation of social and ideological life. As such, the mortuary record is of profound significance to both those of a 'processual' and 'post-processual' theoretical persuasion and indeed, it has served as the lynchpin for nearly all hypotheses regarding social change and stability in the Mesolithic proffered by both schools. A survey of the literature nevertheless indicates that only a specific class of mortuary custom has underpinned most of these arguments—namely, the inhumations encountered within the cemeteries. The mortuary customs of the cemeteries do not, however, represent all aspects of Mesolithic funerary tradition in Southern Scandinavia; and they occur only in the latter half of the Mesolithic, during the Atlantic climatic episode. Congeries of other traditions exist, from cremation to the ritual manipulation of human bones and their re-deposition in cultural contexts. This paper endeavours to describe the variation in the funerary traditions of the Mesolithic in Southern Scandinavia and their implications for social life.

Food, death and violence - the Later Mesolithic of southern Scandinavia *I J (Nick) Thorpe (King Alfred's College, Winchester)*

The shell middens or cooking middens of Southern Scandinavia have long been the focus of Mesolithic archaeology. As the name implies, they have been the source of considerable knowledge concerning resource exploitation and diet. Yet they also represent the creation through steady accumulation of the earliest monuments in the region, which may have acted as markers of the control of resources. Moreover, they are the source of a considerable burial record and played a central role in ritual practices.

That social strains existed is suggested by those burials from the region as a whole with traces of violent death resulting from projectile injuries. Were these deaths related to resource shortages, either real or perceived? If so, then controlling food resources, both terrestrial and marine, became of vital significance. From this a conceptual link was perhaps created between ancestors and food, leading to the burial of the dead at shell middens.

'Below the surface' - social interaction and settlement patterns in hunter-gatherer *Christopher Tolan-Smith (University of Newcastle)*

Radiocarbon chronologies and the results of field survey have gone some way towards establishing the date and extent of settlement in the British Isles during the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene. While some consideration has been given to the economic processes of which the observed settlement patterns are in part the archaeological manifestation, social relations of equivalent or greater importance have received less attention. These are one of the most difficult aspects of the human experience for archaeologists to gain access to, especially in the case of communities such as the Mesolithic for which the material record is limited. Apart from in the case of several well known late Mesolithic cemeteries, which appear to shed some light on within group social relations in the regions in question, settlement patterns continue to be explained mainly in terms of economic responses to ecological parameters. However, the ethnohistoric record of recent hunter-gatherers documents a range of social relationships between groups that have had fundamental effects on the development of settlement patterns. This paper will examine several well documented examples taken from North America and speculate about the possibility of being able to recognise similar patterns of social interaction in the archaeological record.

Salmon, Stone and Sky: regional identity in the mesolithic of eastern Scotland *Graeme Warren (University of Edinburgh)*

Coming to terms with human lives in the Mesolithic requires that we come to terms with the scales at which those lives were played out. One way of doing this is to consider regional identities. Often archaeological approaches to this matter have stressed formal variations in artefact or assemblage types. Regions have also been identified on the basis of supposedly unifying environmental conditions, or, as in the case of this session, by latitude. These analyses have failed to inform us about social identity and the conditions under which certain types of behaviour and knowledge were validated. In this contribution I will examine some of the ways in which distinctions existed between areas within eastern Scotland, with especial reference to salmon, stones and sky.

Mesolithic ideologies and the social context of the agricultural transition in Europe *Marek Zvelebil (University of Sheffield)*

The aim of this paper is to examine the relationship between the beliefs, ritual practices and ideologies of the hunter-gatherer Mesolithic communities in northern and temperate Europe and the transition to agriculture. Consequently, my contribution is divided into three parts. In the first section, I outline the structure of my interpretation. In the second, I interrogate the evidence for the beliefs, ritual practices and broader ideological points of reference in northern and north temperate Europe, drawing mainly on mortuary data and the symbolic-ideational evidence from artefacts and rock carvings. I go on to consider the implications for social structure and social conditions of Mesolithic communities in the area. In the third part, I discuss how people of the Mesolithic, informed by the social context of their existence, manipulated the increasing knowledge of agricultural skills and practices, and what it might have meant to them.

The basic premise of my argument is that the dispersal of farming, and the process of neolithisation, were embedded in the existing (pre-Neolithic) social and historical conditions of an area, in the history of contacts with communities which had already adopted farming, and in the inter-generational transmission of knowledge. In this sense, both the operation of hunter-gatherer communities and the agricultural transition in Europe can be seen to have its structure and agency. The structure is provided by the network of social relationships and by tradition: the socially and culturally defined normative rules for the transmission of knowledge and practical skill from one generation to another. The new knowledge and skills required for the practice of agro-pastoral farming are incorporated into the existing tradition in relation to existing rules. People, through contact and innovation, provide the agency for the transmission of knowledge, for incorporating innovations and for changing the structural context of such transmissions. Ideology as an over-arching system of beliefs, mediated through ritual practice, provides a controlling structure for these exchanges. Using archaeological material, I go on to illustrate the application of these ideas focusing on the Baltic sea basin and adjacent areas.

Les derniers chasseurs-cueilleurs dans l'Est de la France *Christophe Cupillard (Service Regionale de l'Archaeologie, Ministre de la Culture et de la Communication)*

Abstract to follow.

Sensual archaeologies

Organiser: *Steve Mills (Cardiff)*

It is recognised that different cultures in different times and places have employed or defined the senses differently such that the senses play an essential role in their associated concepts of reality. Consequently there is a need to consider the role of all the senses in mediating the nature of person-environment and inter-personal relationships and for determining what constitutes a reality for any given society at any given moment in space and time. The senses are not merely passive receptors of particular kinds of environmental stimuli, they are actively involved in the structuring of information and are significant in the overall sense of a world achieved by sentient beings. The principal aim of this session therefore is to highlight the need for an approach in archaeological research which acknowledges the importance of all the senses for understanding and interpreting the experiences of people in the past. Recent archaeological research has focused particularly on vision with commendable success. Emphasis on the visual however may reflect a contemporary Western bias. Such a bias may not do sufficient justice to past social realities. It is only through research designs which incorporate all the senses that we can acknowledge the possibility that people in the past may have had alternative sensory orientations to our own. An adherence to a multisensory agenda may result in more representative reconstructions of the past. It is hoped that significant progress towards this goal will result from this session. The session will establish the value of and identify progress made in the development of a multisensory approach in archaeology. Attention will be given to theoretical and methodological aspects for investigating the role of the senses in the past and in exploring various media for representing the sensual world. The session is intended to be multi-disciplinary and invitations go out to any interested parties wishing to participate. It is hoped that contributions from other disciplines will provide valuable input enabling archaeologists to become more informed of contemporary research concerning the senses and to identify appropriate avenues and means for future research. Contributions from scholars of Geography, Anthropology, Computer Science, Psychology and Critical Theory would be most welcome.

To tell or not to tell? For the sensitive archaeologist, here's Magura *Steve Mills (Cardiff)*

This paper will provide an introduction to this session briefly outlining the advantages and need for a more sensory approach to the study of archaeology. In particular it will emphasise the need to approach the archaeological from a multisensory perspective incorporating sound, touch, taste and smell as well as the senses associated with movement and orientation. As an example I will discuss some of my own recent research at tell Magura in the Clanitsa river valley in south-west Romania where I consider sound and vision concomitantly. My approach is systematic and intended to demonstrate that an attentiveness and understanding of contemporary sensory experiences will provide a more secure foundation for archaeologists interpreting the nature of life in Neolithic south-east Europe.

Senses and Boundaries: GIS in modelling Archaic boundaries in Central Italy *Ulla Rajala (New Hall, Cambridge)*

In this paper I will review recent attempts to give more conceptual content to GIS (Geographical Information Systems) studies by using visibility analyses. The possibilities of GIS to simulate senses are explored. The main emphasis will be given to the simulation of sight through visibility analysis and muscle feeling associated to movement through cost-surface analysis. These analyses will be used to discuss the importance of senses in perceiving landscape and comprehending an abstract concept of territory in the context of pre-Roman central Italy. The usefulness and the level of (un)certainty of the analyses used in boundary modelling will be assessed. Further attempt to include other senses to modelling will be done.

Touching the world: the haptic geographies of the Neolithic *Vicky Cummings (Cardiff)*

In the late 20th century, we experience the world primarily through vision. Because the dominant mode of perception in the west is visual, we have tended to marginalise the other senses when writing about the past. However, archaeologists are becoming increasingly aware that prehistoric people lived in and experienced a multisensory world. Sound, smell, taste and touch must all have played an important role when encountering of the world (Rodaway 1994). This paper will begin by outlining a multisensory archaeology, fitting in with the broader aims of this session, with specific reference to the haptic sense. Touch provides a physical connection between our own bodies and the world around us and thus constitutes a vital part of our everyday experiences. While texture can be experienced visually, it may also have been important to those who were visually impaired or when light levels were low. In this context, I will examine how texture may have been deliberately deployed to enhance the sensory impact of Neolithic monuments across the British Isles. In addition, I will also consider whether texture was a meaningful component of Neolithic material culture. Overall, I hope to illustrate that texture may have been a fundamental element in both the experience of places and in the meaning and function of artefacts.

The Archaeology of Hearing: the indirect evidence of senses in a Chalcolithic culture *Dragos Gheorghiu (University of Columbia-Missouri)*

Due to the rhetoric structure of culture, many "invisible" data in the archaeological record can be identified (as synecdoches) in rituals, cults or their artistic representations. Thus, the cult of the head is, rhetorically speaking, a synecdoche centralizing almost all the senses into a single part of the whole body.

In some East European Chalcolithic cultures, the metaphoric relationship existing between the osteologic material (skulls) and the artistic representations (the beheaded heads of clay figurines) can provide indirect evidence on the cult of the head and also on senses.

Two senses, sight and hearing, have a visual support in artistic representations of Chalcolithic societies. I refer especially to Gumelnita-Karanovo VI culture (5th millennium B.C., Eastern Europe), whose female figurines made of clay, bone, marble or gold, together with anthropomorphic clay masks from cenotaphs display eyes contour and an emphasized decoration around the lower lip and ears. The open mouth of some figurines suggests an emission of sounds. Compared with the dimensions of the face, the decorated ears are oversized, a symbol that could suggest the importance of hearing.

The decoration of ears and lips consisting of perforations or incisions for copper or gold earrings or nails, rhetorically emphasize the rites of passage of sounds to and from the human body, stressing, because of the high value of the materials employed, the importance of the organs decorated.

Decorations also could have an apotropaic role, acting as a magic "filter" of the sonorous emission. Gender differentiation of the body in artistic representations or in grave offerings, visible especially in the decoration of the head, could be interpreted also as a cultural difference of senses between genders. Thus, males do not have lip decoration or more than one earring.

The tinkling of copper or gold earrings accompanying every head movement or lips' whispers could be interpreted as a metaphor of women's voices, recreating after millennia of silence, the musicality and sensuality of the past.

Aspects of the History of Theories of the Non-Arbitrary Relations Between Physiologically and Socially Embodied Forms of Knowledge and the Worlds People Create to Live In *Stephanie Koerner (Pittsburgh)*

This paper seeks to focus attention on the relevance to the session's aims of the history of theories about non-arbitrary relations between physiologically and socially embodied forms of cognition and communication and the worlds people create to live in. The first part of the paper examines the conceptual dichotomies that have underpinned rationalist and empiricist theories of the human mind and knowledge, and related theories about human history based on a nature-culture antithesis. This will throw light on the roles played in these theories by notions of an arbitrary relation of language to the world.

Against this background, the second part of the paper explores aspects of the history of alternatives to dualist paradigms, with particular attention to alternatives which relate to the aims of the session (as Steve Mills puts it) "to highlight the need for an approach in archaeological research which acknowledges the importance of all of the senses for understanding and interpreting the experiences of people in the present and past." It so doing, the paper may encourage discussion of the contributions alternatives to dualist paradigms for archaeology (such as the "multisensory approaches" concerning this session) can make to developing theories for the human sciences and philosophy of the non-arbitrary relation of knowledge to the world.

Explanatory Experimentation or Interpretative Multi-Sensory Engagement: Another View of 'Experimental Reconstruction' *Steve Townend (Institute of Archaeology, University College London)*

The 'Experimental Reconstruction' of pre- and proto-historic architecture is, in Britain at least, principally carried out as empirical explanation of, and/or public engagement in the past. It is this first practice that this paper seeks to address. It is contended that the dominant epistemological framework for such projects is unsophisticated and limiting. Its explanations are often unsound and misleading, almost never experimental and certainly not 're'-constructions. This is not to say however that archaeology should abandon any attempt to understand the 3rd dimension of pre- and proto-historic architecture. Rather that this type of study requires radically different approaches. One such approach may be looked for in the complex embodied experience of the activity of building.

Molyneux's Question: The role of haptic analysis in the study of material culture *Gavin MacGregor (Glasgow University)*

The recognition that past cultures may have placed alternative emphasis on different elements of human sensory experience is of considerable importance to archaeological interpretations. This paper highlights the significant role of haptic analysis to the archaeological interpretation of

past material culture. Specific examples of the haptic analysis of both artefacts and monuments from Scottish prehistory are presented. Ultimately the paper aims to demonstrate the value of archaeological interpretations that are sensitive to the role of human perception in the creation of social meanings.

Monuments in concert: a journey through the landscapes of sound *Aaron Watson with John Was (Reading University)*

Prehistoric monuments are experienced by people through a combination of their senses. Here, encounters with sound at these places will be emphasised.

Queering Archaeology

Session organiser: *Melissa Maclellan (University of Wales, Lampeter)*

Queering people within our archaeological past and present can be qualified as a call for the consideration of all sexualities and genders. Popularised by theorists such as Judith Butler (1990, 1993) queer archaeology attempts to expel the boundaries set up by the feminist and gender archaeologies even further. By drawing attention to often unconsidered stances relating to gender and sexuality not only is a more comprehensive archaeology generated but also deeper in-roads are made into our theoretical understandings as little explored areas, such as desire, are brought into question. Essentially, queer archaeology is saying I am queer and I have another way of telling. However, it has, at a deeper level, concerns with equality and representation within all archaeological spheres. Yet, despite providing fresh, vibrant discourse centered around different ways of being, looking and telling, queer issues remain in the margins of mainstream archaeology. This session will attempt to readdress this positioning by drawing together current research materials into a single session. Therefore, providing a much needed platform from which to discuss the current location of queer theory and theorists in relation to other archaeological concerns.

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Nowt so Queer: archaeology as soap opera *Keith Matthews (Liverpool University and Chester County Archaeologist)*

In recent years, many archaeologists have come to accept that it is important to understand something of the personality of others to appreciate why they ask particular questions, interpret data in particular ways and sometimes appear to latch on to ideas that become obsessions. There is also an appreciation that we need to understand the zeitgeist to see why certain themes are important at particular periods only to fall into obscurity at others.

Can we take this further? Can we suggest that archaeologists are part of a 'virtual community' which has its own dynamics and within which they interact in the manner of characters in a soap opera? Does attention shift between competing research themes on so personal a basis?

The idea of 'virtual communities' has been popularised by the growth of the Internet in the 1990s, with many e-discussion groups and mailing lists actively promoting themselves as such. The so-called 'gay community' has been portrayed as a 'virtual community' since the 1970s, but recently the concept has been deconstructed by Queer theorists, who prefer instead to view it as a capitalist imposition, a tool of domination by an elite that remains outside the community. Is such a reassessment of value to understanding the history of archaeology? If so, who forms the elite? Wait for next weeks thrilling instalment...

Towards a Gender Based Nationalism: the Greek case *Angelos Parigoris (University of Wales, Lampeter)*

This paper examines nationalism in Greece from the perspective of gender. Masculinity is defined by what constitutes femininity. Within this framework, I will be attempting to illustrate aspects of gender based nationalism in terms of education, politics, art and culture. Motherhood is one of the most sacred notions in Greek society and as such is manipulated in order to serve political ends.

Stargate and Queer Representations of Ancient Egypt *Thomas Dowson (University of Southampton)*

Recently Lyn Meskell has explored the representation of Ancient Egypt, arguing that many constructions of pharonic Egypt are queered. Meskell closely examines the West's fascination with mummified bodies, as well as the use of ancient Egypt in contemporary fiction and film. The construction of a queered Ancient Egypt in these contexts is, according to Meskell, "reflecting back the desiring gaze of our own culture ...". By adopting a similar position *vis a vis* Queer theory to the one used by Meskell, I take the film *Stargate* to suggest a different reading. Far from being a queered construction I argue *Stargate* reinforces traditional masculinist stereotypes where the West is pitted against the Other, military against academia, established scholarship against novice. The film employs heterosexist sexual imagery to show the military might of the West penetrating a deviant other. Far from representing a challenge to normative values, as a queered position would suggest, the film in fact draws on hideous stereotypes to reinforce normative values. This different reading is not simply a matter of academic disagreement; it has profound implications for the representation of the sexual other in Archaeology.

Three Images of Being *Melissa MacLellan*

The way that artefacts are represented within various social contexts has been a long and contested debate within archaeology. Tools and technologies become issues of gender as their place in the past is reconstructed and reformulated. Models of 'man the hunter' and 'woman the gather' have been challenged by feminist theories and philosophies as being too oppressive and restrictive in their placing of those people behind the artefacts. Even within post-processual archaeologies there has been a tendency to apply a similar framework although in another way. Monuments are described by their boundedness and their utility as well as representing community strength and spirit. However, whose artefacts and monuments are truly represented within such narratives?

This paper will address this manner of viewing artefacts and monuments. It will attempt this through three narratives which are essentially 'the male', 'the female' and 'the other'. 'The other' is an often neglected aspect of archaeological writings. For instance, what did those 'male' associated artefacts mean to someone who would today categorise themselves as 'transsexual'? How did those people with physical disabilities view these impress, bounded monuments when there is the possibility that they could not climb the slopes to reach them? What of the blind? Of the deaf? Where are these people within the past worlds that we, as archaeologists, create?

Symbolisms, ideologies and meanings change within certain 'other' communities. Objects can take on other associated roles that run, often, in contradiction to those people who are central to our discourses. Yet, we need to skirt the margins of archaeology if we are to create 'real' pasts. This paper, then, will address these 'others'. It will attempt not so much to centrally locate them within texts but to highlight how 'otherness' can, and does, create a differing perspective upon how archaeological artefacts and monuments are experienced by those people that are generally considered, even today, to function around the margins of that which we term mainstream.

Thursday am

Landscapes in transition: the concept of the Middle Bronze Age in British Prehistory (or slaughtering the sacred cow?)

Session organisers: *Willy Kitchen and Helen Lewis*

Discussants: *Liliana Janik and Marie-Louise Stig Sørensen*

Intuitively, it seems that something fundamental separates the 'monumental' landscapes of the Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age from the 'agricultural' ones of the later Bronze Age and Iron Age. But should the historical processes at work be neatly packaged into something we like to call the "Middle Bronze Age Transition"? Sometimes regarded as a period of revolutionary transformation - the point at which the idyllic rural landscapes of all our yesterdays first came to fruition - the Middle Bronze Age itself is all but invisible in some regions of the country. We suspect that no single process or landscape can define such a revolution, and dispute the image of waving crops and happy homesteaders that it sometimes seems to elicit. In this session we seek to examine critically this concept of uniform transition, and focus in particular upon changing attitudes to self and society as reflected in changing land-use practices, settlement mobility and tenure. Although papers will address data specific to the British Bronze Age, the themes at issue bear upon our understanding of much broader sweeps of prehistory.

If Brzesc Kujawski isn't sedentary - what is? The interpretation of later Bronze Age sedentism in Wessex in light of recent perspectives on the European Neolithic *Helen Lewis (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)*

Can sedentism be identified archaeologically? If substantial Neolithic structural remains from central Europe are to be interpreted as representing non-sedentary lifestyles, one wonders what kind of prehistoric settlement evidence would be needed to support an interpretation of sedentism - certainly not any existing in southern England through to at least the Iron Age if not later! And yet the later Bronze Age and the Iron Age are perceived as periods marking a major change from a lifestyle and landscape centred on mobility to one of settled living. Current preferences in landscape archaeological interpretation suggest that the argument for Neolithic sedentism is untenable, even from sites such as Brzesc Kujawski and Lepinski Vir, long held to represent 'permanent' residence related to early agriculture. This paper argues that if the type of evidence found at such sites represents a mobile society in the currently popular interpretative framework in British landscape archaeology, then, within the same framework, there is effectively nothing in Wessex prehistory that could feasibly be interpreted as representing a change to a sedentary lifestyle during the Bronze Age (or even much of the Iron Age). Is the Bronze Age transition in southern England an irrelevant issue - the evidence we normally associate with sedentism being more appropriate for (or appropriated into) the 'mobility orthodoxy'? How could sedentism be visible archaeologically? If Brzesc Kujawski isn't sedentary, then we need to assess how we would expect sedentism to appear through the archaeological record.

Fragmented Antiquities: Dartmoor Landscape Archaeology between Synthesis and Particularity *Helen Wickstead (Institute of Archaeology, U.C.L.)*

The concepts of the middle bronze age transition rely heavily on the examples of certain key regions, and in particular on the evidence for large-scale field systems within these areas. This paper focuses on one such region, (Dartmoor, South-west England), in order to examine the effects which theories for explaining change over a large areas have on the interpretation of archaeology at a regional scale. Just as Dartmoor is used to define the archaeological correlates of a widespread middle bronze age transition, so, equally, general concepts of transformation have determined how the archaeology of the region is portrayed. The land boundaries of Dartmoor appear to fit the requirements of an 'ideal-type' for the transformations of the middle bronze age, and therefore attention has been focused on the field systems almost to the exclusion of the many other sites which make up the archaeological landscape. The de-contextualisation of the land boundaries and their re-incorporation within accounts of the middle bronze age transition is encouraged by the practice of referring to them by the collective name 'The Dartmoor Reaves'. A series of low banks, walls and ditches found on Dartmoor have been interpreted as if they constitute a single monument, designed according to a plan devised by a central authority (e.g. Fleming 1987, 1988). It is argued that the integrity of the system means a large proportion of the banks must have been laid out in a single period of construction, at some point during the middle bronze age. In this account the reaves seem to be a radical departure from the previous landscape, and their construction marks a point of disjunction between the landscapes of the earlier and later bronze age. Existing interpretations emphasise uniformity and tend to gloss over the complexity uncovered by regional perspectives. In this paper I highlight some of the variation and quirkiness of the Dartmoor land divisions, examining the boundaries themselves and their layouts. I argue that these boundaries are better understood within the context of their surroundings, as part of a diachronic analysis of the Dartmoor landscape. Instead of envisaging the construction of the reaves as an event marking a point of transition, I endeavour to understand the formation of land divisions as a reworking of long-held principles which by which land was demarcated.

Environment, landuse and society: explanations of the Early-Middle Bronze Age transition in southern England *Joanna Brück (Dept. of Archaeology, University College Dublin)*

In southern England, the end of the Early Bronze Age is marked by the appearance of archaeologically visible farmsteads and field systems. This paper explores and critiques the popular idea that these changes are the direct result of a need to intensify agricultural production. Such discussions have implicitly drawn on evolutionist images of economic maximisation and environmental exploitation that do not sit easily with our knowledge of other aspects of Bronze Age society. In this paper, I shall consider economic change as a consequence rather than the cause of wider changes to the social fabric at this time. A review of the Early and Middle Bronze Age settlement evidence will provide insights into how society became transformed over the period and will begin to hint at some of the reasons why subsistence practices changed so visibly.

Middle Bronze Ages? A regional perspective *Rob Johnston (Department of Archaeology, University of Newcastle)*

The transition from "monumental" to "agricultural" landscapes differs within distinct regionalized social trajectories. A coherent narrative of the transition which transcends regional differences is only really achieved in long-term studies of the period. Likewise, at a conceptual level, the transition makes most sense when we make a distinction between practical and ritual behaviour in the broadest possible sense. The paper will discuss the evidence from three regions: the Cheviot Hills, Dartmoor, and Cambridgeshire.

Being mobile, becoming settled. The Peak District in the second millennium BC *Willy Kitchen (Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield)*

Change to a largely sedentary way of life in the Peak District of Derbyshire, tied to the growth and maintenance of field systems, might date to the Early Bronze Age. On the other hand, such intensive systems of land use may not have appeared until much later, in the first millennium BC or after. Such uncertainty inevitably derives in part from a general absence of metal work and a poorly understood regional pottery chronology. It also derives from our inability to distinguish satisfactorily between planned and incremental agricultural landscapes or "field systems". It may be that the cairnfields of the East Moors of Derbyshire have a particularly long and varied history. The patterns we can discern result more from the different ways in which largely mobile populations chose to mark their presence in the landscape throughout the second millennium BC, than from the crystallisation of specific ideological or economic trends at particular points in time. Somewhere in all of this the availability of raw material supplies may have a crucial role to play.

Inheritance in the Middle Bronze Age: A Very Dead Issue *Mike Williams (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading)*

Compared to earlier periods of prehistory, the landscape of the Middle Bronze Age in central southern Britain almost has an air of familiarity about it. People settled in small communities, buried their dead nearby and tended crops and animals for a living. However, these familiar images often belie the extensive conceptual changes that occurred during this time. By physically incorporating death into the landscape of the living, the dead provided legitimacy to claims of land ownership through a new concept of inheritance. This necessitated more insular communities and raised issues of lineage affiliation and the control of marriage. The authority attributed to the dead was continually reborn, since it was their presence that gave legitimacy to both land ownership and the social controls necessary to sustain it. This concern with inheritance marks a significant shift in people's conceptual system that could only be realised by drawing on suitable metaphors from the natural world. Continuity was witnessed annually in the death and rebirth of livestock and crops and it is this natural permanence that metaphorically underpinned inheritance and the continuity of the community.

More or less arable? More or less pastoral? More or less mobile? Understanding the agricultural societies of the Middle Bronze Age in light of those that preceded and succeeded them *Chris Stevens (MacDonald Institute, University of Cambridge)*

The Middle Bronze Age has been viewed as a period of transition between Early Bronze Age and Neolithic wild, mobile societies and Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age arable, settled societies. It is a period which sees an archaeologically visible organisation of the land. It has therefore been seen as a period of increased sedentism. It has been seen as both a period of pastoral intensification and as a period of arable intensification.

The evidence for Middle Bronze Age field systems contrasts sharply with the evidence forwarded for Iron Age societies. Iron Age societies have few field systems, yet settlements are perceived to be well known compared to the Middle Bronze Age. The Iron Age is also seen to show an intensification of arable farming. Is the Middle Bronze Age then more or less arable intensive, more or less pastoral or more or less mobile than Iron Age society? This paper argues that only by comparison of the various changes in settlement form through time and the subsequent effect upon the taphonomic preservation of both charred and zoological evidence, as well as the visibility of the settlement itself, can the evidence for agricultural transitions in Middle Bronze Age societies be fully understood.

MBA agricultural intensification and field system construction in the Thames Valley and Estuary Approaches *Dave Yates (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading)*

The MBA represents a significant turning point in the nature of land exploitation along the Thames Valley and estuary approaches. Agricultural intensification starts during this time; the focus lies downriver and the emphasis was on stock raising. The wealth of new information derived from excavation along the Thames, including the remarkable survival of field systems, enables us to pick out regional variations within the broad pattern of development. Field systems started to form distinct regional blocks of managed land. All were situated close to the arterial communications link of the river or estuary foreshores. Outside these growth zones traditional patterns of farming still continued. Field systems were also not introduced simultaneously and their dating reflects changing political fortunes along the watercourse. The MBA represents the start of the foundation of a gift exchange network along the Thames and inter-continental routes in which the stockyards, droveways and livestock fields formed part of a system of social storage. That formal landscape originating in the MBA was dramatically abandoned at the end of the Bronze Age.

Problematising Transitions: Rethinking social change in the prehistoric Aegean

Organiser: *Michael Lane (University of Sheffield)*

Aegean archaeology has acquired a reputation in the wider world of being a conservative discipline, with classicist preoccupations and a penchant for cultural history. Certainly, the persistent use by the region's archaeologists of such inveterate terms as 'Mycenaean', 'Minoan' and 'Cycladic' -- as well as the region's rigid ceramic-based chronologies -- has contributed to an image of scholars who have come to believe in the reality of their models. Of course, many Aegean archaeologists have recognised and addressed the unique challenges posed by evidence from the region to contemporary theoretical archaeology: *inter alia*:

- Neolithic-bronze age trajectories markedly different from those in northwestern Europe, where the attention of much of current post-processual archaeology has been devoted;
- The situation of the societies in question between Europe, Southwest Asia and Africa (each ostensibly another's 'core' or 'periphery'); and
- Problem of the development and disintegration of certain 'complex societies'.

This partial list reflects, at least, how many of the theoretical questions have been phrased to date.

The session means to include fresh reconsideration of these and other problems of social archaeology in the Aegean, with a particular critical perspective on components of social identity, social and 'cultural' boundaries, and the variety of social transformations that must actually have constituted the supposed 'breaks' or 'transitions' in the chronologies of Aegean prehistory. Special emphasis will be given to interrelated scales of analysis and interwoven localised timelines, as opposed to comparative studies of sites and region-wide social evolutionary schemata. We hope these efforts will help rescue Aegean archaeology from a quasi-Victorian reputation at least as much as they make new theoretical inroads into a rich and complicated body of evidence.

The Production of Texts at Pylos: Material, Agency and Practice in the Writing of Linear B *Michael F. Lane (University of Sheffield)*

To date most archaeologists have drawn a sharp distinction between documentary and artefactual evidence. This trend persists despite archaeological discourse on material culture as 'text', beginning in the early 1990s, which might have critically undermined such a distinction. This is as much the case in the study of Linear B 'documents' of the late bronze-age Aegean as anywhere; they are read for what they 'have to say' about artefactual evidence, rather than being regarded as particular forms of material culture invested with contextual meanings. This paper seeks to correct this dichotomous tendency by bringing to the fore the socially situated practices that produced the clay tablets and other material on which Linear B was inscribed. Special attention is devoted to the ways in which these artefacts are structured as 'texts', in contradistinction to 'documents' that are thought simply to be the representation of language. Some implications for regional histories of systems of writing are pursued.

Empowering space: landscape and the formation of the Minoan palaces *K.Damilati and G.Vavouranakis (University of Sheffield)*

The elaborate Minoan palatial complexes in Crete constitute an index of marked inequality within the social milieu of Aegean prehistory. Inevitably, their emergence constitutes a central issue in the archaeological forum. However, current accounts seek to find truth in an original state of being by reconstructing an "objectively" measured reality. They reconstruct a real physical landscape whereupon individuals are assumed to mechanically adapt according to a functional logic of politico-economic rationality. Nevertheless, past human actors who worked the land and decided on particular agricultural techniques were perceived subjects of human experience as much as objects in an external stratum of reality. A better understanding of the Minoan palatial transition should redefine the relationship between man and his surroundings by adding historical and cognitive parameters to the more familiar analysis of the environment and space (settlement and land use). Under such a prism -- and according to Foucault -- space is not "...the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile..." As far as human perception is involved in the spatial dimension of being in the world, space ceases to be an abstract, mathematic, neutral quality and transforms into place. The latter is not a permanent piece of space at all, particularly within a landscape framework. The landscape embodies movement between different places/locales constituting active arenas within which people meet and act, bringing together stocks of past experience from other places. The landscape concept helps us understand the active qualities of space, which is perceived as both the medium and the outcome of human practice. It is neither a passive repository of information, nor a passive stage or container of action, but a powerful social constituent. The transition to the Minoan palaces could be viewed, as a trajectory of changing environments perceived out of the real (both with symbolic/sacred properties and economic/functional dimensions), depending on what different members of society had seen as significant.

Reconsidering the emergence of palaces in Minoan Crete: the role and significance of the landscape *Despina Catapoti and Georgios Vavouranakis (University of Sheffield)*

The formation of the Minoan palaces is a cornerstone issue for prehistoric Crete in particular and Greece and the Aegean in general. These palaces were part of a broader set of transformations which took place on the island at the time and involved a profound redefinition of character of the Cretan landscape not only in terms of social but also of physical organisation. The majority of the literature regarding this transition has concentrated almost exclusively upon issues related to the origin and function of this newly established institutional regime. However, little has been said about the ways people perceived, experienced and reinterpreted these changing environs. From this point of departure and without denying the rationalities of previous research, a different approach to the palatial transformation will be put forward; this time by examining how people felt in place, both before and after the creation of the palaces. The paper will argue that before the palaces funerary structures constituted a prominent feature of the Cretan landscape, as places of ancestral veneration, communal gatherings and ceremonial display. They were the main points of reference by which the landscape and the person's place in this landscape could be defined. From the second millennium onwards, these monuments remained, but in a landscape increasingly redefined through spatial manifestations of the new institutional order

(palaces, villas, sanctuaries, large towns, road networks). The main aim will be to understand how this transformation readdressed the interweaving of place and human agency and renegotiated the ways that landscape was inhabited, thus creating a different perception of the world. By doing so, the palatial landscape will not be treated as a passive container of action, but as a dynamic matrix which constituted both the means and outcome whereby people and their prior experiences and understandings of their surroundings were reworked and carried forward.

Title? *Christine Holder (Oxford)*

The cultural changes that took place within the Aegean at the end of the Bronze Age are well documented in the archaeological literature. Writing, the use of seals, the manufacture of figurines and the art of fresco painting all came to an end. In some areas, tholos tombs gave way to cist graves. There was a decline in the elaboration of fine-ware decorated pottery. Architectural styles changed. The population of particular regions underwent dramatic alterations. Yet a continuity in Aegean cultural forms occurring elsewhere within the Eastern Mediterranean region is also well attested, be it the Mycenaean III C:1 ware found in the Levant or the ashlar masonry suddenly in evidence in Cyprus. Is an 'end' in Bronze Age culture then really in evidence? Or does the material evidence merely point to the occurrence of wide-spread and rapid cultural change?

To address this question, this paper seeks to explore the recursive relationship between a culture and a polity, to establish if and when a 'collapse' or 'end' of one might be said to have occurred. It will be argued that whilst a state, embodying the political needs and traditions of a people can undergo a 'collapse', a culture cannot. Changes to a culture, whether stimulated by internal events or external ones, can only emerge from the culture itself. Thus, even in the event of a political collapse, a culture can and must be seen to continue. Following this line of thought, the end of the Bronze Age within the Aegean should be seen as marking the collapse and end of a political structure only and of its culture, only rapid change.

Middle/Late Helladic mortuary practices *Michael Boyd (University of Edinburgh)*

Egyptology: practice and theory

Session organiser: Paul Nicholson (Cardiff University)

More than Words: Re-contextualizing Evidence for Libraries in Ancient Egypt *Jenny Cashman*

The assumption that there were libraries in ancient Egypt is implicit in Egyptological discussions of the society, but little has been written about the development and function of this social institution. Archaeological excavations in Egypt have not yet uncovered an identifiable library building with its contents. Without the evidence of such sites, can archaeology contribute to the discussion?

This paper suggests that archaeology is indeed uniquely suited to provide an important perspective on the nature of libraries, and by extension, other social institutions. A model designed for data selection will be discussed, along with the results of studying the cultural materials that were components of libraries: the physical characteristics of papyri and leather scrolls; storage containers such as pots and boxes; labeling practices; temple booklists and related iconography. An analysis also will be offered of the two sites that are most frequently mentioned as having contained libraries - the House of Life at Amarna and the House of Books in the Temple of Horus at Edfu - with an emphasis on their cultural context.

It is proposed that 're-contextualizing' archaeological materials by consciously creating 'assemblages' of cultural materials that are neither geographically linked (site-specific) nor temporally related (dynasty-specific) may offer an effective methodology for studying social institutions and associated ideology. The potential and limitations of this approach, as well as the necessity of multidisciplinary analyses, will also be addressed.

Nine Thousand Years of Ceramic Manufacture in the Dakhleh Oasis *Mark Eccleston (Monash University, Australia)*

The study of ceramics in Egypt has developed from being an exercise in creating a vessel typology, to a multi-faceted and diverse interweaving of many different techniques and theoretical approaches. During the course of work on the ceramics from the excavations of the Dakhleh Oasis Project, a number of different methods have been employed to broaden the focus of this study.

Excavations and surveying in Dakhleh has shown continuous ceramic production from c. 9200 BP and the presence of a number of fixed pottery kilns and workshops dating from the Old Kingdom. This paper will explore how a combination of techniques have been used in previous work on ceramics from the Early-Holocene through to modern times and how this will be expanded in work planned for future seasons. These techniques include traditional ceramic typologies, several different types of scientific analysis, ethnoarchaeology and textual evidence.

The potential use of Hodder's "Contextual Archaeology" in the interpretation of Egyptian material *Nitzan Mekel (Brandeis University)*

No abstract

Personal Appearance and Social Meaning in Old and New Kingdom Egypt *Rachael J Dann (Newnham College, Cambridge)*

Certain problems arise in any discussion of the category "dress", and this is certainly true within an archaeological framework. There are also many difficulties specific to the Egyptian evidence, as much of it comes from the symbolically loaded depictions found in Ancient Egyptian tomb art. Clothing and other items of personal apparel may be seen as vehicles for the expression of social and personal messages. Due to the immediacy of a person's appearance, the clothing that they wear can act as a powerful arena for the transmission of meaning. How might this form of non-verbal language be understood? Bearing in mind the evidential constraints, some attempt might be made at interpreting the reasons why certain clothing types are depicted and what those outfits may have communicated about the person who wore them.

Khufu knew the sphinx: a reconciliation of the geological and archaeological evidence for the Age of the Sphinx and a revised sequence of development for the Giza Necropolis *Colin Reader*

On the basis of weathering and erosion, the geologist Robert M. Schoch has dated the Great Sphinx of Giza to a period not later than 5000BC. However, there are a number of erosional features, not described by Schoch which, although supporting erosion by flowing water, do not require such an early date for their formation. These erosional features are consistent with erosion by rainfall run-off - conditions which are known to have prevailed until the late Fifth Dynasty.

On the basis of the topography of the Giza Plateau, however, it is apparent that quarrying, undertaken by Khufu, will have brought an end to run-off erosion of the Sphinx enclosure. Further study suggests that, like the Sphinx, other elements of the Giza necropolis may also pre-date Khufu's reign.

The existence of pre-Fourth Dynasty development at Giza can be inferred from this - development which parallels both the increase in the use of stone masonry and the rise in importance of solar worship during the Early Dynastic Period. It is concluded that the Giza plateau was a site of some importance from as early as the late Predynastic.

Identity and occupation: how did individuals define themselves and their work in ancient Egypt? *Ian Shaw (London)*

What trades or professions were recognized by the ancient Egyptians and how can we hope to identify them either textually or archaeologically? The Egyptian reliefs and paintings showing certain types of skilled work in progress are dominated by particular types of craftwork, such as agriculture, carpentry, stone-working and metalworking, providing far less information about the production of glass or faience, the excavation of tombs, the building of houses, quarrying of stone and numerous other activities that must in reality have been of equal significance outside the funerary context. This domination of Egyptian cultural material by a combination of the influence of scribal/bureaucratic ideals and the desire to be seen to fulfil certain roles in the afterlife has two major effects. 1) It tends to prevent us from analysing the ancient Egyptians' real, day-to-day consciousness of their role as particular tradesmen or professionals. 2) It leaves us with a surprisingly poor sense of the characteristic artefactual and cultural contexts of particular tradesmen or professionals.

This paper will look at a combination of evidence from the Predynastic to the end of the Pharaonic period, and consider approaches which may allow us to gain a better understanding of the Egyptians' 'occupational identities'.

The Role of History Writing in the First Millennium BC (ca. 1000-200 BC) *Roberto Gozzoli (University of Birmingham)*

Theoretical approaches to the history writing in Egypt and the influence of historical reality in contemporary texts did not receive a lot of attention. Of course, the absence of classifications of historical texts does not help to see their dependence to changing times, because the end of the New Kingdom took new developments in historical terms. In fact, the sources of the history of the first millennium BC are the same of the earlier ones:

- Royal inscriptions
- Temple traditions
- Private autobiographies

However, they have quite distinctive features, showing evolution in Egyptian thought. Royal texts sometimes have contamination of genres, archaism, use of earlier models, they generally represent a static view of history. But during such span of time, the other sources had a more important role. The temple is the archive of past models as well as antagonist to the kingship, private autobiographies have as strong point the individuality, and the loyalty to the Pharaoh is not a requisite of officials anymore. As preliminary remark, I assume that to write about the historiography of such period means to grasp every information, even from texts very different from a modern view of historical sources.

The Political Context of the Discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamun *Louise Simson*

The tomb of Tutankhamun and its discovery is, to say the very least, a heavily worked subject. However, the context of its discovery, the aspect that concerns this paper, has not been fully explored. This is not to say that an awareness of Howard Carter's times has been lacking; this is certainly not the case. However, the distraction of the most sensational archaeological find of this waning century has eclipsed any detailed discussion of the context of the discovery.

It is my intention to explore the political situation appertaining in Egypt up to the time of the tomb's discovery - in the same year Egypt had managed to shake off the yoke of British rule, and declared her independence. I intend to examine a number of different points of view, not solely in regard to politics, and most importantly, I want to take into account the point of view of the Egyptians themselves.

These varying aspects illustrate the rich backdrop to the times in which Howard Carter found - and nearly lost - the tomb. It will also be seen how these factors came to play an intrinsic part in the problems he faced as the discipline of archaeology was forced to emerge into the 'maturity' we can still recognize today.

The Interpretation and Structure of Ritual Space (I)

Session Organisers: *Alexander Smith and Alison Brookes, University of Wales College, Newport.*

Chair: *Prof. Miranda Aldhouse-Green, University of Wales College, Newport.*

The session organisers invite contributions on themes relating to the interpretation and structure of ritual space. Over the past few decades an increasing body of work has focused on the nature of ritual sites in the archaeological record, and the session proposes to explore the above aspects within a broad chronological and geographical context. The following specific themes will be pursued:

- How far did the differentiation of ritual space reflect culturally specific cosmological concepts, and was it therefore used to communicate or reinforce information? Are such concepts able to be detected in the archaeological record?
- Is there a correlation between the differentiation of sacred and profane space and the level of affinity between religious and secular life? For example, is the concept of the boundary in sacred space more firmly emphasised in those cultures where religious and secular spheres were more disparate?
- Are the criteria that have been used in the archaeological interpretation of ritual space satisfactory? For instance, do they take into account the fact that there is often no distinction between ritual and secular space, or the fact that inherent cosmological principles can sometimes significantly affect the spatial organisation of the domestic built space environment?
- What issues and difficulties are raised by defining ritual space? Indigenous populations all over the world are concerned by threats and intrusions into sacred space. A site that is sacred or holds special significance to one person or group may not be recognised by another and can cause controversy over ownership and protection of the site.
- Death evokes a variety of responses from the living and is associated with complicated ritual behaviour. Is this demonstrated through the use of space on mortuary or burial sites?

Bronze-Age Cosmologies: The Construction of Time and Space in South-Western Funerary/Ritual Monuments

Mary Ann Owoc (Mercyhurst College, Erie)

Because of their fixed nature in the landscape, and the energy and time expended in their enactment, funerary rituals can be argued to have been the most fundamental rites of passage in Beaker/Bronze Age society. For this reason, it is suggested in this paper that the builders of some monumental funerary/ritual sites explored a great potential, inherent in these rites of passage, for making death rituals central to the creation and renewal of meaningful cosmologies which structured the perception of both the everyday, and the sacred.

After a discussion of the manner in which human beings create and give meaning to ritual space, the paper explores the ways in which living and dying in the Bronze Age were locally conceptualised within particular cosmological constructs through the linking of ritual space and time during the construction of, and activities within a number of south-western funerary/ritual monuments.

Pilgrimage as sacred space *Madeleine Gray (Newport)*

Pilgrimage can be defined as a ritual journey to a sacred place: in a sense it creates a mobile ritual space. Pilgrims can be distinguished in the archaeological record by their distinctive clothing and other possessions (including ritual objects); pilgrimages produce distinctive architecture in sites on the route as well as at the destination and may create communities whose economic rationale is to service the pilgrimage. However, like all forms of ritual space, the pilgrimage is subject to conflict and controversy. The ritual behaviour of pilgrims on the journey and at the destination can emphasise their identity as members of a particular community or can set them apart, making pilgrimage a liminoid experience which creates an alternative 'communitas' for the duration of the pilgrimage. This in turn can generate support or hostility from the communities through which the pilgrimage passes. These statements of community identity can be subverted by authority, and the pilgrimage can become a way of asserting hegemony, secular or spiritual; it can also function as a form of protest.

Modern anthropological studies show how these conflicting discourses can affect ritual behaviour on pilgrimage, and suggest avenues of interpretation for conflicting archaeological data from earlier pilgrimages. However, modern experience also suggests that pilgrimage can function as a reconciling discourse, and this may provide an alternative interpretation for conflict in the archaeological record.

In Search of the Byzantine Genotype *David Clark (University College London)*

Within the past decade, more scholars have turned their interests and attention to the Byzantine Churches of Jordan and their rich archaeological record. Yet, within the geographic framework of the 'Holy Land', the understanding of architectural regionalism has not been fully examined. Regional spatial characteristics have not been identified, nor placed within their larger geographic and ecclesial, diocesan frameworks. From Northern Syria to Southern Jordan, little is understood quantifiably of the architectural configurations, or cultural genotypes specific to each region. These churches had specific functions. They housed the ritual worship and archived the life of communities that built them. Do their architectural genotypes give us clues as to how these communities functioned liturgically? Architectural remains of the building layouts constitute some of the clearest patterns of material culture within the archaeological record. Space syntax analysis, developed in the field of architecture, is assisting archaeologists to examine these characteristics and patterns. By plotting integration values, and comparing architectural configurations, it may be possible to discover particular patterns or 'genotypes' related to movement, socio-ritual encounter, and visibility for the structures of Byzantine churches and their relational regions of influence.

Devotion and Transcendence : Discrepant Function in Sacred Space *Miranda Aldhouse-Green (Newport)*

This paper seeks to explore the hypothesis that internal and external hallowed space within particular Iron Age and Roman sanctuaries in western Europe may have been used for specifically discrepant functions associated with supernaturalities. It is proposed that, in some instances, the material culture of shrines suggests identification of such discrepancies, and that a spatial distinction may be made between devotional activity, on the one hand, and transcendence, on the other. This model is taken from observance of cult-practice in the Hindu temples of certain village communities in South India, where devotional activity takes place within the confines of the sacred area yet the transformation from human to divine and divine to human occurs outside, in the area designated as 'chaos'.

Using my recent study of the cult and ritual associated with the Gallo-Roman sanctuary dedicated to Sequana at *Fontes Sequanae*, near Dijon, as a test case, I here examine the hypothesis outlined above. The contrast between the spatial location of the pilgrim-images made of stone (inside the constructed space) and those of wood (outside) may be relevant inasmuch as the unstable, ephemeral nature of the latter could be perceived as reflective of transformation; additionally, the wooden figures are located in boggy ground, itself perhaps containing resonances of volatility and transcendence. Whilst not wishing to push this model too far, I suggest that it may be useful as a framework for study of discrepant distribution of cult-material within and without sanctuaries.

Flint Mining in the Neolithic; Flint Mines in the Neolithic and Beyond *Martyn Barber (English Heritage)*

The early Neolithic flint mines of the South Downs have generally been regarded as little more than specialised quarries for good quality flint. However, a closer study of these sites serves to underline the problems inherent in assuming or looking for distinctions between the technological, economic, social and ritual aspects of their exploitation and broader social significance, both during the early Neolithic and in subsequent millennia. The location and original use of these sites was firmly embedded within particular cosmological frameworks of belief and practice.

Along with broadly contemporary phenomena such as long barrows and causewayed enclosures, several of the mines also remain as monumental physical features in the modern landscape. They are surrounded and sometimes overlain and obscured by the remains of human intrusions from the intervening centuries. Fields, enclosures, boundaries, settlements, burials, place-names: from the later Neolithic to the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond, all these features and the activities they represent reflect changing cultural perceptions of the mines' remains, and of the flint extracted from them, over time.

Beasts and burial in the interpretation of ritual space *Stephanie Knight (University of Leicester)*

The aim of this paper is to attempt to use the study of animal utilisation to illustrate the complexities inherent in attempting to divide a site into either ritual or secular, or to divide parts of a site into these functions.

Ethnographic studies and excavated remains suggest that a specific 'closeness' existed between humans and animals throughout the agrarian past. This closeness is not a simple division into 'animals for ritual purposes' and 'animals for economic purposes', or even into animals which are edible and animals which are inedible. Instead, a complex set of rules, or codes, have been variously formulated in order to make sense of animal/human interactions.

The probability of certain deposits being deliberately 'structured' has opened up new possibilities for the study of animal bone. The faunal assemblage from Danebury, Hampshire, was recovered mainly from two deposits, pits and layers. Pits have recently been suggested to contain special deposits, ostensibly as a form of offering similar to sacrifice (ritual). If this is so, there should be differences between these deposits and the makeup of the layers, which built up inside the ramparts and are traditionally interpreted as 'domestic' or 'occupation' deposits (secular).

By looking at the methods of butchery, associations between species, and the ways in which animals were used, their carcasses divided and finally deposited, it is possible to infer changing or different relationships between people and animals over time and across the site. Can the extent to which 'normal' life differed from 'ritual' life be shown in the comparisons between the body parts in the feature types, especially when compared to surrounding settlement 'debris'?

This paper will aim to explore some of these depositional practices. I intend to argue that the complexities of determining the dual (or triple, quadruple, etc) roles of animals can be shown in their differing carcass divisions according to place, time or context. They are still intended for eating, but by whom- the living or the dead?

Kurgans: an analytical approach into a socio-cultural resource *Bryan Hanks (University of Sheffield)*

Within the steppe/forest-steppe environments of present-day southern Russia exist numerous burial mound structures known as kurgans (barrows). These burial structures have often been utilized as a resource for hypotheses (societal organization, ethnogenesis, demographic movement, etc.) regarding past Bronze and Iron Age Eurasian cultural groups.

Unfortunately, many of these characterizations have been homogeneous and generally superficial in their treatment. As a result, a great deal of the significance of these sites, including respective patterns of burial tradition continuity as well as variability, has been lost through such broad generalizations.

In contrast, one can see that the spatial characteristics of the kurgan burials are clearly interwoven within a multitude of variable relationships between the living and dead societal members and their environment. In lieu of this, this presentation will address the significant socio-cultural nature of the kurgan burial structure within respective cultural and physical landscape contexts. Central to this argument will be the reuse (including multicultural) of kurgan structures. Issues relevant to this line of inference include: 1) the power of the living to manipulate the action and symbolism of ritual in either a normative or individualized manner; 2) the significance of liminality within the ritual of burial 3) burial space access and usage as a potential resource for maintenance of group solidarity, lineage patterns and territorial boundaries.

As support for these arguments a sample of kurgan burial structures from the steppe and forest-steppe of the southern Ural area of Russia will be presented and their relevance to the above mentioned issues developed for discussion.

From Boundaries Blurred to Boundaries Defined: Clerical Emphases on the Limits of Sacred Space in the Later Middle Ages *Dawn Marie Hayes (Iona College, New York)*

Although it is impossible to dichotomise sacred and profane in the Middle Ages, it would be equally wrong to argue that they were one and the same. Many medieval people, particularly the clergy, had rituals to appropriate places to God, in other words to recognise and direct sacredness. The ideal of sacred space in the Middle Ages is revealed in the rite of consecration in which Christian communities invited God to communicate with them in a specified location. The idealised conception of sacred space, however, was often compromised throughout the Middle Ages by mundane concerns that encouraged people to use churches for non-devotional activities.

Yet sacred spaces appear to have become less ambiguous as the Middle Ages wore on. Research has suggested that in the late Middle Ages the use of space became rigidly defined and that sacred spaces were not excepted from this trend. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that as loyalties were gradually torn by emerging identity groups such as guilds, "nation states," and alternative churches the Church suffered a loss of security that was reflected in restrictions on the uses of sacred spaces.

New Light on Dark Spaces: Approaches to the Archaeology of Caves

Organiser: *Lucy Gibbons (University of Wales College Newport)*

As shelters, depots, landmarks and tombs, caves have been focal points for human ritual and subsistence activities. As geological structures, caves preserve a record of past faunas and environments, as well as documenting the geomorphological history of karst landscapes and littoral zones. Archaeologists, geologists, and amateurs have been interested in the contents of caves for a variety of reasons, and cave archaeology is itself a discipline with a long history.

The scope of the session is intended to cover a broad range of theoretical and methodological issues relevant to cave archaeology. Papers are therefore welcome from all disciplines pertinent to the interpretation of archaeology in caves. However, themes for the session have been identified as guidance for contributors:

Firstly, the session will explore ways in which caves have been integrated into the subsistence activities and symbolic systems of human societies. Caves have been places of habitation, burial, and/or ritual significance throughout human existence. As such, archaeological evidence from caves provides a glimpse of past societies' cultural understanding of natural places in the landscape.

In addition, the session aims to address the ways in which methodological approaches and scientific techniques facilitate and often constrain theoretical ideas about the role of caves in human societies. As landmarks, shelters and sediment traps, with relatively stable microclimates, caves provide ideal contexts for the preservation of artefacts, human burials and palaeontological remains. Yet the complexity of deposition processes and often haphazard excavation histories are frequently limiting factors in studies of cave use. The session welcomes new research into site formation processes and cave site taphonomy that will shed light on archaeological problems.

When art came to Europe: a phenomenology of early Aurignacian caves and rockshelters *Paul Pettitt (Oxford)*

Both Joachim Hahn and Marcel Otte have commented upon the aggressive subject nature of early Aurignacian parietal and mobiliary art from cave and rockshelter contexts, and in addition much has been said about the supposed sexual imagery of the same period. In this talk I want to address the question as to why certain clusters of enclosed sites - by which I refer to caves and rockshelters - were of clear importance to the earliest Aurignacians, and why artistic and creative activity seems to have been important at all of them.

Caves/rockshelters containing early Aurignacian (Aurignacian I in the Perigordian scheme) art from three geographical areas will be considered: the rockshelters of the Vézère's tributaries, Dordogne (Abris Blanchard, Castanet and Cellier, La Ferrassie, La Souquette) with an abundance of engravings on blocks originally part of the shelters' walls; the mobiliary art of the caves in the Lone Valley, a tributary of the Danube in southern Germany (Hohlenstein-Stadel, Vogelherd); and the spectacular parietal art of Grotte Chauvet in the valley of the Ardeche.

In order to contextualise and interpret these phenomena I draw from Clive Gamble's concepts of social networks, and suggest that certain, easily locatable areas of the landscape - enclosed sites - were selected by modern human colonists into playing vital roles in the subjugation of unfamiliar landscapes, and subsequently became pivotal areas in the way in which these landscapes were occupied and in which human society was organised within them. I suggest that a phenomenology of caves quickly became an integral part of the intellectual background to the colonisation of at least parts of Europe by *Homo sapiens sapiens*, of which parietal and, mobiliary art was part.

Caves and the construction of past *Julia Drell (Oxford)*

Caves are such a prominent characteristic of Palaeolithic investigation that their centrality appears indisputable. However, they also feature strikingly in another domain: that of literal and pictorial imagination, in which the notion of 'primitive men' is invariably related to a mystic, opaque cave environment. This has itself become almost symbolic of the ways in which past lives are imagined as juxtaposed within a set of other stereotypes (e.g. clubs, fur, mammoth-hunting, and bestiality).

Archaeology has only recently become sensitive towards the seductive influence of these popular and quasi-scientific constructions. Rather than merely being aware of the informing and forming nature such constructions have in constituting our expectations and ideas about the past. This talk will consider the role of caves in the imagery of human origins.

Small mammals in cave archaeology; problems encountered in environmental reconstruction *Cath Price (Newport)*

This paper will consider the use of taxonomic and taphonomic abundance analyses of small mammal bones from cave deposits to provide environmental information about the site and its environs. The validity of the results produced by such studies is dependent on identifying potential biases, and if possible eradicating them.

Many caves produce large samples of small mammal bones, preserved by the base-rich sediments formed from limestone geology. The high number of specimens potentially available means statistical analysis of data is possible. Results are therefore comparable within sites and between sites. However, it must be remembered that large quantities of material can be either the product of slow deposition over a long period, or rapid accumulation in a short time. It is therefore necessary to attempt to understand agents of accumulation at the same time as considering the species representation and how they reflect environment at the time of deposition. The range of species may indicate a particular predator species. By examining the differential preservation of skeletal elements, and the condition of individual bones, conclusions may be drawn regarding agents and conditions of accumulation.

Problems occur when accumulation is through different species utilising the same space either simultaneously or on a short-term, seasonal basis. It should also be recognised that some predators may range over a hunting territory embracing several diverse ecotypes, and thereby collect prey remains indicative of different environments within the same deposit. This problem becomes a benefit through understanding of the behaviour of potential accumulators, thus becoming possible to produce a picture not only of the environment immediate to site, but also of the wider landscape. When the environmental reconstruction is an integral part of a project examining human behaviour in an area, the establishment of potential environments available locally and in particular the resources they might have afforded for human exploitation, becomes central to our understanding of the site.

The structure of reality and the structure of practice: An analytical strategy to examine social space at the cave of Pupicina *Manuel Arroyo-Kalin (*) and Nena Galanidou (**)*

By focusing on the notion of structure and its analytical applicability to different phenomena at varying scales, we attempt to examine some of the complex issues involved in the formation and interpretation of the archaeological record of cave sites. To this end, we present new data and insights from ongoing research at the cave of Pupicina, Croatia. We attempt to devise an analytical strategy that, on the one hand, is able to establish links between different datasets produced by a variety of techniques (e.g. lithic analysis, micromorphology of features and sediments, patterning of anthropic deposition) while, on the other, deals with the theoretical and methodological issues that are raised by research aimed at the reconstruction of the structure of social space at cave sites. Approaching such research questions - a focus on structure of the effective and concrete social practices that occurred at the scale of the site - is essential and concomitant to the success of more general interpretations of the role of specific cave sites in the broader context of past landscapes.

In and Out: Understanding Relationships Between Habitation of 'Open' Landscape and 'Closed' Caves in Palaeolithic Archaeology *Patrick S. Quinney (Johannesburg) and Anthony G.M. Sinclair (Liverpool)*

One of the most difficult conceptual and methodological issues affecting the study of cave archaeology has been how to successfully integrate archaeological data from open habitation or activity sites, and residues from (so-called) closed cave systems. This paper deals with the problems inherent in synthesising these different classes of data with reference to on-going research into the archaeology of Middle and Upper Pleistocene deposits in the Makapansgat Valley, South Africa, and, in particular, the Cave of Hearths (COH) and coeval open sites of late Acheulean or early Middle Stone Age date. Recent research at this site and in the surrounding landscape has attempted to integrate technological studies of Earlier and Middle Stone Age lithics, raw material provenance, landscape topography, functional anatomy, geochronology, and palaeoenvironmental data, in an attempt to explain the situational and evolutionary behaviours of the COH hominids. From this work it can be demonstrated that selection pressures for musculo-skeletal robusticity in hominids were exceptionally high during the Middle and early Upper Pleistocene. These pressures were generated in response to the functional demands of hominid palaeoeconomy and resource exploitation and were highly context specific. Such conclusions are based upon the integrated analyses of open and closed site archaeologies and associated geological context. The methodological and conceptual basis for such an integrated approach will be discussed and applied to the wider context of southern African cave archaeology.

Mumbwa Caves (Zambia) and the spirit of place *Larry Barham (Bristol)*

Ethnographic, archaeological and other lines of evidence are used to argue that Mumbwa Caves has had and continues to have spiritual value for the surrounding community. Whether this was also the case for the earliest occupants of the site (200,000-30,000 BP) is assessed critically and also under the influence of Larium.

Continuity in a changing landscape: the use of caves in south-east Italian prehistory *Sarah Milliken (Oxford)*

It has recently been argued that the structural contrasts between ritual cave sites (underground, damp, cramped and secret) and the contemporary settlements of the Neolithic in south-east Italy (open, light, airy, with abundant space) would not have applied to earlier societies in the area since caves and rockshelters were regularly used for occupation in the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, and consequently in these periods there was no clear-cut distinction between the sacred and secular spheres in terms of space. In this paper I suggest that this line of argument is based on a flawed vision of the nature of the Late Glacial and Early Postglacial settlement of the area. The archaeological record suggests that the caves were used for short-term occupations for special purposes, some of it ritual, while the residential sites were located on the Adriatic coastal plain. With the onset of the Neolithic the caves continued to be used for specialised occasional activities such as seasonal hunting, shepherding and cult activities. This continuity in settlement strategy and ritual practice across the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition suggests that the changes in lifestyle may not have been as major as tends to be assumed.

Upward at 45 Degrees: The Use of Vertical Caves in the Neolithic and Bronze Age on Mendip *Jodie Lewis (Bristol)*

The use of caves for domestic and ritual acts during the Neolithic and Bronze Age in Britain is well documented in all the major limestone districts of Britain. The Mendip Hills in Somerset contain many such caves but also another phenomena - swallets: 'vertical caves'. Thousands of these basin shaped depressions, ranging from 1 - 100 metres in width and 1 -30 metres in depth, are to be found all over the Mendip plateau. Caused by water solution activity and, very rarely, ground collapse into underlying caves, they develop and deepen during warm interglacial periods.

Cavers searching for undiscovered cave systems have excavated many swallets and discovered archaeological material. Two in particular, Charterhouse Warren Farm Swallet and Brimble Pit Swallet, contained structured ritual deposits. At CWFS, human and animal remains, flint and stone artefacts and Beaker pottery were recovered whilst BPS contained human and animal bones, a polished stone axe, flint artefacts and Grooved Ware. The pottery from BPS represents the largest collection of Grooved Ware pottery yet found in Somerset and appears to be an amalgamation of Clacton and Durrington Walls substyles.

These activities form part of the continuum of cave deposition and the form, sound and strangeness of swallets will all be explored, as will the very specific deposits placed within them. Entering a swallet would have been far more difficult than entering a cave and would have involved the use of ladders and other equipment. Access would be vertically downwards: a descent *into* rather than an entering of the earth. Swallets are truly subterranean spaces and activities within and around them represent unmistakable ritual activity. It will be argued that these 'vertical caves' took on a new significance in the Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age and that deposition in swallets was as integral to the ritual life of the Mendip population as that at caves and other monuments.

The use of ethnographic models in spatial analysis of an ancient Maya ritual cave *Holley Moyes*

A spatial analysis of Actun Tunichil Muknal, a ceremonial cave in Belize, conducted by the Western Belize Regional Cave Project (WBRCP) suggests that intrasite artifact distribution may be explained using ethnographic analogy. Recording spatial data onto a Geographical Information System (GIS), has facilitated a detailed study of artifact patterning in the Main Chamber of Actun Tunichil Muknal. Results suggest that artifact deposition replicates the quincuncial frame of spatial reference integral to MAY cosmology.

Hermits and Hunters in eighteenth-century Cheshire *Keith J Matthews (Chester) and Anthony Sinclair (Liverpool)*

John Harris was discovered in 1809 living the life of a hermit at the ripe old age of 99. The anonymous account of his life whilst containing a number of specific details also clearly describes what must have been thought of as typical of a hermit's life. Is this account therefore anything more than a tale designed to amuse a gullible public?

Excavation of his reputed first dwelling at Carden, Cheshire, has revealed a mid eighteenth-century alterations to a cave with prehistoric occupation. The material evidence indicates that the dwelling was abandoned in the mid eighteenth century.

The published account relates that John Harris moved from Carden to Allenscombs Cave on Bickerton Hill in the 1760s, where he was later 'discovered'. What was so disagreeable about Carden that Harris or another occupier decided to move? Historical documents indicate that in 1765 William Leche inherited the land and set about creating a pleasure garden. We might ask whether a hermit would have been compatible with this new garden design? The arrangement of features reveals a meandering walk by a low cliff with places of interest at intervals along it. Visitors were encouraged to look west over the estate and the panorama is best viewed from the rock platform next to the dwelling. Even a hermit, wild and hairy, would have to go. By the time that John Harris was discovered in his second home, the Leche estate had been

transformed into a landscaped hunting park. The pleasure garden lost out as a form of entertainment to the gentleman's life of hunting and fishing.

A mixture of excavation, field survey and documentary research has shown that behind the literary elements there may be a more interesting account of the clash of cultures in the eighteenth century. Both Harris and Leche manipulated their landscape according to their means, and their perceptions of the beautiful in nature. The improvements made by William Leche to his estates and his pleasures, and the exclusivity of his vision, led directly to the hermit's departure.

The Brighter the Light the Darker the Shadows: How We Perceive and Present the Underground Landscape

Martin Roe (Leicester)

Since prehistory humans have adapted, constructed, and utilised underground spaces. These are fundamentally places of complete darkness. Cave dwellers, cave artists, tomb builders, engineers, and miners all had a particular view of their own underground worlds. It is my assertion that to practice fully an effective subterranean archaeology, we need to recognise and explore these perspectives.

We now view the underground landscapes with the benefit of narrowly focused, high power electric lighting, and represent them on clearly annotated plans. How has this affected our perception of the dark? Would our perception be different if we experienced and explored these spaces by the flickering light of a candle or brushwood torch and how do the human senses react and adapt to this diffused, permeating light?

Using the case study of metal mining from prehistory to present I will discuss the development of mine lighting and mine surveying to illustrate not only how our ancestors viewed the underground landscape, but also how they chose to present that view to an audience who had no experience of the underground world. The problem of how to describe and portray the full 3D complexity and otherness of the subterranean landscape is a problem still faced by mining engineers, cave explorers and archaeologists. Drawing on my own experiences of cave and mine exploration and using the case study of a 19th century lead mine I will critically explore some of the current options and their effectiveness.

Our contemporary past

Session organisers: *Christina Fredengren and Eva-Marie Goransson (Stockholm University)*

The past is today usually seen as something that lies behind us, according to the linear concept of time. For us archaeologists, however, the direction of this "past" normally lies beneath our feet. Our aim in life is to dig ourselves down and clear away the muddy masses and reveal the magic crystal-ball that lies there waiting - the past. In this session we like to try another point of departure; the past is right here. The papers in this session discuss different approaches to the subject, but they have one thing in common: the reversed time-concept claiming that the past is contemporary.

Archaeological creation myths *Eva-Marie Goransson (Stockholm University)*

We like to imagine a beginning: how it all started - the world. You and me, space-time, the first spoken word... Human beings seem to create stories of this beginning in most cultures and in all kinds of different historical situations. Sometimes we also are invited to follow mythological paths towards the very end, situated somewhere in the future.

Today, most of the old beginnings - creation myths - are questioned, abandoned and denied. The great religions get even greater, confirming this specific "beginnings" so vigorously that even the professional mediators between the divine and humankind (i.e. priest) openly can say that the creation myths are only stories, without being excommunicated. They are just being healthily critical and (post) modern.

Religious creation myths are dead. In this paper I would like to argue that archaeology is filling up part of the the gap left from these myths, functioning as explanations, fantasies and dreams of the young world and its inhabitants.

Local heroes *Christina Fredengren (Stockholm University)*

The problematic past *Ilse Tarsala*

Identifying the superior - identity and equestrian symbolism in Iron Age Sweden *Angeta Burman*

Thursday pm

Society in Nature. Views beyond a nature-culture antithesis (I)

Session organisers: *Stephanie Koerner (University of Pittsburgh), Joshua Pollard (University of Wales, College Newport) and Robert Johnston (University of Newcastle)*

Discussants: *Niall Sharples (Cardiff University) and Julian Thomas (University of Southampton)*

The notion that a conceptual dichotomy between nature and culture (the realms of the 'unsocialised' and the humanly modified world) might stand as a human universal has been recognised as problematic for a number of years. The realisation that the framework of modern Western reasoning, which sets in place categorical oppositions between nature and society, and the concomitant of body and mind, represents but one (and maybe unique way) of understanding the world has been the subject of much debate (cf. MacCormack and Strathern 1980, Ingold 1995, Descola and Pálsson 1996). It developed in relation to the wider deconstruction of fundamental building blocks of Enlightenment reasoning by post-structuralist and post-modern critics. However, whether the rejection of the nature-culture dualism is seen as a 'post-modernity' fad (cf. Descola and Pálsson 1996), or a liberating insight into non-western ways of living-in and understanding the world, it should encourage a more critical awareness of the way in which we construct interpretations of the past. Throughout its brief history, archaeology has certainly contributed towards the legitimisation of the nature-culture dualism. The natural world, posited as 'environment' or 'resource' has been viewed as both a determinant - a force that constrains and constructs human culture - and, alternatively, as something that is culturally determined and exists through symbolic representation. Both approaches share a view of the natural world (the environment in its wider sense) as externalised, rather than inextricably embedded in the process of 'Being in the world'. To some extent the dichotomy is now being eroded by the adoption of more 'body centred' phenomenological approaches in archaeology, but can we go further?

This session intends to explore archaeology's contribution to the nature-culture debate. It will be structured around two themes. The first will deal explicitly with representation: critically exploring the way that archaeology has formulated and reproduced particular ways of viewing past communities' relationship to the world they lived in. Within this we hope to have historiographical accounts of the development of an archaeological agenda that hierarchically privileged culture, and the way the subject came to define itself as divergent from the natural sciences. We are also interested in the implicit assumptions and value judgements that condition our approach to elements of the natural world in archaeological practice - seen in excavation, in analysis and reporting, and in writing accounts of the past. (Take, for example, the disciplinary fragmentation which leads to a separation of environmental and ecofactual evidence from that of artefacts and constructed features). The second theme concerns the relationship between people in the past and their surroundings - the connection or nature of embeddedness, which places the individual in the world. Questions that could be asked are whether it is possible to produce accounts of social ecologies from archaeological data; whether archaeologies of landscape can be formulated in a way that does not perpetuate a nature-culture dualism; if the social order can be seen as distinct from the natural order; and related to the latter, how natural metaphors might have created and acted upon human understandings of the world.

Descola, P. and Pálsson, G. (eds) 1996. *Nature and society: Anthropological perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Ingold, T. 1995. Building, dwelling, living: how animals and people make themselves at home in the world. In M. Strathern (ed.), *Shifting contexts: transformations in anthropological knowledge*, 57-80. London: Routledge.

MacCormack, C. and Strathern, M. (eds) 1980. *Nature, culture and gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Introduction: Society in Nature *Robert Johnston (Newcastle)*

The concepts of nature and culture have been used rather freely to categorise and interpret the relationship between past peoples and the non-human world. This paper will introduce the issues outlined in the session abstract in relation to the forementioned statement. In the first instance a little more explanation will be offered as to what the categories of nature and culture can represent. These definitions will be used to illustrate a review of more recent debates, particularly in archaeology, anthropology and sociology, concerning the problematic character of the nature/culture antithesis. The second part of the paper will frame the problematic within more immediate and relevant archaeological analysis and discourse.

From nature to culture: a questionable evolutionary metaphor *John Barrett (Sheffield)*

The nature/culture dichotomy operates in a number of the evolutionary models employed by archaeology, whether it be the adoption of language or tool use in the evolutionary emergence of humanness, or the transition from hunter-gatherers to farmers. In all these cases the evolutionary step places nature in opposition to a cultural process which is used either to act on that nature or to represent it symbolically. This paper will explore this issue with particular reference to the so called transition from the mesolithic to neolithic in northwest Europe and reconsider the issue of such an apparent transition in terms of different strategies for the representation of 'presences' and 'absences' as perceived and experienced in the landscapes of these periods, rather than the evolution of a cultural landscape out of a natural landscape.

Latour's 'We Have Never Been Modern' (1993) and Archaeology's Contribution to Alternatives to Dualist Paradigms for Human Sciences and Philosophy *Stephanie Koerner (Pittsburgh)*

The purpose of this presentation is to focus attention on the relevance of Latour's main arguments in 'We Have Never Been Modern' to discussion of the importance of archaeology's contribution to the development of alternatives to dualist paradigms for human sciences and philosophy. To this objective we will first consider aspects of the historical background and philosophical foundations of the nature-culture antithesis, and examples of the methodological, theoretical and ethical consequences of dualist paradigms for humanity's history. One example is the way in which dualist paradigms confuse cultural differences with evolutionary typological temporal distances, or, as Fabian put it in *Time and the Other* (1983), deny the coevalness of the modern West and all the Rest." Second, we discuss Latour's suggestion that many of the problems summarized by the expression, the Great Divide, might be addressed differently if we learned that the modern West never met the standards of paradigms based on views that nature and culture constitute ontologically antithetical domains. Finally, we consider the

implications of Latour's suggestion for the contributions archaeology can make to developing new ways to address problems such as those noted by Fabian (1983).

Fabian, J. (1983) *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Latour, B. (1993) *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Archaeology, orientalism and the un-natural sciences *Brian Boyd (Lampeter)*

This paper offers a historiographical narrative of how western archaeology came to define its research programmes by using Enlightenment-inspired analytical devices. Using case studies of early European travellers in Palestine, Renaissance cartography and Biblical topography, it will be argued that the use of the nature/culture dualism has profound political implications in modern perceptions of Palestinian and Israeli landscapes.

Dualism and Distinction: the construction of the Neolithic through the nature:culture antithesis *Joshua Pollard (Newport)*

We commonly write (pre-)history through division and disjuncture, separating blocks of time according to perceived social, technological and economic stages, and underpinning these with meta-narratives of difference. Such has certainly been the case with the way that prehistorians have constructed the European Neolithic, and this is here explored through a critical historiography of the nature:culture dualism as a dominant (though sometimes dormant) structuring principle in Neolithic studies from the early part of this century onwards. Within a social evolutionary perspective, the transition to a Neolithic way of life (repeatedly equated with farming) was identified with the appearance of novel attitudes to nature – ones of dominance and control, the 'necessary basis' for the eventual emergence of 'civilisation'. Writing the Enlightenment philosophical tradition into the distant past, the notion of nature and culture as categorically opposed realms has, until very recently, been seen as a central tenet within Neolithic ideologies; and opposed to a 'nature-centred' cosmology ascribed to pre-Neolithic hunter-gatherer groups. The unfortunate effect of this has been to create different traditions of thinking and writing about the Mesolithic and Neolithic respectively. The former, the realm of hunter-gatherer research, has long been dominated by an economic and ecological stance and a consequent de-centering of the humanity of Mesolithic communities. From Childe onwards, successful social relations and technological advancement were commonly viewed as coming with the control of nature that the Neolithic was seen to represent.

A contextually situated post- or pre-modern 'rethinking' of the Neolithic leads to a very different perception, in which we can begin to understand how distinctions between cultural and natural realms were either blurred or operated within relational rather than oppositional structural schemes.

The Real Nature of Environmental Archaeology *Umberto Albarella (Birmingham)*

Modern archaeology has finally accepted that the life of past people must be understood within the context of its environmental setting and ecological relationships. The issues raised by philosophers of science and anthropologists concerning methodological problems and areas of confusion created by conceptions of Nature and Culture as antithetical domains has not left the archaeological world untouched. Partly in response to this new intellectual challenge, disciplines (or sub-disciplines) such as environmental archaeology and the so called "scientific archaeology" have developed. However, the idea of Nature and Culture as two equally valid but separate aspects of the world has not disappeared from the minds of the archaeologists. Archaeologists have had to face the dilemma of accepting the importance of the natural world, but keeping at the same time the prominence of Culture firmly in its place. This has been solved by confining the study of Nature to separate sub-disciplines, of which the "real" archaeologists are supposed to know nothing. The widespread belief is that Culture is for the archaeologists and Nature for the archaeological "scientists" (Science = knowledge of the world of Nature). In this paper it is argued this is far from a desirable approach to the study of our past. Human life should not be split with 50% belonging to Nature (domain of scientists and environmentalists) and 50% belonging to Culture (domain of mainstream archaeologists), instead it should be regarded as a full integration of a 100% of Nature and a 100% of Culture. Although the idea of an "environmental archaeology" can be accepted as a matter of convenience, the very existence of the discipline may be regarded as partly responsible for the separation and marginalization of studies of natural history in archaeology. This has strong implications on the way archaeology is organised, practised, interpreted and taught. The real nature of environmental archaeology can probably be understood by looking at the way archaeologists have managed to dissociate from their mind the idea of the existence of a "natural" human being.

Boundaries, personhood and human-environment relations *Joanna Brück (University College Dublin)*

This paper explores the widespread assumption that ancient sites can be conceptualised as distinct and spatially circumscribed locations, set apart from the landscapes in which they were placed. Yet, it has often proved impossible to identify the limits or edges of sites on the ground. The source of this problem is situated within the intellectual legacy of Enlightenment thought. The notion that nature and culture are fundamentally opposed locates the environment outside the social space of human history. In turn, this encourages the application of a supposedly universally-applicable functionalist logic to explain human-environment relationships. Enlightenment understanding of the human individual as a bounded, autonomous subject is also reflected in archaeological understanding of the 'site'. Drawing on anthropological research, the universality of the dichotomies between culture and nature and between individual and society is questioned. In many societies, nature and culture are not opposed but are thought of as complementary (or even undifferentiated) elements of a unified cosmography. Similarly, many cultures conceptualise the 'person' or 'self' in relational terms. In other words, an essential element of personhood is located outside of the human body in the web of social relationships that constitute self identity. The implications of these insights for archaeological contexts where boundaries between site and surroundings cannot be identified are explored. Where this is the case, sites may not be conceptualized as bastions of culture to be protected from the wilderness outside, but may form part of an extensive and fluid social landscape in which topographical features, animals and humans each play a role in the creation of cultural meaning. Moreover, this indicates that there is no fundamental functionalist logic that can be applied in all places or all times to explain human-environment relations.

Cognitive Challenges to a Mind-Body Dualism: the reciprocal relationship between physiology and experience in the brain *Jennie Hawcroft (Sheffield)*

Archaeology has typically characterised itself as a cultural discipline, investigating the material products of past human behaviours. Studies of the physical remains of past societies are, by preservation, confined mainly to skeletal indicators of gross anatomy, and are sidelined into physical anthropology, which does not encourage dialogue between those who study material and those who study bodies.

However, recent enthusiasm for constructing models of how past people thought - cognitive archaeology - has led to an erosion of this traditional separation, by causing archaeologists to talk about past minds. The concept of 'mind' forms a bridge between the 'nature' - the physical brain - and the 'culture' - the resulting social behaviour of an individual or a society - in this equation. But, the explicit content of this bridge is not normally discussed by archaeologists.

This paper seeks to remedy this, and to provide some reasons why the traditional mind-body dichotomy is invalid, by describing a number of ways in which the physical brain, the mind, and external behaviour, are utterly interdependent. I will discuss a series of physiological and theoretical lines of evidence from neurology, cognitive science and psychology, which have an impact on how people think and behave. I will conclude that archaeological accounts of past behaviour or 'minds' are empty, if they lack a basic understanding of how such notions work. Therefore, if archaeologists are to make progress in their knowledge of how people in the past thought, they must learn about the interdependence of mind and body.

The Aesthetics of Levallois *Chris Jones (Sheffield)*

This paper questions Levallois flintknapping in terms of aesthetics. First, Levallois is considered as 'art for art's sake', but this notion seems historically contingent, mostly derived from Kant's philosophy. Second, Levallois as art is considered as having a biological function - as 'display', or as an 'advert for good genes'. Finally, a more novel interpretation is offered, that understands Levallois knapping as meaningful experience - and would seek the reconstruction of social relationships that were forged and renewed at ancient settings of practice.

Food for thought, thoughts of food... Reflections on the roles of food in society

Organiser: *Rick Schulting (Cardiff University)*

Discussant: *Yannis Hamilakis*

Animals are good to think. They help construct social and cultural categories, define what it is to be human, are involved in gender and power relations. But, lest we lose sight of the simple fact, animals are also good to eat. As the phrase 'meat hunger' implies, meat, and more specifically the fat that is often associated with it, provides a sense of satiety that is difficult to achieve with any other food. In the current theoretical climate, the symbolic importance of animals is being increasingly emphasised, while it could be argued that their dietary, or, more generally, their economic (and I use the term in a broad sense) role has been delegated to something that is seen as self-evident and somehow less interesting, something that needs to be moved beyond. Lip service is often paid to the need for integration, but in practice this rarely seems to occur. How and where do the multiple roles of food intersect? This is the main theme to be addressed here. The use of different lines of evidence and varying frames of reference encourages an eclectic theoretical approach, and this is evident in the contributions to this session.

You are what you eat: the multiple roles of food in human society *Rick Schulting (Cardiff University)*

This contribution is intended as a rather general and wide-ranging introduction to some of the issues addressed by the session, and by the multiple roles of food in human society in general. Food fulfills a physiological need, and different foods and combinations of foods achieve this with more or less success. But nutrition is never the sole consideration; even from an entirely 'practical' standpoint, there are issues of economy of scale and distribution to be considered. And things become much more complicated when the other roles that food plays—symbolic, social and political—are addressed. Food, particularly in the act of consumption, can act to simultaneously include and exclude, in relation to such areas as sociocultural identity, gender, age and status. While such uses of food may be argued to fall largely within the 'symbolic' realm, such a claim fails to acknowledge the complex interplay between the various cultural realms. A particular emphasis on one viewpoint may be fine in a given research context, but it is inadequate when taken as a wider theoretical stance. The ritual uses of food are being increasingly emphasised in archaeology, but is this being adequately related back to social, economic, and political contexts?

Political animals: the role of food in colonisation *Michael Richards (Oxford University)*

Historic accounts of recent colonisation events often recount the conservatism of the diets of the colonists. They often arrived with their own foods and means of producing more, and often it took near-starvation for them to adopt indigenous foods. What effect did this dietary conservatism have on the indigenous populations in the colonised areas? In circumstances where there was little interaction between immigrants and locals we could also expect little interaction in the exchanges of the new types of food. However, where colonisation was more forceful, then the food brought by the colonists was often imposed on the local people, and therefore consumption of it (or not) became a political act. Here, I summarise a number of historical accounts of the role of food in colonisation, and contrast this with the archaeological evidence of diet from the early Neolithic in Britain. Can we see parallels that will provide a new dimension to exploring the use of domesticates in the Neolithic?

Cultural categorisation of food in mid-Holocene northeastern Europe *Liliana Janik (University of Cambridge)*

This paper takes the view that the selection of food is a cultural choice made by prehistoric communities. Animals and plants as food can be seen as a reflection of a wider cultural categorisation of what was collected, hunted, fish and produced, and what was consumed. Various types of plants, fish and animals are the principal categories of food for fisher gatherer-hunters as well as for farming communities, and represent an

explicit category of remains among archaeological data. Are, for example, all types of edible nuts present in the natural environment gathered and incorporated into the diet, or are culturally governed choices executed as to what is gathered, and can the distinction be indicated by plant remains in an archaeological context? Do the kinds of domesticated animals reflect the best natural environmental conditions used by early farmers? To answer these questions I propose to look first, at general use of animals and plants as categories of food. Secondly, I look at three independent regions to provide the various scales allowing a contextual approach to the various archaeological cultures and economies.

Animals, food, art & ecology - thoughts on the treatment of animals at Neolithic Catalhoeyuek *Louise Martin (University College London)*

The Neolithic 'tell' of Catalhoeyuek in Turkey provides a rich body of evidence for exploring the treatment of animals at the site. On one hand, there are wall paintings which frequently depict cattle and deer, abundant household installations of horn cores and animal skulls, and multiple animal-shaped figurines. On the other, large quantities of animal bones from both midden areas and household contexts attest to the various consumption and processing activities of the site's inhabitants. The challenge is to view these not as opposing lines of evidence - the symbolic versus the economic, or the sacred and the profane - but as various fragments of a consistent conceptual framework. The approach taken here is to apply the idea of the 'chaîne opératoire', which in its broadest sense, can consider the places in which (in this case) animals are found in the landscape, the social activities in which they play a part, and the contexts in which animal body parts are 'discarded' or placed. A combined archaeological, ecological and zooarchaeological approach aims to contextualize the meaning of animals, but also to show how meanings may be varied, transformed and perhaps obscured.

Food stress or food choice? Culinary diversity and agricultural intensification in the Later Neolithic of South India *Dorian Q Fuller (Institute of Archaeology, UCL)*

This contribution will explore the possible relationships between increasing culinary diversity and the intensification of agricultural practices during the second millennium BC in south India. The archaeobotanical record attests to an increasing number of food crop species, as well as the emergence of two-cropping seasons. This latter intensification is associated also with the emergence of regular manuring, small scale irrigation, and probably ox-drawn ploughing. During the same period there is also a trend towards an increasing range of ceramic vessel forms, representing a new range of ways of preparing and/or serving food. Thus there is evidence for linked processes of culinary diversification and agricultural change, raising the question of which process was causative and primary. Two alternative paradigms will be explored for understanding this change: the paradigm of food stress in which ecologically-motivated agricultural intensification was primary, and a model of 'food choice' in which for social reasons certain new foodstuffs, and preparation/consumption habits, were adopted for prestige and social display. The evidence from the Indian peninsula is generally more in favour of the latter hypothesis.

Creatures of myth *Alasdair Whittle (Cardiff University)*

Myth can be seen not only as a representation or making sense of the status quo, but also as a means of contestation and reinvention. Because myths are told and retold, normally in narrative form, they have immediacy and a power to affect how people think that may be missing from some other forms of communication. Animals are frequently the subjects of myth. This role is often bound up with stories about the beginnings of things and with relations between people and the world. In this paper, ways to approach myth in the archaeology of Mesolithic and Neolithic Europe are considered. Foragers often seem to have drawn on the symbolic qualities of natural creatures, though whether as mythic beings is unclear. Representations of natural creatures are widely found around the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition, ranging from whales and beluga to deer and cattle, and a mythic role is argued; examples range from the Danube Gorges to Brittany. With the further establishment of the Neolithic, representations become largely abstract, at a time when the remains of animals, especially cattle, became the focus of detailed and special attention. Though human control of animals may have become increasingly dominant, some of this treatment may be to do with memory of the place of animals in origin myths.

Cooking, Dining and Social Organisation *Katherine Wright (University College London)*

This paper explores the social rules of food sharing in several ancient societies of the Middle East, via (1) spatial analysis of food preparation facilities and artifacts; and (2) discussion of early written records. In early Levantine villages (7600-6500 BC), food preparation took place at boundaries between house and community, such that these activities were highly visible to neighbours, whilst much food consumption took place in relatively private space inside houses. In the Late PPNB (6500-6000 BC), when some villages grew to unprecedented sizes, multiple milling stations and other facilities for food preparation were placed in constricted, private spaces hidden from community view. In the ceramic Neolithic, specialization and new social roles surrounding cooking and dining appeared alongside the domestication of sheep, goat and cattle. In Anatolian and especially Mesopotamian villages, cultural attitudes toward food storage, preparation and consumption seem to have been very different in the Neolithic and thereafter. Implications for social organization, gender roles, surplus production and early complex society and discussed.

Defining moments; material records: the 20th Century in retrospect (I)

Organiser and chair: *John Schofield (English Heritage)*

This session aims to present the archaeology of the 20th century through a series of snapshots, the defining moments which will no doubt dominate history books of the future. Each title will be a simple date and event; the paper will describe that event, through contemporary reports and narratives, assess its historical significance, and outline its material record and that of its legacy, alongside the conservation challenges it presents. The archaeological record is well suited to the study of long term culture change, but it has generally had less to do with the precise moments in time that dominate lives and memories. This session, which will be arranged in chronological order, looks at the record from that

perspective, and explores how the 20th century might be seen in the future: an age of extremes, of atrocity, or of enormous achievement, cultural, social and scientific?

Introduction *John Schofield (English Heritage)*

1912 - Raise the Titanic! *David Miles (English Heritage)*

Thousands of ships have sunk all around the world. So why is the Titanic so special and why has it become a 20th Century icon? The discovery of the Titanic was a major archaeological achievement made possible by the end of the Cold War. Its treatment raises serious ethical problems. More fascinating is the Titanic's place in modern culture - a reflection of man's communications and the power of newspapers, the survival or not of chivalry, a symbol of hubris, and an artefact of the film industry. What makes a 20th Century myth?

1921/2 - Insulin discovered *Tilli Tansey (Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London)*

In late 1921 two young Canadian researchers, Frederick Banting and Charles Best, isolated from the pancreas gland of an experimental dog a substance they called isletin. Soon renamed insulin, this hormone regulates carbohydrate metabolism and deficiency of insulin leads to the condition of diabetes mellitus. Until the discovery of insulin little could be done for many diabetics, although those with a mild form could often regulate their condition by eating an extremely restricted low carbohydrate diet. On 23rd January 1922, in the Toronto General Hospital, a purified extract of insulin was administered to Leonard Thompson, a 14-year old diabetic patient, and his condition rapidly improved as the treatment was continued. This was the first successful clinical demonstration of insulin as a specific therapy for diabetes.

The discovery of insulin epitomises medical discovery in the twentieth century. It was the result of a rational, laboratory based investigation, not an empirical observation; its implementation involved a clinical trial; commercial companies rapidly became involved in its manufacture; questions over the ethics of patenting a medicine arose; its production led to the first international agreements about standardisation of medicines; and disputes about credit for the work overshadowed the award of a Nobel Prize to Banting and his departmental head, John McLeod.

Thus the history of insulin, and the material record which survives, is diverse, and includes the technical history of the scientific discovery and its translation into a usable medicinal preparation; the role of personalities and institutions; legal and financial aspects, at national and international levels, of producing, patenting, marketing and distributing the drug; the implementation of insulin treatment; and the changing relationship between doctors and the patients for whom insulin was a miracle drug.

26.1.1926 - From Ally Pally to Brookie: Marconi demonstrates moving Television pictures for the first time *Martin Brown (East Sussex County Council)*

We are familiar with the images of many other events discussed during this session because they have been televised. The cinema showed the world to the masses but television brought the world into their homes; the first mass entertainment which could also be a solitary activity. Television has a definite archaeology. From its impact in our rubbish tips to the sites of transmitters and film-sets in our landscape, we see the by products of our single biggest leisure activity. In addition, memorable series and productions have added new dimensions to the cultural landscape while places which once only existed in the imagination are, like Coronation Street, now manifest in bricks and mortar. From Ally Pally to Brookie and beyond, but always back to Broadcasting House.

1.6.1935 - The introduction of compulsory driving tests to the United Kingdom *John Beech (Coventry Business School)*

The introduction of motor cars to the United Kingdom began slowly in the period of the twentieth century prior to the First World War. During that war, many had their first opportunity to experience driving, which had until then been an essentially elitist activity. Demobilisation of men and vehicles saw the birth of many transport companies, but it was not until the mass production of motor cars between the wars that the majority of the public could afford to buy them and personally experience motoring. Mass production proved both liberating and lethal.

On 1 June 1935 the compulsory testing of driving was introduced to the United Kingdom. This event is seen as a watershed in several respects, symbolising:

- the coming of age of motoring;
- the pivotal point in a change from rail to roads as the means of mass transport;
- the recognition of motoring as an activity of the people;
- the formalisation of the relationship between car, driver and State.

This paper looks at the material remains of this period of motoring history that can be found in Coventry and its environs, particularly in terms of buildings and preserved vehicles. It also considers how Coventry is reinvesting in its vast history as a motor manufacturing city to become a motor heritage city of the future.

1966 - Proclamation 43 of the Group Areas Act *Martin Hall (University of Cape Town)*

Proclamation 43 of the 1966 Group Areas Act resulted in the forced removal of more than 60,000 people from their homes in Cape Town. This paper will describe this period, its material remains and their significance for the future.

20.7.1969 - The First Moon Landing *Greg Fewer (Waterford Institute of Technology)*

When Neil Armstrong stepped down onto the surface of the Moon on 20 July 1969, it was the first time in the history of humankind that anybody had set foot on a celestial body. This paper will briefly describe this historic event in the context of its wider historical significance. The archaeological legacy of the Moon Landing - i.e., the material evidence of the earliest human activity on the Moon - will then be considered, emphasising the need to protect and conserve this historic site from the natural lunar environment and from the possibility of human interference in the future.

The interpretation and structure of ritual space (II)

Session Organisers: *Alexander Smith and Alison Brookes, University of Wales College, Newport.*

Chair: *Prof. Miranda Aldhouse-Green, University of Wales College, Newport.*

Probably ritual: Assemblage Interpretation at the Newstead Military Complex – Towards a More Holistic Approach *Simon Clarke (Shetland College, University of the Highlands and Islands)*

The identification of ritual in Roman archaeological contexts remains the interpretation of last resort. This is partly because of what Hill has called the common sense approach to archaeology, a belief that archaeological evidence can be left to speak for itself. This mind set is particularly prevalent within the study of the Roman period because many researchers identify with their subject in a way which is not true of other period specialisms. There is a feeling that we already know all about the Romans that they are just like us. "Natives" might resort to that sort of superstitious mumbo jumbo, but the "Romans" had more sense. In reality Britain does not have a classical period it has a Roman Iron Age, and many of the practices which have been identified by Hill can be expected to turn up, albeit in a modified form, in Roman contexts. This paper will consider the extensive Roman military site of Trimontium near Newstead, southern Scotland. It will be shown that a high proportion of artefact and ecofact deposition cannot be explained by "normal" social and economic activity. At the same time Hill's concept of ritual will be challenged and a more holistic explanation of site formation processes proposed.

A place of special meaning: the setting and significance of the prehistoric monuments of Saint-Just in central Brittany *Chris Scarre (University of Cambridge)*

The area of Saint-Just has the largest complex of Neolithic monuments in central Brittany, spanning a period of over two millennia (c.4500-2000 BC). They include standing stones, stone rows, and a varied series of chambered tombs, many of them showing successive stages of remodelling and re-use. These constructions were the work of small-scale societies, perhaps partly nomadic in character. The argument is put forward that Saint Just was a focus of especial attention for these communities because of its distinctive features of landscape. The Grée de Cojoux ridge may indeed have been considered a sacred mountain, and constituted a major centre of funerary activity associated with solar cycles and a cosmological understanding associating death with the western horizon. The inspiration of local geological and topographical features is apparent both in the placing of the monuments and in the choice of contrasting colours of stone to create architectural ensembles with particular and specific resonance with the surrounding landscape. The monuments themselves provided a choreographed setting for ritual practices involving procession along the ridge. The low density of local Neolithic occupation suggests that the importance of Saint-Just must be viewed within a wider geographical context and derived from its special significance of place. The sourcing of raw materials from Saint-Just emphasises links with the south coast of Brittany, where there is evidence of denser Neolithic occupation; and the role of the Vilaine valley as a routeway between these areas is supported by the evidence of rock art and other ritual structures. In conclusion, it is argued that Saint Just should be interpreted as a special place within a broader pattern of settlement, sacred topography and ritual practice, a focus perhaps of seasonal pilgrimage.

Architecture, ritual sequences and everyday life in the later Iron Age *Andrew Fitzpatrick (Wessex Archaeology)*

Many archaeologists would argue that the definition of ritual space is difficult, and often unhelpful. How can the religious and the secular, the ritual and the everyday be separated usefully?

This paper will explore the problem by examining the social construction of space in a small group of later Iron Age sites in north-west Europe. The sites include settlements, shrines and cemeteries. The architectural orders and the cosmologies they express, something of the range of actions played out at them and the materials used in this will be assessed.

While some of these sites are explicitly ritual in their character, some aspects of their meanings only become apparent by looking at them in the context of secular sites, and vice versa.

Ritual, Agency and the Creation of Difference in Neolithic Malta *John Robb (University of Southampton)*

Malta's Neolithic megalithic "temple," unique in the Central Mediterranean, provide a striking challenge to the archaeological imagination. Most explanations have employed a simple functionalism: the temples resulted (after a shorter or longer chain of causation) from Malta's insularity. Such explanations both lack the theoretical grounding provided by studies of agency and meaning, and do not sufficiently account for Malta's pattern of integration into and differentiation from a Central Mediterranean regional culture. I argue that (a) contextual evidence suggests that the temples created settings for rites emphasizing local autochthonous origins and identity; (b) even in periods of most apparent isolation, the Maltese had contacts with nearby societies, and Maltese travellers probably recognized cultural differences in important ritual practices; and (c) when ritual practitioners began reinterpreting a common heritage of meanings to create the temple rites, they also created a new island identity based on these rites. In effect, after two millennia of cultural similarity to their neighbours, the Maltese created a cultural island, perhaps in reaction to changes in the constitution of society sweeping Europe in the fourth millennium BC. The result was an island of difference similar in scale and, perhaps, origin to many other archaeologically unique settings: Val Camonica, Morbihan, Stonehenge, and Chaco Canyon...

Performing Figures in the Landscape *Stephen Keates (University of Birmingham)*

The statue menhir phenomenon of the period from 3,500 - 2,200 BC which was focussed upon Central and Western Mediterranean Europe witnessed the construction of ritual sites of which monumental anthropomorphic images in stone were a key component. Traditionally these figures have been viewed as decontextualised art objects and have unproblematically been assumed to represent pan-European deities.

Recent excavations, particularly in Italy, have however demonstrated that these figures need to be seen as significant elements of ritual sites which form social arenas embedded within the landscape. From an ethnographically informed perspective it can be argued that these anthropomorphic images located within the time and space of ritual performance served, not merely to "represent" absent social actors (the deceased ancestors) but rather to actually "presence" them as active agents within the landscape of the here and now, thereby giving orientation and meaning to the living in the cognitive construction of their environment and the renewal of their cosmology.

These figures should thus be seen, not as passive aesthetic statements, but as active items of material culture which provided dynamic elements in the social construction of ritual arenas during the Copper Age of the Central and Western Mediterranean.

Archaeology on the margin

Session organisers: *Paul Graves-Brown (GGAT) and Martin Locock*

Marginality takes many forms. It can be physical, ecological, economic, social or cultural, or a combination of any or all of these. In this session we aim to look at the issue from as broad a perspective as possible. In a period when political maps are being redrawn, it seems timely to reconsider how different areas relate to each other, whether there are such things as discrete, integrated regions and nations and whether perceptions of relationships between different regions in the present can and should colour our understanding of the past. Within any modern polity some regions (e.g. Wales) are seen to be on the margins in history and prehistory. But is this a classic example of the imposition of recent/present political tensions onto the past? Often these interpretations are based upon a lack of research, such that social and cultural developments in one area are assumed to be absent in another. But at the same time, factors of assumed ecological and economic/physical marginality are overlain on these assumptions of political core and periphery. Thus, for example, the Highland Zone of "mainland" Britain (originally distinguished by Fox) is often assumed to be marginal to the Lowland Zone. Underlying such substantive issues are a range of far reaching theoretical questions. Marginality can be a matter of perception, both within and outside communities in both space and time. The inhabitants of a region may not regard themselves as marginal whilst others, either in other regions or from the perspective of the future, may see them as marginal. Questions of ethnicity, identity and nationalism clearly have an importance here. Marginality is also a matter of communication. For example, one might expect that in an era of globalisation, the physical/geographical bases of marginality might become increasingly fluid and uncertain. Other changes in means and mode of communication will have been influential in past societies. Also in need of consideration is the relationship between marginality and insularity - a society/community may see itself as isolated from other surrounding societies or communities even if it cannot be regarded as marginal. Thus, for example, the society of Ancient Egypt seems to have been highly insular despite its power and influence in the Mediterranean world. Finally, how do our conceptions of marginality relate to other conceptions of economic, political and geographical relationships, such as core/periphery or liminality. Are the margins defined in relation to a specific core? Or are they liminal zones between core areas?

Debating Marginality: Three Definitions and a Case Study *Rob Young*

In 1987 Blaikie and Brookfield isolated three broad categories of marginality: socio-political, ecological, and economic. It has struck me quite forcibly that most archaeological discussions of 'marginality' and the 'margin' have followed these divisions, either consciously or sub-consciously, often privileging one category above the others. In this paper I hope to show below, however, that such categorisations of, and approaches to, marginality are not mutually exclusive. Conversely, I do not believe that where one form of marginality can be identified the others must necessarily also be in place. Most archaeologists have a clear ecologically / economically determined view of the 'margin'. Peripheral areas and stricter economic marginality often tend to be defined in absolute terms, on the basis of a simple binary (centre / periphery) opposition. I believe, however, that attempts to discuss 'marginalities' using these categories must also make a crucial, and erroneous, assumption that the societies being studied are bounded, isolated, monolithic units without social and economic contacts beyond their immediate spheres of activity and influence. I would dispute the fact that such societies exist today and that they ever really existed in prehistory. I will argue that any discussion of marginality (however defined) and of people's perception of it in the past, must be broader and more context-orientated than a strict application of Blaikie and Brookfield's categories might allow. In this contribution, then, I set out first to examine Blaikie and Brookfield's three categories of marginality in detail, beginning with highly deterministic notions of ecological / environmental marginality. I will then move on to economic approaches to the margin and finally I will deal with what I believe to be the most difficult aspect of 'the margin' to discuss archaeologically; conceptions of socio-political marginality. Along the way I will try to highlight the overlaps in the three approaches. In the second part I will attempt to move the debate forward and examine, through one archaeological case study, how simplistic views of marginality have straightjacketed the nature of much discussion. I suggest that archaeologists, historians and historical geographers need to consider the 'total' environment, with its rich interplay of political, social, economic ecological elements, if they wish to develop a more nuanced understanding of the nature of aspects of 'marginality' and of potential human responses to it.

Marginality in a Late Bronze Age landscape: core and periphery reconsidered *Martin Locock*

Conventional models of the utilisation of the landscape in the Late Bronze Age follow a core and periphery approach, in which greatest importance is attached to permanent settlements in their surrounding fields, and other activities are seen as socially, economically and spatially marginal. In these terms, the saltmarsh areas of the Severn estuary would be considered of limited value. There is increasing evidence that despite the seasonal or temporary nature of actual settlement sites, the activities undertaken on the alluvium are diverse (pottery making, saltmaking, hunting, summer pasture and fishing). Other 'marginal' locations provided wood, space for metalworking, and ritual *foci*. The flourishing of the estuary in the Late Bronze Age, represented by a wealth of sites, may be explained by the opportunities for diversity provided by the varied landscape; the 'core' sites of permanent settlement on the bedrock may be of less use in interpreting the nature of occupation than the activity scatters in the marsh.

The creation of marginality; fetishising discourses and archaeology *Chris Cumberpatch*

The past, as many people have observed and described, is a resource of great potency, centrally implicated in the creation and maintenance of self-conscious political, ethnic, national, religious and other groups. The existence of marginal regions, zones or social groups presupposes the existence of an opposite, non-marginal or central region, zone or group. In this paper I shall discuss the notion of fetishism as a means of understanding the mechanisms through which specific aspects and traces of the past come to play a central role in the establishment and perpetuation of relationships of dominance and subordination. I shall suggest that fetishism provides one way (amongst others) of understanding how the past comes to be implicated in political and sectarian rhetoric and may be recruited to serve the purposes of particular

social and political movements, including both dominant and marginal groups. This will, I hope, lead on to suggestions for the formulation of non-foundationalist and non-positivist critiques of specific partisan discourses which draw upon fetishised elements from the past for support and legitimisation.

Models, Methodology & Marginality; two case studies from the Manchester Area *Michael Nevell*

This paper will explore the role of marginality studies in two periods of economic and social expansion round the Manchester area; the late Iron Age/Romano-British period; and the proto-industrial transition from c 1400-1750. Archaeological and eco-deterministic models will be used to assess the similarities in development between the two periods, followed by a critique of some methodological approaches currently being used to study these two eras.

Marginality – Insularity *Paul Graves-Brown*

Other papers in this session discuss the wide variety of ways in which the concept of marginality comes into archaeology. In this paper I wish to explore the other side of the coin – insularity. Marginal groups, cultures and societies can often be insular. Not only, perhaps, being regarded as marginal by others, but also themselves rejecting the influence of outsiders and seeking to emphasise their unity and identity. Yet it is also the case that a society or indeed an entire civilisation can be insular without being marginal – if we think for example of Imperial China or Japan.

How do marginality and insularity relate to each other? This paper will explore the key role of communication in both, in the belief that issues of communication lie at the heart of understanding both phenomena.

'They have sailed down the stream with their neighbours': marginality and St Kilda *Andrew Fleming*

The St Kilda archipelago is a World Heritage site, some 60 km off the coast of the Western Isles of Scotland; it was evacuated in 1930. There are several reasons why historians and archaeologists tend to consider St Kilda as 'marginal'; its bad weather/climate, its remoteness, its insularity, the occupants' habit of eating gannets, puffins, etc. For regional historians, St Kilda is off the map (often literally); but there are other writers who concentrate on the archipelago as a special place, with little reference to the region. This paper argues that concepts of marginality, whether geographical, ecological or cultural, are not helpful to our understanding of the history of St Kilda; paradoxically, however, it is the perception of the place as marginal and exotic which has stimulated 250 years of pre-evacuation literature, a rich source of 'thick description' which may help us to address issues that are definitely mainstream.

Place-names and secondary settlements in late Anglo-Saxon England- marginality or illusion *Paul Courtney*

Recent work, notably at Raunds, has shed new light on the landscapes created by village nucleation. In particular it is argued that a pattern of social segregation can be seen in the landscape which effects the long term trajectories of village social structure and sustainability. This reflects a certain fluidity that still remained between lords and peasantry which disappeared across Europe as more rigid political formations and commercialisation changed the social landscape. This theory also has relevance to the old debate on place-names and secondary settlements. It is argued that many so-called marginal settlements with names such as *cotton* and *-thorp* are indeed often anything but. Rather they reflect the settlements of fairly high status groups or individuals among more conventional settlements of free peasantry or settlements of bond tenants working the demesnes of great lords.

The itinerants are coming: the materiality of Traveller marginalisation in Ireland *Michael Tierney*

The Travelling Community in Ireland have an identity and culture which has set them apart from the settled community for some time. In recent years this difference has developed into a deeply rooted anti-Traveller ideology. In this paper I look at one aspect of this marginalisation i.e. the attempt to physically exclude Travellers from large parts of the landscape in Ireland by dumping large stones, digging trenches and erecting steel barriers in places which could possibly be used as unofficial halting sites. This policy is carried out by city corporations and county councils throughout the country. I examine how it is possible that such large-scale exclusion of a minority can be sanctioned by the state focusing on arguments about otherness, racism and national identity in 20th century Ireland. The purpose of this is to look deeper into the materiality of ideologies of social marginalisation by outlining a programme of research to document the scale and effect of this monumental form of exclusion on both the settled and Travelling Community.

Plasticity: Its Role in Past and Present Human Evolution

Organisers: *Jennie Hawcroft (University of Sheffield) and Andy Gallagher (University of Liverpool)*

The reciprocal interplay between nature and culture is a classic theme in archaeology and anthropology. Nowhere is this explored in greater detail than in palaeoanthropology, which exists at the interface of biology and behaviour. A key concept in this interplay is that of plasticity, whether in behavioural, biological or socially constituted contexts. This session seeks to explore the roles, causes and effects of plasticity on past and present hominids.

Variability has characterised modern human adaptation. It is our intention in this session to explore this variability in an evolutionary perspective. Does archaeological variability in the hominid record indicate varying cognitive abilities? What is the nature of the relationship between physiological and behavioural variability? What is the role of genetics in past and present human diversity? Does ethnography yield insights into the existence of plausible relationships between cultural and biological variability? Further, is it academically valid to undertake studies of biological variation without addressing archaeological issues, and vice versa?

It is our belief that the fundamental relationship between biology and behaviour has shaped our evolution, both past and present. Plasticity has been the crucial enabling factor in this relationship, and consequently, studies of plasticity can elucidate a wide range of questions about human lifeways.

The measurement of hominine physique Alan M.W. Porter

Soft tissue anatomy is often ignored by paleoanthropologists (PAs). There is little interest in physique and a lack of awareness that it can and should be measured with some precision. From the outset the discipline has been largely concerned with the morphology and description of fossil bones and what they reveal about phylogenetic relationships. The skeleton is, however, no more than a structure which supports soft parts. My paper is, in part, an appeal for an attempt to be made always to interpret fossil bones in terms of the enveloping body shape. Physique indices and/or Sheldon's system of somatotyping provide possible solutions. A physique index potentially fulfils the possibility of characterising shape with one descriptor only.

The body mass index and the ponderal index will be considered and the former preferred as it is independent of height. Somatotyping has not so much been abandoned by PAs but rather was never adopted by them in the first place fifty years ago. The reasons for this will be examined. There is an appealing simplicity to Sheldon's method which escapes the new morphometrics and methods of shape analyses. For a measuring tool to be useful it must be simple in addition to possessing good reliability both within - and between - observers. There are five major difficulties with Sheldon's methods: the three ordinal scales (endomorphism, mesomorphism and ectomorphism) do not possess enough compartments; his reference population was Eurocentric rather than multi-ethnic; he largely ignored both dysplasias and limb ratios and reliability is not particularly good. Notwithstanding these problems the method suffices and there is little point in adopting later open-ended scales which do not justify the displacement of an accepted method.

Play and the origins of symbolic culture Chris Knight (Reader in Anthropology, University of East London, UK)

Like humans, primates and other intelligent animals need to play. By definition, play is activity which is not directly functional. During juvenile play, cognitive and locomotor flexibility is exercised safely under "make-believe" conditions. Adult life for many group-living animals, however, is intensely competitive; play-fights tend to give way to serious contests to establish rank. Humans by contrast have evolved kin-coalitionary strategies which, by excluding sex from the sphere of ingroup relationships, minimise conflict and enable the creative benefits of play to be preserved beyond the juvenile period. Reviewing the archaeological record for early art, dance and ritual, this paper treats the whole of human symbolic culture including language as "adult play".

No going back: Limits to plasticity in convergent evolution Elaine Morgan

Reciprocal interaction between culture and natural selection is not limited to humans. Socially learned behaviours - chimpanzees cracking nuts, blue tits piercing bottle-tops, racoons and macaques washing their food - arise in many species and may be transmitted down the generations. Digging for termites or ants must have arisen in this way in a number of species not originally adapted for it and living in different continents, remoulding each of them into the characteristic silhouette of long tapering nose, small ears, and powerful forelimbs.

Such examples of convergence illustrate the extent to which the basic mammalian blueprint is modifiable, and the fact that the remoulding is a response not simply to environmental pressure, but to the way in which a particular group of conspecifics chances (or chooses) to modify its behaviour in response to that pressure. Otherwise sympatric speciation would be not merely rare (as it is) but impossible.

The study of convergence raises many pertinent questions, such as whether some anomalous human features may be examples of convergence with a variety of non-primate species; which physical features are most and least susceptible to rapid modification; how readily such modifications are reversible, and what determines when they have passed the point of no return.

TBA Mark Collard (London), Daniel Lieberman (Washington) and Bernard Wood (Washington)

A reliable phylogenetic hypothesis is crucial for understanding human evolution. Without a robust phylogeny, little confidence can be placed in hypotheses of ancestry, or in scenarios linking events in human evolution with environmental and ecological influences. Unfortunately, the phylogenetic relationships of the dozen, or so, species whose remains comprise the hominin fossil record are far from certain. Despite, in paleontological terms, a relative abundance of fossil evidence, phylogenetic analyses of the hominins have so far yielded conflicting and weakly-supported hypotheses of relationships (Corruccini, 1994; Wood and Collard, 1999).

Lieberman (1995; Lieberman et al., 1996) has suggested that phenotypic plasticity—the expression by a genotype of different phenotypes in response to different environmental conditions—is one of the main causes of the current uncertainty regarding most aspects of hominin phylogeny. According to Lieberman, many of the similarities between the fossil hominins that are considered to be potentially phylogenetically informative may in fact reflect phenotypic plasticity rather than evolutionary change. Examples of such similarities cited by Lieberman are the thick cranial vault in *Australopithecus rudolfensis* and *Homo erectus*, and the expanded alveolar process in *Paranthropus* and *A. rudolfensis*, both of which he suggests are best interpreted as resulting from *in vivo* responses to high levels of strain in at least one of the taxa.

In order to assess the likely importance of phenotypic plasticity in hominin phylogenetics, this study examined the reliability of commonly-used metric characters against the consensus molecular phylogeny of the hominoids (Ruvolo, 1997), which is widely considered to be robust. Using Collard's (1998) data set, we tested two hypotheses. First, characters that are subject to high masticatory stresses and therefore phenotypically plastic, are less likely to be *bona fide* homologies or homoplasies than less phenotypically-plastic characters. Second, characters that reflect developmental stimuli from more heritable tissue-tissue interactions (e.g. from neural growth) are more likely to be *bona fide* homologies or homoplasies than characters subject to less heritable tissue-tissue interactions (e.g. in relation to mastication or respiration). Our results suggest that phenotypic plasticity may be a more significant problem for intraspecific phylogenetic analyses, than for interspecific phylogenetic analyses.

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Corruccini, R. S. (1994) How Certain are Hominoid Phylogenies? The Role of Confidence Intervals in Cladistics In: *Integrative Approaches to the Past: Paleanthropological Advances in Honor of F. Clark Howell* (eds) Corruccini, R. S. and Ciochon, R. L., Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, pp. 167-183.

Lieberman, D. E. (1995) Testing Hypotheses About Recent Human Evolution from Skulls: Integrating Morphology, Function, Development and Phylogeny. *Curr. Anthropol.* 36, 159-197.

Lieberman, D. E., Wood, B. A. and Pilbeam, D. R. (1996) Homoplasy and Early *Homo*: An Analysis of the Evolutionary Relationships of *H. habilis sensu stricto* and *H. rudolfensis*. *J. Hum. Evol.* 30, 97-120.

Ruvolo, M. (1997) Molecular Phylogeny of the Hominoids: Inference from Multiple Independent DNA Sequence Data sets. *Mol. Biol. Evol.* 14, 248-265.

Wood, B. A. and Collard, M. (1999) The Human Genus. *Science* 284, 65-71.

I Think Therefore I Eat - Effects of Physiological Constraints on Nutritional Choices and the Evolution of the Hominid Brain Janet Fletcher (University of Sheffield)

Environmental, physiological and morphological constants determined from studies of feeding ecology and behaviour in primates allow reconstruction of hominid diet. The behaviour exhibited by primates during foraging and feeding indicates that whilst physiology is the main

constraint on diet, responses to this constraint become part of the behavioural repertoire. The diversity of feeding behaviour among extant primates may indicate a similar variation present in Pleistocene hominids. This paper seeks to explore the nature of the relationship between feeding physiology, behaviour and brain size and what, if anything shifted during the Pleistocene to allow the development of a larger brain and a very different type of feeding ecology in hominids.

TBA Katy Chance (University of Sheffield)

This paper will address the issue of adaptability in ecological behaviour in the early evolution of *Homo*. My research explores the possibility that hominids were able to migrate out of Africa at a considerably older date than is conventionally believed. The working hypothesis is that if genera of other large mammals, such as artiodactyls, perissodactyls and carnivores, which are commonly found in association with *Homo* remains, were able to coexist in a habitat in Africa, and the same habitat type can be shown to have existed outside of that continent, there is no reason to suppose that these same genera could not have survived outside of Africa. Climate and vegetation data as well as distribution of fauna can then be entered onto a Geographic Information System so that the distribution of the flora and fauna that hominids and their artefacts appear to be preferentially associated with in Africa can be seen over the whole of Eurasia. This project challenges received wisdom about the ecological adaptability and distribution of early *Homo*, expanding the range of potential geographical variation at this time.

Environment and plasticity in past and present human evolution Andrew Gallagher (University of Liverpool), James C. Ohman (Liverpool John Moores University), and Michael M. Günther (University of Liverpool)

The importance of 'environment' on morphological variation in human populations has been stressed by numerous workers, usually within the context of 'cause and effect' scenarios of biological adaptation. The recent application of this concept to fossil hominids has led to the environment being viewed as a powerful selective force that produced adaptations in the hominid physique.

This paper presents a synthesis of ongoing research into the effects of the environment on living human variation, and its implications for our understanding of past human diversity, particularly during the Pleistocene. We believe that the widespread acceptance of the recent view of climate on morphometric diversity in human evolution stems from an overly simplistic approach to the problem of human adaptation, particularly with regard to the nature and tempo of morphological change. Furthermore, inferences drawn from the results of previous studies have been primarily elucidated by correlation and regression based techniques, with limited geographic distribution, climatic and nutritional data, which we regard as inappropriate to the resolution of this complex problem. We believe that the inclusion of these additional parameters that influence the hominid physique provides a more appropriate approach to the resolution of this complex problem.

'Observe: our noses were made to carry spectacles, so we have spectacles' (Dr. Pangloss, from *Candide* by Voltaire) Christopher J. Knusel (University of Bradford)

In an intellectual environment that privileges form over function and genetic over phenetic change in analyses of morphology, morphological changes due to plasticity, 'the capability of being moulded' (Roberts 1995: 1)¹, have often been reduced to curious anecdotes or interesting addenda. This paper demonstrates that at the end of the 19th century and in the early decades of the present century a number of researchers laid robust foundations for the study of human variation that occurs as a response to environmental circumstances, in addition to those that have a genetic basis. This contribution reviews some of these researchers' observations and interpretations and presents some examples of plasticity from 'natural experiments' as revealed from the study of archaeological human remains. These demonstrate the potential of such remains to provide insights into both ability and disability in past human populations.

¹ Roberts, D.F. (1995). The pervasiveness of plasticity. In: Mascie-Taylor C.G.N. and Bogin B. (eds.) *Human variability and plasticity*. pp. 1-17, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skeletal variability and function: Reflections on the adaptationist programme James C. Ohman (Liverpool John Moores University), and C. Owen Lovejoy (Kent State University)

It has been long recognised that bone remodels in response to the stresses placed upon it. Thus, the relative robusticity of a bone, and/or the degree to which muscle markings are expressed on a bone, are thought to directly reflect behaviour. Proponents of the adaptationist programme emphasise, but reverse, this cause and effect relationship to make inferences about past behaviour from archaeological or fossil material; that is, they observe the effect as the relative robusticity/gracility of a bone, and then infer some behaviour that caused it.

Unfortunately, this programme is much less straightforward than it is generally portrayed. There are methodological issues, such as the resolving power of the measures (e.g., cross-sectional geometric properties), and the method(s) by which the data are normalised. More fundamental, however, is the degree to which bone adaptations actually reflect differential behaviour and permit its interpretation. For example, within samples of humeri from modern humans, chimpanzee, and gorillas, we examined relative development of the deltoid attachment versus measures of bone strength. We found a large amount of variability in the relative development of the deltoid tuberosity.

The adaptationist programme would presume that this reflects variability in relative development of the deltoid muscle, and thus also the forces imposed upon the humerus. However, we found no relationship between the relative development of the deltoid tuberosity and measures that reflect humerus strength. There can be many conclusions drawn from these results, but of importance here is simply that not all variability directly reflects a behavioural (i.e., functional) cause. This is not a new message, but it is an often-overlooked message.

Evolutionary History or Historical Evolution? Against the 'switch' to consciousness theories J.R.C. Jones (University of Sheffield)

People, as was once famously remarked, 'make history', but it is commonly assumed that animals merely evolve. This view is symptomatic of the traditional Cartesian notion that only humans are conscious animals (have culture, weigh options - make choices, transmit knowledge through tradition, have agency, etc.); whereas, animals can only 'respond to stimuli' in an entirely, or relatively, mechanistic fashion. Palaeolithic archaeologists tend to understand this as a 'switch' to culture and consciousness, apparently detectable at the Middle to Upper Palaeolithic transition. This paper argues that we really should move on from philosophy written by Descartes, all that time ago.

This has important consequences for how we might understand plasticity in human evolution. Most palaeoanthropologists understand behavioural plasticity as the variable expression by phenotypes of possibilities afforded by the species genetic pool. All behavioural variation must be pre-coded for by genetic prescription. If members of a species begin to behave in novel ways, the reason, according to orthodox

Darwinists, derives from underlying changes at the level of the genetic pool - with phenotypic expression merely a passive reflection of this. This widespread assumption cannot be sustained along with the rejection of Cartesian 'switch' theories, as proposed above.

Phenotypic Plasticity and the Evolutionary Bush *Patrick S. Quinney (University of the Witwatersrand)*

The range of phenotypic diversity exhibited by Middle Pleistocene *Homo* (MPH [= "archaic *Homo sapiens*"]) has historically been considered extreme, when compared against the standards of morphological variation expressed by all other Pleistocene hominids. Analyses (based on coefficients of variation [CV], amongst others) of continuously variable cranio-facial traits of the global MPH hypodigm highlights the inter-specific nature of this morphological variation, and realises the necessity to separate Middle Pleistocene *Homo* into a number of discrete, specifically distinct, entities. Evidence for such specific diversity is controversial in light of ongoing polemic surrounding modern human origins (MHO), as this clearly, and unequivocally, refutes the suggestion that *H. erectus sensu lato*, and all other members of Pleistocene *Homo*, should be sunk into a single, highly polymorphic species, *H. sapiens*. This paper deals with the implications of a high degree of specific diversity within Middle Pleistocene *Homo*.

It is argued that previous researchers have been fixated on the desire to resolve the phylogenetic relationships between hominid fossil specimens, whilst singularly failing to treat these individuals as members of biologically situated populations. It is argued that many researchers have failed to take into account the effects of natural selection and adaptation, as well as microevolutionary factors such as migration, replacement, secular variation, and epigenesis; all of which contribute to ontogenetic phenotypic plasticity. Historical failure to recognise, or paradigmatically accept, specific variation within Middle Pleistocene *Homo* is explained in terms of an unwillingness to recognise the epistemological role of phenotypic plasticity in palaeoanthropology, and MHO in particular. Such plasticity obscures phylogenetic relationships, whilst providing strong evidence of situational behaviours and local adaptive processes. The utility of such evidence to palaeoanthropology and MHO research is discussed, as are the implications for current understandings of the microevolution of closely related Plio- and Pleistocene hominid species.

TBA *Peter Wheeler (Liverpool John Moores University)*

The Stonehenge Debate

Sponsored by



Organiser **Paul Graves-Brown (For the TAG Committee)**

Speakers will include Richard Bradley, Bob Layton, Christopher Chippindale, Barbara Bender and Kate Fielden

In July 1998, the British Government announced its plans for the A303 and other roads at Stonehenge. This was followed in the summer of 1999 by preliminary plans for a new visitor centre at the Countess Roundabout in Amesbury. The so-called Stonehenge "Masterplan", centres on a 2km cut and cover tunnel on the existing line of the A303 which includes a section through Stonehenge Bottom where earth will be built up over the tunnel. The tunnel will have a 0.5km cutting at either end. The A344 past the stones is to be closed and visitors are to be bussed from the Countess Roundabout to Fargo North at a point 1km west of the stones on the A344, via a new road junction at Longbarrow Crossroads. The road proposal will destroy 5 scheduled monuments and around 10 other known sites. It has the support of English Heritage and The National Trust, whose land will be required to build the new dual carriageway road.

The plans have elicited criticism from organisations including the Prehistoric Society, the World Archaeology Congress, the Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Society, the CBA and RESCUE. At the same time, Stonehenge has been the centre of renewed theoretical debate, particularly in the pages of *Antiquity*. This open meeting will be an opportunity to debate both the government's plans for Stonehenge and the current theoretical issues and to examine their relationship

Friday am

Society in nature (II)

All Cultural Things: actual and conceptual monuments in Neolithic Pembrokeshire *Vicky Cummings (Cardiff)*

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the conceptual dichotomy that exists between culture and nature may simply be inappropriate when referring to the past. The culture nature dichotomy remains a fundamental part of the western worldview, even though such a conceptual opposition may only date back to the sixteenth century and Cartesian thinking. Statherm (1980), among others, has already shown that many people have no concept that something 'natural' can become 'cultural'. Against this theoretical background, this paper will place these ideas into the context of my own research into the landscapes of Neolithic Pembrokeshire. I will begin by examining a series of 'places' within Pembrokeshire which would traditionally have been described as cultural (in this case monuments) and natural (such as rocky outcrops). Some

of these ideas have already been outlined by Tilley (1994) but this paper will expand and elaborate on these ideas, as well as include the results from more detailed fieldwork. I will argue that the form of these monuments may have been heavily influenced by the form of the local geology and outline the implications this has for the ongoing debate on the typology of these sites. I will then go on to examine how these sites could have been used in the Neolithic and how both may have been the actual and conceptual focus for ritual activity, including the deposition of material culture. Many monuments in Pembrokeshire seem to have been built to look like natural places and I will also suggest that people may not have been able to tell the difference between places built by people and 'natural' places (Bradley 1998). Instead, these types of locale may have been interchangeable. Ultimately I hope to show that natural places may have been as important to the Neolithic symbolic order as cultural ones.

Bradley, R. 1998. Ruined buildings, ruined stones: enclosures, tombs and natural places in the Neolithic of south-west England. *World Archaeology* 30:1, 13-22.
Strathern, M. 1980. No nature, no culture: the Hagen case. In C. MacCormack and M. Strathern (eds), *Nature, culture, gender*, 174-219. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Tilley, C. 1994. *A phenomenology of landscape*. Oxford: Berg.

Rude Stone Monuments: Aesthetics and Monumentality in the Neolithic and Bronze Age *Andy Jones (Cambridge)*

The premise of this paper is that archaeologists employ a form of evolutionism when discussing the construction of Neolithic monuments. It would appear that recent literature on the landscape archaeology of these periods has hedged around this problem; monuments are seen to fit within landscapes, to reference landscapes, to be built out of materials which are significant to particular landscapes etc.

What I wish to propose then is that the "rough"/"rude" stone character of monuments which has always been viewed as an evolutionary given in the construction of Neolithic monuments should in fact be viewed as problematic, as a deliberate and significant aesthetic statement concerning the relationship understood to pertain between the natural and the cultural. Given this viewpoint we may then begin to explore in more detail the precise nature of the aesthetic involved in monument construction.

Expressions of Life: People in a Neolithic World *Trevor Kirk (Carmarthen)*

People in the Neolithic are traditionally viewed as 'exploiters' of their surroundings. References to woodland clearance, animal management and resource exploitation are common in the literature. Indeed, the concept of domestication - a process of 'culturing' the world - is central to many of our modern visions of the Neolithic. Archaeological narratives tend to present images of humanity's mastery of the physical world.

Intentionality is undoubtedly an important characteristic of human behaviour. People act with passion and purpose, and with political and strategic aims in mind. However, the material existence of humanity - the way in which we encounter and understand a world full of plants, animals, landscapes, buildings and artefacts - entails more than the exercise of power over resources. People's actions are formulated and executed within material and cultural conditions that are received through historical process. We are 'thrown into' a world of language, tradition and materiality. People may transform the material world through their labour, but the effort comprises an inseparable unity of people and things rather than the primacy and dominance of humanity over materiality.

This paper will examine how people in Neolithic Europe may have engaged with woodland, animals, stone, earth and built landscapes in a process which rendered meaningful both human lives and the material world. The challenge of expressing in contemporary language the experience of living in a Neolithic world will also be addressed.

The nature of permanence and the permanence of nature in later prehistoric culture *Mike Williams (Reading)*

People's conception of the world about them is likely to have been reflected in their ritual practices and through meaningful material deposition. It is by a careful examination of the latter that archaeologists can begin to understand how people may have viewed their place in the world. For the later prehistory of Southern Britain, much of the surviving material can be neatly divided between a nature-culture dichotomy. However, such an interpretation may reflect modern-day ideas and completely distort the actual situation in the past. This paper will analyse the material remains of these societies and show that, although both nature and society provided potent categories for symbolic representation, neither can be seen as a polarity in a straightforward dualism. Such symbols are metaphors that allow for dialectical rather than fixed associations. The relationships between nature and culture are therefore constantly renegotiated. This allows people to draw some of their most important and potent imagery from nature, such as the notion of permanence, and apply it to their own, otherwise impermanent, societies.

Our interpretations and their views: Etruscans, Latins, landscape and nature *Ulla Rajala (New Hall, Cambridge)*

During the past decades the main trend in the pre-Roman Italian archaeology has been that of settlement archaeology. The aim of the recent research has been the reconstruction of past settlement systems, and large survey and excavation projects have been devoted to the discovery of territorial patterns. Simultaneously, archaeological debate has concentrated on interpreting the beginning of the urban centres. There has been a major change in the way scholars have interpreted the importance of landscape in central Italian context. Traditionally, these interpretations have been contrasted to the writings of the ancient Roman authors.

But what we really know about the views of the Etruscans and the Latins, the peoples living in the coastal central Italy before the Roman society emerged. In practise, all written sources in hand are secondary, written by the Greek and Roman writers. I want to see, what we can say about the Etruscan and Latin perceptions on landscape and nature based on the scanty literal material and what can be achieved through (re)viewing pre-Roman art and technology. Are we in the position to be able to conceptualise past Etruscan and Latin ideas? Can we hope to pursue an anthropological model on their own interpretation on the relationship between their cultures and nature around them?

Material and spatial-geographic features of recent pastoral land use on Sardinia *Antoine Mientjes (Lampeter)*

The notion of nature versus culture in the local Sardinian perception is strongly related to ideas about the role of pastoral groups in the wider rural society and the observable geographic organisation of pastoral production. Shepherds have a rather ambiguous position in the overall social structure. Symbolically they are situated between the domesticated and the wild. This rather blurred position of the pastoral part of the local communities is expressed in various ways. Sheep and goats are considered to be on a low step of the scale from wilderness to domestication compared to oxen and horses, which are animals normally kept in agricultural production. Another example is that shepherds are mainly using marginal, non cultivated land in the peripheral areas of the village territories.

This view of the position of pastoral groups on Sardinia is expressed in the ethnographic literature. However, if it is reckoned with the results of my recently finished ten-months fieldwork period on Sardinia, it can be queried if this point of view holds for the whole of the island. It seems that considerable differences existed in the perception of the role of various groups in the rural communities. In the case of my research

area in the central mountains of Sardinia no spatial differences can be made between agricultural and pastoral land use. In my case-study it even looks as if farmers had often a subordinated position in the local value system. So the field data (partially) contradict previous ethnographic studies.

In my opinion the Sardinian situation could offer some general theoretical lines of thought regarding the so-called nature-culture dualism in relation to Landscape Archaeology. The case of pastoral land use on Sardinia can be used to illustrate Tim Ingold's ideas that the landscape is not a passive object, i.e. the frame of human agency, or something on which a cultural order can be imposed. The landscape has a biography as being reworked continuously by human beings; on the other side it also structures human activity. In this view human beings are not outside observers, but participants among other objects constituting the landscape.

The outfield – hostile environment and cultural landscape, a case study from Norway *Ingunn Holm (Hedmark, Norway)*

In this paper I will present a case study from eastern Norway, discussing the relationship between people in the past and their surroundings. I will especially concentrate on the use of the areas of forest and mountains, the outfield. In these areas there have been registered a lot of ancient monuments during the last twenty years. These monuments show an intensive use of the forest and mountains of eastern Norway, both through the Stone Age and the Iron Age and the Medieval period. I will concentrate on the Iron Age and the Medieval period. The outfield areas have been used for hunting in large systems of hunting pits, for iron making and for extensive farming.

In Norwegian folklore, these areas have been looked upon as hostile environments, filled with dangerous animals and supernatural beings. Archaeologists have, more or less consciously, used this as an analogy also for the Iron Age and Medieval period. I want to discuss this practice and try to find alternative ways of looking at the relationship between the people of these periods and nature. I will also discuss the old Norse world view as it is presented in the old Norse literature and confront the common understanding of it with the new archaeological finds of ancient monuments. I will especially discuss the supposed fixed boundaries between infield and outfield.

In the 18th century farming communities of eastern Norway, the activities in the outfield were mainly individual activities, conducted by the lonely hunter or a young boy or girl herding the animals. The ideal was the often collective activities on the farm and in the fields. Some of the ancient monuments in the forests are probably traces of collective activities, like elk hunting in systems of hunting pits. I will discuss the relationship between collective and individual activities and their status in a Iron Age or Medieval farming community. My aim is to question the stereotypes of the Norwegian Iron Age and Medieval communities as mainly farming communities with a strained relationship to the surrounding outfield.

"Making Tracks...?" The Somerset Levels Project: An evaluation ten years on *Clive Bond*

The Somerset Levels and Moors in the South-West of England has for many years been thought of as a marginal inhospitable environment. Despite the recovery of much evidence for land use in prehistory through various projects, including the excavation of the famous Glastonbury and Meare Lake Villages and the efforts of the Somerset Levels Project, this part of the central Somerset landscape remains a misunderstood landscape. This paper will assess the contribution of the Somerset Levels Project (1973-1989) in furthering our knowledge. An alternative interpretation to the economic narrative found in the literature will be put forward. Thus, a discussion on the changing perceptions, in the local prehistoric communities, of the commonly studied dualisms of wet/dry land, wild/domestic, nature/culture, within this perceived marginal landscape is to be investigated with reference to the evidence for human activity over a long-term time frame (the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age).

The long and the short of it: anthropological and archaeological approaches to the understanding of change

Organizers: *Bob Layton (University of Durham) and Alasdair Whittle (Cardiff University)*

At the 1996 TAG meeting Papagianni and Pettitt's session on 'Time resolution and Palaeolithic archaeology' drew attention to the way in which sites such as Boxgrove provide windows onto moments in time embedded within processes extending over tens or hundreds of thousands of years. The cumulative record at sites may consist of many such moments superimposed upon each other. The session asked what light these moments can throw on the processes in which they are embedded, and what additional information was needed to clarify the sites' significance. We wish to take up and develop these challenges.

The longest cycles of interest to archaeology and anthropology are probably the evolutionary processes leading to the appearance and extinction of species such as the robust Australopithecines, early humans and Neanderthals. If the average life-span of a mammalian species is about 1 million years (Stanley 1978 cited Foley 1999: 36), then the dating of a typical site generated by such a species to within ten thousand years would be adequate. If, on the other hand, Olduvian scavenging sites are claimed to be occupied during daylight hours alone, then the 12 hour diurnal cycle becomes significant. Annual cycles, in which a site is repeatedly occupied during the same season, must be interpreted in relation to activities at other sites during other seasons, yet the year in which any particular occupation debris relate to may not be significant. Population cycles in prey species such as salmon, gazelle and reindeer can regularly test the effectiveness of hunter-gatherer adaptations. These cycles may have a period of approximately one hundred years. In central Australia major droughts occur about once every 15 years (Layton 1986: 26, 34). Combined with longer-term climatic shifts, drought or shortage of a key prey species may trigger change in subsistence strategies. Understanding the origin of farming in Western Asia would therefore demand the resolution of dating not just within the span of the Younger Dryas climatic event but also, ideally, in relation to local drought cycles. Hunter-gatherer adaptations to the natural and social environment are replaced by the cyclic development of early agrarian societies as resources accumulate at administrative centres, eventually leading to chaotic processes in complex social systems. Human agency arguably becomes more significant as social systems develop instability and is most apparent in short-term cycles (Cf. Braudel's three scales of cyclic development in European history). Increasingly accurate dating is required to plot these processes as they accelerate.

Anthropological fieldwork is notorious for only giving a 'snap-shot' of moments in social process. The shorter the cycles involved, the better the particular 'fine-grain' yielded by anthropological research can elucidate them. The longer the cycles, the more dependent we are on archaeological evidence. The aim of this session is twofold. First, we wish to link archaeologists with certain kinds of current anthropological thinking about acting in the world and about processes of change, and secondly, we aim to question the disciplinary distinctions between fine and coarse-grain understandings of change.

Foley, R. 1999 Pattern and process in hominid evolution. In J. Binliff (ed) *Structure and contingency*. Leicester U.P.
Layton, R. 1986 *Uluru: an Aboriginal history of Ayers Rock*. Aboriginal Studies Press.

Explaining change and understanding life: relocating the question of time in archaeological analysis *John Barrett*

The relationship between historical process, the temporal scale of that process, and the concept of an archaeological record of events occurring within that process will be considered. This will raise two issues: the temporal resolution of the record, and the relationship between event and process. By way of contrast a second approach will then be examined which rejects the concept of the archaeological record. In other words historical process will not be regarded as an external and determining entity generating events which leave a record. Instead agency, as the living means of carrying forward of the past to the future, will be considered as inhabiting the material conditions which are investigated archaeologically. From this perspective a different temporal issue will arise relating material conditions to historical processes.

Rethinking the Structure-Agency Debate from a Critical Realist Perspective *John Binliff*

The potential of the human imagination has been greatly liberated by the increasing role of Salon/Seminar archaeology in formulating and 'performing' Theoretical Archaeology. This paper takes a divergent stance by emphasizing that the best Theory - and probably the only useful Theory - is Applied Theory, preferably in the context of regional survey or large scale excavation projects with elaborate data and, ideally, complementary textual backup enabling 'thick description' of the societies under study. I shall focus on a specific area of applied theory in archaeology - interpreting long-term, medium-term and short-term transformations or stabilities in regional landscape-settlement systems.

Catastrophic Landscape Change and the Rise of Complex Hunter-Gatherers on the North Pacific *Herbert D. G. Maschner*

Recent research on the North Pacific has clearly shown that major changes in the social and political organization of Eskimo and Aleut society over the last 5000 years are not a product of gradual or incremental changes, but rather, the result of rapid, sometimes catastrophic changes in the natural and social landscapes of the region. Social catastrophes include migration, immigration, warfare, rapid technological innovation, and changes in macro-regional interactions. Natural catastrophes include earthquakes, tsunami, climate change, volcanic eruptions, and rapid fluctuations in sea level. These events have had profound impacts on residence patterns, rank, and subsistence in this region and result in a "punctuated equilibrium" approach to explaining culture change. The result of this analysis is the recognition that North Pacific society is part of a larger world system and is responding to social and environmental dynamics far beyond the immediate region.

Small-scale processes and large-scale patterns *Stephen Shennan*

The paper will argue that archaeology's strength is indeed in the recognition of long-term social, cultural and economic patterns which would have been only dimly recognisable, if at all, and then only from a very limited perspective, to the people producing and living through them. However, this does not mean that there is any special process of long-term change, only that different things occur at different rates and that certain events have greater consequences than others. All accounts of change, however, must have micro-foundations in analyses of individual acts and decisions. These are by no means inaccessible to archaeological investigation (cf. Shennan 1993). In different ways both selectionist approaches and modelling methods (cf. Lake 1996) can provide useful means of bridging the macro-micro gap. These general points will be briefly illustrated with examples from the European Neolithic.

Petso's field *Kathryn J Fewster*

This paper will use an ethnoarchaeological case study from Botswana to show how the anthropological "snapshot" need not be as ephemeral or static as it may first appear (a common criticism levied against the use of anthropological studies in the consideration of archaeological material). The anthropological case study can be extended both backwards through the historical timescale and forwards by means of longitudinal research to add a dynamism which can aid the understanding of short-term historical process in the past. The real value of ethnoarchaeological studies lies in their potential for an understanding of the role of agency in social change. However, this paper will also show that such a privilege of understanding is not a given, and unless an explicit effort is made to the contrary, both the anthropological generalisations and archaeological models of the current methodology can serve to obscure that which we seek to reveal.

Defining moments; material records: the 20th Century in retrospect (II)

Organiser and chair: *John Schofield (English Heritage)*

1940 - Battle of Britain *Richard Morris (Harrogate)*

While many battles find their historical place in hindsight, the Battle of Britain had already been named before it began. Its significance, if not all the factors which shaped its outcome, was understood while it was in progress. In prospect, however, it was anticipated as a land battle to which aerial fighting might be only a prelude.

It is a question whether 'battle', in the sense of a concentrated, localised episode of conflict, is particularly apposite to aerial warfare, which in its brief and controversial history appears to be more sensibly measured (and then only with difficulty) by the cumulative effects of campaigns rather than individual engagements which were seldom decisive.

Archaeology's contribution to this issue is unagreed - or perhaps we should say plural and, as yet, loosely defined. In many respects the kind of contribution archaeology makes to the study of earlier periods is here rendered redundant by the overwhelming volume and quality of contemporary written and graphical records, and personal testimony. The methodology and role of modern historical archaeology are still evolving. The prominence of place, sites and machines in heritage thinking may have much to do with the coincidence of individual and national sentiment which occurs as the lives of 'those who were there' draw to a close. There again, perhaps some embodiment of sentiment and the evocative is one of archaeology's proper, if temporary, functions.

A further factor concerns the extent to which, in a world war, the siting and function of structural remains reflect tactical and technical developments elsewhere. While the Battle of Britain was fought over the UK, it was fought from France, the Low Countries and Scandinavia, and embodied lessons learned further afield. There was also a counter-battle over the ports of Holland, Belgium and northern France, directed from Buckinghamshire and launched from Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and East Anglia. Hence, the battle's theatre was northern Europe, and any assessment of archaeology's contribution to its study or commemoration must approach it on these distributed terms, which take us far from any customary concept of the significance of 'a site'. Such an assessment would also focus on influences of science and technology (like radar), industrial protection, the role of respective publics and propaganda machines, and a lot else.

Without that context, archaeology's part looks unnaturally disembodied; with it, does archaeology dissolve into a wider, total history?

29.5.1953 - Top of the World: Is there any evidence of the conquest of Everest (and do we care anyway)? *Paul Graves Brown (Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust)*

Recent excitement about the discovery of the frozen remains of George Mallory has highlighted the fact that the world's tallest mountain is littered with the detritus of attempts to conquer it.

Apart from the remains of those unfortunate enough not to make it, and perhaps evidence that they did, but didn't make it back, the mountain is said to be covered with toilet paper and excrement!

But could future archaeologists actually determine that the peak of Everest had been conquered. Could they establish when and by whom? Would they care?

Such events as the conquest of a mountain, like many firsts in human history, are relatively ephemeral events from a material culture point of view. Moreover they raise questions as to: a) whether their perpetrators were ever conscious of being first (as in "Extra! Extra! World War One declared!"); and b) whether a relatively impartial archaeological observer would care anyway.

This paper will scale the heights, or perhaps plumb the depths, of the archaeology of the 20th century.

1.12.1976 - Never Mind the B*ll*cks: Here's the Archaeology - the legacy of punk *Rob Woodside (National Trust)*

When the Sex Pistols famously swore on the Bill Grundy show in December 1976, punk went public. Partly the brain-child of maverick producer Malcolm McLaren, partly genuine anarchic spirit, the 'Pistols promised to stick two fingers up at authority, gob on the pillars of the establishment and generally upset the good folk of Middle England. Nihilism and anarchy were welded to a three-cord progression to create the 3 minutes of exhilaration that was punk.

Punk bred mohicans, studded jackets, 7 inch singles, pin badges, swastikas, DMs and tartan trousers. It also spawned a hundred sub-cultures from Goth to Acid House, Skateboarders to Hip Hop. That "anyone can do it" attitude permeated long after the demise of Sid Vicious, creating a thriving youth culture, sometimes underground, sometimes mass marketed and mass produced. All had the virtue of lasting about five minutes before expiring.

Tribalism has always played a big part in pop culture, from Rockers and Mods to Ravers and Crusties. In an increasingly multi-cultural and multi-vocal Britain, the fractionating of social groups is becoming all the more common, whilst at the same time the blurring of previously established sub-cultures is making it harder to distinguish between class, occupation or even your favourite band. Can archaeology make sense of this?

So is any of this evident in the material record? Should archaeologists be looking for safety pins in stratigraphical layers of phlegm on the floor of the Marquee Club or lurking around Sotheby's for pop memorabilia? Should we be cataloguing guitar straps or record decks before they are all lost either to the dustbin or the specialist collector? Can material culture tell us anything new about the recent past? What does the archaeology of contemporary culture tell us about our perception of the historic environment?

October 1990 - Weaving Wondrous Webs: the day the Internet caught fire *Sara Champion (University of Southampton)*

There are several defining moments in the history of the most significant communications revolution since Gutenberg invented the printing press, and a strong case could be made for choosing any one of them; but the invention of the World Wide Web in the Autumn of 1990 was the key moment which changed the way the world connects. The possibility of carrying images, both still and moving, and sound, turned the Net from a text-based communications tool used largely by academics, researchers and the military into a technology that global business and the wider population wanted to be part of, and it had a profound effect on both the material culture of everyday life and the way in which archaeology itself would be carried out.

It was the birth of the Web which led to the extraordinary boom in personal computers for home use, depositing hardware in a rapidly rising number of domestic buildings, as well as increasing the density of such hardware in the workplace. And archaeologists were able to take advantage of the Web not only in the area of publication, as for other disciplines, but also in the presentation of ongoing projects such as on-line excavation, fly-through site visits and VR reconstructions, accessible worldwide by both their colleagues and the public from home and office.

But is such archaeology ephemeral? This paper explores aspects of the archaeology of the WWW as well as the virtues (or not) of virtual archaeology.

12.10.1998 - The Murder of Matthew Wayne Shepard: Archaeology, epistemological privilege and sexual intolerance *Thomas Dawson (University of Southampton)*

On Monday 12th October, at 12:53 am, Matthew Shepard, a 21 year old gay student from the University Of Wyoming, died. He had been savagely attacked by two young men the previous Thursday. He was left to die, tied to a fence in near-freezing temperatures, after being pistol-whipped. Cyclists at first mistook his body for a scarecrow. He arrived at Hospital in a critical condition with severe head injuries and

remained on life support in a coma until his death. I choose this horrific event as a defining moment to examine the way in which archaeology deals with sexual intolerance, both in the manner in which it represents the past, and through the practices by which the past is represented.

11.8.1999 - Archaeologists in the dark?: the Eclipse in Cornwall *Steve Hartgroves (Cornwall Archaeological Unit)*

I will look at the ways in which the 'threat' of an invasion of the County for the total eclipse was viewed by local people, the media and local government, and whether these hopes and fears were realised. I will describe the response of the County Archaeological Unit to the event (The Eclipse Action Plan) and the outcome for the Historic Environment.

n.d. - 'Good condition' - conservation : a 20th century defining mo[ve]ment *Graham Fairclough (English Heritage)*

There are a great many defining moments in the history of conservation in the 20th (and 19th) century. Many (perhaps all) were the result of awareness of loss and destruction: Luftwaffe bombing raids (some with an explicit cultural dimension, the so-called Baedeker raids); the rescue of the English aristocracy by the invention of country house conservation; Carson's 'Silent Spring' and much later the Halvergate Marshes starting the slow turning of the CAP; the demolition of Euston Arch and the Firestone Factory, by their loss creating social acceptance respectively for Victorian and 1930s architecture; the pre-PPG16 Long March from Mithras to the Rose travelled by the RESCUE; the end of Coal and the Cold War, when conservation actually began to overtake change, so that Orgreave and Greenham become (among their other significances) defining places for conservation.

Everyone will have their own defining moment, however, and perhaps the real point is that conservation has no single defining moment, unlike other events in the session. It might be better to see it rather as a defining *movement* of the 20th century, one of the social processes which future historians will see as characteristic of the century, at least in the so-called First World.

Future archaeologists will certainly be able to see 20th century conservation in the material record because conservation by definition leaves physical remains; they may be undated (out of time) but they should be well-preserved (we are already conserving early conservation work). Buildings have been repaired and adapted, often visibly using obsolete techniques and materials, ruined buildings have been frozen by careful consolidation and decorated with didactic signs, earthworks have been patched-up, reinstated and occasionally reconstructed, new buildings have been put on stilts, and warehouses have been filled with cardboard boxes. Explaining these things as well as recording them will hopefully be both more difficult and more fun. It will be an archaeologists' task, however as well as an historian's, because how much will 20th century documents really help (we do know why we do it, don't we?), and anyway surely archaeology will have grown up and finally broken away from the tendency to believe that documents always over-ride material evidence.

But how will the material remains of conservation be explained? Functional and economic causes might not convince everyone, and some radical schools of thought will look for social and contextual explanations. Braver theoreticians might look to religion or magic as an explanation; some might detect an attempt to escape into the past from one of the more stressful centuries in human history, and perhaps a few will argue that conservation represented an attempt to improve the present through knowledge of the past and to create a healthy future environment by keeping what is best from the past. One or two archaeologists may even dig up the concept of sustainable development, and theorise a connection between that and conservation.

Cultural Landscapes: from the real to the contrived.. Presenting the Past in Wales

Organizers: *Adam Gwilt (National Museum and Gallery Cardiff) and Kenneth Brassil (Museum of Welsh Life)*

Institiwt y Glowyr Oakdale, Amgueddfa Werin Cymru
Oakdale Miners' Institute, Museum of Welsh Life

Culture + landscapes... seriously loaded terms! All things to all people?

In the new Wales guided by the National Assembly we have significant opportunities and a responsibility to review our presented pasts. Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, the four Archaeological Trusts, The National Trust, Countryside Council for Wales, the National Parks, regional museums, the Council for Museums in Wales and the National Museums and Galleries of Wales are perceived as key players. In creating opportunities for the public to engage with 'the Welsh past' we offer contrived scenarios, diluted statements and politically neutral views. Is there an interest and value in debating contested spaces and places? How should alternative pasts be presented?

In search of Wales: memory, politics and the idea of landscape *Prys Gruffudd (Prifysgol Cymru Abertawe/University of Wales Swansea)*

This paper seeks to 'nationalise' the relationships between landscape, conservation and identity in Wales by highlighting historical debates around these issues. It focuses on the origins of the modern conservation movement in the 1920s and 1930s and controversies about its application in Wales. These ranged from conceptual issues - around 'visual' versus 'non-visual' senses of landscape and environment - through to political issues of sovereignty and patriotism. At numerous times, for instance, groups like the Council for the Preservation of Rural Wales were accused of peddling an 'alien' and inappropriate aesthetic sense of rural landscape. This may be contrasted with the political and intellectual sensitivities of individuals like Iorwerth Peate, first curator of the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagans. The paper ends by attempting to bring these debates up to date and by speculating on the prospects for Welsh landscape in a devolved UK.

Approaches to the associative landscape *Dafydd Gwyn (Ymddiriedolaeth Archaeolegol Gwynedd Archaeological Trust)*

The discussion of 'cultural landscape' and 'historic landscape' which has assumed prominence in archaeological parlance over the last few years has continued to fight shy of any attempt to identify or define the 'associative landscape'. I suggest that the associative landscape may be defined as the connections that exist between places and people, whether famous individuals or particular and distinctive types of human society. These connections may be expressed in the historic landscape itself or expressed in imaginative/ artistic terms... as in paintings, poetry and prose. I wish to suggest that there exists in Wales an opportunity for specialist study of associative landscape to connect with existing traditions of place and belonging. Archaeologists need to speak not only to other cultural historians but should also co-operate with, and facilitate the work of, non-specialists, and thereby engage with other discourses of being, place and belonging.

Built Heritage and the State – or the Politics of (A)Politics *Angela Piccini (Cadw)*

The official voice of State archaeo-history in Wales – Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments – is an 'objective' and 'apolitical' voice, whereby archaeo-historically established facts are articulated according to 'accepted' academic interpretation. But how is this enacted, and what meanings can we invest in such claims in the face of all-too-human impartiality, when we now recognize that terms such as 'objective' and 'apolitical' are anything but?

Commercial concerns, such as the lack of suitable custodial facilities at remote, open-air sites and the concomitant absence of money-making opportunities through associated sales of guidebooks and souvenirs; health and safety issues; competitive tendering and 'value for money'; an interpretative culture of the 'great and the good'; long working weeks dominated by form-filling and damage limitation; strict top-down hierarchies; the continued dominance of 'common sense' archaeo-history and derision of 'theory' in everyday practice; Government-led pressures to reduce direct running costs (i.e. staff) while increasing efficiency – all these factors and more significantly impact on the ways in which the built heritage is presented to and consumed by those who see Cadw as a sanctioned repository of Welsh national heritage.

I wish to open out the question of State archaeo-history for discussion and debate. Is there scope for a statutory heritage organization to be anything other than (a)political (sic)? How do we go about justifying the presentation of open narratives, rather than closed? How should we take responsibility for defining State heritage and how can we move beyond the extensive critiques of organizations like Cadw and English Heritage to suggest creative ways forward?

Any of the statements or comments made above should be regarded as personal and not necessarily those of the National Assembly for Wales, any constituent part or connected body.

Lost landscapes, lost causes *David Longley (Ymddiriedolaeth Archaeolegol Gwynedd Archaeological Trust)*

People interact with the historic environment in a number of ways. At one level politicians have for millennia appropriated elements of former landscapes for their propaganda value, sometimes sympathetically, sometimes less so. Such gestures are often linked in allegiances such as political, national, cultural or religious identities. At another level, less consciously, communities derive a sense of place and local identity from the chronological depths in a landscape.

Using Gwynedd in the 'Age of Princes' as an example, this paper will look at the way in which such contrasting associations of people and places have been struck in the past and the way in which we, today, use and misuse components of the historic environment in an attempt to understand and present the past. Central to this theme will be the distinction between national importance, perceived from without, and regional distinctiveness, perceived from within.

'Architectural ethnic cleansing?' - The demise of the Roman tetrapylon in Caerleon *Ray Howell (Coleg Prifysgol Cymru, Casnewydd/University of Wales College, Newport)*

Excavations in the Legionary Fortress Museum Garden in Caerleon, directed by David Zienkiewicz in 1992, confirmed the existence of a tetrapylon, a four-way triumphal arch, at the centre of the fortress of *Isca*. Similar structures survive from other parts of the Empire; one of the most notable examples is from Leptis Magna in Libya. The structure would have provided an imposing central focus as well as a statement of political intent. A particularly interesting aspect of the excavation was clear evidence that the structure stood well into the Middle Ages when it was undermined and demolished. As the excavator noted, this was a case of the demolition of a standing structure and not just stone robbing. The situation was very similar to that at the nearby fortress baths which were also dismantled in the medieval period. Recent close examination of the ceramic finds from the demolition horizons suggests that the tetrapylon, like the baths, was demolished in the thirteenth century, probably before c1260. It seems highly likely that the 'lofty -tower' described by Gerald of Wales in 1188 was in fact the tetrapylon.

There is good historical reason to believe that there were compelling political reasons to emphasize the impressive architectural remains in Caerleon. Gerald not only referred to Caerleon's Roman past; he also followed Geoffrey of Monmouth in assigning 'Arthurian' connections to the site. With the re-establishment of Welsh control in the form of the lords of Caerleon, Geoffrey was not alone in seeing the benefit of Welsh kingship in Caerleon. In 1136, Morgan and Iorwerth ap Owain, grandsons of the last king of Gwent, ambushed and killed Richard de Clare. They then struck along the Usk, seizing the castles of Usk and Caerleon. It was not long before Morgan was adapting his grandfather's title, asserting that once again there was a Welsh king in Caerleon! It was not until 1217 that the powerful and ambitious William Marshal finally forced this Welsh dynasty from Caerleon. The finality of that event, however, was not at all clear to contemporary observers and Marshal embarked on a massive castle building programme in Caerleon and the other important centres in the southern march to secure his control. He and his successors may have seen the surviving Roman remains in Caerleon as no more than convenient stone quarries for this building programme. They could even have had a public spirited concern about buildings which had become unsafe. Neither of these explanations, however, seem to be wholly satisfactory. It seems more likely that instead they saw these structures as symbols of an heroic past, at the time being interpreted as a Welsh past. That was a past they may well have wished to see expunged.

Thinking Bones: Social Theory and Osteoarchaeology

Session Organiser: *Rebecca Gowland (University of Durham)*

Co-Discussants: *Dr. Charlotte Roberts (Calvin Wells Laboratory, University of Bradford) and Dr. Sam Lucy (University of Durham)*

The social construction of gender, age, ethnicity and status in past populations, and their role in the reproduction of social identity and organisation has generated considerable interest in recent years. Much of the work in this area has involved the analysis of cemetery evidence, drawing upon osteological determinations of age and sex, but primarily focusing on variables such as body position, grave furniture and spatial patterning. Despite the importance of cemetery data as an archaeological resource, it is evident that many researchers are unaware of the potentials and limitations of osteological evidence for answering crucial questions concerning aspects of social organisation and identity. Conversely, many osteoarchaeologists fail to incorporate current theoretical perspectives concerning social identity into their interpretations of skeletal evidence. Although little has been published, some workers are currently rectifying this situation by exploring ways in which osteological evidence may contribute to broader theoretical debates. The intention of this session would be for these individuals to discuss their results and to provide a forum for discussion between osteologists and those researchers examining social identity through cemetery analysis. Such collaboration would stimulate a more informed debate, provide a valuable exchange of ideas and information, and serve to bridge the prevailing disciplinary dichotomy.

Cemetery archaeology in the Palaeolithic *Jennie Hawcroft (University of Sheffield)*

This session has asked for dialogue between the disciplines of osteoarchaeology - the bodies of the dead - and social theory - the treatment of the dead. These are both areas which are commonly associated with periods of the human past much more recent than the Palaeolithic. However, the Palaeolithic sees the beginning of funerary behaviour, and the burials associated with that period prompt some important questions.

In the context of the aims of this session, I shall present some of the issues which arise from the burials of the Palaeolithic. Particularly, I shall discuss the influence of osteological evidence of body type (Neanderthal vs. anatomically modern) on our attitude to the potential social meaning of a burial. Funerary behaviour has been taken to be a hallmark of humanness, and has been used to make statements about the nature of society and culture amongst Neanderthal and anatomically modern Palaeolithic groups. In this case, osteology and social theory are not divorced as in later archaeological periods, but are heavily inter-reliant.

While this alleviates the problems encountered by cemetery archaeology of later periods, it brings its own disadvantages of assumption and circularity. This paper will highlight these assumptions, in the hope that discussion in the context of this session will both be informed by, and offer some solutions to, such problems.

More Circe than Cassandra: The Princess of Vix in Ritualised Social Context *Chris Knusel (University of Bradford)*

Ritual and ritual specialists have often been dissociated from power in the writings of prehistorians and archaeologists. From ethnographic and ethnohistoric accounts, however, ritual specialists often exert disproportionate control over the maintenance, manipulation, and elaboration of social codes and practices. Their role in ritual practice (orthopraxy in non-literate societies) and its effect on decision-making accords them considerable social and political importance. Due to this involvement they become the targets of ritual sanctions that include punitive rites, ritualised deaths, and suppression during periods of rapid social change, both from within their own societies and from without. The present paper derives from a re-analysis of the Vix (Cote-d'Or, Burgandy) human skeletal remains, specifically with reference to the age, sex, and health status of the interred individual. An evaluation of the social roles of this so-called 'Princess' is then attempted, integrating this biological information with that derived from a consideration of the grave inclusions and their imagery in the context of competitive feasting and social change in the late Hallstatt period.

Is it possible to recognise disability in the skeletal record? Thoughts on the problems, with an illustrative case study *Charlotte Roberts (University of Bradford)*

Perhaps because of the increasing media awareness of disability in society today, there has been an increasing interest in trying to look at its representation in the past. Naturally, there are many forms of evidence that might be used to undertake this task, and human skeletal remains create one form of evidence which can be classed as primary i.e. evidence in the person's remains.

This paper presents the potential and problems in recognising disabling conditions in human skeletal remains from archaeological sites, highlighting how concepts, and treatment, of disabled people by society today must be considered before trying to interpret the past. In particular, the psychological aspects of disease and disability inherent in a person with a disability, and a population dealing with people within it with disability, will determine how the individual will react to the condition experienced and, in turn, how society will react to them.

The subject matter of this paper will be illustrated with a case study relating to the infectious disease of leprosy, a condition which has seen a long history and provoked strong reaction towards people it affected (and this continues today). Associated with the stigma attached to leprosy often goes disability, due to destruction of the bones of the hands and feet. However, a society's attitude to a person with leprosy may significantly affect whether they become disabled or not.

The archaeology of disability is a fascinating subject which requires a sound and sensitive knowledge of the medical and social models current in society today. In addition, when working with human skeletal remains, it necessitates working from a clinical base to prevent over-interpretation of the data.

Age concern: ageing the past through skeletal remains *Rebecca Gowland (University of Durham)*

Age is as much a social construction as other identities, such as gender, ethnicity and status, and yet it has received comparatively little theoretical exploration within archaeology. When investigating age in the past, it is of course skeletal data that provides the most direct evidence. The estimation of age at death of skeletons is, however, a process fraught with difficulty, and I will be addressing the biases involved, together with an understanding of the relevance of chronological age to a study of the past. Although age at death profiles from cemetery populations have been important in terms of palaeodemography, it is evident that age is consistently relegated to the status of a variable. The neglect of age as a social identity within archaeology arises, in part, because ageing has until recently been viewed as a purely biological process, leading to a naturalisation of the social norms that accompany age-related behaviour. The result of this is that it has allowed us to project our contemporary age paradigm onto the past with little appreciation for the diversity with which cultures conceptualise the ageing process. Furthermore, because of the fluidity and inter-relatedness of age with other aspects of the social persona, I would suggest that an understanding of social identity from burial contexts cannot take place outside of a discourse on age. This paper hopes to show how age is an important facet of social identity and society from the fourth to sixth centuries in England.

Sexed Skeletons, Gendered People *Joanna Sofaer Derevenski (University of Cambridge)*

Compared to the sophistication of studies of the living, fleshed body, approaches to human remains in the archaeology of gender remain comparatively unrefined. An emphasis on artefact association as the primary method for the study of gender in archaeological contexts has meant that the only aspects of the person to be incorporated into the practice of gender archaeology are anthropological determinations of sex, and more rarely, age. Other attributes of the skeleton have rarely been explored. Although skeletons have been studied in terms of burial position, burial type or as symbolic entities, they have rarely been understood as sites of gendered interpretation in their own right. The sexed body has been employed as a means of underpinning gendered interpretations, rather than as a source for generating them. Yet gendered individuals created the world in which they lived. Without gendered individuals there can be no gendered meaning.

This paper explores ways in which human remains may be understood and utilised as a source for gendered interpretations by examining the impact of gender ideology on the skeleton. Focusing on the division of labour as one element of gender relations, it links material culture based theoretical approaches to the study of gender with osteoarchaeological methods for accessing activity-related osseous change.

Bad to the Bone? The uses and some abuses of skeletal morphological variation *Andrew Tyrrell (University of Sheffield)*

By using a series of examples from the recent archaeological literature this paper is an attempt to demonstrate how associations made between skeletal morphology and ethnic group are erroneous on at least two accounts. Firstly the initial premise that bones are equivalent to genes which are, in turn, equivalent to peoples is strongly refuted. Secondly, attempts to define ethnic groups based on their skeletal biology very often misapply the techniques of biological anthropology to support their mistaken original hypothesis. I propose that the measure of human phenotypic variation is a valid approach to the study of human biological evolution, but that ethnicity has no fundamental biological basis.

Time and biography: osteobiography of the Italian Neolithic lifespans *John Robb (University of Southampton)*

Archaeological treatments of the body have generally focused upon how meaningful experience is constructed, placing the body within an immediate time scale. Though valuable, this approach is incomplete without consideration of the body and society within other scales of time, each of which is governed by its own master narratives. In societies without uniform schemes of measured time, the basic means for understanding time is the changing human body, incorporated into a narrative biography, the cultural life history of an archetypical body. Biographical narratives structure the experiences and shape social relations which are formed and understood through kinship, rites of life events, and co-experience and co-memory. Through interlocking biographies of individual persons, biographical narratives also bind the world of the living with the interpersonal history of the group, and help situate it in an imagined past and an expected future.

Archaeological treatments of life history usually focus on disjointed bodily events or specific stages in the life-cycle rather than understand the biography as a thing in itself. Here I discuss one avenue for investigating cultural biographies, skeletal studies. Without equating biological process and cultural experiences, through osteobiography, taphonomy, and archaeological context we can understand some important life events such as birth, growth and maturation, illness, cultural interventions upon the body, and continuing social life after biological death. As an example, I present discuss osteobiographies of conventional and exceptional lives and deaths in the Italian Neolithic.

The study of Romano-British cemeteries: how to revive the dead? *Francis Grew (Museum of London)*

The study of Romano-British cemeteries has often suffered from the absence of a truly holistic approach. The formal layout of many published reports - with separate sections on the physical layout of the cemetery, the 'grave goods' and the osteology - frequently seems to reflect an actual lack of integrated analysis. More disturbingly, it seems sometimes to derive from a perception that each specialism has a particular field of study that is separate from those of other specialisms - in the case of osteology, for instance, the study of demography, in the case of 'grave goods' the interpretation of 'status'. Perhaps partly for this reason it has often been difficult to distinguish patterns in Roman burial practice, while the patterns that have been detected may appear simplistic or be demonstrably false. Things have progressed considerably during the past decade - with a number of more integrated site studies or syntheses of funerary practice generally - but it is appropriate at this point to consider how the subject might develop further.

A major issue is the extent to which a cemetery population can be used to reconstruct a contemporary, living one. Factors such as age or illness on the one hand, and tradition or symbolism on the other, require us to explore the connections between the dead and the living, rather than to regard the cemetery as a fortuitously fossilised record of a community. At the same time, the very nature of burial excavation forces a shift in the hermeneutic approach. Whereas archaeology normally deals with the material product of indeterminate numbers of people or events, here the focus is on the individual and the single 'event'. This particularism is another reason why it is often impossible to perceive clear patterns in Roman funerary practice. It is not so much that the sample is too small - though, on a simplistic level, 500 graves indeed 'represent' just 500 people (whereas 500 pits might 'represent' as many as 50,000 people) - but that we should question the underlying 'particular/general' or 'example/universal' assumptions, which are inherent in the very attempt to search for simple patterning.

A consequence of focussing on the individual is that two further lines of enquiry become significant: understanding the specific circumstances of death and interpreting the funerary rite as representative of the final 'memory' of the deceased. So far as the second of these goes, it may be helpful to regard the particular burial as a particular response to a complex set of multiscale possibilities - social, economic, spiritual, phenomenological, ethnic and gender-related. By contextualising funerary practice in this way, we may indeed come closer to 'reviving the dead'.