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# **Theoretical Archaeology Group**

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## Representing complex societies

**Session Organisers: John Baines & John Bennet, Oxford University**

Politics that archaeologists and others study partly through texts and partly through elaborate representational art form a distinct category, whether they are termed 'complex societies' or 'civilizations'. They can be further subdivided according to whether there is documentary continuity between the society studied and the present day – as is the case with premodern China, medieval Europe, and historical archaeology in many regions – or whether, as with Old World Bronze Age civilizations, the entire record of a region, including its texts, owes its existence to archaeological exploration. This session focuses on this distinct category of politics, with an emphasis on Old World Bronze Age societies, although we actively encourage submissions from comparable regions of the New World.

In evidence from many archaeologically recovered complex societies, public textual and pictorial materials present a model of, or model for, the society itself, and are thus (meta)-representations that are internal to the society but also comment upon it. Modern reconstructions and analyses display some of the same characteristics, while their point of departure is necessarily external to the society even if they aspire to approach the perceptions of the actors. The monuments, works of art, and texts of complex societies are rarely static, although they seldom changed in the past as rapidly as modern interpretations, which develop less because the evidence base changes and more because interpretive frames shift continually.

How can archaeologists more effectively exploit ancient representations – textual and visual – of societies? Are they comparable with modern representations of those societies? What are the particular problems of integrating text and image in reconstructions of the workings of complex societies? How can specialists in those two areas – art history and study of texts – best integrate their objects of study with the broader archaeological context in which they are embedded?

We hope this session will explore some of these questions and enliven a dialogue among those who study 'complex societies' that has been at times fraught and at times stale.

### **(Why is there no) Writing on the Wall? Representations of Power in Minoan Crete**

**John Bennet, University of Oxford, & Cyprian Broodbank, Institute of Archaeology, UCL**

Many cultures have well developed iconographies surrounding their rulers that familiar from coffee-table books on world (art) history. Such imagery is often combined with writing that complements, reinforces or 'controls' images of power. Given their close affinity with other eastern Mediterranean cultures and the fact that they were literate, it is striking that those who ruled the palatial centres of Minoan Crete chose neither to present images of themselves in monumental format nor to use writing in conjunction with any form of imagery.

We explore the reasons for this apparent gap. We reject an explanation that claims we have simply not recognised or have 'misread' the existing imagery. Such an explanation implies a 'normative' view: that Minoan elites must have behaved 'just like us' or 'just like the Egyptians, Maya, etc.'. Instead, we propose that Minoan representations of power were constructed in a manner unfamiliar to us and depended

on particular styles of 'action' by live actors (within a carefully structured built environment) and 'place' (within a landscape charged with sacred meaning).

### **Essential tokens: picking up the pieces of early Mesopotamian communicative systems**

**Hannah Fluck, Oxford**

This is a talk about 'archaeology of desire' and the relationship between material and evidence. Denise Schmandt-Besserat's theory that cuneiform writing developed from the use of clay counters or 'tokens' throughout the Near Eastern Neolithic has been both widely acclaimed and widely criticised. The criticisms to date have primarily focussed on her essentialising presentation and interpretation of the data. More fundamentally, on rechecking the material she examined in the British Museum, it became clear that her collection and description of the dataset itself was problematic. If not only her theory but also the material basis for it have crumbled, can anything be salvaged from the wreckage?

### **Self and memory: the presentation of a life through text and monument in Ramesside Egypt**

**Elizabeth Froid, Oxford**

'A witness for the righteous one is his noble tomb'. This statement in the biographical inscription in the tomb chapel of Neferssekheru, a high official of Sety I (c. 1180 BCE), offers a way of interpreting both the function of Egyptian monumental tombs of individuals and the settings in which biographical texts were located. The genre of biographical writing was strictly bound to the commemorative funerary sphere. These texts were inscribed upon the walls of the tomb chapels of non-royal individuals and upon statuary and stelae set up in temples. Scholars have rarely attended to the original contexts in which these narratives were sited, yet these are essential to their meaning.

Comparatively few biographical texts are preserved from the Ramesside period, particularly from the tomb context. This lack may be due partly to chances of survival. However, change in the functional context of the tomb during this period may have also influenced the production and distribution of biographical material, perhaps reflecting changes in the expression and depiction of the relationship of the elite to the king and to deities. This paper will set the distribution of self-presentations within the tomb alongside their treatment in the votive context. An analysis that attends to all three categories – of text, image, and location in a monument – allows one to model the elite individual's mediation of identity in relation to social memory, to the royal sphere, and to the transition to the next world.

### **Reading the signs: decipherment and the Classic Maya polity**

**Simon Martin, UCL**

The past few decades have seen an event with far-reaching consequences for the study of human society in the New World. The decipherment of Maya hieroglyphic writing, though still incomplete, has allowed unprecedented access to the socio-political culture of a pre-contact American civilisation. This new body of text – largely spanning the 3rd to 9th centuries CE – has begun to flesh out the skeleton of archaeology and illuminate an art system whose meaning had been entirely lost by modern times.

Of all the areas of interest to the anthropologist and historian, study of the Classic Maya polity has been a particular beneficiary. Textual data gives us the opportunity to test

existing paradigms and to formulate completely new ones. After a century or more of etic reconstructions of the Maya past (many of them deeply flawed), we must now take the emic dimension into account. Yet the path ahead remains cloudy. However legible the inscriptions become, they provide no more than a glimpse of a society obscured through layers of cultural encryption and aligned to vanishing points that remain entirely beyond our view.

For specialists in Old World civilisations there is the chance to look on, as if time-travellers, on a field undergoing change and conflict of a degree unseen since the 19th century. An immature but vital area, Mayanists are currently seeking to consolidate their gains and build a tenable conception of ancient America's most literate people.

### **Do images reflect social concepts? On the representation of children in Egyptian art**

**Hubertus Münch, Oxford**

Images are effective instruments in human communication and interaction. Ideas can be mediated through them in relation to nonvisual domains, such as political or religious ideologies or social concepts. As powerful statements of their time and cultural context they are significant for the social analysis of complex societies. The interpretation of images is difficult, since the rules within which they were composed were culturally determined. This applies not only to an image's style but also to the kind of social information it processes and to how it represents that information: images transmit social ideas to their audiences in varying ways. How can we formulate questions that are appropriate to the material and how can we test our approaches?

This paper explores these questions through the representation of children in Egyptian two-dimensional art of the Old to New Kingdoms (c. 2500–1070 BCE). The aim is not to review iconographic aspects of the depiction of children or their living conditions but to exploit a range of strategies to analyse the images according to their cultural and functional context, in order to establish a more rigorous approach to their interpretation and to suggest methods that can be applied to other bodies of pictorial evidence. Egyptian material is not too idiosyncratic to have a bearing on other areas of research. Indeed, the great variety and sophistication of Egyptian data can complement theoretical advances in archaeology as a whole.

### **Representing Vijayanagara: contradiction, competition, and conflicting messages of imperial authority**

**Carla Sinopoli, University of Michigan**

The 14th–16th century South Indian Vijayanagara empire is known to scholars from diverse indigenous and foreign texts, from monumental architecture, and from the less monumental archaeological remains of everyday life. In this paper, I examine texts and monuments in order to consider the ways in which Vijayanagara's rulers and diverse elites represented themselves and the empire they sought to rule. I argue that different categories of texts (e.g., royal genealogies and origin stories, political commentaries, and sacred texts) and monuments (temple and administrative architecture) presented varied and often contradictory images of Vijayanagara state and society. It is in these contradictions that we can look for both internal variability and political competition within the center, as well as the diverse internal and external audiences for whom these messages were intended.

## Outside Archaeology

**Organisers: Christine Finn & Martin Henig, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford**

### **Growing into archaeology: Jacquetta Hawkes's childhood album**

**Christine Finn, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford**

In the process of excavating material for a biography of the archaeologist and writer Jacquetta Hawkes, I came across a number of images which she took as a child. These are snapshots and include family photos, landscapes and some archaeological sites. This presentation is a slide-show of some of these images in the context of the albums in which Jacquetta kept them. A short introduction to her childhood will be followed by extracts from her own recollections of early life, and her early immersion in archaeology. The point is to consider the roots of a feeling for the past, and how interest transforms into a passion within the context of what I will term 'archaeobiography'.

### **Uses of Archaeology The Architectural Dimensions of the Theology of Light in the Twelfth-Century**

**G E Gasper, Wolfson College, Oxford**

The twelfth-century was a period of economic, creative and intellectual growth in western Europe. In this century the Universities of Paris and Bologna were founded, theologians and thinkers expressed a desire to order human knowledge and great Cathedrals were built in elaborate styles. Order and rationality lie at the heart of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Light, and thought on light, had an important part to play in this period, and to explore thought on light is to penetrate to the centre of the twelfth-century endeavour. It is also an area in which various disciplines meet, not least of which are textual history and archaeology. There are a number of buildings whose design can be expressly connected to thinking on light. Abbot Suger's new church at St Denis in the second quarter of the century is a good example. Influenced by, amongst other works, Pseudo-Dionysius's Hierarchies, Suger wrote a treatise explaining the effects he wished to explore in his building-work. There are other examples, and the one I wish to explore primarily is a Norwegian homily on the building of a stave-church, and the importance of the windows and of light. I should like in this paper, to offer some thoughts on the way in which archaeology and history are linked in this subject, using the examples of Suger and the Stave Church as illustrations.

### **Message in a Bottle**

**Francis Grew, Curator (Archaeology), Museum of London**

Last year, the speaker was privileged to observe the careful recovery by building workers of a Time Capsule that had been laid a century and a half previously as a Foundation Deposit beneath the Whitechapel Public Baths and Wash-houses in London's East End.

For the finders, the unearthing of the Capsule and the subsequent analysis of its contents were but the first links in a chain of both discovery and self-discovery. As the circumstances surrounding the ritual of deposition slowly emerged, so did it become clear that past could no longer be separated from present, and that the finders and depositors had become enmeshed in a single act of complicity. Issues relating to the manipulation of power and privilege; to the control of technology; to the politics of gender and class; and to the current practice of archaeology were all ruthlessly exposed.

### On a Cornelian Heart which was broken

**Martin Henig, Visiting Lecturer in Roman Art, University of Oxford.**

Byron's poem of March 1812 related the breakage of a valued object with a personal history (blood-red cornelian hearts were well-attested jewellery types of the time) and his own response to the mishap. In a sense the poem reveals a personal, emotional archaeology independent of the outside world.

In an attempt to define archaeology I recall that as an undergraduate at Cambridge, reading history but a frequent visitor to lectures in Downing Street, I was accused of 'not being an archaeologist', as not having a right to express opinions on the subject. The title of Professor Dermode's fine autobiography 'Not Entitled' comes to mind.

Who is entitled to be called an archaeologist? Although, by virtue of being associated with the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford and with the British Archaeological Association, the author of this contribution might now be viewed as an obvious 'insider', he will suggest that for himself, as an art-historian, archaeology is no more to be identified with techniques such as excavation, pottery analysis, or radio-carbon dating than it is with one way the word was used in the 19th century, as having to do with the correct definition of Gothic orders. Do those who run departments of archaeology in universities simply privilege their own studies at the expense of others? Is not the archaeologist simply any woman or man with a retrospective turn of mind whether she or he be poet, artist, or historian?

For the outsider (and aren't we ALL outsiders?) it will be suggested that the 'archaeological' quest should be a pilgrimage, an exploration of all manner of ancient wisdom, literary, artistic, philosophical and of course, religious; for the roots of archaeology have always lain in the pre-existing, eternal Logos.

The excavation of ancient cities Troy, Pompeii, Bath...or, indeed, Oxford reminds us too that:

The end crowns all;

And that old common arbitrator, Time,

Will one day end it.

But it also brings us face to face with those who came before us so that we may learn something of their lives and thus sharpen our aesthetic and moral senses. This paper which began with one outsider (to whom the cause of philhellenism and thus of the study of Classical Archaeology owes a vast debt), ends with another, a 17th century Norwich doctor, Sir Thomas Brown, author of *Religio Medici* but also of *Brampton Urns and Hydriotaphia (Urn Burial)*. His field observation are acute but his archaeology takes us far beyond mere fact into the realms of philosophy and religion. His words in the last of these works should still make us pause.

What Song of the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture. What time the persons of these Ossuaries entered the famous Nations of the dead, and slept with Princes and Counsellors, might admit a wide solution. But who were the proprietors of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above Antiquarianism.

### Platinum: Revivalism Revived

**Helen Molesworth, Sothby's Jewellery Department**

Archaeology and archaeological finds have had a wide-ranging and dominant impact upon the decorative arts and, in particu-

lar, jewellery, especially over the past two centuries. In this paper I would like to take a closer look at the effect of archaeological discoveries upon Edwardian and 'Belle Epoque' jewellery (from the end of the 19th century up to the First World War) in particular and examine the ways in which classical themes used throughout Victorian times were reused and reinterpreted. It will show how the discovery of platinum had an effect upon this reinterpretation of ancient discoveries and suggest what the political and social implications of such classical and archaeological motifs may have been.

### Archaeology and Fiction in the Nineteenth Century

**Sarah Shaw**

In 1826 considerable journalistic excitement was aroused by the sudden announcement that a body had been found in the Swiss mountain snow, which, after 'resuscitation', proved to be a seventeenth-century Englishman who had been frozen in ice. According to the scientific jargon of the time the body had, it was reported, been 'hermetically sealed' by frost, the 'corporeal atoma' had therefore been protected, and as a result of this 'animation' had been suspended. Although soon revealed as a hoax the incident fired the imagination of the nineteenth-century public. How would the monuments and developments of one century seem to an observer from an earlier time? How would this time-traveller from another century manage? Archaeologists try to recreate the life of other centuries; but how would inhabitants of other centuries respond to the 'present'?

The hoax would now be completely forgotten had not the writer Mary Shelley, ever fascinated by such oddities, written an imaginary recreation of the encounter between the doctor who had effected the reanimation of this 'Rip van Winkle' from 1654. In 'Roger Dodsworth, the Reanimated Englishman' (written 1826, published 1863) and in another story of suspended animation, 'Valerius, the Reanimated Roman' (1819) instigated by a visit to Rome, Mary Shelley gives fictional expression to one of her greatest preoccupations: "how such and such heroes of antiquity would act, if they were reborn in these time". Valerius, like Dodsworth, is disturbed and appalled by the loss of familiar landscape in the world around. Churches and monuments of the Christian superstition have desecrated the classical lines of his ancient city, whereas the buildings of his own time are in ruins, and he cannot cope with the collision between his own heroic values and those of a changed society.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century many of us can feel, like these characters, bewildered refugees from another time beached on the shores of an unfamiliar landscape. This paper looks at some nineteenth-century fictional "time-travellers" and their bemused and sometimes excited response to progress and change. The archaeologist attempts to recreate the life of the past; but fictional writers can turn the tables, and see how those from the past might try to make sense of the present. The paper gives a brief look at the way archaeological discovery in the nineteenth century impressed itself on the literary imagination, and how romances, fantasies and adventure stories elaborated on the possibilities suggested by archaeological research.

### 'Skyhorse'

**Jon Stallworthy**

The Skyhorse here making its firm public appearance is the Uffington Horse seen as Pegasus, the traditional symbol of poetry. The 10 interlinked sections of Jon Stallworthy's new poem, speak of the horse in voices ranging from that of its bronze-age creator to those of a 13th-century wandering

scholar and his 20th-century descendent. Combined, they comprise a polyphonic celebration of the English people and their poetry over 3 millennia.

### The Neanderthal revolution: 'archaic' archaeology that never was

**Organisers: Anthony Sinclair and Patrick Quinney, Dept. of Archaeology, School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies (SACOS), University of Liverpool**  
**Chairs: Clive Gamble, Southampton, and John Gowlett, Liverpool**

This session operates under a simple premise: *Homo sapiens* is now extinct. We do not exist, the 'Human Revolution' did not take place, and the only evidence of our short evolutionary history is a few fossilised crania from eastern and southern Africa, and the Levant. From this basis we ask the question, what would the archaeological record look like, if, instead of following us into extinction, Neanderthals were alive, well and dominant in today's world? What sort of evolutionary trajectories and adaptations would 'archaics' have developed and adopted during the Upper Pleistocene and Holocene if competitive exclusion by 'modern' humans was not a problem? As a consequence, how would the 'modern archaic' world look? In what ways would the cultural and physical environment of the present interglacial differ from our own reality?

We have placed three basic restrictions on the terms of reference: (1) the temporal framework of the scenario deals only with the last full-glacial of OI Stage 4 through to the present; (2) we make the assumption that the hyper-cold phase which preceded the last glacial period decimated hominid populations globally causing population collapse in *Homo sapiens* with the isolation of archaic populations elsewhere leading to severe genetic bottlenecks; and (3) subsequent release from bottlenecks during late OI Stage 4 or early Stage 3 took place in both Eurasian cold and Asian tropically adapted archaic groups only, with *Homo sapiens* surviving as small Afro-Eurasian relict populations before eventually going extinct.

The upshot of this framework is that extra-African archaic groups were free to develop evolutionary trajectories independent of the implied competitive exclusion generated by range expansion in *Homo sapiens*. Over the course of ten papers we hope to explore the possibilities created by this scenario, allowing contributors free-rein to exercise their imaginations; but with the proviso that reconstructions should be firmly grounded in current understandings of archaic and early-modern cognitive capabilities, technological competency, and skeletal biology. From this basis we hope to investigate the archaic revolution and the prehistory of what might have been.

No abstracts available

### Complex systems, agent-based models, and archaeological theory

**Organizers: R Alexander Bentley, University of Wisconsin and Herbert D G Maschner, Idaho State University**  
**Co-organizers and co-chairs: Herbert D G Maschner, Idaho State University, and R. Alexander Bentley, University of Wisconsin**

Archaeology deals with the record left by complex systems of interconnected agents. Whether these agents are defined at the scale of individuals, groups, households, villages or otherwise, all agents are interconnected in such a way that changes

in the actions of one affects many others. Human societies are 'open' in the sense that new generations are born, new ideas and conflicts constantly arise, and new material culture is produced by each generation. For this reason, the systems we characterize in archaeology cannot simply be viewed as entities in equilibrium with an outer environment. Although every complex system is unique on a particular scale, complexity theory tells us that many complex systems of interacting parts have a number of 'emergent properties' in common.

These emergent properties include punctuated equilibrium pace of change, system 'memory', occasional catastrophic changes resulting from a small triggering event, and fractal or 'scale-free' properties. Many of these complex phenomena are observed in human systems, particularly in economics, and as archaeologists we are challenged to recognize them in prehistory. This session will investigate the role of complex systems research in the development of archaeology theory and interpretation.

### An introduction to complex systems

**R Alexander Bentley, University of Wisconsin**

Complexity science transects many topics, fields, and areas of investigation ranging from physics to computer science, biology, economics and the social sciences. The reason archaeologists should be interested in complexity science is that it is explicitly for the study of systems of interacting agents, a characteristic of all human societies. Interaction between agents of a complex system creates its 'emergent properties,' which are features of the system as a whole that are greater than the properties of the agents individually. A brain, for example, has the emergent property of 'consciousness,' even though individual neurons are not conscious. In human social systems, a traffic jam may have 'a life of its own,' or a large number of people with specialized occupations may make up a 'state.' Changes in agent types, strategies and interactions as well as the selection processes on agents and/or their strategies affect the emergent properties of the system in ways that can lead to a general understanding of behavior (Axelrod and Cohen 2000, *Harnessing Complexity: Organizational Implications of a Scientific Frontier*, Free Press). In the analysis of Complex Adaptive Systems we ask, what can we say about a world where many players are adapting to each other and the future is unpredictable? There are several approaches to the question, all equally valid and in fact complimentary. Some of these approaches include:

Qualitative descriptions of complex systems and a specific vocabulary defined to help isolate and understand their features. Such terms include agent, strategy, artifact, interaction, space (conceptual and physical), and emergent property.

- An evolutionary framework for describing Complex Adaptive Systems: Variation, Interaction, and Selection.
- Network analysis and the 'small world' phenomenon.
- Agent-based modeling of Complex Adaptive Systems.
- Self-organized criticality, fractals and punctuated change.
- It is through the study of complex adaptive systems that the nature of emergent phenomena in human social interaction may finally be investigated.

### An avalanche of ideas

**R Alexander Bentley (University of Wisconsin) and**

**Herbert D. G. Maschner, Idaho State University**

Ideas, such as stories, technologies, cultural beliefs, styles, and other categories of social information, are transmitted through cultural systems and across generations.

People commonly notice that cultural phenomena, or 'fads', seem to disseminate as avalanches of interconnected events. This paper demonstrates two examples of this, one modern and one archaeological. First, a particular idea is traced through the scientific literature as a case study in the spread of cultural information in a society. It is argued that interconnections between authors, as part of the citation process, amplify small initial differences into large disparities in each author's success over time. Whatever the nature of these initial differences, they are amplified by the fractal growth of the citation network to an ever-increasing scale. The second example involves similar evidence for historical pottery styles of New York State. The potters and their pottery styles interacted in a network such that 'avalanches' of change occurred in their stylistic evolution. The avalanches are statistically similar to the general criteria for 'self-organized criticality' - a widespread theory used to explain complex phenomena in systems as diverse as the stock market and biological ecosystems. The theory of self-organized criticality thus extends into cultural evolution in a way that is practicable by archaeologists.

#### Searching for structure in the past - or was it one damn thing after another?

**John Bintliff, Universiteit Leiden**

From the confident belief in overriding, or even mathematical, trends underlying the mechanics of past communities, characteristic for New Archaeology in the 1960s-1970s, theoretical perspectives in the 1980s-1990s have shifted violently towards particularism, historicism and relativism, characteristic for Post Processualism. Both traditions in retrospect offer unrealistic models of human society in history that defy even common-sense awareness. Alternatives to these polarized scenarios have included Structuration Theory (but this has tended to privilege Agency rather than Structure), and, more fruitfully, Annales Structural History. Problems with understanding the articulation of the multi-temporal (short, medium and long) and multiformal (technologies, mentalities, etc.) processes analyzed in the Annales' approach can be solved with the application of more recent methodological and theoretical perspectives, such as Contingency Theory and especially, Chaos and Complexity Theory. This paper will explore the specific ways in which Complexity helps us to greater flexibility and openness to the messiness of the Past, and yet offers a viable pathway to reinstating structural form and trend, devoid of determinism and sensitive to both human individualism and culture-historical uniqueness.

#### The Neolithic settlement of riverine interior Europe as a complex adaptive system

**Peter Bogucki, Princeton University**

The establishment of farming communities throughout the area between Slovakia and France and between the Danube valley and the North European Plain between 5600 and 5000 B.C. has been resistant to explanation within common archaeological interpretive frameworks. It was neither the result of explosive population growth along the middle Danube that produced a tidal wave of farmers nor a mass conversion of indigenous foragers to sedentary agricultural life. If, however, this phenomenon is examined as a complex adaptive system, it may be possible to understand it better. Some key elements of such an approach to this problem include the following:

- the developmental cycle of households provided a 'metabolism' that gave the Neolithic diaspora its emergent qualities;
- as accumulated experience led to reduced costs in mistakes, labor, and start-up effort, the early Neolithic

farming system in central Europe would have been subject to increasing returns;

- sharing of information among individuals and households magnified the effects of local decisions and chance events;
- advances in dispersal theory account for the appearance of rapidity with which agricultural communities were established over an area of 750,000 square kilometers.

#### The center for the evolutionary analysis of culture

**Mark Lake, UCL**

Is the process of cultural change like biological evolution, literally, or just metaphorically? Does innovation occur on rugged fitness landscapes, and if so, by breadth-first search or depth first search? These are some of the key questions that will be addressed by the new AHRB Centre for the Evolutionary Analysis of Cultural Behaviour (UCL and Southampton). This paper sets out the Centre's research agenda for the next five years.

#### Agency and structuration in social theory

**Robert Layton, University of Durham**

Bourdieu and Giddens are both critical of the ahistorical quality of the structural analysis promoted by Radcliffe-Brown and Lévi-Strauss (Bourdieu 1977: 5, Giddens 1984: 25). Structural analysis also tends to render variation in individual performances as deviations from an imagined unwritten score (social structure). Bourdieu and Giddens argue that order in social relations arises spontaneously. Each individual pursues their own strategies, according to their own understanding of local rules and meanings. Agents' strategies constitute local society and culture, through the stretching of social relations across time and space (Giddens 1980: 35). Agency cannot, therefore, be considered independently of its counterpart, structuration. To what extent should sociological analysis take variation in individual agents' strategies into account when studying the cause of social change? Lorenz coined the term 'butterfly effect' to express the notion that a small, chance event could displace the state of a system. Co-evolving social strategies tend to support or undermine each other, hence enabling or inhibiting the 'stretching' of particular patterns of relationship in time. The recursive effect of using certain cultural strategies is to create the conditions in which those strategies either can, or cannot readily be put into practice in future. The effect of such chance events depends on the stability of the system. If the system is inherently stable, the 'butterfly effect' will be greatly reduced. The more unstable the state of the system, the greater the effect of a small, chance deflection from its current trajectory.

I shall give two examples, (a) partible inheritance and (b) mechanization in agriculture. The first illustrates how a social system may tend to remain in equilibrium despite some agents' attempts to generate differences of wealth while the second illustrates how the decisions of a few agents may destabilize a social system, compelling others to follow their lead or be forced out of agriculture. I hope these examples will suggest how questions concerning long-term stability and change in social systems might be addressed.

#### Complexity as a complex system: the power law of rank and household on the north Pacific

**Herbert D G Maschner, Idaho State University and R Alexander Bentley, University of Wisconsin**

The analysis of over 5000 house and tent depressions from the lower Alaska Peninsula reveals a distribution that appears to be a power law. This distribution is best characterized by an

immense number of small and medium sized households that coexisted with a small number of very large households. This pattern holds whether one investigates these structures diachronically or synchronically. We believe that this pattern is an example of scale-free network growth that parallels Bodley's 'power-elite' hypothesis (Current Anthropology 40: 595-620) for the prevalence of power-law scaling of wealth in nearly all societies. But here it is seen as a power differential built solely on the variation inherent in household size. Large households tend to grow at a faster rate than smaller households because they are better connected in a network of interacting agents. This is the fundamental basis for the rise of hereditary inequality in village-based societies.

#### The map is not the territory: complexity, complication and representation

**James McGlade, UCL**

Archaeology's growing, if hesitant, engagement with the new Complexity discourse has much to commend it - not least of which is its relegation of an increasingly spurious processual/post-processual dichotomy. However, so far, our approaches to modeling complexity phenomena have been governed by a search for appropriate computational structures (e.g. CA, multi-agent and dynamical systems etc.). This paper suggests that we need to look more critically at the language and assumptions resident in our current modeling paradigms and particularly their relationship to the nature of complex socio-cultural systems. Additionally, and perhaps more important, is that archaeology is in danger of missing what is really radical about the world as defined by the new paradigm of Complexity; that is it irreversibly alters our comfortable notions of time, space and causality. This amounts to nothing less than a fundamental epistemological shift that needs to be factored into our model representations. Archaeology must not fall into the trap of seeing Complexity as a new 'master narrative', but rather to focus on the way in which it enlarges our capacity to understand social-natural interaction by exposing new dimensions defined by partial connections, fragmented temporalities and multiple mappings.

#### Material histories and textual archaeologies

**Organisers: Patricia Baker, Dept. of Classics, University of Newcastle, Andrew Gardner, Institute of Archaeology, UCL**

This session is concerned with the relationship between writing and material culture in the present (as evidence) and in the past (as meaningful discourses). Its primary focus is the exploration of this relationship in historical archaeologies, but it is hoped that the more general theme of comparing linguistic and material communication will have much broader relevance.

Our knowledge of many periods of the human past is constructed around both historical and archaeological sources. Yet, frequently, one form of evidence is used to support another, rather than both being used as equal means of understanding the past, creating an inherent superiority in one type of material over the other. For example, textual sources are frequently viewed as an objective means of understanding the past without consideration of possible biases in historical accounts; in conjunction with this the material remains are perceived as a tool for bolstering the texts. The

opposite situation of material culture patterning being supported by the texts can also occur. To move away from this hierarchical aspect, one can use the example of practice set in the field of American Historical and post-Medieval archaeology to develop ways of mediating more equally between both types of evidence. Insights can also be derived from recent developments in the philosophy of history, which treat texts in very different ways to those common in traditional historical archaeologies.

Text is a form of material culture and material culture has been seen as a form of text. Both can be examined critically as subjective forms of information, which represent a range of perspectives held, and discourses created, by past human agents. The session therefore aims to move beyond the more traditional approach to historical archaeologies, and tackle such studies from new directions.

#### Curing all ills: the History and Archaeology of Roman Medicine

**Patricia Baker, University of Kent at Canterbury**

Scholars who specialise in the archaeology of Roman medicine have relied upon the literature of Roman medical writers, such as Celsus, Soranus and Galen, to identify the intended functions of the material remains of medical instruments. There seems to be an understanding in this area of study that one cannot examine the archaeological remains without juxtaposition to the classical literary sources. This idea is stated by Salazar in her philological study of the treatment of war wounds in Greek and Roman literature: she says for ancient medicine 'In addition to the literary evidence, there is also a fairly large amount of archaeological evidence. Although on its own this material would be open to numerous, contrasting conjectures, it can be used along with the literary evidence and in comparison with it' (2000: 230). To be fair Salazar is a philologist, but her understanding of how archaeological material cannot say much on its own is based on the system of examination as it stands.

Not only is the field limited by its literary based approach, but it is further restricted by the choice of literary sources used in the comparison of medical instruments. The literature upon which most scholars are dependent upon making their interpretations is that which presents a 'rational', as westerners would understand it, approach to curing illness, one that is not hindered by religion or magic. Other literary sources, such as Pliny's Natural History discuss treatments that are not 'rational', implying that there were different understandings of medical care in the Roman world. The archaeological examinations that have been made are not only limited by their dependence upon the literature, but by the literature that is chosen to help explain medical practice and the function of the tools. What is presented is a modern western rational approach to medicine that was homogeneous throughout the empire, but it may not be reflective of the ancient situation.

The archaeological material can be studied on its own to determine more about the practice of medical care throughout the Roman empire. The empire consisted of numerous societies, each with different cultural understandings and practices that did not necessarily conform to Roman (here meaning those in Italy) practices. As the body and medical healing are culturally defined, it is important to question whether there is evidence for these differences not mentioned often in the ancient literature, but that may be drawn from contextual archaeological studies. The remains of finds from both civilian and military sites from throughout the empire will be examined to see if there were other tools that might be ascribed a 'non-rational' function and if the tools

already recognised by archaeologists might have served other purposes. Moreover, the deposition of the instruments can be examined to see if there were different means of disposal that display ideas about the body, disease and treatment. In this way we can break down the notion of a single body of medical thought and practice in the Roman world.

### **Mosaics and Metaphors in the 'Romanisation of Britain'**

**Neil Cookson**

Mosaics are one of the most diagnostic features of Roman material culture. From the first to the fourth century AD in Britain a mosaic assemblage which is predominantly of geometric, grid-pattern and 'static' design, with some naturalistic scenes, gives way to an assemblage which is more dynamic, allusive and mythological. Over the same period the written evidence for mosaic is enigmatic. There is virtually no written evidence for the preferred formal or stylistic content of mosaics, although there are several commentaries on architecture and the technical aspects of mosaic production (especially their foundations). Some mosaics also include inscriptions, ranging from individual initials or abbreviations to literary references. The archaeological uses of metaphor - meaning all kinds of figurative expression - are most recently considered by Tilley (1999), who accords metaphor a leading role in all cognition, and especially in archaeological thinking. This paper investigates how metaphorical descriptions of (1) the content and (2) the relationships (especially the textual and epigraphic relationships) of these artefacts help us to interpret culture and society in a particular Roman province: how, for example, the differences between the cultural meanings suggested by the literary and material relationships of the Fishbourne mosaics (first/second century) and the Lullingstone mosaics (fourth century) are to be interpreted. Some of the metaphors which describe this aspect of Roman culture in Britain are applicable throughout the period to 400 AD, some (e.g. 'the absent landlord' / 'living on myths') are chronologically distinct and others (e.g. 'petals of stone') appear to be contested and amended.

### **Mediating between forms of discourse: a historical archaeology of late Roman Britain**

**A Gardner, Institute of Archaeology, UCL**

Historical archaeologies have sometimes been associated with a particularist approach to the past, dealing in specific contexts rather than cross-cultural generalizations. In this paper, it will be argued that on some levels this particularism must be carried even further than it has been hitherto, while on others it can and must be rejected. In many areas and periods, written texts are actually used as a basis for generalizations about cultural practices, obscuring variation in material culture patternings which, as much as the texts themselves, relate to the meaningful discourses of human agents. To understand more fully some of these discourses, as much attention must be paid to the contexts of production and consumption of the texts (as artefacts) as to other kinds of material. In doing this, however, historical archaeologies can offer insights into material culture use that transcend narrow sub-disciplinary boundaries, and which can be compared between societies which use writing in different ways, or not at all. This can be achieved by attempting to mediate between the various forms of discourse created by past social actors.

The example used to explore these themes here is that of late Roman Britain (4th/early 5th centuries AD), with a specific focus upon the role of the military in society in this con-

text. The range of material available for the study of this subject is considerable, including a large number of sites and artefacts, and written texts of various kinds (deriving from other parts of the Empire). However, to talk of these things only as 'evidence' obscures their role in the social life of past individuals and groups. Material cultures of all kinds, including those bearing writing, played an active role, particularly in the construction and negotiation of social identities. Only by comparing these different discourses, with constant attention to their specific contexts, can we begin to understand the complex relationship between soldiers and other social groups, and in turn the relationships between material practices and social interaction.

### **The Narrative Desire in Roman Archaeology**

**Ray Laurence, University of Reading**

The interpretation of Roman culture during the 20th century has been determined by a desire to create a series of universal 'truths' about an imperialist state that have been seen to provide a framework for understanding specific features of material culture and texts. The source of these overall frameworks (e.g. Romanisation, resistance, hybridisation) lies not in the texts from antiquity but in the desire to create a universal narrative or vision of what is Rome or Roman imperialistic practice. The desire for narrative feeds off the surviving texts written in Greek and Latin from mostly the first century BCE through to the second century CE. These texts written from the perspective of those in the Mediterranean are seen to represent falsehoods as well as truths and can be rejected out of hand with the hope that material culture will surpass them to form a different archaeological narrative - seldom can the proponents of this methodology escape from a historical perspective of Rome and its empire that is embedded in the cultures of the West. In dealing with texts, the desire on the part of the interpreter to create an all embracing framework from fragmentary texts can lead to an acceptance of the statements made in order to create a narrative archeostory that ignores the polyvalency of the literary text. This it will be argued has caused the wealth of evidence from the Roman period to be interpreted via a limited number of explanatory frameworks that represent a desire to universalise and homogenise the variety of textual evidence in order to simplify the past. As a result, Roman archaeology has not developed its interest in other forms of interpretation beyond those of the relationship between invader and invader and their associated power relations. Finally, the paper will present the case study of the presence of material culture within texts and offer a view to an alternative narrative form.

### **'Pictures of Searching for Stelae', Huang Yi's (1744-1802) Epigraphical Paintings**

**Bruce MacLaren**

The Fang Bei Tu Ce (Album of Pictures of Searching for Stelae) and De Bei Tu Ce (Album of Pictures of Obtaining Stelae), were painted by the middle Qing Dynasty (artist Huang Yi (1744-1802)). Remembered today for his achievements in the scholarly arts of painting and calligraphy, as well as his discovery of the pictorial stone panels of the second century Wu Family Shrines in Jiexiang, Shandong Province in 1777, Huang Yi utilized traditional literati painting vehicles to promote important archeological discoveries he and his compatriots had made. Although promotion of the past was a main element in the arts of the literati since inception, the empirical flavor with which Huang Yi endows his paintings is a direct result of a greater intellectual movement.

As a member of the blossoming epigraphy movement during the reign of the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736-1795),

Huang Yi's search for the true remnants of pre-Song dynasty (960-1279) Chinese culture did not cease with the single momentous discovery in Jiexiang. Rather, his avid interest in seeking the vestiges of antiquity resulted in the discovery of several important sites and stelae. As a means of documentation and promotion for these important finds, Huang Yi painted several albums depicting the search for and discovery of stelae and stone shrines. Each painting is accompanied by scholarly commentary describing the methods he used to track down the stele, the importance of the find, and historical data. Whereas the academic documentation is a testament to the evidential studies (kaozheng) intellectual movement to which Huang Yi belonged, the discoveries themselves helped establish the aesthetic canon of the Epigraphy school of painting and calligraphy (Jinshijia) which fully developed in the later nineteenth century.

This examination of Huang Yi's painting affords a case study of the way in which art was used by a member of the literati as a means of promoting archeological discoveries of the epigraphy movement. The Fang Bei Tu Ce and De Bei Tu Ce albums, with their reliance on subtle, calligraphic brushwork and a reverent respect for the past, evolve from the long-standing literati painting tradition. However, as much as the artist derived from this tradition, he attempted to expand it. Under the influence of the epigraphy and evidential studies movements, Huang Yi infused his paintings with a precise, empirical scholarship and promoted remnants of antiquity that had been ignored by the literati over the centuries.

### **Between Text and Trowel: The Historical Archaeology of the history of archaeology at Avebury, Wiltshire**

**Joshua Pollard, UWCN; Mark Gillings, University of Leicester, and David Wheatley, University of Southampton**

Considered to be a key figure in the development of field archaeology, William Stukeley was active in recording the complex of Neolithic monuments at Avebury, Wiltshire, in the 1710s and 1720s; a point in time when many of the megalithic settings were in the process of being destroyed by a zealous band of local farmers. Recent fieldwork on the "re-discovered" Beckhampton Avenue has served to verify the accuracy of Stukeley's archaeological observations and of his accounts of early 18th century stone-breaking. Whilst initially unproblematic, our encounter with the archaeology of monument destruction, and of Stukeley's fieldwork, operates within a many-fold hermeneutic. We are engaged in a critical archaeology of Stukeley's archaeology. This embodies the kind of critical judgement necessary in any re-evaluation of previous archaeological recording (understanding the context and bias in that work and its epistemological basis); an appreciation of the social and micro-political setting within which stone breaking took place, and of Stukeley's observational response; and an understanding of the way that our interpretation of the archaeology is coloured by the prior record provided by Stukeley. The product is an unique form of historical archaeology that is at the same time a part of the history of archaeology.

### **Perspectives on Power in Later Anglo-Saxon England: Aspects of the Relationship between Archaeology and History**

**Andrew Reynolds, King Alfred's College, Winchester**

This paper will explore aspects of the archaeology and history of power in Late Anglo-Saxon England. In recent years histo-

rians have argued for a 10th century horizon for the emergence of the complex society that provided the backdrop for the development of social control in medieval society. Archaeology, however, reveals a contrasting narrative and the relationships between the two are considered. Overall the paper looks at how archaeology can contribute to a field of study traditionally dominated by historians and examines the resultant tensions that exist between the two disciplines.

### **Discarding crinolines for chitons: readdressing the sanctuaries of Sparta**

**Nicki Waugh, University of Bristol**

Sparta of the archaic period (700-500 BC) had four main sanctuaries: that of Apollo Hyakinthos at Amyklai (excavated by Greek and German teams), and those of Artemis Orthia, Athena Chalkioikos, and Helen and Menelaos (the Menelaion) - all excavated by the British School at Athens between 1906-1910. At the time of the excavations interpretive scholarship consciously valued literature over other 'artefacts'. Thus Helen and Artemis Orthia were viewed as 'nature goddesses' in line with religious and mythological interpretation of the time. But while hierarchical structuring of evidence (material or literary) is now questioned, in many cases it has not been revised. This has been the case in Sparta, where the cults have in effect, been left in a time warp. To redress this, the sanctuaries require a re-examination; a balancing of the various elements of material culture into a dialectic, rather than hierarchical, relationship. Only thus may we take Artemis Orthia and Helen out of their Victorian crinolines and give them back their chitons.

### **Archaeology, Text, and Inter-Cultural Representation**

**Peter S Wells, University of Minnesota**

In situations of interaction between complex literate societies and smaller-scale non-literate peoples, archaeologists, as well as historians, tend to privilege texts over archaeology. This widespread practice is particularly evident in archaeologists' treatment of Iron Age peoples with respect to texts authored by Caesar, Tacitus, and others. An approach more consistent with current understanding of the nature of observers' texts, material culture, and change in the context of interaction begins with the archaeology and uses the material evidence to illuminate the texts. The result can be a more informative interpretation of the archaeological evidence, the related texts, and the contact situation. Examples from Iron Age Europe illustrate this approach.

### **A View of the Past: Victorian Archaeology**

**Organiser: Hannah Sackett**

**Discussant: Robin Boast, University of Cambridge**

Early studies of the history of archaeology often portrayed the Victorian era as a pivotal point in the creation of 'modern' archaeology, with the age of antiquarianism giving way to scientific and objective methods of recording and the growing acceptance of the subject as an academic discipline. The more recent questioning of objectivity and scientific truth as the aim of archaeology makes this approach problematic. This session is aimed at providing a fresh slant on Victorian archaeology, with greater emphasis on understanding the aims and attitudes of archaeologists within their own time. Since the Victorian era itself is increasingly studied by archaeologists, the session also takes a broader

look at contemporary attitudes towards monuments, artefacts and past societies.

### **Antiquarian Writing and Contemporary Archaeology**

**Andrew Baines, University of Glasgow**

The medium of archaeology is predominantly textual. In our responses to the written works of others, we expect to be engaged in a characteristically archaeological discourse, with a specific and recognisable structure and vocabulary. In evaluating the published work of 19th Century antiquarians, we will inevitably look for points of contact between their academic language and our own; success or failure in the identification of such points of contact may prompt us to recognise a nascent archaeology in some writings, while dismissing others as naive or absurd. With this point in mind, this paper will discuss the written and material legacies of three 19th Century antiquarians in the north of Scotland, and will explore the degree to which each has been admitted as an influence on subsequent archaeologies of the area. In doing so, it will discuss wider issues concerning the importance to contemporary archaeology of the formalities of writing, and of the problems of engaging with material culture.

### **Archaeology and Revolution: Morgan, Morris and Marx**

**Martin Brown, East Sussex County Council**

William Morris is often identified as the designer of nice fabrics for nice people, a notion he would have hated. He has also been accused of fostering an unhealthily reverential attitude to ancient buildings. Examination of Morris's work shows that his attitude to artefact and monument, both antique and contemporary, was critical and radical. Drawing on Ruskin's idea that monuments communicated the spirit of the age that constructed them and on Morgan's work on Prehistory, Morris used archaeology to argue that industrialism and capitalism were taking civilisation in a downward spiral to degradation and 'shoddiness' in design, art and in society at large. This paper will look at Morris's use of the past in his propaganda for socialism and in his search for a better, more just world.

### **Camera Obscuring: The Representation of Excavation in the Photographic Age**

**Mark Knight, Cambridge Archaeological Unit, University of Cambridge**

The early use of photography in archaeology began a particular tradition of representation of the excavator and excavated. The image of a 'digger' with shovel or pick in hand as scale for the excavation photograph is an enduring one that has become fixed. In contrast the 'archaeologist', when not on the other side of the camera, is depicted using very different props. Although both types of depiction are staged, the 'archaeologist' is never seen as scale but is foregrounded to the extent that the archaeology (i.e. the ditch, the pit) becomes background, and exploited as scale for the 'archaeologist'. What do these forms of representation tell us about excavation practice both in the Victorian period and today?

### **Straight-jacketing the past: the establishment of a dominant paradigm in British castle studies.**

**David Mercer, University of Cambridge**

Recent heated debate over the function and origin of the castle has resulted in the generation of new ideas on the role of the castle. It is argued that the creation of the discipline of Castle Studies by Victorian and Edwardian scholars established the framework into which subsequent archaeological

discoveries have been made to fit. The dominant paradigm of Darwinian Evolution used by such scholars is shown to have impeded the disciplines subsequent development. That earlier accounts have not been overturned earlier is due to an academic hagiography, which has elevated certain scholars to a mythical role within the history of the discipline.

There has also been a 'selective consciousness' which has written out earlier accounts contradicting the dominant academic theory from our histories of archaeology. By highlighting such examples of academic myth-making through historiographical studies, archaeological agendas can be highlighted leading to the creation of new approaches to the study of the past.

### **Developing a Victorian world view: The collecting activities of Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913)**

**Janet Owen, Nottingham Museums**

### **1857 and all that: Lord Curzon and the commemoration of the Indian Mutiny**

**David Petts, York Archaeological Trust**

Lord Curzon was one of the most influential viceroys of India in the later 19th century. As well as leading many important administrative reforms he also had a great interest in India's cultural history and archaeology. He was a driving force behind revivifying the moribund Archaeological Survey of India. He also had an interest in India's more recent history and was responsible for a program of commemoration of important sites of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. This paper explores the contrasts between Curzon's attitude to Indian and European heritage in India, and also the way in which the Mutiny was remembered before and after Curzon.

### **Materialism, idealism, social evolution and archaeology**

**Mark Pluciennik, University of Wales, Lampeter**

Praise (or blame) for the integration of social evolution and stadial subsistence-based schemes of progress within archaeology is typically traced back via Childe to Lubbock, Tylor and McLennan and eventually back to the mid-eighteenth century predecessors such as Adam Smith and Goguet. This paper suggests that the so-called 'revival' of social evolution in the 1860's in Europe was a rather more complex (re)invention and does not necessarily relate closely to subsistence categories. The focus of interest for Victorian writers was usually such topics as the historical development of religion (totemism, animism), social organization (the family and marriage), law, property and government. Technology and subsistence usually played a minor role. However, in different political circumstances such as in north America, the link between subsistence, history, morality and state policy was stronger, more narrowly-defined and more persistent, as exemplified in Morgan's Ancient Society. In Victorian Europe, it was the apparent inability of archaeology to address the social and mental aspects of past societies which initially prevented the amalgamation of technological and subsistence characteristics into largely anthropologically-derived social evolutionary frameworks. Only after 50 years did a growing empiricism finally encourage the fossilization of the chasm between foragers and farmers in archaeology, a legacy with which we are still living. This paper briefly explores the different types of social evolution expressed in archaeology and their relation to the strength of concurrent materialist and idealist philosophies.

### **Ella Armitage - A Social History**

**Julia Roberts, University of Wales, Newport**

Mrs Ella Armitage was a hymn writer, archaeologist, and historian. Born in 1841 she died in 1931, her life illustrates both the position of middle class women and the advance of Anglo-Saxon/Norman studies.

Mrs Armitage represents the changes in society, archaeology and history that took place in the nineteenth-century. Her life is a microcosm of women's lives in the Victorian age, the obstacles Society put in their path, and how their campaign for changes in law and education helped women move towards emancipation. In the terms of her time Ella is something of a success story. Other women, such as Mary Kingsley and Gertrude Bell had to travel overseas to escape from the narrowness of British society. Ella stayed, married, raised children, and wrote archaeology and history books. But behind her she had a Liberal and fairly wealthy Nonconformist family and a husband who supported her ambitions.

This paper is not intended as a critique of her work, instead I want to show how she fits into nineteenth-century Society, and how her work reflects the studies of such historians as Freeman and Round. Her work was a bridge between these two schools of thought. Originally she favoured the Liberal view of Freeman, but in discovering his work was flawed she moved to the more rigorous 'scientific' school of thought represented by Round. Her work also reflects the depth of personal feeling and immediacy with which Victorian enquirers viewed the past.

### **Picturing the Past: Multiple Views of Landscape and Prehistory in Nineteenth Century Orkney.**

**Hannah Sackett, University of Leicester**

This paper centres around the discovery of Taversoe Tuick chambered cairn, on the island of Rousay in Orkney, in 1898. The cairn was discovered by local men, employed by Lord and Lady Burroughs to undertake some work in the grounds of their home, Trumland House. Taversoe Tuick's discovery, although later written up in an archaeological journal, was first recorded by Lady Burroughs, who wrote a full account of it in her diary.

It is this account and the context of the tomb's discovery that throws light on Victorian attitudes towards landscape, monuments and the study of archaeology, and prompt us to question whether it is possible to draw a dividing line between Romantic, scientific, subjective and objective attitudes towards landscape and the past in the Victorian era.

### **'Beowulf's Funeral, Burnt Germans and Heathen Burials: 'Anglo-Saxon' Kemble as Archaeologist'.**

**Howard Williams, Trinity College, Carmarthen**

John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857) can be legitimately described as the founding father of Anglo-Saxon philology, literature and history. He stands as one of the greatest scholars of the Victorian Age. It is often overlooked that in later life he was also an antiquarian, conducting excavations in the Cotswolds and in northern Germany. He used his own discoveries of early medieval graves, and those of other antiquarians, in a series of influential papers. Perhaps more than any other scholar, John Kemble set enduring precedents for the interpretation of 'Anglo-Saxon' burial sites and their use in historical interpretation.

Famously, he was the first to identify strong similarities between burials in northern Germany and England. From these comparisons he postulated material correlates for the Germanic race and the Anglo-Saxon migrations. In another paper, he compared funerary rites in the poem Beowulf with

archaeological discoveries to elucidate the nature of Anglo-Saxon paganism. Also, through his systematic compilation of land charters he identified references to 'heathen burials' and argued that they referred to pagan cemeteries placed on boundaries and remembered by later, Christian generations. In all these contexts, Kemble used archaeology in an innovative and effective way. Moreover, Kemble's archaeological research and interpretations had influence further afield, particularly in German and Irish archaeology, by defining clear distinctions between the graves and material culture of Germans, Slaves and Celts. Furthermore, in combination, this archaeological research contributed to the development of Anglo-Saxon racial myth, impacted indirectly on the perception of non-European peoples in the colonial context.

This paper seeks to critically assess the relationships between Kemble's theoretical background, his practical research, and his legacy in Anglo-Saxon studies and archaeology to the present day. Many factors provide a context for Kemble's research. These include his exhaustive knowledge of Anglo-Saxon history and philology, his numerous visits to the Continent and relationships with German academics, his writings and reviews of 18th century German-English political relations, the wider political and ideological context of early Victorian society, as well as his family and personal history. These various influences lead Kemble to develop and legitimise a powerful reading of early medieval cemeteries in terms of linguistic and racial metaphors. Moreover, for Kemble, material remains did not simply provide support and passive reflection for already familiar historical 'facts' such as the existence of a Germanic race and the reality of Germanic mass migration in the fifth century AD. Instead, archaeological evidence was employed actively to create a new, reified historical narrative that served as a catalyst for the reaction between Victorian imperialism and racial myth, and Anglo-Saxon studies. By understanding Kemble's use of archaeology and its enduring legacy, we can begin to reassess his reading of Anglo-Saxon graves and identify alternative interpretations of the evidence that rely less on Victorian values.

### **Text and Artefact: Problems of Interpretation in Islamic Archaeology**

**Marcus Milwright, Oriental Institute, Oxford**

The written word permeates all aspects of Muslim society, past and present. No study of the material culture of the Islamic period can afford to ignore the information provided by texts. The revealed word of God in the Qur'an defines Muslim religious identity. The text itself also finds monumental expression in artefacts such as illuminated manuscripts and building inscriptions. Compilations of the sayings of the Prophet (hadith) and the diverse works of religious scholars through the Islamic period contain valuable insights into attitudes toward the ownership and use of commodities. In the secular realm the modern scholar is confronted by a wealth of sources including annalistic chronicles, geographical and topographical texts, poetry, biographical dictionaries, cadastral surveys (daftar), and charitable bequests (waqfiyyas). In addition, manufactured objects in media such as ceramics, metalwork, glass, and textiles frequently employ epigraphic decoration.

This session is intended as a forum for all those dealing with the material culture of the Islamic world in the disciplines of archaeology, anthropology, art history, Arabic and Persian literature, and history. The aim is to address the prob-

lems associated with the use of texts in the interpretation of objects, buildings, archaeological sites, and environments. Important issues include: the nature of the relationship between written descriptions and extant artefacts; the critical examination of ways in which the man-made world and the objects within it are discussed in textual sources; and the relationship of form and content in epigraphic ornament. It is hoped that each paper will explore these issues in the context of the current theoretical approaches within his/her discipline. Topics for papers may focus on any time period (7th–20th century C.E.) and any region of the Islamic world.

#### **Islamic Ceramics: Pervasive Style in the Muslim World**

**Rebecca Bridgman, University of Southampton**

It is frequently assumed that the manufacture of decorated pottery in the Islamic world was centralised and associated with high status urban populations. This assumption is based on limited documentary evidence, describing the Caliphal centres, for example Fustat and Damascus. Sources such as the treatise of Abu al-Qasim, which outlines the complex nature of potting techniques, compound this notion of specialisation. This theory of 'attached' population led scholars to establish styles or schools of decoration, based on the recovery of vessels from known urban manufacturing centres. Therefore, it is often hypothesised that pottery bearing standardised stylistic designs were produced at specific localities and then exported around the Islamic world. However, recent petrological analysis has indicated that ceramic manufacture in the Middle East during the medieval period was more complex than documentary sources indicate. The possibility of multiple production centres and the pervasive nature of ceramic design must be considered to aid a more detailed understanding of society and economy.

#### **The Use of the Qur'an in the Epigraphy of 12th-Century Syria**

**Carole Hillenbrand, University of Edinburgh**

#### **The Relationship between Form and Content in Epigraphy: Some Case Studies**

**Robert Hillenbrand, University of Edinburgh**

#### **Discourse(s) as text(s) and building(s) as artefact(s): Re-viewing the 'landscape(s)' of Zanzibar's Stone Town**

**Zulfikar Hirji, Wolfson College, Oxford**

Zanzibar's Stone Town is regarded as an architectural and historical landmark. The city is by-and-large the product of 19th century mercantile activity centred on the Indian Ocean. As such, the Stone Town reflects a variety of building traditions and architectural styles from Asia, Arabia and Africa and Western Europe, as well as fusions between these traditions. However, in the 1960s when Zanzibar underwent political upheaval as a result of socialist revolution, Stone Town was left to decay. The fathers of the revolution attempted to build a new city nearby. In recent times, in Zanzibar there have been local and international attempts to revitalise and restore the architecture and urban fabric of Stone Town, not least of all because Stone Town continues to be home to more than 15,000 residents and is a place of employment for many more migrant workers, and Zanzibar is becoming a favourite tourist destination. While such projects are sensitive to the political history, architecture, and infrastructural problems of the city, in the process of revitalisation and restoration, they rarely take into consideration 'the local discourse(s)' about a building(s), i.e. how buildings are perceived.

This paper examines the perceptions surrounding one building in Zanzibar, the Stone Town Culture Centre. This examination suggests that 'social texts' are an important part of the overall discourse surrounding a building (artefact): they are part of the 'landscape'. Moreover, there is an irony in this observation. That is, while archaeologists and art historians are often trying to get at the way in which artefacts were perceived or gain as sense of the "context" in which they were used, the contemporary enterprise of conservationists, in Zanzibar, at least, will leave little or no record of how contemporary people perceive these artefacts. Will it be left to archaeologists and social historians of the future to reconstruct these narratives?

#### **Square Kufic: A Significant Phenomenon in Fourteenth-Century Iranian Epigraphy**

**Tanya Majeed, University of Oxford**

The early fourteenth century witnessed a prolific occurrence of Square Kufic, a visually distinctive script that, it will be argued, had become clearly emblematic of specific religious and sectarian messages. The phenomenon of Square Kufic did not originate with the Ilkhans, but the increasingly systematic and uniform application of these inscriptions on monuments reflects not only an aesthetic predilection for a script but a distinctly programmatic use. This paper addresses the aesthetic and iconographic dimensions of Square Kufic in the context of Ilkhanid Iran.

#### **The Visible Expression of Power: Material Evidence and the Bay'a in the First Two Centuries of Islam**

**Andrew Marsham, University of Oxford**

The public ceremonial of the bay'a, or oath of allegiance, to the caliph on his accession, and to his heirs on their nomination, took place in the architectural contexts of the Congregational Mosque and, from the early Abbasid period, the caliphal palace. Although some of these buildings are still extant, primary sources are crucial if we wish to reconstruct the conduct of the bay'a within them, and understand its role in the replication of power and authority in early Islamic culture. The wider promulgation of the bay'a to the caliph's successors outside of the ruling elite came to involve the use of coinage. Here the material evidence may provide insights not available in the literary sources; particularly into the balance of power between the caliphs and their court. I would like to discuss the problems faced by historians in reconstructing the ceremonial use of space in early Islam, as well as the question of the control of coinage production and its propaganda function in this period.

#### **Ghaznavid Poets and Ghaznavid Palaces**

**Julie Meisami, University of Oxford**

The early Ghaznavid court (especially during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazna, 999–1030) was noted for two major activities: its patronage of Persian poetry, and its enthusiasm for building. The buildings (with one major, now inaccessible, exception – the palace complex of Lashgari Bazaar, near Bust, in present-day Afghanistan) have not survived; but the poetry provides many vivid descriptions of the palaces built by Ghaznavid princes and courtiers. The paper will, first, examine the poetry for what it tells us about such palaces, in terms not only of its architecture and decorations but also their symbolic meaning, and, second, will consider what light the poetry sheds on the palaces of Lashgari Bazaar itself.

#### **Text and Archaeology at the Early Islamic Site of 'Anjar**

**Rana Mikati, American University of Beirut, and Dominic Perring, University of York**

The Umayyad 'desert castles' are a perfect illustration of the present state of Islamic archaeology. This paper will examine the case of 'Anjar, an Umayyad foundation located in the Beqa' valley in Lebanon. Typically, the interpretative models of the site were primarily based on, and fuelled by, the epigraphic and historiographic evidence. These were, however, solely used as dating evidence for the settlement. The controversy focused on the origins of the structure. Little has been done to exploit the available documents to highlight such issues as the historical context, the cultural and ideological diversity reflected in the structures. An essentialist view of the site and its material culture were the result of an inadequate reading of the text and the subordination of archaeological. A review of the state of knowledge and suggestions for future research will be made. The emphasis will be made on the dialogue between text and archaeology and the multiple uses of material culture to understand Islamic civilisation. Questions concerning why and how text was reified, the constraints it imposed on research, and the subsequent neglect of archaeology as a valuable source of information will be tackled.

#### **Afterlives of Pottery in the Islamic World**

**Marcus Milwright, Warburg Institute**

This paper examines the varied responses to broken pottery in pre-modern Islamic societies. Archaeological evidence for repair and secondary employment of ceramics is correlated with modern ethnographic parallels and descriptions in written sources (dating from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century). It is argued that the analysis of extant artefacts and textual accounts of reconstruction or reuse of broken pots needs to be located within a defined social and cultural context. The practices of repair and reuse of pottery provide valuable clues concerning ways in which this medium was perceived and valued by Islamic societies.

#### **The Epigraphic Text: The Importance of Inscriptions in Studying the Art of Tenth-Century Spain**

**Mariam Rosser Owen, University of Oxford**

In 976 AD, Hisham II came as a minor to the Caliphal throne in Spain, and Spanish Islamic politics were thenceforth dominated by the figure of his prime minister, known as al-Mansur. The de facto rule of his Amiral dynasty lasted until the outbreak of civil war in 1010. The most important architectural works undertaken by al-Mansur were the massive extension and refurbishment of the Congregational Mosque of Cordoba and the construction of the, now lost, palace complex of Madinat al-Zahira. We also have a substantial body of art objects which can be related to al-Mansur and his sons. Despite the evidence from written sources, the extant objects and buildings, the Amirid period in Spain is not perceived of as a time of artistic creativity. These attitudes largely derived from contemporary historiography, and persist in more modern studies. The surviving architecture and artefacts indicate not just that al-Mansur was an active patron of the arts, but furthermore that important stylistic changes were made in the ateliers related to his court, perhaps even that he used artistic patronage to symbolise his status or the permanence of his dynasty. The material evidence thereby necessitates a re-evaluation of the textual sources.

#### **All or nothing: human existence and subsistence**

**Organizers: Jacqui Mulville, English Heritage, Oxford University Museum, & Mark Pluciennik, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales**

For much of prehistory and perhaps especially for hunter-gatherers, materialist perspectives and especially those related to subsistence still dominate. In Britain this may be seen partly as the legacy of the Higgisian 'palaeoeconomy' school and the narrow interpretation of 'economy' to mean subsistence. More generally one may argue that the apparently 'obvious' and quantifiable nature of food remains has tended to encourage a polarisation between functionalist interpretations and symbolic interpretations for remains found in 'ritual' contexts such as graves, or pits with structured deposition, for example. The session organizers wish to discuss ways in which we can integrate and interpret material from archaeobotany and archaeozoology so as to be sensitive to aspects including the ecological and functional and yet without assigning 'problematic' remains to the realm of ritual. Part of the session will explore the ways in which the term subsistence has been used to identify an apparently separate sphere of activity, as well as to classify whole societies, and to ask whether alternative and perhaps looser terms such as 'lifeways' are more helpful or merely reproduce other equally rigid categories. The session will encourage debate and demonstration of possibilities other than the trajectory of subsistence as the focus especially of prehistories. In order to facilitate other viewpoints we will be inviting anthropologists' comments on notions of subsistence in living populations and how this concept shapes our acceptance, understanding and 'control' of indigenous peoples, but we are interested in an inclusive approach.

#### **Subsistence as Identity: Ethnicity and diet in Viking Age Scotland and England**

**James Barrett, Department of Archaeology, University of York**

Zooarchaeological and stable isotopic data from northern Scotland suggest that the Viking Age was characterised by an increase in the intensity of fishing and in the relative importance of boat fishing for large gadids, particularly cod. What implications do these observations have for the Viking colonisation of Scotland? Similar trends are observable in England close to the turn of the first millennium AD, where they probably relate to a pan-European intensification in economic production and trade. However, the Scottish pattern appears to begin at least a century earlier. It may imply that a more maritime oriented subsistence strategy was introduced to Viking Age Scotland by Norse farmer-fishermen who displaced or gained direct economic control over their Pictish predecessors.

#### **World's Apart or Partial Worlds: Nomads and Farmers in Jordan**

**Carol Palmer, School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester**

This paper discusses people who still today, even in a globalized, dislocated and increasingly urbanized society, distinguish themselves with the politically laden terms, Bedouin and 'fellaheen' (farmers). 'Subsistence', or 'lifeway', is a form of identity among these people. Observations of Jordanian pastoralists and farmers reveal the way they interact with their environment and each other and how these interactions shape and colour world-views. The paper explores the extent to which pastoralist and

farming groups were dependent on each other in the past, and, taking an historical perspective, considers whether or not a change in one's subsistence regime also has the potential to change one's identity over the long and short term.

#### Eating money

**Mike Parker Pearson, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield**

This paper develops a case study of animal exploitation in Androy, in southern Madagascar, to demonstrate the exchange and depositional processes by which animal bones can eventually end up in the ground. It examines the central role of cattle as symbol, currency and foodstuff in Tandroy life and explores some of the contexts and complexities of livestock exchange and slaughter. The results of this case study are used to suggest that standard archaeological calculations of minimum numbers (MNI) from individual sites may not always provide reliable information about livestock numbers in subsistence economies, and that the nutritional value of certain species might be the least important of their attributes. The complex exchange patterns of animals at Tandroy funerals, and the ways that their gifting and sacrifice define and reinforce social roles, identity and position, are key aspects of the social changes by which the powerful can become poor and the enslaved wealthy.

#### Hunter-gatherers in seventeenth-century Europe

**Mark Pluciennik Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter**

Why did philosophers of history pick on 'subsistence' as the crucial defining feature of different types of society in the mid-eighteenth century? This paper briefly examines the historical background to concept of the forager-pastoralist-farmer divide as it first arose within western thought. The emergence of conjectural stadial views in Europe must be understood against the background of changing political and philosophical circumstances which enabled the separation of the economy as a sphere of analysis, and the moralisation of labour. The first three or four stage theories of human history were largely methodological rather than historical in their import: they were intellectual routes used by 'political economists' towards exploring contemporary concerns with commerce, the relation of individuals towards changing locuses of political authority, and for explaining the differential outcomes of early capitalist behaviour.

However, one must also consider the context of ideas of improvement or progress, and the growth of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism and their associated ideologies from the seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries. As part of this, ideas about the origins of and justifications for property, and the basis of political authority, became increasingly important. When seen through the lens of improvement, rather than that of political economy, it was clear that the most tangible evidence of reason and progress was the productive use of land in agriculture. It is in this context that we must see the equation of especially hunter-gatherers very much as the Other to the ideal of the modern European: as those completely lacking such evidence of progress and improvement. It is therefore in the context of developing agrarian capitalism, concepts of property and theories of the basis of economic behaviour that the focus was developed which eventually became fossilized in those familiar archaeological and anthropological categories. The insistence upon retaining these categories led both to the whole topic of the transition to agriculture, and the continued perceived importance of the forager-farmer divide.

#### Fishers of men: art, archaeology, religion and dead fish

**Sue Stallibrass, School of Archaeology, Classics & Oriental Studies (SACOS), University of Liverpool**

Excavations at a demolished Medieval chapel near the coast of Northumberland produced not only a buried font, but also discrete 'burials' of clusters of worked fish bones. The actual bones are thought to be the residue of fish processing, but their subsequent modification and their burial in a chapel suggests that they might have been reused as beads in paternosters or rosaries: similar to one illustrated in a Portuguese medieval polyptych. The 'zoology' of the bones indicates the nature of the contemporary offshore fishing that helped to support the local community's subsistence and economy, but the 'archaeology' demonstrates their relevance to religious beliefs and superstitions. Studies of animal bones tend to concentrate on the investigation of past economies and social networks, environments and, sometimes, site formation processes. Although structured depositions draw attention to the roles of animals as specific foci in belief systems, this site reminds us that people's daily lives, their work and their beliefs were inextricably linked and that, like the poor, 'animals are always with us'.

#### Cannibalism – last resort of the starving or cultural practice?

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

The very existence of cannibalism has been the subject of fierce debate within anthropology, where it is widely seen, following William Arens, as a racist myth, such inhuman behaviour being attributed to 'the other' as a way of stressing 'our' cultural superiority. Ironically, Europeans are commonly accused of cannibalism, as in the Crusades and in the imposition of colonial rule in Africa, where cannibalism is linked to witchcraft and witchcraft provides a satisfying explanation of western technological superiority.

Where the existence of cannibalism is accepted, it is commonly dismissed as an aberration brought about by extreme circumstances – the starvation cannibalism model. Yet there is abundant evidence of medicinal cannibalism in Europe from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, with 'mummy', a substance obtained either from Egypt or from local executed criminals and consisting of flesh, blood, hearts and skull fragments being touted as a 'universal' cure. A belief in the magical powers of human flesh was clearly involved here. Other views of cannibalism can be seen in the ethnographic record. Endo-cannibalism (eating the bodily remains of one's own) may be associated with concepts of the strength of the dead being absorbed back into the group, transferring their energies to those who eat them, or may be seen as a means of allowing the dead to escape their bodies, perhaps to be reborn as animals. Exo-cannibalism (eating the bodily remains of others) is seen as an act of vengeance, treating the enemy 'like animal meat' according to the Wariá of Brazil.

The most controversial claims for cannibalism at present come from the analysis of human skeletal material from the North American southwest, and recently faecal analysis. Current interpretations argue either for starvation cannibalism or invading cannibal despots from Mexico ('the other'). I argue that the available evidence should be seen in the context of a powerful belief in witchcraft in the ethnohistoric record, as witches were thought to be cannibals. The underlying notion was that eating human flesh was a means of acquiring supernatural powers – a notion that once believed in may have been acted upon.

## Monday afternoon

### Archaeology and television: communication and divergent discourses

**Organizers: Simon James & Lin Foxhall**

**Chair: Lin Foxhall**

Archaeology currently has a very high profile on television, especially in Britain. However, while current field-archaeology approaches are getting a good airing, very little – almost nothing – is seen or heard of the radically different views of the world generated in recent decades by theoretically-informed archaeology; most television discourse about the past remains resolutely 'traditional' in dealing with issues such as, for example, the identities of historical peoples, or the notions of primitiveness, progress and civilization. This session aims to discover why this is so, and what might be done about it.

Television archaeology was recently a target of satire (the spoof documentary series 'We Are History', BBC2, April 2000), an index of the discipline's current media prominence. Dedicated archaeology programmes such as Channel 4's Time Team and BBC2's Meet the Ancestors have broken new ground in televisual treatment of the subject, while archaeology continues to provide much of the visual interest in a broad range of programmes labelled 'historical documentaries'.

However, most TV treatment of history, especially the more distant past, is very traditional, comfortable, 'feel-good' TV, aimed at entertaining, but rarely challenging audiences. This appears to contrast markedly with much science broadcasting, where difficult and controversial topics are often addressed. An example of the poverty of televisual discourse on history is the treatment of ancient and/or modern identities; groupings such as 'the Celts', 'the Romans' and 'the Anglo-Saxons' are taken as given, unproblematic and uncontroversial. Yet archaeology has much to say about these groupings, which have such major cultural and political resonance in the contemporary world. Profound and potentially exciting recent insights into such issues are largely ignored.

This session aims to bring TAG into contact with prominent figures in TV archaeology, to deal with so-called 'factual' programming for 'general audiences'. It will take as axiomatic that archaeologists can and should seek to contribute to public understandings and debates about the world, and its historical development, both as an ethical duty, and for naked self-interest and survival. We suggest that, for communicating historical concepts to mass audiences, TV is potentially one of the most powerful media available to us, but one that we have been very unsuccessful in exploiting.

How far does the situation outlined above result from the failure of archaeologists to communicate to others how they are thinking? Is social-theory-informed archaeology really incomprehensible to the uninitiated, or have we just not tried hard enough? Or are we being 'censored' by the way TV projects are conceived, commissioned and produced? Do TV networks really understand what audiences want, or could handle? Might existing or new viewing groups not respond well to more challenging treatments?

And what exactly do we want to say to public groups anyway? Equally important, what do they want to know? How might we actually deliver to the screen more challeng-

ing views of the past? Is it even possible to bridge the gap between increasingly divergent theoretical-academic, and popular-historical discourses, to reconcile the differing interests and needs of archaeology, TV networks and production companies, and publics?

#### Title to be announced

**Mick Aston**

#### Going with the flow – the 'Meet the Ancestors' experience

**Julian Richards**

'Meet the Ancestors', with a fourth series now in production, came from the twin desires to put people back into the past and to show archaeology as it really happens, in the contexts of both research and rescue. Compressing an excavation and what is effectively the assessment stage of the post excavation into a half hour programme, without 'dumbing down' what can be complex science is quite a challenge. Keeping archaeologists and specialists happy while providing a mass audience with a series that is both educational and watchable is an even greater challenge.

#### From archaeological realities to media dreams

**Tim Taylor**

### Colonialism and the intellectual traditions of archaeology

**Organisers: Chris Gosden, University of Oxford, and Richard Hingley, University of Durham**

Archaeological thought and practice has been profoundly influenced by the colonial context in which archaeology grew up. Thought about the nature of Britain, categories of race, sex, gender and ethnicity, together with views of history have all been influenced by colonial connections and culture. This session seeks to explore this largely hidden history and colonial influences, not just through who dug and worked abroad, but also how people in this country viewed the past and its importance through the lens of colonialism.

#### Discourse in context: locating material culture in colonial situations

**Peter van Dommelen, University of Glasgow**

Postcolonial theory has its roots in literary critique and it more or less continues to be a project within literary and cultural studies, as is perhaps best demonstrated by the pages of *Interventions*, the brand-new journal of postcolonial studies. Even when taking into account the currently expanding attention for other kinds of text than just novels, postcolonial studies remain characterised by a distinctive focus on textual and discursive representation. As a consequence, postcolonial studies have been criticised as failing to consider the contexts in which these textual representation were and are (re-)produced. The lack of attention for the social actors who actually created these representations has similarly been called into question.

While the archaeological interest in postcolonial studies is substantially increasing, I would argue that it is now also gradually becoming evident that the textual bias of postcolonial studies is taken onboard by archaeologists without many further questions. Most archaeological work inspired by postcolonial studies focuses in fact on academic discourse about colonial situations rather than on providing alternative postcolonial interpretations of specific instances of ancient colonialism.



Without denying the value of discourse analyses of this kind, I will argue in this paper that archaeologists should not overlook the colonial situations themselves; that they should instead concentrate on the material contexts of past colonial situations in which colonisers and colonised interacted on a daily basis. In doing so, I hope to outline how postcolonial theory can not only provide the basis for fresh archaeological interpretations of (past) colonial situations but also how archaeology can in turn draw attention to the material dimension of colonialism. I will refer to various colonial situations in the ancient and early modern Mediterranean to illustrate my arguments.

#### **Colonising the colonisers**

**Chris Gosden, University of Oxford**

Colonial impacts are usually thought of in terms of the export of economic and cultural forms from the colonising powers to the colonies. I shall argue that this is only part of the story and that colonising power, such as Britain over the last five centuries, have had the cultural forms as much influenced by the culture of the colonies as the other way around. Colonial relations set up a cultural convection currents which circulate ideas, cultural forms and capital in a complex manner between colonial and imperial centres and the areas being colonised. I shall look both at recent forms of colonialism and those of earlier periods to look at the manner in which complex colonial cultures are created.

#### **Whose Londinium, theirs or ours?**

**Francis Grew, Museum of London**

We have spent the past 75 years painting a satisfying picture of London in the early 2nd century AD. It looks something like this:

'Londinium is a city with fine buildings: a grand forum and basilica, an amphitheatre and a bath-house terraced down to the river. The fashionable streets on the north side of the Thames are connected by a bridge with a rather less desirable suburb on the south. The city has become rich through trade, and even the poor - who live in crowded timber houses - enjoy a Romanised style of life. Londinium is wisely ruled, and the governor's soldiers are a reassuring sight on the streets.'

But is this how it really was? If not, why not, and why do we think it was? In this paper, deploying critiques inspired by modern post-colonial studies and parallels derived from colonial archaeology, I shall attempt to deconstruct the conventional picture and situate it within its broad political and historiographical framework.

#### **Situating the Discipline: Archaeological Photography in India**

**Sudeshna Guha, University of Cambridge**

Although the camera is considered to be one of the most objective recording technologies in the field, archaeological photographs are material and cultural artefacts whose meaning is embedded in the context of their production and use. Archaeological imagery is neither objective nor are photographs merely taken in the field.

Archaeological research and excavations in South Asia were initiated to satisfy colonial needs. The organisation that controlled the initial development of Indian archaeology, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), established just after the Indian Mutiny, was bureaucratic, colonial, and semi-permanent. Its main task was to systematically

document India's historic landscape; a task which was in tune with the British Imperial objective of creating a centralised record of the subjugated country, so as to allay the colonial anxieties of another unexpected uprising. Though the Survey professed to promote a 'scientific' and 'rational' archaeological practice in the subcontinent, this paper focuses on the photographs taken by the Archaeological Survey of India during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century to demonstrate how a colonial iconography for field archaeology in the Indian subcontinent was created.

#### **Eurocentricism and the role of Rome in imperial discourse**

**Richard Hingley, University of Durham**

This paper focuses upon the topic of 'Eurocentricism' and the role that the image of Rome has played within British imperialism. Western 'civilisation' has often been viewed to have a linear history, originating in ancient Egypt or classical Greece. Classical Rome is seen within this Eurocentric perspective to have performed the purpose of passing civilisation to northern and western areas of its empire, parts of Europe previously occupied by 'barbarians'. The western civilisation introduced by Rome is often argued to have include religion and also the culture (art and literature) and the language of the elite.

The Eurocentric perspective places particular emphasis upon the Roman conquest and control of parts of Western Europe. Roman archaeology developed as a powerful discipline in the early twentieth century within the context of Eurocentricism. The influential theory of 'Romanisation' helped model the passing on of civilisation to native peoples within the Roman Empire. As such, Romanisation also helped to explain the origins of the British imperial character by identifying how positive aspects of Roman imperial identity were passed through to the ancestors of modern Englishmen.

The inheritance of the imperial torch of Rome was argued to have enabled the exportation of an improved form of western civilisation by the British to new areas of the world. The Roman conquest of Britain, in effect, served to help to justify British control of wide areas of the globe, while Roman archaeology had a role in the discourse of imperialism that helped to maintain imperial power.

#### **Constructing Egypt: the representation of ancient Egypt at the British Museum 1753-1900**

**Stephanie Moser, University of Southampton**

In the 19th century Britain played a crucial role in the colonial construction of ancient cultures. Particularly important was the contribution of the British Museum, which functioned as a one of the major international institutions in which antiquities were assembled as glorious symbols of empire. A research project on the representation of ancient Egypt at the British Museum in the late 18th and early nineteenth century demonstrates that the arrangement of particular collections of antiquities greatly informed the emergence of a visual idea of Egypt that was to influence subsequent perceptions of this culture. In fact, the colonial practice of displaying exotic cultures did far more than just influence how Egypt was perceived; it actually shaped the construction of knowledge on Egypt's past.

#### **Science in Context: interpretation and practice in archaeological science**

**Organisers: Yannis Hamilakis, Southampton, Andrew Jones, Cambridge, Jacqui Mulville, Oxford**

C P Snow, the novelist and scientist, infamously characterised post-war academia in Britain in terms of 'Two Cultures'. Scientists who had very little knowledge of the contemporary arts populated the first culture, while artists with no practical knowledge of the sciences populated the second culture. According to Snow's characterisation the practices associated with these two cultures promoted little or no discussion between them.

Archaeology is one of the few academic disciplines to encompass both the sciences and the arts. Yet with regard to both interpretation and practice archaeological science and interpretative archaeology appear to operate quite distinctly. In many respects we might argue that contemporary archaeological practice conforms well to Snow's characterisation of two distinct cultures. Despite this state of affairs we would argue that, for the health of the discipline as a whole, contemporary archaeology requires the input of both archaeological scientists and interpretative archaeologists.

'Archaeological science' itself is an umbrella term often used to cover osteoarchaeology, environmental archaeology, geoarchaeology, materials science, science-based dating techniques and various shades of post-excavation specialisation (pottery, lithics, metals analysis etc.). Within the confines of this session we wish to question the adequacy of the notion of 'archaeological science' as it both encompasses a diversity of scientific practices and also serves to promote scientific practice within archaeology as a field of endeavour somewhat marginalised from the wider arena of archaeological practice.

In this session we will investigate the relationship between archaeological science and the wider practice of archaeology in order to promote a closer integration of the sciences with the interpretative focus of contemporary archaeology. While field-based archaeology has been the subject of recent critical attention there has been less emphasis placed on the nature of archaeological science and other forms of post-excavation analysis.

While debates concerning the relationship between archaeological science and archaeological theory often highlight the epistemological differences between the two sub-disciplines of archaeology, this session aims to critically reconsider the position of archaeological science within the broader framework of archaeology. We wish to explore how archaeological science and other forms of archaeology actively create distinct orders of knowledge, and how these distinctions may be overcome by an alteration in our practices. The overall aim then is to assess the way in which changes in practice may both promote wider integration within the various sub-disciplines of archaeology while also providing fresh ways of articulating between different traditions of interpretation.

#### **Some Concepts Linking INAA and Society from the INAA of Ethnographic Pottery**

**Dean E Arnold, Department of Anthropology, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois**

Although the chemical analyses of pottery with techniques such as INAA is commonly viewed providing the provenance of pottery, the elemental data is really far

removed from the behavior of the potters. Those who use these analyses use terms such as 'source', 'reference group' and 'fingerprint', but these concepts are really geological ('source') and statistical ('reference group') and have a rather fuzzy link with the behavior of potters ('fingerprint' of what socially?). When a variety of factors that contribute to compositional variability are considered, one wonders what such chemical analyses actually mean in terms of the behavior of the potters. This paper provides some linking concepts between the INAA analyses of pottery and their relationship to the behavior of potters that have emerged from the INAA of ethnographic pottery and raw materials (N = 701) collected and analyzed over a period of 32 years from two communities in Latin America.

#### **Divine soils and auspicious floors: Bridging the science-theory gap in a rural Rajasthani village**

**Nicole Boivin, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge**

There seems to be a belief, prevalent amongst both theoretical archaeologists and archaeological scientists, that archaeological science and theory are mutually exclusive exercises. Scientific analysis, according to this view, logically precedes interpretation, which is only begun once the scientific data are produced. This view has held firm, at least in practice, despite the existence of a substantial and no longer so youthful intra-disciplinary critique that clearly argues that data and theory are intimately intertwined.

This paper looks at scientific data collected in an ethnoarchaeological context in order to deconstruct this firmly entrenched view. Ethnographic data on soils and house floors from a rural Indian village are compared to information provided by soil micromorphological and other soil scientific analyses in order to demonstrate that theory pervades scientific analysis from its very onset. The argument is made that scientific analyses that are not firmly grounded in a theoretical framework are just as suspect as any other archaeological endeavour that is carried out in the absence of a critically self-aware theoretical model. In addition, and equally importantly, it is argued that the potential of any scientific technique is as limited or unlimited as the questions that it addresses. The potential of scientific tools in archaeology is currently being limited by the fact that those who know most about them often have the least idea about what they should be used to accomplish.

#### **Writing histories of objects: scientific techniques and social technologies**

**Brian Boyd (Department of Archaeology, University of Wales Lampeter)**

This paper focusses on 'biographical' approaches to artefact analysis as a way of integrating scientific techniques and archaeological theory within an interpretive historical enquiry. For example, microscopic analysis of manufacture and use wear traces on artefact surfaces implicate other materials and practices in the histories of those artefacts, as well as providing insight into different human competences in making and using the objects. This kind of approach can cross-cut perceived disciplinary sub-divisions and break down the adherence to rigid research categories which often serve little purpose other than to position researchers within a particular intellectual tradition, and tend to impede attempts at the integration of related materials and practices. Illustrations will

be drawn from the recent Lampeter workshop on 'Embedded Technologies'.

#### **Pottery, science and dreaming**

**D H Brown, Southampton Museums, and C G Cumberpatch, Sheffield**

What is science? Can pottery studies be described as scientific? Do we want pottery studies to be scientific? Do we want archaeology to be scientific? We refer you to a story heard at the World Archaeology Congress in Cape Town. A group of European archaeologists were conducting a field survey and petrological analysis of pottery types in an area of Southern Africa. One purpose was to analyse how clay sources were utilised. One of the potters apparently utilised clay from termite mounds, because it had already been processed and broken down, this made such clay more suitable than the stuff they themselves dug. One of the archaeologists then identified a type of pottery that had been made from termite mound clay and his colleague refuted it, until the thin-section analysis revealed otherwise. They then went to the woman who made this type of pottery and asked her why she used that clay. Her answer? 'Because I dreamt it'. Not much processualism there.

#### **Between Fields of Discourse: Science and the Pursuit of Archaeological Practice within Contemporary Russia**

**Bryan K. Hanks, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge**

Throughout the past decade tremendous social, ideological, and economic developments have occurred within the countries of the former Soviet Union. These dynamic changes have had a profound effect upon the intellectual climate surrounding the academic fields that comprise the centralised Russian Academy of Arts and Sciences. With the dissolution of previous barriers to communication and collaboration, scientists and academicians from the East and West are sharing knowledge and ideas on an unprecedented level. But within this framework of interaction, interfaces between scientific methodology, ideology and the practice of scientific application are formed and hence contrasting fields of discourse have evolved.

The archaeological discipline is one such prominent avenue that reflects such developments. With the emergence of previous as well as newly formed nationalistic agendas and cultural and ethnic identities the search for linkages to the past have never been greater. It is precisely within this spectrum of contemporary interaction that one finds the discipline of archaeology in a prominent position. And it is precisely this issue of relevancy, regarding the nature of scientific archaeological practice, which this presentation will endeavour to explore. Drawing upon the presenter's own archaeological research experience within Russia, a discussion will be developed relating to the thematic investigation of the meeting point between archaeological science and practice and the broader ideological framework surrounding the perpetuation of scientific disciplines within Russia.

#### **Exploding Excavations**

**Andy Jones, McDonald Institute, University of Cambridge**

In this introductory paper I argue that excavations may be understood in terms of the twin forces of fragmentation and hierarchy. This paper both highlights and challenges the shape and structure of excavation and post-excavation practices by examining the creative potential that links excavation with the practices of certain contemporary landscape artists.

Using a biographical perspective I will examine the place and role of the archaeological scientist with regard to the processes of excavation, post-excavation and publication. This particular situated perspective should enable us to recast the position of the archaeological scientist within this enterprise and thereby recover the interpretative potential of scientific data within the archaeological project as a whole.

#### **Good Science/ Bad Archaeology: some morals from the genetics-linguistics-prehistory collaboration**

**John Robb, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton**

Collaboration between archaeologists and hard scientists often poses problems of mutual literacy, interest, and social context. The perennial quest to unify the history of languages, humans' genetic background, and the prehistory of human cultures is an instructive example. As exemplified in its most recent incarnation, the monumental genetic analyses of Cavalli-Sforza et al., the result is a superficially plausible, all-encompassing story of human genetic variation given meaning by its association with important migrations and milestones such as agriculture and pastoral nomadism. However, this work also provides extreme examples of problems found in almost all scientific-archaeological collaborations: selective readings of theory and methods in both fields, lack of integrated standards of judgement, circular validation of arguments, and the use of 'scientific' methods, particularly in computing, as a *deus ex machina* for producing self-evident interpretations.

Moreover, by their nature such collaborations are highly sensitive to the social context of archaeology, and may form an especially important articulation between social movements and archaeological thought.

#### **Analyse This: Materials Analysis and Anthropological Interpretations.**

**Bill Sillar, University College London**

We are still 'in two minds' about the purpose of artefact analysis in archaeology. We seek to explain the past from two, very different, perspectives. One approach highlights the universality of material properties, and seeks to analyse the effect of materials and techniques on past environments. Another approach places greater emphasis on trying to understand the social significance of objects and people's actions in the specific historical context under study. As an example of this we could consider how these two approaches investigate the origins of pottery. Where as the former 'analytical' approach is more likely to focus on the technology of shaping and firing clay and emphasise the long-term adaptive benefits of pottery in removing toxins from cooked foods or the emergence of craft specialisation. The latter 'interpretative' approach might focus on how the first potters' perceived clay and fire, the role of pottery in providing a symbolic context for its contents (e.g. for shamanic purposes or the displaying of food) and the effects this had on the identity and social role of the potters. In fact many of us incorporate both these perspectives within our research. Our analysis draws on the positivist approach and uniformitarian principles that are at the core of material science, but our interpretations borrow ideas and analogies from the cultural relativism through which ethnographers study more subjective, often metaphorical, explanations in diverse societies. This paper will consider recent work on the origins of pottery as well as the writings of Gordon Childe in order to acknowledge and reconsider this inherent schizophrenia within much archaeological work.

#### **Age, ageing and human osteoarchaeology**

**Joanna Sofaer Derevenski, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton**

Osteological determinations are used regularly as the basis for archaeological interpretation through the association of objects with human skeletons of a given sex or age. However, once sex or age has been determined, the body no longer seems of interest to the archaeologist. Archaeological science has served its purpose. The skeletal body is employed as a means of underpinning interpretations rather than as a source for generating them.

This paper explores the relationship between the practice of human osteoarchaeology and material culture based interpretative archaeology through an investigation of ontological distinctions between child and adult based on the body. It explores ways in which we might more fully incorporate the fluid materiality of the body (in particular archaeologically visible physiological changes identifiable in human remains) into contextually specific understandings of social identity. Throughout the life course, ageing is a cultural process, but one which is constructed through observable biological changes which may be given symbolic and moral value. Ageing is a dialogue between biology and culture.

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#### **Complex systems:**

see morning session

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#### **Material histories:**

see morning session

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#### **A View of the Past:**

see morning session

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#### **Animals in late prehistoric art, exchange, and ritual**

**Organizer: David Wengrow, University of Oxford**

The treatment of animals in late prehistoric art, exchange, and ritual is of potential relevance to a wide range of archaeological problems. They include the reconstruction of past environments, of prehistoric attitudes towards and categorisations of the non-human world, and of the relationship between cultural representation and technological change in the development of new forms of human-animal interaction. The use of animals as metaphors and models within changing codes of social interaction is also an abiding feature of the transition from Neolithic to dynastic and palatial culture in the Old World.

Despite its importance as an archaeological source, late prehistoric animal art has rarely been accorded the kind of critical treatment and breadth of interpretation that is now considered usual for parietal art of the Palaeolithic period. The classification and interpretation of animal subjects in such diverse media as clay figurines, decorated pottery, seals, sculpture, and types of personal ornament, demands methods of analysis attuned to the media themselves, and to related problems of preservation, context, and distribution. The aim of the session is to explore the diversity of late prehistoric cultural practices relating to animals, and

the attendant range of methodologies required for a more rigorous and questioning approach to their interpretation.

Contributions may relate to any geographical area, and while 'late prehistory' clearly means different things in different regions, the emphasis should be on those aspects of post-Pleistocene material culture mentioned above. Studies extending into the early literate cultures of the Old and New Worlds are also welcome, as are those addressing cultural treatments of animal bodies (e.g. in consumption practices, burial rites, or house decoration).

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#### **Abstraction as style: animal depiction and memes in 4th - 3rd millennium Near Eastern seal designs**

**Andrew McCarthy, Edinburgh University**

Increasing specialisation in style as seen through pre- and proto-historic seal designs will be used as a case study to explore new models of culture change and transmission. Meme-theory and an 'epidemiology of representations' will be used as tools to help explain emergent complexity and change in culture, with particular focus on the Urban Revolution. Interaction between styles will be shown to be a major factor helping to formulate the identities that would lay the foundations for the socio-economic transformations that took place near the end of the 4th millennium BC. Specifically, animal depictions represented in the naturalistic and the abstract styles will be contrasted to show that cultural bias began to favour one style over another thus strengthening individual and group identities. A case will be made that differentiation in identity as expressed through symbolic representations was integral to the processes of early state formation.

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#### **From prehistoric image to hieroglyphic sign: the Seth animal in ancient Egypt**

**Angela McDonald, Oxford University**

Determinatives in ancient Egyptian are pictorial signs which are written usually at the end of words to summarise, visually and succinctly, their word's meaning. Animal determinatives in particular are used extensively with abstract concepts: a prime example is the so-called Seth animal. As the symbolic creature of the god Seth, the Seth animal is first attested in the art of the predynastic period and persists as an image with surprising consistency throughout the dynastic period. In language, it is found as the determinative of four main clusters of words denoting the following concepts:

- Noise
- Violence
- Malevolent Weather
- Illness

Although it is now widely agreed that it is a composite creature, the significance of the Seth animal's form has been and continues to be poorly understood. This paper moves from a critical survey of the very first attestations of the Seth animal in prehistoric art, outlining the various conventions which may have influenced its form, to a broader discussion of the animal's transition from image to hieroglyph, and of the resulting metaphoric extensions of its visual significance to the linguistic sphere.

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#### **An imaginary historical overview of changing approaches to prehistoric animal art in Anatolia.**

**Stephanie Meece, Cambridge University**

The archaeological and anthropological approaches to prehistoric art in most areas of the Eastern Mediterranean have gen-

erally followed the same historical trajectory; from travellers' accounts and early art historical studies, to anthropological theories and processual studies, radical or outsider theories, and then to new approaches within post-processualism. But Anatolian prehistoric art has missed most of these intellectual trends; the pre-eminence of Catalhöyük in the archaeological and popular imagination has completely overshadowed other prehistoric art of Anatolia, and Turkey's lack of inclusion in anyone's colonial empire has encouraged Western archaeologists to look elsewhere. In this presentation I will attempt to compensate for the work that was not done, with specific emphasis on representations of animals in late prehistoric Anatolian art, and offering imagined examples of what might have been, had this been included in the mainstream of archaeological thought over the last century. I will discuss the animal art from various sites in Turkey and analyse it within the various historical methods, both to demonstrate these approaches, and to communicate the richness of the representations of animals in this overlooked area of the eastern Mediterranean.

#### **Rethinking cattle cults in early Egypt: towards a prehistoric perspective on the Narmer Palette**

**David Wengrow, Oxford University**

The Narmer Palette occupies a key position in our understanding of the transition from predynastic to dynastic culture in Egypt. Previous interpretations have focussed largely upon correspondences between its decorative content and later conventions of elite display. Here the decoration of the palette is instead related to its form and functional attributes, and their derivation from the Neolithic cultures of the Nile Valley, which are contrasted with those of southwest Asia and Europe. It is argued that the widespread adoption of a pastoral lifestyle during the 5th millennium BC was associated with new modes of bodily display and ritual, into which cattle and other animals were incorporated. These constituted an archive of cultural forms and practices which the makers of the Narmer Palette, and other protodynastic monuments, drew from and transformed. Taking cattle as a focus, this paper begins with a consideration of interpretative problems relating to animal art and ritual in archaeology, and stresses the value of perspectives derived from the anthropology of pastoral societies.

#### **Why snakes and crocodiles? Animal depictions at Great Zimbabwe**

**Chris Wingfield, Oxford University**

Depictions of animals in Zimbabwe-period sites take the form of sculptures, carved items and architectural patterns, associated in modern Zimbabwe with snakes and crocodiles. Previous treatments have tended to emphasise the association of certain species with particular gendered roles, and activities. Through a closer reading of modern ethnographic literature, this paper will suggest that the use of particular animals should be understood in relation to underlying classificatory schemes. These tend to emphasise colour as a criterion of classification over form and behaviour. The animals chosen for depiction suggest their importance may derive from their colour, and also from their position as boundary-crossers within the classification system. These aspects may be more significant than any direct gender associations. A consideration in terms of the classification system, of the landscape and the placement within it of animal depictions and architectural features, suggests that these may augment geographically marked places of power. The use of boundary-crossing animals in art is associated with loci of transformation: places of political, religious and technological power.

#### **Cattle symbolism and symbolic exchange in Minoan peak sanctuaries**

**Marika Zeimbekis**

Established interpretations of the ritual use of animal figurines in the peak sanctuaries of Bronze Age Crete are predicated upon the role in subsistence or ritual of the species represented. Such interpretative approaches, however, omit to situate these zoomorphs within a broader social and cultural context. It is proposed that the figures' proliferation in these cult sites was linked to the rise of social and political complexity associated with the inception of statehood, and that they functioned as a 'votive currency' linked with other institutional forms of exchange.

The paper focuses specifically on why and how bovine figures (the most frequent votive offerings in peak sanctuaries) served as dominant tokens of value in inter-community, rural ritual during this social and political watershed. Firstly, it is demonstrated that cattle symbolism is embedded in kinship relations preceding the emergence of the state as well as relations brought about by increasing social stratification. Secondly, it is shown how the social definition of individual and collective identity is manifested through the ritual offering of these bovine figures. The recognition of an institutional setting for cattle symbolism in the popular ritual of early statehood has significant implications for the understanding of the later, palace-based, bull symbolism linked with the Minoan state and possibly rulership.

#### **Work in Context**

**Mark Knight, Cambridge Archaeological Unit, Jonathan Last, Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust, Lesley McFadyen, University of Wales College Newport**

The contexts we encounter as archaeologists are usually considered to be transformed deposits removed from the social practices through which they were created. The presentations in this session set out to accentuate the positive, to encourage a confidence in the materiality of the past, to get away from the predominant thinking that the fragments we encounter are just that: mere fragments of the 'real' thing in contexts so transformed that they deny rich understandings of the past.

We suggest that by placing confidence in these fragments we can move beyond discussions of formation processes, with their implications of an absence of agency or meaning, and depart into imagining others. Our presentations explore this pull of imagination: working contexts, telling stories and unfolding histories of past lives.

#### **Making sense out of sensuality? Post-processualism, professionalisation and on-site recording methodologies.**

**Adrian Chadwick, University of Wales College Newport/Wessex Archaeology**

This paper considers recent calls for greater reflexivity on-site that have been advocated by some within the archaeological discipline (Andrews et al forthcoming; Hodder 1997, 1998). It argues that many of the methodologies so far proposed are 'top-down' approaches that are often heavily reliant on forms of digital recording and expensive computer equipment. Thus far, they are only applicable to the largest of sites. Even more experimental, experiential approaches (e.g. Bender, Hamilton and Tilley 1997; Woodward and Hughes 1998) still perpetuate traditional hierarchies of power on-site, and most methodologies still

fail to consider the sensual, creative nature of excavation, and individual experiences of this engagement on-site.

Much archaeological work in Britain now takes place within the developer-funded, commercial sphere. Theoretical considerations of context, reflexivity and sensual engagement that have emerged from post-processual discourses cannot advance archaeological practice unless these ideas can be implemented in contract archaeology, regardless of the often inimical and divisive effects of competitive tendering and developer-funding. I therefore propose some ways in which on-site methodologies influenced by post-processual concerns can become 'bottom-up' approaches, suitable for research or contract rescue excavations alike. These suggestions also deconstruct some of the traditional hierarchies encountered on fieldwork projects, by emphasising the contribution of individual excavators.

#### **Through the crawl-hole: stories from the occupants of Catal Hoyuk**

**Anwen Cooper, Dyfed Archaeological Trust and Duncan Garrow, Cambridge Archaeological Unit**

There's more to digging at Catal Hoyuk than methodology - you get to spend a lot of time in an eight thousand year old house. Here we will show how the life-cycle of one particular building can be used to tell a story of the lives of the people who built it.

#### **Earthen wares: reconnecting pottery studies with the field.**

**Jonathan Last, Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust**

Archaeologists place a lot of weight on pottery - as a sign of a site's cultural affiliation, date, phasing and function. Can we imagine the laughter of Neolithic people introduced as the Square Mouthed Pottery Folk? No wonder that our pots collapse under the weight of these expectations and are retrieved only as fragments! Yet still we miss the point of these sherds, which come to stand as signs for absent vessels that are in turn signs for an absent people. In our pottery reports precise depositional contexts and the excavation process no longer matter ... Processual archaeology, which at least recognised the broken-ness of sherds, and post-processual theories have not answered the key questions about pottery production and deposition: Why do people decorate pots in particular ways? Why do these change (or not change) over time? How can our excavated assemblages be interpreted in terms of depositional practices and linked to a social theory? Rather than attempt another version of grand theory, this paper looks at particular pots and their contexts to suggest how we might link the grubby fragments of fired earth which we dig up to the excavation process and the embodied narratives we ought to be writing.

#### **Found Nothing Interesting!: Some Attempts at an Archaeology of Empty Spaces**

**Mark Knight, Cambridge Archaeological Unit**

Archaeological blanks are considered as negative evidence for the archaeologist but as positive evidence for the developer. When they are found, it is suggested that the ground is free of the past, uncontaminated. Natural, geological or even timeless, somehow, as archaeologists, we seem able to interpret these spaces as all of these things but not as archaeological. Can a lack of features or artefacts really make spaces non-archaeological? Or can we interpret these 'empty' in-between places differently?

#### **Speaking with the Subaltern? Archaeology in a Post-colonial Context**

**Gavin Lucas, Cambridge Archaeological Unit**

Drawing on the author's work in South Africa, this paper considers some of the issues surrounding the nature of archaeology and material culture in terms of post-colonial theory. How should archaeology be conducted in such a context and how might archaeology, dealing as it does with the non-discursive, articulate the concept of the subaltern in relation to material culture? Can we speak for the subaltern or is this not, by its very nature, an impossibility? And how might this force us to reconsider the nature of our engagement with the archaeological record?

#### **Title to be announced**

**Shuan McConnachie et. al., University of Wales Lampeter**

#### **Bad Press**

**Lesley McFadyen, University of Wales College Newport**

In this piece, I wish to recreate a confidence in W.F. Grimes' representation of the Neolithic architecture that was Saltway Barn Long Barrow Bilbury, Gloucestershire. It is not possible to go back and re-assess through excavation the architecture of this long barrow. However, I wish to establish through Grimes' drawings an understanding of an architecture that is pleated, creased and folded through a complicated building practice - this is to envisage an architecture that is blended and moulded together from undulating and shifting structural shapes that do not operate in terms of exterior and interior designed surfaces, and that cannot be recognised or pressed into previous frameworks for understanding these building sites. I wish to demonstrate the exciting and fabulous ways in which this building project may be imagined and why the construction work at Saltway Barn does not deserve such a bad press.

#### **Museum Identification Number 1937-862: the story of one object's journey through multiple and shifting contexts.**

**Sharon Webb, University of Cambridge**

On the 24th August 1937, anthropologist Ethel Lindgren purchased a cradle from a reindeer-herding 'Lappish' man in the north of Sweden. Sixty-three years later, in the store of Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, a photograph of a Sámi woman, child and cradle was found in the layers of bedding inside the object. This presentation tracks the cradle's ongoing history and explores the multiple and layered contexts through which it has travelled, from its original to its present context: museum artefact. The ability of context to tell meaningful stories and raise questions concerning the moral issues surrounding objects, museums and indigenous cultures is also touched upon, as is the future of this object as a mediator between different frames of meaning.

## Art and Archaeology after Art and Agency

**Organiser: Robin Osborne**

Alfred Gell's posthumously published *Art and Agency*. An Anthropological Theory is one of the most stimulating recent contributions to the anthropology of art, but although it has excited considerable attention amongst anthropologists it has not received much attention from archaeologists. This panel is intended both as an introduction to Gell's work for archaeologists, and as an exploration of some of its consequences for particular assemblages of art works that archaeologists are involved with.

For Gell, what is distinctive about an anthropological theory is that it is a theory about human behaviour and social relations. His theory of art attempts to account for the production and circulation of art in the context of human social relations. His book in fact does a number of separable things: it sets up a model of art as index; it offers a way of understanding religious art; and it insists that works of art should be seen as portions of a distributed object, corresponding to all the works of art in the particular cultural system, whose cognitive force will be understood only if the whole system is understood.

Each of these aspects of Gell's work has implications for the archaeologist. Gell uses the notion of art as an Index to unpack the art object as a material entity standing in a deliberate relationship (which may or may not be visual resemblance) to some prototype, and for which both an originator (who may or may not appropriately be termed an artist) and a recipient (one for whom the work of art stands as an agent) may be inferred. This definition of the artwork lays immediate stress on its being not only a product of a complex relationship, but the crucial link in a chain that connects prototype to recipient. Gell insists that, although in the classic production of a work of art the originator (artist) is active and the recipient (viewer) passive, in fact in different circumstances each of the four items may be either active or passive, so that the same model can account both for such classic artistic nexuses as the autonomous artist (active originator) painting a nude woman (passive prototype) and selling the painting (passive index) to man in a dirty raincoat (passive recipient), or the Oxford college (active recipient) commissioning a portrait bust (index) of its retiring Head of House (passive prototype) from an artist (originator), and also for the victim of a crime (active recipient) purchasing a wax image (active index) of a human figure and sticking pins in it in order to harm the perpetrator of the crime (active prototype). Gell's model allows for cumulative agency, for the work of art to become the index of a number of different relationships (as e.g. with Velázquez' *Rokeby Venus*), and encourages a wide use of the notion 'work of art' and the exploration of the various possible social relationships that may be involved in a single artwork.

What Gell's stress on the relationship which an artwork creates between recipient and prototype also does is to open up the issue of the relationship between mimesis and sorcery. Gell borrows from work on personhood in Melanesia the notion of the 'fractal person', where person as individual and person as lineage are but different projections of the fractal person bound together in a chain, to emphasise that

the person as acted upon from outside and the person as acting on others can similarly be seen to be enchained, and that such a notion of enchainment offers a way in to understanding works of art that both are and contain representations. There is, Gell concludes, 'an insensible transition between 'works of art' in artefact form and human beings: in terms of the positions they may occupy in the networks of human social agency, they may be regarded as almost entirely equivalent'.

Gell's focus on the multiple roles of the individual artwork is complemented by his insistence that the single artwork does not exist independently: 'Artefacts are shaped in the 'inter-artefactual domain', obeying the immanent injunctions governing formal stylistic relationships among artefacts'. Such a relationship is not a matter of an independent aesthetic realm: 'Artworks are like social agents, in that they are the outcome of social initiatives which reflect a specific, socially inculcated sensibility'. The social agency of the artwork, and the need to see any particular artwork in the context of the culture's other artworks, has clear implications for the way in which archaeologists write about them.

### The Anthropology of Art and the Study of Pattern

**Susanne Küchler, UCL**

My talk will provide a general overview over the complex intentionalities embedded in art and agency and the resonances these may evoke. I will begin by situating Gell's work within anthropological theory and beyond, pointing to the key influences on his thinking. From this, the study of pattern will emerge to be crucial to his argument on agency, while it also remains the least opened up or developed aspect of his work. *Art and Agency*, like all Gell's work, is highly visual and conceptualised, using images which are much more acutely positioned within the text than we would expect in anthropology. After having provided an overview over the range of images in the text, I will concentrate on images of knotting as key conceptual devices from which to envision art and agency as inspiration for new directions in research. My talk will close with outlining the resonances which such images evoke in contemporary culture.

### Gell's Idols and Roman Cult

**Peter Stewart, Courtauld Institute**

Alfred Gell's book offers a theoretical framework for understanding the role of cult images (effectively) in non-Western societies – a regular subject of anthropological discussion. Gell shows the reasonableness of treating cult images (or 'idols') as agents within particular forms of social relationship, and he critically reviews the contribution of mimetic elaboration in 'animating' these images.

This paper will assess Gell's claims against the evidence of Roman religion – one of the more familiar systems in which 'idols' were employed, but one that is usually understood in the context of traditional ancient history, rather than anthropology. Such a comparison throws both interpretative frameworks into relief, illustrating some of the shortcomings, as well as the merits, of Gell's claims.

The particular focus will be the animation of cult images and different ancient approaches to the use of iconic representation. When viewed in the context of an historical culture these subjects expose varieties of response and contradictory perspectives which complicate the anthropological account. At the same time the breadth of Gell's perspective presents novel ways of explaining the functions of images in the Roman world.

### Between Anthropology and History of Art: distributed persons and cult statues in Classical Greece

**Jeremy Tanner, UCL**

This paper applies Gell's concept of the distributed person to discussion of the social and ritual uses of cult images in archaic and classical Greece. Gell's account of the circulation of indices offers a religiously more interesting interpretation of such objects and their uses than the traditional artist-, meaning- or style-centered approaches characteristic of classical art history. Whilst Gell's perspective at least focuses the interpretative exercise on the key problems, he offers little assistance in explaining processes of artistic change or evaluating their social and cultural significance. I will argue that Mead's and Parsons sociological perspectives on art, also derived from Peircean semiotics, complement Gell by integrating art historical concepts of style and iconography into art analysis, whilst retaining the focus on the practical effectiveness of the art object which Gell so brilliantly illuminates. By developing an explicit analytic concept of art, grounded in social interaction, Parsons and Mead integrate the aesthetic and the anthropological levels of analysis which remain opposed in Gell's account of cult images.

### The evolution of simplicity: aesthetic labour and social change in the ancient Near East

**David Wengrow, Oxford**

One of the main tenets of Alfred Gell's anthropological approach to art is that 'the attitude of the spectator towards a work of art is fundamentally conditioned by his notion of the technical processes which gave rise to it, and the fact that it was created by the agency of another person.' Taking this as a foundation, I will attempt to develop a concept of aesthetic labour which addresses the political relationships between producers and consumers of artworks, and is applicable to the archaeological interpretation of social change over the long-term. Aesthetic labour, as defined here, describes the whole complex of techniques, forms of knowledge and material objects through which a society invests the concepts it lives by with sensuous and psychological force. Linking Gell's theory of art to anthropological discussions of elite culture, I will show how the process of pristine state formation in the ancient Near East involved the dislocation of aesthetic labour from the techniques of everyday life, and its transposition to a restricted and specialised realm of social praxis. While conventional accounts of early state formation have taken the explanation of innovation and complexity as their central problem, this approach attaches equal significance to those areas of social life which became markedly simpler during the so-called transition from 'simple' to 'complex' society.

### Re-animating the dead: recent approaches to mortuary studies in the Andes

**Organisers: Bill Sillar, Institute of Archaeology, UCL, Gill Hey, Oxford Archaeological Unit**

Andean Mortuary Practices have always attracted the attention of archaeologists, and recent research has benefited from spectacular new excavations (e.g. the complex and rich burials at Sipan, mass human sacrifices at Huaca de la Luna, Inka mountaintop child sacrifices) but, even more significantly, there has been a critical re-consideration of the role of death, burial and the ancestors within different cul-

tural groups and periods. The Andean dead were treated in a wide variety of ways, indeed death, human sacrifice, and trophy heads were recurrent obsessions expressed in complex iconography and myths as well as the elaborate rituals of the burial practices themselves. Nor did the dead cease to interact with the living, ancestors continued to play an active role in the social structure and political life of many Andean cultures, this is expressed most clearly in the public parades and feasting which were enjoyed by the mummified bodies of the Inka elite. The treatment of the dead was also contested both within societies and between societies, for example at times of cultural conflict when authority and control was partly achieved by a re-ordering of ancestor cults or the imposition of new burial practices.

A recent volume on Andean Mortuary Practices entitled 'Tombs for the Living' (Dillehay ed. 1995) credited Andrew Fleming's study of Western European Megalithic Tombs, not just for the catchy title, but also for the intended focus of the volume on how mortuary practices express the interests and helped to maintain and manipulate the structure of Andean societies in the past. In this session we hope that Andean studies can in turn enrich European archaeologists' approaches to mortuary studies. We will give a brief overview of mortuary studies in the Andes and then offer a range of theoretically informed papers on Andean material which will demonstrate the diversity of burial practices and illustrate the lively interpretations which the Andean dead are inspiring. We hope that these studies will help to engender a wider debate about the potential of mortuary studies in the Andes and beyond. We have asked two archaeologists known for their work on British funerary structures to comment on the papers and open up the discussion at the end of the session.

### Nasca Head-taking: the social, political and religious roles of 'trophy heads' on the South Coast of Peru.

**David Browne, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, Aberystwyth**

The paper addresses the issue of why forty-eight trophy-heads found in a cache at Cerro Carapo, Palpa, Peru were buried. A formal analysis is conducted of the physical remains in their topographical context and in terms of their individual dispositions and inter-relationships. Several key aspects of these are highlighted and suggestions made as to their possible symbolic significances. The process is aided by references to interpretations put forward for various aspects of Nasca deposits and iconography.

### The Metaphor of the Cave: Origin Places and Collective Burials in the Late Intermediate Period.

**Emily Dean, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley**

In the Andes, 'paqarinas,' the origin places of ayllu groups, are often spatially associated with caves. For example, one well-known Inca myth narrates how the first Inca and his siblings emerged from a cave near Paucariqtambo before setting off to found an empire. During the immediate pre-Inca period, known as the L.I.P. (c. 1000 AD to 1400 AD), one characteristic highland burial pattern is the secondary interment of multiple numbers of individuals in caves. Some of these burials contain upwards of 100 bodies. Survey data suggests that in the Canas-Canchis region of Peru these burial caves are generally located directly below, or abutting, L.I.P. settlements. Presenting survey and excavation data, as well as drawing upon ethnohistoric and

ethnographic sources, this paper examines ways in which L.I.P. settlements and their associated burials may have become associated with 'paqarinas' in later epochs. More generally it considers the connections between ancestors, origin places, burials, and boundaries.

**Re-animating the Ancestors: genealogies in funeral textiles of pre-Spanish Peru.**

**Edward DeBock, Museum of Ethnology, Rotterdam**

**Funerary urns, burial mounds, and the growth of communities in pre-Hispanic Northwest Argentina (AD 1000-1430)**

**Elizabeth DeMarrais, Cambridge University**

This paper examines mortuary ritual to consider the ways that social order is expressed through material culture at different scales and levels of interaction, from the household to the broader community. In settlements of the northern Valle Calchaquí, Argentina, infants were buried in elaborate ceramic urns below the floor. Settlements also contain earthen mounds, each with tombs embedded in the upper surface. The wide distribution of urns, the use of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic symbols, and the locations of mound burials all point to an elaborate mortuary-related material culture. The materialisation of ideology structured and communicated ideas about household and community organisation, as well as providing a symbolic repertoire that was co-opted for use in the political arena. General implications of the case are discussed to clarify the ways that distinct media and symbols may influence their intended audiences.

**Family trees and the roots of Archaeology: Andean and Western European views on ancestors.**

**Penny Dransart, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter**

In the Andes, certain deceased persons (or parts of those persons) were not always immediately consigned to the depths of the ground. This paper will consider a different kind of mortuary practice – the notion of recycling ancestral substance in monarch-centred societies where people claim status / privileges / inheritance from a claimed descent from certain key individuals. It offers a critique of the notion of 'ancestor worship' and it addresses the theme of entail (English) and vinculación (Spanish, literally meaning 'the act of entailing', and metaphorically, 'link') in the light of Inka and European practices. It also throws light on how such notions influenced the intellectual climate in which the discipline of Archaeology emerged with the development of the discipline of 'Chronology' and how such developments in turn were put to use by later archaeologists working with Andean materials.

**Chiripa's creation of group and settlement: The place of the dead**

**Christine Hastorf, University of California, Berkeley**

At the beginning of the 'Neolithic' or Formative in the Andean region, we begin to see evidence of settlements on the landscape that reflect more than passing visits. The first structures built are not simply domestic in nature however. Rather, they tend to reflect use for a gathering of people and include adjoining chambers for the dead. The early sequence of architecture at Chiripa, considered a type site for the Middle and Late Formative phases in the greater Titicaca Basin region, will be discussed in terms of the placement and place of the dead as these people settle. In this architectural evidence we see the dead's active role for

the living as well as their relations with the supernatural forces. Direct and indirect evidence for the importance and placement of the dead in these quasi-domestic edifices will illustrate the active and complex role of these ancestors in the Chiripeños lives.

**Ancestors and Alpacas: On the relationship between burial monuments, camelids and herders in the high Puna of the Cordillera Negra (north-central Peru)**

**Alexander Herrera and Kevin Lane, Department of Archaeology, Cambridge University**

Andean mortuary monuments are ideologically significant landscape features that illuminate the relationship between ancestors (awilus) and their descendants. We have been investigating the placement of these funerary towers during extensive survey work conducted across the western and central mountain ranges of northern Peru. The pastoralist potential of the Puna of the Cordillera Negra has been exploited intensively by highland communities through the use of naturally occurring and artificial wetlands (bofedales) as grazing for llamas and alpacas. The mortuary structures (chullpas) dotted through the pastoralist landscape suggest a close trichotomy between environment, humans and camelids.

**No Rest for the Dead: burials from the 1st millennium B.C. at Cusichaca (Dept. of Cuzco, Peru)**

**Gill Hey, Oxford Archaeology Unit**

The presence of buried mummy bundles within a stratified sequence of occupation deposits in the Cusichaca Valley has shed considerable light on the social practices of the inhabitants of this region in the 1st millennium BC, and shows that the dead continued to play a part in the social life of their descendants. Their role as foundation deposits for a household with different characteristics to its antecedents suggests that they were being used to make an important statement about the new occupation. Other aspects of the burial ritual can be contrasted with earlier forms of inhumation associated with this site, although even with these there is evidence for manipulation of human remains. It seems that throughout this period the dead were used for display, perhaps both in the ground as well as above, and their bones were accessible for use in ceremony and ritual. They were not quite dead and buried as far as the living were concerned.

**Concepts of Ancestrality in Ancient Peru.**

**Peter Kaulicke, Universidad Católica, Lima**

Starting in the Middle Archaic Period (about 8000 to 6000 b.p.) people in the Central Andes began to subject the corpses of the dead to a bewildering array of different treatments. These treatments aimed to transform human bodies into relics. In other words the aim was to socialize death through prolonging the physical presence of the dead and handling their remains and/or images in various ceremonies and social events. During the late Archaic and Formative periods iconographic representations demonstrate the existence of underlying cultural principles within which the dead are transformed into deified ancestors. These deified ancestors are frequently related to public architecture (ceremonial centers). Death is seen as a precondition of life and fertility, as well as a central feature and stabilising force within the social and 'natural' worlds. These principles become even more important in the subsequent periods and reach a climax in the huge mortuary complexes built in the Middle Horizon and the latter Chimú 'palaces'. The bodies

of important people receive a complicated series of treatments of the body which were accompanied by an impressive array of paraphernalia within complex mortuary structures. The older example of Sipán also highlights another principle by stressing the practice of memory as expressed by the sequence of 'buried' mortuary structures (probably crowned by ancestor temples). Each layer within this sequence consisted of the burial of a major person within a central chamber with lesser individuals and offerings located in relation to this person. Finally, the historical records and descriptions written after the Spanish conquest (particularly those dating from the XVI and XVII centuries) provide a rich description of Inca and provincial concepts of ancestry. These documents show how central the concept and manipulation of ancestor worship was to the structure and maintenance of these societies.

**Huari Administration and the Cult of the Dead: Yako, D-shaped structures in the south central highlands**

**Frank Meddens, Pre-construct archaeology, London, & Anita Cook, Catholic University of America**

During the Middle Horizon the Wari nation spread its influence over much of the highland and coastal areas of what is now known as Peru. In the region where the Wari authority has been noted certain forms of architecture, sacrificial practices, artefact types and art styles tend to be found together. This paper describes how some of the practices and cultural traditions known from the later Inca empire help in interpreting the use and function of a particular architectural form which has been recognised over the last 15 years as being an important element in Wari administrative structure. In particular how this type of structure with a role in communicating with the ancestors served to legitimize political control.

**Death in a Pre-Columbian Cave in the Karst Region of Puerto Rico.**

**Jose Oliver, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.**

After providing a very concise 'time-line' of changes in mortuary practices in Puerto Rico and their relationships to sites & ceremonial centres, the discussion centres around notions of 'caves' as liminal sacred-landscapes as portals to the Otherworld and to the ancestors, this is assessed against empirical data that has emerged from the recent excavations at the Juan Miguel Cave site (AD 900-1500). Previous efforts in the Greater Antilles focused on primary and secondary burial deposits in a discussion of inferred mortuary practices from the data. One observation from the Juan Miguel data, which runs against conventional wisdom, is that seemingly non-important bones (flanges or ribs) assumed to be the product of disturbance of other (or prior) burials are more likely to be intentional, direct, primary depositions. The implications of this find suggest an alternative interpretation that responds to the elemental question: 'Why is only that bone here, where is the rest of the individual and is its cultural significance?' The consequences of one deceased individual 'claiming' different burial loci (in space) simultaneously is examined in micro-regional context and with the caveat that at this time societies in Puerto Rico were politically integrated into chiefdoms.

**Dead or Alive in the Andes?**

**Bill Sillar, University College London**

This Paper will introduce examples of Andean mortuary practices from pre-ceramic periods to the present day and

discuss a number of ways in which the dead played a central role in the lives of Andean people. I will highlight some of the more recent work (excavation, analysis and interpretation) on Andean mortuary practices and discuss how these have affected our perception of the societies concerned. A range of examples, images and ideas will hopefully help to animate our discussion and provide a broad context for the papers that follow.

**Music, dance and the seasonality of the dead in Northern Potosi.**

**Henry Stobart, Royal Holloway, University of London**

This paper is based on extensive fieldwork in a Quechua speaking rural community of ayllu Macha in northern Potosi, highland Bolivia. Drawing on the analysis of music and dance performance practices, it is argued that the souls of the recently dead are retained in the world of the living for the course of the rainy, growing season. Only with the rites of Carnival, are these ambiguous entities - caught in creative limbo between worlds - finally dispatched to *alma llajta* (the land of the souls). More than almost any other medium the animated quality of both the living and the souls of the dead seems to be expressed in musical sound, where cycles of musical composition coincide precisely with those of agricultural regeneration. Music emerges, not as superfluous, but rather as an especially privileged medium for approaching localized Andean understandings of the regenerative processes of living things.

**Discussant: Mike Parker-Pearson, University of Sheffield**

**Addressing Multicultural Heritage: Historical Interaction and Contemporary Practice**

**Session convenor: Dan Hicks, Department of Archaeology, University of Bristol**

The definition and presentation of 'multicultural heritage' in the UK and USA have received increasing attention in recent years, and the previous neglect of the material remains of historic ethnic and religious minorities has been highlighted. It has been suggested that archaeology and heritage management must respond to the issue of 'institutionalised' values highlighted by the 1999 Macpherson Report into the case of Stephen Lawrence.

This session aims to ask:

- How can we define 'multicultural heritage'?
- What is the relationship between 'rooted' identities and the historical global processes of interaction which influenced the genesis of modern ethnic identities?
- What are the theoretical implications of archaeologists adopting the important political agenda of 'inclusivity'?
- How can archaeologists address these issues, upon which, in their access to the material remains of undocumented lives, they have a unique perspective?
- Does archaeological practice have to change for a multicultural agenda to be accommodated?

The session will deal with the period 1500-2000AD, and will include papers dealing with historical ethnic diversity and interaction in the UK, USA, Africa and the Caribbean. These issues will be discussed in relation to contemporary frameworks for the definition, management, interpretation and presentation of multicultural heritage.

Particular themes include

- global interaction and local ethnogenesis
- equal opportunities in archaeology
- the material culture of historic minority religious and ethnic communities
- the role of descendent communities in the interpretation, management and presentation of multicultural heritage
- 'rooted' identities and Afrocentrism
- the urban form of European slave trading cities
- New World historical archaeology

#### **Marginal identities and Cultural interaction: Teaware distributions from late 18th and 19th century rural sites in the Outer Hebrides, Wales, and central Virginia**

**Dr Alasdair Brooks, University of York**

This paper engages in a comparative analysis of teaware (cups and saucers) distributions from six late 18th to 19th century pottery assemblages recovered from the Outer Hebrides, southwest Wales, and central Virginia (two assemblages from each region). All six assemblages were recovered from sites associated with the marginalised rural poor, including two Hebridean blackhouses, two Welsh cottages, a slave quarter and a poor Virginian artisan's house. The primary purpose of the paper is to discuss how the comparative analysis of teawares reveals that their role as material culture used by the rural poor is subtly different on each side of the Atlantic, but that these subtle differences are paradoxically only fully understandable through this widespread comparative analysis. In the geographically and culturally isolated households of the Celtic fringe, teaware comparisons offer invaluable insights into the interactions between the emerging British metropolitan identity and the traditional Gaelic and Welsh identities. In Virginia, a more directly status-oriented factor influences differences in teaware distributions between poor white and enslaved African-American households, and this factor is not necessarily oriented towards the ethnicity-based conclusions currently in vogue in African-American historical archaeology.

#### **What is this place? – Conservation at Robben Island**

**Kate Clark, English Heritage**

Robben Island – the place where Nelson Mandela and many other important political figures were imprisoned has been declared a World Heritage Site. It is a place where significance breaks many of the traditional heritage 'rules' – the most significant aspects are perhaps the most recent, the architecture is not aesthetic in the traditional sense, and the colonial buildings perhaps the least important aspect of the site.

Managing a site like Robben Island means reconciling complex and painful values, many of which have current political overtones. Robben Island is one of the sites which will define heritage management in the twenty first century.

This paper will discuss the experience of facilitating the conservation/management plan for the island, and will set out some of the lessons which the Island might teach those of us who care for sites in Britain, particularly for the conservation of cultural diversity.

#### **Convergence, Divergence, and Resurgence: The Contestation of Cultural Patrimony in the US**

**Terrence W Epperson, Montgomery County Community College**

Through discussion of two examples-the struggles sur-

rounding the African Burial Ground in New York City and the controversies about the Native American burial known as 'Kennewick Man'-this paper examines the dynamics of current cultural patrimony struggles in the United States. This analysis is informed by anthropologist Terence Turner's distinction between 'difference' and 'critical' multiculturalism and Critical Race Theorist Derrick A. Bell, Jr.'s concept of 'interest convergence.' When couched in the rhetoric of difference multiculturalism, measures such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAG-PRA) can represent apparent instances of interest convergence between opposing forces because they are not initially perceived as challenges to existing power structures and research paradigms.

However, as these measures become the basis for a resurgence in minority cultural identity and begin to critically challenge the status quo, the divergence of interests becomes manifest and the contestation intensifies, particularly between cultural minority groups and outside investigators. As a socially-engaged research project that simultaneously addresses the concerns of the descendant community and challenges existing structures of domination, the New York City African Burial Ground represents a fundamental paradigm shift and an exemplar of the convergence that must ultimately occur between minority cultural patrimony concerns and scientific research.

#### **Heritage protection and social inclusion: a case study from the Bangladeshi community of East London**

**Jim Gardner, English Heritage**

The bodies charged with listing and protecting England's built heritage have not addressed the needs and aspirations of ethnic minority groups, thus marginalizing their cultural identity. The Bangladeshi community are the largest minority group in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets and have a distinct cultural and commercial identity within a defined geographical area. This Muslim community have adapted existing religious and secular historic buildings to give them new use and thereby a new cultural significance. New and existing buildings, colour schemes and street furniture give a physical expression of British Asian culture in areas such as Brick Lane. Through discussions with community workers and historians within the Bangladeshi community of East London, key buildings and areas of significance are examined. Analysis of the buildings and conservation areas identified as being of special architectural or historical interest by English Heritage and included in local lists by the London Borough of Tower Hamlets allow a comparison to be made of this ethnic group's view of built heritage with that of central and local government. Interaction between the Bangladeshi community and the heritage protection agencies is explored through a review of the existing mechanisms for community participation in the decision making process.

#### **Slave Life and Public Archaeology in St Eustatius, West Indies**

**R Grant Gilmore, Research Student, Institute of Archaeology, UCL**

My study of slave life and material culture on St. Eustatius in the Netherlands Antilles aims to identify unique cultural traits specific to an island dedicated to trade and not a plantation economy. As this was a trading island, integral to 18th century colonial commerce, artifactual evidence has been looked at from a global perspective.

This paper will discuss the interpretation of the project's results for the local population via school and community programs, and the experience of working with local residents participating in archaeological work relevant to their cultural heritage.

#### **Towards an inclusive multicultural past: politics and identity on the Swahili Coast**

**Richard Helm, University of Bristol**

The East African coast has long been subjected to the influences of external colonial powers. This contact has had a lasting impact on the cultural and political identities of the disparate, but interrelated coastal communities. Archaeologists and historians working during the colonial period sought to emphasise the foreign nature of the early urban and Islamic Swahili coast, perhaps unconsciously reinforcing an image of 'tribal' classification and separatism from inland Africa which suited British administrative rule.

Whilst Nationalism and a growing Afro-centrism has shifted this focus towards a more autochthonous understanding of the pre-colonial past, the ethnic and cultural boundaries have continued to suit contemporary political interests. Reinforced by its active role in 19th century slavery, the Swahili coast is still believed by many to be disconnected from any true 'African experience'; a reality recently highlighted during the reactionary and politically motivated ethnic violence on the coast of Kenya. Such competing interests have produced a corresponding dissonance in the interpretation of East African coastal historiography. Yet archaeology, drawing on the evidence of past material culture has now demonstrated an emerging case for ethnic unity between coast and immediate interior communities. The reinterpretation of the conflicting historiography and recognition of changing political, social and academic ideologies is now providing a new basis for the generation of a more inclusive and multicultural past.

#### **Multicultural Heritage in Bristol, UK and St Kitts, WI**

**Dan Hicks, Research Student, University of Bristol**

Over past three years, the history of Bristol's involvement in the Atlantic slave trade has been the subject of considerable public debate. Celebrations of the 500 year anniversary of John Cabot's journey to the New World organised by the City Council were received with hostility by the city's black community, who felt that the city's slaving past was being glorified.

This paper traces the development and achievements of the Bristol Slave Trade Action Group, which included a major exhibition at the City museum and the setting up of a Bristol 'slave trade trail' which highlights the influence of the Atlantic trade on the fabric of the modern urban environment.

An outline will be provided of current plans to move the multicultural heritage agenda forward by building links internationally. A programme of archaeological survey based at Bristol University will examine the development of the colonial landscape of St Kitts, West Indies - which had significant economic links with Bristol. The project aims to bring together the complementary perspectives of Bristolian African-Caribbean community groups and local heritage organisations in St Kitts.

#### **Addressing Multicultural Heritage – Introductory Comments**

**Mark Horton, University of Bristol**

Stephen Lawrence inquiry was a defining moment in late 20th century British social history. The identification by the

Macpherson Report of 'institutional racism' not only in the police force, but within many other institutions, such as education, public service and local government, has led to the political will for change and action. The implications for those who research, curate and present 'English heritage' are currently being recognised.

The time is therefore ripe for academics and heritage professionals working in different parts of the world to come together and share their experiences of attempting to develop a more 'inclusive' archaeology. The previous neglect of historical religious and ethnic minorities is evident - but the difficulties inherent in putting this right may be demonstrated with reference to the recent experience of Bristol University's Archaeology Department working with the St Lucian government on 'The Bones of Rapparee Cave'. Introducing this session, which will bring together researchers and practitioners working in Britain, Ireland, Africa, the Caribbean and North America, it is argued that alongside crucial practical steps towards equality of opportunity and inclusivity, it is important that a theoretical recognition of the importance of the global context of historical interaction and ethnogenesis which led to the creation of the multicultural heritage resource develop.

#### **Supporting Diverse Heritage**

**Helen Jackson, Policy Adviser (Access), Heritage Lottery Fund**

As traditional perceptions of heritage value are increasingly eroded in favour of more culturally inclusive definitions and activity, what are the key challenges for the established heritage sector and heritage funding bodies such as HLF? How far and how quickly can they respond to increasingly vocal - and legislative - demands for change? What are the implications without change? With the aid of case studies from recent projects and research, the session will explore how HLF is working with the sector to support new approaches to equality and diversity in heritage development.

#### **The Creation of Identity and the Construction of Heritage in Northern Ireland**

**Sean McGraw, Postgraduate, Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast.**

The social processes that lead to the creation of heritage centres involve the delicate balance of priorities. In Northern Ireland the demands of economics, educational goals, design theories and practices, and the use of technology, as in other countries, plays an intricate part in the constant change and development of heritage and heritage institutions. In addition, the political situation in Northern Ireland, (now rapidly changing), has produced 'cultural politics.' The preservation, interpretation and management of heritage sites have been deeply affected by this. Multiple interpretations of sites do exist. There are real people that design and manage heritage centres, and real people that visit them. Some are Protestants and some Catholics, and some pronounce 'oh that doesn't matter.' The Navan Fort and Carrickfergus Castle interpretations must balance the problems that arise from cultural politics.

Navan Fort offers amazing evidence of Celtic material culture, and has been claimed by both Nationalists and Loyalists. In the Ulster cycle of stories, the Tain Bo Cuailgne, the warrior Cuchulainn is, for Nationalists - the Defender of Ireland and for Loyalists, he is the Defender of Ulster. How officials balance these considerations with other matters, such as economic problems, is itself a fascinating story.

## Equal? Opportunities and the heritage

### Jez Reeve, English Heritage

Where is the 'more complete version of the truth' Chris Smith, the Secretary, was looking for at the 'Whose Heritage?' conference in November 1999? Equal opportunities is not just about workplace practices but about celebrating diversity and equality in the interpretation of the past in the present. A more complete version of the truth will include hidden histories, written, not just from one perspective, but from all sides. Recognising and filling in the gaps will be an effective start to counteracting the institutional discrimination of a mono-cultural heritage.

## Non-Verbal Communication in Archaeology

### Organiser: Assimina Kaniari

Despite the diffused usage of the visual by archaeology today in both conventional and technology-aided representational practices the role of the visual in its various historical, methodological and sociological ramifications still remains a largely under-researched topic. Most of the attempts to 'theorize' the visual in archaeology, rather than focusing on the understanding of the visual as a discourse important in its own right, have tended to adopt the post-modern habits of treating images as texts. In this line, visual forms are being reduced into textual and literary systems of representation.

This session would welcome contributions from all three perspectives, theoretical, historical and sociological on the uses of the visual in archaeology today, in particular in relation to the following issues:

- In what types of material and social technologies is visual representation of archaeological practice seen to be embedded in today and how does that differ from earlier stages in the development of archaeology?
- How do modes of representation in archaeology relate to that of anthropology and how to the arts?
- In what ways and to what degree has contemporary computer technology and its visual emphasis changed the archaeological practice today?
- How do modes of representation in archaeology relate to developments in the sciences, technologies and the arts, particularly during the key period of the professionalising of so many disciplines from the early 19th century onwards?
- What is the relationship between material objects as 'archaeological artifacts' and visual representations as products of archaeological practice in linking archaeological practice with the history of archaeology?
- Is it possible to associate elements irreducibly visual with archaeological meaning outside the social and material technologies and the historical traditions in which visual representation operates today in the archaeological discipline?

The first part of the session focuses on practice and the uses of the visual in three contexts: the professional and academic discipline of archaeology, heritage officers' and media people's 'popular' archaeologies and contemporary artists' statements-archaeology as art.

The second part looks at the (mis)use of non-verbal modes of communication by archaeological history and theory and examines the possibility of a visual historiography for archaeology by drawing examples from a variety of contexts:

history of science, ethnography and intellectual history.

The 3rd part will be a discussion: *History, Practice and Non Verbal communication in archaeology.*

**Discussant: Chris Chippindale, Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology**

### A View from the Gods: The Archaeology of a Computer Reconstructed Past

#### Robin Boast, Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

Advanced computer modelling, coupled with intensive archaeological research, has promised the ability to 'reconstruct ever larger segments of our most distant past'.<sup>1</sup> The ability to visualise the past, to reconstruct it, to live it, virtually, has been heralded in both the archaeological left and the archaeological right as the interpretive Eden. The space in which our interpretive conversations thrive or truth is winnowed from falsehood. But this space, this flexible emblem of modernism and a modern discipline, has a history.

#### Elizabeth Edwards, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

This paper explores the photographing of 'ethnographic museum specimens' in the nineteenth century. Such photographs have attracted little attention compared with the politics and poetics of ethnography more generally or museum practice. Their repetitive functional nature and very ubiquity makes photographs of objects appear transparent in the extreme, lacking the immediate aesthetic or ideological compulsions of other photographic expressions of cultural alterity. Focusing especially on a portfolio of photographs made for the British Museum in 1872, I shall point to some of the theoretical concerns which present themselves in the representational and stylistic devices which were applied to a wide range of objects. These cohered with rhetorical force in a photographic practice which was (and still is) integral and crucial to the apparatus through which ethnographic and museological knowledge was made.

### Time Team at Canterbury: August Bank Holiday 2000

#### Peter Gathercole, Darwin College, Cambridge

Very successful to some, equally controversial to others, with an enthusiastic TV following, Channel 4's *Time Team* programmes now exert a powerful influence on British archaeology. This paper examines the visual impact of a recent programme.

### Inside Plato's Cave and what Alice found there: on the foundations of modern archaeology in the early modern period

#### Asimina Kaniari, Department of Art History, Oxford University

Which are the implications for our understanding of the nature and origins of contemporary archaeology if instead of structuring its history around theories, text and interpretation we use practice and its visual products? Non-verbal communication is the core of such a virtual history and provides a fresh insight and a highly useful methodological tool to help us understand and re-define the nature of the practice which we most routinely associate today with the discipline of archaeology, on the basis of what it essentially is: a visual practice. Case study: the category of the archaeological artifact.

### 'Archaeology: The Treachery of the Tangible'

#### David Lowenthal, University of London

Archaeology focuses on tangible evidence more exclusively than any other discipline. This focus carries benefits and risks. My presentation notes both and stresses the problems raised.

### How matter carries mind in the art of dreams and carnivals

#### Louise S Milne, Edinburgh College of Art

Certain traditions of fantasy in folk culture can be thought of in terms of an archaeology of dreaming, wherein particular motifs can be carried for millennia, exhibiting 'drift' in terms of context, interpretation and meaning, yet maintaining autonomy as a package of images. Drawing on the work of Levi-Strauss and Carlo Ginzburg, this paper suggests that these 'packages' are a type of mytheme; non-linear 'micronarratives' which represent paradoxes of consciousness and cosmology. In sixteenth century folk-culture and art, much of this material underwent changes in meaning, relocated from day to night, as traditional occult categories were redrawn under the stresses of the Reformation. The use of 'impossible' elements, or the structure of riddles is an important component of this 'found surrealism'. This paper explores the meaning and structure of such impossibilities, considering the ways in which they can be internally distorted to produce uncanny and dreamlike effects.

### Art and Artefact - the 'Museum effect' in contemporary art

#### James Putnam, Curator of the Contemporary Arts and Cultures Programme, the British Museum

The museum's meticulous organizing principles, its taxonomical classification system, its mode of displaying, archiving and storing its collections have a strong visual appeal to artists. Employing the principle of the *objet trouvé*, many artists gather worthless consumer cast-offs in their studios and go on to present their collections as art. They have also found an affinity with the imaginative qualities of the early museum's chaos of accumulation. Their collections which they often call 'museums' can be personal as well as fictional - the objects are presented with an aura of institutional authority, yet play on the contrast between truth and fantasy in their use of either fake or genuine artefacts. Some artists have gone on to examine the museum's autonomous cultural role, and question its traditional systems of classification and interpretation. Artists are also increasingly invited by museums to curate exhibitions of historical artefacts and install their own work in galleries juxtaposed with museum collections. I shall illustrate my talk with some examples of these tendencies in current art practice and aim to show how their methodology relates to the both archaeology and museums.

### 3-D (Duchamp, Dion and Digging): Archaeology as display and display as art

#### Colin Renfrew, The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge University

Modern and contemporary artists have called into question the nature of art by highlighting both 'display' and 'process'. It is argued that the work of Mark Dion throws into relief fundamental issues concerning the nature of archaeology.

### Synthesizing the Bronze Age

#### Erik Van Rossum, Faculty of Archaeology, University of Leiden, The Netherlands

Archaeological syntheses, as a discursive modality, have

characteristic ways of visual (re)presentation, viz. distribution maps and compilations of typical material culture. The practice of synthesizing involves bodies of material culture that are generalized into archaeological entities. As conventions of visual (re)presentation are implicated in this practice, they (are) conditioned by the predominant conceptualization of past societies at a particular time of archaeology. Syntheses embody archaeological discourse in general, in the form of specific ways of (visual) (re)presentation. This will be substantiated from a historical perspective on syntheses of the bronze age in Europe.

Interpretative archaeology tends to avoid synthesizing illustrations, thereby totalizing interpretations in specific situations to encompass undefined wholes. Is a contextual distribution map a contradiction in terms? Given their generalizing character, distribution maps and compilations of typical material culture (re)present the unity (in diversity) of archaeological praxis. However, conventions of visual (re)presentation also emphasize the unity of past practices that involve material culture, at the cost of their diversity. This tension will be explored in the case of the (re)presentation of bronze age houses in Italy, starting from the notion of house landscapes.

### The Stone Age of Biology- The Transformation of Archaeological Relics into the Semi-Living Object of the Future - by The Tissue Culture & Art Project (TC&A)

**Jonat Zurr, Guy Ben-Ary, Dr Stuart Bunt, and Oron Catts. Tissue Engineering & Organ Fabrication Lab, Massachusetts General Hospital, Harvard Medical School, Boston USA, SymbioticA, Department of Anatomy & Human Biology, University of Western Australia.**

TC&A is an on-going research and development project into the use of tissue technologies as a medium for artistic expression. In this project we utilize biologically related technologies (mainly tissue culture and tissue engineering) as a new form for artistic expression to focus attention and challenge perceptions regarding the use of tissue technologies to create semi-living objects.

In this paper we will examine the visual and conceptual work presented in the installation 'The Stone age of Biology'. For this installation we have grown muscle and nerve tissue over miniaturized replicas of pre-historic stone tools (arrowheads and a scraper).

We used actual relics of the past in a cognitive loop of understanding the evolution of technology, using the arrowheads as signposts of human development in the past and the future. We produced replicas of relics of the early attempts to construct the inanimate material world covered with early attempts to reconstruct the living material that constitute us.

The development of stone tools transformed us from being 'intelligent apes' to a technology-based organism. The mental shift that made the apes toolmakers is now being repeated. The development of biological tools will change us in ways that we cannot even imagine.

Our work represents a contestable future. A future that will contain new entities, partly constructed and partly grown. These entities are yet to be defined, as they are challenging the perception of the borders between living and inanimate. Conceptual borders are social constructions. Non-verbal communication is needed to articulate the blur of these boundaries, before new borders are being created and embedded into the language,

which make sense of them. The use of archeological metaphors seems as a way to both comprehend the development of technology from stone tools to the present and to project a vision of a future.

## Archaeological theory for a digital past

### IT, Theory and Contract Archaeology

**John Barrett, University of Sheffield**

A discussion of the possible role that IT can have in making the products of contract archaeology projects available for varying research agendas. Also of interest is how the use of IT can allow for greater possibilities for Units to include theoretical aspects as part of project designs.

### You, me and IT: Establishing Identity through Archaeological Computing

**Thomas L. Evans, DPhil candidate, Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford**

Concepts of identity are intrinsically bound to all forms of social interaction, especially with regard to gender and social status. Unfortunately, actually gaining insights into gender, ethnicity and other aspects relating to identity has always been one of the more difficult forms of cultural research attempted by archaeologists. In general, the nature of the archaeological record and our own biases restrict our ability to satisfactorily address these key issues. Recent developments in information technology (IT), however, have produced a number of sophisticated tools to examine the topic of identity and to gain an understanding of culture that traditionally has been ignored by and/or were invisible to other methods of investigation. These technological solutions systematically address many conceptual issues previously thought to be restricted to the realm of the hypothetical. At the same time, they also increasingly affect the development of more elaborate and comprehensive theoretical approaches. The aim of this session, therefore, is to discuss the study of identity and gender through the use of modern computing techniques. Papers will be presented on how questions relating to identity have been approached using IT and whether or not this has increased our understanding of both the specific cultures being studied and the concept of identity as a whole.

### From Start to Finish: IT, Theory, and Project Design

**Ian Hodder, Stanford University**

An in-depth examination of how a comprehensive project design will require IT and archaeological theory to be mutually informative in shaping the overall project agenda.

### An Educational Perspective on Archaeological Computing and Theory

**Gary Lock, University of Oxford**

The focus of this paper is on how computing is and should be taught within archaeology. Specifically, the distinctions between practical training and education have to be reconciled in order to promote a more holistic understanding of what the data represents and what possibilities can be explored.

### Digital Heritages

**David Miles, English Heritage**

The aim of this paper is to investigate the role that IT can

play in the presentation, dissemination, and management of cultural heritage information. Of particular interest is the inclusion of theoretically-informed IT strategies in organisations which oversee heritage issues on both local and national levels.

### Publishing Virtually Everything

**Julian Richards, University of York**

This paper discusses the opportunities that new means of publishing (e.g. Internet or CD-ROM and DVD technology) can have in archaeology. Will an increase in the spectrum of data published and a greater involvement with the data impact, and/or lead, the development of archaeological theory?

### Digitalscapes: Spatial Archaeology in the Information Age

**Vuk M. Trifkovic, DPhil candidate, Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford, Cornelius Holtorf, University of Cambridge**

The investigation of the spatial elements present within the archaeological record has been part of the discipline for a long time. However, one of the high-impact conceptual advancements of the 1990s was a reconsideration of the modernist notion of space as a neutral and empty container. As a consequence, there has been a rise of explicit landscape perspectives together with new theoretical approaches concerning archaeological spaces and places. Some of the particular foci have been on issues such as the complex interplay between nature and culture, perception, movement, monumentality and power. Within this context the use of information technology (IT) in landscape archaeology has played an ambiguous role. Numerous IT applications only address a few of the notions developed in landscape theory and, more often than not, they represent unsatisfactory efforts at that. Obviously, by merely trying to incorporate emerging notions of landscape without a conceptual understanding of the interplay between theory and computers, the best one can aim for is a showcase of half-sincere representations. Thus the fundamental problem, at present, is how to explore non-modernist and non-dichotomous notions of space when subjected to the Cartesian world of archaeological computing tools. The aim of this session is to provide solutions on how to improve and advance landscape theory by developing a two-way discourse between IT and theory. This is in response to the already considerable criticism regarding the topography-based approaches to past landscapes and the failure to integrate sensuous human experiences and the perception of spaces and places. Papers are welcomed that particularly focus on the representation of space in Geographic Information Systems (GIS), modelling affordances and taskscapes, the investigation of 'sensuous' landscapes, the incorporation of landscape aesthetics, persons, agency, and identity within the landscape, and the engendering of new narratives through the dissemination and distribution of spatial data.

### From the Ground to the Computer – Meaningful Objects and Information Technology

**André P. Tschan & Patrick T. Daly, DPhil candidates, Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford**

To date, archaeological computing has focussed on quantitative research, leaving the qualitative analysis to the realm of the artistic. This paper introduces the concept of interpretative investigation of material culture and how with the use of com-

puters, this might begin to change and develop. The study of material culture is fundamental to an understanding of the archaeological past. Since the inception of archaeology as a discipline, a great deal of effort has gone into the recovery, analysis, and presentation of material residue. This has led to the continuing expansion of both the theory and methods employed in the management and analysis of material culture and an increasing recognition of the complexity of the roles that it plays within social practices. One component of this development suggests that material objects are meaningfully constituted through relationships with humans and other objects through time and space and can mediate a wide range of potential involvement. Without a doubt, this affects potential methodologies as regards the design of computer-based applications and their capacity to handle archaeological data as meaningful objects. While the use of information technology (IT) in archaeology is by no means a recent occurrence, most computer-based approaches focus upon resolving issues brought about by the quantity of information recovered. It is the intention of this session to discuss some ways that IT can be used to explore the qualitative aspects of material objects. In other words, the way archaeologists engage and manage the myriad of different objects has a direct bearing on the design and implementation of computer-based applications. As a result, the treatment of objects needs to be an informed process of translation using the identifying characteristics of real-world entities to create computer code! Papers are welcomed that explicitly consider how objects, identified as meaningful entities, are integrated within information systems as an inherent part of the methodological process.

### Computing Archaeological Theory: A Historical Context

**Ezra Zubrow, SUNY-Buffalo**

This paper provides a historical context of the relationship between archaeological computing and archaeological theory. Of particular interest is the role that archaeological computing has played in giving a methodological foundation to theoretical perspectives and also whether or not IT in archaeology has had an impact on the development of theory.

### Focus Paper: Title to be announced

Specific areas of interest for this paper are any theoretically-informed computer applications that consider the identification and creation of objects, the meanings of objects, object relationships and behaviour, and the analysis/presentation of the life history/biography of objects and their position within the landscape.

### Focus Paper: Identity in Northeastern France between the Hallstatt Finale and the La Tène Moyenne

This paper introduces the concepts of Identity in archaeology and discusses how it might begin to be approached through the use of computing technology. Presented is a current case study that exemplifies the effective use of IT concerning the recognition of different aspects of identity within the Iron Age cemeteries of the Upper Seine river Basin. Specifically, it is an evaluation of different computing techniques applied to identify aspects of regionality, gender and social status in light of the generated results.

### Focus Paper: Title to be announced

This paper will address the general theoretical issues involved and introduces the likely influences that computing has.

## Death, Memory and Material Culture

**Organiser: Howard Williams, School of Archaeology, Trinity College, Carmarthen**

How did past communities and individuals remember through social and ritual practices? How important were mortuary practices in processes of remembering and forgetting the past?

Paul Connerton has emphasised the importance of 'commemorative' and 'bodily' practices, as well as both written and spoken histories, in the reproduction of social memories in communities both past and present. In addition, anthropologists have aided these discussions by emphasising the central importance of mortuary practices in mediating both remembering and forgetting. There are a myriad of ways in which social practices mediate between death, identity and social memory. Yet how can we address the many nuanced ways by which archaeological evidence may inform us about the ways memories are created, destroyed and reproduced through the knowledge, experience, and practice of death and disposal? Can we identify different attitudes towards commemoration in different media, say, between epitaphs and the provision of grave goods? Is it possible to generalise about changing attitudes to remembrance and the past over time?

This session is not aimed to simply review the 'archaeology of death', nor the 'archaeology of monuments'. Instead, it draws upon a range of researchers interested in identifying strategies of remembrance. Evidence can be found in a variety of archaeological remains including the adornment and alteration of the body in life and death, the production, exchange, consumption and destruction of material culture, the construction, use and reuse of monuments, and the social ordering of architectural space and the landscape. The aim is to show how in the past, as today, shared memories are important and defining aspects of social and ritual traditions, and the practical actions of dealing with and disposing of the dead can form a central focus for the definition of social memory.

### Orientations and origins: a social dimension to the long house in prehistoric Europe

**Richard Bradley, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading**

The long houses of the Linear Pottery Culture (LBK) have usually been interpreted in purely functional terms, as part of the agricultural colonisation of Europe. Whilst it seems possible that they provided a source of inspiration for the earliest long barrows, little attention has been paid to the symbolic aspects of these buildings. This paper analyses the processes by which houses were created, lengthened, abandoned and replaced and also studies their orientations across Continental Europe. Just as the form of individual buildings may have traced the history of individual households, their orientations seem to be related to the routes along which LBK settlement expanded and to a mythical source of origin in the south east. The same connection is illustrated by the distribution of Spondylus shells.

### A Death in the Family: private sentiment and public expression within Victorian burial and commemoration

**Susan Buckham, Department of Archaeology, University of York**

This paper will explore the reflexive association between personal relationships and social politics as evidenced by Victorian commemoration and burial practice. Using the



case study of York Cemetery, the material evidence of grave-stones is compared to the documentary sources of the York cemetery Company's burial registers. Analysis will show that commemoration practices could be manipulated to create a social reality of remembrance which emphasised or masked particular individuals and social groups independently from the actual burial practice. In particular this paper will discuss how public metaphors surrounding the 'family' in life, such as the Victorian Cult of Domesticity, shaped the experience and expression of personal relationships after death.

#### **Building from memory: remembering the past at Neolithic monuments in south-west Scotland**

**Vicky Cummings, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Cardiff**

The archaeology we create today is as much about ourselves as it is about the past; our vision of the past is in the image of our own present. The same may have been true in prehistory and this paper will examine how people in the Neolithic may have understood their own past. I will argue that chambered tombs were not simply constructed to house the dead but may also have served to activate memories and perpetuate them into the future. Throughout the Neolithic of south-west Scotland a series of chambered cairns were constructed. The form of these monuments may have been influenced by memories of places of the dead elsewhere, both in different areas and different times. These memories may have been interpreted in various ways, creating diverse structures that cannot be easily classified by archaeologists. Furthermore, these sites seem to have encoded information within their structure and settings, and I will argue that monuments were also a means of recalling past sensations and knowledge through a whole variety of multi-sensual forms. Both the location and design of monuments served to remember past places and past times as well as to commemorate the dead. Furthermore, they became places where ancient knowledge could be accessed and provided venues for negotiations between the past and the present and the living and the dead. These places transcended time, binding ideas into architectural forms. People may have been building from memory, but in doing so created monumental structures which survived to be reinterpreted far into the future.

#### **The Norman Conquest and the Memory of Anglo-Saxon Kings**

**Christopher Daniell, Past Forward Ltd**

Conquest can be an explanation of change, whether destruction or innovation. This paper will explore the strategies of remembrance used after the Conquest for Anglo-Saxon kings and nobles. Monuments are a starting point, but they do not necessarily reflect the communal memory of individual kings, for memory can take other forms, for example, through the written record. Various themes may be developed within the paper: the role of the religious community in preserving memory; the political importance of the monuments and other forms of memory and remembrance.

#### **Early Medieval Inscribed Stones in Wales: Monuments and Memory**

**Nancy Edwards, Department of History and Welsh History, University of Wales, Bangor**

The early medieval (5th – 7th century) inscribed stones of Wales have been found in a number of different archaeological contexts: associated with prehistoric monuments such as barrows, cairns and standing stones; standing beside Roman

roads or in the environs of Roman forts; or on sites which later evolved into churches. In this paper I will examine two case studies from Gwynedd: Tir Gwyn, Llannor on the Llŷn Peninsula, where three inscribed stones are associated with a long-cist cemetery and two large prehistoric standing stones, and Beddau Gwŷr Ardudwy ('The Graves of the Men of Ardudwy'), where two inscribed stones, again part of a long-cist cemetery, seem to have been associated with a series of barrows located beside a Roman road. I will then explore the functions of the inscribed stones and the possible reasons why such locations were chosen for the commemoration of the dead in the post-Roman period. The 5th and 6th centuries were a period of upheaval and change when the early Welsh kingdoms, such as Gwynedd, emerged after centuries of Roman occupation and exploitation, a time when new forms of commemoration which, as Paul Connerton has shown, lay claim to an appropriate historic past. The inscribed stones may be regarded as texts of memory which also imply ownership of land which are set in broader landscapes of the past which function as reminders of the claims of such elites.

#### **Presenting the Dead: commemorating self and the dead in the parish church 1450–1530**

**Jon Finch, Department of Archaeology, University of York**

The study of medieval commemoration has been marked by a fragmentary approach, in which artefacts have often been appropriated by disciplines such as art history (Stone 1955; Whinney 1989). As a result, the full range of material culture associated with commemorative practice has rarely been studied as a whole, particularly within the architectural or spatial context of the parish church itself. Despite promising indications that such holistic approaches would be rewarding (Graves 1989) it has yet to be followed up in a systematic way. This paper, based on a detailed regional study of commemorative material culture, will suggest that it is possible to identify distinct priorities or strategies of commemoration within the material remains. It will be argued that the transformation of parish church interiors at the Reformation has created a bias towards monumental commemoration, and has obscured the role played by commemorative liturgical furniture and more ephemeral aspects of material culture. However, the attitudes that saw monuments (at least nominally) protected by law during bouts of iconoclasm, provide a valuable insight into commemorative strategies that balanced the spiritual and secular needs of commemoration for both the deceased and the surviving kin. In conclusion, it will be argued that archaeology provides a unique opportunity to understand the complex ways in which material culture was used alongside oral remembrance to build and perpetuate individual, group and communal identities within the arena of the parish church.

#### **Remembering, Forgetting and Reconstituting The Dead in the Transformation of Society in Late Meroitic Nubia**

**Dorian Q Fuller, Institute of Archaeology, UCL.**

While funerary rituals commemorate the dead, the changes in these rituals can be seen to selectively remember and forget aspects of prior practice as part of the negotiation and transformation of social identities. This paper will explore these issues through an analysis of the cemetery of Arminna West, a Late Meroitic to Post Meroitic (150–500 AD) site in Lower Nubia. The necropolis served as the place for burials and for rituals involving the living and the dead over the course of the third and fourth centuries, a period which witnessed the

major upheavals of the collapse of the Meroitic kingdom of the Sudan and the rise of Nubatia. Although Arminna was a small village, distant from the main political foci of the northern Sudan, it was enmeshed in wider social currents which were signified in the changing practices of tomb construction and internment. Kin groups seem to have produced coherent clusters of tombs, and individual tombs and graves were reopened, reused and re-constructed using evolving ritual grammars. The significance of some forms of commemoration were abandoned and perhaps forgotten or re-interpreted. The later third and fourth centuries witnessed experimentation and diversification in ritual practices, as this community negotiated the changing geopolitical landscape of Lower Nubia. In the case of Arminna West, the restructuring of ritual space and forms of remembrance over the course of two centuries represented the changing relationship of this community to the wider Nubian world.

#### **Reflections about death and memory at a passage-grave in Lunden, West Sweden**

**Cornelius Holtorf, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge**

Monuments are reminders. They keep reminding us of what was in the past. And of how past people wished to be remembered by later generations. This paper is about a passage-grave in Lunden on the island of Orust off the West Coast of Sweden. It is a site of death and a site of memory. But death did not only occur in prehistory here and memory is not just connected to the imposing megalithic grave. A second monument only a few meters away connects past and present. It is a memorial stone for the archaeologist Gabriel Wilhelm Ekman who died while excavating the passage-grave, on 20 September 1915.

#### **The art of remembrance in the Early Bronze Age**

**Andrew Jones, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge**

It is acknowledged that one of the principal concerns of those conducting mortuary rituals relates to the reallocation of resources and the redefinition of social relations. This process is mediated through the activities that surround the treatment of the corpse. In this paper I will examine how the corpse, the accoutrements of the body and the architecture of the grave participate in this process of redefinition.

I want to propose that the paraphernalia of mortuary rituals act as powerful 'technologies of remembrance' which are not only implicit to the dual process of remembrance and forgetting, but are also active in the formation of subjects. Drawing on case studies from two regions of Early Bronze Age Britain I will examine the way in which differing technologies of remembrance - particularly those related to the production and circulation of images - create quite different modes of memorialisation.

#### **Finding God and forgetting family: Christianity and kinship in the early medieval Wales**

**David Petts, York Archaeological Trust**

The changing nature of early medieval burial Wales, where it has been considered at all, has usually focused on the increased Christianization of the burial rite. This is seen as a simple unproblematic process. However little thought has been given to what this change actually involves. Following the work of others on archaeology and ethnicity I suggest that religion too can be seen as a form of social identity, and as such is context specific.

In the context of death and burial, the growth of

Christianity as a social identity is paralleled by a decreasing emphasis on other identities, particularly kinship, but also tribal or ethnic identities. The church can be seen preventing the expression of family identity in a number of ways: through the liturgy, through the spatial organisation and context of burials and the changing nature of inscriptions on early Christian inscribed grave-stones. These competing identities do not fade away completely though, and it is possible to see certain individuals, particularly members of the secular elite continue to assert the importance of their ancestry. However they have to develop new strategies for doing so, and although the relationship between death and burial is maintained the use of the grave itself as a field of discourse comes to an end.

#### **Social roles and attitudes to the past in aristocratic graves**

**Martin Rundkvist, Institute of Archaeology, Stockholm**

This contribution presents some findings on social roles expressed in grave goods among the Early Medieval aristocracy of Gotland, Sweden, c 375–680 AD. Correspondence analysis and seriation are used to define attribute sets for gender and hierarchy. Sub-gender groups and transgressed gender attributes are identified. A comparison is made between the results for the two halves of the period, in order to interpret the dramatic shift to the Vendel period in the 520/30s. Within the context of the conference session, special attention is paid to the attitude expressed in the Vendel Period Graves to the social roles and attributes of the preceding Migration Period.

#### **Barrow biographies: new fieldwork on Roundway Down, Wiltshire**

**Sarah Semple, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford, & Howard Williams, Trinity College, Carmarthen**

In the mid-19th century, an extremely wealthy barrow burial of Anglo-Saxon date was discovered on Roundway Down near Devizes in north Wiltshire. The site is of crucial importance for early medieval archaeology for many reasons. Unlike most 'princely' graves, the interred individual was a female with some of the most impressive pieces of Anglo-Saxon gold jewellery discovered to date. Of further importance is the late seventh or possibly eighth century date assigned to the grave – a time when Christianity has been nominally adopted by the Anglo-Saxon elite and furnished burials are rare. Finally, the grave was not placed within a church or within a communal cemetery, but instead was taken to a remote corner of the downs and inserted into an already ancient and denuded barrow. In combination these aspects make the understanding of this grave crucial for our interpretations of mortuary practices in the changing social and religious organisation of middle Saxon society.

Until now, our knowledge of the grave is extremely limited and many important questions have remained unanswered. The methods of excavation employed in 1840 were poor even for the time, and the grave has remained unrecorded, unpublished and its precise location unidentified. This situation led to a new fieldwork project initiated during August and September 2000 with the aim of re-locating and re-interpreting the 19th century discoveries of this nationally important early medieval burial. This paper presents the successful preliminary results from this project. The fieldwork located and revealed a prehistoric barrow with a long and intermittent biography from the Bronze Age into recent times in which the early medieval grave formed but part. The excavations have provided new and significant facts regarding female bar-

row burial in the seventh and eighth centuries. Rather than seeing the reuse of an ancient barrow as a single act, the fieldwork suggests ways in which every stage of the burial rite may have served to reconfigure social memories.

#### **'Good Worm/ Bad Worm: A reading of the iconography of 10th and 11th century gravestones'**

**Victoria Thompson, Department of Archaeology, University of York**

Creatures variously described as snakes, worms or dragons are a feature of Anglo-Saxon art throughout the entire period from the fifth century AD to the Norman Conquest. Given the ideological changes and developments which occurred over six centuries, it is only to be expected that the ways in which these images were understood should also have changed. This paper concentrates on the Anglo-Scandinavian period and, reading the iconography in the light of contemporary documentary evidence, argues that worm-like creatures on funerary monuments were seen as having a particular protective and apotropaic function.

#### **Too Many Ancestors**

**James Whitley, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Cardiff**

A spectre is haunting British prehistory – the omnipresent ancestor. Ancestors have become the explanation of choice for a whole range of archaeological phenomena, from the siting of monuments within the landscape to the use of stone as opposed to wood in stone circles and henges. Like many recent developments in British prehistory, the universal ancestor has gone from being a suggestion to becoming an orthodoxy without ever having gone through the intermediate stage of being considered as a hypothesis. Ancestors are everywhere, and everything is ancestral. As post-processual interpretations cease to be merely fashions within British prehistory, and increasingly become templates one can simply apply to other, quite different times and places, it becomes an urgent task to subject this orthodoxy to some kind of critique.

This critique could take several forms. One might be ideological, to demonstrate the links that exist between such anthropological romanticism and the English nationalist use of prehistory, and the appeal of this romanticism to those who like to think of themselves as 'radical' and 'left wing'. My purpose here however is to point to considerations that might undermine the 'ancestor thesis'. Authors who have promoted phenomenological interpretations of the landscape have highlighted 'ancestors', but have suppressed other kinds of information from ethnography and folklore that suggests that landscapes were often imagined to be inhabited by very different beings. Irish folklore and Greek myth show that landscapes and monuments are often thought to be inhabited by previous races, who are not the ancestors of the present inhabitants but are often hostile and alien to the people presently living there. Beliefs about previous races may be more widespread than many believe. Such beliefs may in turn help to explain not only the reasons for the re-use and re-interpretation of certain kinds of monument, but the way in which such monuments were re-used. The re-use of menhirs in the Breton Neolithic, the re-occupation of Bronze Age hilltop ritual sites in the Central Italian Iron Age, the re-interpretation of Newgrange in Iron Age Ireland and the appearance of tomb and hero cults in Archaic Greece are used to demonstrate these points in empirical terms.

#### **Tales from the Dead: Bog Bodies and Pit Burials in the Iron Age of North-Western Europe**

**Mike Williams, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading**

During the Iron Age in north-western Europe, in place of a standard burial rite, strange practices developed whereby people were interred in disused storage pits or were deposited in bogs. With minimal grave goods and rarely anything physical to mark the burial it is sometimes difficult to appreciate the importance that may have been attached to these mortuary rites. It could even be argued that such an ephemeral event would be quickly forgotten. However, the continuity of these practices and their apparent similarities across a wide area would suggest that they were not forgotten but had an important role in the mediation of social relations. And, rather than relying on portable artefacts to commemorate death, these burial rites sought to draw upon and manipulate the surroundings in which they were enacted.

By using Paul Connerton's idea of a shared or collective memory it becomes possible to show how people may have incorporated the memory of these mortuary rites into their wider understanding of the world. In doing so, an individual burial rite need not be remembered in isolation, but is found a place within a wider cosmological understanding of the world. This paper attempts to construct such a cosmology for the Iron Age and show how it was both reproduced and remembered through the performative rituals of death and burial.

#### **Scientific Theories of Culture**

**Organisers: Craig Stephen Bardsley and Jennifer Hiller**

This is one of two TAG 2000 sessions designed to address the growing divide between science and archaeological theory. While the other session discusses the relationship between interpretive archaeology and archaeological science, this session will focus on scientific approaches to culture and cultural change. Lawrence Kuznar has characterized science as 'a method of generating knowledge about the experienced world based on the evaluation of logical theories with empirical data' (Kuznar 1997:6). Within good scientific practice, all ideas are subject to falsification, and 'this makes science the only systematically self-correcting means of generating knowledge' (ibid.). Thus, adherence to scientific practice in archaeology does not imply any specific sets of assumptions concerning the nature of human culture, processual or otherwise. Moreover, there is no reason to fundamentally assume that scientific practice can not provide valuable insights into issues in archaeological theory that are usually considered the domain of purely interpretive methods.

Furthermore, in recent years, fields such as cognitive science, human evolution, and scientific anthropology have developed theoretical frameworks which, if properly applied, could enable archaeologists to address issues such as gender, agency, ideology, religion, and other lines of inquiry usually considered to be interpretive, from a scientific perspective.

It is not the intention of this session to perpetuate an antagonism between scientific and interpretive approaches. Instead, by encouraging a more sophisticated understanding of science among archaeological theorists it is suggested that many of the assumed incompatibilities between interpretation and explanation will likely evaporate. Issues of subjective bias and the relationship of data and theory are just as central to good scientific practice as they are to interpretive archaeology.

**Introductory remarks by Jennifer Hiller, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield**

#### **Scientific approaches to ritual: towards a new framework.**

**Craig Bardsley, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, Reading**

One of the major criticisms leveled against processual archaeology was that it was unable to adequately incorporate the role of ritual and religion into its theoretical framework without reducing it to a purely adaptive mechanism. According to the postprocessual critique, this was because the culturally relative nature of religious beliefs (and therefore, religiously motivated ritual) prevented the development of a generalized framework.

Instead of appealing to relativism, processual difficulties in examining ritual can also be explained as the inevitable result of a theoretical framework which assumed culture as a unified system with adaptive function. Understood in this way, the question of whether archaeologists can establish a generalized framework with which to examine ritual evidence is once again wide open.

As a preliminary attempt to develop such a framework, this paper will draw on evolutionary perspectives of the origins of religious beliefs and ritual practice. Of particular importance is an understanding of the social significance of ritual, and the different ways in which information is encoded in ritual.

As a final exercise, the new framework will be used to suggest a resolution to several controversies involving the interpretation of archaeological burial ritual.

#### **Title to be confirmed**

**Mim Bower, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge**

#### **In The Mind's Eye: European visions of landscape and the savage 'other'**

**Roberta Robin Dods, Department of Anthropology, Okanagan University College, Canada and Department of Archaeology, University of Durham**

The defining of the North American landscape as wilderness removed the humans, who inhabited these 'new worlds', from the equation and left an 'empty' landscape on which the logos of the colonial power could be imposed. Territory and its definition could then rest in the control of the one who imposes the logos of the written title to land. A logos was needed because America '...did not qualify as landscape according to the reigning European conventions of the cultivated-natural, which were associated with the previous periods of civilization' (Mugerauer 1995:61). The 'cultivated-natural' fits nicely with the 'civilized-savage' dichotomy (LaRocque 1983; 1988) as applied to humans as well. The embedded contradiction of the definition of Native Peoples as the savage 'other' in this 'empty' landscape informed the development of systems of classification of humans by Europeans. Such systems of classification created a hierarchy that remains with us today and covertly [and indeed sometimes overtly] drives the political climate in which Native People live and anthropologists and archaeologists work. For Euro-ancestry archaeologists working on issues pertaining to the pre-contact period of the Americas or any other postcolonial or neo-colonial area, the ideological content is difficult to circumvent. However, our solution has been to move our work from the category of the study of the 'ancestry of self/other' to the more abstract, seemingly

more politically correct, investigations into the 'ancestry of all humanity'. First Nation peoples rightly see this as a ploy, since it is not their interpretation of this past that is the accepted 'truth', or even as one version of truth, but rather that of the researcher with the 'scientific' approach or 'qualifications', and the power within the institutions of the dominant political, economic and academic systems. Alternative worldviews are thus reconstituted or annihilated in and through the language of the dominant culture.

#### **Biology, culture, and palaeoanthropology**

**Jennie Hawcroft, School of Biomedical Sciences, University of Leeds**

The happy union of scientific and cultural studies is exemplified by studies in palaeoanthropology. In this area of archaeology, cultural researchers must ask questions regarding the biology and anatomy of the people whose artefacts they study, while scientific (biology) researchers must consider the implications of the cultural and material capabilities of the creatures whose skeletal remains constitute the human fossil record. A number of palaeoanthropological studies have shown how biology and culture must be united to give the best understanding of an issue. Good examples are the question of whether Neanderthals had language, and the issue of whether australopithecine species made and used tools.

Despite the tacit acceptance of the need to establish both physical and cultural prerequisites for certain behaviours in pre-modern hominids, this need to consider both sides of the nature/culture dichotomy has not been apparent in archaeological studies involving humans of the modern body type. Physical resemblance between modern people and archaeological populations of *H.s.sapiens* have allowed researchers to disregard the potential for acquired biological differences between past and present human groups, despite widespread acknowledgement of the importance of cultural input and socialisation in forming biologically embedded capacities in human individuals. This paper will argue that acquired biological factors, as well as cultural ones, should be considered in archaeological analyses as they are, to great positive effect, in palaeoanthropology.

#### **The archaeology of experience: plazas as symbolic windows in Amazonia**

**Michael Heckenberger, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida**

Most archaeologists would agree, as we enter the 21st century, that there is no 'right way' to study the past: humanist concerns of meaning and perspective, how people construct and experience their world, have come to share equal time with more traditional issues of culture history (time-space systematics), scientific methods, and positivist models of culture change. But, meaning is hard to measure, fleeting, and often invisible outside of lived experience.

Archaeologists, therefore, concentrate their interest not on experience or practice, per se, but the external expression of meaning as 'objectified' in ritual, symbolic objects, monuments, landscape, and the residues of daily life, or, as Victor Turner once said, 'the crystallized secretions of once living human experience.' This paper, departing from Lévi-Strauss's seminal discussion of ring (central plaza) village organization in Amazonia, discusses the symbolic significance of these highly formalized spatial patterns as models, or metaphors, of society. Specifically, contextual analysis of central plazas in the Upper Xingu region (Brazil) throughout a cultural continuum extending from c. AD 1000 – present, provides a concrete medium through which to consider an archaeology of

cultural meanings: diachronic analysis of plazas provides a symbolic 'window' through which to visualize the 'deep temporality' of Xinguano history.

**Some implications of dualist paradigms for human nature, history and the conditions of knowledge: archaeology's philosophical significance.**

**Stephanie Koerner, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield**

For over three centuries dualist categories have figured essentially in the ways human scientists and philosophers have conceptualized contrasts between: (a) the physical and human sciences; (b) opposing theories about human nature, history and the conditions of historical (archaeological) knowledge; (c) and between modern Western culture, and both its premodern past and all so called 'other' cultures. Numerous dualist categories are indubitably of extraordinary antiquity. But the interpretations they are given today differ in fundamental respects from the interpretations they were given, for example, in antiquity, the Renaissance, and early modern times. Today's most influential interpretations are historically rooted in ideal views of the Birth of Modernity, Scientific Revolution, and modern Western culture's supposed triumph over nature.

This contribution reviews several major changes in the long term history of the ways in which authoritative western intellectual traditions have objectified (explicitly or implicitly) relations between the structure composition and forces operating in the physical world and norms, values and moral imperatives. This will focus attention on the roles played by (b) in the perpetuation of unfortunate ideas about divisions between (a) and (c). It will also bring to light aspects of the long term history of alternatives to dualisms. Even a brief outline of features these alternatives have shared indicates why archaeology is highly relevant to current discussion of 'views beyond dualism' in the human sciences and philosophy.

**Title to be announced**

**Helen Lewis, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge**

**Pam Macpherson, University of Sheffield**

Weaning is not just a dry dictionary definition; it is both a physical and a social process, which marks a child's departure from early infancy. Using solely scientific or humanist methods to study the process of weaning is to undermine the social and physical complexity of the process. By bringing together scientific and humanist approaches the various methodologies can be brought to bear on a single question. A parent's decision to wean their child is influenced by factors such as the physical needs of the infant and the pressures and expectations of the society in which they live. Weaning helps to give an insight into the social structure of the community under analysis and the attitudes of the adult members of the society towards children. The process of weaning has been tied to the duration of the contraceptive effects of nursing and the return of fecundity.

Documentary sources are relied upon, often exclusively, to provide an age of weaning for Anglo-Saxon and medieval populations. My study has shown that ages cited for weaning, especially in contemporary medical literature may well be the ideal of the period, but as in the modern world the advice given was not always adhered to.

It is important to note that while documentary accounts of weaning may not be accurate, their use in combination with the analysis of skeletal materials can give a much clearer picture of the social and physical processes than either resource alone. Reliable methods of determining weaning age are necessary in

order to go on making inferences about the society being studied. These methods give a vertical independence by using archaeological data sets to test hypotheses on weaning ages and the social significance of these. I have developed a method of assessing weaning age using tooth wear scores, calculus levels and numbers caries in individuals of different ages. The method was used on three skeletal samples from the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods and the weaning age for these samples was determined to be between 1 and 3 years of age. The weaning age was compared to the weaning age given in documentary sources from the period.

**From the known to the unknown**

**Liz Somerville, School of Biological Sciences, University of Sussex, Brighton**

As both a scientist and an archaeologist I would like to explore how the ways in which a scientific approach can be applied to the largely non-experimental discipline of archaeology. As a way of illustrating what I mean by the scientific approach I will draw on my own experience of working in a laboratory when a novel theory in neuroscience was being developed. I will then look at how the scientific approach can be used in a largely non-experimental science - palaeontology - which has close parallels with archaeology. The story of Piltown man will serve as an object lesson here, and will also show how the scientific approach can distinguish between real and fake evidence. Finally I will ask what lessons both scientists and archaeologists can take from a study of the role of theory in their disciplines.

**Archaeology as a discourse of modernity**

**Julian Thomas, School of Art History and Archaeology, University of Manchester**

Written histories of archaeology generally present the emergence of the discipline in the modern age as a matter of happenstance and contingency. Factors ranging from the growth of scholarship amongst the gentry and merchant classes to the encounter with non-European peoples conspired to produce the understanding that a knowledge of the past could be retrieved from material things. In this contribution I will suggest that the implication of archaeology in the modern condition is more fundamental than this would suggest. Archaeology embodies a modern sensibility, forged by the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment. Equally embedded in this sensibility are a series of dualistic categories of thought (culture/nature; subject/object; mind/matter), which seem to run through archaeology. If we are genuinely nearing the end of the modern era, what prospect is there for a discipline so thoroughly mired in its attitudes and prejudices?

**Motivations for Archaeology**

**Organiser: David Griffiths, Department for Continuing Education, University of Oxford**

The intention of this session is to search for, and debate, some of the reasons why people feel motivated to take up archaeology as a pursuit, learning process, or career, and to put those into the context of the 'routes' available into UK archaeology. With an eye to the historical aspect of the development of educational and professional opportunities in archaeology over the past few decades, we will explore the appeal of archaeology in Britain in 2000; in what ways archaeology represents a form of escapism, or possibly providing a 'sense of place' in an increasingly dislocated and mobile society. The speakers have been selected as experts in aspects of public involvement in archaeology.

**Archaeology in the Media**

**Mick Aston, Time Team (Channel 4) and University of Bristol**

Mick will speak from his wide experience of both university extra-mural teaching and television work, on changing and developing motivations amongst the UK public for archaeology. He will look at the present upsurge of interest (much of which he is responsible for!) and lead into debate where we will attempt to discern some patterns and explanations behind the present popularity of archaeology.

**University Entrance: some observations (Provisional title)**

**Kevin Greene, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.**

Based on the Kevin's wide experience of overseeing student recruitment to a major university archaeology department, this paper will look at motivating factors in the 16-21 year age group, and the response to his enduringly popular book and website 'Archaeology, An Introduction'.

**'The 'Wow' Factor: Archaeology and Young People**

**Pippa Henry, Wolfson College, Oxford**

Pippa's involvement with the Young Archaeologists Club and numerous projects undertaken with schools have given her the opportunity to observe the motivation of young people and why they find archaeology so exciting. Adult perceptions of why young people are interested in archaeology are often at variance with the reasons recognised. This paper will offer suggestions on ways in which the archaeological community can cater for the needs of young people even more successfully.

**Archaeology and Lifelong Learning**

**Gary Lock, Department for Continuing Education / Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford**

This paper will examine the role of Lifelong Learning (aka Continuing Education or Extra-Mural studies) in providing structured opportunities for involvement in archaeology for part-time learners and will look at what attracts adult learners to archaeology.

**The Seeds of Professionalism**

**Trevor Rowley, Kellogg College, University of Oxford**

This paper will examine the seminal role played by extra-mural departments in the growth of professional archaeology in Britain from the early days of Rescue to the present. It will seek the roots of dedicated national archaeological coverage in the tradition of part-time study and university outreach.

*Tuesday afternoon*

**Identity, knowledge and representation**

**Organiser: Keith Ray, Herefordshire Archaeology**

The aim of this session is to consider the way in which archaeology can deal with issues around the relations between personal and group identity, social knowledge, and material representation in a variety of contexts. The emphasis here is also placed upon the factors bringing about social and historical change.

The question of what do we mean by 'representation' is central to how we envisage its relation to identity. At one level, any cultural product is a form of self-representation, but at some times and in some ways, the product involved may be both iconic and emblematic. In some sense, the material item concerned expresses a self- or group- identification with key concepts, values or meanings, and serves to represent such otherwise intangible entities. It is archaeological contexts and forms that represent such junctures that are largely the subject of discussion today.

In archaeology, the significance of the appearance of new forms of representation (whether portable artefacts or major monuments), or the transformation of established forms, has often been the subject of study and comment. While it is axiomatic that historical change is continuous, such transformations, whether apparently sudden or clearly cumulative, may sometimes represent major shifts in the way that people envisioned or understood the social worlds they inhabited. Such changes rarely occur without being registered or monitored by the communities affected by and living through them. Some individuals may be more aware of and active in the negotiation of change. Therefore, the way that knowledge is deployed is an important factor in understanding how identity and representation are mediated under conditions of significant change.

Among the questions to be considered in this session are, therefore: What triggered these changes in representation? How did the production of the forms concerned enable changes in self-identity and social relations to be realised? What can a study of the forms and their archaeological contexts tell us about the nature of knowledgeability of the people engaged in their production and use? Why did the significant changes occur when they did, and what were the longer-term consequences?

The contributors to this session will broach these and/or related questions with reference to material that they are familiar with. The contributions are paired or otherwise grouped, so that similar material and themes are considered both in parallel and in contrast.

**Changes in forms and changes in perception in the Balkan Neolithic**

**Douglass Bailey, University of Cardiff**

Certain changes occurred in 2D and 3D representation during the Balkan neolithic, and various explanations have been put forward for the significance of these changes. However, one explanation that has consistently been missed is that they marked fundamental changes in self-perception among the prehistoric communities of south-east Europe as to the nature of their social worlds. This idea will be explored in reference to the history of early photography.

## **Offa's Dyke: tracing a line through 1200 years of meaning and identity in the Welsh Marches**

**Ian Bapty, Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust**

The linear bank and ditch earthwork known as 'Offa's Dyke' runs for 129km through the borderlands of England and Wales. As such, it is Britain's longest archaeological monument. The dyke dates from the 8th century AD and is usually interpreted as a border line and defensive fortification built to define the western edge of the powerful Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia.

Extraordinary though Offa's Dyke is, the idea of a boundary formed by an earthwork bank and ditch scarcely seems a novel departure in the early medieval period. Yet the varied design, complex landscape setting, and sheer scale of Offa's Dyke sets it entirely apart from other nominally comparable earthworks. It will be argued that the building of the Dyke involved the radical transformation of an established dyke-building tradition, and that this occurred in a way specific to its particular historical context. Offa's Dyke was built specifically as a monument to Mercian power and identity and was never really intended to serve directly as a fully functional barrier against the British kingdoms to the west.

The Dyke has continued, however, to inform the cultural perceptions of Marches communities, long after the demise of the Mercian state. The presence of Offa's Dyke may have influenced the realisation of a coherent Welsh identity in the centuries after Offa, and the dyke certainly became important as a physical, cultural and symbolic dividing line in the medieval landscape.

Offa's Dyke is still assuming new associations and meanings today, perhaps most notably linked to the creation of the National Trail along its length, and beyond. The current English Heritage/Cadw funded 'Offa's Dyke initiative', aimed at developing a co-ordinated approach to its management and promotion, itself potentially involves another shift in the way that the dyke is valued and understood. This may create new impacts on the identity of people in the Marches in England and in Wales, and how they view the landscapes they inhabit.

## **The development of tradition and identity: the medieval English parish church**

**Pamela Graves, University of Durham**

Various forms of representation were featured in the structure and adornment of the parish churches of medieval England. It can be argued that they served cumulatively to enhance a sense of institutional and community identity and tradition across several centuries. However, through this time there were significant changes in liturgical practice, and in patronage, that transformed aspects of this apparent continuum. To what extent did the material environment of churches embody such change, and to what extent did they deny it?

## **Self-identification and bodily ornamentation: hair and ears in Jomon Japan.**

**Simon Kaner, Cambridgeshire County Council**

Several years ago, hundreds of clay earrings were discovered at the site of Kayano in central Japan. Now the site of an international earring museum, does Kayano hold clues to understanding what the prehistoric foragers thought they knew about themselves? This paper will consider the evidence for bodily ornamentation (and early coiffure) with a peek at the world of Jomon figurines and artefacts of the body and attempt to set the finds from Kayano in the context of social processes in central Japan in the fourth millennium bp.

## **Between real and imagined worlds: representation and actualisation in the domains of the living and the dead in the third millennium BC in western Europe**

**Stephen Keates, University of Birmingham**

The period from 3500BC to 2200BC saw the development of striking new forms of human representation across many areas of Mediterranean western Europe. These images have been termed 'statue menhirs' or stelae in the archaeological literature, and are essentially a form of monumental statuary in stone. They contrast strongly with the much smaller human figures in clay associated with the earlier Neolithic.

Recent excavations, particularly in northern Italy, have demonstrated that statue stelae were often erected in alignments or groupings and formed structural elements in ritual arenas located at significant points in the landscape. These representations were subject to processing in various ways, which is paralleled in the ethnographic record by the ritual transformation of ancestor figures. These images appear therefore to have played a vital role in the presencing of the ancestral dead in spatio-temporal contexts in which the transformation of personhood could be effected.

The iconographic images on these statues bear testimony to the role of certain items of material culture, particularly copper weapons, tools and ornaments, as signifiers not only of states of personhood. This referenced both the living and the dead, but also served as the means of presencing and embodying more abstract cosmological concepts connecting the living and the dead in time and space.

Ultimately, these idealised representations of the dead provided a medium by which the living could conceive of themselves as embodied beings, and means by which imaginary worlds could be thought into being and actualised in social practice. The embodiment and placement of the dead in the landscape helped define new notions of territoriality and personhood which were only to become fully actualised in later prehistory.

## **Culture and personhood embodied in the Nok figurines of Northern Nigeria**

**Keith Ray, Herefordshire Council**

The apparently sudden appearance of fine clay figurines in the third millennium bp in northern and central Nigeria has been linked (speculatively) to the origins of the Bantu. It does seem to coincide with the earliest development of iron-using in this part of sub-Saharan Africa. These forms are a fully-formed expression of attributes of a social world that has come to be referred to by the place (Nok) near where most of the figurines have so far been found. What are the cultural and historical reference-points for these representations, and what kinds of identity are evoked?

## **Representation, identity and the reconstruction of medieval buildings for public display**

**Liz Worth, University of York**

Medieval buildings are regularly altered to bring them into modern use. This paper investigates the alterations made to medieval buildings to reconstruct them as heritage sites for presentation to the public. It considers what impact this has on how people identify with them, and how they view themselves through that display. Access analysis has been used to identify how alterations of the fabric of buildings affects their spatial arrangement. This will be related to a study of what information has been lost through such alteration, and the implications of this reconstructive work will be contrasted with directions in current medieval buildings research.

Three case studies are the subject of detailed consideration, representing different approaches to, and results of, reconstruction. Little Moreton Hall has been altered by the National Trust to allow for the large numbers of visitors, but these changes have altered its spatial arrangement. The Winkhurst Farm was moved and re-assembled at the Weald and Downland Museum, but much of the building has been lost. Barley Hall in York has been dismantled and reconstructed in its 'fifteenth century' state, but post-medieval alterations prevent it being used now as it did in its earlier form.

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## **Reanimating the dead:**

see morning session for details

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## **Addressing multicultural heritage:**

see morning session for details

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## **Non-verbal communication:**

see morning session for details

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## **Archaeological theory for digital past:**

see morning session for details

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## **Death, memory & material culture:**

see morning session for details

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## **Time – for a change**

**Organisers: Andrew Millard, Christopher Ramsey and Ed Rhodes**

Time is a fundamental component of archaeology, yet it is frequently said to be under-theorised. It seems to me that there are three aspects of time which archaeologists consider, two of which are theorised to some extent, and the other which is not:

- socially constructed time (eg Gosden, Richards, Shanks & Tilley)
- timescales of actions and processes (eg Bailey, Gosden, annaliste school)
- measuring time (dating) (natural science & maths theorisation only)

These are not exclusive categories, but apart from Gosden's work there has been limited consideration of the relationship and overlap between them. The final category has not been explicitly theorised in archaeology to my knowledge.

This session aims to bring together archaeologists who are considering one or more (preferably more!) of these aspects of time. How are we to move between, say, a radiocarbon dated series of events, processes of environmental change, changing settlement patterns and past social constructions of time and place? In each of these there is some theorising of time, but usually assuming that the other aspects do not matter or are adequately theorised.

Some questions which might be addressed:

- How do we theorise what Shanks & Tilley call "abstract time" rather than dismissing it? After all, it is essential to many other aspects of archaeological theory.
- Is Bailey's "time perspectivism" still a useful concept? Can it be integrated into post-processual views of time? Can it be related to socially constructed time?
- New mathematical methods (Bayesian statistics) and improvements to techniques are allowing scientific dating methods to yield much more precise chronological information than ever before, even down to the level of an individual lifetime. How will we use this improvement to understand the past better? Are our theoretical frameworks (particularly in prehistory) ready for it? Will our excavation techniques have to change?
- Do we need to radically change the way we construct chronologies of sites and cultures? How do we change our strategies for developing chronologies? Can chronological information systems provide new ways to combine temporal information?
- How do we relate social constructions of time (which we wish to deduce from our data) to abstract time (the time which we can measure)?

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## **Punctuated Equilibria – A Model For Chronological Analysis**

**C Bronk Ramsey, University of Oxford**

If we are to use Bayesian methods for chronological analysis, we need to have a well specified model of archaeological events which corresponds to our view of reality.

One such model is that of punctuated equilibria - periods of relative stasis divided by temporal boundaries. This model can be applied at various levels - from large scale cultural changes to phases in the use of domestic buildings - and so we can expect to see a hierarchy of temporal boundaries on different time scales. This model is incorporated into current versions of the program OxCal.

This paper will explore the implications of this model. Areas where the model might be inappropriate (eg seasonal or periodic activities) and other potential pitfalls will be discussed.

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## **Chronological Reasoning: The Bayesian Approach**

**Caitlin E Buck**

The Bayesian paradigm is a coherent, explicit and well founded one within which to undertake scientific reasoning. In the last decade or so this paradigm has been used to develop a specially tailored framework within which one can build and investigate archaeological chronologies.

Computer packages, with this framework at their core, allow absolute chronometric data (such as radiocarbon determinations) to be combined with relative chronological information (for example stratigraphic sequences) to arrive at coherent date estimates for events of interest. Date estimates derived from such software are now appearing in learned journals around the world. It is clear from some such publications, however, that not all researchers have fully comprehended the philosophical base upon which such estimates rely. In this presentation I will focus on the theoretical underpinning of the Bayesian approach to chronology building and explain that unless one adheres to the type of scientific reasoning at its core one will a) fail to gain full potential from the method and b) almost certainly make fundamental mistakes in its use.

## Contemplating An Unfamiliar Past

Grant Cochran

As archaeologists adopt a more critical approach toward traditional disciplinary concepts of time, several underlying weaknesses have been brought to the surface. This paper reviews arguments which challenge conventional understandings of both (i) the temporal characteristics of cultural processes, and (ii) the role that time plays in structuring the archaeological record. The implications of non-linear modelling open the prospect of a much more dynamic, unpredictable past, which in turn should prompt a re-examination of the notion of contemporaneity as it is applied to archaeological material. It is argued that the type of reconstructions of the past that are generally expected of archaeologists may cease to be tenable in many cases if these issues are seriously confronted. If so, then it may be necessary to consider different, less familiar concepts as a means of gaining a more valid understanding of the past.

## Time and Aesthetics

Chris Gosden, University of Oxford

Archaeologists generally think of time in quantitative terms, attempting to refine measurements of time or developing new means of arriving at absolute dates. Time can be viewed quantitatively, but it can also be viewed as a quality of people's involvement with the world. This paper seeks to explore a view of time which looks at the aesthetic nature of human experience in the world and how time is generated through the sensory appreciation of the world.

## Citation, Precision, Correlation: Radiocarbon In Protohistory

W A Green, University of Newcastle

Amongst archaeologists who deal routinely with quantitative information the statement that high precision does not provide high accuracy has become nearly a truism. Radiometric dating suffers from excessive precision in particular because time-averaging blurs processes that occur at shorter time scales (Braudelian 'temps bref' and 'temps recitative'). Therefore the analytical precision that is usually cited with radiocarbon dates (usually one or two standard deviations) is frequently unconnected to the actual uncertainty in the measurement of age; it refers solely to the theoretical limitations of the technique of measurement. Thus AMS will always be more precise than conventional radiocarbon, but only sometimes more accurate. The suggestion in Waterbolk (1971) and Mook and Waterbolk (1985) that radiocarbon results be presented graphically has not been generally adopted, and new mathematical tools for carrying the standard error across the process of calibration have exacerbated the tendency to treat the quoted (analytic) error as if it were the true uncertainty in the age determination. This can be seen most clearly in proto-historical periods like the Near Eastern Bronze Age, where radiocarbon dates generally cannot be correlated with traditional pottery seriations; in other words, where there is comparative data of comparable precision. A more realistic way of citing radiocarbon errors would lead to greater success in synthesizing radiometric and seriation chronologies in protohistory, and help in reliable correlation of sites from geographically remote regions.

## Two Times? The Relation Between "Physics' Time" And Social Time

Andrew Millard

In this paper I will argue that certain cycles of time are near universal human experiences (days, years and to some extent

months). The repetition and counting of these cycles gives both the fundamental basis of measured time and the framework for the social construction of time. From this basis I will explore how these fundamental elements can be made more abstract in "physics' time" and more of a human experience in "social time". This also allows a critique of the notion that measured time is necessarily commodified.

## Beyond Stratigraphy – Accelerator Dates on Early Domesticated Grains from Abu Hureyra and their Implications for Archaeological Interpretation.

Andrew M T Moore

Accelerator dates on individual cereal grains document the transition from foraging to farming at Abu Hureyra, an early village in the Euphrates Valley. The dates indicate that agriculture began c. 11,000 BP at Abu Hureyra, a millennium earlier than hitherto anticipated. All the grain samples appeared to be well-stratified but their dates were frequently older or younger than the ages of the levels in which they were found. This suggests that the grains had migrated through the deposits through human and other natural agencies. In establishing when such early domestication events occurred it is clearly necessary to date the domesticates themselves directly and no longer to rely on stratigraphic associations, as has usually been the case in the past.

## First Order Theoretical Stratigraphy

Ed Rhodes, University of Oxford

First order theoretical stratigraphy is an attempt to develop a formal means of handling stratigraphic information. It is envisaged that its primary use will be in the development of regional stratigraphic schemes, and therefore most widely applicable to investigations of Palaeolithic archaeological sites and related Quaternary stratigraphic units. Applications involving younger archaeological sites, and within single sites may also prove useful, in conjunction with the use of existing formal stratigraphic schemes such as Harris Matrices. The origins of the idea lie in the concept of "uncertainty renormalization", the use of multiply-contingent stratigraphic interpretations (e.g. if we assume that horizon A is the same event as unit 3, and if the biostratigraphic data can be interpreted to represent time period Q, then if the lower gravels are assumed to be younger than the higher gravels, the age must be V...). In the above example, the age V may appear in the literature with some qualification and a detailed discussion of its origins and limitations, but may then be used as the starting point of a further stratigraphic argument in a subsequent publication, stripped of its attendant qualifications. While this sort of problem is inevitable, and does not pose a significant limitation for experienced stratigraphers aware of the details of the arguments at the key sites, the syntheses that they produce may not easily be understood by either less experienced researchers or researchers from a related discipline which relies on the stratigraphic information for its chronological framework (e.g. Palaeolithic archaeologists).

The underlying rationale is to use formal probability measures to establish a relative and/or absolute chronological framework, combining observations and correlations which relate different units and independent chronological information. All relevant stratigraphic information must be tabulated in a formal manner before any analysis can usefully proceed, which represents a potentially huge task in many situations. The aims of the exercise range from i) providing the soundest chronological estimate for any part of a site or

series of sites, through to ii) understanding where the key points lie in a complex stratigraphic argument, to iii) establishing the relative merits of different stratigraphic interpretations of the same data set, or subsets of the same information. One particular use is envisioned to be the clear identification of individual weak links in the chain of stratigraphic arguments, helping to focus further research efforts towards strengthening that link.

At this rather preliminary developmental stage, simulated stratigraphic data have been generated, and arbitrary subsets selected to represent the incomplete nature of a) preservation, and b) observation and sampling. The radiocarbon calibration and statistical analysis package OxCal, developed by Chris Ramsey, has been used in order to combine the simulated data sets. A hierarchical methodology based on the combination of stratigraphic subsets, and the use of simplified synthetic probability distributions is illustrated and assessed using the simulated data sets.

The special nature of stratigraphic information gleaned from detailed archaeological excavation, specifically the often almost complete and painstaking recording of stratigraphic units and their relationships, frequently forming highly complex three (or four) dimensional patterns, renders the use of archaeological sites an ideal test bed for the assessment of first order theoretical stratigraphic methodology. The application to regional stratigraphic problems such as the age of the Anglian glaciation, and the relative chronological positions of Middle Palaeolithic UK sites such as Boxgrove, High Lodge, Barnham, Beeches Pit, Swanscombe etc. is at this stage the immediate goal.

## The Archaeology of Scale

Organiser: Gary Lock, University of Oxford

This is a general call for papers on the topic of scale – however you define scale, work with scale, or think scale has an impact on your archaeological process – I want to hear from you. Considering that scale issues are fundamental to archaeology and implicit within most people's work, there should be areas for discussion, specific and general points of interest. Part of the interest of this session will be in seeing how people respond to a definition of scale and a consideration of its importance (or not).

Some aspects of scale are obvious and well discussed as most people who work with digital and paper maps will know, while others are less well explored such as ecological fallacy and the Modifiable Areal Unit Problem (MAUP) and their implications for archaeology. Are the claims for the seamless moving between scales with new technologies such as GIS and VR justified or just techno-hype? What about scale and interpretation and meaning – archaeology is founded on a continuum of scale from the microscopic analysis of a sherd to regional interpretation. What are the problems and implications of moving between scales, are scales of meaning different to scales of data and how do we make connections? How can an embodied approach to landscape, or an interpretation based on practice, integrate data of different scales? Is an understanding of scale culturally constructed, if so how can we recognise and decipher past meaningful scales of living through the present material record?

## Scales of human settlement on prehistoric Kythera, Greece

James Conolly, University College London

Lying 15km from the southern tip of the Peloponnese, the island of Kythera is the focus of a multidisciplinary project

that was established to explore the dynamics of Aegean insular communities from prehistory to the present. Intensive archaeological survey is one component of this work, and while the project still has a further year of fieldwork, and will be followed by some years of further analysis, it is nevertheless possible at this stage to address some thematic issues that the survey project has necessarily encountered. In particular, one of the major issues that we continually deal with is that of scale, principally during the process of delineating locations of past human settlement. In common with much prehistoric survey in the Aegean, our survey methods are designed to identify clusters of artefacts at relatively small scales in the landscape. Such high densities of artefacts in a well delineated space often results to the designation of a 'site'. While sites do, of course, exist at a multitude of different spatial and temporal scales, their identification invariably involves a delineation of their spatial extent against a backdrop of lower-density artefact distributions. Exploring the relationship between local small-scale high density clusters of artefacts and the larger-scale background distributions allows us to critically examine the circumstances in which sites are defined, and how this varies across the survey area depending on the local context. This in turn can be used to develop models of site definition using data drawn from several different scales, leading to a more robust understanding of the settlement dynamics of the island.

## Digging small and thinking big: the view from an evaluation trench

Gill Hey, Oxford Archaeological Unit.

As archaeologists we constantly deduce large-scale patterns from small-scale data and, in the last two decades, we have sought to employ evaluation of small proportions of development areas to predict the threat on archaeological sites that lie beneath. A recent study of large infrastructure projects suggests that small-scale work seems to result in limited interpretation; we are looking for what we expect to find rather than what is there. Extensive stripping of sites in advance of development is revealing a wealth of evidence of ephemeral Neolithic and Bronze Age and Anglo-Saxon settlement and burial evidence in areas where it was not anticipated and landscape features of all periods. Evaluation and targeted excavation seems to have narrowed our perception of the past, in addition to failing to reveal the wider buried landscape in which people lived and moved.

## Understanding scales of perception and action in prehistory: evidence from Devils Tower, Wyoming

Brian Molyneux, University of South Dakota

Natural monuments, like monumental structures, are landmarks that influence human behaviour by dominating the visual array in an environment and by affording dramatic changes in the scale of human perception of that environment. Landmarks are descriptions easily remembered and communicated – information that may confer an adaptive advantage on mobile hunting and gathering groups. When such descriptions, expressed in the analogical language of individuals and cultures, disseminate widely, a landmark can also become an icon, a potent political symbol of shared memories.

Devils Tower, a massive volcanic anomaly in northeastern Wyoming in the western United States, figures in the oral traditions of a number of tribes who lived in the region before dispersal and confinement in the late 19th century. Its archaeology provides a case study of the role of scale in

perception and action – as it influenced both the prehistoric and historic inhabitants of the region and the archaeologists studying the phenomenon. The discussion will centre on how the archaeological record, oral histories and recent uses of the Tower area provide evidence of changes in the scale and direction of perception of this landmark over 10,000 years of occupation. I will contend that functional changes related to the introduction of the horse and the Euro-American invasion transformed the Tower in American Indian culture from an earthly provider of both material and spiritual needs to a largely idealized sacred shrine.

#### **Scale of Destruction vs Scale of Knowledge: The importance of continuous destruction and the importance of continuous research**

**Ulla Rajala, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge**

In this paper I will discuss the effect of deep ploughing on our knowledge of prehistory in central Italy and the urgent need for greater emphasis on prehistoric studies in the realm of the Italian survey projects. The importance of documentation of the continuous process of destruction will be emphasised and own experiences of the current state of landscape in south-east Etruria will be described. The in-built contradiction of the idea of destruction as a source of knowledge and the consequences of this contradiction will be discussed in the context of understanding archaeological distributions.

#### **Turning the world into words**

**Tom Yarrow**

This paper will focus on the practices and instruments which allow archaeologists to move between scales. The common assumption of a dualism between 'the world' and 'representation' of this; between concrete artefacts and abstract maps, diagrams, reports etc., leads to an impasse: either representations are seen as homologues of an a priori reality, or the incommensurability between the two is highlighted (as when we talk about 'problems of scale'). In contrast, the focus here, is on the archaeological instruments and practices which actively transform newly excavated artefacts (in their muddy particularity) into words and diagrams (literally and metaphorically clean). Whilst these processes depend on absolute equivalences at every stage (between, for example, an artefact and the position of the number nailed in place which substitutes for it), it is the absolute discontinuities and disjunctions (for example the artefact is replaced by a number), that co-exist with these, which allow previously un-seen patterns – and hence archaeological insight – to emerge.

### *Wednesday morning*

#### **'The Prince and the Pauper' Using material culture to structure social identity in Prehistoric Europe**

**Organisers: Lucy Harrad and Andrew Shortland, Oxford University**

Material culture is in a dialectical relationship to society: objects reflect social values but also construct the culture in which they are articulated. Therefore these artefacts can be manipulated by people of power within a society to reflect an idealised state, to represent their culture, and to emphasise the social order. Objects used in this way are often 'high value' goods either through their exotic origin; through the physical properties of the material such as colour, lustre, texture, and form; or through their role in tradition and myth. An alternative category of goods may be used by the lower levels of society to signal their resistance to the imposed hierarchy. The materials used here are often cheap, easily accessible and malleable, such as ceramics. Interaction between these people may be mediated through material culture via notions of value, and this may occur either 'vertically' (between levels of a stratified society) or 'horizontally' (between members of an equal social group).

The contributions to this session set out to explore these ideas through case studies, using as a starting point the scientific analysis of materials and objects. The study of production technology, provenance and patterns of exchange, and the physical properties of a material which shape the finished object are key to describing activities in the past. These methods may be incorporated with an understanding of the socio-cultural nature of value systems to create explanatory models for the observed behaviour of a past society. For example: how might these differing spheres of interaction be seen through re-constructing exchange? How is material culture manipulated to (mis)represent or disguise an oppressive social order? What is the role of imitation, skeuomorphism and acculturation in the construction of social identity at a cultural interface?

#### **Embedded behaviour: the case of gabbroic pottery in the Bronze-Age and Iron-Age of Cornwall**

**Lucy Harrad, Oxford University**

Technology in the past cannot be understood without also considering its social context. Behaviour which used to be explained purely in terms of economy and trade is increasingly seen as the result of a complex interaction of different factors, including ritual, symbolism, ethnic identity and status which is linked to access to important trade routes. This paper attempts to tie together the scientific analysis of pottery with the usual investigation of provenance, trade routes and patterns of economy, and the more intangible socio-cultural systems which can explain these observed patterns. The case of gabbroic pottery in Cornwall is used to illustrate these points: Cornwall contains an unusual rock-type which makes the area ideal for in-depth petrographical analysis and the investigation of trade from a known source. The exact nature of the ceramic production is investigated using detailed analysis to provenance the pottery very precisely, and to consider how access to different clay sources may have changed over time from the Bronze-Age to the end of the Iron-Age. This may offer insights into how the raw materials for pottery were acquired and used, whether

they were traded and why this particular pottery proves so popular all over the south-west of Britain. This last question is clearly linked with cultural practice and may suggest the use of pottery as an ethnic marker, both reflecting and also constructing social identity over a wide area.

#### **What you are is how you eat and drink: pottery and social identity in late Iron-Age eastern England**

**J D Hill, The British Museum**

Pots are not chronological markers but rather evidence for particular social discourses. This paper will attempt to illustrate this point through an examination of the ways and motivations for adoption, adaption and rejection of the first wheel-made pottery in Britain during the late Iron-Age (c.100 BC – AD 43 + ). It will be argued here that the adoption or not of the technology of using the potters wheel was embedded in the practices of making and using pottery - and their social and cultural contexts. In particular, the paper will stress the new technology and its rejection can only be explained in terms of the demand for particular types of vessels. That is in the ways pots were used as tools in preparing and serving food and drink: foodways. Differences in the foodways of communities living in close proximity to each other in parts of south-east England during this period will be illustrated, and how these differences directly used and manipulated different forms of material culture. What these different practices imply in terms of differences in forms of social organisations, aspirations and resistance will be touched on.

#### **Not just a pot: technology and transformation in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic**

**Helen Holderness**

The construction of material culture that reflects social identity is reliant on the relationships played out between actors. The usual application of the chaîne opératoire has relied on the technological process, the sequence of events or operations that takes the raw material to the final object – but there is no final object. It becomes transformed by the way peoples interact with it and how it in turn transforms people's relationships with each other, but also how they see themselves. Their perceptions are changed and this brings into play a differing range of options. This power enables – it has the capacity to achieve – and that gives people choices and consequences, both seen and unseen. They construct their social identity using the material culture. New ideas or technologies become accepted thought, which becomes embedded into the social and personal aspect of people's lives – which can change the way in which we think. Pottery technologies open up unsuspected dimensions – so I wish to explore the use of pottery in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic.

We might be able to see the method of construction and the mechanical process that created the pot, but I wish to explore the concept of what this would mean to the social and the individual. Some would argue that Mesolithic pottery does not reveal much about the society saying that it's borrowed technology; and it may be. But Mesolithic peoples used pottery in a deliberate way that was different from their Neolithic neighbours. Their social identity was not reliant on the use of pottery, but it was absorbed and its meanings changed. In the patterns of life and death we might be able to see how this changed and transformed a society, that was not preparing itself for agriculture but, one that was flexible enough to allow for a whole range of possibilities.

#### **'Celtic Art' and 'Visual Culture': towards an integrated approach to gold and pottery**

**Natasha Hutcheson, University of East Anglia**

Many 'fine' artefacts dating to the Iron Age, such as the gold torcs from Snettisham, Norfolk, have been categorised as 'Celtic art' objects. This definition has led to the isolation of these artefacts from other aspects of material culture and, society. In order to re-integrate 'art' objects within archaeological artefactual studies, it will be suggested that the term 'art' is a red herring - the focus inevitably circles around what art is and how it functions within a society. As an alternative, the term 'visual culture', which is broadly concerned with 'how images or any form of apparatus designed to be looked at, are central to the representation of the world', will be explored. This term is favoured over material culture, firstly, because of its attention to the visual - an aspect of the Snettisham hoards that was clearly important; and secondly, because it will also enable us to examine the visual nature of other aspects of material culture, such as pottery, coinage, loomweights etc. It is hoped that this approach will help with interpreting how artefacts, of all types, participated within Iron Age society.

#### **Representations of Warriors in the Migration period**

**Lise Bender Jørgensen, Norwegian University of Technology and Science, Trondheim**

What did the warrior costume of the Migration period look like, and why? What image of themselves did Migration Period warriors want to present to the world, and why? How do we think they look, and why do we think so?

Images of migration period warriors have been constructed by several generations of archaeologists, illustrators, exhibition designers and textile craftswomen. This paper discusses a series of such images produced in Scandinavia since 1860, their theoretical, ideological and empirical background, and sets them against contemporary descriptions of migration period warriors.

#### **Technological change as social change: the case of the early Bronze-Age in Central Europe**

**J Sofaer-Derevenski, Southampton University and M L S Sørensen, Cambridge University**

This paper investigates the incorporation of new material forms within society. Focusing on the first regular use of metal in Central Europe, it examines social responses to this technological innovation and argues that the introduction of new materials and objects was integral to social life. In this analysis, notions of negotiation and re-negotiation are introduced as the means by which the rights and responsibilities of particular groups were articulated, thereby giving metal objects meaning and 'position' within existing social structures. Gender and age are explored as central structures through which this negotiation and re-negotiation took place. Rather than an external force, technological change is always contextual and must be understood in terms of internal social dynamics played out through relationships between people and objects.

#### **Warrior identities in the European Neolithic and Bronze Age**

**Helle Vandkilde**

With the Homeric war hero - and his female counterpart – as one point of departure my paper will consider whether similar ideals and realities existed in the later Neolithic and Bronze Age in Europe. Material culture in selected contexts from central and northern Europe will be the eye through which agents, culture and power fields will be viewed.

## Emotional Archaeology: personal and subjective approaches to material culture

**Session Organiser: Mike Anderton, FRCA**

In studying archaeology we are all aware that there is more to material culture than its mere form or substance. As a profession we use theoretical and other forms of analysis to produce a narrative for the material in question - but we must be seen to do this in an objective fashion. In essence, the analysis must be seen to relate to the material and the culture we are examining - nothing more and nothing less.

There are instances, however, when our study sometimes reaches into the realm of the personal. For example, in studying recent remains how much of our own feeling is attached to our study? Do we see and translate the material we deal with in an objective fashion?

This session wishes to go beyond the fringe of objective narrative; it seeks to examine how archaeologists deal with the emotions and feelings engendered by the material we study. How does the material culture affect our own lives and perceptions? How does the philosophy of archaeological study impact, add to, or diminish our personal approach to archaeological material?

### Object vs. Place: material culture, war-related sites and objective study

**Mike Anderton, FRCA**

How do we view artefact vs. place? How difficult is it to study recent material objectively; and why can this material be emotionally wearing on those who study it?

A tin-hat from the First World War is just that; but it also has human connections that are often never fully acknowledged. Only when it is recovered from its battlefield setting does it become an emotional object. In similar fashion, a piece of agricultural machinery can become an emotive symbol of a Death-factory; but is it more potent than viewing the actual place where the implement was used? Why does the sense of place give the artefact a new sense of reflection?

### Is it Art? No, and it's not science either: Interaction with the Archaeological Dataset

**Paul Blinkhorn, Independent Ceramic Analyst**

Archaeology is a curious beast. Even the purest archaeological theory is usually based on a dataset retrieved by excavation, a process which encompasses the methodological tenets laid down by 18th - century science: Method, Observation, Results, Conclusions. That at least is the theory. Or rather the practice.

From a purely artefactual point of view, different objects are regarded by different people in different ways. Some of us like pots (even Roman ones). Other people find chipped stones interesting (there's no accounting for taste). Does this effect the way in which we analyse them?

In this paper, I intend to examine the way in which archaeologists, particularly artefact analysts, interact with their dataset, and how that interaction shapes our interpretation. Do we ditch our principles when we practice? Or, under the skin, are we all just slipshod scientists with over-active imaginations?

### Field Feelings

**Kenneth Brophy, University of Glasgow**

This paper will look at a series of contrasts between the act of archaeological practice and the description of that prac-

tice. There is always inevitably a gap between the actual experience and the recounting of that experience, but in archaeology the recounting is selective, screening out the emotions, motivations, subjectivities and subject. Archaeological fieldwork is full of contrasts - excitement and boredom, inspiration and luck, trial and error. And then there is the excitement of discovery.

Through talking to colleagues about some of their experiences in field survey, excavation and aerial photography I hope to contrast the punch-the-air moments; hairs-on-the-back-of-the-neck feelings; and occasional mind-numbing tedium of being in the field with the way that the results are published. We are losing something important in this sanitising process.

### What will they think of next?

**Duncan H Brown**

On the face of it, an emotive archaeology is an ideal way for archaeologists to communicate with those outside our profession. Indeed, some amateurs would have it that we have cocooned ourselves so securely from any engagement with what we do, that they are the only people who have feelings for, and care about, the past. If we believe that to be untrue then how are we failing to come across as caring and sharing as well as professional? One problem may be that when we do discuss our emotional involvement with the past, we do so only in front of audiences composed of other archaeologists. You can't get much more exclusively archaeological than TAG, and yet it is there, and probably there only, that we feel comfortable enough to consider such a theme. Where's the point in that? The danger is that those of us who choose to follow such a path will lose touch with reality (whatever that is), while those of our colleagues who deride TAG as irrelevant nonsense will accuse us of self-indulgent navel-gazing.

In public, too often we seek to maintain an aloofness about us that promotes the notion that we hold an expertise and understanding beyond the reach of less knowledgeable beings. I may, in this presentation, seek to deconstruct the myth that archaeologists know what they are talking about but my main purpose is to look at archaeology from the view of a museum visitor, where many non-archaeologists most frequently encounter the results of archaeological activity. I wish to consider how museum displays, and museum activities, might get across the message that such activity can produce feelings as well as information. I will also try to imagine how museum visitors might react to such displays.

### Nine Ladies and Stanton Moor, Peak District - a Heart of Stone

**Jon Humble, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, English Heritage**

Stanton Moor in the Peak District of Derbyshire is a textbook prehistoric landscape. Because of proposals to renew stone quarrying around the edge of the moor, in recent times it has turned into a conservation battle-field and is currently the subject of the largest ongoing eco-protest in the UK. The Nine Ladies Stone Circle on Stanton Moor is also at risk from the sheer numbers who go there.

Landscapes are powerful mental manuports where the physical intertwines with aesthetics, memory and association. Past meets present, but what of the future? Values, significance, ethics and emotions are at the root of what has and might happen.

## Emotional Archaeology Explodes: Campaigning for our Heritage

**Jill Martin, RCAHMS**

This paper seeks to examine how the discovery of archaeological remains can affect the general public as a whole. A recent MORI poll has revealed that there is overwhelming public support for the historic environment and that there is a strong feeling, perhaps a moral obligation people feel, that heritage should be preserved to be passed on to future generations.

The Rose Theatre caused a huge furore when it was first discovered in 1989 during excavations, prior to the construction of an office block. Similarly plans to construct Civic offices on the Viking Site at Dublin's Wood Quay in the late 1970's led to Rallies, marches and torch-lit processions in an attempt to alert press and public to the site's archaeological significance.

However the more recent the excavations of Seahenge in Norfolk, saw the exact opposite. Despite the serious risk of Seahenge being lost forever by coastal erosion if it was not moved, protesters, including self-styled druids and some local residents, launched a publicity campaign to obstruct the archaeologists' plans, arguing that much of the importance of the circle lay in its location.

### War, Death and Emotion: forensic archaeology in the Balkans

**Ann Schofield, University of Sheffield**

The cost of human life and emotion: are they a measurable entity? Can man's own inhumanity to man ever be fully comprehended? Do we acknowledge our own emotions when dealing with the subject of dying, death and, ultimately, the disposal of corpses?

Death is such a taboo subject within modern society because it makes us all confront our own mortality. Most of us have had experience of relatives and friends who have died, and we have known what has become of them (that is, burial or cremation); but what happens if we did not know these facts? War crimes remove the knowing from death; and it is the not knowing what has happened, or where the body has been disposed of, that brings out more intense emotion and feeling.

Why, when and where are questions raised; but in the case of war crimes they can never be answered with exact fact or truth. The individual who is left alive not only has to deal with feelings of utter hopelessness, but also with emotions and feelings of hope. Hope that their relative, friend, husband, son, wife or daughter may still be alive.

### The Death of Mallory

**Nick Smith**

George Mallory and his climbing partner Andrew Irvine disappeared during an attempt to climb Everest in 1924. The recent discovery of Mallory's body by an expedition team resulted in considerable speculation in the media as to whether either or both of them had reached the summit - an achievement that would have put them ahead of Sir Edmund Hillary and Sherpa Tenzing by 29 years. This discovery was remarkable for the near perfect state of preservation of Mallory's body, clothing and personal effects despite many years exposed to the elements. In this paper I am interested in the treatment of Mallory's body by the people who found him and the media, particularly the newspapers and television as a form of archaeological evidence. This will in turn address the wider issues of materiality, memory and encountering the past in the present.

## The Origin of faeces: The Archaeology of bodily waste products

**Organisers: Mark Maltby, Miles Russell and Roger Doonan, Dept of Archaeology, School of Conservation Sciences, University of Bournemouth**

Shit, crap, poo, piss, number twos, slash, do-do, turd, wee, bum-eggs, excreta, excreta.

To most these words hold within them feelings that are taboo, suspicious, offensive, wild in some way and in need of control, domestication even. Embedded within our understanding of them are issues of the body, self and privacy, of embarrassment, revulsion, denial and fascination.

Today, defecation, shitting and shit are issues that occupy liminal positions within society in terms of discourse, performance and ideology. Because the sanitised western world has flushed the discussion of toilet habits and behaviour out of our daily lives we often find ourselves confounded by the archaeological reality, intellectually constipated with ways to deal with this subject. This session intends to act as a mental laxative and examine the various attitudes and approaches towards poo and poeing in the past.

### Forming The Tortoise: Roman Military Toilet Practice Against The Wall

**Bill Bevan, Archaeology Service, Peak District National Park Authority**

The Roman military are renowned for their well-organised movements. This coupled with efficient bureaucracy and an affluent elite has often been cited as one of the main laxatives that enabled the spread of the Roman Empire. Battle strategies gave them the edge in panning the enemy in war, well-structured hierarchies meant that every soldier new their position and what was expected of them, and forts and military camps were laid out along precise lines which any soldier would recognise wherever in the Empire they washed up.

This level of organisation is evident at Housesteads Fort, Northumberland. Everything was taken care of, from the location of the commanders quarters through the different latrine blocks for different ranks to control over the squatters vicus outside. Evident in all of this are the structured locales for social interaction between individuals and differing communities.

Housesteads and Hadrian's Wall were popularised by a series of colour drawings showing Roman life. As a young child these were one of my first introductions to archaeological reconstructions and none fascinated more at that age than the soldiers latrines. The stone-built open-plan block with rows of toilets facing an open drain was surely evocative of Roman life on the rim of the Empire. There were the soldiers, sitting on toilets next to each other with no privacy, chatting away, while prominently displayed was a small sponge on a stick. This was surely a very different toilet culture than was alive in late 20th century Britain.

Here I would like to float some ideas about aspects of Roman toilet practice, touching mainly on the interaction between individual and communal in the architecturally defined space of the latrines. What routines and precedents were there for using the latrines? What etiquette revolved around the washing, using and sharing of the sponge? But most importantly - why was one toilet so much more popular than the others - as evident by the excessive amount of wear to its stone structure? Or was it all just a case of Incontinentia Buttocks?

### **Smiting, shiteing, and having a dump: Metaphors for production processes**

**Roger Doonan, Bournemouth University**

Some scholars have argued that prehistoric production processes may provide central metaphors for constructing meanings relating to self and other processes elsewhere in society. This paper attempts to look at how the process of crafting our own very personal products can itself be seen as a metaphor and inspiration for technical innovation and practice.

It is argued that how we relate to our bodily products and other production processes is something that makes us noticeably human. Ultimately there seems something intrinsically human about producing things and this paper tries to understand how by examining attitudes towards human bodily products it becomes possible for us to understand attitudes to other sorts of waste and the individuals responsible for producing it.

### **The Long Drop ...or Pissing in the Wind – Sentries' Toilets at Peel Castle**

**Andy Johnson, Manx National Heritage**

The 15th century curtain wall of Peel Castle, on the Isle of Man, still preserves a number of medieval toilets. Who used them, and what for, apart from the obvious? Some appear to have been for the common soldiery, others for officers and civilians. Can we tell which? Is it possible to uncover the routes taken by individual sentries on night time duties by studying the location of these toilets? Can medieval military tactics be defined by the provision of simple necessities such as poo and pee stops around a castle? Who arranges these things anyway?

### **The passed and the present: the archaeology of excrement**

**Andrew Jones, Head of Education, York Archaeological Trust**

Research demonstrates that many archaeological deposits contain ancient excrement but this is not often recognised as few archaeologists are prepared to use appropriate techniques to find evidence for faeces. The taboos surrounding defecation may, in part, be responsible for neglect of ancient excrement in archaeological deposits, however it is also clear that these same taboos can be used as a springboard for bringing archaeology – a subject that most people think is dry, dusty and attractive to only a small number of academic misfits – to mass audiences.

This paper will review finds of ancient human excrement including the analysis of material from human corpses (Lindow Man and the Iceman), coprolites (human and other animal) and latrine deposits covering prehistoric, Roman and later material. Data will be presented on the survival of selected food stuffs through mammalian digestive systems and how these are modified by the processes of mastication and digestion to become 'faecal indicators'. The paper will also demonstrate how the study of ancient excrement can be used as a medium for presenting archaeology to mass audiences using TV and popular archaeological displays such as the Jorvik Viking Centre.

### **How to defecate in a civilised way in ancient Greece – a discussion of bodily wastes and their discharge within the framework of Norbert Elias**

**Astrid Lindenlauf, University College London**

A framework that explores the complex relationship of the development of behaviour, including the discharge of bodily wastes, and socio-political transformation processes was pro-

vided by Elias in *The Civilising Process*, published in 1939. A trend towards an increase of the quantity and quality of the internalisation of self-restraint resulting in an efficient control of bodily functions and the privatisation of these actions, Elias considered indicative for a process towards a higher degree of civilisation.

His model can successfully be applied to ancient Greece – as I will argue – to analyse changes in behavioural and spatial patterns of bodily discharge, from the geometric to the Hellenistic period. The material, which shall be discussed in accordance with the Eliasian framework includes ancient texts (e.g. comedies, forensic speeches), epigraphical material (e.g. disposal regulations of organic material in Thebes and Athens), and archaic and early classical vase-paintings.

### **Out of sight, out of mind – a gap in Iron Age settlement studies?**

**Mark Maltby, School of Conservation Sciences, Bournemouth University**

Although there have been many attempts to reconstruct Iron Age 'life' through studies of settlements and associated material residues, very few studies have discussed some of the basic everyday activities. Models of the use of space within settlements have avoided issues concerned with the creation and disposal of human waste products. This paper will review the evidence and discuss whether it is feasible to investigate these issues in more detail.

### **Dealing with Waste – Shit Days and Crap Nights**

**Gillian Riley, National Health Service**

Romans did it sociably. Victorians would have us believe they never did it. I spend my working life asking whether you've done it. This paper is part anthropological, part archaeological and partly my nursing perception on movements that encompass defecation within our society. I will be looking at issues and tissues surrounding toilet furniture, the taboos that have grown up around the subject of SHoneT, its language and cultural practices. I hope the paper will flow easily and set some ideas in motion.

### **All archaeology is SHITE**

**Miles Russell, Bournemouth University**

'In the beginning there was poo. Lots of poo. Big huge mountains of poo. And man looked upon the poo and felt shame. Verily the substance was hidden from sight, disguised, destroyed, cast down into the pit of oblivion. And man felt pride. No more was poo to walk the earth. No more was it to make its presence felt. No more was it to play any part in the very fabric and well being of society. All those who spake its name from thenceforth were to be cast out and despised. From that day hence the world was without poo.' [Karl Marx]. All archaeology is shite – discuss in no more than 8,000 words using examples from your own experience.

### **Contextual Approaches to Settlement Archaeology**

**Session organiser: Barry Taylor, Archaeological Services, University of Durham**

**Discussant: Richard Hingley**

Settlements provide a wealth of archaeological information, from artefactual and ecological assemblages, structural and spatial relationships, to the location of the site within its cultural and historical landscape. As the product of repeated and habitual human activity the examination of this material

can provide insights into many aspects of past social practice, from the ritual to the mundane.

The diverse nature of the data, however, and the increasing fragmentation of archaeology into periods, sub-disciplines and specialisms, each with their own particular research agendas, means that developments in one field do not always reach those working in others. The result is that the full potential of this information is not always realised.

### **Dominic Powlesland, Heselton Parish project**

**Paul Blinkhorn, Ceramic specialist**

### **Mesolithic settlement activity in the Vale of Pickering**

**Chantal Conneller, Cambridge University**

### **Settlements in the British Neolithic**

**Jenny Moore**

### **Contextualising Early Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns**

**Barry Taylor, Archaeological Services, University of Durham**

### **Later Prehistoric settlement in the Breanish valley**

**Clive Waddington, Newcastle University**

### **Interpreting settlement activity from artefact assemblages: an holistic approach**

**Hugh Willmot, University of Durham**

## **Colonialism and the Sea: Maritime Frontiers, coastal encounters and the role of archaeology**

This session aims to bring together a broad range of research which considers the role played by the sea in colonial encounters and the contribution archaeology can make to these studies. The importance of the sea in cross-cultural encounters and colonial ventures has yet to be adequately theorised and the convenors aim to produce an edited volume which explores these issues. An academic press has been approached and is keen to publish the proceedings.

Some of the topics that could be covered include:

- The sea – a bridge or barrier to cross-cultural interactions?
- How do encounters which take place on beaches differ from those which occur inland. What are the theoretical issues?
- Colonialism and coastal peoples. How does this differ from other forms of colonialism?
- The sea as a cultural landscape and how can archaeology contribute to understanding a phenomenology of the sea.
- Relationships between maritime based colonialism (eg. sealer/ whalers) and indigenous societies.

We would like to include papers which focus on the Pacific, Australia, South Africa and North America. Although papers will be given in English we would like to encourage scholars working with Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese materials to contribute.

The emphasis will be on theoretical concerns rather than empirical issues such as the impact of the sea on archaeological sites etc. Papers which involve coastal archae-

ology will be included ONLY if these involve cross-cultural or colonial encounters.

### **Australia's last colonial act. The occupation of the Timor and Arafura Seas.**

**Ruth Balint, University of Sydney**

In 1979, Australia laid claim to a 200 nautical mile Exclusive Economic Zone, effectively transforming Australia from an island in an international sea to a country with borders touching on the doorsteps of Timor and Papua New Guinea. The creation of the 200 nautical mile Australian Fishing Zone brought within its jurisdiction the islands and reefs that had been integral to the survival and culture of the fishing communities of the islands in the Timor, as well as the Arafura Seas. Australia's occupation of the Timor Sea was justified on similar grounds to the colonial occupation of the Australian mainland. The presence of traditional Indonesian fishermen in the region was acknowledged, but only as an itinerant and accidental one, thus lending credence to the official approach which constructed the seas as 'empty'. Indonesian fishermen, who have been fishing in these same waters for centuries, suddenly became trespassers, subject to an intensive campaign of surveillance, eviction, arrest and incarceration. Their boats consistently burnt as punishment for what are regarded as acts of plunder. Yet while the Australian authorities see the ocean as both a profitable resource to explore and exploit (the region is rich in oil and gas fields) and a territorial frontier to patrol, police and safeguard against alien intrusion, for the Indigenous fishing communities along its edges, the ocean has long been a fundamental part of their existence and survival. Traditional Indonesian fishermen have been visiting the reefs, islands and northern coastline of Australia for centuries, navigating their journeys by the winds, stars and tides. Their presence and the story of their contact is recorded and acknowledged by Aboriginal people. Cave paintings and song cycles tell of the history of contact, the links forged by regular visits, trade exchanges and intermarriage between the Asian seafarers and the traditional inhabitants of the North West coast. Tamarind trees planted on the reefs and islands in the Timor Sea, and on the Australian mainland are testimony to the frequency of their visits. This paper will examine the implications of Australia's maritime expansion in the Timor and Arafura Seas, and the reasons behind the confrontation between the Indigenous inhabitants and the Australian state occurring at sea.

### **Italian colonization and Libyan port-cities élites: city councils, local notability and colonial administration (1911–1922)**

**Denis Bocquet, Ecole française de Rome & Nora Lafi, Maison des Sciences de la Ville**

When Italians took control of coastal Tripolitania in 1911–1912, the colonial administration chose not to cancel all the pre-existing forms of local urban administration. Municipalities, such as created during the Ottoman period, remain the central place for the expression of the interests of local élites. In many port-cities of Tripolitania, and mainly in Tripoli and Benghazi, most of the rich Arab merchants remain in charge in the city councils. In Rome, the archives of the Presidenza del Consiglio / Tripolitania contain numerous documents about the contacts between these local notables and colonial authorities. There are also many documents in Arabic, seized by the Italian secret service, that show how these port cities notables were in contact with Istanbul, the former central power, and with the desert rebel tribes, and documents from the Italian administrations about how to



deal with urban coastal society and with the population of the inside. We have also archives of the city councils that show how these councils, thus not suppressed, lose most of their power. In this paper we propose to study this particular form of colonial encounter, focusing on colonial city councils (composition, relation to colonial authority) and on some key features for port-cities societies, such as trade rules, town planning, and local administration.

#### **Orientalism as Material Culture: Tattooing Across Cultures and Across the Pacific**

**William Cummings University of South Florida**

This paper argues that Orientalism, typically seen as the textual and discursive entity theorized by Edward Said, was in fact rooted in the exchange of material artifacts across cultural boundaries. Focusing on the nineteenth-century Pacific Ocean's dual character as simultaneously a barrier (because of the isolating distances involved) and a conduit (because of the men and ships that crossed her), I analyze tattooing as a practice by which Western sailors transformed the meaning of a practice widespread in Pacific and Asian societies. The complex historical, religious, and ritual significance of tattooing was remade as it crossed the beach onto Western ships, into Western ports, and ultimately through Western society. Sections of the paper examine the trade in tattooed Maori heads, the spectacle of 'live' tattooed islanders and Western beachcombers, and the creation of an infrastructure of tattoo parlors and shipboard tattooing rituals in the American navy. Theorizing Orientalism as a 'way of seeing' rooted in material artifacts capable of being viewed and possessed provides a more cogent map of the process by which Western sailors simplified and stereotyped Asian and Pacific cultures in the passage across cultures and over the sea.

#### **Maritime Transport as an Alternative Null Hypothesis for Prehistoric Population Movements**

**W A Green, Yale University**

Debates over prehistoric population movements in the past couple of decades have heavily relied upon 'Demic Expansion', or the 'pebble-in-a-pond model' for migrations, as a null hypothesis. I argue first that this model entered archaeology through a misinterpretation of Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza's work on the diffusion of agriculture and that it is an inherently poor model for population movements. Second, I examine the recent debate on the mode of peopling of the New World as a case study that shows an increasing appreciation among archaeologists of the potential scale and antiquity of prehistoric maritime communications. Finally, I contend that sea-borne transport is an equally attractive null hypothesis for prehistoric population movements, and that the contemporary distaste for explanations based on maritime transportation is due to extrinsic social factors.

#### **Marki Angool: Ghosts, rituals and the Torres Strait maritime frontier**

**Ian J McNiven, University of Melbourne**

Frontier historiography tends to focus on the secular aspects of cross-cultural encounters. Resistance and domination, accommodation and assimilation, are familiar themes of colonial encounters between indigenes and Europeans. In a similar sense, archaeologists have followed suit by investigating indigenous resistance to European cultural hegemony or indigenous technological adaptation to European material culture. While these studies have made important insights into cross-cultural colonial encounters, little research has

been directed towards non-secular frontier dynamics. When Europeans first entered the cultural realm of indigenous groups, they were often seen to have done so through a spiritual portal. Indigenous people often saw Europeans as ghosts of the dead. This paper explores this spiritual realm by investigating first contact encounters between European sailors and Torres Strait Islanders in northeast Australia during the late 18th and 19th centuries. Unlike the pastoral frontier of mainland Australia, the Torres Strait maritime frontier was usually controlled by its indigenous inhabitants and Europeans had a vested interest in 'getting on' with the locals. Cross-cultural movement of material culture was an important aspect to nearly all these early encounters. Sometimes the movement was friendly and associated with exchange of objects. At other times the movement was violent with Europeans being on the losing end of headhunting activities. The relics of these early encounters lay mute in the archaeological record of Torres Strait, in Australian cemeteries, and in museum collections around the world. To understand the cultural meaning and context of these items requires deep understanding of Torres Strait Islander spiritual beliefs and the rituals of everyday life and inter-group encounter. It is argued that such items help mediate the spiritual dimensions of first contact well beyond the confines of secular exchange and technological adaptation.

#### **Sea travel and cultural transfer – colonialism and the maritime limits of subjectivity**

**John Noyes, University of Cape Town & Jessica Dubrow, Royal Holloway, London**

This paper focuses on the idea of cultural transfer and mobility in colonialism, with specific reference to sea travel. Phenomenologically, sea travel has been posited as a realm of liberating a-perception - or in a Deleuzian sense as a smoothing of space and a deterritorialization of the body, in which the self is plunged into actions and intuitions negative to the structuring processes of social order. The resultant fragmentation and disorientation is carried through into the representation of the sea, and consequently the sea emerges as the stage on which one of the most fundamental tenets of settler colonization is contested: that is, the dual assumption that you 'can take your culture with you,' and that a liberal subjectivity is capable of doing so. In this sense the Aristotelian definition of subjectivity as that which remains constant in the course of change comes up against its phenomenological limit - a limit that then has to be re-negotiated by the colonial project with its requisite interpretation of culture as territory. We will discuss this process of re-negotiation with reference to some representative descriptions of the passage from Europe to Southern Africa in the 19th century.

#### **Maritime Frontiers: the sea and imperial change in Nova Scotia and Ile Royale. 1713-1758**

**Mark Power Robison, Brandeis University**

The relationship between Old World empires and their New World colonies was anything but static. Frontiers played a role in shaping empires, just as the masters of imperial systems attempted to mold the periphery to suit their own purposes. The process of change through which the British and French empires grew was one of negotiation; a dynamic relationship between localities on the frontiers of both empires, colonial centers of power, and imperial metropolises. This complex system of interactions can be seen in the Canadian Maritimes during the eighteenth century. Between 1713 and 1758 British Nova Scotia and French Ile Royale

were settled, developed commercially, integrated into the strategic concerns of the Old World, and included in the decisive Anglo-French struggle for North America. My paper will argue that the complex interactions between localities, regions, and imperial metropolises, that shaped Nova Scotia were contingent on its maritime locale. The coastal setting of both colonies facilitated the process through which regional, and later imperial, authorities wrested control of Nova Scotia from local actors. Moreover, the easy mobility and close proximity of the British, French, and Mi'kmaq in the region fueled fierce intercultural competition for control of land and resources.

#### **Ripples in the seascape: the remote effects of encounters with difference.**

**Paul Rainbird, University of Wales, Lampeter**

The seafaring skills of the Caroline islanders in the tropical northwest Pacific (commonly termed Micronesia) are well-attested and it is clear that at the time the Spaniards arrived in the region (AD 1521) there were areas of intense inter-island communication and trips further afield. Many of the Caroline Islands have no recorded visits from European vessels until the early to mid-nineteenth century, but the Mariana Islands, with whom some Carolinians were in contact, had an established presence from 1565. In this paper I ask what effect this Spanish colony may have had on neighbouring island groups who had for centuries been connected by well-traversed seaways across the seascape. The conclusions I draw have significant consequences for those archaeologists who attempt to establish an 'ethnographic present' based on earliest European historical or ethnographic accounts.

#### **From Slave to Subject: Colonialism, the Sea and the Idea of Freedom**

**Anita Rupprecht, University of Sussex**

This paper argues that the notion of the 'travelling identity' has proved compelling for theorisations of modern subjectivity in contemporary colonial and post-colonial studies. Indeed the idea of mobility has come to underpin a kind of utopian form of subjective practice in a world characterised by globalisation. Historically, however, the sea as the medium for the practices of colonial expansion remains under-theorised in terms of its significance in the way it has enabled the expression and perpetuation of a certain mode of subjectivity and a certain mode of production. The post-colonial theorist Paul Gilroy has suggestively evoked the importance of maritime travel in his conceptualisation of modern Black diasporic identity. However, his critical paradigm, while emphasising the historicity of modern Black identities, does not engage with the importance of the sea as a crucial space in the historical development of the political economy of subjectification. Drawing upon the valuable historical materialism by Peter Linebaugh, this paper argues that a return to autobiographies written by freed slaves offers a valuable insight into those contradictory processes by which the movement from slave to subject has been inscribed in relation to maritime experience. From Olaudah Equiano writing in 1789 to Frederick Douglass writing in 1845, the sea figures as a crucial experiential site often used to highlight the gap between desire and possibility, identity and representation. The paper suggests these narratives offer important historical interventions against the over-simplistic translation of the idea of mobility into the idea of 'freedom'.

#### **(Post-)Colonialism, Archaeology and History: rethinking resistance and accommodation on the Australian Coast**

**Lynette Russell, Monash University**

Two key concepts dominate nineteenth-century Australian Aboriginal historiography, these are the mutually dependant notions of resistance and accommodation. These twin conceptions have had a profound influence on archaeological interpretations of the contact period. In this paper I will examine and attempt to disentangle resistance and accommodation by using post-colonial theory as an adjunct to an analysis of archaeological and historical research which has focussed on coastal Aboriginal people in the earliest phases of European contact. Along Australia's coastline the first wave of European contact commonly consisted of transient populations of sealers and whalers. These men frequently maintained semi-permanent bases on small peninsulas and off-shore islands. Dealings with local indigenous people ranged from hostile and violent to co-operative and negotiated. Many whalers and sealers took native women as 'seasonal wives'. These women worked alongside their 'husbands' and their labour was an integral part of the industry. Indigenous men also, commonly worked with the newcomers in both their sea and land-based activities.

Archaeological and historical research into these interactions has stressed the exploitative nature of the Europeans. This has resulted in the creation of a heuristic model which depicts the indigenes as victims of the colonial encounter. This approach has led to a further disempowering of indigenous actions. This paper seeks an alternative view which might account for alliance formations, gender relations and develop a nuanced understanding of the ambiguities of resistance and accommodation which characterised the contact period. Drawing on previous research into whaling and sealing communities I will discuss the 'resistance of everyday' and how this manifests an archaeological signature which can be counter read against textual and archival materials. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the role of material culture in the dialectic between resistance and accommodation.

#### **European-indigenous contact at shore-based whaling sites: collaboration as an alternative to domination and resistance**

**Mark Staniforth, Flinders University**

In both the New World (USA and Canada) and the Antipodes (Australia and New Zealand) after AD 1500 first contact between Europeans and indigenous peoples was frequently between Europeans pursuing a whale fishery and the local indigenous population. This paper argues that the nature of the whale fishery - a seasonal, hunting enterprise - and the uses that the two groups had for the whale resulted in some examples of collaborative interactions rather than the more common conflict. It focuses on material cultural evidence from shore-based whaling sites through a comparative analysis of the uses of, and consequently the meanings that were attached to, certain objects. It adopts the life history (or biographical) approach to portable material culture drawn from Kopytoff (1986) to explore the ways in which meanings attached to objects changed between cultural groups as well as over time.

## 'Consuming' Identities in the Past and Present

**Organiser: Frank De Mita**

What do archaeologists mean when they speak of ancient 'identity'? Is there any alternative to a literal methodology that equates objects and symbols with a specific culture? In the absence of texts, can archaeologists ever hope to speak authoritatively of how people in the past saw themselves and others? Does contemporary social psychology have any relevance for the study of the past?

In the past decade, sociology, social psychology and anthropology have all made important advances in the understanding of the construction of the self and society through material culture. This has been of particular concern in the realm of consumption behaviour in the modern era. People place themselves within social categories by means of what they eat, drink, wear, and by the kind of surroundings they create for themselves in their homes. At the same time, people frequently rebel against socially-imposed categories by carving out unique niches of identity within the greater social landscape. Is such individuality limited to western modernist ideals? Or are there universal aspects of human consumption behaviour upon which archaeologists can draw in attempting to understand at deeper levels of complexity social forms and institutions in the past?

This session will present current theoretical approaches in archaeology to understanding the construction of identity by individuals and societies, as well as the challenges encountered by attempts to separate modern notions of ethnicity and nationality from the interpretation of ancient material culture. Papers are invited on the meaning of identity at both the levels of the individual and society from theoretical anthropological, sociological and psychological perspectives. Where possible, papers should address these issues within the context of specific archaeological case studies.

A second issue for which papers are sought is that of the influence of contemporary notions of nationality, ethnicity and gender upon attempts to understand identity in the past. How trapped are archaeologists within modern constructions of identity and materialist views of culture? Identity and consumption straddle the divide between New Archaeology and Post-Processualism in that they address in a generalised manner issues concerning the role of the individual in past society. In an attempt to move away from overly-broad models of change in the past - what may be termed the 'one size fits all' approach - the question of the construction and reproduction of identity serves to reinvest the past with a richness and complexity that is often lost in the talk of prestige economy, craft production and trade.

### Continuity and Change in the Cemeteries of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries AD in the Province of Namur, Belgium

**Gesine Brass, Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford**

This paper deals with cemetery sites in the province of Namur as an example of the problems which arise from trying to make archaeological evidence, in this case weapon burials, fit into a picture of the period which is derived from historical sources. These cemeteries are important for the understanding of what is usually called the 'transition' period since they are the main source of archaeological evidence for this period. The interpretation given to them by their excavators follows the traditional explanation of weapon burials as evidence for

the presence of Germanic soldiers. This falls within a culture-historical approach in which archaeology is often clearly regarded as subordinate to history. Attempts to identify weapon burials with specific groups of Germanic people on the basis of the often scanty historical evidence have not, however, been entirely convincing.

It will be argued that there is no need to regard this type of burial as Germanic, thus questioning the way in which we understand the sources concerning the period including the way in which they represent ethnicity. The importance will be stressed of studying both archaeological and historical evidence in its local context and to abstain from generalisations. This also has consequences for the understanding of specific burial rites. An attempt has been made to re-interpret these cemetery sites using more recent approaches. The results show that - while the new burial rite itself represents some form of change - the cemeteries represent a form of continuity for the communities using them across an historical period that saw major political and social changes. They therefore show that changes in the archaeological record do not have to reflect events of which the historical record tell us, though they may do so. Since the cemeteries cover a fairly long period of time, they also illustrate that similar burial rites might reflect different historical and social situations.

### Cultural Expression in Byzantine Cappadocia: Constantinopolitan or otherwise?

**J Eric Cooper, Institute of Archaeology/Byzantine Studies, University of Oxford**

Byzantium is the term we give to the east Roman Empire centred at Constantinople. It has always been noted that the capital city, bridge between East and West, was the predominant cultural, political and economic force within the empire. In essence all eyes turned to The City, where resided the head of the Church and the supreme autocrat. All policies of religion and life came from there. It has long been held that Constantinople was the epicentre for nearly every aspect of cultural identity. When changes occurred in concepts of identity, it was to be found first at the capital. From there, it would diffuse into the provinces and impose itself. The basis for these conclusions resides on substantial investigation of both the written sources and archaeological remains from the former capital. Rarely are the provinces attributed with cultural changes that would affect the rest of the empire.

It is the purpose of this paper to consider the unparalleled architectural remains along with other archaeological material from the general region of Cappadocia in Asia Minor to suggest that the influence of the capital was not always so pervasive and not so all-powerful. It will be argued that the elites native to the region held a different concept of self-identity than those from Constantinople. Their local cultural expression was a mix of Constantinopolitan, eastern and old local origins. Moreover, the Constantinopolitan influence was often the weaker cultural force when vying against an eastern or local one for primacy in the region.

### The subversive lives of objects

**Frank De Mita, University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology / University of Oxford Institute of Archaeology**

Archaeology takes as its subject the study of the past, but this pursuit begs the question of whether or not such a knowable past exists. One of the chief points of friction in this endeavour

is the conflict between the attempt to assign identities to people through the categorisation of things, and the construction of our own identity through our interaction with a supposed past time. A different perspective is required. Rather than continuing in the futile quest to quite literally unearth the truth, our multifarious archaeologies must strive to understand our own engagement in creating ourselves through creating a particular kind of past. Our common bond with the ancestors is our confrontation with objects and signs. We should dispense with unilinear formulae for predicting pseudo-evolutionary trajectories and instead turn our attention to the cultural interstices - moments in the life of an object when it crosses between cultural boundaries and takes on its own role in a cultural milieu. Drawing upon both archaeological examples and contemporary Western culture, an alternative conception of the interplay between the individual, society and objects in the formation of differing 'identities' will be presented. The ability of objects/artefacts to subvert meanings imposed by cultural consumers will thus be brought into sharp relief.

### Consumer theory and Roman North Africa: a post-colonial approach to the ancient economy

**Garrick Fincham, School of Archaeological Studies University of Leicester**

Production centred studies have traditionally dominated consideration of the ancient economy, but this sits uneasily with the aims of post-colonial theory: to de-centre our understanding of the 'experience of empire'. The study of consumption in both modern society and in historical archaeology has created an alternative perspective upon economic activity that provides us with an approach to the production and use of material culture which functions at the level of 'experience', rather than as a meta-process. However, it is the case that the direct transfer of work which relates to modern consumer society, or the beginnings of that society in the post-medieval period, to the different circumstances encountered in the ancient world would be anachronistic.

Therefore, we must evolve a methodology for the application of the relevant elements of 'consumption' theory to archaeological data sets, but which achieves this in a way that avoids inappropriate adoption of modern consumer behaviour models to the past. A landscape context, specifically that of Roman North Africa, has been chosen to allow the creation of consumer models at a regional scale. This is approached through the creation of 'consumption profiles' on a site-by-site basis, which can then be analysed to reveal difference in the patterns of consumption either based upon period, location, or site type. This paper is thus concerned with the methodological questions surrounding the use of consumer theory, rather than presenting the results of such a study.

### Picturing Identity; the wall paintings of Pickering parish church, North Yorkshire and the construction of late medieval social identity

**Kate Giles, Department of Archaeology University of York**

In recent years there has been considerable debate amongst archaeologists and historians about the use of religious material culture to construct aspects of social identity in the late medieval period. Attention has focussed in particular on the parish church as a locale in which nominally secular discourses of patronage and social status were being constructed in spaces hitherto dominated by religious ritual

and ecclesiastical power (Graves 1989; Binski 1995). This process has been seen to reflect an increasing tension between the sacred and the secular; a tension expressed through the visual usurpation of ecclesiastical space, the disruption of liturgical activity, and the (re)organisation of ritual movement by secular authority. These changes have also been interpreted as evidence of a shift away from the sense of communal, collective identity which is seen to characterise medieval society, towards a focus on personal identity; a change more often associated with the post-Reformation and early modern period.

The paper will challenge this view of late medieval material culture through the archaeological analysis of the structure and mural decoration of the parish church of Pickering, North Yorkshire. The close relationship between the wall paintings and their architectural frame suggests that they were part of a single, coherent fifteenth-century scheme undertaken as an act of patronage by prominent individuals or particular groups within the parish. However, the scheme not only reinforced the standing of these patrons within the community, but also served an important didactic and liturgical function within the church. The evidence of Pickering demonstrates that the use of religious ideology and practice to structure social and political identities and relations was not a new or radical departure of the late medieval period. On the contrary, it reveals the increasingly sophisticated use of material culture to structure and negotiate the complex multiple and overlapping senses of identity which so characterised late medieval society.

### Imperialist titbits? Food and foodways in Roman Britain

**Gillian Hawkesk, School of Archaeological Studies University of Leicester**

Food is central to life in a variety of ways. Its centrality transcends the simply functional (i.e. without food we die), and takes a cultural form through the essentially social role it performs. Accordingly, food and foodways have played a central role in historical archaeology as well as anthropology for many years. However, it is an issue that has been neglected within Roman archaeology, and 'food' is often confused with 'diet'. It has been considered enough to register what people were eating without any real thought about why, or (in a cultural sense) how. Over the past century Roman archaeology has been concerned with Romanization; i.e. the native population of the newly conquered territory became more Roman as time went on, and 'diet' has been no exception.

This paper thus seeks to examine food, as opposed to diet, in Roman Britain. This will begin with the consideration of an integrated model of the different areas of material culture involved in food preparation and consumption. By combining this with elements of archaeological theory that deal with the creation of identity (e.g. post-colonial theory, studies of ethnicity, consumption theory) we can consider the way in which food is a central tool in this process.

### Looking for Greeks in Early Iron Age Cyprus: the Achaean colonisation hypothesis reconsidered (once more)

**Natasha Leriou, Department of Ancient History & Archaeology, University of Birmingham**

Should one wish to learn about the ethnic identity of the Cypriot society during the Early Iron Age, he/she would discover that almost all existing textbooks on

Cypriote history supply us with the very same narrative: the island had been hellenised towards the end of the Late Bronze Age by numerous immigrants from the Aegean. This theory supported by Professor Vassos Karageorghis and many other scholars has been widely accepted. In an attempt to trace the beginnings of the above theory, one has to go as back as J.L. Myres; the father of Cypriote Archaeology seems to be the first to talk about a Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus. Since then the theory has been gradually developed and refined, particularly under the light of more discoveries during the 60's and the 70's.

Nevertheless, a lot of scepticism is being expressed by many scholars lately. The Achaean Colonisation hypothesis, as attractive as it might be, encompasses many problems, which have been identified by many researchers during the last fifteen years. The main objection lies within the use of certain groups of artefacts, particularly pottery, as criteria for the presence of a Greek ethnic group in Early Iron Age Cyprus. Excavated remains are fragmentary and static while the concept of ethnic identity is fluid and particularly elusive.

In this paper I will try to illuminate the reasons and circumstances that led archaeologists to adopt this hypothesis. Furthermore I will briefly outline the various methodological mistakes and misunderstandings that resulted into the problems of the hypothesis. Special emphasis will be paid to the over-generalisation of the evidence: Cyprus is usually treated as a solid and uniform body of information although different areas seem to present slightly different pictures concerning the extent and the character of the Greek presence. By comparing the local stories of Paphos, Salamis and Lapethos the regional character of the colonisation phenomenon will be emphasised and new ways of looking at the problem will be suggested.

#### **Aping Iconographies? The transmission and consumption of monkey imagery in the late MBA/ early LBA Aegean**

**Eleanor C Ribeiro, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading**

The 'blue monkey' is a familiar motif in late MBA/ early LBA Aegean fresco imagery. 'Blue monkeys' appear in elaborate and often exotic landscapes in frescoes from Knossos and Akrotiri. However, the monkey is not an indigenous animal in the Aegean. There are arguments for regarding it alongside other exotic or fantastic animals in Aegean representations - lions, griffins and spotted cats - as an exotic creature experienced only in terms of an Aegean 'fantasy' of the East. This paper, however, will offer an alternative way of viewing the representations, and attempt an explanation for the consumption of the motif, particularly in the LBA town of Akrotiri.

Monkey iconography in the Aegean appears to have derived from MBA Egyptian and Near Eastern traditions. This paper will be exploring whether the appearance and apparent popularity of this motif marked merely an Aegean 'aping' of Near Eastern and Egyptian monkey iconography, or the consumption of something more materially substantial.

#### **The social uses of Neolithic obsidian**

**John Robb, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton**

Archaeologists have investigated almost every aspect of the Neolithic Mediterranean obsidian trade except the

one really essential for understanding it: why did Neolithic people want obsidian? What did they use it for? I argue that the form, context, distribution and use of obsidian in Neolithic sites throughout Italy does not correspond with either a superior-technology model or a prestige-goods model. Instead, we need to consider one or more possible social and symbolic roles for obsidian.

#### **A judgement of Paris: Identity, power and archaeology in Tartarstan**

**Søren Michael Sindbæk, University of Copenhagen**

The paper intends to give an example of the interplay between archaeology and national identities in the Middle Volga area, the stress being on Tartarstan. Through this example it is argued what has been - and what can be - the position of archaeology in relation to struggles over national or ethnic identities, or other fields where the distant past is used to legitimise contemporary cultural discourses. It is argued that though archaeological data may not be able to support any discourse imaginable, they are still so flexible that a critical knowledge of the political premises for the research are essential to explain which interpretations comes in force. It is over-sceptical, however, to regard archaeological data as completely stigmatised by their origin. This is argued since even material excavated and analysed according to a totalitarian regime, as Soviet Russia, leaves plenty of space for re-interpretation. Archaeologists, it is suggested, must indeed dare confront their data to contemporary discourses, but should avoid acting as judges over politically determined questions. Rather they should set new agendas, using their data as a basis to re-negotiate e.g. ethnic predicates - or even the predicament of ethnicity.

#### **Between the individual and the group: negotiating identity in the archaeological record**

**George Williamson, Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford**

Using as a case study the extensive evidence of monumental tombs from Lycia, a region of SW Asia Minor, this paper raises questions about archaeological theories which equate architectural form directly with population or ethnic groups. It argues that the development of a distinctive architectural language in this region must be seen in the context of social strategies of distinction employed by elites, and that interpretations of tomb types identified as 'indigenous' often go astray by isolating them from other contemporaneous types. Rather, they are found alongside both types common to a much wider geographical area (for example, temple tombs which also belong to neighbouring Caria), and whimsically idiosyncratic constructions which cannot easily be fitted into any typology. An insiders' reading of these as significant elements within a debate about the creation of social identity is to be preferred to an outsiders' view of them as markers of ethnicity. They are statements of individual, or at least elite, display and represent attempts to mark out social position within a society. Finally, the paper considers how the meanings of such symbols are open to reinterpretation over the longer term.