

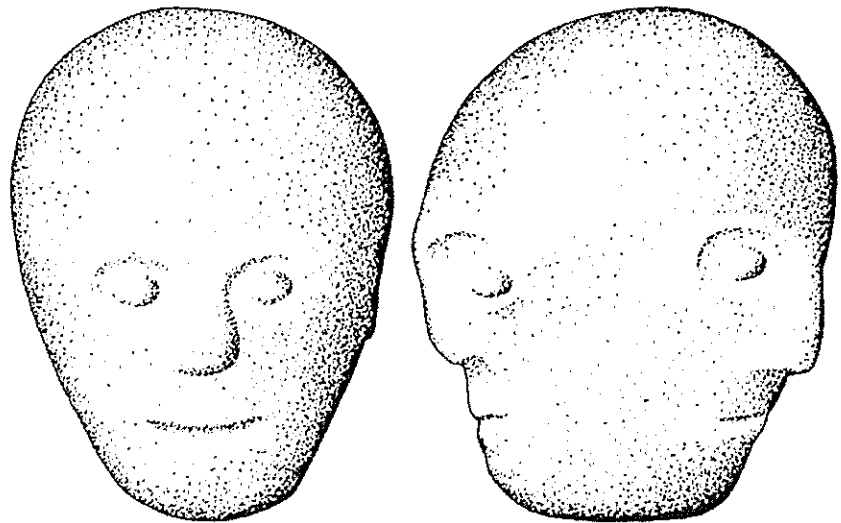
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Theoretical Archaeology Group  
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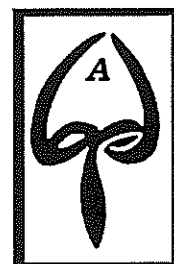
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13th - 15th December 2001



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# ABSTRACTS

THURSDAY 13<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER:

AFTERNOON SESSIONS

## **PALAEOECOLOGY AND PHENOMENOLOGY - INTEGRATING 'SCIENTIFIC' AND 'THEORETICAL' APPROACHES TO LANDSCAPE INTERPRETATION**

**Session organisers:** *H. P. Chapman and B. R. Gearey, Wetland Archaeology and Environments Research Centre, University of Hull, Hull, HU6 7RX.*

Interpretation of archaeological landscapes are currently split into two main approaches. The first may be identified as the 'scientific' study of physical remains such as pollen to reconstruct palaeoenvironments. The second approach is from a social/human perspective, and seeks to engage with more existential elements of the experience of landscape. This dichotomy would seem to restrict the full potential of either approach to the interpretation and understanding of landscape. For example, vegetation will clearly effect movement through and visibility within landscapes, and may also contribute to 'significance of place'. However, such aspects may be missed or only partially addressed through the lack of consideration of palaeoecological data in phenomenological perspectives on palaeolandscapes.

Foremost to this issue is the question of whether palaeoecological data can be used in theoretical approaches to the 'reconstruction' of palaeolandscapes or whether these data are inherently too limited for such concerns. If not, in what ways and in what circumstances might sufficient reconstruction/interpretation be achieved in order to provide an input into theoretical interpretations of the landscape? Moreover, if palaeoenvironments can be meaningfully reconstructed, then what effects might they have on the theoretical interpretation of landscapes?

The aim of this session is to explore avenues of integration between different approaches to landscape interpretation, in terms of both new methodologies and their possible implications. It is hoped that this session will provide a forum of debate between the two interpretative approaches.

### **Discourse, dynamics and the interpretation of cultural landscapes**

*James McGlade, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, London WC1H 0PY*

This paper examines the current status of models of human-environmental interaction within conventional processual and post-processual approaches to landscape studies. The last three decades have witnessed dramatic changes within environmental archaeology and Landscape studies generally, and we have seen a pronounced shift away from ecologically based approaches towards experiential and symbolic perspectives. In a sense, the reductionism inherent in palaeoeconomic approaches has been replaced by a phenomenological reductionism; thus, there is a sense in which the new landscape archaeological studies, are dangerously close to presenting oversocialised views of the relationship between people and the environments they inhabit and transform. At worst, an exclusive focus on a subjectivist, symbolic agenda promotes a discourse that effectively dislocates social practice from the ecological milieu within which it is embedded. In addressing these issues, this paper suggests the need for a re-think that is not simply methodological, but one that confronts the core of our epistemological preconceptions defining social and natural relations. More specifically, it advocates the construction of an alternative socio-spatial discourse, emphasizing the need to replace the conventional materialist/idealist dichotomy with a co-evolutionary perspective - one that stresses the reciprocal interaction of human agency and environmental dynamics within an explicitly evolutionary context.

### **Branching out: the symbolism of trees in prehistory**

*Jenny Moore*

At TAG in 1999, I put forward my preliminary thoughts on the potential for trees to have a symbolic context and value in prehistory, and how this may have been a factor in shaping, in particular, Mesolithic society. Since then I have continued to develop these ideas using ethnographic analogy and folklore. However, it has become apparent that within this palaeoenvironmental evidence must be integrated, particularly if trees are to be regarded as having a place in shaping a ritualised landscape. Recent work has commented on the rigidity of palynological analyses and how theories in relation to palaeovegetation have not been tested because of the circularity in arguments this rigid approach has promoted. Theoretical interpretations of landscapes are not without errors and omissions, but equally it can be argued that pollen diagrams have been interpreted within a particular mindset which needs re-evaluation.

To develop understanding of past environments and how they were inhabited, utilised and understood, palaeoenvironmental evidence must be re-evaluated in order to create a credible vegetated palaeolandscape. Thereafter, a theoretical construct of the symbolic nature of that environment can be applied. Considering trees and woodland, the case will be put for re-evaluation of palynological data in a symbolic context.

### **The Kuk Morass: reflecting on prehistoric agriculture in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea**

*Tim Denham, School of Conservation Sciences, Bournemouth University*

Kuk Swamp is an agricultural site in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Following large-scale, multi-disciplinary investigations at the site in the 1970s, several successive phases of drainage for agriculture were claimed, with the putatively earliest dating to 9000 bp. Recent research conducted by the author has sought to clarify the age and nature of the archaeological remains for the early three phases at the site (Phase 1 - c.9000 bp, Phase 2 - c.6000-4000 bp, Phase 3 - c.4000-2500 bp), and to situate them within broader palaeoecological and geomorphic contexts. From the outset of my research, phenomenological perspectives have been interwoven with standard methods to illuminate prehistoric agriculture at Kuk. Uncovering the 'origins of agriculture' in New Guinea requires a consideration of its materiality and the methods through which things are measured and known (practical-methodological component). Simultaneously, it requires a consideration of the 'consciousness of' the idea, material things and methods (abstract-conceptual). The latter, which is the focus of this talk, leads away from a pure consideration of 'things from the past' towards the ways in which they have been understood and the projects within which they have become enmeshed.

### **Those conspicuous actors the high mountains**

*Cole Henley, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Cardiff. Email: cole007@ntlworld.com*

Recent theoretical debate in archaeology, certainly in prehistoric studies and especially in Neolithic studies, has emphasised the importance of experience and action in interpreting the past. This perspective has been significantly influenced by phenomenological philosophers as well as the recent political and academic climate, both concerned with highlighting the role of the individual in social and other longer-term processes. This paper wants to consider whether such a perspective and scale of approach is entirely appropriate for considering the time-scales of archaeology and for interpreting the social processes of the past. In interpreting the past I wish to argue that we tend to have neglected the often active, dynamic and important role that landscapes and environments may have played in shaping human activity, particularly through an unhelpful reaction to 'environmental determinism'. In addition to outlining problems with the environmental determinist critique I wish to suggest that a study which emphasises the potential of the landscape to affect human activity need not be incompatible with an interpretative paradigm

### Spaces, places and landsnails: accommodating for human perspectives in landscape reconstruction

Paul Davies, Quaternary Research Unit, Bath Spa University College, Newton Park, Bath BA2 9BN.

Except in certain defined circumstances the scale of reference at which we can reconstruct past environments tends toward the meso- or macro-scales, both spatially and temporally. This makes it difficult to judge the validity of some of the recent archaeological thinking on landscape settings as they were perceived, or indeed designed. If, as Tilley (1994, p11) suggests "The specificity of place is an essential element in understanding its significance", and part of that specificity is the environmental setting at the micro-scale, the scale issue becomes problematic. This paper will consider two separate, but related, projects which are attempting to reconstruct past environments as they relate to 'locales', rather than concentrating on landscapes themselves. The first project has been designed with a view to improving the spatial resolution of sub-fossil land snail analysis at archaeological sites. The aim is to provide methodologies and approaches that will assist in considering environmental settings at scales appropriate to individuals or groups of individuals. The locales considered relate to the Neolithic long mounds of the Avebury region, Wessex. The second project relates to natural places, and considers swallets (swallow-holes) and spring emergence sites as locales. Case material will be presented from the Mendip area, Somerset.

#### Reference

Tilley, C. 1994. A phenomenology of landscape. Oxford: Berg.

### Life in the woods: a palaeoecological perspective

Nicki J. Whitehouse, School of Archaeology and Palaeoecology, Queens University of Belfast, Malone Road, Belfast BT7 1NN.

This paper explores some of the evidence provided by palaeoecological investigations, particularly palaeontological (reconstructions based on fossil insects), on the appearance of past landscapes. In particular, I would like to challenge ideas concerning the nature of 'undisturbed' prehistoric woodlands and how our perception of these ecosystems has been influential on ideas concerning the appearance of prehistoric monuments and the movement of people within such landscapes.

The structure of these Holocene woodlands would have subject to natural disturbances; natural processes such as wind-blow and the death of trees would have created regular clearances. Many such clearances may have been maintained through grazing animals. In appearance, therefore, the palaeoenvironmental record suggests that forests were open in character. However, our modern plantation woodlands, which are structurally dense, and un-grazed woodlands have dominated our own perceptions of woodlands and how we have thought about their past appearance. Within the archaeological literature, there appears to be little awareness of these different perceptions and so little consideration has been paid as to how the structure of these woodlands may have impacted on people moving through them, nor on the visual appearance of particular monuments and landscapes. The paper also highlights the value of taking the palaeoenvironmental record into consideration when phenomenological perspectives are employed.

### Perception and Palaeoecology - Henges and their Place in the Landscape

Richard Tipping, Department of Environmental Science, University of Stirling, Stirling FK9 4LA

Post-processual archaeology has often sought to shed the burden, financial and interpretative, of engaging with the scientific techniques of environmental reconstruction. Yet in many ways, particularly with the rise of phenomenological analysis, social and palaeo-environmental interests should intersect in new and exciting ways. Where the archaeologist can propose a model, the environmental archaeologist can test it.

Colin Richards' (1996) interpretation of henges as linked to water is one such idea, and Pict's Knowe in Dumfriesshire is a recently excavated early Bronze Age henge (Thomas 1999) at which the association with water, and other interpretations, can be tested. This talk will describe succinctly how environmental reconstruction

cannot be ignored by social archaeologists, and how such reconstructions can be used to provide new insights into understanding the locating of places in a landscape. The talk will discuss the development of this valley-floor landscape through the Holocene via sediment-stratigraphic and bio-stratigraphic analyses, specifically to contextualise the monument at Pict's Knowe within its landscape. Assuming that site location was sensitive to the contemporary landscape, it is possible to use environmental reconstruction techniques in new ways to extend Richard's ideas and explore other considerations, of contrasts between 'wild' and 'tamed' in space and time, that may have influenced the monument builders more.

#### References

Richards, C. 1996. Henges and water: towards an elemental understanding of monumentality and landscape in late Neolithic Britain. *Journal of Material Culture* 1, 313-336.

Thomas, J. 1999. Pict's Knowe: Neolithic to Iron Age Archaeology. In Tipping, R. (ed.) *The Quaternary of Dumfries & Galloway - Field Guide*. London: QRA, 57-62.

### Tombs and trees: a phenomenology of the monumental landscapes of Caithness

Amelia Pannett, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Cardiff

In the last decade numerous phenomenological investigations of monumental landscapes have been undertaken following the work of authors such as Bender (1993) and Tilley (1994). These have served to highlight how landscapes may have shaped and influenced peoples understanding and perception of their position in and connection to the world. From these studies it has become clear that the construction of monuments was inherently centred on individuals perception of their world and how they understood the landscape, the environment, the seasons etc. Monuments were constructed precisely, oriented and aligned on specific features or occurrences, and once constructed it became impossible to view a landscape without considering its relation to the monuments, and *visa versa*.

In this paper I will attempt to assess how useful phenomenological approaches are when trying to understand the monumental landscapes of Caithness in northern Scotland. Here chambered cairns are located within an open and treeless landscape that often affords spectacular long distance vistas. It would be easy to assume that orientations on hills and mountains in neighbouring counties were deliberate and significant and that the vegetation has changed little in the last 6000 years. However, environmental work in the county has indicated that woodland may have been a significant feature of the early Holocene environment, albeit relatively scrubby. How then should our understanding of the monumental landscapes change and is it possible to gain information about the local vegetation by studying the construction and positioning of the chambered cairns?

### Agency within archaeology: modelling natural and cultural worlds using computer simulations

Doortje Van Hove, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, Avenue Campus, Highfield, Southampton SO17 1BJ.

Within archaeology, the relationship between large-scale environmental events and individual decision-making (social and cultural) within economic behaviour has only rarely been meaningfully addressed. The correlation between long-term changes and short-term actions is however problematic and not transparent. Over-emphasis of either the environmental or cultural side of this equation is failing to accept that environmental changes and cultural frameworks cannot be strictly separated.

This study, situated in southern Calabria and focusing on Neolithic land use, addresses this by combining computer simulation research (e.g. GIS) and agency theory. The reciprocal relationship between environment and cultural behaviour can be analysed within a GIS model, by working out the different environmental attributes of a landscape and simulating their utilisation by different economic and social strategies over a larger spatial and temporal scale than is possible within traditional analysis methods. This way, feasibility and environmental impact of specific human choices can be inferred

and one can assess the wider implications of human actions within a specific study area. Once a meaningful relationship between a specific economic land use and its impact on the research area is established, one can start looking for agency explanations or 'ways of life' of people within the past.

This research investigates how people made decisions about how to use their landscape. It examines the mutual influence between environmental components and social enactment accountable for the economic decisions considering land use during the course of the Neolithic. A more complex model, in which 'implementation' rather than 'dependence' is emphasised, is discussed.

### TEACHING ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY: BRIDGING THE GAP

Session organisers: Michael Reynier and Annie Grant, LTSN Subject Centre for History, Classics & Archaeology, College House, University of Leicester, Leicester, LE1 7RH.

Teaching archaeological theory is one of the most stimulating experiences for students and staff alike, a chance for students to express their own opinions freely and for staff to break away from the didactic format common to other topics in the discipline. But what is learned in these invaluable sessions often fails to find expression outside the theory course itself. The student who writes an excellent essay on post processual archaeology in a Theory module, frequently submits a standard essay on ritual, devoid of any theoretical argument in a module on the Neolithic. This forum aims to explore why this should be so and how we can encourage students to carry over the skills and understanding developed in theory courses to other modules in the archaeology curriculum.

### Theory as yeast: Baking course bread from unit ingredients.

Kevin Andrews and Roger C.P. Doonan, University of Bournemouth  
Although just concern must be expressed regarding the lack of cohesion between theory units and other 'non-theoretical' courses within academia we suggest that this is a problem that concerns archaeology in a much wider context which extends to professional practice and the media. Indeed it is this lack of integration in the profession that may, in part, be responsible for the solipsistic nature of taught theory courses. However, the paper presented here is not so pessimistic and details a case from Bournemouth University where, for specific reasons, it is felt that the integration of theory and wider issues is accomplished. We illustrate this using examples from the Bournemouth BSc Archaeology curriculum focusing specifically on the teaching of Archaeometry, an area which is often seen erroneously as atheoretical. Ongoing Science teaching has resulted in students engaging in Archaeometric practice from an explicitly theoretical perspective. Moreover they have actively engaged in the research process producing two published papers and numerous presentations at international conferences. The specific reasons for how theoretical integration has been achieved are presented along with a critique of the professional background within which these studies are situated.

### That's Agency Sorted, now back to gatehouses

Mathew Johnson, University of Durham

This paper is prompted by the experience of reading two essays written for two different modules by the same student. The first was a brilliant deconstruction of agency theory in archaeology. The second was a 'traditional' account of a medieval building, centering on the biography of the owner/builder written in entirely atheoretical terms. What is going on here? More broadly, how can we encourage students to apply ideas from 'theoretical' parts of their course to area/period elements, and vice versa? I identify some of the factors that make such an integration difficult, including: modular structures that conspire with a fragmentation of knowledge; the language of 'learning outcomes'; and students' desire to write what they think their examiners want to hear. I conclude with some suggestions for how a more holistic learning experience might be achieved.

### Teaching Theory: A Continental Perspective

Dr Harry Fokkens, Faculty of Archaeology, University of Leiden

In order to understand how in the Netherlands, and in many other countries on the continent theory is taught, one has to realize that on the continent theory never has detached itself from practice, even in academic archaeology. There is no tradition of developing philosophical ideas further, like for instance Thomas or Tilley do, without reference to archaeological practice (leaving here the constant reinterpretation of Wessex's monumental landscape out of consideration as a philosophical rather than an archaeological practice).

Neither is there a tradition of following one theoretical guru (preferably French or German) and trashing all previous or other approaches underway. Most academics in the Netherlands are more or less eclectic and – being the inventors of the *polder*-model – in general follow lines of thought that try to leave room for, or even to incorporate, older or even obsolete approaches. They use what is interesting to them and develop generally only aspects of new approaches further into new interpretative models for archaeological material.

University teaching follows this approach. This implies that the philosophical and ideological backgrounds of models are discussed with students, but seldom to the extent that they have to think an approach through until they reach its philosophical roots. Theories are discussed on the basis of their applicability and data are never far away from theory teaching.

### Student Perceptions of Taught Theory

Anthony Sinclair, University of Liverpool

Archaeological theory at Liverpool is taught in the second year as a (compulsory) part of a broad set of programmes covering a wide range of archaeological periods and areas. In line with Liverpool's history, and current staff strengths, there is an emphasis upon the archaeology of Ancient Egypt and the Near East, Roman and Aegean archaeology and early hominids - none are exactly classic areas for recent developments in archaeological theory. Students have responded to this in past by arguing that theory is not relevant to their archaeology. In contrast, these same students respond enthusiastically to a first year module in social anthropology and likewise to a 3rd year module on ethical issues in archaeological practice and interpretation. In this paper I shall examine why this might be the case, and the strategies (often unsuccessful) that I have employed to try and change this.

### THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ZOOS

Session organisers: Cornelius Holtorf, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom. Email: ch264@cam.ac.uk David Van Reybrouck, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium. Email: david.vanreybrouck@worldonline.be

In recent years, archaeologists have increasingly turned their attention to a study of material culture in postmedieval, modern and contemporary contexts. One of the most intriguing phenomena of the modern Western world is undoubtedly the zoo, despite the fact that its rich material culture has been poorly understood.

In fact, the zoo is the site *par excellence* where ideas about human uniqueness and human-animal relationships, about colonialism and exoticism, about identity and otherness are communicated, consumed and negotiated. Zoo architecture in particular exemplifies how humans have experienced and represented the natural world generally and animals in particular. Today's zoos show a fascinating number of paradoxes: designed by adults but particularly popular among children, directed by academic insight but consumed mainly as entertainment, dedicated to respect and survival but increasingly subjected to ethical objections. Zoos, therefore, are a rich, if contentious, field of study. Very recently, a number of archaeologists have begun to turn their attention to zoos. Their interests include material culture in the zoo, the 'zoo experience' as a landscaped theme park, specific animal appeals to visitors, and the legitimation and purpose of the zoos as a (natural) heritage attraction, an educational institution and a centre of conservationist agendas. Some of these topics find interesting

parallels in the recent 'heritage' debates about the history and current role of the cultural (and archaeological) heritage in our society. Looking at zoos promises to create new perspectives on issues such as the authenticity of artifacts, techniques of contextualization, the creation of rich visitors' experiences, the engineering of collective human identities, the management of visitors in general and educational activities in particular, and the role of material culture in the light of specific requirements and their changes over time.

#### **Introducing Zoo Archaeology**

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

This paper introduces the archaeology of zoos, or Zoo Archaeology, as an emerging field of research. Zoo Archaeology is part of a larger body of research on modern zoos that is now rapidly developing in the humanities and social sciences. Zoo Archaeology is primarily concerned with (a) the study of modern zoos of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, thus making a contribution to the Archaeology of the modern world, and (b) the analysis of zoos as outdoor presentations of natural heritage, thus providing new ideas and 'metaphorical links' for the study of outdoor archaeological heritage sites. Archaeological remains in zoos, especially in as much as they relate to earlier phases of a zoo's development, might also be covered. This paper reviews tentative beginnings in Zoo Archaeology so far, and introduces an international project "The Archaeology of Zoos" (funded by *The British Academy*) that began its work in Dublin this week.

#### **The cage: towards an archaeology of zoo architecture**

*David Van Reybrouck, Department of History, Catholic University of Leuven*

In this paper, I want to outline a history of zoo architecture in the 19th and 20th century in Western Europe. Much has been written about the shifting human-animal boundary in scientific, philosophical, and literary discourse. The zoo, however, is the place *par excellence* where this conceptual demarcation is literally materialized. A study of cage design offers surprising insights into the nature and the development of human-animal relationships. If the nineteenth-century fence served to protect the Victorian *bourgeois* against the wild beasts, the late twentieth-century enclosure attempts to protect the animals' peace against any obnoxious visitors. This, then, is a field where the archaeology of modern material culture, the history of architecture and the history of ideas can meet.

#### **Knowledge behind Bars: Guidebooks and the Public at the London Zoological Gardens during the Victorian Period**

*Sofia Åkerberg, Institute for the History of Ideas, University of Umeå*

The Zoological Gardens founded by the Zoological Society of London were constructed in order to spread an interest of natural history among the public. To facilitate this spread the Society published guidebooks that would help the visitor to know what he were looking at, a means of popular science or natural history. But since these guidebooks are closely related to the travel handbook it is also possible to interpret a visit to the Gardens as a journey. Not a geographical one, but a journey of knowledge. This paper explores the relationship between the Gardens' guidebooks and travel handbooks and the conditions of this genre but also how such a journey of knowledge was supposed to be executed.

#### **Human Zoos: Exhibiting the 'primitive Other' in the 19th and 20th century**

*Nils Müller-Scheeßel, Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt/Main*

The exhibition of the 'Other' has a long tradition in western history, going back to the freak shows of medieval and early modern fairs. But only with the upsurge of imperialism was it possible to get hold of a significant quantity of 'primitives' from the newly gained colonies to put them on display for the education and amusement of western people.

This paper concentrates on the popular people's shows of the 19th and early 20th century, which are closely linked to similar presentations on the world's fairs of that time in Europe and the United States. It will be demonstrated how the ideology underpinning

these shows also included the exhibition of past times and archaeological artefacts. Taking up T. Bennett's notion of the "exhibitionary complex" and T. Mitchell's catchphrase of the "world as exhibition" it can be argued that 'human zoos', but also world's fairs and 'normal' museums and zoos, are part and parcel of a wider tendency that started in the 19th century and that led to the specific western tradition of seeing, perceiving and using the 'Other'.

#### **Urban Jungles: Zoos as landscape**

*Sarah Cross, English Heritage*

All landscapes are inscriptions of cultural perceptions and requirements into the non-human world. The changing relationship between people and their environment is one of the main foci for study in landscape archaeology. Zoos are particularly powerful landscapes in this respect since they consciously attempt to represent or even recreate 'the wild' in ways that are approachable and controllable by a largely urban population.

There are a range of ways in which perspectives from landscape archaeology can be brought to bear on zoos in order to consider the culture : nature relationships constructed in these places. The proximity of different species may indicate perceived relationships between different elements of the animal 'community'. Modifications of the exiting terrain - such as the creation of wetlands or cliffs emphasise the human role in the creation of the zoo microcosm. The experience of these landscapes by zoo visitors requires movement through prescribed sequences with different senses accented at different times. Some animals are approached in quiet, open, sterile landscapes. Others are encountered in enclosed spaces full the noise and smells of both animals and other humans. These experiences are an important component in the construction of what it is to be human in the contemporary world. In this paper I will compare some elements of London Zoo and Dublin zoo to explore the nature of variation between these two landscapes.

#### **Riders on a Listing Ark**

*Kathryn Denning, Department of Anthropology, McMaster University, Hamilton*

The parallels between zoos and museums are many and striking, but possibly even more noteworthy are the zones where their endeavours actually overlap. One might portray the archetypal zoo as concerned with living animals, and the archetypal cultural museum as concerned with dead people and their things. However, when one considers instances of living animals on display in museums, and instances of living people on display in zoos, not to mention the occasional coexistence of human burial grounds and zoos, it seems that the domains of zoo and museum are not so separate ? either in their choice of objects or in their relationship with those objects. A closer examination may allow us a more nuanced understanding of the traditional role of archaeologists and curators as captors and keepers of the past.

Moreover, at a broader scale than the animal and the artifact, the convergence of present-day zoological and archaeological problems and agendas is worth contemplation. We seek more than ever to preserve not the isolated specimen, but the context; however, it is as hard to catch a biome as to cage a landscape, given exigencies of habitat destruction and land development. So, we rescue or protect the fraction that we can. But in many cases, the animal life and the heritage in question are reduced to data: frozen DNA samples, carbon dates, composition analyses, maps and photos. Perhaps these data are what some experts value most; however, current attempts at using those data for resurrection ? by cloning severely endangered or extinct species, or virtually reconstructing heritage sites ? suggest that experiencing the ineffability of a rare animal or precious place is still important to many. This is where we come full circle in our listing boat: if such replication is a new form of domestication, then perhaps our traditional role of captor and keeper is harder to escape than we might have hoped.

#### **Rockcarvings seen as endangered spieces of prehistoric monuments**

*Oscar Ortman, Bohusläns Museum, Uddevalla*

In recent years focus has been put on the external threat, i.e. pollution, towards wild animals as well as cultural heritage remains. This

situation has been taken as an argument for "protecting" the threatened animals or remains in different ways. One way is to capture them and to put them in a safer place for instance zoos or museums. In my paper I will give some examples, mainly from the county of Bohuslän in the southwestern part of Sweden. First the preservation efforts concerning the weathering rockcarvings, and secondly on the rescue operations conducted by the Nordic Ark (Nordens Ark) a Zoo situated about 100 km north of Gothenburg. In my paper I would like to reveal similarities in arguments and language used in my two separate case studies. I would also like to discuss two urgent questions; What is it that we save when we put animals in zoos and material remains in museums, and what does it represent?

#### **Wildlife tourism in Botswana. What lessons for archaeology?**

*Phillip Segadika, Botswana National Museum, Gaborone*

In line with the Botswana government policy of diversifying the economy, archaeologists are under pressure to explore ways and means of presenting the cultural and archaeological heritage to the tourist. As yet Botswana tourism is essentially a wildlife tourism where the western and regional tourist is introduced to the 'big five': elephants, rhinos, leopard, buffalo and the jungle royalty - lions. There are, of course, others which are popular with tourists: hippos, crocodiles, giraffes and a host others. The policy of diversification challenges archaeologists to justify their existence by presenting the cultural and archaeological heritage for a financially viable tourism consumption project. Presenting a case study of the 'big seven' archaeological sites in Botswana, this paper makes a critique of the lessons and difficulties that archaeologists and cultural heritage 'custodians' come across in trying to emulate the more advanced tourism industry. The sites are: Tsodilo Hills (a world heritage site), the Livingstone Memorial; Manyana (Late Stone Age Rock paintings), Matsieng (a mythological site on origins of humans), Toutswe-Mogala, and Domboshaba - a Great Zimbabwe type site. I will conclude that as much as Botswana archaeologists need to do a cultural marketing research of western and regional tastes for the tourist dollar and pound, there is also a need to carry out moral and epistemological research on implications for archaeological interpretation.

## **CONSTRUCTION SITES**

**Session organiser:** *Lesley McFadyen (University of Wales College Newport)*

Within all of our presentations, archaeology is a series of construction sites where sexualities and desires, ethnicities, emotions, communities, identities and knowledges are constructed.

#### **Why do we need histories of archaeology?**

*Julia Roberts, University of Wales College Newport*

Writing the history of archaeology has traditionally been seen as an unimportant part of the discipline, it is treated more as an entertaining hobby than a real area of research. If this had resulted in a multiplicity of histories where many voices could be heard there would be no problem with such an approach. But instead we have a single narrative that traces archaeology from the Renaissance through to the present day as a story of progress and continuous improvement. This story is divorced from any external events that might have shaped the course of archaeology, changes in the lives of women, the working classes, and those suffering British colonial rule are completely ignored, dismissed as irrelevant. The majority of histories simply propagate the same myths, repeat the same tales of 'great men' of archaeology who 'fathered' various branches of the discipline, 'pioneers' who single-handedly changed the nature of archaeology. Within this limited, masculinist and colonialist discourse the variety of experience of archaeology has been silenced. Nor is it seen as acceptable to write passionate, animated histories, situated histories, histories that want to get close to the people concerned with all their faults and merits, histories that talk about the experiences of those not at the forefront of discoveries, but involved in the processes none the less.

In the face of this restricted approach it is tempting to just disregard the whole of archaeological historiography altogether. But

to do so is to ignore the fascinating wealth of material that is available, and ignores the rights of those who have been overlooked to have their say, to have their histories incorporated into the narrative. This paper looks at why different histories are desirable and addresses how we can disrupt the dominant myths and write more rounded, more embodied histories of archaeology.

#### **Imagining the Neolithic: constructing tales of tombs**

*Vicki Cummings, Cardiff University*

In this paper I will present some of my own interpretations of the Neolithic that I have constructed over the past few years. I have examined a series of chambered tombs along the Irish Sea coast and have emphasised the visual properties of these monuments, such as their texture, colour and landscape setting as well as the overall experience of encountering these sites. In this paper I would like to address the issue of why I emphasise these aspects of the monuments I have studied. In particular, I will discuss how visiting and engaging with monuments inspires a certain approach to the past which does not always sit comfortably with the usual objectification of the archaeological record. Theoretically this research is part of a broader phenomenological approach to the past, but here I would also like to emphasise the importance of 'telling stories' about the past which stimulate the imagination.

#### **Women, death and exchange in the British Later Bronze Age**

*Joanna Brück, University College Dublin*

I would like to discuss women's roles in cultural reproduction during the Later Bronze Age. During this period, the processes of breaking and burning were seen as playing an essential role in the regeneration of life, with explicit conceptual links being made between death and fertility. This is visible not only in the cremation rites that now became the dominant mode of treatment for the dead, but also in productive activities such as potting and metallurgy as well as in the preparation and consumption of food. Women's role in the initiation and maintenance of this mode of cultural and material reproduction is likely to have been important; the cremation rites that replaced inhumation burial during the later part of the Earlier Bronze Age seem to have been more closely associated with women than with men. Exchange, I would argue, was conceptualised in similar terms as an interminable cycle of loss and gain. The apparently enormous increase in the production of cloth during this period could be read as indicating a developing role for women in exchange activities. The way that cloth and the women that wove it may have bound communities together through marriage alliances, ensuring both biological and social reproduction, will be briefly explored

#### **Double vision; perspectives on identity in the past**

*A joint contribution by Katherine Giles, University of York, and Melanie Giles, University College Dublin*

In this joint presentation, we will consider the issue of identity, and how its personal resonance for our own sense of self and place has informed our interest in, and concern with, identity in the past. Drawing on our individual experiences, the paper will act as a dialogue across the different ways in which historic and prehistoric archaeology have approached identity. Using case studies, it will consider the way in which the discipline is cut across by diverse - and sometimes divergent - research interests, approaches and methodologies. By exploring and speaking across these differences, we will then suggest some of the creative possibilities that might arise through such a dialogue.

#### **Becoming deer: corporeal transformations at Star Carr**

*Chantal Conneller, University of Cambridge*

The perforated antler frontlets from the site of Star Carr have been thought about *either* as functional *or* as ritual objects. Such a polarization misses the importance of the frontlets as active in the production of identities. This paper will consider the frontlets as media in the production and transformation of people and animals.

#### **Conscious labours in earlier Neolithic construction**

*Lesley McFadyen, University of Wales College Newport*

This presentation is concerned with construction work. The



constructed qualities of earlier neolithic identities and lived landscapes. I wish to explore the ways in which construction work anxiously weaves together understandings of corporeality and materiality. I will argue that there is an unease brought to bear in articulating our efforts at self-positioning and the knowledges and possibilities available to us in building these into architectures. Archaeologies of architecture need necessarily to tackle issues of change and discontinuity and to make more of the disruptive issues that are being negotiated within construction sites.

## ART AND IDEOLOGY

**Session organiser:** Dr. Muiris O'Sullivan, Dept. of Archaeology, University College Dublin.

### Rock art and ideology in Ireland and the UK: between a rock and a hard place?

Blaze O'Connor

Questions of an ideological nature have rarely been systematically applied to rock art or petroglyph sites in Ireland and the United Kingdom. This is at least partly due to the tendency for rock art to be approached, not as archaeological sites or artefacts, but as an enigmatic abstract phenomenon inhabiting its own mysterious and isolated place in an uncertain time in prehistory - as 'art' divorced from its context.

Because of their apparent isolation within settlement patterns, and due to the dearth of excavation evidence, rock art on natural outcrops has come to be seen as a form of sensitively enhanced natural monument. Recent landscape studies have sought to demonstrate that specific landscape variables seem to be associated with rock art. However, the idea that these sites represent a homogenous type created and used in a consistent manner is challenged by the considerable variation evident in the motifs, stylistic attributes, and in the nature of the sites. Sites where carved surfaces have been re-used in built monuments further demonstrate the diversity in the ways that people interacted with rock art through prehistory. The idea that the messages conveyed by rock art motifs, and the audience receiving these messages may have been context specific deserves rigorous exploration.

This paper argues that while we may never know the 'meaning' behind the motifs, an archaeological approach employing techniques commonly used to investigate other 'ritual' site types may begin to tease out the many strands of evidence that the sites offer, in an effort to move towards understanding the context in which rock art was created and used.

### History from art: From data collection to interpretative strategies in the rock art of Britain and Ireland

Edward Evans

For generations the petroglyphs of the British Isles and Ireland have been denied a role as meaningful archaeological evidence. Beyond the compilation of lengthy gazetteers this rock art has traditionally been ignored and marginalised or used as supporting evidence for other archaeological concerns; concerns which predetermine the legitimacy of the imagery. In contrast I suggest that through consideration of their distribution, materiality and iconic content the petroglyphs can be deployed as a flexible conception of context, able to integrate many different strands of Neolithic evidence and multiplicity of research strategies. As such, this paper is not so much an archaeology of rock art but a series of suggestions towards writing a history of the Neolithic through its imagery.

### Otherness in Irish Rock Art

Dr. Elizabeth Shee Twohig

This paper will examine carvings on rock surfaces in various parts of Ireland which are distinct/different from the better known cup and ring style carvings. The carvings to be discussed are mainly those incised on outcrops, boulders, rock shelters or megalithic tombs, nearly always with straight line motifs. Some consist of groups of straight lines, others have crosses or radial patterns. Those in rock shelters in the valleys of the south western peninsulas may have been carved by shepherds in relatively recent times. Often ignored

by 'official' surveys, I believe these anomalous carvings deserve to be documented and discussed.

### Motives for motifs

Carol Martin

In this paper I will look at the different levels of meaning held within rock art as evident by ethnographic studies from Australia. Of particular relevance is the way geometric motifs have been used by Aboriginal people to encode different levels of information. I will then look at the Irish rock art, and the possibility that geometrics were also used here to encode information. Landscape choice plays a significant role in helping to unravel the hidden agendas of past societies, and are examined here to help elucidate the use of Irish rock art.

Recent debate surrounding the source for geometric motifs have centered on Lewis-Williamson and Dowson's popular 'entoptic design' theory. This theory will also be brought into question in this paper, while exploring other possible sources for geometric designs.

### Images of Power in Minoan Art

Wendy Logue

Since the discovery of the Minoan civilisation at the turn of the twentieth century, there have been various attempts made to identify a ruling figure in the art of this society. However, it has come to be widely accepted that such a figure does not exist. Yet the monumental architecture and discoveries of precious and highly valued objects in both settlement excavations and tombs clearly show that a hierarchy of society did exist in Bronze Age Crete. The problem lies in identifying the structure of this hierarchy and in explaining how it established and maintained power on Minoan Crete. The fact that no one figure stands out as a leader in Minoan art suggests that power in the elite was divided among a group of individuals, possibly linked through kinship or wealth. Therefore, it is fruitless to continue to attempt to identify a single ruling figure in this art. Anthropological studies have increasingly identified sources of power within various traditional societies and despite differences in time and geographical position, these sources of power appear to focus on three main areas: economic, religious and military power. A combination of these three types of power is the most successful way to maintain hierarchical power within traditional societies. The intention of this paper is to apply these models of power to images from Minoan art, in order to ascertain whether these images can be identified as reflecting similar sources of power for the elite of the Minoan civilisation. The artefacts to be considered are relief-carved stone vases, vessels which clearly were limited in possession to the elite, because of their small number and find contexts. In the study of these vessels it will become clear that such anthropological models are applicable to this art and as such are a useful study tool for the consideration of sources of power for elite society in Bronze Age Crete.

### The Martial Imagery of the Late Bronze Age in Greece

Barry Molloy

The martial imagery of the earliest phase of the Late Bronze Age in Greece, Late Helladic IIIA, is predominantly characterized by the stylised heroism of the warriors depicted. The sword is promoted as the weapon par excellence of the aristocracy in a variety of media, including wall paintings, pottery and seal stones. In the figural art of this period, displays of bravery and warrior prowess in the face of wild beasts and human foes are promoted as the masculine aristocratic ideal. The military iconography of the following Late Helladic IIIB was typically defined by more sedate scenes of warriors in processional / ceremonial contexts. By Late Helladic IIIC, there was a resurgence of material of an overt militaristic nature. Although the subjects in this period are still rarely engaged in combat, there are significant differences to Late Helladic IIIB iconographic devices. The military personnel in these later images are illustrated as wearing similar armours and carrying the same offensive weaponry (typically the spear). Notably absent from the standardized panoply in the majority of these scenes is the vital image previously associated with the warrior aristocrat - the sword.

The sources for these images would have been an intrinsic part of the social and political milieu from which they emerged as artistic

expression, and would have particular and fundamental relevance for their intended audience. To us, these images represent the ideological expression of how the later Bronze Age occupants of Greece wished to view themselves in their contemporary setting. The self-reflexive nature of this art frequently emphasizes the incongruous nature of the iconography whereby the exaggerated and 'untidy' anatomical features contrast sharply with the intentionally serious and propagandist contents.

Our archaeological knowledge of this period, although sparse, provides us with some understanding of the cultural background behind these images and this material can be used to examine the relationship between the reality, perceived reality and ideology of these scenes. This paper will therefore assess the significance of the iconographic shift in the social status of the warrior between Late Helladic IIIA and Late Helladic IIIC.

### Home decoration and domestic aesthetics

Pauline Garvey

The paper presents an exploration of home decoration and domestic aesthetics in the Norwegian town of Skien. The analysis of domestic aesthetics is derived from original ethnographic research in which normative social reference points such as practicality and tradition are investigated as salient categories in the organization of material culture and decorative orders. I analyze domestic aesthetics in terms of the 'social vicissitudes of taste' (Gell 1995) and explore the priorities which underpin domestic decoration. More specifically I examine Gell's (1995) argument that "(Visual) aesthetics is the socially derived practice of categorizing and evaluating visual phenomena, i.e. shapes, patterns, forms - whether natural or man made - according to a cultural scheme of value" (1995: 22). This suggests that each culture has a distinct aesthetic with regard to the selection of certain features of their cultural landscape. Rather than seeing the aesthetic as a universal quality, one should investigate how it functions in the character of day to day social interaction.

I take the example of home decoration and social symbolism - home making has traditionally been an all-important domain for ideological, political and moral improvement. I discuss this through the value of the practical or (praktisk) as it pertains to ideas of the 'good home', (however this might be constructed). My point is not that there is one overriding belief of how a Norwegian home should be organised, but rather that a common rationale can encompass the myriad differences within. In this respect practicality can be described as a 'guiding rubric' through which an acceptable image of individual priorities is projected. The articulation of socially legitimate objectives also allows a certain disjuncture between words and actions

## BODIES OF EVIDENCE. FIGURINES: FORM, FUNCTION AND CONTEXT.

**Session organisers:** Alan Peatfield, Department of Classics, University College Dublin. Email: Alan.Peatfield@ucd.ie Christine Morris, School of Classics, Trinity College Dublin. Email: cmorris@tcd.ie

Despite the immense variety and richness of figurines they have too often been the repository of simplistic and monolithic interpretations about ancient religion and society. In recent years figurine studies have been invigorated by a more nuanced and reflective discussion of form, social function and context which finds a methodological commonality across diverse cultures, as exemplified by the review of figurine studies in the *Cambridge Archaeological Review* (1996: 281-307).

For this session we welcome papers which engage with figurines as "bodies of evidence" in two (overlapping) senses. As "bodies" of evidence, figurines are shaped to represent, exaggerate and conceal the human body in richly diverse ways. How and why do figurines present the human body in such strikingly different ways: plank-like, headless, elaborated bodily features, etc.? How can we understand the choices made by individual figurine makers and cultural groups in what they chose for representation? How are gender, dress and gesture used to communicate identity or status on these miniature human bodies? Broader discussion of figurines

as "bodies of evidence", addressing issues of assemblage and context, overlaps and complements consideration of the "body" and representation. The understanding of bodily representation may be clarified by consideration of patterns of discard and breakage, and by diversity and spatial distributions within deposits.

### Rethinking Mycenaean Figurines

Louise Steel, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales Lampeter. Email: l.steele@lamp.ac.uk

Small terracotta figurines (animal and human representations) are a typical element of the Mycenaean cultural repertoire during the 14th and 13th centuries BC (LH IIIA-B). This paper will concentrate on the female figurines, to attempt to contextualize their use in the Aegean within the framework of recent figurine studies (Meskell 1995, Hamilton 1996, Ucko 1996, Tringham and Conkey 1998). It is in this respect that studies of Mycenaean figurines are lacking. To date most studies have concentrated on typologies, although important work has been completed on the context of figurines (French 1971). However work that has been done in other areas: gender, the body, use-wear analysis, and fragmentation theory have yet to be applied. Consequently, attempts to ascribe meaning and interpret the function of these figurines remain rooted in traditional modes of interpretation.

In this paper I will concentrate on the physical attributes of the figurines: a) gesture - the primary distinguishing characteristic; b) representations of dress, gender and female roles (such as the kourotophos), bearing in mind that this is extremely schematised. I also want to examine their context and the "biography" of figurines. Using this as a basis, I will go on to explore the concept of popular art in the Mycenaean world - comparing the figurines with representations of females in other media: palatial iconography and pictorial pottery.

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### New Ways of Seeing: Canons of Proportion and Primary Special Effects Observed in the Venus of Lespugue

Sally Mithch, Creative Arts, City College, Norwich.

The Venus of Lespugue is a 26,000 year old mammoth ivory sculpture unearthed in the 1920's from Rideaux Cave, Haute-Garonne, France. It is now conserved in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. I am researching the sculpture using contextual and perceptual analysis within an interdisciplinary perspective. In this paper I establish two observations based on visual analysis. Traditional and recent interpretations of the sculpture reside in limited Pre-Modernist ways of seeing and do not progress theory. My preliminary study establishes New Ways of Seeing as a *modus operandi* to interpret and re-interpret aesthetic artefacts with particular relevance to the Gravettian and ensuing cultures. I demonstrate my approach by showing the interpretative limitations of Leroy Gourhan's cannon of geometric proportion which I remedy with my own system of abstract relative proportion - articulated through sections of major visual-tactile intensity. My cannon of abstract relative proportion provides structural insights capable of functioning symbolically.

In the second demonstration, I assert the relevance of the cutting edge focus of my study: That is to explain a group of perceptual features inherent in the sculpture which I term 'Primary Special Effects'. These have not been recognised before and reside in the Venus of Lespugue in extreme figurative ambiguity.

### Figuring infants: Young bodies in prehistoric Cyprus

Kirsi Lorentz, *Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge*. Email: kol20@cam.ac.uk

Even when no particular artefacts are recognizable to us as age specific, material culture may allow for an exploration of age as a cultural construct, and activities and attitudes related to children and childhoods. While researching ideas and practices related to children and childhoods in prehistoric contexts the body may be lifted out as a useful node of investigation. Here, the body is taken to encompass not only the physical body, but also the socio-culturally constructed body in its material expressions, and as ideas of the body. Thus, the child body, as the human body in general, can be approached within the realm of archaeological investigation for example through physical anthropological analysis, contextual burial analysis, and scrutiny of anthropomorphic depictions. Information on relationships between different age groups may also emerge through the combined analysis of these various kinds of data.

In particular, this paper focuses on the anthropomorphic depictions on the island of Cyprus, from the Aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age, and the varying ways the young are included or excluded within these depictions. The bodily relations between the younger and the older human beings allow for inferences on the kind of young depicted. Further, the variation in the depiction of the young in varying socio-political contexts, through time, is of interest. Within the specific communities of prehistoric Cyprus the represented activities related to reproduction and child care seem to have been carefully chosen, forming the cognized world, from a diversity of activities available as potential themes for depiction – that is the cognizable world.

### "Remains Of The Day": the application of physical anthropology to the study of anthropomorphic figurines

Denise Keating Email: denise07@hotmail.com

This paper addresses the existing framework within which figurines have been studied and suggests that there is scope for the fuller development of a fruitful interface between figurine studies and the concepts involved in physical anthropology and palaeopathology. While engaging theories have been presented about the origins and significance of figurine manufacture, there remains both assemblages and individual figures within assemblages which continue to elude interpretation. A specialist knowledge of anatomy, skeletal musculature may be meaningfully applied to such problematic figurines.

The study of human skeletal remains can shed light on the life experienced by those individuals whose material culture forms our primary area of study. More often than not the physical anthropologist is presented with skeletal tissue alone, with no soft tissue having survived. While it is true to say that some features of the flesh will be mirrored in bony manifestations, we must also concede that some information is lost with the degradation of the soft tissue. It is in this area then that the study of figurines may be valuable, in that they provide, in a unique form of representation, a view of physical characteristics otherwise long since lost to us.

### Redefining tradition and the representation of self among fisher-gatherer-hunters of prehistoric Japan

Liliana Janik, *Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge*. Email: lj102@hermes.cam.ac.uk

Although various figurines were created in Jomon Japan, those made in the Kamegaoka style remain one of the most striking representations produced by prehistoric fisher-gatherer-hunters. While these figurines follow a set of rules in their shape and method of construction, their rich decoration nevertheless remains unique to each particular object. The self expression in creating the decoration subverts in one way the canon of figurine production and shaping, while at the same time gives a platform for the artist in self representation by altering the norms of doing things. The evidence for the following of tradition while at the same time shaping it by highly individualized decoration will be discussed here. In proposing such an interpretation for the Kamegaoka figurines from Jomon Japan I shall use ideas of visual perception as well as the idea of the masterpiece as a creation of a particular artist.

### Configuring the individual: bodies of figurines in Minoan Crete

Christine Morris, *School of Classics, Trinity College Dublin*. Email: cmorris@tcd.ie

This paper explores the concept of "individualization" in the representation of the human form, taking figurines from Minoan Crete as a case study. Early studies tended to treat anthropomorphic figurines as a category susceptible to universalizing interpretations such as "fertility idols" and "mother goddess", and thus paid rather little attention to morphological variation within (or even between) cultural assemblages. By contrast, more recent figurine studies have drawn attention to the potential importance of both individualization and standardization in figurine assemblages as strategies for either promoting or muting social identity and hierarchy in areas as diverse as S.E. Europe and Mesoamerica.

In the Minoan case we find a whole spectrum of modern views as to the variability of the figurines and its possible significance. Minoan terracotta figurines (primarily found as disposed ritual offerings on peak sanctuaries), for example, have been termed both "stereotypical" and "anything other than standardized", suggesting that different "ways of seeing" and of evaluating the visual data are at work and that identification of individualizing features is far from unproblematic. This paper reflects on some important areas - such as intentionality and choice in modelling; the variability in shaping the bodily form, and its elaboration through "artefacts" such as hairstyle, headgear and dress; and the role of context; - as tools for identifying and assessing the degree of individualization expressed in the Minoan figurine repertoire.

### Ritual Identity and Representation Among Minoan Clay Figurines

Alan Peatfield, *Department of Classics, University College Dublin*. Email: Alan.Peatfield@ucd.ie

'Bodies of evidence' conjures up two related images of meaning. First is the obvious archaeological meaning of an assemblage or deposit of material. A more ambiguous meaning resides in specific relation to one particular "body" of archaeological evidence, the corpus of anthropomorphic clay figurines. Undervalued as a medium of sculpture in relation to finer, more precious or monumental materials, such as ivory, metal or stone, clay figurines nevertheless embody a set of cognitive choices in relation to human representation, that transcend the merely aesthetic.

It is a truism, more justified than not, that prehistoric anthropomorphic clay figurines are usually interpreted as religious or ritual, based on the canonical archaeological virtues of context and attributes. Once so defined, the fundamental interpretative choice to be addressed is who any figurine is intended to represent. Given the proclivity of archaeologists to prefer "theist" definitions of religion, it is not surprising that many figurines are categorised as: deities, spirit helpers, ancestors, etc. - i.e. representations of the focus of ritual worship.

This paper will, however, address one of the largest corpuses of clay figurines, the peak sanctuary figurines of Minoan Crete. Since their discovery, these figurines have been convincingly identified, not as the focus of worship, but as representing the worshippers themselves. Despite the consistency of this identification, its implications for the understanding of Minoan religion have never been fully addressed. Why did the Minoans prefer to portray themselves, rather than the object of their ritual? What does this reveal about their perceptions of and relation to the divine? Other issues revolve around how they chose to represent themselves in that context. The cognitive choices implicitly embodied in these figurines thus allows a glimpse into the very processes of Minoan ritual identity.

### THE MEANING OF STANDARDISATION OF MATERIAL CULTURE

Session organiser: Dr Ina Berg, *School of Art History and Archaeology, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL*.

Standardisation of material culture is a commonly observed phenomenon. It can be characterised as achieving a relative degree

of homogeneity in an artefact or production process. It can occur at various levels of the production sequence of an artefact, for example, standardisation of raw materials, motor habits, equipment, or decoration. In looking at standardisation this session attempts to carefully analyse the conditions and resulting changes of the optimisation of production processes, procedures and products. Standardisation has persistently been viewed within a processual framework. As a result, scholars have attempted to isolate general factors which give rise to optimisation in the production of material culture. In this context, increasing standardisation has often been linked to increasing social complexity (possibly viewed as an indicator of craft specialisation and thus of a larger scale of production) and/or increasing economic competition. Until recently, however, little headway has been made in attempting to view standardisation as complex, flexible and unpredictable phenomena which may be influenced by a wide range of socio-political as well as economic factors.

While papers on all aspects of standardisation in material culture, including standardisation of raw materials, motor habits, equipment and decoration, are welcome, case studies which critically discuss the following questions are particularly encouraged: What socio-political, economic or environmental processes/strategies lie behind the emergence of standardised production in a particular culture? Why did standardisation occur at a particular stage of the production process? Why is (or is not) standardisation restricted to a particular stage within the production sequence?

### Exploring standard ceramics in Early Bronze Age Syria

Stuart Campbell, *University of Manchester*

In the Near East standardisation of artefacts is often characterised as a function of specialisation and mass production, something that 'naturally' occurs alongside urbanism and which needs no further understanding. One of the most apparently standardised pottery assemblages is that of the later Early Bronze Age ceramics of northern Mesopotamia (c.2,500-2,200 BC). This contribution will focus on these ceramics, particularly at the site of Jerablus Tahtani in north Syria. On close examination, it can be seen that standardisation is a complex phenomenon which only applies to particular portions of the assemblage and in different ways in particular contexts. Indeed, standardisation as a simple phenomenon is something which largely exists in the mind of the archaeologist. There is an interplay between domestic and mortuary spheres, between elite and non-elite spheres, and between manufacture and use that suggests that exploring the nature and tensions of standardisation may alter our understanding of the role of material culture in this period of increasing social complexity.

### Standardization and Social Process: An ethnoarchaeological Case Study

Dean E. Arnold, *Professor of Anthropology, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL 60187, USA*.

This paper presents a case study that describes the process by which pottery in Ticul Yucatan became more standardized between 1965 and 1997. Such standardization involves several factors such as the development of a vertical half molding, a market that demands such vessels, the choice of the potter to create such vessels and the adoption of a technology to measure vessels to assure their uniformity. The paper concludes with some cautions on the use of standardization as an inevitable, universal, and unconscious process in archaeological explanation.

### A comparative analysis of standardization in the pottery production at Phylakopi and Ayia Irini

Ina Berg, *School of Art History and Archaeology, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL*.

Standardisation of material culture is a commonly observed phenomenon. It can be characterised as achieving a relative degree of homogeneity in an artefact or production process. In the past, scholars have attempted to isolate general factors which give rise to optimisation in the production of material culture. In this context, increasing standardisation has often been linked to increasing social complexity (possibly viewed as an indicator of craft specialisation and thus of a larger scale of production) and/or increasing economic competition. Until recently, however, little headway has been made

in attempting to view standardisation as complex, flexible and unpredictable phenomena which may be influenced by a wide range of socio-political as well as economic factors. By investigating the conical cup production at Phylakopi on Melos and Ayia Irini on Kea during the LC I-II period, this paper attempts to illustrate that the term 'standardisation' refers to a range of flexible and multi-faceted phenomena; it can occur at all stages of the manufacturing process and each may be the result of a combination of several accidental or intentional actions. It will be argued that the conical cup production at Ayia Irini appears to be intentionally standardized. At Phylakopi, cultural forces are pulling in different directions ultimately leading to a product which is homogenous in its material and production method but relatively variable in its shape.

### A little local misunderstanding: an ethnographic study of European standardisation of 'cultural heritage' in Epirus, North-western Greece

S. Green, *Dept. of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester*

The European Union has for some time been faced with a standardisation dilemma: there is a perceived need to standardise products, services, communications systems and legal practices within European member states, while at the same time (in line with the philosophy of 'subsidiarity') encouraging cultural and material regional diversity. These two 'EU directives' dovetail together in the concept of 'cultural heritage': a standardised definition of what 'it' is (its form) and what you should do with it (conserve it, promote it to encourage tourism, provide it with legal intellectual property rights, etc), while insisting upon a diversity in its expression (the content). 'Cultural heritage' must by definition be 'unique' to a particular region and its peoples.

This dual character of 'cultural heritage' - a standardised 'uniqueness' of material artefacts and cultural practices - has generated a number of misunderstandings and conflicts in European regions, particularly around the issue of what is to be 'done' with it. One difficulty is that the standardisation of 'cultural heritage' as regionally unique products leads to perceived anomalies. For example, some products are legally defined as 'unique' (e.g. Champagne - which, of course, has to possess a standard character, flavour and be produced in the region of Champagne in France), while others are not given that legal status (e.g. feta cheese, which may be produced anywhere, but still has to possess certain standard characteristics). Another difficulty, which is the focus of this paper, is the conflicts that arise from the provision of large amounts of European funding to encourage conservation and development of regional 'cultural heritage'. While such funding allows the expression of 'regional uniqueness', the process of implementing it is strictly standardised and audited (there is no room for 'local uniqueness' in reinterpretations of how to spend European money). This paper looks at a couple of examples of 'cultural heritage' projects in Epirus, North-western Greece, in order to examine the conflicts that arise from this process of standardising the 'unique'.

### Storage with style: cognitive aspects of prehistoric economics in the Eastern Mediterranean

Sorina Spanou and Andrew McCarthy, *University of Edinburgh*

Standardisation in material culture is often thought to stem from economic necessity; this is especially true in the way people choose to store commodities. When one begins to look at the variety of cultural aspects of storage, and in particular seals used to control exchange of commodities, it becomes apparent that the expressions of cognition and identity in storage materials are often primary to economic need. Socially complex traits in materials such as storage containers and seal impressions can be shown to come from (in some instances) emulative and/or emblematic expressions. The standardisation of materials, therefore, comes more from an attempt to agglomerate consensus in the virtual world of cognition than it does to serve as an optimal form of material exploitation. Storage strategies from the Eastern Mediterranean will be taken in conjunction with economic controlling devices such as seals that are sensitive indicators of style and cultural identity. At times of social change in particular, consciously selected stylistic preference to produce standard materials can serve the purpose of consolidating power around certain institutions and certain identities. In the 3<sup>rd</sup>



millennium, newly formed identities were being formed and it is argued here that both the standardisation of storage strategies and economic control were instrumental in consolidating power in these communities.

#### **A re-examination of burial mound data from twelve Hopewell cemetery sites in west central Illinois**

*Andrew Martin, University of Cambridge*

The central topic of this paper is a contextual re-examination of burial mound data from twelve Hopewell cemetery sites in west central Illinois and a re-interpretation of it through the filter of British archaeological theories. Interpretation of Lower Illinois Valley Hopewell burial archaeology has suffered during the last thirty years as a result of generalizing theories that have subsumed burial information into one category for use in larger systems interpretations. Little regard has been given to the minutia of burial practice or the reasons behind them. However, much can be learnt from burial practice with the right tools. In British Prehistoric archaeology much research has been conducted into creating theories from diverse ethnographic or sociological perspectives and using these to interpret prehistoric sites from a contextual basis.

These theories have not been taken uncritically or without consideration of their context. The first part of the paper is an examination of the development of both British and American archaeological traditions during the last twenty-five years, in relation to the British Neolithic and Illinois Hopewell. This has helped to understand how theories have been influenced and which are still applicable in light of recent criticisms.

Much attention is given in archaeology to the identification of order in data while 'disorder' or irregular deposition is largely ignored. Unfortunately the identification of order is usually all that can be achieved since the referents for patterns are absent. A new approach to data, however, has recently been developed by Bruno Latour that promises to reveal more from these differences. When applied to data from the Illinois Hopewell, a culture with multiple elaborations on a limited number of traits, these elaborations provide many angles from which to view the data.

The second part of the paper is a contextual study of Hopewell burial practice under the topics of 'burial practice', 'artefacts' and 'mound structure'. Each deals with general similarities between mounds, and specific differences. By oscillating between the macroscopic and microscopic study of the Lower Illinois Valley Hopewell mounds, a more detailed picture of this culture's burial practice has emerged.

#### **IS AN ISLAND LAND?**

**Session organiser:** *Christina Fredengren, Department of Archaeology, Stockholm University*

Much archaeological material comes from islands. Examples such as Lambay, High Island and St Kilda, not to mention crannogs, show that islands can be connected with all kinds of activities from production to devotion. We can say that people have been involved with these topographically distinct places for a lot of different reasons. However, we are also dealing with imaginary islands, islands of the mind. In our cultural luggage we have not only Utopia set on an island; also many anthropological island studies have formed the backbone of our cultural imagination. Some of these studies have in later days been criticised for having mediated a picture of primitivism and for the creation of 'the other'. In this session we will try to move both beyond and with our material and imaginary islands. The idea is to try to work out other ways of relating to the power or curse of these places.

#### **Making an island world**

*Gabriel Cooney, Dept. of Archaeology, University College Dublin*

This paper will consider how island cultural identities were created during the Neolithic with special reference to Lambay Island in the Irish Sea. It will take as a central point of reference the evidence from the excavation of a Neolithic quarry site. The activities at this site suggest that a continuing reference to the island context and the particular character of Lambay was an important element of cultural identity. The wider implications of this for our understanding of Neolithic cultural identities will be considered.

#### **What do crannogs do?**

*Christina Fredengren, Department of Archaeology, Stockholm University*

Crannogs are man-made islands, and in this talk I would like to address their spatial and cognitive aspects and discuss how the use of the crannogs could have shaped peoples thinking. I will draw on fieldwork in Sligo, Roscommon and Longford in this talk.

#### **Where Heaven meets the Earth**

*Georgina Scully*

This is a talk about the time spent on High Island, Co. Galway, while excavating the Early Christian Monastic site.

#### **The Death of St Kilda: a tragedy for democracy?**

*Andrew Fleming, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Wales Lampeter*

hi: In 1930, the evacuation of the last 30 inhabitants of the small island of Hirta, in the St Kilda archipelago (60 km off the Western Isles of Scotland), brought to an end several millennia of human settlement. Scotland and Ireland have seen various comparable desertions of outlying islands over the last few decades. Tom Steele's *Life and Death of St Kilda* provides a teleological account of the 'death' of the Hirta community, describing a culture and a set of attitudes which were 'incapable of adapting to the modern world', and discussing the adverse effects of the intervention of 'well-meaning outsiders'. This paper critiques this view, setting this 'tragedy' within the wider context of the emergent British democratic state.

#### **Mountains - islands of identity**

*Stefan Bergh, Department of Archaeology, NUI Galway*

Mountains, often being the most conspicuous element in the landscape, were sometimes the place for extensive activities in prehistoric times. In the Neolithic the activity located to these margins of the living world often seem to have been related to the rituals associated with the dead. This paper will discuss some aspects of the link between mountains, ancestors and identity, with reference to the Irish Neolithic.

#### **"VALETTA" - AND AFTER. SHOULD ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION BE LICENCED?**

**Session organiser:** *Andrew Selkirk, Editor, Current Archaeology*

This session follows on campaign against the Valetta campaign in the UK, and will focus on three topics. Going from narrow to broad:

1. Should archaeological excavations (and other activities) be licensed?
2. What should be the role of archaeological societies? Should they exist? If so, how can they be encouraged? (With a side query to our colleagues in 'Public Archaeology': does 'public archaeology' include independent/amateur archaeology?)
3. More generally, how should archaeology be funded? What are the advantages and disadvantages of state funding? And what are the advantages and disadvantages of other forms of funding?

#### **FRIDAY 14<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER**

#### **GENETICS, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY**

**Session organisers:** *Professor Gabriel Cooney, Department of Archaeology, University College Dublin and Dr Martin Evison, Forensic Pathology, Sheffield University*

The aim of this session is to examine, via a number of case studies, the current state of play in the use of genetic evidence in the interpretation of human history and to consider some of the implications for contemporary society. One particular focus will be the Irish Origins: The Genetic History and Geography of Ireland project under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy. Genetic evidence has been used to interpret history since the early twentieth century when geographic variation in human blood groups was first identified. Since then direct analysis of human DNA sequence variation has become possible, the number of genetic sites that can be studied has grown, and maternal and paternal lineages can be examined independently of general genetic history. How confident should we be in the interpretations of past events offered from genetic evidence. How reliable are the underlying theoretical assumptions - whether drawn from anthropology, history, genetics or statistics? Are we learning more reliable beliefs about the past from genetics - or is it old folklore being repackaged in new guises? What, if anything, can population genetics tell us about lived experience - as demonstrated in the sociological and anthropological literature?

#### **Identity, Genetics and Material Culture: The Prehistoric Evidence**

*Marek Zvelebil, Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield S10 2TN*

My contribution examines critically recent developments in archaeological and genetic approaches to ethnic identity and considers our current understanding of relationships between identity, material culture and genetic inheritance. I go on to elucidate these general themes using a case study from the late Mesolithic and Neolithic of the Baltic region in northern Europe.

#### **The alchemy of archaeogenetics**

*Hans-Jürgen Bandelt, Dept. of Mathematics, University of Hamburg*

Research in human genetics has made some breath-taking advances in the last decade. Grand claims about our prehistory have been deduced from the genetic data ("archaeogenetics") and trumpeted out in the popular press. We learnt for instance that women moved faster than men across the continents in the distant past and that the Europeans except Basques appear to be the direct descendants of the Near Eastern newcomers during the Holocene. The methodology of those scientific findings is best described by alluding to mediaeval alchemy. This year has seen the publication of numerous alchemistic outcomes: the fake story about the Seven Daughters of Eve, and most recently, the St. Luke hoax (published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA). A true marvel in this respect is a paper (that appeared in the Proceedings of the Royal Society) about human mitochondrial variation in the Caucasus, which is based on totally flawed data and a whole array of ritually executed (but irrelevant) summary statistics. It is evident that archaeogenetics lacks any sound theoretical base. Mathematical methods are notoriously applied blindly, by way of superficial analogy or metaphor, without proper evaluation of the fundamental assumptions. Prehistorians who wish to embrace the genetic findings need to examine carefully whether the questions posed by geneticists are reasonable, the produced data are free of major artefacts, and the mathematical modelling is sound and the computations are correct.

#### **Comparative genetic diversity in Irish populations**

*Dan Bradley, Department of Genetics, Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland*

European and other world populations are being investigated using genetic methodologies which can contribute to understanding origins. We have collected data from the Irish population using two

systems of detection: Y chromosome variation, which analyses the male lineage and mitochondrial DNA sequence, which is inherited maternally. Y chromosome variation is particularly interesting in that the paternal lineage it follows is shared (somewhat) with surnames and this allows interesting comparisons with genealogy. In accordance with wider studies, the two genetic systems show differing extents of genetic structure within both Ireland and a wider European sample.

#### **Concordance of the Genetic Data with the Archaeological Evidence for Material Cultures Suggests Two Distinct Lineages Recolonized Post-Glacial Northern and Western Europe**

*Graham Rowe, School of Biological Sciences, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, East Sussex, BN1 9QG, UK. E-mail: grahamr@biols.sussex.ac.uk*

Western Europe was colonized by two distinct genetic lineages of Paleolithic humans in the millennia before the last glacial maximum (21,000 years bp) - one, it appears, was tall, blonde and blue eyed, the other, short, dark haired and dark eyed. Striking conclusions, reached after finding concordance among the genetic and archaeological data for western European humans, and the phylogeographic patterns (the geographic distribution of genetic lineages) observed over the same area for non-human species, particularly the Natterjack Toad *Bufo calamita*. This concordance should be predicted for the immediate post-glacial period, with common routes taken out of periglacial southerly refugia during the recolonization of the north. Climatic amelioration resulted in some humans effectively tracking a northwardly moving food supply.

In the late Paleolithic/Mesolithic period the two human lineages recolonized north-western Europe - the Irish, Welsh and Scots were the descendants of today's Basques, whereas, lowland England was colonized by peoples of Scandinavian/Germanic appearance. This difference in the predominant hair and eye colours between regions was established in the Mesolithic - long before the well-known human movements, some of which are likely to have reinforced these patterns.

The two lineages appear to have remained effectively discrete until comparatively recent times (significant admixture starting to occur in the UK perhaps only 3,000-4,000 years bp, but probably earlier in parts of mainland Europe), presumably restricted by the distinctive appearance of 'each' and the easy recognition of the 'other'. The archaeological record suggests long-distance movements occurred among peoples of the same type for thousands of years. As the genetic mixing of the lineages started only comparatively recently full admixture is not yet complete and a record of this history can still be read from the DNA.

#### **Journeys through the bottleneck**

*Martin Evison, Department of Forensic Pathology, The University of Sheffield, The Medico-Legal Centre, Watery Street, Sheffield.*

The aim of this paper is to use the archaeological, historic and ethnographic literature to explore the lived experience of individuals and communities undergoing historical events likely to have had detectable genetic consequences. The genetic consequences are described in terms like population bottleneck, founder effect, genetic drift, and so on - terms devoid of anthropological meaning.

Examples taken from the history of the Bounty mutineers, the ethnography of the prehistoric settlement of Aotearoa-New Zealand, and the archaeology of post-glacial North West Europe will be considered. These examples will illustrate some aspects of human experience and cultural complexity that could otherwise be associated with the glib terms of the population geneticist described above.

#### **A post-metropolitan human archaeology: ethnic minorities and diasporic communities tell a changing city**

*Dr Ronit Lentin, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Department of Sociology, Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland, Tel 353 1 6082766, fax 353 1 6771300, email: rlentin@tcd.ie*

This paper presents some theoretical and methodological questions in relation to the contemporary 're-mapping' of Dublin's changing ethnic landscape from the viewpoint of its racialised 'others'.

Presenting several possibilities of theorising Dublin in a globalised context, including the transition from the view of 'the Jew Bloom', Joyce's Hibernian metropolitan other, to postmetropolitan theoretical possibilities, the paper asks whether it is possible to describe Dublin as ethnically *spatially* segregated, or merely *a-spatially*, *socially* ethnically segregated.

David Sibley speaks of the 'whiteness' of human geography, which makes it 'difficult for "other voices" to be heard in geographical conversations' and cites Du Bois's human cartography of the 'Philadelphia Negro', which turned the black 'other' from observed object to participating subject, and which identified economic exploitation and racism in explaining urban ethnic segregation, as compared with the Chicago School's assimilationist interpretation of race relations in the city. The paper posits racial harassment as significant in understanding the social geography of the city. Foregrounding a research project which employs researcher-narrators from ethnic minorities and diasporic communities to narrate *our* story of the city as both 'prison' and 'freedom', this paper begins the process of digging and re-mapping Dublin from the very 'wrong place' of its racialised others.

### The Daughters of Eve and the Sons of Adam - The New Mythologies of DNA

*Keri A. Brown, Department of Biomolecular Sciences, UMIST, P.O. Box 88, Manchester M60 1QD. Email keribrown@umist.ac.uk*  
Are all Europeans really descended from just seven women? Are all European men descended from just ten Y chromosome lineages, some of which may be linked to Upper Palaeolithic stone tool industries?

The simple answer is - that these are oversimplifications. Interpretations of past population histories are necessarily derived from DNA analyses of present day populations. More comprehensive population sampling strategies have revealed that the genetic make-up of European populations is much more complex than suggested above. Yet it is these new origin myths that will enter the public mind - the simple stories of our past are the ones that tend to be remembered and enshrined as facts.

Scientific articles on genetics are written by geneticists for other geneticists. Only one popular book on European population genetics has been published so far - 'The Seven Daughters of Eve' by Bryan Sykes. This deals with the research carried out by his group on mtDNA haplotypes in European populations. Does this book give a non-geneticist a true picture and a fair interpretation of the results of this work? I will review in some detail the claims made in this book, both scientific and archaeological. One critical area of contention concerns the dates assigned to the emergence of new haplotypes of mtDNA - this concern also extends to Y chromosome haplotype dates. Although these dates have wide confidence limits, nevertheless the geneticists concerned have not been able to resist correlating genetic events with archaeological events. Archaeologists must become more involved in the analysis and interpretation of DNA-based population histories to correct the overromanticisation of the past and the fictionalisation of genetic superheroes and heroines.

### The Genetics of Ancient Ethnicity: Cross-Discipline Theory for the Integration of Genetics and Archaeology

*Nitzan Mekel-Bobrov, University of Chicago*  
Biomolecular archaeology sets out to answer archaeological questions with the aid of genetic data. Studies of modern human variation have demonstrated the applicability of such data to the study of population history, while analysis of ancient DNA has more recently shown the potential for investigating genetic variation in the past from within the archaeological site itself. What remains lacking, however, is a theoretical frame work in which to make cultural inference from genetic data. Such a framework is essential to a full integration of the two modes of investigation, which come from very different historical backgrounds, and are laden with conflicting assumptions and research goals.

The category of ethnicity is at the crossroads between cultural and biological heritage, such that the study of ancient ethnicity must incorporate both archaeological and genetic data. Biomolecular archaeology is, therefore, particularly well suited for such studies,

when a proper theoretical framework is employed to integrate both kinds of data. The aims of this paper are to illustrate the need for cross-discipline theory by showing the potential incompatibilities that can arise from the integration of genetic and cultural analysis, to discuss the relationship between culture and biology, and finally to propose a theoretical framework in which to study ancient ethnicity holistically. The question of ethnicity in Bronze Age Syria-Palestine is taken up as a case-study, though the intention is to generate theory applicable in many contexts.

### Genetics and the origins of agriculture: a controversy waiting to happen

*Terry Brown, Department of Biomolecular Sciences, UMIST, Manchester M60 1QD, UK*

The uneasy relationship that has existed between archaeologists and geneticists over the last ten years should not disguise the fact that modern genetical analysis has considerable potential as a component of future archaeological research. The current debate centres largely on the ability of genetics to contribute to our understanding of the evolution and geographical dispersal of modern humans, the controversies arising because of apparent contradictions within the genetic evidence and difficulties in reconciling much of the genetic evidence with the frameworks constructed by archaeological and other types of study. The attention paid to human genetics is understandable but an equally important contribution to archaeology has been anticipated as a result of genetic studies of domesticated plants. For several years there has been an expectation that genetics will provide the distinction between single and multiple domestication for individual crops and several articles have reviewed genetic data on crop diversity in this context. This faith in genetics is based on the supposition that the genetic features of a crop will belie its origins. It has been suggested that if wild progenitor was taken into cultivation just once then the modern crop will be the product of 'monophyletic evolution', but if the wild progenitor was domesticated many times and in different places then the crop will derive from 'polyphyletic evolution'. This type of thinking has underlain much of the recent debate on crop origins but, unfortunately, it is erroneous to believe that a genetic test that distinguishes between monophyletic and polyphyletic evolution will indicate if a crop was domesticated once or on multiple occasions. Concepts such as monophyly and polyphyly have clear meanings and implications when the evolution of species are studied, but become much less determinative when applied to populations of a single species. In this paper I will show that transfer of these concepts to crop population genetics has obscured rather than clarified the evolutionary histories of cultivated plants, leading to errors in interpreting the genetic data and the construction of models that are biologically naïve.

### ITS NOT SIZE THAT MATTERS! MAKING THE MOST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVENTS AND THEORETICAL ENGAGEMENTS

*Session organisers: Tim Darvill, Archaeology Group, Bournemouth University, and Stephanie Koerner, University of Manchester*

The last twenty years or so have seen remarkable growth in the number and scale of archaeological projects, and the development of new relationships between archaeological theory and practice. Extraordinary change has also occurred with regard to the financing of field research; the number of organizations active in the field; and the procedures for the analysis and reporting of new work. Yet surprising little attention has been given to the theoretical implications of these changes. For instance, have they produced advantages or disadvantages for carrying forward some of the new approaches suggested for bringing fieldwork to bear upon key areas of theoretical debate?

In the light of the central role being given in general discussions of archaeological theory to what Ian Hodder has called 'non-dichotomous thinking in archaeology' (1999, *The Archaeological Process*) it seems highly appropriate to have a TAG session on what is going on in the field. The session will provide a context for talking about the current state of relations between theory and practice, and the contributions field projects have been making to

going beyond the dichotomous thinking. Central to these discussions is the idea that what matters the most is not the size or scale of what is happening in the field but the quality and relevance of what is produced.

### Sleeping with the Enemy?: The Intimate Relationship Between Archaeology and Development

*Theresa Kintz, University of Southampton*

Archaeology is no longer merely a scholarly pursuit, it is a capitalist enterprise. How have changes in funding and focus influenced archaeological theory and practice? This paper explores the contemporary role of archaeologists as intellectuals and production of archaeological knowledge in the context of the real world practice of field archaeology.

### Excavation and Dialogue

*Julian Thomas, University of Manchester*

Traditionally, interpretation has been presented as a practice that is only commenced once an excavation has been completed. This conception promotes a hierarchical structure for archaeology in the field, where many people collect data, and fewer interpret it. If, however, we accept that the encounter with evidence in the field is interpretative 'all the way down', excavation potentially becomes a more democratic process. Our understanding of a site is the outcome of a dialogue or negotiation. However, for most of us in university archaeology, our whole experience of excavation takes place in the context of training. This paper presents some reflections on this predicament, drawn from my experience of excavating a series of Neolithic ceremonial structures in south-west Scotland over the past eight years.

### Artefactual Persons. The Relational Capacities of Persons and Things in the Practice of Fieldwork

*Thomas Yarrow, University of Cambridge*

Recent approaches to fieldwork have increasingly sought to demonstrate the ways in which the objects it creates reflect the subjectivities of those digging them up. While such an approach has been useful, a western logic in which subjective people and objective things are seen as self evidently distinct remains implicit. In contrast, this paper will look at the ways in which artifacts act at times like people and at the ways in which people act at times like artifacts. People make the things they dig up

### Locating Landscapes: Ideational Integration and Intra/ Inter-Cultural Models

*Robin Dods, Okanagan University College, Canada*

In locating landscapes of the past more than the archaeological 'stones and bones' methods are required. I am not claiming that these methods do not contribute to an integrated approach to data. They are, however, frequently investigated through methodologies that apply increasingly sophisticated techniques to smaller and smaller constituent parts of the materials. Although this may be very interesting from our point of view and within the constructs of western ideas about science, such approaches do not resonate for traditional and/or aboriginal peoples on whose ancestors and/or cultures this work may have been done. So such approaches are actually only the starting point for any investigation that has pretensions to making meaning of the past. To assume an understanding at any level we must move into other realms of integration of knowledge. Some of these realms are distinctly unfamiliar and suspect to those archaeologists who have not been trained in the concept of holism as found in the discipline of anthropology. For example, we may look at traditional knowledge and how it contributes to a more complete picture of the past and the processes of the past. Further, by integrating various streams of cultural/social knowledge we can move into understanding of realms of meaning beyond the physical - the realms of the metaphorical, the realms of the metaphysical. This problem of disconnection is most acute in the interpretation of prehistory without links to peoples of the present. Attempts at integration are frequently constructed through the use of various historical documents and ethnographic analogies. By examining the process of information integration in the prehistoric- protohistoric- historic-boundary I

propose we can come to a better understanding of the integrated approach and better apply appropriate interpretative tools which can bring us to re-constructions of the past that resonate, not only for us but in appropriate instances, for the peoples of the world directly in contact with this past through their own situation in a landscape of memory.

### When We Still Haven't Found What We're Looking For?: Archaeology in the Post PPG16 Era

*Timothy Darvill, Archaeology Group, Bournemouth University*

The 1990s saw a considerable increase in the amount of archaeological investigations undertaken in England, a growth that was closely associated with decreases in central government support for archaeology and the commensurate expansion of commercially funded archaeology. The very nature of much of the work that was undertaken changed too. This paper reviews some of the key trends in archaeological activity in England between 1990 and 1999 based on the annual surveys carried out by the Archaeological Investigations Project sponsored by English Heritage. It is argued that much of the current endeavor supplements rather than replaces traditional patterns of activity and provides high quality data albeit of an untraditional character. In 1973, David Clarke wondered how archaeologists would cope with good quality systematically collected data; now that we have it seems we have to learn anew how to use it.

### Circulating Reference in Pre-Columbian Venezuela and Present Day Archaeological Field Research

*Stephanie Koerner, University of Manchester*

Relations between archaeological field work, laboratory procedures and theory have often been debated in terms of polemical positions on contrasts between scientific and humanistic pursuits. Unfortunately only a limited number of the premisses on which these positions hinge have been examined critically. This contribution explores several persisting areas of confusion, and argues for the relevance of a notion of 'circulating reference' to issues posed by apparently unresolvable debates. Examples of 'circulating reference' in pre-Columbian Venezuela and present day field research are employed to illustrate the potential usefulness of this notion.

### Making Connections - Research Frameworks for the 21st Century

*Vanessa Constant, Archaeology Group, Bournemouth University*

A Research Framework is a well-synthesized and integrated archaeological resource, which has the potential to bring together theory and practice within the designated area of study. However, the underlying axiom of the Research Framework is that it integrates all (although pre-selected) aspects of the cultural landscape, identifying disparities and gaps in the archaeological record and understanding. Although past Frameworks have the same resolve, their format and structural content has varied and developed with time. Recent Frameworks attempt to include a diversity of interests and specialist involvement through the formulation process and are generally structured into three main components: the Resource Assessment, Research Agenda and the Research Strategy.

This paper is twofold, in the sense that it attempts to discuss the past and present state of the Research Framework, and secondly, its future applicability with enhancing and developing a homology between theory and practice. As a potential mediator, I will critically assess whether the Research Framework is capable of assisting the formulation of new theoretical ideologies and practical approaches. Furthermore, I will discuss whether the Research Framework can be effective in developing new, more compatible relations between theory and practice in both management and academic research. I will also examine the extent to which the impact of shifting fronts and "non-dichotomous thinking" reflects upon the efficacy of the Research Framework.

### A Lane to the 'Land of the Dead.' The Stonehenge Research Framework as a Method for Managing Landscape Research

*Ehren Milner, Archaeology Group, Bournemouth University*

The Stonehenge Research Framework is an attempt to provide a delineable relationship between theory and practice in research. It aims to encourage fieldwork that can contribute to select topical



research themes and theoretical debates. The process ensures the incorporation of recent ideas by fielding suggestions for future research and strategies from a broad base. However, the areas under management have pre-determined the areas of landscape focused upon with a priori questions. This inherently shapes out questions of the past landscape by how we utilize it in the present. Only the ongoing process of the implementing the Stonehenge Research Framework will demonstrate its effectiveness as a tool to improve the production of new knowledge and understandings: a lane to the land of the dead as W H Auden has in his Birthday poem.

#### **Better Rusty than Missing. Integrating Issues of Conservation Into Archaeological Field Projects**

*Sonia O'Connor, Bradford University*

This contribution argues for the inclusion of conservation among the key components of archaeological field project design.

#### **Home and Away: A Social Life of Artefact Analysis**

*Anne Brennan, University of Manchester, and Jon Pickup, University of Manchester*

Inside the field our outside in the laboratory, how do we as archaeologists classify the artifacts we encounter? Are we victims of our discipline's Victorian legacy, or can we move beyond traditional methodologies to access other areas of archaeological knowledge? We hope to show how changing artefact theories can be applied to lead us into new considerations within the epistemological formation of artefact analysis. The hierarchies which govern conditions of knowledge shall be explored. Should artifacts be interpreted 'at the trowels edge' or should this be left to the detached specialist? We shall ask if within this dichotomy there can ever be a middle ground.

### **COLONIAL AND NEO-COLONIAL PASTS**

**Session Organiser:** *Maggie Ronayne, Department of Archaeology, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland*

Post-colonial, multicultural, global – words often used today in discussions about theory and to describe the historical situation of the world and of various countries in it, including Ireland. But for many groups of people, it's difficult to see how we all live in one homogenous post-colonial, multi-cultural world when a more accurate analysis might include a consideration of theories of neo-colonialism and imperialism. The cultural and historical aspects of this situation raise serious questions for the way in which archaeologists theorise their work and operate on the ground. In particular, questions about how culture relates to the economics of transnational capitalism and to the violent force of large corporations. Equally serious issues arise regarding the values placed on the material histories of subaltern groups.

Archaeologists in various parts of the world have been dealing with many of these areas of concern for quite a while now, particularly with regard to the archaeology of colonialism but also in relation to the interpretation of pre-colonial pasts and the uses of history and 'prehistory' in the present.

This session will be an exploration of current work which develops such issues as they relate to Ireland and beyond, including the creation and exploitation of commodity-pasts in the tourist industry; colonial, neo-colonial and national histories; the use of the past and contemporary military, political, economic and cultural forms of colonialism and imperialism; ethnicity, ethnic minorities and cultural heritage; conflict over ownership/treatment of the past; 'development' and archaeological labour; comparative interpretations of colonial and neo-colonial pasts; the resistance and struggle in defence of the past in formerly colonised countries and in current colonialist and imperialist situations.

The talks will range across several themes, periods and between various regions of the world but there will be discussion across all of the topics presented. A key focus will be on ways of interpreting the past which go beyond the walls of the academy and the boundaries of profession: what sort of interpretations of the past

and work practices can relate to progressive social change in the world at the present time?

#### **Internal Colonialism and the Dual Consciousness of Resistance in Rural Ireland**

*Charles E. Orser Jr., Department of Anthropology and Centre for the Study of Rural Ireland, State University of Illinois, Normal, Illinois, USA*

Historical archaeologists have been interested in colonialism for many years. Their studies typically focus on contacts between European colonists and indigenous peoples, and much has been learned about accommodation and resistance in the process. Less attention has been paid to internal colonialism and the contacts between disparate European peoples. In this paper, I explore the archaeological nature of internal colonialism and make explicit reference to the situation in rural Ireland. I employ the concept of dual consciousness developed in relation to African Americans and I draw specific examples from my research in County Roscommon.

#### **"If Killarney's Lakes Flowed into Botany Bay:" Ireland's Heritage and the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Australian Colonies.**

*Eleanor Conlin Casella, School of Art History & Archaeology, Manchester University, UK*

With the arrival of the "First Fleet" in January 1788, the British penal colonies in Australia were established to contain exiled and enterprising subjects of Great Britain. In 1791, the shipping of human cargo was directly linked to Ireland's ports. While both Protestant and free colonists made the difficult journey, the great majority of Irish arrivals were poor, Catholic and convicts. By the cessation of criminal transportation to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in 1853, approximately 50,000 Irish felons had been banished to Australia for a range of violent, property and "political" crimes against the British state. By the 2001 Centennial Year of Federation, the Commonwealth of Australia has invoked national myths of exile, republican valour, and working-class solidarity to present its ambiguous cultural relationships with both Great Britain and Ireland. Combining prisons, domestic sites and artifactual studies, this paper will explore how the interlinked working-class heritage of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Ireland and Convict Era Australia is differentially presented to affirm gendered heroic stories of "Celtic" origins, and to invoke trans-national sentiments of mythic (be)longing.

#### **'Do You Want to Delete This, Murphy Japanangka?'**

*Alistair Paterson, Centre for Archaeology, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Western Australia*

This paper explores the politics of the archaeology of recent Australian Aboriginal history, referring to work conducted in central and northern Australia into Aboriginal involvement in the pastoral and mining industries, and attempts to interpret 20th and 19th century cultural landscapes using a combination of archaeological evidence in collaboration with Aboriginal knowledge and memories. This paper uses this research to explore how overarching explanatory devices - such as multiculturalism; dominance and resistance; or the shared and global features of capitalistic industries - are played out in regional studies of colonial society. This paper will introduce recent research by archaeologists, anthropologists and historians in Australia, and provide some background to the politics of doing archaeology of recent Aboriginal history in Australia today. One Aboriginal initiative of recent research will be available for viewing at TAG, namely a short film being produced this year in a joint project between Warumunga veterans of the pastoral industry, Paterson and Dr Nicholas Gill (University of Wollongong) into Aboriginal places (some of which are also archaeological sites) related to long-distance cattle droving routes. This represents an attempt to create Indigenous outcomes to research projects beyond traditional academic writing. The title of this paper refers to previous attempts by white historians to hide aspects of Aboriginal life from explanations of the past. The potential for archaeology in contemporary Australia to present these hidden histories (also those of other groups in settler society) has implications for the role of the discipline as revisionary and as a counterpoint to past histories.

#### **What Price a Progressive Archaeology in UK plc?**

*Willy Kitchen, Deame Valley College and The Institute of Lifelong Learning, University of Sheffield, UK*

In March 1999, the administrative county of South Yorkshire was granted EU Objective 1 status alongside three other UK regions experiencing serious economic decline. To quote from the Objective 1 documentation, "[f]or South Yorkshire, and especially in the coal and steel areas, the experience [of recession] has been recent and raw. Communities are still feeling the loss of the traditional industries upon which the sub-region was dependent". As such the county qualifies for financial support from three separate European Union Structural Funds. Like many other professionals no doubt, archaeologists will seek for their share of the funds; but what kind of archaeology is appropriate in a region such as this, where national government and local planners alike sometimes appear determined – at any cost and as quickly as possible – to excise the material traces of its more recent industrial pasts? This paper argues for the importance of process, and particularly of educational process, in any progressive re-examination of the region's differing histories. It is a process that must seek to engage, wherever possible, with the realities of everyday life – past, present and future – in the heartlands of the South Yorkshire coalfield.

#### **Colonising the Past: The Emergence of the Antiquarian Study of the Past in Ireland.**

*Elizabeth O'Donoghue, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland*

Explicit theoretical debate on the social and historical context of archaeology in Ireland is relatively recent and is still largely concerned with nationalism and the creation of an 'Irish' identity through the use of the past. The study of the antiquarian past from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries has received little or no attention in terms of critical debate. Those studies which have taken place generally confine themselves to recounting the efforts of antiquarians in a chronological manner with reference to how closely this antiquarian work conforms to one view of professional practice today. This paper will address this period with reference to complex social, cultural, economic and political issues focusing on relations between Ireland and Britain and more widely throughout the colonised world, highlighting how the material heritage of countries such as Ireland was part of the 'colonial moment' of Britain. I aim to situate present practices in the discipline of archaeology within a wider historical context and to understand how antiquarian origins are linked to the present situation of archaeology both in Ireland and elsewhere.

#### **Sites of Struggle and Sources of Profit: Cultural Heritage in the Age of Trans-national Capitalism**

*Maggie Ronayne, Department of Archaeology, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland*

I will take two examples, one from Ireland and one from Kurdistan, to examine the effects, on people's relationship to cultural heritage, of the current phase of trans-national capitalism and its wars. Using the work of Fanon and James in particular, a point will be drawn from these situations about the part played by culture and history in resistance and struggle for change. This is intended as a contribution towards a debate about the sort of practice that is required of those of us who work on material heritage in situations where such links between culture, heritage and society have been made. In the recent fashion for post-colonial theory and theories of 'globalisation' in British-based and influenced archaeology, there are few attempts to link theoretical work on past colonialisms to work practices in archaeology or the realities in which culture and heritage are inscribed in the present. Of the work which does make a link between past and present, prominent examples conceive 'Culture' as a rather isolated and abstract entity with powers it does not have and 'community involvement' as the objectified and reified study of communities, the imposition of heritage projects on them and the exploitation of their waged and unwaged labour. Meanwhile, archaeologists from these islands are being linked, via actions of governments and companies, to areas of the world where people are forced to deal with ongoing, repressive situations – internal colonialism in South East Turkey and the potential destruction of

Kurdish and other heritage by the Ilisu dam is an obvious example. It happens at home too, for example, the commodification of heritage and the destruction of Irish rural communities through the colonisation of the local. I suggest that archaeologists need to be at their most theoretical in view of the complexity of these issues on the ground and most engaged in terms of action with others for progressive change in these situations.

#### **Drowned History: The Potential Flooding of Hasankeyf by the Ilisu Dam in Turkish Kurdistan**

*Latif Takak, Kurdistan Solidarity Ireland, Cork, Ireland*

My village (Wezrine) with a population of more than two thousand Kurds will be devastated by the construction of the Ilisu dam on the river Tigris. This is because economically, socially and culturally our village was and is dependent on Hasankeyf, a small town on the river. (We don't actually know if the village will be flooded but based on current lists of affected settlements, it is thought not). Hasankeyf – an officially listed archaeological site – is to be flooded by the waters of the dam. Hasankeyf is the meeting point for many villages, the crossroads of the whole region. We used to bring the food we grew in our village to market in Hasankeyf. Hasankeyf features in a lot of historical and traditional stories amongst Kurds and is of immense cultural importance to Kurdish and non-Kurdish people alike but especially to Kurdish people. The town has the graves of the characters in the io: *Mem u Zin*, the famous epic love story written by the 16<sup>th</sup> century Kurdish philosopher poet, Ahmede Xane. I grew up listening to these and many other stories related to Hasankeyf, especially because my father was a *Dengbes* – a Kurdish singing storyteller. We visited the ancient graves of our ancestors there. But no one in our village or in the area that we know has been asked about the building of this dam. The Turkish government builds dams without consulting us, they have destroyed our homes and villages as a tactic of warfare and now they want to destroy our heritage and our past. I believe the wider situation in Kurdistan is very relevant to understanding the devastation this dam project will cause. State security forces already evacuated my own village once before in 1993 because the villagers did not want to be village guards (militia). Personally, I have been detained and tortured many times just because of my ethnic identity. After many efforts we came back to our village but now my family may have to abandon the village forever because of the dam. The dam is just another means of destroying Kurdish people's lives and their heritage.

#### **The Destruction of the Peruvian Cultural Heritage**

*Ricardo Chirinos P., National Co-ordination for the Defence of the Cultural Patrimony (CONADEPAC) and RVNA Cultural Institute and Centre, Lima, Peru*

This paper is a general description of political, economical and social problems in Peru which are fundamentally affecting Perú's historical and cultural heritage. It is a fact that Perú has a rich archaeological heritage. It is, therefore, very strange that, since liberation from Spain until the present day, Perú lacks legislation that protects it, develops it and lays down mechanisms for its conservation. The destruction of temples and other archaeological sites carried out by the conquerors in their campaign of "idolatry elimination" is well known. But it is precisely nowadays, during the application of the neo-liberal economic model 'to achieve the country's development of the production of goods and services as soon as possible', that permission for and encouragement of the destruction of Cultural Heritage of the Peruvian nation takes place. The legal framework within which this happens is determined by the economic model imposed on the country. Mining is a very productive activity today in Peru with the most foreign investment and tourism is a new productive activity where the investing of foreign capital is increasing. Case studies will show that both of these industries are causing damage not only to the cultural heritage but also to the Peruvian nation.

#### **Nationalism as a Driving Force in Israeli Archaeology and its Impact on the Dialogue of Ethnicity, Modern and Ancient**

*Deirdre Stritch, Department of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland*

Archaeology in the south western Levant, is often referred to as the 'archaeology of the Holy Land', the 'archaeology of the Land of

Israel' or the all pervasive 'Biblical archaeology'. This is quietly deceptive, seeming to correspond nicely with the existence in the area of the modern state of Israel. It would appear to reveal a seamless picture of an ethnic group and its identity from its origin sometime at the beginning of the Iron Age (though the archaeologically further back the better), down to its present condition as the official occupier of the land. In order to understand how this particular interpretation of the archaeological record and its use came to be the norm, we must turn to nationalism, which in its ideological development equated modern state political legitimacy with group cultural antiquity. From the early Western experience of isolating "Israelite" sites for investigation in an attempt at recovering a political and religious spiritual past, a pattern was set in the almost exclusive selection of "Israelite" or "Jewish" sites for excavation. This bias was continued by early Israeli nationalists and continues down to the present day, firstly as a way of providing political legitimacy, and secondly as a way of creating a sense of national unity through common identity in a culturally diverse group. As a result archaeology was not, as is often the case elsewhere, confined to a closed circle of academics, serving as it did so well the needs of the people. However this rendered other possible readings of the region's chequered and complex cultural and ethnic past closed, with the result that archaeology in the area is somewhat under theorised when compared with Northern European or American examples. The isolating of one particular identity for investigation has consequences for the archaeologist in the field and also challenges the archaeologist exploring issues such as Canaanite versus Israelite identity, cultural diversity and hybridization to be deeply aware of the implications of any new narratives of the different groups in the region and their (in the current narrative, incompatible) pasts.

#### **First Visit to Xanana's Camp: the Archaeology of East Timorese Resistance**

to Indonesian rule  
Matthew Spriggs, St John's College, Cambridge and Australian National University, Canberra, Australia  
Following the referendum on independence and the UN intervention in East Timor, the world's newest country is well on the way to independence. For the first time since the Indonesian invasion of 1975 archaeological work has been undertaken there in cooperation with local institutions, and with the support of East Timorese political leaders. The sites perhaps of most immediate interest to the East Timorese are those connected with the resistance of FALINTIL guerillas to Indonesian rule, and those with particular associations as places of refuge for families during the invasion and its aftermath and during the militia violence which followed the August 1999 referendum vote. This archaeology of the last 25 years will be discussed as will the context of archaeology in this new nation.

#### **Kings and Ancestors: Interpreting the Past at KoBulawayo, Zimbabwe**

Gwilym Hughes, *Cambria Archaeology, Dyfed Archaeological Trust, Wales*

Many people are familiar with the complex historiography of Great Zimbabwe - from the establishment by early myths by colonial settlers of a 'lost civilisation', to later political censorship and the denial of an African past, to post-colonial myths of a lost 'golden age'. As with Great Zimbabwe, KoBulawayo, the late 19th century capital of the Ndebele king Lobengula, is immersed in multiple interpretations. The historical evidence of the site provided by late 19th century European traders and missionaries provides an insight into past colonial attitudes while contemporary Ndebele traditions and histories paint alternative interpretations that are often used to promote local or even national political ambitions. The evidence of recent archaeological research presents a new and challenging interpretation of the site, demonstrating the multiple traditions upon which modern Ndebele society is based and serves to stress a common history rather than a divisive one.

Meanwhile, the principal government heritage body in Zimbabwe is attempting to promote the past as a commodity for national and international tourism while the small group of professional Zimbabwean archaeologists continues to work on conservation and

research projects despite the current economic and political turmoil. The majority of these archaeologists have been trained in a 'European' academic tradition and so, although they remain sensitive to local traditions, even for this group the link with a neo-colonial world is inescapable.

#### **When the hand that holds the trowel is black...**

*Nick Shepherd, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, South Africa*

The secret history of Archaeology in Africa is the history of native labour. It is the story of those men (and they were almost always men) who dug, sieved, sorted, located sites and "finds", fetched and carried, pitched camp, cooked and served food, negotiated with local chiefs and suppliers, and assisted in the interpretation of artefacts and events. In many cases they were and are skilled practitioners. In almost all cases they were and are far more directly related to the remains which they disinterred, to the hand that made the pot or the bones in the grave than the archaeologist on whose behalf they laboured. Yet, in the ironised contexts of the construction of archaeological knowledge in the colonies and former colonies (and the essential tenor of this enterprise is that of irony), they are almost never referred to, or are referred to in passing or with contempt.

In my paper I use a set of images from the archive relating to the work of John Goodwin, one of the first professional archaeologists in sub-Saharan Africa, to open-up two sets of theoretical questions. The first concern the relation, which is a fundamental one in Archaeology, between the visual and material over and against the textual. The second concern relations of work in Archaeology, in this case, in the context of colonial Archaeology in Africa. Rather than being peripheral, if we understand relations of material production to be central to the archaeological enterprise, it results (I suggest) in a new and revealing set of perspectives from which to understand the production of archaeological knowledge in colonial and neo-colonial contexts.

#### **PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES, DEBATE AND CRITIQUE**

**Chairs:** *Carol McDavid, John Carman, Patrice L. Jeppson, Linda Derry*

Much recent conversation about 'public archaeology', 'heritage', 'archaeological heritage management', 'cultural resource management', and other terms referring to 'public' archaeological practice has revealed a certain ambiguity about what the term 'public archaeology' means. Is all archaeology inevitably 'public'? Or, are there individual areas of expertise (education, legislative, technological, political, journalistic, performance, museums, tourism, etc.) that are beginning to form a legitimate area of specialised archaeological practice, analogous to geographic, technical, temporal, and other specialisations? If this is so, what are the implications of this growing 'specialisation', both within archaeology and in terms of public awareness? While there will be an introduction to provide an organisational framework for the session, the session organisers will not set out an a priori definition of what 'Public Archaeology' is or isn't. Rather, individual participants will explore the different goals pursued under the rubric 'Public Archaeology', and will attempt to provide *critical* and self-reflexive assessments of what we actually do with our 'publics', and, perhaps more importantly, critical examinations of what this work with our publics does, in terms of archaeology as a discipline and in social life more generally. While it is true that archaeology characterised as 'public' is often limited to narrow descriptions of how-tos of engaging the public, the reality is that, worldwide, practitioners of 'public archaeology' (however they define themselves) are increasingly conducting and writing theoretically informed scholarship that goes far beyond the 'practical'. Papers in this session will highlight the nature of this recent work in public archaeology, and different national and regional styles of doing 'public archaeology' (or Heritage, CRM, etc.) will be represented. Active discussion will be a primary feature of this session so that the audience can be included in an exploration of these issues.

#### **Introduction to Session and From Archaeological Interpretation to Public Interpretation: Collaboration Within the Discipline For A Better Public Archaeology**

*Carol McDavid*

I will introduce the session, and then will deliver a very short individual presentation. As the 'public archaeologist' recruited to develop public participation in the archaeology of the Levi Jordan Plantation, I will critically examine whether 'within-archaeology' collaborations can enable archaeologists with different skills, priorities, and temperaments to create public interpretations of archaeology that are both meaningful in local contexts and successful in professional ones. I will also discuss how embedded assumptions about individual authorship and intellectual ownership have played out in a collaborative project, where the collaborators are site descendents, traditional 'dirt' archaeologists, and myself.

#### **Understanding the past: The art of interpretation**

*Alexandra Norman*

It is widely recognised that the presentation of the past to the public at large requires examination. Such examination is already well established with evaluations of:

a) Popular media such as television b) Photography c) Virtual Reality d) Traditional representation such as the drawn archaeological reconstruction. General concerns addressed surround issues such as gender and racial bias.

Traditional representations of the past generate a dichotomy between viewer and interpretation. That is to say, those who are presented with an interpretation of the past are encouraged to maintain a distance and not get 'entwined' with that interpretation. The use of fine art as an interpretive tool within archaeology is developing, but is this just sustaining the dichotomy created by more traditional representations of the past? Can we and should we strive to overcome such dichotomies? This paper will address those questions in relation to recent public archaeology projects.

#### **Shared mindsets: Emergent new museum professionalism**

*Alf Hatton*

From the Session Abstract: "Are individual expertise areas (education, legislative, technological, political, journalistic, performance, museums, tourism, etc.) beginning to form legitimate specialised archaeological practice, analogous to geographic, technical, temporal, and other specialisations?"

Yes! These have been around as long as "archaeology". Museums especially have formed the bedrock of "archaeology". For much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, archaeology would have had no existence beyond an intellectually self-indulgent and rather amateur pursuit had museums not been *ready repositories*. All forms of 'public archaeology' have modelled themselves on museums and borrowed from museum practice!

However the Session is right to posit the gap between both academic engagement and praxis in the two field extremes. My own recent research suggests there is a conceptual model of museums which has (a) been around a long time and (b) still operates to, if not prevent innovation, at least slow it down a tad! In a sense everything we 'do' in heritage, archaeology, museums, etc., can be *assumed* to be for someone else. So, how come we don't ask them "how was it for them"? Museums can and do tackle this question. It has become evident in an Emergent New Museum Professionalism.

#### **The ever-present past: public archaeology of British colonisation in Ireland and North America**

*Audrey Horning*

Seventeenth-century English colonial settlements in Ireland and North America occupied a parallel and overlapping universe, yet for all the evident similarities in process and persona, present day public awareness and interest in the archaeology and history of British colonisation in both regions could hardly be more divergent. While the English roots of America are ritually celebrated at sites such as Jamestown and Plymouth, where the value of the archaeology and of public outreach is assumed, public interest in the archaeology of British expansion in Ireland, and particularly in Northern Ireland, is far from implicit. In a land where present day RUC stations mimic

the defensive architecture of plantation bawns, symbolising a continuity with the political turmoil of the seventeenth century, professional approaches toward the public archaeology of the period are inevitably coloured by current events. The archaeology of 17th-century conflict in Ireland, a growing discipline, has the potential to provide significantly new information that will affect present-day attitudes. What are the ethics and concerns involved in the presentation of the uncomfortable past in Northern Ireland? North American colonial sites archaeology has long served as a model for Irish investigations. Rather than learning from the *public* archaeology of colonial North America, however, it is suggested that the public archaeology of British colonialism in North America also has much to learn from Irish practice in becoming more self-reflective and in tune with a multicultural United States in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### **Giving ourselves away: putting the archaeology in 'public archaeology'**

*John Carman*

'Public Archaeology' as it is practised across the world generally takes one of two forms: either the 'management' of 'archaeological resources' under a bureaucratic regime; or communication about the past with other people, designated as a rather ill-defined 'public'. The development of new theory and methodology, however, has been a main concern of academic archaeology since the inception of the discipline, and - in the English-speaking world at least - the last decade has seen an explosion in new ideas and approaches which have led to new and exciting interpretive opportunities for the study of the past. With a few notable exceptions, none of these new types of archaeology have been brought into play in the public interpretation of the material past.

This presentation will offer an outline of how such theories could - and should - be included in archaeologists' interactions with the wider community. It will not be recommended that our public should read the foundational texts of these various new approaches and engage in full academic discussion of the philosophical bases of current archaeological interpretation. Instead, the argument to be made is that archaeology as it is done in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is interesting and challenging and has a great deal to offer a modern sophisticated audience. What we can offer is an opportunity to explore the world as seen through the eyes of a professional student of the past. In other words, what we give our public, is ourselves.

#### **Public preconception and archaeological reality: It's not all buried treasure and old bones you know!**

*Anna Deeks*

The 'public's' understanding of archaeology is largely informed through media exposure such as Time Team, Meet the Ancestors and of course Indiana Jones. What do we do as Archaeologists to challenge this myth, or enforce it?

In particular at Ironbridge this year we have organised several events with an aim of bringing 'the public' onto site and giving them an opportunity to experience not only field archaeology but Industrial field archaeology - a subject even more wildly divorced from the standard preconception.

The nature of our sites and field work has demonstrated more than ever that archaeology is not the art of treasure hunting nor is it dealing solely with the remains of an ancient and remote society. Our specific intention during this recent outreach work has been to broaden the boundaries of what is generally perceived as archaeology. Furthermore through this we have hoped to demonstrate that Industrial Archaeology, despite its proximity to our current era, holds equal value and interest in our examination of sociology through the human record (this being an area often expounded through archaeology).

With increased media attention focused on archaeology in more recent years, public archaeology should also aim to provide a 'real' image of field archaeology and archaeologists. In particular showing that the discipline is not full of bearded, woolly jumpered academic eccentrics (although admittedly there are plenty of them), happy to do the work as nothing more than a hobby, a passion.... outreach work provides us with a platform to demonstrate that archaeology is a profession requiring specific skills and training as well as a certain level of dedication.



### **Pitfalls, Pratfalls, And Pragmatism in Public Archaeology**

*Patrice L. Jeppson*

Engaging the public means that archaeologists take on responsibilities that both complement and compete with their primary aim of 'researching the past'. Whether presenting data, sharing methods to empower others or tailoring pedagogy to meet curricular needs, publicly active archaeologists face a range of new choices/compromises. These 'choices' are generally made through a disciplinary lens calling for 'stewardship' or 'preservation' (i.e. preservation through enhanced public awareness). Drawing on examples from the formal education sphere, and incorporating a pragmatist philosophical position, this paper will evaluate discipline-based goals for public archaeology against the potential civic role that archaeologists could play in society.

### **Culture vs. Nature: A Comparative View of the Historic Preservation and Environmental Protection Movements in America**

*Vergil Noble*

Although the historic preservation movement in the United States predates the rise of the environmental protection movement by almost a century, the latter quickly eclipsed the former in the public mind and today dominates the scene. This paper traces the origins of both movements and compares them in terms of public attitudes, perceptions, and concepts of value. Prospects for raising awareness and sensitivity to cultural resources are explored.

### **The appliance of ecoscience: archaeology at the bounds of sustainability**

*Simon Kaner*

This paper explores the ways in which public "art" is used in England and Japan as a medium for archaeological expression and dissemination and to foster a sense of local ownership over the material remains of the past. It asks to what extent we are justified in granting artistic licence to the producers of this material and what are the potential costs in terms of archaeological integrity. It will examine how art is being used to further the goals of sustainability. While considered to be a term of global applicability, the concept of sustainability is of western derivation and is difficult to translate directly into Japanese. Archaeology is now explicitly incorporated into the discourse of sustainability in England - archaeological remains viewed as a finite and vulnerable resource. As such it now seeks to become embedded through a network of initiatives and schemes such as Local Agenda 21, the Local Heritage Initiative and other locally based projects. What can we learn from experiences on the other side of the world?

### **Conflicting Private Responsibilities and Public Interests: The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly of the Lorton Town Center Project**

*John P. McCarthy*

The Lorton Town Center Project (Lorton Project) was a unique public-private partnership that sought to address inherent conflicts that characterize cultural resources management (CRM) archaeology in the United States. Specifically, CRM, like most aspects of contemporary society, seeks to provide maximum benefit at minimum cost. The conservation planning and research interests of public authorities seeking to maximize site preservation and/or data recovery are very often at odds with the cost minimization imperative of development interests, be they in the private or public sectors. Accordingly, archaeologists and other CRM professionals are often caught in the middle between these, and other, conflicting considerations.

The Lorton Project combined privately-funded professional staff and a publicly-funded volunteer program to undertake much more extensive and long-term excavations than such projects usually entail. This paper provides a critical review of the Lorton Project and identifies positive and negative elements of the program. In addition, the paper considers the issue of public agency involvement to address an essentially private responsibility.

### **Contract archaeologists in Australia: negotiators of cultural resource management**

*John Appleton*

In Australia where the homes of the majority of the population and the arrival points for tourists are predominantly along the coastal strips, accessibility and the increasingly high costs of travel and accommodation have created circumstances in which public archaeologists, including contract archaeologists, have had to become the facilitators of change for a variety of publics.

In New South Wales over 80% of the population of nearly six million live in a narrow coastal strip, with two thirds residing in Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong. In contrast there are fewer than two persons per 100 square kilometres in the far west of the state. During the last thirty years legislation has produced three Acts to provide for the management and protection of both the Indigenous and the 'European' archaeological and cultural record. In an evenly distributed population the standards and guidelines attached to the legislation would provide for an even playing field in which contract archaeologists could assess and recommend resource management without prejudice. However, the disparities between the distribution of the population, the priorities of the city developer and the bush farmer, the costs and logistics of archaeological investigation, and the political agendas of the Indigenous people and the protectionist groups, has resulted in widely varying attitudes towards preserving the past, between the bush and the city. The primary role of the contract archaeologist has now become that of negotiator. This paper will consider a number of examples taken from my experiences as a contract archaeologist and discuss the implications of the move towards facilitating change.

### **The archaeologist as commodity: reappraising the role of archaeologists and their knowledge in CRM**

*Laurajane Smith*

Archaeological knowledge is privileged within the cultural heritage management processes and is used to regulate the meanings and values attributed to the past and heritage places. Archaeological knowledge thus has a direct consequence for a range of stakeholder groups whose knowledge about the past conflicts with or diverges from accepted archaeological values. In this paper I want to explore the implications for both CHM and archaeology if the authority of archaeological science within CHM were to be abandoned. The paper will draw on the author's participation in an ongoing community driven CHM project in Northwest Queensland. In this project indigenous women have set the agendas for archaeological participation, they have determined the research agendas, the methodologies and defined how data recorded during the project will be managed and used. The archaeologists in this project have become, in a sense, a commodity that the women have used in wider community negotiations about the legitimacy of their heritage and in negotiations about their role as women in the management of Aboriginal land and country.

### **Consequences of Involving Archaeology in Contemporary Community Issues**

*Linda Derry*

A decade ago, as an employee of a state historic preservation office in the U.S., I was given the nearly impossible task of acquiring, preserving and interpreting a large archaeological site with a woefully inadequate budget. In order to save this endangered site, I had to garner additional support by learning to listen, understand and accommodate various community voices. Working within the framework of what has become known as interpretive archaeology, I allowed contemporary issues to guide my archaeological work so that the living community surrounding the site could benefit from archaeological interpretations. In this discussion, I will very briefly outline how I attempted to make archaeology relevant to a diverse community over the last ten years, and more importantly, I will examine the consequences of this activist archaeology for both the archaeological site and for segments of an associated contemporary community.

### **WETLAND ARCHAEOLOGY - FINE IN PRACTICE, BUT WILL IT WORK IN THEORY?**

**Sponsored by the Discovery Programme**

**Session Organisers:** *Aidan O'Sullivan (Aidan.O'Sullivan@ucd.ie), Department of Archaeology, University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin 4; Professor Tony Brown (A.G.Brown@exeter.ac.uk), Department of Geography, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, Exeter, EX4 4RJ, Devon, UK; Dr Robert Van de Noort (R.Van-de-Noort@exeter.ac.uk), Department of Archaeology, Laver Building, North Park Road, Exeter, EX4 4QE, Devon, UK*

Wetland archaeology has often been criticised in the past for its apparent adherence to empirical approaches and for the environmental or economic basis of most of its explanatory models. On the other hand, post-processual archaeologists have tended to ignore wetland archaeology, seeing both its practice and results as marginal and peripheral to their own interests. This session will explore the potential of post-processual or interpretative approaches to people, place and time in wetland landscapes. The papers in this session will first discuss reflexively wetland archaeology in terms of its academic and professional practice, and how its socio-political role in environmental conservation debates has influenced its development. The papers will then discuss the potential contribution of ideas about landscape, place, identity, agency and practice to our interpretation of people's past activities in riverine, estuarine and lakeland environments. We can certainly ask the question, "would a post-processual agenda re-invigorate wetland archaeology?", but we can also reflect on the role that wetland archaeologists themselves could contribute to ongoing debates in theoretical archaeology?

### **Wetland archaeology - fine in practice, but will it work in theory?**

*Aidan O'Sullivan, Department of Archaeology, University College, Dublin*

Since the 1980s, wetland archaeologists around the world have enjoyed two decades of spectacular archaeological discoveries, ranging from remarkably preserved wetland settlement sites to individual human bodies. However, there have been criticisms of the wetland research programme, and post-processualists in particular have argued that wetland archaeological sites are often presented in the literature as places where we can simply 'read' the past, without any need for any theoretical informed discussion or interpretation. In this paper, using case studies from estuarine wetlands, it is argued that people's past activities in wetland landscapes can usefully be understood in terms of landscape, identity and practice.

### **Getting your toes wet: the context of wetland archaeology in Ireland**

*John O'Neill, Margaret Gowen and Co., Dublin*

Despite a history of wet site investigations going back to the nineteenth century, wetland archaeology has yet to become mainstream in Ireland. Being seen as a specialist discipline, it has tended to accept a marginal niche, so that then other archaeologists have left it there. Exploring the use of data from wetland investigations in teaching and publication sheds some light on the origins of this isolation, as does an examination of attitudes towards wetland work and practices. The key issue in this talk is not to place blame for a failure to integrate wetland archaeology within the mainstream, but to pose a more interesting question - do wetland archaeologists always imagine that they are investigating the margins of past societies because that is where their work takes places within the present archaeological community?

### **Archaeological survey of Irish bogs: Information without understanding?**

*Michael Stanley, Irish Archaeological Wetland Unit*

Research into the archaeology of Irish peatlands has increased considerably in the last 15 years involving the identification of thousands of new sites and the accumulation of much new data. The bulk of these sites have received only cursory examination and are unlikely to be the subject of any individual, detailed investigation in the near future. In the context of a rapidly disappearing cultural

resource and limited means, this paper will assess the adequacy of explanatory models previously brought to bear in apprehending the high occurrence of past activity in peatland landscapes. The applicability of a more interpretative approach will also be examined to appraise whether it can offer a means to extrapolate a deeper understanding using the data so far amassed. Is there an interpretative framework amenable to solving the explanatory problems inherent with the archaeological survey of peatlands?

### **A river runs through it - banks, bends and boundaries in riverine landscapes**

*Fiona Haughey, Institute of Archaeology, University College London*

In his book *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, Chris Tilley mentions rivers as significant parts of the landscape, yet discusses few British examples. With the large amounts of archaeological research on riverine wetlands since 1994, we can now begin to explore the role such watery places played in prehistory. They can be seen as both stable features (having stayed within their valleys), as well as dynamic systems (their character and shape always changing). Rivers frequently served as boundaries and barriers in the physical, social and mental worlds, and seem to be a major focus of attention in the prehistoric period. Neolithic and Bronze Age ritual monuments are often found grouped together within river valleys, sometimes within bends of the river. River confluences and islands are often chosen locations of settlement as well as for ritual activity. The river itself and associated wetlands have been seen as recipients of votive offerings. This paper will mostly concentrate on the River Thames, a major waterway whose archaeological importance has, for the most part, been previously ignored.

### **Sites on riverine islands: Coincidence, function, ritual or social space?**

*Tony Brown, School of Archaeology and Geography, University of Exeter*

Recent studies of floodplain evolution in NW Europe have shown that multiple-channel systems, braided or anastomosing, were far more common in the past than today. This means that natural riverine, or floodplain islands, were also formerly far more common. Archaeological studies on floodplains, such as the Nene and Thames, have, over the same period, revealed prehistoric, and particularly Bronze Age sites which appear to have been located on these islands. Having established the island status of these sites the question becomes, is the association coincidental and hence meaningless, functional, ritual and/or the result of some social division of space? At first sight riverine islands would seem to be functionally disadvantageous - difficult or at least inconvenient for people to reach, and prone to flooding. It is also difficult to find many resource-based arguments which cannot be satisfied by more accessible riverside or even floodplain edge locations. However, islands have ritual or societal advantages for precisely these reasons; access is restricted and landuse can be controlled (i.e. grazing can be restricted). The land may also be free of proprietorial, familial, or other claims. In this sense riverine islands fulfill the definition of liminal spaces. The are land outside land but often centrally located in territories or regions. In the historical period they have continued to function as special places: locations for treaty signing, illegal activities and monuments and high status burials. This paper argues that the location of a site on a riverine (or lake) island can never be coincidental, due to its functional disadvantages, and can rarely be explained by access to resources, instead such a location must have meaning on ritual or societal terms - and as such its location is an essential and potentially revealing cultural attribute of the site.

### **Walk on the wild side - towards structuralism in wetland archaeology**

*Robert van de Noort, School of Archaeology and Geography, University of Exeter*

The term 'wetlands' encompasses a broad range of landscape types and ecosystems that have preservation of organic archaeological and palaeoenvironmental remains in common, but which were perceived in the past as varied and diverse. Recent research in the Humber wetlands in northeastern England suggest a dichotomy between wetlands comprising predominantly minerogenic sediments



and the peat-producing wetlands, or mires. This concept has been developed in part based on Rob Giblet's (1996) *Postmodern Wetlands*. In terms of people's perceptions, the silt and clay lands were of economic importance, and were conceived by people as spaces of central importance. The peatlands, however, were of little or no economic value, perceived as liminal spaces, sometimes simply in terms of their value in subsistence strategies, but in certain periods also in a spiritual sense. This dichotomy is clearly reflected in the material culture from the Humber wetlands.

#### Wondering the wetland - myth and metaphor in the north boreal wetlands of Canada

Dr. Roberta Robin Dods, Department of Anthropology, Okanagan University College, Kelowna BC Canada.

The northern boreal of Canada is known for its trees. However, wetlands are the key component of the prehistoric and early historic economic landscape. The human relationship to these wetlands can be understood through myths and stories of the peoples of the area. Their meaning can help us transcend the mundane to a level of understanding of key metaphors and world views. It is thus that the data from 'hard' science takes on meaning through the words that open our eyes to the metaphysical landscape.

#### The Drowners: identities and perceptions in Neolithic North Uist

Dr. Ian Armit, School of Archaeology and Palaeoecology, Queen's University Belfast

The islet of Eilean Domhnuill in Loch Olabhat, North Uist, was the focus of an extraordinarily long and complex sequence of activity from around 3600-2600 BC. The period of occupation is, however, characterised by fluctuating water levels which resulted in the eventual drowning of the islet. Although Eilean Domhnuill was the focus of human activity for around 1000 years the structures built upon it were short-lived and transient. Artefactual and palaeo-environmental evidence suggests that the site was used for a restricted range of activities, perhaps on a seasonal basis. It will be argued that to advance our understanding of this enigmatic site we must consider its wider landscape and temporal context. It is important to consider how the interplay between human agency and aggressive environmental processes may have contributed to the emergence, and maintenance over many generations, of local identities and perceptions of the world rooted in the specific island setting of the Western Isles.

#### Domestic space in wetland houses: Where theory and practice mix

Dr. Gillian Wallace, Department of Anthropology, University of Durham, England

Prehistoric houses situated in wetlands offer unique challenges and possibilities to archaeological method and theory. On the one hand, the water protects the remains, on the other it often destroys the in situ relationships so desired in household archaeology. Choices in building technique often complicate the matter, for raised houses leave no possibility for in situ contextualisation of living spaces. Micromorphology is a unique methodological opportunity to question how local landscapes were used and transformed to create and maintain domestic space. Selected wetland sites from the pre-Alpine region of Europe show that normal models of site formation do not readily apply to wetland contexts. Instead, the data must be situated into a new interpretative framework, one which integrates method with theory. Responses to the research question are situated as 'scenarios' and conclusions are made through narration. The interpretative potential touches upon lifeways, landscape change and cognition.

#### Settlement patterns in lakeland terrain - wet-, damp- and dry-scapes

Dr. Eoin Grogan, Project Director, The Discovery Programme

The Discovery Programme's Lake Settlement Project has two principal approaches - landscape and environmental research focussed on settlement studies in wetland terrain, principally lakes and lake margins. This is a fully integrated strategy operating through a series of interlocking research modules that will span the next six

years. While there is a special emphasis on the wetland terrain in each of the study areas the broader settlement landscape provides an integral research context. This paper examines prehistoric settlement patterns across time in an area of the south midlands of Ireland in the vicinity of the find place of the Late Bronze Age Dowris hoard. The social, political and historical perceptions of later prehistoric communities of this largely wetland terrain are analysed and assessed.

#### SACRED ARCHITECTURE, SACRED SPACE

Session organiser: Conn Murphy, Department of Ancient Classics, University College Cork

This session questions assumptions made in our excavating and interpreting areas deemed to involve ritual or religious acts, on a personal, private, public or monumental level. Themes and topics include:

- Questioning barriers between sacred and profane, the association of sacredness with elites, profanity with non-elites and how this is manifest in architecture.
- Questioning where architecture begins and space ends (and vice versa), where ritual begins and 'normal' activity ends.
- The relationship of the sacred environment to the secular hinterland.
- Spatial Organisation and Religious/Sacred architecture – methodologies and testing assumptions of identification.
- Examining the terminology and use of 'traditional' historical religious architecture such as porticos, bell towers, colonnades, vaulting, stained glass, tabernacles, pews, kneelers, statues, murals and devotional shrines. What is the architectural legacy of traditional religious architecture?
- We are all familiar with church/mosque/synagogue architecture to a degree. How does this affect our understanding and interpretation of belief, ritual or what we can characterise as sacred?
- Investigating where architecture attempts to focus attention on an image and where the architecture emphasises community in ritual rather than hierarchy.

#### Identity and Stone Provenance in Passage Graves from Jersey and Guernsey

David Bukach (Oxford)

The examination of Neolithic passage grave construction has regularly been of interest in British archaeology, and in recent years this problem has been addressed by exploring the relationship between site and landscape as well as the use of space within the site itself. Although touched upon in past studies at West Kennet and Newgrange, reasons behind the selection of specific stone types in passage grave construction has received comparatively little attention.

The islands of Jersey and Guernsey provide an excellent backdrop from which to explore why certain stones were selected over others. The diverse geology allows the source of stones taken from as little as a few hundred metres distant to be distinguished from local bedrock stones. The distribution of stones at a range of sites on both islands shows that construction was based on more than just simple labour-saving choices of using the nearest available material.

It will be argued that the use of non-local stone in passage graves is linked with how Channel Islanders perceived their landscape and how they chose to identify themselves. The selection of stone types can be viewed as an active means of connecting groups with both monuments and prominent landscape features from which stones may well have been taken. Symbolic links between local landmarks and stone types may have been used to embody the identity of the group participating in passage grave construction. These possibilities will be explored with an eye towards assessing the potential for such studies in other regions.

#### Is nothing sacred anymore? The Neolithic of the Outer Hebrides

Cole Henley (Cardiff)

With an apparent distinction between settlement sites and megalithic monuments, the Neolithic remains of the Outer Hebrides of Scotland

have often been conveniently allocated to either side of a sacred/profane or ritual/domestic (to adopt the British Neolithic terminology) divide. Closer inspection of the evidence however suggests that this distinction may be more an interpretative tool than a past reality.

Central to my argument is the premise that the ritual/domestic dichotomy is not appropriate when considering prehistory, or rather the prehistoric remains that I have been examining, because it fails to consider that most ritual activity has a functional nature. By this I mean that rituals are undertaken for a particular purpose and have a perceived, intended and desired outcome. I hope to suggest that central to a criticism of this dichotomy is an awareness that it may inherently be a modern construct, derived from the relatively modern creation of specific times and spaces for ritual activity.

What must be important then in archaeology is not to attempt and identify distinct ritual or domestic contexts but to think of the sites and materials of the past in terms of the practices and relations that were involved in their creation, use and abandonment. Ultimately we have to appreciate that both ritual and domestic activities are social practices involved in the definition and maintenance of society and therefore the places where these practices manifest need not be exclusively sacred or profane.

#### Sacred Architecture and Access in the Neolithic

Liam Kilmurray (Sheffield)

This paper addresses the relationship between Neolithic sacred architecture and limitations placed on access to it. A connection between the sacred monuments of the Neolithic and an elite, which barred access to them, is commonly proposed in the literature. This is seen, for example, in monuments such as causewayed enclosures, whose multiple 'entrances', rather than offering multiple access from many directions, instead have become symbols of exclusion and division. This paper focuses upon the examples of such 'limitations' and the evidence upon which they are based.

The idea of sacred architecture itself is not rejected; rather the unquestioned assumption that such architecture reflects elite control and social divisions through access limitations is challenged on the following grounds:

Five specific criticisms of limited access models

1. Material culture and human remains; 2. The assumed primacy of access to the interior of monuments; 3. The communal construction process; 4. Megalithic art; 5. The simultaneous nature of the 'act' of access.

A conclusion is offered that Neolithic monuments may well have been sacred architectural structures, but this should not imply a barring of access, as other explanations are equally plausible. The spatial recesses within monuments such as passage graves or court cairns must not become the redoubts of putative elites, without either more evidence from the material record or a thorough examination of alternative explanations.

#### The religious infrastructure of Pompeii - an attempt to a new approach

Soren Skriver Tillisch (Copenhagen)

In any society it is important to try to understand the ritual ("religious") life of the people in that society. This includes not only the description of places of worship ("restricted spaces" in prehistory, "temples", "sanctuaries" and "churches" in later societies) or the powers connected with them ("god(esses)"/"beings"/"spirits"), or even the reconstruction of particular rites. It also includes the physical space ritual life acquires in a town- or landscape.

In the lecture an archaeological situation and a small survey of possible Pompeian structures and features in the townscape connected with ritual is presented. It is maintained that these locales reflect better the rhythm of day-to-day ritual life than the monumentalized manifestations of religion dominating the Forum area and the theatre region, and suggests a broader approach to the archaeological study of ritual and religion in Pompeii than the recording of monuments and lararia in houses.

#### Gladiators, Saints, and Soldiers: Sacred Space and Sacred Time in the Roman Amphitheatre at Dyrrachium

Adam Guttridge (Cambridge)

As archaeologists we are continually dealing with sacred space, in so far as the very act of identifying and excavating specific spaces constitutes making them sacred, or special, in some way. This paper seeks, by way of an individual biography of one single identified archaeological 'site', to describe the ways in which a space appears to accrue and redistribute culturally specific meanings of sacredness, and, most importantly, how these notions of sacred space alter and fluctuate over time, including the participation of the archaeologist in these continual processes.

As a fulcrum part of the Roman townscape, the amphitheatre in the city of Dyrrachium (now Durres, in modern Albania) existed as a sacred space reserved for use at specific times for specific rituals. These rituals undoubtedly included the staged executions of criminals, and Christians, and this led to the establishment of a "martyrium", a sacred space later elaborated with wall mosaics and a chapel superstructure, after the original function of the amphitheatre had ceased. Even later, the amphitheatre (and its chapel) were filled in during the four century-long Ottoman occupation of the city, and they were lost from the town's sight and mind as monuments, until their rediscovery in the second half of the twentieth century.

Now forming a key part of the modern city's cultural heritage, further excavations were undertaken in July 2000, utilising manpower from the KFOR troops stationed in the city. This site illustrates that conceptions of time, loss, and remembrance, play a vital role in the ways in which a space becomes sacred, including the manner in which we, as archaeologists, approach these spaces, and that fundamentally, the sacred past pervades the sacred place.

#### 'Castles in the Air?' Sacred space on Iron Age and Roman temples

Imogen Wellington (Durham)

The establishment of recognisable formalised sacred areas for worship begins in the late Iron Age and earliest Roman period in northern France and southern Britain. The last 20 years have seen an explosion in the quantity of archaeological material available from these areas, and work tends to concentrate on the physical layout of these sites.

But should we look at the physical architecture of these sites as an indicator of activity? Are the actions of individuals best approached through architecture or the deposits of finds on these sites?

I propose that the study of late Iron Age and early Roman ritual sites is more profitably approached via the medium of artefactual evidence, and this needs to be considered as more than a means of dating the structures on these sites. The emphasis in prehistoric studies has concentrated on the importance of liminality and the establishment of boundaries. However, the use of artefactual evidence is often misleading, and the imperfect understanding of stratigraphy often leads to misinterpretation. This paper reassesses several votive sites in the light of the numismatic evidence, and asks whether an architecturally led approach to votive sites in this transitional period is a valid one.

Theoretical work concentrates on structuration and the use of sacred space on votive sites, but I would question the validity of establishing these arguments with regard to late Iron Age ritual sites, as the archaeological evidence is not present to an acceptable degree. Are we building 'castles in the air'?

#### "Sacred and Social Space: The Byzantine churches of Jordan and the Negev"

Fr. David Clark (Roehampton)

Space syntax is a theory and method for the description of built space. It has been used to treat spatial configuration as an independent variable for social and cultural significance. Yet few scholars have applied the methods to sacred spaces. This presentation will apply the methods of Space Syntax Analysis, and Visual Graphic Analysis to the churches of ancient Jordan and the Negev regions.

Within the past decade, more scholars have turned their interest to the Byzantine churches of Jordan with their rich archaeological

record. Within this geographic framework of the "Holy Land", architectural regionalism has not been fully examined. Spatial characteristics have not been placed within the ecclesial, diocesan frameworks. These churches had specific functions. They housed the ritual worship and archived the social life of the communities that built them. Do their architectural genotypes give us a clue as to how the communities functioned liturgically?

Examples from the transitional churches and cathedrals at Aqaba, Petra, Jerash, and the Negev will be used.

### **The Hexagonal Friends' Meetinghouse at Burlington: A Consideration of Form, Function, and Influences in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century New Jersey**

*John McCarthy (Maryland)*

Proposed construction of a regional conference center at the Friends' Meetinghouse in Burlington, New Jersey, USA, threatened the reported site of the original 17<sup>th</sup>-century meetinghouse. Archaeological investigations were undertaken to locate and identify the site and then to recover structural information and a sample of associated artifacts prior to the site's destruction. The building was revealed to have originally been a hexagon in plan to which a rectangular addition was later appended. This paper presents the history of the site, describes the excavations, and discusses secular and religious influences on the meetinghouse's form, taking its special functions and sacred character into consideration.

## **GENDERING LANDSCAPE**

**Session organiser:** *Joanna Brück, Dept. of Archaeology, University College Dublin*

Recent years have seen the development of new approaches towards the interpretation of social and cultural landscapes. Landscapes are no longer seen simply as an economic resource or as a set of constraints within which human settlement operates. Instead, the meanings, values, myths and histories invested in landscapes and their constituent features have become a focus of attention. The contested and politicised nature of many landscapes is also now widely recognised. Despite these developments, however, there has been relatively little work seeking to link landscape and gender. This session therefore aims to consider the following issues:

- Can landscapes or landscape features carry specific gender attributions? How are such gendered meanings established, sustained and transformed over time?
- What is the role of gendered landscapes in the maintenance of relations of inequality?
- How does this gendering of landscape impact on the day-to-day practices and interactions of different gender groups?
- Is it possible to write a gendered account of prehistoric landscapes whose meanings may be lost to us forever?
- What can historic and ethnographic studies contribute towards the formation of a distinct theory of gendered landscapes?

### **Burning Issues: Fire engendering prehistoric landscapes**

*Jenny Moore*

To understand the prehistoric 'natural' environment as engendered is problematic. It is possible to construct spatial relationships with monuments and their situation within the landscape, but to consider the vegetated environment in a gendered context, without the fixity of monuments, is more complex. How the day-to-day lives of people may have been constructed and contained within this environment will undoubtedly have been very different from our own experience and is difficult to assess archaeologically. Yet if gendered utilisation of space was a dynamic in past societies, why should this not equally apply to the natural environment?

Use and control of fire is acknowledged as a defining moment in human development; fire is the transformer but also the destructor. In this paper I will attempt to make a case for how the use of fire in past natural environments has a gendered component. This will require acceptance of previous arguments I have put forward: that human manipulation of the environment through the use of fire is possible, even where that environment is not pyrophilous and that

fire in all its forms had strong gender associations in the past. I will then endeavour to illustrate how gendered associations with fire in the natural environment can infer an engendered landscape.

### **Worshippers and warriors: rock art and changing ritual landscapes of the Valcamonica, Northern Italy from the Neolithic to Iron Age**

*Lynne Bevan, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Birmingham.*

Much of the prehistoric rock art of Valcamonica is gendered, either specifically in the form of female and male figures, or in less obvious ways associated with animal symbolism or with items of material culture. The largest and best-preserved focus of carvings is located on the valley side above the modern village of Capo di Ponte in the lightly-wooded landscape of the rock art park of Naquane. Here, rock carvings attest to different cultic practices during successive periods of prehistory involving participants of both sexes, to changing imagery and iconography, and to the existence of possible cult houses, canine totemism and a deer cult.

While Neolithic carvings feature female and male worshipping or dancing figures, during the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age some exclusively-female groups are shown dancing or performing possible initiation, birthing or funerary rituals. During the Iron Age, when the majority of the carvings were produced, there is a radical ideological shift in emphasis to the armed male engaged in warfare and deer hunting, both integral elements in the construction of Iron Age masculinity. There is also evidence for the recarving of certain rocks through time and for some earlier scenes thus becoming incorporated within densely-carved Iron Age compositions, while other carvings were left alone and some uncarved rocks remained untouched throughout prehistory.

This paper compares the spatial arrangement of carvings showing exclusively female and male and sexually-mixed scenes from different periods within Naquane and the surrounding landscape as evidence for cultic practices involving different sex and age classes within communities. Discussion focuses upon such issues as social and political organisation, gender relations and gendered access to land, with a view to reconstructing the changing ritual landscape of the Valcamonica from the Neolithic to the Chalcolithic, Bronze and Iron Age periods.

### **Placing body and gendered space**

*Jong-Il Kim, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge*

The problems related with human identity and its formation are frequently discussed in archaeology these days, influenced by diverse theoretical debates on this topic in philosophy and sociology as well as in archaeology. As a result, many archaeological phenomena related to this topic, which were ignored for a long time, have been newly interpreted in various respects.

Nevertheless, it seems that those interpretations have been confined to the limited type of archaeological remains, for instance, megalithic or monumental tombs with regard to landscape. Although it seems true that these archaeological data become very good cases towards our better understanding of this topic, there still remains a question as to whether this theoretical approach can be applied to the other types of material culture and if so, how it would be possible.

In this paper, I will first discuss how the spatial structure of burials or cemeteries consisting of inhumation burials has changed from the Late Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age in Bavaria, South Germany. Second, I will discuss how such a simple type of burial as an inhumation burial could be used as a medium for historical identity by means of their placement. Third, I will also explore the process that space is gendered and structured by means of placing body. It is expected that this work can contribute to our better understanding of the relationship between human identity such as gender and placing body, and of social change from the Late Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age.

### **Infant graves - the means to domesticate the landscape**

*Agnieszka Dolatowska, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan*

The anthropological analysis of burned human remains from the Przeworsk culture cemeteries of the Roman Iron Age shows

considerable overrepresentation of child graves. The cemetery of Ciecierzyn (Byczyna County; Opole province) provides a good example. Infant burials discovered at this site differ little from adult burials in terms of their location and the number or quality of grave goods.

The dominance of infant burials, so obvious at the site, is clearly seen especially in the early phase of its existence. In the later phase, an important change is seen. There are now more adult graves than infant ones. It is important to realise that the appearance of the cemetery is associated with the beginning of the Roman Iron Age. The result of the studies carried in Ciecierzyn could prove how important the status of children was in the first millennium A.D. Treating a child as a full-scale member of a group might have helped to incorporate it into a community's group of ancestors. As a result, people living not far from the cemeteries where they have been burying their children created the a 'home-like' landscape and a close relationship between society and the ground full of remains of their relatives.

### **"Life was the Bal" and the Bal was life"**

*Jacky Nowakowski, Cornwall Archaeological Unit*

To "engender" a "landscape" is one of the biggest challenges facing the archaeologist. Implicit in the concepts of gender and landscape are specific socio-cultural and political constructs that derive their meanings from particularistic historical conditions. Nowhere is this more evident than in "landscapes of work". Research of the "familiar" historic past (cf. Tarlow) might provide useful ethnohistorical models from which theory could be developed. Yet the production of histories of ordinary working lives is beset by a baggage of biases in the historical record together with the absence of material correlates in the archaeological record. The case of the Cornish Bal Maid\*\* is presented to illustrate the difficulties and the challenge we face.

\* cornish language word for mine

\*\* Cornish dialect for female

### **The material culture of care in Romania**

*Adam Drazin, National University of Ireland, Maynooth*

This paper looks at domestic material culture through an ethnographic study of Suceava, a town in north-east Romania, and in particular how conceptualisations of care relate to the layout of the material objects in the home. Care is often presumed to be a gendered concept, and one which creates differences and problematic divisions between individuals in a household, between men and women, young and old.

This paper looks at how care can be considered as materialised within particular spaces, and the physical bodies which inhabit those spaces, rather than an abstract, internalised or individualised concept. Soaps and toiletries are often interpreted as gendered because their meaning is seen to reside in the actions and knowledges of individuals. I investigate the diverse physical contexts in which soaps are found in Suceava homes, and suggest that they can also be considered to possess meaning through their material context and the creation of a space which is manifestly caring. By addressing meaning and power through materiality, one implication is that care becomes a less problematic concept. Younger members of Suceava families are able to express both their gendered individuality and their membership of the household group; consequently, younger women may aspire to different forms of future home in which care is potentially less oppressive. The materialisation of care may offer possibilities for archaeology to examine the validity of seeing the meaningfulness of objects in their materiality, as distinct from the meanings of the words and actions which may surround them.

## **LOCAL KNOWLEDGE - SENSE AND SENSIBILITY**

**Session organiser:** *Eoin Sullivan, Dept. of Archaeology, UCD.*

The challenge facing the practitioner of the traditional field survey is whether their role should reflect aspects of their social experience rather than a sole site inspection. Field archaeologists record information they acquire during surveys under headings such as 'local information' or 'local knowledge'. This local knowledge is

embedded in the constituent parts of the landscape, which makes up the living history of a community.

The title is intended to generate debate about how the archaeologist defines 'local knowledge' and how a sense of local knowledge can be incorporated within archaeological research. Local knowledge is present wherever there is a community, in both rural and urban environments.

Moving on from acquiring a sense of local knowledge, we are faced with how we treat such invaluable information. In this new millennium, there is much research into facing the past but does this need only apply to archaeological monuments? It is the intention that the title should be attractive to archaeologists on both the theoretical and practical dimensions, thereby enhancing the discussion. It is also the intention of the title to attract disciplines other than mainstream archaeology.

### **Connecting the dots: local and regional understandings of place in Gumbaingirr Nation, eastern Australia**

*Wendy Beck and Margaret Somerville (University of New England, NSW, Australia)*

In Australia, methods from archaeology and oral history are used together, in partnership with Aboriginal people, to map local place stories. These local place stories are then able to be used by Indigenous organisations for cultural ecotourism and heritage management projects. In our research we are developing an understanding of different belongings to place and exploring the connections between local places and the theoretical and practical relationships between them, using, in part, archaeological methods. We aim to investigate two specific aspects of local knowledge about place: 1) To explore the relationship to place over time of indigenous people within the Gumbaingirr nation region (which is located on the mid-north coast of NSW, Australia) and 2) To engage in an analysis of the relationship between local and global in place based research, and to generate new conceptual understandings of about the relationship between positivist and post-positivist research paradigms and the problem of generalisation. In this project the intense specificity and contingency of local knowledges is very marked, and the question arises: what can we know beyond these specificities without losing the richness and complexity of understandings generated by them? We will illustrate our findings with examples from our current Yarrawarra project (which started in 1997) and indicate our future directions.

### **Putting Place on the Map**

*Matthew Fitzjohn, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge*

Archaeological research of Iron Age Sicily focuses upon issues of culture contact and change. Indigenous Iron Age culture is often only presented as being interesting as a direct result of interaction with colonising Greeks and expressed through the adoption of 'superior' Greek material culture.

This paper will focus upon fieldwork in the area of Troina in the Nebrodi mountains of Sicily and investigations into conceptions of culture and identity. With the use of survey data and traditional methods of settlement archaeology alone it has proved difficult to discuss Iron Age identity in this upland region. However, the process of undertaking field-survey and conversations with the local population have proved to be more constructive in my investigations into identity and ideas of place in the Iron Age. This paper will present the results of the interviews of the people who inhabit the region in which the survey was undertaken focusing upon their conceptions of place and the media through which they were able to discuss their world. GIS will be shown to be an interesting medium with which archaeological data can be integrated with anthropological data to investigate ideas of place and landscape in this upland region.

### **Digging for Childe and Other Stories: Narrative, Biography and Auto-archaeology in Orkney**

*Angela McClean and Ingrid Shearer, University of Manchester*

Anthropologists have long recognized storytelling as a primary way for individuals and groups to engage with the material, social and metaphysical worlds. A story embodies experiences that are cast and re-cast according to the historical circumstances as well as the personal experiences and knowledge of the narrator and her



audience, which are in turn woven into the cultural fabric of individual and group identity. Recent trends in museum and archaeological heritage management reflect an increasing interest in the interpretation of and commentary on archaeology by people who live near and among archaeological landscapes, especially in relation to taking active roles in the interpretation and control of their heritage. We hope to encourage this trend by suggesting that ethnographic and oral historical research provide a significant way of gaining insight into how contemporary people engage with the past, as well as the social values that are placed on archaeological monuments and practice in the present. Drawing from interviews of several Orkney Islands residents, two of whom participated in excavations under the direction of Gordon Childe, we offer that narratives on the past, particularly as they are interwoven with biographies and life histories, are central to constructing and engaging with archaeology in Orkney.

#### Coming to know the Irish farmed landscape

*E. Eoin Sullivan, Dept. of Archaeology, University College Dublin, Ireland*

The paper aims at a consideration of what constitutes local knowledge within the context of the Irish rural farmed landscape and how professions such as archaeology have used such information in a process of coming to know the farmed landscape. Local knowledge is crucial to an individual/community's sense of place and is embedded both in the archaeological monument and its landscape. The recording of local knowledge regarding field monuments is problematic as the physical evidence which constitutes the archaeological record may be physically unidentifiable and as such the hard facts involving the 'truth' may be hidden from the conventional field survey.

The paper shall draw upon case studies which were carried out as part of research into the implementation and impact in Ireland of Rural Environment Protection Scheme (REPS) for Teagasc, The Agriculture and Food Development Authority in Ireland.

#### Local knowledge - "accrued growth rings" of memory

*Prof. Séamas Caulfield, I.T.A.S. Belderrig Research Centre*

A landscape approach to prehistory interprets discrete prehistoric remains within a wider territory and in numerous studies over the last decade has attempted to get inside the mind of the prehistoric inhabitant of such "landscapes". Highly imaginative, utterly plausible but in the end of the day entirely speculative accounts of prehistoric rural experiences are conjured up by urban archaeological "tourists" whose experience of a particular "landscape" is often measured in weeks, days or hours, but seldom in months, years, decades, and through folk memory, centuries.

The contiguous prehistoric territories of Bunatrahair Bay and Ceide Fields as interpreted by an archaeologist will be contrasted with the contiguous Belderrig landscape as experienced by a local inhabitant. The value of applying social patterns, taken from a modern context, to a prehistoric one will be compared with the value of the "I was there" approach.

#### Mapmakers like me

*Annaba Kilfeather, Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd*

There is a tendency among archaeologists to be reticent when talking to local people about the archaeological landscape. We tend to recoil from folk explanations of archaeological features, and dismiss interpretations of natural and archaeological elements of surrounding landscape as inaccurate and unscholarly. In this archaeologists miss out on a vast store of information. Placenames which may record archaeological features now disappeared are often qualified by local legends and memorats. What is perhaps the most obvious feature of all local information, and all oral tradition, is how little those who live in the landscape differentiate between the natural and made landscape. This can be frustrating when one is guided across several kilometres to a 'giant's grave' which turns out to be a rock outcrop, but it illustrates how those within who actually live in the landscape view it, and how communities who have lived since prehistoric times in Ireland might have interpreted and reinterpreted their surroundings according to the legends which have grown up around the landscape, and the names given to elements of this landscape. Although archaeologists are rightly sceptical of some

local dating methods, and of reports of secret passages between passage tombs and castles several kilometres apart, we are sometimes capable of missing the point of this information. We may be receiving information passed down by generations of local inhabitants, modified by stories heard from other communities, adapted to suit local conditions, reflecting how people understood the world in which they live. We have to learn to listen uncritically, and to understand that there is more to our landscape than what we have written about it ourselves.

#### SETTLING THE PAST: EXPLORING RE-OCCUPATION AND THE EVOLUTION OF ANTHROPOGENIC PLACES

**Organisers:** *Melissa Goodman, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, and Christina Haywood, Classics Department, University College Dublin*

**Discussant:** *Joanna Brück, Dept. of Archaeology, University College Dublin*

Natural spaces become anthropogenic places through human endeavours. The natural landscape is transformed through the creation of a built environment or an agricultural field system. The effects of these transformations are experienced not only by the people who made them, but by those who later re-occupied these spaces and tried to interpret them. Successive uses may span large tracks of time resulting in complex sites and landscapes. Alternatively occupation may be characterised by discontinuity as when different cultural groups move into previously occupied spaces. In the last cases earlier monuments or landscapes may become relic features in a changing anthropogenic space, or they may be re-used and re-interpreted, for example in order to make symbolic or mnemonic associations with the past.

Notions of places with histories have helped us to see the process of enculturating space as recursive, where successive occupations work with landscapes that have already been altered. However, interpretative models of the development of such complex sites and landscapes still generally align with one of two approaches: gradual change or radical development. This session offers a broader basis for understanding and modelling the re-occupation of spaces seeking to break away from this duality. Successive occupations are explored through notions of social and economic constructs, ancestry and memory, sanctity and temporality.

#### Uncovering Old Bones in Early Bronze Age Britain

*Dr Howard Williams, Lecturer in Archaeology, School of Archaeology, Trinity College, Carmarthen*

Archaeologists are familiar with the long-term use of Early Bronze Age barrows for funerary and other rituals over many decades and centuries. This is often seen as evidence of the veneration and respect of the past, and the construction of long genealogies of remembrance through mortuary practices and monumentality. Yet there are numerous instances where interest in an existing burial site goes much further. In some cases, existing graves were opened up and earlier human remains disturbed before a new burial is interred. Earlier graves could be simply destroyed and the bone scattered throughout the grave fill. In other cases, the earlier graves were respected and overlain by a new grave while sometimes the bones were re-arranged or removed and taken elsewhere.

This paper argues that the discovery of old bone was not an accidental activity, nor simply an echo of much earlier traditions of collective burial known from the early Neolithic. Instead, it is argued that uncovering old bones allowed emotional and mnemonic relationships to be established between specific dead individuals and the living community. Rather than simply a formalised pattern of secondary rites linked to asserting authority and links to ancestors, the practice of re-using old graves was highly variable and suggests complex responses to viewing and handling human remains. These practices may be the key to understanding relationships between early Bronze Age mortuary practices and the reproduction of social memories

#### Archaeology and the Architecture of Social Space

*Dr Chris Stevens, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge*

Archaeological evidence has shown that house forms and settlement patterns have changed dramatically from Neolithic to modern times. The Thames Valley in particular has provided a wealth of information on changing settlements over the past four millennia.

The house as an entity embodies both physical and social structural elements. As archaeologists while we might reconstruct the former it has also become our role to understand the latter. Spatially and temporally the house defines many scales and levels of social relationships - embodying marriage patterns, consumption and production or the organisation of subsistence, and ideas of inheritance, ancestry, lineage and kinship.

This paper, taking the Thames Valley as a case study, explores theoretical possibilities at how archaeologists may begin to use archaeological evidence pertaining to house plans, settlement patterns, and subsistence to address the relationships above and their part in overall social organisation.

#### In view of the past: post catastrophe re-occupations of Mycenaean elite places

*Dr Christina Haywood, Research Curator, Classical Museum, Department of Classics, University College Dublin*

The violent destructions of the Mycenaean palaces and the destructions or abandonments of a large number of settlements around 1200 BC precipitated the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation, which is generally regarded as the most significant disruption in Ancient history. During the ensuing two centuries of the 'Dark Age', the mainland of Greece was sparsely and unevenly populated. Recent work, however, has increased the number of known settlement sites, including Mycenaean elite sites, which were re-occupied following the destructions/abandonments. Little long-term significance has been attached to these re-occupations even though they bridge the chronological gap between 'the ancestral past' and the 10th century when references to it began to be made in various parts of Greece through tomb-cults and hero-cults. However, the history and context of re-uses and abandonments of elite Mycenaean built spaces presents a challenging opportunity for the re-assessment of the role that the past played on the post-catastrophe society. Focusing on the crucial region of the Argolid, the paper will consider concepts of familiarity and convenience as well as ancestry, lineage and the suggested associations or disassociations with the past made through re-use strategies. The paper takes the view that the two post-catastrophe centuries played a significant role in the construction of perceptions and selective memories of the past which manifested themselves with the emerging social order in the 10th century BC.

#### The perpetuated past - settlement and cemetery re-use and regional identity in the Early Iron Age of Crete (12th - 7th centuries BC)

*Dr Saro Wallace, Postdoctoral researcher, British School at Athens, Soudias 52, Athens 10676, Greece*

The Early Iron Age of Crete sees two broad phases of radical settlement change, the first a shift to dramatically-located defensible sites and the second (200 years later) a considerable degree of nucleation at some of the sites established in the first shift, with the nearly total abandonment of more than 50% of the rest. However, various elements of the archaeological record indicate that a strong concern existed with the recent (12th-10th century) past during and after the nucleation phenomenon (one of the first steps in the rise of sociopolitical complexity and eventually the emergence of the polis form in Crete). While the cultural construction of ancestral/heroic pasts in Early Iron Age Greece has been much discussed in relation to social development, the discussion has been mostly based on various forms of tomb re-use. In Crete, I suggest that interpretative over-distinction between the actual continuity of use of settlements or tombs, and more obviously deliberate/specialised forms of reference to the local regional) past - e.g. the very short-distance movement of settlement, or the transformation of old settlement sites into cemeteries or cult places - may be unhelpful, and that all these practices reflect (and helped construct) a unique kind of social

stability in the island, which was the foundation for the rise of the polis and made the latter a smooth, relatively conflict-free process. This stability seems to have been based in strong concepts of regional community identity, which were later expanded and consolidated into polis identities, some couched in 'ethnic' terms.

#### 'Land use and landscape' revisited: convenience, complexity and false impressions in the Cranborne Chase landscape

*Dr Helen Lewis, University of Cambridge*

Are approaches which emphasis long-term sanctity of monuments and monumental landscapes warping our view of landscape history? Studies in Cranborne Chase suggest that the concept of a monumental landscape, a landscape of the sacred, ignores the complexity of both the archaeological record and of ancient cultural activities and decisions. Past monument significance and land use decisions were complex and variable, and the archaeological monumental landscape appears to owe a great deal more to decisions of convenience than is explored in archaeological literature. While certain monuments have seen curation and reservation, as well as re-use and enhancement, throughout their histories, others have been effectively erased from the landscape, being backfilled, levelled, buried, ploughed over, forgotten or ignored; this varied approach to monuments appears to occur from the Neolithic to the present day. The notion of sanctity of a monumental landscape at any date, of the importance of conservation of physical symbols of memory in the landscape, appears to have been variable and site-specific even within this small region, with its relatively quiet history. There are undoubtedly many reasons for monument preservation and destruction in the past, but many obviously entail at least some consideration of (in)convenience regarding siting of monuments regarding near-contemporary or later, often non-monumental, use of space. Results from Cranborne emphasise the importance of constant theoretical attention to issues of scale and temporality, and of what appears to be widespread complexity in ancient approaches to what we call the monumental landscape. In addition, archaeological approaches advocating a monumental landscape divided from or excluding the settlement landscape cannot allow for an understanding of monument histories, which are strongly bound up in the so-called 'mundane' landscape.

#### Secular today, Sacred tomorrow: continuity and change in the archaeological landscapes of the Vilcanota River Valley, Peru

*Dr Emily Dean, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Colgate University, Hamilton, NY 13346, U.S.A.*

While humans have continuously occupied the Vilcanota and Salca River Valleys in southern Peru for over 4000 years, the locations and characteristics of their settlements, sacred sites, and burial grounds have hardly remained stagnant and unchanging through the millennia. Drawing upon regional survey data, this paper explores the discontinuities and changes in the use-life of this anthropogenic landscape, specifically addressing the re-conceptualization and transformation of former settlements into sacred sites by successive generations, often via mortuary practices.

Although the survey data spans sites from the pre-Ceramic up through Colonial periods, this paper focuses on a 500 year period (AD 1000 AD 1532) that witnessed the incorporation of regional ethnic groups into the Inka empire. As one might expect, this change led to a dramatic shift in the settlement patterns of the zone. Sites were not simply abandoned however, instead they appear to have been maintained as integral parts of the sacred landscape. As further illustration of the 'remodelling' of space by successive generations, the paper concludes by discussing the contemporary perceptions, uses, and valuations of two large archaeological sites that lie within the study region.

#### Delayed investment: Reciprocity, territory and landuse

*Ms Melissa Goodman, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge*

In economics and anthropology capital outlay or gift-giving may be seen as strategies of investment with delayed returns. Indeed the time delay may be a meaningful aspect of the transaction and will vary depending on the nature of the individuals and resources involved. For contemporary farmers it has been proposed that



improvements to their fields are best visualised in this way: as a form of long-term investment. In archaeology the current interest in the landscape as a medium for human activity has been concerned primarily with ritual or religious aspects and subsistence has been seen as less socially potent. In contrast, this paper considers the agrarian landscape as heavily imbued with social meaning. Using examples from the Andes, I will explore the impact of major landscape modifications in the form of field systems in terms of delayed investment. The manner in which modified landscapes are used and valued over time is addressed using data from the Mantaro Valley, Peru and the Lake Titicaca Basin, Bolivia. This discussion will entail a consideration of such aspects as land tenure and boundary marking, the effects of cultural discontinuity and the impacts of long-term environmental change. Models that span such issues as perception, value and land use will be applied to the archaeological examples in a consideration of the dynamic relationships between communities and their territories.

### Landscape Use and Settlement in the Tyrollean Alps: The T-PLUS Project

*Dr Gillian Wallace, Department of Anthropology, University of Durham*

The upland landscape in the European Alps is often perceived as an inhospitable zone, with continuous settlement only since the Middle Ages. Prehistoric migration models stemming from V. Gordon Childe's work do little to circumvent this perception. Yet the upland landscape is dynamic, changeable and viable for prehistoric human use. The T-PLUS Project is a multi-disciplinary project looking at the different phases of prehistoric landscape use and settlement in the Tyrollean Alps. It questions the notion that land-use equates settlement in the Neolithic and that the Tyrollean Alps were not a focal point for power, trade and communication during this time. In viewing this region holistically in prehistory, it may also be possible to understand more about the context and times in which the Ice Man lived.

### LUSCIOUS LITHICS: ALTERNATIVE STORIES OF STONE

**Session Organiser:** *Nyree Finlay, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow*

This session is an exploration of alternative agendas in stone tool studies. The analysis of chipped stone assemblages is a normative process: a form of rock-spotting that collects and collates information. Descriptions are based on the presentation of technological facts and chronological interpretations, but this should not be the all of lithic studies. Emotive responses to colour, texture and form are rarely written into our technical reports. Indeed how do we integrate different levels of reading and meaning of our material into the constraints of the specialist paragraph? As analysts we often seek to avoid the aesthetic of our objects and rationalise our responses to them. This is reflected in the presentation and analysis of our results, which often constrains us to a typological gaze.

The papers in this session take a critical and curious look at the methods by which we explore variation in assemblages and the types of criteria we use to describe chipped stone. How do we deal with and respond to different types of artefacts and assemblages from the favourite to the fetish, the shatter to the sentient. Exploring issues such as colour, texture, weight and appreciating more abstract properties such as time, value and representation, Luscious Lithics is a celebration of the craft of the lithic analyst and the processes of producing meaning from descriptive debitage. It is an engagement with different ways of writing stories of stone and alternative agendas in the analysis of assemblages.

### Too light to be right

*Peter Woodman, University College Cork*

The Irish Stone Age has always, almost explicitly, functioned with the premise that, with the exception of the manufacture of polished stone axes, flint was the preferred choice of raw material. Other materials are almost calibrated in terms of their degree of unsuitability when compared to flint. This perspective masks several important questions in Irish lithic studies: firstly, there is an assumption that

the facility to work flint is the fundamental driver in the manufacture of and the form of stone tools produced in Ireland. Secondly, there is some evidence that other raw materials can be found well away from source yet very little consideration has been given as to why this movement takes place. Thirdly, the very nature of the flint nodule may in itself restrict the repertoire of stone tools that can be manufactured. It is time that these different tool types and materials are accepted as part of the normal range of artefacts to be found in Ireland and not seen as oddities.

### Sentient Stones

*Nyree Finlay, University of Glasgow*

Is a stone always a stone? How do we record and value other properties of artefacts than those proscribed by conventional analysis? In this paper I wish to explore the sentient properties of a selection of stone tools and examine the ways in which the meanings of objects are transformed. Such transformations occur by virtue of the medium, processes of manufacture and use, as well as symbolic reference and representation. Rather than focus on a single case study, a number of examples are drawn primarily from Scottish and Irish prehistory to illustrate the challenges and dilemmas of accommodating these different aspects into our analyses.

### Many colours of stone

*Vicki Cummings, Cardiff University*

The colour of stone is frequently noted by lithic specialists, but it is rarely examined or discussed in detail. In recent years it has been suggested that the colour of stone is significant and meaningful in chambered tombs and monuments and therefore the possibility exists that it may also have been important in relation to flint objects. It is against this background that I will present the results of a series of case studies which have examined the colour of flint artefacts from the British Neolithic and Bronze Age. It will be suggested that colour played a crucial role in the selection of raw materials for making specific artefact types and that colour was an important factor in the creation of flint artefacts. In addition, the colour of an object may have added considerable meaning and may also have dictated how and where an object could be made, used and discarded. This discussion will then be placed within the broader context of the meaning and use of colour throughout the Neolithic of Britain.

**Quality quartz: working stone at Breasclete kerb cairn, Lewis**  
*Graeme Warren (University of Edinburgh) and Tim Neighbour (CFA Archaeology Ltd)*

Often underplayed in lithic analysis quartz assemblages have been understood in relatively crude terms. A large collection of quartz and flint from atop, within and under a kerb cairn forming part of the Calanais complex on Lewis indicates some complexity in prehistoric use of quartz. Far from demonstrating a poor quality, expedient resource, or a single symbolic referent the indications are of gradations in meaning and use of material on site. The transformation of stone, in a variety of ways, appears to have been an important aspect of how people made sense of this site, and a confident approach to the analysis of the material brings some interesting rewards.

### Lost Lithics: in search of broken tools

*Martin Tingle*

Lithic studies are frequently characterised by attempts to 'typologise' artefacts and demonstrate the technology behind their creation. From recent examinations of flint mines to the detailed descriptions of various forms of tool production, there is a clear emphasis on how artefacts are made rather than how they are used and in the circumstances of their disposal. As a result flint reports rarely attempt to characterise or even describe the range of wear and breakage patterns within specific assemblages. During the analysis of a flint assemblage collected by field-walking, an attempt was made to record the range of wear and breakage amongst retouched tools in order to determine whether these could suggest areas of specific activity. This revealed some rather unexpected patterns of wear and breakage such as scrapers that appear to have been broken into two and sometimes four approximately equal pieces. When

the distribution of worn and broken scrapers were plotted, they were found to concentrate adjacent to a long barrow and a group of round barrows. Subsequent analysis has concentrated on the provenance of broken and worn tools from excavations, a problematic task given that broken, worn and intact tools are rarely differentiated within flint reports. Initial results suggest that the assumption of tool breakage stemming from domestic activity and resulting in immediate discard, is something of an oversimplification.

### The Stone Arrowhead, The Fairy and the Antiquarian

*Eland Stuart (University of Glasgow)*

Stone arrowheads, now called prehistoric, were traditionally explained as fairy darts or elf bolts. In parts of Scotland such explanations were offered to visitors and Antiquarians until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when they disappeared. How did those explanations cease to be relevant? How is it possible that an archaeologist or historian who offered these references, as evidence of the one time existence of fairies would probably find their careers cut short? Answers to these questions make sense in and support archaeological writing as post-modern historiography. In this presentation I will explore this case and aim to stimulate discussion on these very issues.

### ARCHAEOLOGY WITHOUT 'ISMS'

**Chairs:** *Dr Andrew Baines and Dr Kenneth Brophy, University of Glasgow*

**Discussant:** *Dr Chris Gosden, University of Oxford*

Since the 1960s, archaeology has adopted concepts and ideas from other disciplines, including the natural sciences, sociology, anthropology, philosophy and human geography. Ideas about the world, and how we may know and study it, have been imported to archaeology in a fully formed state; archaeology has become partly a process of applying these ideas to, or considering their implications for, the study of material culture.

Recent archaeological theory has concentrated on the nature of the mind, of perception, of the body, of being and of social life. Whether scientific, modern or post-modern, such concepts are concerned with the abstract, the universal and the personal. They seldom address the specific questions asked by archaeologists. Archaeological theory often fails to address the peculiar position we are in relative to our object(s) of study. Its ideas often cannot account adequately for the external world of material culture; when applied to its study the result is often tautological, a re-description of abstract concepts in material terms.

It is the premise of this session that there is a distinct *world of material culture* where the differences in past practices may be found. Abstract ideas, knowledge and understandings, whether social or personal, may be played out, worked through and changed in a material context, but such material engagements cannot be reduced to a metaphors or substitutions for these abstracts. Engagements with the material world are never exactly as they are predicted or recalled, and meaningful actions at both a practical and a discursive level achieve a unique immanence in material contexts. We would argue that an understanding of the implications of this materiality should lie at the heart of archaeological theory and practice, but that the world of material culture has not yet been adequately conceptualised in archaeological theory.

The contributions to this session will therefore address the following questions:

- Are there distinct past worlds of material culture?
- How can we theorise and study these worlds?
- What are their relationships to personal, individual and social lives?
- Can there be a distinct *archaeological* theory?

In asking these questions, we hope to stimulate a lively and productive debate concerning the epistemological and ontological status of contemporary archaeology.

### Archaeology without 'isms'

*Andrew Baines and Kenneth Brophy, University of Glasgow*

See session abstract

### Can there be a distinct archaeological theory?

*Eland Stuart, University of Glasgow*

Practice, writing the past into being from its material traces, is part of a discourse that is far more extensive than the study of archaeology. This discourse cuts across the field of human social studies: anthropology, geography, sociology, archaeology, history, philosophy. An archaeology without 'isms' is neither possible nor desirable; it can be imagined and said but not done. On the contrary, to suggest it is possible is to overlook the fact that archaeological problems are discursive problems, that the past and present discourse do not occupy the same spaces because language does not represent reality. In short, that the past no longer has any meaning outside discourse. To separate ourselves from our intellectual community is to separate ourselves from what it means to think, speak and act in our own social formations. If these formations are the only place where the past has any meaning, then a distinct archaeological theory is a recourse to the real: representation duality that postmodernism targets as one of the ideological villains of our times (a villain that still exists in some archaeological writing). Far from asking whether separate theory is possible, we ought to ask why we should want it.

### Relationships between materiality and subjectivity: some questions

*Chris Fowler, University of Manchester*

The session abstract emphasises the objects, the material culture, which archaeologists study and asks us to resituate material culture in relation to studies of subjects and subjectivity. There has indeed been much recent debate over the role of subjectivity, culturally specific viewpoints, agency, and perception. This debate has far from run its course. For the most part, recent debates have been directed at the level of experiences and have been concerned with subjectivity and perception. Here I wish to discuss the place of interpretations of materiality which operate at the larger-scale, longer-term, but still address issues of past subjectivity *through materiality*. I argue that theoretical debates have emphasised the phenomenological approaches centred on perception and that the phenomenological approaches centred around genealogies and histories of practice have become a little neglected. These approaches are a vital part of studying prehistory, but have been largely sidelined from the theoretical debates over subjectivity and materiality, which has narrowed in on issues of individual perception and experience. It is not only the cultural aspect which may be returned to these studies through genealogies of practice, but also an emphasis on the inter-relational and diachronic.

### A void: a biography of phenomenology in archaeology

*Kenneth Brophy, University of Glasgow*

The rise and fall of paradigms, ideas, influences, philosophers, theories, gimmicks and methods is all part of modern archaeological discourse. This paper intends to chart such a parabola, looking at the use and abuse of phenomenology in archaeology. The rollercoaster ride it represents illustrates well the cycle of new ideas coming into archaeology – introduction, fragmentation, confusion, repetition, reflection, introspection and mainstream acceptance. In the context of the session I will also consider whether this process is a valuable contribution to the discipline or an alienating irrelevance.

### One question, three answers? - Approaches to archaeological research in different European traditions and how they affect our work.

*Heinrich Hall, Trinity College, Dublin*

The author is involved in a research project dealing with one period (the later Neolithic) in several parts of Europe. Although the material is at least partially comparable, and can certainly be profitably be compared and contrasted using common criteria, the task is much complicated by the fact that different countries have different archaeological approaches. These affect archaeology in many ways, including well-known ones like excavation technique, display, chronology, interpretation, reconstruction, public attitudes et cetera. They are rooted in different intellectual traditions as well as different historical developments of archaeology, and of countries. It is important that up to now or recently, they also influence publication,

and the organisation of academic research. The paper attempts to describe some of these differences, and argues that in the age of globalisation, and in a seemingly europeanised discipline like archaeology, more attention needs to be paid to them.

### Theorising and Materialising Performance

*Adam Scott and Fraser Sturt, University of Southampton*

'All the acts of the drama of world history were performed before a chorus of laughing people. Without hearing this chorus we cannot understand the drama as a whole' – Bakhtin, 'Rabelais and His World'.

'Actors' and 'performance' are popular terms in archaeological discourse, but their full implications have yet to be explored. This paper will develop ideas on dramatic, musical, and humorous performances as constitutive to social life, and explore how archaeology can seek to explore them through their worlds of material culture, suggesting that these issues have an important place in an archaeological theory.

"Through performance and entertainment we meet new craft specialists: singers, dancers, musicians and clowns. While we delineate this world and its material culture, however, we discover mediation of the everyday and the extraordinary, the individual and society, the material and ideal.

We will draw on ethnographic and anthropological work, performance studies, and music theory, with case studies from the Maya, Maidu and Aztec, Tang Dynasty China and Siberian nomads, as well as Shakespeare and classical sources, to develop and illustrate the argument that performance can and should be incorporated into understandings of culture and society. To go beyond historical contexts we will turn to prehistoric Europe. Here the challenge lies for an understanding of performance, clowning, and drama through material culture alone. It will be argued that for archaeological theory, incorporating these concerns not only fills a lacuna, but can integrate a fuller understanding of the past.

## SATURDAY 15<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER

### HERITAGE: IMAGES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PAST

**Session organiser:** *Gabriel Cooney, Department of Archaeology, University College Dublin. Email: gcooney@indigo.ie*

It seems particularly appropriate to consider the ways in which the past is presented and represented as heritage at TAG. The theoretical realization that archaeology is always produced and influenced by present day political and social contexts and that the past is open to different, equally valid interpretations tends not to have had a very wide influence on the way in which archaeology is commodified as heritage. Innovations in technology also offer an increasing diversity of approaches to presenting the past. However, the focus in many heritage presentations is on storylines that can be easily consumed and that tend to simplify and eulogize rather than contextualize the past. This session will look critically at the way in which pasts are presented and reconstructed and how these presentations and reconstructions reflect changing concerns in the present.

### Cultural Heritage: the quest for identity

*Vasiliki Kynourgiopoulou, Department of Architecture, University of Edinburgh*

"Heritage" often appears as a cultural construction. Different notions of heritage using models from a diversity of sources, such as literary criticism, cultural geography and anthropology, and non-western as well as western paradigms, have been put forward in order to address the different theoretical and practical issues of cultural heritage. Often the inter-related topics involve issues of memory, nostalgia, the invention of tradition, the heritage industry, nationalism, pilgrimage and cultural tourism, the quest for authenticity, the commodification of the past, reconstructions and "virtual" heritages.

This paper attempts to move from over-riding issues of cosmology and epistemology, to a consideration of the development of thinking

about heritage, with a main focus the "promotion" and role of heritage for the formation of national identities, with a main case study Athens of the 19th century. Heritage is looked at as a significant expression of cultural identities and ideologies. Such identities are not absolute but are contingent on place and time.

In this paper I concentrate on the issue of heritage-creation and use-through the process of the creation of identities, and their appeal to ancient regimes and their ideologies for legitimisation. Heritage expresses the human - environment relationship. This comes not only from what is called "a place to dwell" but also from advances in technology, industrialisation and way of life, which ultimately leads us to perceive, and experience material culture, for instance architecture, differently from what we did in the past. Therefore, cultural heritage acts as a type of public symbol representing national, political, social and economic aspirations and ideologies.

### Image and Representation in Tourism: the brochure as Boundary

*Timothy Neal, University of Sheffield*

The relationship between historic landscapes and their representation is anything but static. 'The landscape', seen through images, has appropriated 'nature' and with it those who work the land. These images are characterized by a 'symbolic realism', so that what appears at first sight to be 'fact' may also be symbol. This duality is the dialectic that renders them active in the ongoing construction of the landscape. The 'tourist gaze' involves an active interpretative understanding of the past, which like cartography, can be a form of knowledge and power. Concentrating on Italian Historic Landscapes and using the metaphor of the Haha, this paper explores the role of the holiday brochure in the emergence of a de-contextualized present. The images reveal landscapes given value by their past while situating people as gardeners of a timeless world. Between expectation and context lies the brochure, a boundary that constructs and informs, cushioning the impact of the outside world. The tourist, like the gymnast, pirouettes, landing upon a mat that protects and enables this acrobatic feat. These zones of safety, beyond which the fall of the eye or the descent of the body brings reminders of frailty and failure, set limits. As long as the boundary does not break then the world will not erupt and we will only meet the gardeners, the real inhabitants now evicted by the very progress that has made the journey possible.

### The Impact of Change on the Landscape of Heritage

*Mary Catherine Garden, University of Cambridge*

As one type of heritage site, open-air museums tend to be accessible and evocative places that play a significant role in the way that individuals perceive the past. Despite this, the open-air museum has been seen as a largely static and homogeneous entity. To date, most analyses have focussed on the open-air museum as it was in the process of being created. Given that many of these places are now mature sites and are often entrenched within the larger group identity, the idea of change within the "heritagescape" is a critical issue and must be addressed. By viewing the open-air museum as a landscape of individual but interconnected components that are, in turn, related to the larger environment is the first step in identifying the processes of change and, indeed, to understanding the nature of the heritage site and the influence it has upon the way that people perceive the past.

### Old Irish for Archaeologists- methodology or presentation?

*Catherine Swift, Dept. of History, National University of Ireland, Maynooth*

One of the features which distinguishes the public presentation of Irish archaeology from that of its counterparts in other regions of the archipelago is the use of Irish language. This derives in part from the historiographical development of the discipline on this island, beginning with the work of the Ordnance Survey in the 1830s, which viewed archaeological material through the prism of Irish language sources. Modern tourism has also tended to favour the 'Celtic mists' model of the Irish past, a model in which galloping horses, young women in floating robes, old men with flowing beards and the odd word of Irish are prominent. On the other hand, early medieval Irish culture is uniquely well attested in the documentary record, not in

the myths and sagas for which Ireland is famous but rather in the vernacular legal material. A question for Irish archaeology is whether we can establish a methodology with which to exploit this unique documentary resource which can command the same respect as the study of modern anthropological parallels enjoys in cultures which do not possess comparable historical resources.

### Tags for HeriTAGE

*Franco Niccolucci, University of Florence*

Images are a convenient and powerful way to communicate, yet they require precise codes and rules (e.g. for graphs or geographical maps) if they aim at an unambiguous messaging. The wide availability of interactive computer 3D representations literally introduces a new dimension in imaging, but are we prepared to decode the message? In archaeological visualization this is probably not the case, what induces somebody to reject these tools. Between computer utopianism and luddist refusal, there is perhaps a mid-way which requires stating conditions and paradigms, namely a communication code, intended to validate visual representation as an archaeological communication tool. As for written texts, records and photos, what is archived, retrieved and shown is a set of concepts in the archaeologist's mind, so asking whether this 'brings the past back to life' has little significance, as long as this is made clear even to an unskilled eye. On this regard, old-style paintings differ theoretically from virtual reality only because the latter is instinctively more convincing and possibly more deceptive for its hyperrealism. The technical mediation still necessary to produce 3D models just more complex than a cube introduces another filter between the concept and its (graphical) representation, which adds to software 'black boxes' to keep 3D technology in the region of less serious tools. A philological approach together with transparent, human-readable data encoding may be the solution. Heri-tagging the content will make the message explicit, so a tagging technology is welcome. Discussing examples will clarify the above ideas.

### Realistic representations of past environments: computer graphics and archaeology

*Kate Devlin and Alan Chalmers, University of Bristol*

With greater and cheaper access to computers the potential for three-dimensional graphics in archaeology has grown, literally adding a new dimension to the visualisation of sites and artefacts. Televised archaeology and the use of audio-visual displays in museums and heritage centres allow the public to gain a glimpse of past environments that might otherwise be difficult to appreciate. To date, much of the work in this area has been merely photo-realistic  $\bar{n}$  colourful pictures based more on an artist's interpretation than the evidence at hand. If realistic images are required then physical and perceptual modelling is needed so that the image invokes the same sensations as actually being in the real environment. This concept in itself raises questions: does increased realism lead to misinterpretation; how do we distinguish between what is real and what is conjecture; and what is the best way to ensure we are achieving as 'real' a scene as possible?

Most of the models produced today use standard 3D modelling packages which base the illumination of their scene on parameters for daylight, filament bulbs or cold fluorescent tubes and not the flame-lit sources of the past. Current work at the University of Bristol is investigating the best way to approach realistic archaeological reconstructions. This study focuses on using the spectral values of the original light source for scene illumination. We aim to recreate the original lighting in order to achieve the correct perceptual response and to show what is necessary to produce models that are indistinguishable from the real scene, thereby providing an accurate method for archaeological interpretation.

### Cultural changes in the perception of an old landscape. Appreciation of prehistoric monuments in Northern Holland in Medieval, Calvinist and Modern times

*Dr. Gert van Klinken, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.*

A difference between Holland and Ireland is the scantiness in the Low Countries of traditions from before ca. 1200 AD. The Dutch province of Drenthe possesses a wealth of prehistoric sites - but no Tain and even no Bede or Adomnan to tell about them, no unbroken cultural

and linguistic chain between the population in modern time and its predecessor in the later Iron Age. How did and do Dutchmen feel about these monuments: during the Roman-Catholic Middle Ages, in the Calvinist era and nowadays? As early as in the 13th century the exploitation of the land seems to have been extremely rationalistic. Metaphysics belonged to heaven, hell and the human mind - not to the landscape in which the majority of the population toiled. Prehistory was not a cultural legacy, but an intellectual problem. The first signs of renewed interest came from men of letters, who searched the Bible and Homer for clues in their efforts to interpret the monuments. Excavations in something of the modern sense of the word started in the 19th century. Public interest was keen. The results of archaeology were hailed with great enthusiasm - and simplified - by Liberal Protestants and Socialists alike. Orthodox Christians kept a bit aloof. The Ahnenerbe-movement, a Nazi organisation in 1940-1944, tried to by-pass the scientific approach and to "return" to prehistoric roots. The prehistoric heritage of Drenthe has much in common with Ireland. But the setting in modern culture may be different. A comparative discussion can yield interesting results.

### Images of Mesoamerican cultures in nineteenth-century British and American displays.

*Isabel Medina, Institute of Archaeology, UCL*

This paper studies the images and messages of Mesoamerican cultures that were developed in British and American exhibitions during the nineteenth century. It studies two types of displays: exhibitions of material culture and shows of living Indians. Examining cases of study, I explore the way that material culture and individuals were described, categorised and presented in public displays in order to produce interpretations of Prehispanic past of Mexico. The analysis centres in three issues. On the first place, I study the relation between the representations constructed in the exhibitions and the contemporary body of theoretical models, trying to establish correspondences and discrepancies between them. On the second place, I analyse the historical context of the exhibition in order to examine the influence of political, religious and cultural agendas in the ideas and messages disseminated in the displays. Finally, I explore the response of the audiences to such interpretations. The paper concludes discussing what the contribution of exhibitions to the production and dissemination of archaeological knowledge during the nineteenth century.

### Heritage in relation to the changing landscape as its context

*Yumiko Nakanishi, University of Cambridge*

This paper aims to analyse the change in connotation of heritage site as a part of the landscape, with an example of Japanese ancient palaces. I aim to consider the connotation of these landscapes as a collective experience of national heritage. By connotation, I mean the symbolic role and iconic memory carried by the landscapes in the changing societal context in addition to their primary function and meaning.

Heritage is, in a sense similar to art, which can be recognised as something precious only through dialectic relationship with the viewers. Its significance is not an independent concept, but have inevitable correlation to the perception of the viewers. Nevertheless, the perception of the viewers is never static, but changes according to historic current. The change is not merely the reflection of the trend or mode. Different historic experience creates different conception of value. Borrowing Benjamin's term, 'aura', art or heritage in either case is the collective belief experienced by the communal illusion in a certain historical condition.

The Japanese ancient palaces are significant heritage sites with monumental characteristics, despite the fact that the monuments or buildings themselves are no longer visible. Even though most heritage sites carry certain kinds of connotations, such as tradition, identity, solidarity or stability of the nation, the connotations held by ancient Japanese palaces have a direct connection with ideological issues. They have repeatedly been re-created as heritage with a strong appeal to the public as they had once been the centre of politics and identity of the Japanese nation and enshrined as the place where the emperor lived and exercised his power. Today, the ancient capitals and palaces in Japan are not merely part of the past landscape, but still serve as a contemporary landscape giving



a certain collective experience to the public, by *mutatis mutandis* changing its form and connotation according to the current social order. Heritage cannot be presented in a static way, as it is a part of a continuously changing landscape which contains culture and environment of living people.

#### **What do museums tell us about the Neolithic? A discussion with case studies**

*Ian Heath, University of Manchester*

Museums in Britain today offer the visitor a range of interpretations about the past. Many museums have displays that focus on the Neolithic, but the range and quality of these displays varies tremendously. This paper will give examples from a number of museums which reflect the size and diversity of museums found today. Over the past 20 years, archaeological thought has developed increasingly sophisticated models of Neolithic culture, but this is not reflected to the same degree in museum displays. A question that is raised in this paper is that if museums are the institutional arm of how can we account for this disparity?

#### **Deconstructing Reconstruction: the Presentation of Late Medieval Buildings as Heritage Sites**

*Liz Worth, University of Leicester*

This paper considers reconstruction work carried out on Late Medieval buildings since c1860. It will focus on domestic English buildings originally constructed between c1400 and c1600. His ongoing research uses a sample of around fifty buildings in order to trace the changes in priorities of those undertaking reconstruction work, especially with respect to the phase or date to which a building is reconstructed.

To understand the underlying influences of the period in which the work was carried out, the evidence from the sample of buildings will be set against the background of contemporary academic research, social history and popular notions of the medieval and early modern periods. The differences in the approaches through time to reconstruction by the institutions undertaking these works will also be considered.

The reconstruction work undertaken over the last hundred years is still evident in standing buildings, and through that the intentions of those reconstructors can be identified. Consideration will be given to the value of that evidence in understanding the more recent past, and the potentially misleading effects of the remnants of previous reconstructions for visitors in appreciating the complex functioning and meanings of a building between c1400 and c1600.

#### **Excavating Art: The reconstruction of Francis Bacon's Reece Mews Studio**

*Edmond O'Donovan, Margaret Gowen and Co. Ltd, Dublin*

Mr John Edwards, heir to the Francis Bacon estate, has bequeathed the artist's studio at Reece Mews, London and its contents to the Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art in Dublin. The studio remained unaltered from the time of the artist's death. Conservators from the Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, directed the relocation of the studio from London to Dublin. A multidisciplinary team was organised that included archaeologists to record the contents of the studio so that it could be catalogued and packed for its transportation and reconstruction in Dublin. This paper explores the adaptation of archaeological techniques to facilitate the reconstruction, and the value of such an exercise. For example, the survey of the room's contents began to reveal patterns of how Francis Bacon painted within his studio and how the careful archiving and analysis of the studio could contribute to further art historical research on the artist and the space in which he painted for the last 30 years of his life.

Debate has begun on the value of such reconstruction in the artistic community since the opening of the exhibition of Francis Bacon Studio in Dublin earlier this year. Archaeologists have greater experience of the issues surrounding reconstruction and public presentation and the heritage value therein. This paper seeks to outline the archaeological processes involved in recording and reconstructing Francis Bacon's studio and then to open discussion on issues such as the function of reconstruction, the value of public presentation in museums / galleries, access and elitism and the

value of archaeology as a discipline.

### **NEW PERSPECTIVES ON CASTLES**

**Session organisers:** *Tadhg O'Keefe and Matthew Johnson*

**Discussants:** *Tom McNeill and David Austin*

The purpose of the session is to consider new interpretative strategies in the study of castles. The need for this session arises from the argument, now increasingly well rehearsed, that the enduring empiricism and essentialism in traditional castellology (or castle-studies) retards our understanding of 'the castle', thus reducing in our minds a phenomenon which was centrally important to medieval life, its operations, and the ways in which it was experienced and understood.

This sessions' focus on intellectual method addresses a need to expand the interpretative parameters of castle-studies in ways which are consistent with the complexity of castles' original meanings, and to promote at the same time a broader, more theoretically-sensitive, discourse about medieval and post-medieval architecture, landscape, culture and identity.

#### **Saying something new about castles**

*Matthew Johnson, University of Durham*

A common reaction to recent reappraisals of castles is to say 'There is nothing new here; we've always known that castles were not simply military; they have a social and symbolic dimension as well'. This paper attempts to interrogate the theoretical assumptions that lie behind the use of the phrase 'as well'. It will explore how essentialist and even Hegelian assumptions continue to pervade even the more enlightened writings on castles, and will suggest that the way forward in castle studies is more complex and problematic than we have hitherto suspected.

#### **Pallas Castle: who owns its past?**

*Hanneke Ronnes, University College Dublin*

The meanings of architecture are multiple; buildings are open to different, sometimes contradictory, sometimes accommodating, interpretations. This case study will explore several interpretations, even manipulations, of the history of Pallas Castle, a sixteenth-century Galway tower-house, by those who owned it at the time of its construction and subsequent to that. Attention will be paid to the functions which these different 'readings' served, thereby making us conscious of the metaphoric value of the castle as a place of security or insecurity.

#### **Leeds Castle, Kent: a designed landscape with a difference**

*Giovanna Vitelli Michelson, Royal Holloway, London*

This paper takes the case study of Leeds Castle Park and offers a reading of the 13th century designed landscape that attempts to build on, and go further than, recent Castle Studies approaches such as Lordship and Status. I identify sets of landscape features that appear to have been designed and placed in such a way as to suggest much closer affinity to religious and devotional iconography, and to the practices of Penance and Redemption. I discuss these practices in the context of medieval religious devotion, and, to a lesser extent, the broader idea of 'being', 'doing' and 'making' in the landscape, as it might apply to these practices.

#### **Offaly Gothick: the haunting of Leap Castle**

*Andrew Tierney, University College Dublin*

This paper aims to examine how architectural space extends beyond the control of architect or mason. While architecture might initially submit to the measured terms of plan and elevation it is ever after subject to distortion or reconstruction through the workings of the imagination. Leap Castle, Co. Offaly, with its rich folklore and layered fabric provides material for a study of the Gothic Revival in Ireland and its effects on the perceptions of medieval architecture during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Besides trying to retrieve the nature of various occupancies of the castle the paper will also attempt to look at how each generation relates to the last and examine what might constitute an "historic" habitation.

#### **Montacute motte-and-bailey castle - strategic or symbolic?**

*Stuart Prior, University of Bristol*

In the centre of an ancient parish in Somerset, on an isolated conical hill, lies the huge motte and bailey castle of Montacute. The castle was one of the first to be constructed in Somerset; built by Robert of Mortain, as early as 1067. Besieged by the men of Somerset and Dorset in 1069, and one of the earliest castles in England to have a deer-park associated with it - established before the end of the 11th century. What sets the site apart from other castles in the county - and perhaps from other castles in England - however, is the fact that its location is in no way a strategic, or militarily significant, one. The site seems, rather, to have been selected upon symbolic grounds - linked to a legend associated with the hill upon which the castle was constructed. This paper will explore the castle, the legend, and the symbolism behind the construction of the castle at Montacute.

#### **Castles, landscapes and lordly identity in England, 1066-1500**

*Rob Liddiard, University of Wales, Bangor*

Although castles have long attracted the interest of academics, there has been comparatively little work on how the residential surroundings of noble residences may have impacted on notions of elite identity.

This paper will address the theme of landscape and identity through a selection of key sites from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Particular attention is paid to the symbolic meaning inherent in the elements surrounding castles: deer parks, warrens, fishponds, mills, moats, religious houses and dovecotes. The combination of these elements ensured that the immediate environment of the noble residence looked physically different from the rest of the medieval countryside and embodied specific social messages. The overwhelming image projected by these landscape was that of seigneurial power. These 'landscapes of lordship' as they are termed here, constituted powerful markers of lordly status.

The construction and maintenance of elite identity was achieved not only by the presence of features that pertained to lordly status, but by manipulating the visitor on their approach to principal buildings and by set 'views' into the wider countryside to observe activities such as hunting. The elite landscape therefore functioned as an arena in which social relationships were negotiated and reinforced. This conclusion is supported by the depiction of elite landscapes in contemporary literature and highlights that the study of seigneurial landscapes cannot be divorced from wider patterns of social interaction in medieval England.

#### **Newcastle and Dover: the creation of national identities through castle architecture**

*Chris Constable, University of Durham*

This paper examines the architectural development of Newcastle and Dover castles over the reigns of four English kings. Over this extensive period the development of these two sites remains closely paralleled. Traditionally the explanation for the similarities between these castles has been based upon the perceived military developments in castle architecture represented by two of the more important royal castle sites in England. In this paper I will focus on a social interpretation of the developments at these two sites placing them in their historical context and relating their developments to the growth of an English elite identity following the loss of Normandy.

#### **The 'death of centres' and the fate of the frontier: towards a postcolonial castellology for Ireland**

*Tadhg O'Keefe, University College Dublin*

Is the pervasiveness in our historical imagination of the idea of medieval Ireland as a frontier or land of frontiers between coloniser and colonised consistent with the language of contemporary historical sources? Is it justified by the evidence of the scale of the island's medieval incastellation?

This particular TAG symposium reflects, in general, the growing consensus that more pluralist interpretations of the concept of 'castle' are required. My paper is intended to support this agenda with respect to Ireland through an interrogation of historiography. Specifically, I will glance backwards from our postcolonial present to reflect on the politics of discourse in much of the literature on medieval Ireland and on medieval Ireland's castles. I will argue that any project to

broaden the scope of inquiry into Ireland's castles must, in the first instance, address the frontier model, and that it must do so, not because the model is 'wrong' but because, like a Mount Everest dominating a scholarly landscape, 'it is there'.

I will suggest that the persistent appeal of the frontier model in medieval Irish history in general and in Irish castle-studies in particular is not because it incontrovertibly and unambiguously expresses the nature of lived experience in medieval Ireland but because it accommodates so easily the ideologies of medieval historians and castellologists while seeming to provide objective, even politically-neutral, explanations. I will argue that the frontier is a politically-loaded construct within the historiography of Irish castles, and that we should at least regard it very critically, if not move away from it completely.

### **MIGRATION AND COLONISATION IN ARCHAEOLOGY**

**Session organisers:** *Sarah Milliken and Barra Ó Donnabháin, Dept. of Archaeology, University College Cork*

This session looks at migration and colonisation as biological and social processes, and examines their strengths and weaknesses as explanatory models of cultural change by addressing a number of critical questions. How do distributions of artefacts, languages or 'genetic markers' signify movement of people as opposed to other processes such as cultural diffusion? How relevant are theories of migration and colonisation developed by biologists and social scientists for understanding the archaeological record? Can we differentiate between various forms of population transfer such as demic diffusion, leapfrog colonisation or infiltration? And how can computer simulation be used effectively to help us model these processes? By exchanging information across disciplinary and subdisciplinary lines, this session will contribute to the development of a theoretical understanding of migration and colonisation as elements of past cultural behaviour.

#### **Understanding early hominid migration through the use of a Geographic Information System (GIS)**

*Kathryn Holmes, University of Sheffield, UK*

This paper looks specifically at the earliest hominid migration from Africa during the period 2.5-1.4 myr in the context of other geographic, faunal and floral changes that were occurring at the same time. Hominid migration around the Plio-Pleistocene boundary is thought to be a purely biological process and consequently needs to be examined in the context of migrations of other large mammalian groups such as carnivores, artiodactyls and perissodactyls. Whilst the use of GIS is a relatively new (10-15 years) concept in archaeology, it can be especially advantageous since, even at a most basic level, it allows the quick production of distribution maps that previously would have taken considerable time to develop. The use of inbuilt statistical analysis programmes permits the correlations between variables to be appraised, leading to an examination of the factors that can affect migration patterns and the development of hypotheses. Notwithstanding the debate over the applicability of site location models to archaeological analyses and charges of ecological determinism by post-processual archaeologists, it is felt to be acceptable within this timeframe to draw on ecological models in order to understand hominid migration processes.

#### **Can method and theory from biogeography provide useful explanations for hominid range expansion?**

*Katharine MacDonald, University of Southampton, UK*

Palaeolithic archaeology is concerned with the analysis of hominid geographical ranges (the extent of a species distribution) as they change over time. Interpretation focuses on the cultural evolution of social and technological adaptations that permitted hominids to extend those ranges, and the environmental factors that ultimately limited them. Primates have frequently provided analogues for early hominid behaviour, whether in terms of specific case studies or cross species analysis. Biogeography provides a methodology and a theoretical approach to the study of the distribution of contemporary species. In this paper I will discuss the applicability of modern primate



biogeography to the interpretation of hominid range expansion in the Early Palaeolithic. Issues include the relevance of ecological rules to the hominid lineage, and whether the primate order is a good analogue for hominid distribution. Spatial analysis of modern primate range maps provides the opportunity to characterise the behavioural traits that favour range expansion and the environmental variables that limit it in the primate order in general. A comparative study of primate distribution in relation to physical and behavioural characteristics and environmental factors was conducted using GIS and statistical techniques. I will present the results of this analysis, and discuss them in the context of hominid distribution. Finally, the comparison of modern and ancient distribution patterns is complicated by differences in the data, particularly in spatial and temporal resolution, and I will summarise some possible theoretical and methodological solutions.

#### **Modelling populations in Central Europe circa 5500 BC: a new methodology**

*Alena Lukes, University of Sheffield, UK*

The onset of sedentary agriculture on the European continent remains linked to the LBK. Understanding this transition has been plagued by theories falling short of emerging data, as well as historical assumptions and biases inherent in much of the modelling. Many theories have attempted to provide a causality model. However, as more research is completed, the more difficult it becomes to pigeon-hole all of the pertinent information into any one theory. While external forces such as climatic change, resource degradation, or population pressure have often been seen as primary catalysts for the transition, these external factors do not provide satisfactory explanations for these populations during the transition. Attempts at a new synthesis have questioned not only the traditional models, but have also raised concerns ranging from the data used, their interpretation, methods of analysis, the use of radiocarbon dates, the nature of farming, who was responsible, the role of the indigenous populations, as well as the conceptual frameworks for describing what we know and how we think about 'the Neolithic Package'. This study aims to develop a clearer understanding of the oldest, or 'alteste', LBK populations by developing a methodology founded on models of cultural and agricultural frontiers, models of broader patterns of exchange and interaction, as well as analyses of material culture in ethnographic contexts. Through the use of these models and the analysis of material culture of the last Mesolithic communities, as well as the first farming communities between and within regions, issues regarding colonisation versus indigenous development of the LBK can be addressed. This study will also enable the formation of broader concluding syntheses regarding general processes of cultural transformation resulting from contacts between foragers and farmers and the conditions of intergenerational transmission of culture and their archaeological signatures.

#### **Evaluating the Availability Model through strontium isotopes in skeletons from Neolithic Europe**

*Alex Bentley, University College London*

We measured strontium isotopes in skeletons from LBK cemeteries in south-western Germany. The method identifies immigrants to an area directly, through geochemical signatures in their bones and teeth. By identifying migrants through their very skeletons, strontium isotope analysis is as powerful as genetics or artefact analysis for characterizing prehistoric migration. Along the Early LBK frontier along the Upper Rhine Valley, strontium isotope evidence indicates that women were immigrating into farmer settlements. Patterns in artefacts, burial orientation and gender of the identified immigrants suggest they may have been foragers. If so, the evidence supports Zvebil's Availability Model in ways that will be discussed.

#### **Migration and colonisation: the south-eastern Aegean during the Late Bronze Age**

*Mercourios Georgiades, University of Liverpool, UK*

The use of terms such as migration and colonisation is frequent in Aegean prehistoric contexts. They have been proposed by various scholars as the explanation of the changes seen in the material culture in different areas and periods. In many cases these terms

have functioned as the central cause and result of change at the same time. Obviously their application is not the same everywhere and they do not have the same character. The region that will be reviewed in relation to these terms is the south-eastern Aegean during the Late Bronze Age period. The strong Cretan influence on this area since the Middle Bronze Age raises the question of the Minoan thalassocracy, which according to several scholars affected the subsequent Mycenaean influence in the south-eastern Aegean. Moreover the socio-political upheavals of 1200 BC in the eastern Mediterranean and the migration movements proposed will be reviewed in association with the role of the area as a crossroads in the maritime networks and the changes seen in the local material record. The purpose of this paper is to understand the meaning of migration and colonisation, their role in cultural differentiation and how it is possible to view them in the archaeological record. No definite answers will be given, but there will be some suggestions and questions will be raised on the ideas proposed by earlier scholars in the context of the south-eastern Aegean.

#### **Creoles in southern Norway? An attempt to understand the ethnic processes between colonising farmers and hunter-gatherers in an inland valley during the Iron Age**

*Jostein Bergstøl, University of Oslo, Norway*

This paper is a presentation of my attempt to make an analytic tool for understanding the complex ethnic processes between two fundamentally different societies/people who came into close contact during the Late Iron Age. The study is based on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. The key concept of this theory is habitus. The habitus may be seen (very simplified) as a subconsciously acquired cultural 'package' you always carry with you and through which you produce all cultural expressions. This theory sees society as a collective of individuals in constant motion and dialogue with their surroundings. Changes in political and economic surroundings will gradually change the structures of objective interest in the population. Adjustment to these changes occurs through habituation to new structures of possibility and the recognition of heretofore unthinkable options. Anthony Giddens states that the world-view is challenged when two structurally different societies meet and new social forms may arise in one or both societies. Oppositions and resistance may arise within the groups when the ideological 'glue' breaks down, and new structures of power may find a foothold. In such times of instability and change, customs and material culture may be opened for new codification. When cultural traits are disconnected from their former contexts and melted with other cultural traits, new entities may be built. Such a mixture and new creation may be called 'creolisation'. Some of the material evidence in this study suggests that that is exactly what may have happened.

#### **Migration and biology: morphological variability and population change in Early Historic Ireland**

*Barra Ó Donnabháin, University College Cork, Ireland*

It is axiomatic in physical anthropology that biological relationships between past populations can be deciphered through the analysis of nonmetric traits in archaeologically retrieved crania, and that these relationships can form a basis for inference regarding past social behaviours. However, some recent attempts to use nonmetric traits to chart early population movements have been based on naïve assumptions using correlations between single traits. Multivariate analyses were used to examine Viking Age population movement into Ireland. Skeletal material associated with Hiberno-Norse settlement was contrasted with remains from pre-Viking populations. The results suggest that an anastomosing model of migration provides the best degree of fit with the data. The latter highlight the situational nature of the processes involved. This reinforces caveats regarding uniformitarian explanatory models of past migrations. Biological data suggest that patterns of mobility and interaction in Early Historic Ireland were more complex than allowed by many earlier conceptualisations of these processes. The diversity of cultural responses to biological hybridisation may indicate that the occurrence of significant gene flow did not necessarily produce detectable changes in material culture, and that identity was not determined solely by biological descent. The maintenance of social boundaries in these circumstances is a

reflection of the dynamic, opportunistic and pragmatic nature of group identities.

#### **Do numbers matter? Settlers in Early Medieval Yorkshire**

*Simon Trafford, Institute of Historical Research, University of London*

Questions about numbers have traditionally dominated discussion of both the Anglo-Saxon and the Viking settlements in England. In both cases, the principal disagreements were between, on one side, those who believed that the incoming settlers were many, and drawn from all ranks of society – peasants as well as lords – and, on the other, so-called 'minimalists', who claimed that the migrations had been affairs on a far smaller, and more socially-selective, scale; the settlers were a small elite group who had replaced the local ruling class but left the peasantry intact and unchanged. Many modern commentators, however, have entirely rejected the preoccupation with numbers in the light of new thinking on the nature of ethnicity and cultural change. This paper returns to the subject, to ask if numbers do actually count in migrations, and, if so, if there is any way in which migrant incomers can reliably be quantified on the basis of the historical, archaeological or philological evidence. There is, of course, nothing inherently unlikely in the proposition that differing numbers of settlers might have had differing effects, nor that this may be represented in the record in some form. Thus the possibility should at least be entertained that a renewed focus on the significance of numbers of settlers might help to explain otherwise anomalous features of the surviving evidence.

#### **Thoughts a-wandering and the Iroquoian occupation of prehistoric southern Ontario**

*Scott Martin, University of Cambridge, UK*

Having 'advanced' from the early twentieth century's diffusionist points of view for Iroquoian origins for southern Ontario, orthodox archaeological belief over the past half-century had come to place Iroquoian speakers in the province since the Late Archaic or Early Woodland periods. Recent thought within archaeology, however, has tended to 'allow' migration in prehistory once more. As such, some researchers in the north-east of North America through the 1990s have begun to concede what appears to be a modified view of the old diffusion argument. That is, that Iroquoians had entered southern Ontario perhaps in the early centuries AD, 500 to 1000 years before the earlier view. Most recently, however, others have begun to question this softening stance, arguing that continuity is still discernible and that the archaeology can corroborate none of the models; the debate, thus, is blown wide open again. As with some well-known studies of the dispersals of Indo-European speakers in Europe, some researchers similarly tie the Iroquoian presence in southern Ontario to the spread of agriculture. In specific for the north-east, maize agriculture is deemed to mark this incursion of 'Iroquoianness'. This paper provides a review of such an oscillating literature and aims to outline the routes taken by archaeological survey of this thicket.

#### **Refugees from the storm: the Yup'ik 'Thule' transformation in southern Alaska**

*Owen Mason, University of Alaska Anchorage, USA*

Taxonomy is the underpinning of archaeological research; classification often predetermines scholarly endeavours. On the Alaska Peninsula, discussion of cultural history and process is clouded by the use of the term 'Thule' coined by Therkel Mathiassen in the eastern Arctic. Comparison of southern Alaskan data with Thule data north of Bering Strait indicates that evidence does not support a Thule migration southward; the term should be dropped. A major question involves whether the Yukon Delta served as a filter, a conduit for north/south contacts, or as a barrier. Unfortunately, radiocarbon data indicate few Yukon Delta sites which date to the critical centuries of early Thule expansion between AD 1000-1100. Taphonomic processes, i.e. geomorphic change, cloud analyses due to the increased storminess around the Bering Sea, which covered or eroded many coastal sites, and shifts in the alluvial channels of the Yukon Delta, all of which precludes discovery of sites preceding AD 1200. An apparent increase in sites after AD 1200 may also reflect adverse climatic conditions that forced migration.

#### **Two-way traffic: the northern Canadian experience of migration**

*Roberta Dods, Okanagan University College, Canada*

The initial British pattern along the coast of North America was to set up 'plantations' with the expectation that migrants from the British Isles would settle and remain. This proved to be the case. In northern North America 'plantations' were another thing. Here we find forts/ 'factories' under the control of an important private enterprise company of the early modern period, the Hudson's Bay Company, chartered in 1670. Here they 'planted' their forts, first at the mouths of the great north flowing rivers such as the Moose and Severn. These forts were quite literally manned by men of the British Isles, with the bulk of their workers coming from specific parts of Britain, in particular Orkney. The reasons for this were both economic (cheap wages) and logistic (Orkney being the last stop before the sail westward). The HBC men lived in the north, sometimes for years on end, without the benefit of family life as known back home. The Company did not permit women to come with their menfolk, this more so after an unhappy exception with the wife of one fort official. Thus some of the men of the Company came to have relations with Algonquian women that resulted in families of mixed genetic and cultural ancestry. Most of these men returned home without these families. Some, however, returned with their wives and children. These children were eventually assimilated into British life, thus introducing their genetic heritage to the British Isles. In other instances, the cultural backflow was the significant return. Here we find men returning with different ideas and cultural artefacts that came to be noteworthy markers of their time away. The nineteenth century letter of James Flett and the photographs of the Borwick family from the Orkney Archives illustrate this return to the Isles. Thus migration is never a one-way street. It has two-way traffic bringing home again either physical or ideational nuances that mean change.

#### **LOOKING INTO THE CANON'S MOUTH: DECONSTRUCTING THE MESOLITHIC**

*Session organisers: Nicky Milner, University of Newcastle, and Peter Woodman, University College Cork*

The Mesolithic has always been seen as a period in which economic considerations and environmental determinism are the main avenues of enquiry. The result has been the creation of a set of unquestioned assumptions which have become the "canon" for mesolithic studies. It seems appropriate to question some of our more comfortable assumptions; is the role of seasonal movement over-emphasised, what are our criteria for identifying evidence of sedentism and complexity in early post glacial societies, what evidence is there for ritual and ritual architecture and even the fundamental question of whether the concept of the Mesolithic has outlived its usefulness?

#### **The Mesolithic and the 'Land of Fire'**

*Penny Spikins, University of Newcastle upon Tyne*

The use of ethnographic evidence has been a difficult topic in Mesolithic interpretations for some time. We all routinely use common perceptions of what 'hunter-gatherers are like' to interpret Mesolithic activities, however these perceptions are clearly not only over-simplistic but also often very misleading. This paper begins by reviewing some of the deficiencies of our ideas about hunter-gatherers. Building on this an attempt is made to suggest possible 'remedies', particularly by improving our knowledge of what hunter-gatherers actually do, rather than using 'hand-me-down' models. Ethnographic evidence from one society - the Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego (the 'Land of Fire') - is used to illustrate how real hunter-gatherers can give us an entirely new perspective on many accepted interpretations of Mesolithic lifestyles.

#### **Summer Walkers? - mobility and the mesolithic**

*Caroline Wickham-Jones, Edinburgh*

Traditional wisdom tells us that the mesolithic was characterised by a mobile, or nomadic, lifestyle. Apart from speculative interpretation, however, archaeologists have been hard put to it, over the years, to provide hard evidence for this from their fieldwork. Work in the last

few decades has begun to question the extent and nature of this mobility, and at the same time, gross inconsistencies are visible in the interpretation of the word "mobile" by those working on Mesolithic material in different places. Variation is a characteristic of the human race, however, and perhaps we should not be seeking a universal whole within which to place our mobile ancestors; nevertheless, it is clear that current ideas about mobility are confused. The ultimate deconstruction is perhaps provided by Hugh Brody in his recent work: "The other side of Eden", in which he argues forcefully that it is not hunter-gatherer populations who are nomadic, but rather their agricultural counterparts. Brody operates on a different time-scale to common archaeological thought, but as mobile city dwellers of the 21st century we should only relate to this.

So, it is relatively easy to deconstruct our ideas of mobility, but deconstruction on its own is not particularly helpful. How can we move forward? This paper will draw on elements from Scotland to illustrate how some of the facets of mobility might be approached. Recent research and commercial work have ensured that there is a plethora of archaeological evidence relating to the Scottish Mesolithic from which to look at the more interpretative sides of our knowledge of life in the Mesolithic. It is interesting, at the same time, to consider the fact that despite the considerable contribution of ethnographic and anthropological wisdom to Mesolithic archaeology we sometimes ignore that which is closer at hand. Those of us in Scotland have all but ignored the contribution of our own nomadic population: the Travellers whose traditions, life-style and language set them apart from the rest of society and whose final flings have been recorded by Timothy Neat in the book from which the title for this lecture has been drawn.

#### Reasons for Seasons

*Nicky Milner, University of Newcastle upon Tyne*

What's the seasonality of these faunal remains? ... a question that frequently pops up in Mesolithic studies and can often be answered thanks to new techniques developed in archaeological science over the last few decades. However, what do the answers really tell us about the Mesolithic human past? Seasonality results are traditionally used in explanations of Mesolithic subsistence, and are frequently applied when considering patterns of mobility or sedentism. However, in some instances the evidence is based on very small sample sizes and in the case of mobility versus sedentism the results can often be manipulated to argue either way or anywhere in-between. The act of eating also has social dimensions and there may be many other factors, apart from availability or economic necessity, which influence the seasonal consumption of plants and animals. This paper will aim to explore some of these reasons for seasonal eating and also other ways in which seasonality information may be used in interpreting human practice in the past.

#### Re-thinking the Paradigm: food as material culture in the 'Mesolithic'

*Helen Holderness, Canterbury Archaeological Trust*

For many of us it's been long assumed that the transition of Mesolithic into Neolithic has something to do with a difference in material culture. At a push we might even rattle out a vague reference to the Neolithic Package as the defining point. We'll mutter (possibly under our breath) about polished stone axes, pottery, domestication, all that sort of stuff. Some might mention subsistence strategies. But they would, of course, be talking about Mesolithic hunter-gatherers and how they finally settle down, start farming and become, as if by magic, Neolithic social entities.

The importance we place upon the manner in which the food is attained ignores the social role that it plays within societies. Food is a liminal substance. It represents the world outside and by eating we incorporate the world. If we consider food as a form of material culture capable of crossing boundaries we might begin to see it as an act of communication rather than a functional process. For this paper I wish to explore how the imposed boundary of the Mesolithic/Neolithic might be crossed. How we might re-think the paradigm.

#### They had sacred idols? Mesolithic studies, archaeologists and 'complex hunter gatherers'

*Graeme Warren, University of Edinburgh*

Complexity has become a dominant interpretative trope in contemporary mesolithic studies. However the identification of so-called 'complex hunter gatherers' is deeply problematic. Notwithstanding the difficulties of identifying material correlates for many processes the study of complexity makes little or no attempt to understand diversity, nor to take seriously social relations in the past. Instead it operates as an indexical categorisation of human cultures, following long social evolutionary precedents. Alternative narratives of the mesolithic are possible, and can be demanded on epistemological and ethical grounds. Material culture operated in the past as an aspect of the socialisation, or enskilling of agents, as such its interpretation demands the incorporation of human experience, not abstracted categorical affiliations. Aspects of recent research into the gatherer-hunter settlement of eastern Scotland are presented as examples of alternative narrative engagements with mesolithic populations.

#### On Site Archaeology: Still looking for the "Little House on the Prairie".

*Peter C. Woodman, Faculty of Arts/Dept. of Archaeology, University College Cork*

Settlement Archaeology in the Mesolithic still tends to be mesmerised by individual sites where the quality of preservation allows an eloquent insight into some aspects of early postglacial lifeways. On occasions these sites become the whole story and the quality of information blinds us to the fact that at best we have only a partial picture. On the one hand it is probable that settlement sites are much larger and more complex than is envisaged by our excavation strategies while many sites which are lacking in good quality organic preservation can make a much greater contribution to the study of the Mesolithic than is usually appreciated. Perhaps we need to ask ourselves not so much, if we have asked the right questions but rather how should we tackle them.

#### Moving beyond sites: Mesolithic technology in the landscape.

*Chantal Conneller, University of Cambridge*

Though initially considered as evidence for the presence of chronologically or culturally distinct people, more recently intra-regional variation in lithic or faunal patterning has usually been explained as the product of the mobility inherent in hunter-gatherer settlement systems, with different sites representing interrelated functional components of the 'seasonal round'. Sites are described on the basis of the dominant economic activity that is presumed to have occurred (usually hunting), rather than an attempt being made to draw out the varied activities and meanings associated with a place. Technological approaches to lithic assemblages, in particular refitting, represent a means of complicating the narrow meanings attributed to sites and a way of re-animating human action at particular locales and across the landscape.

#### All are not Hunters that Knap the Stone.

*Farina Sternke, University College Cork*

This paper will discuss the evidence for differential levels of flintknapping skills frequently observed in lithic assemblages. Particular reference will be paid to the lithic assemblage from the Late Mesolithic shell midden at Sparregård on the island of Falster, Denmark. The implications of such observations in terms of the social organisation and anticipation of labour as well as lithic replication studies and the organisation of the transmission of knapping skills are some of the key issues that will be addressed.

#### The Mesolithic of Cantabrian Spain: a critical review

*Manuel Ramón GONZÁLEZ MORALES & Miguel Ángel FANO MARTÍNEZ, Universidad de Cantabria, Santander (España)*

In this paper we will analyze the theoretical approaches which, explicitly or implicitly, have guided the research on the Mesolithic of Northern Spain since the beginning of the 20th century. We will explain the approaches of the first researchers to investigate this period, such as the Count of the Vega del Sella, one of the pioneers of Cantabrian prehistory, who maintained an intense scientific

relationship with foreign prehistorians, in particular with Hugo Obermaier. In fact, it was this German author who first brought Peninsular prehistory to the forefront with his book "Fossil Man", which included all the work which had been developed up to that point on the Mesolithic of the Cantabrian region. After several decades of a complete halt in the research, it was Prof. Jordá and his collaborators at the end of the 1950's who put forward a series of proposals which have recently been linked to the strong evolutionary component in the prehistory of the epoch. Later, the work of G.A. Clark and L.G. Straus at the end of the 60's and 70's, respectively, constituted a good example of the application of the theoretical principles of the "New Archaeology", although, as we will see, the arguments of normative character did not disappear completely from the discourse. The research of the last two decades has attempted to mitigate the estrangement of the discipline of History from the processual approach; however, key aspects of that approach have continued to prevail, such as the "adaptation" to the environment by hunter-gatherer groups, or the method of initiating research by using explicit hypotheses. In summary, this paper will clarify the questions formulated thus far with regard to the archaeological record. This will permit us to comprehend why we know what we know about the Cantabrian Mesolithic, and even more importantly, why our knowledge about certain aspects is practically nil.

#### Contextualising Mesolithic (or redefining the canon?)

*Lila Janik, University of Cambridge*

The term Mesolithic and its associations with environmental adaptation at a particular space and time has a very strong tradition in European prehistory. D. Clark and P. Rowley-Conwy, among others, propose that the Mesolithic be seen as a period full of unique identities reaching beyond the simple process of adaptation. However, the Mesolithic as an archaeological period has never been discussed with such strong passion and with the diversity of theoretical approaches as the Neolithic. The idea of linear development is still strong in interoperations of the Mesolithic as the period before the introduction of food production, and this casts a profound shadow on the way we define the social relations, symbolic and ritual expressions of fisher-gatherer-hunters of this period. I shall try to demonstrate in this paper possible ways of redefining the canon of the Mesolithic, placing social, ritual and symbolic spheres of life at the centre of contextual approaches to the Mesolithic

#### Anti-Capitalist Archaeology

*Christina Fredengren, Department of Archaeology, Stockholm University*

In this talk I will give an alternative reading of some Irish Mesolithic lake material. Often people in the Mesolithic are explained as busy exploiting natural resources and perhaps also involved in woodland management in one form or other. I think these explanations are strange and will argue that they are left un-questioned due to that they are so natural in our modern life-world and market terminology. With this discussion I want to bring back Shanks & Tilley's notion of Critical Archaeology, which emphasises the role of archaeology as a subject with social responsibility. In order to take such a responsibility we have to be aware of the Economic, Eurocentric rhetoric that has crept into our interpretations of the past. I will show that by lifting these explanatory terms to the side, we might get closer to an understanding of people in the Mesolithic.

#### Moments and the Muddle in the Middle

*Nyree Finlay, University of Glasgow*

This paper takes a look at our treatment of the Mesolithic and considers the tenacity of dominant themes and motifs. To a certain extent we are continuing to labour under a traditional research agenda that poses questions that have become redundant, and equally perhaps, ones that are no longer worth asking. Traditional concerns with seasonality, subsistence and mobility mask a wealth of other equally valid issues in Mesolithic archaeology. Unfortunately, these are often overlooked in the quest for the bigger picture. This paper will consider whether it is possible to escape the legacy of the past and rewrite the Mesolithic agenda. This demands reconsideration of what

the Mesolithic is and what it can be. Using a couple of case studies, this paper will consider different scales of analysis and document ways to refocus on the moment in post-glacial times.

## THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF WATER: SOCIAL AND RITUAL DIMENSIONS

**Session organiser:** *Fay Stevens, Institute of Archaeology, University College London*

Water is an element through which the social and ritual dimensions of human action and thought can engage. Water appears in many varied forms, for example, as the sea, a river, springs, lakes, bogs, ice, rain and moisture. It has atmospheric, reflective and acoustic qualities, which are part of a wider cultural significance attached to colour, light and sound. Identification of the social and ritual aspects of water symbolism is often considered where there is archaeological evidence for funeral rites and ritual offerings, defining ritual conceptions such as purification and libation. However, such aspects take little consideration of broader social and ritual dimensions of the archaeology of water as an avenue of enquiry.

This session aims to explore attributes of the social and ritual dimensions of the archaeology of water by developing conceptual frameworks of current archaeological enquiry. It will develop ideas such as how metaphorical attributes of water can enable the capturing of the phenomenological experience of the world, water as an agent of transformation and water as a medium of communication opening paths between people, places and different worlds.

#### Water turned to stone: stalagmites and stalactites in cult caves in prehistoric Italy

*Ruth Whitehouse, Institute of Archaeology, University College London*

This paper looks at attention paid to stalagmites, stalactites and stillicide water in a number of caves used for ritual purposes in the Neolithic and Copper Age of Italy. This kind of ritual, which I have described as a cult of 'abnormal water', contrasts with cults attached to natural springs, which are common later in Italian prehistory. Taking one of the main functions of ritual to be the mapping and remapping of the cosmos through symbolic action, I suggest that ritual attention is paid to crucial boundaries. In this interpretation, water behaving as water shouldn't - especially water in the process of becoming something else - requires ritual attention, in order to ensure the continuing good behaviour of water in the everyday world: the water from rainfall, streams and rivers, necessary for the support of human, animal and plant life.

#### Drawing water from stone in the Neolithic of the Irish Sea

*Chris Fowler, University of Manchester, and Vicki Cummings, Cardiff University*

In this contribution we contend that megalithic architecture was connected with water in a number of physical and metaphorical ways central to the use of that architecture. Using case studies from Neolithic north Wales, south-west Wales, south-west Scotland and the Isle of Man, we argue that megaliths were places of transformation, and that this transformation was associated with different types of water. We will illustrate a number of connections between megaliths and rivers, streams, lakes, and most crucially the sea. We will also demonstrate how these natural phenomena were also associated with transformation in the lives of past people in a similar fashion to megaliths. We will further argue that stone and water may have been deemed to share many qualities and that the connection between them was a vital element of Neolithic cultural life.

#### Iconography, cosmology and water in the temples of late Neolithic Malta

*Reuben Grima, Institute of Archaeology, University College London*

The sea may be perceived in very different ways by people of different cultures. The perceptions and experiences of different island communities may vary from isolation in a world locked in by water, to using an island as a base to exploit the surrounding seas and the world beyond.



The late Neolithic of the Maltese islands is characterised by the development of a sophisticated material culture. One of the most remarkable elements of this culture was its idiosyncratic monumental architecture, which created a series of ambitious megalithic complexes during the late fourth and early third millennium. Prevailing interpretation of this culture have generally tended to emphasise its isolation. The idiosyncrasy of the megalithic complexes built on the Maltese archipelago during this period has likewise often been interpreted as the product of an introverted society with little contact with the world that lay across the sea, an interpretation which some researchers have started to question. Here it will be argued that these monumental megalithic buildings played an important role in the way the communities that built them understood their relationship with the sea.

#### Throwing the baby out with the bathwater?

*Fiona Haughey, Institute of Archaeology, University College London*  
The assumption that so-called 'watery places' all can be seen as repositories of ritual and symbolic offerings has been accepted at face value for over the past decade. While the arguments put forward in evidence have been placed within a broad pan-North European scale, it is not always possible to justify such a generalization when examining a smaller region in closer detail. The river Thames, particularly the stretch within Greater London, is often quoted as a place of deposition from the Neolithic period onwards. In the light of recent work on the urban Thames and its floodplain, it is time to re-examine what may have been the role of the river phenomenologically, ritually and economically during the Neolithic.

#### The straight and narrow way - Fenland causeways and the conversion of the landscape in the Witham valley, Lincolnshire

*Paul Everson and David Stocker, English Heritage*  
It seems clear that the central part of the Witham valley in Lincolnshire was sacred in pre-Christian times. It is marked by distinctive clusters of early archaeological evidence, most obviously signalled by 9-10 causeways stretching into and probably across the valley and its embayments. Spectacular finds of votive metalwork - largely of Iron Age, Roman and early medieval date and mostly (until recently) from 18th- and early 19th-century drainage works - evidently cluster at these locations. The association has been confirmed and illustrated by recent excavations at Fiskerton, just East of Lincoln. Large Bronze Age barrow cemeteries are already well documented at several of the same locations.

This long-established and more-or-less continuous ritual tradition, focused at regularly spaced locations, offers an example of the appropriation and conversion of indigenous ideologies by the Christian religion from the 7th century AD onwards. But an example of such assimilation at a landscape scale. A monastic and/or early church site is associated with each location, and is routinely positioned at the N/NE end of the causeway on the Lindsey shore. These monasteries commonly had responsibility for the up-keep of the causeways: some held ancient rights and maintained traditional rituals in relation to the watercourses. The riverine deposits continue into the 14th century, but most commonly in the form of weapons and armour. Furthermore, several - perhaps all - of the monastic sites emerge as the burial places of the region's ruling elite of the High Middle Ages, with ecclesiastical structures matching that function. Evidently, the causeways - rebuilt across ancient sacred pools - nevertheless still provided the 'straight and narrow way' to structure elite rites of passage to the re-formed sacred places in the island of Lindsey.

#### Following water through the earth: the archaeology of spring and swallet systems

*Paul Davies, Bath Spa University, and Jodie Lewis, University of Bristol*  
The swallet and spring systems of Mendip, Somerset, UK offer an opportunity to explore human relationships with distinctive natural water features. Water enters the earth at definable points, through swallets, and exits the earth at obvious emergence points, namely springs. Excavation of swallet infill deposits shows that the swallet entrances seem to have been the focus of ritual activity during the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, with deliberate deposition of

bone, pottery, flintwork and non-local stone. Importantly, recent fieldwork has also shown that emergent springs may also have associated deposits, in the form of tufa, which may span the entire post-glacial period and also contain archaeological horizons. The prospect for future work includes tracing individual swallet-spring systems and comparing the archaeology of locations where water enters the earth as opposed to where water emerges from the earth. Thus, the duality of location (swallets versus springs) against duality of meaning (e.g. life versus death) in the archaeological record can potentially be compared.

#### Where bronze meets water: culture and context in a southwestern landscape

*Fay Stevens, Institute of Archaeology, University College London*  
This paper is an exploration of the relationship between Bronze Age metalwork and the different bodies of water in which it is intentionally deposited. It will contend that from the point of contact, where bronze meets water, emerges a connection between the interpretation of space and the social construction of prehistoric landscapes.

Water appears in a landscape in many forms for example as rivers, lakes, ponds, rain, streams, springs, mist, dew, snow, ice and associated atmospheric phenomena such as rainbows. Each watery form has its own identity and is recognisable by its volume, flow, seasonal appearance or permanency and by its landscape location. It is the particular aspects of these watery features, observed and recognised culturally that symbolic value is added to the deposition of metalwork into water.

By adopting a phenomenological approach to the landscape locations of Bronze Age metalwork findspots in south-west Britain, it will be illustrated that connections exist between metalwork type and flow of water. Moreover, that water provides a means of orientation in the landscape, where social space is structured to correspond with water forms.

#### Immersed in the gods: the importance of water in gallo-roman temple complexes

*Eleanor Ghey, University of Wales College Newport*  
This paper considers aspects of the role and interpretation of water in Burgundian sanctuaries with reference to bath houses and the catchment of springs.

Water provides a means of bridging landscape and architecture but is also an architectural feature in itself. Through incorporating the element of water, Roman monumental architecture becomes dynamic, living and situated in its landscape context. This has implications for theories of continuity that have centered on changes in building form rather than use.

Temple bath buildings have been viewed in functional terms as facilities for travelling pilgrims. However they are also integral to the ritual experience. By bathing near a temple and in water from a sacred spring, the pilgrim communes directly with the god through the medium of water. The transformative power of the deity is absorbed by the pilgrim's body. Ancient concepts of healing and purification illustrate the perceived permeability of the body. Varying body temperatures and degrees of humidity were closely associated with both physical and mental health and ideas of gender and morality.

Studies of modern pilgrimage illustrate tensions surrounding the act of bathing and the multiple ways in which a pilgrimage may be experienced. The flexibility of social roles on such occasions may be contrasted with the fixed views of the body which still influence archaeological interpretation of bath houses. The paper draws on phenomenological approaches to water in landscape and architecture whilst attempting to consider multiple perspectives and demonstrate the fluidity of past bodily states.

#### Heaven's Gate: Al Sabil, the Islamic Public Fountain

*Rana Mikati, University of Chicago*  
The public fountain, in arabic Al Sabil, was a distinctive feature of the Medieval Islamic City. So far, most studies have concentrated on its architectural aspect. Usually defined as a social amenity such fountains were set up charitably to fulfill one of the important precepts of Islam: the duty to provide water to the thirsty. Closer study

suggests, however, that this feature offers a more complex range of meanings. It embodies the Islamic view of water, a sacred element mediating between the divine and material world and thus comparable to Revelation. In addition, this structure seems to be mostly associated with the dead; the Sabil is erected, in most cases, in commemoration or on behalf of the dead, reflecting the power, wealth and social status of the deceased but mostly his piety. The use of water architecture in a commemorative monument in this instance is of special significance. Again, it relates to the doctrinal and symbolic meaning of water in Islam. This is reflected both in the etymology of the word Sabil meaning road or path of the structure and the architectural form commonly adopted for the public fountain. In the Islamic Middle East, the public fountain imitates the shape of the gate or the arch. Furthermore, the location of the Sabil along main roads but also near mosques and cemeteries might provide further clues to its meaning. This presentation will explore the links between the fountain, the 'afterworld', power and the Islamic belief system.

#### Beliefs in the powers of water: prehistory and history in Northeast Scotland

*Gordon Noble, University of Reading*  
This paper deals with the symbolic role of water in Northeast Scotland. The paper shall begin by looking at the profusion of Beaker burials in Northeast Scotland and their physical and symbolic relationship to water. I will examine how the construction and positioning of Beaker cists may have reflected and re-inforced a distinction between older males and other members of the community through the selection of certain materials that allude to water.

I will then proceed to look at the apparent references to water in the material culture and history of the Dark Age Picts in Northeast Scotland. Pictish symbol stones with water symbols carved on them shall be related to their position in the landscape and the materials used in mortuary rituals shall be mentioned in their relationship to watery environments. Caves, forts and how water can create physical and symbolic barriers between the sacred and the profane will also be discussed, as will the role of water in curing as recorded in historical sources.

Finally, a study of the folklore of the recent centuries shall show how water remained a central theme in the beliefs and superstitions of the people of the Northeast.

#### TELLING TALES: LANDSCAPE AS NARRATIVE AND META-NARRATIVE IN LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY

*Session organiser: Sarah Cross, English Heritage*

Myths are stories about places. This attachment to place is one thing that distinguishes them from other forms of narrative in oral tradition. The process of identifying archaeological sites with particular myths has a long tradition - and continues to bring archaeology to life for many people. Landscape archaeology, however, has more than this to learn from myth. As stories about places, myths explain the origins, naming and nature of topographical features. They attach histories, memories and meanings to rivers, mountains and valleys. Landscape is not the setting of myth - it is the substance. In short, myth accomplishes what landscape archaeology aspires to. This session will tease out both the archaeological explorations of particular mythic landscapes and the ways in which mythic structures can act as meta-narratives for landscape archaeology as a wider discipline.

#### The mythical landscape of Cuil Irra

*Michelle Cotter, Email: cottermichelle@yahoo.com*  
I have spent the past two years researching the landscape of the Cuil Irra peninsula, Co. Sligo in the northwest of Ireland from various anthropological perspectives. One of the things I have recorded is an amount of local and regional mythology, rooted in and illustrative of the physical landscape, often dating back to neolithic times or the mythical time of invasions.

Cuil Irra is a fascinating landscape, almost an island, bounded

on 3 sides by the sea and cut off from the rear by mountains. Upon this finger of land are some of the oldest and most extensive archaeological complexes in Europe, the most celebrated being the megalithic cemetery of Carrowmore. The archaeology of Cuil Irra is well documented, notably in Stefan Bergh's 'Landscape of the Monuments', however, the mythology of these sites is not. Working with local informants I have been attempting to record some of the stories that place Carrowmore as the imagined centre of a creation saga that explains and maps out the surrounding physical landscape, the formation of the mountains, rivers and lakes, and of course, their names. I have also been attempting to trace how the beginnings of this myth have been shaped and developed over time, incorporated into Christian superstition and tales of the fairies, into literature and art and eventually into tourism: how a landscape acquires symbolic value over time.

#### Myths and archaeological sites in Eastern Central Greece: A Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology?

*Joanna Galanaki, Durham. Email: joanna.galanaki@durham.ac.uk*  
There has been an attempt to identify a number of sites that have produced Mycenaean material, in the regions of Boeotia and Euboea (eastern central Greece), with toponyms mentioned by Homer in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. These identifications have caused a debate amongst scholars since different mythical names have been assigned to different places based on different 'interpretations' of the landscape as this is viewed today and as it was conceived and described by ancient authors. The archaeological evidence from the same sites is treated and interpreted variously and selectively as appropriate to each identification. The 'geography' of the Homeric poems is being approached by modern scholars the same way it was approached in ancient times: every single place mentioned has to be spotted on the map. This extreme 'reflective' attitude, though, deprives myth of a number of its embedded aspects. Selective emphasis, exaggeration and symbolism have to be taken into account as integral components of mythic landscape as well as of myth itself. In our case, the coastal sites should be treated with special attention as the archaeological evidence suggests their particular importance already in the Early Mycenaean period but also before it. The idea of the sea that connects rather than divides along with the archaeological evidence comes into agreement with myths that relate the regions under discussion with the southern and northern Aegean world. This last observation confirms the belief that 'human beings create an image of their surroundings through their interaction with them, so that perception of a landscape is inevitably mediated by cultural factors'.

#### The Buddhist Landscapes of Rajgir

*Robert Harding, University of Cambridge. Email: hardingrobert@hotmail.com*  
Buddhism was a topographically oriented religion, and sites identified with Buddha's biographies (including past incarnations) and those of his followers were spread over northern India. One of the most significant is the site of Rajgir and here three stages in the construction of Buddhist landscape can be identified. The first is that found in the ancient Buddhist "scriptures". The second is that found in the writings of Chinese pilgrims who visited Rajgir in the course of the first millennium A.D. The third is the one constructed by modern archaeology, based on a conflation of the first two. The paper explored the construction of these landscapes, the place of archaeologists as actors in the creation of religious topography, and the importance of understanding past ideology to the interpretation of archaeological reports.

#### Landscape and Legend: oral and physical perception of landscape in Ireland

*Annaba Kilfeather, Dublin. Email: akilfeather@mglarc.com*  
Just as Ireland's archaeological heritage forms part of a wider European record, Ireland's oral tradition includes migratory legends, also found in northern and western Europe. These legends describe people and events in particular locations, sometimes explaining natural geological features or archaeological monuments. Such stories link the past to the present through folk memory, and while they are largely undatable, comparisons can be made between how



legends and other forms of oral tradition record the landscape, and how prehistoric and early historic monuments define their environment.

#### Footprints at Tesetice-Kyjovice: 7500 Years of Sacred Story

Dr. Adrienne Momi. Email: amomi@west.net

"Footprints at Tesetice" is an investigation of the European Neolithic origins of the female divine and their continued reflection in contemporary life. Starting after the summer harvest of 1998 and continuing until June 1999, a group of Czech women artists and I created a temporary site installation within the precincts of an ancient cult center. The original archaeological excavation had yielded important information about the sacred structure, the rondel, where over 1000 small female and animal shaped votive images were found scattered within a circular area defined by wooden palisades and surrounded by a deep ditch. Our goal was to "listen" with artists' sensibilities to the sacred stories that are held in the land. Two years of art installation, human interaction, and scholarly research revealed layers of origins: my origins as a second-generation Central European immigrant, the Czech artists' origins as contemporary Europeans, and the culture's origins grounded in sacred story told before written language. Like waves on a beach, an ebb and flow of cultures has passed across this land, depositing new bits, and rearranging the old ones. The Czechs are tenacious, however, holding onto their customs. Stories there are told over and over, dressed in new clothes for each retelling. Our team listened with the mythologist's ear, and looked with the artist's eye. We heard the early stories held in the Neolithic stones: stories of abundance, stories of thankfulness, and stories of continuation—stories that are still present in contemporary religious practice, remembered village customs, and traditional design motifs, and are told in part by our installation.

#### Cyberdreaming in Elysian Fields: The virtual landscapes of Antiquity

Caradoc Peters, Truro College, Cornwall, UK. Email: CaradocP@aol.com

"Cyberdreaming" is a dimensional approach to archaeology, providing an alternative to the constraints of chronologically based approaches. Applying dimensional approaches to landscape archaeology can help reveal active dialogues from the past – for people's perceptions are as important, if not more important, than any notions of absolute reality.

Authors such as Bender and Tilley have compared these landscape dialogues with theatre. Landscapes form the theatre in which human actions are played. In some societies, the landscape is a fellow actor (perhaps even in the lead role), in some societies, selected landscape features are given personality, whilst in others the landscape is a reflection of other far off worlds, and in yet others it is simply a reflection of human desires and needs.

Such examples of Cyberdreaming are given from prehistoric Cornwall, the ancient Mediterranean and Polynesia, and compared to the archaeology of 20th/21st century landscapes. It is argued that models that base themselves on chronological progress, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, fail to recognise the limitations imposed by human dimensional points of reference on the perceived passage of time and space.

#### Mythic Places and Historical Processes in the Investigation of Tsimshian Oral Tradition and Archaeology

Paul Prince, Peterborough, Ontario. Email: pprince@trentu.ca

The Tsimshian Nations of British Columbia have a rich body of oral tradition, including a class of narratives called *adaawk* ("true histories"), hundreds of which have been recorded by ethnographers, and which are symbolized in totem poles. *Adaawk* have long informed archaeological investigations in Tsimshian territory, often as a literal account of events and practices which are asserted to be represented in the archaeological record. I argue this is a sometimes facile use of oral traditions, especially when based on faulty interpretations. Instead, I consider *adaawk* within their proper cultural context to be a continuing statement of group rights and obligations to the landscape, and as a record of the values and historical processes important in the consolidation and maintenance of group

identity. I then present examples of how this approach to oral traditions can inform archaeological research into the processes of migration, inter-group competition, political consolidation and their spatial correlates.

#### California Dreamtime: The Impression of Myth, Movement, and Mind

David Robinson, Kamupau Project. Email: DavidRobin1@excite.com

It is sometimes said that myths become attached to places. In this paper, I wish to turn this concept around by suggesting that places become attached within the mind of individuals through myth. Myth thus enables the individual to conceive of places never seen, to arrange the world beyond the immediate horizon in accordance to a cultural meta-narrative. Myths simultaneously explain and create the universe within the mind. However, as oral enactments, myths are malleable and are consciously manipulated in particular circumstances. This paper explores the mythic tradition of South-Central California in the context of a search to understand the connection between a particular rock art locale and an obscure mythic reference.

#### The Irish *sidhe* tradition and the (pre-)historic importance of the Dead in Ireland: connections between the disciplines, and what's in a word?

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The blending of folkloristic and archaeological data in creating the past has been used quite successfully in archaeology in North America, and other areas of the colonial realm, for some time (see de Laguna, Cruikshank, Anskersmit, Winters, etc.), often under the rubric of "ethnohistory" although the theoretical underpinnings, and possible wider applications, of such approaches have not been fully explored. This paper will focus on the Irish word *sidhe* which is translated usually (and somewhat misleadingly) as the fairy folk, but more literally has two meanings: the "people of the mounds," and simply the "mounds" themselves. These mounds are one of the central features of the early societies that have been investigated by archaeologists working on the Neolithic. Not only that, but the *sidhe* tradition is one of the largest bodies of Irish folklore, and has been extensively documented (particularly by the Irish Folklore Commission). In both disciplines, the central explanatory ideas invoke notions of the Ancestral Dead, and of the Otherworld.

What is it that ties the results of these two disciplines together? A large role, I will argue, is played by the monuments themselves, most of which have been a continuous part of the visible landscape since their construction. These monuments have thus been a continuous *cultural* part of Ireland since this time as well. While acknowledging that early folklorists (Larminie, etc.) recognised the *sidhe* tradition as being the most ancient of all of Ireland's folk traditions, I also believe it important to recognise that the monuments do not represent only the time of their construction - rather, their cultural importance (and some form of attached narratives) has been continually reconstructed (though not, I would argue "invented"), throughout the many years. The megaliths, I will argue, embed narratives within the landscape, and hence within the culture. Many forms of material culture perform the function of being loci of cultural narratives, but the megalithic structures in Ireland represent an exceptionally powerful and durable example. Given the attention shown by these *sidhe* by both archaeologists and folklorists, I believe that such a case study should prove to be an ideal one to look at cross-disciplinary understandings.

#### Buried truth in a landscape of myth?

Mike Baillie, School of Archaeology and Palaeoecology, Queen's University, Belfast. Email: m.baillie@qub.ac.uk

There is nothing theoretical about this topic. As a latecomer to mythology, I arrived asking what mythology could tell us about some specifically dated sites and events; given that history and archaeology could often tell us very little due to sparse records and poor chronological control. What I found, and Richard Warner gets credit here, was a remarkable core of sense, truth if you like, in a body of literature that had previously been regarded as 'just stories'.

Put it like this: if the trackway builder Eochaid Airem (annal dates

142-116 BC) did build the 148 BC dendro-dated Corlea trackway, then there is a core of truth in these early 'mythical' tales. Similarly, if Arthur is cognate with CuChulainn, Finn and Mongan, then we probably had a brush with a comet within a few years of AD 540; Arthur did not die in 542 by accident.

So, I'm going to argue that, even if only 0.05% of mythology is based on, and records, some real experience, we have a duty to extract those records. Why? Because if they're really there then they're actual voices from the past and worth more than all the silent bumps in the landscape put together. We need a theoretical basis for such investigations, not outright dismissal.

#### BREAKING DOWN BOUNDARIES: THE ARTIFICIAL ARCHAEOLOGY - ANCIENT HISTORY DIVIDE

Session organiser: Eberhard Sauer, eberhard.sauer@keble.oxford.ac.uk, Keble College, Oxford OX1 3PG

Currently some classicists deal with the ancient world as if archaeological evidence other than 'high' art and architecture was of no relevance to their research. Extremists act like 'medieval detectives' who brush all forensic (modern archaeological) evidence under the carpet and rely solely on what witnesses choose to tell them. Territories or subjects for which there is little textual evidence are marginalised. Art historians often take a similar approach. How much (or how little!) would we understand about our own world if all our knowledge was confined to subjectively selected categories of expensive contemporary art? Yet, some classical archaeologists deal exclusively with elite art from the centres of the cultures they are interested in.

On the other hand there are equally archaeologists of historic periods acting like detectives who ignore the witnesses and think the forensic evidence will tell them all that is relevant. Depending on preconceived ideologies earthworks are either classified as 'defensive' or as 'symbolic,' finds from rivers as 'lost' or as 'ritually deposited' and major changes in the material culture either as the result of 'acculturation' or of 'invasions.' In all these examples textual evidence provides valuable analogies which allow to move away from simplistic 'either or approaches' to more balanced and complex interpretations.

While some disciplinary boundaries are eroded here or there, others are increasingly fossilised and new rifts are tearing existing subjects apart, creating new sub-disciplines that isolate themselves. Representatives of different specialisms and approaches often believe passionately that they know the one way to truth and that anybody who deviates is erring from the narrow path of righteousness. The straitjacket of unquestioned traditions as well as of current fashion can stifle creativity and innovation. The session will explore the current state of scientific separatism and will look at ways how we can move beyond separatism or fashionable interdisciplinarity to holistic approaches.

Section 1) Introduction & Literature and Art: What more do we need to understand a 'Golden Age'?

#### Introduction: the current state of disciplinary separatism

Eberhard Sauer, Keble College, Oxford and Leicester

'History' and 'archaeology' and many specialist subjects within these 'two disciplines' are taught at university as if they were subjects in their own right. I argue that the subdivision of researchers into two distinctive factions - those who deal with the written sources and those who focus on the material evidence for human history - is as arbitrary and illogical as any subdivision can be. The fundamental questions asked by both are identical; there is only a difference in the sources of information that are neglected in attempting to answer them. This may appear to be self-evident to many (but by no means all) who do indeed try to take all the evidence into consideration. However, we should then go a step further and dissolve the boundaries between the 'two disciplines'. A reform of the system would result in more reliable studies and more creative interpretations, and it would give more professional flexibility. It is clear that the strict division between 'history' and 'archaeology' is inextricably linked with the same sort of divisions within these 'disciplines'.

#### Field sports: engaging Greek Archaeology and History

Lin Foxhall, University of Leicester

There is a rich range of sources, written (both literary and epigraphic), iconographic/ representational and archaeological, available for studying ancient Greece. Why is it so hard to join them up? We know now that 'reading' any of these sources at face value and attempting simply to paste them together like a collage gives us a distorted picture. The root of the problem seems to be 'context' (using the term metaphorically, almost in its archaeological sense). All of these kinds of sources emerge from, present, or are part of, very different kinds of contexts. Many, especially those which have been valued in the modern world as *objects d'art*, have been entirely divorced from their original (and even secondary) archaeological contexts. Over the past twenty years the main thrust of Greek field archaeology has been archaeological survey. This data has revolutionised our views of Greek rural landscapes but it is difficult to combine it with excavation data. Most of our written sources for the classical Greek world were generated by Athenian 'high' culture. What relevance do these texts have to archaeological data from other parts of the Greek world? Using cases studies, this paper will explore the issues and problems of contextualisation.

#### Breaking down boundaries: the experience of the multi-disciplinary Olympias project

Boris Rankov, Royal Holloway, London

The 1987 reconstruction of an ancient Greek warship, the *Olympias*, was unconventional in that it was based not on any surviving wreck but on both a whole range of ancient evidence and on the laws of physics and naval architecture. The reconstructed ship was not therefore an exercise in experimental archaeology so much as a "floating hypothesis". Its relevance for the theme of the panel is that the project required co-operation not just between ancient historians and archaeologists, but also with naval architects, shipbuilders, rowers, sailors and seamen, physicists and physiologists.

This co-operation depended upon a willingness by the individuals involved not only to understand each other's modes of thinking, but also - which was much harder - to accept that experts in another field might have something to teach them about their own field. In order to make this possible, it was almost a prerequisite for the collaborators to have some real expertise in more than one field. The ability in an individual to approach the project from two different aspects also made it easier for that individual to accept the importance and validity of other experts' input. The openness of mind towards multiple approaches mattered much more than the particular expertises which anyone might possess. It thus became possible, and indeed essential, for all the principal collaborators to achieve a good understanding of all aspects of the reconstruction. The downside of this was that it has been and still remains very difficult to explain the argumentation behind the project as a whole to single-field experts, even to those who have had a direct input as consultants without being actual collaborators. Many external commentators, especially maritime archaeologists who see ship reconstruction as part of their own domain, remain bound by the prejudices of their own discipline and refuse to accept the attempt to formulate the hypothesis as valid.

Bridging the divide between two disciplines - such as archaeology and ancient history - thus requires an empathy and shedding of prejudice which goes well beyond a simple collaboration.

Section 2) The archaeology-history division from Early Greece to Late Antiquity

#### Diverging and converging histories and archaeologies: A matter of disciplines, schools or interdisciplinary communication? The case study of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Greece.

Alkis Dialismas, Jesus College, Cambridge

Although the discussion for the relationship of history and archaeology lasts since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, still it does not seem that the two disciplines have arrived in a point of creative coexistence. This situation is quite strange and unhappy since these are the only social sciences that are so obsessed with the past and their objective is exactly the same: the understanding of past cultures.

It seems that the roots of the problem have not grown because of differences in the theoretical development of the two sciences, since it is quite clear that history and archaeology have undergone the same changes and that their scholars have been influenced by the same social and philosophical movements. Even more interesting is the fact that some aspects of the historical theoretical thinking have also affected the archaeological theory of the last 20 years.

It remains then to render the existence of this gap to the polemic and unwillingness for understanding due to different political and professional reasons, but also to the differences in methodology, tools and scope of the two disciplines. A short tour in the approaches of historians and archaeologists to LBA and EIA Greece, which is a period that floats between prehistory and history and poses many problems to both archaeologists and historians, indicates this second aspect of the problem and suggests that if scholars from both disciplines are willing to overcome the obstacles of jargon, methodology and analytical tools, they have a lot to gain.

### **Myth, Expectations, and the Dangerous Divide between Disciplines in the Study of Classical Greece**

*Janett Morgan, University of Wales, Cardiff*

The social changes of the 1960's called into question patterns of thought and identity in many academic disciplines. For archaeology it brought a new perception of the past. The notion that myth and history could provide an explanation or inspiration for archaeological research was jettisoned in favour of a more scientific line of inquiry based on the careful analysis of material evidence. Attention turned away from the interests of previous generations, who searched for empires and political establishments, reflecting the concerns of their day, and turned to the location of the individual in the material record. Texts were considered of little value in this field. Written by and about a limited, elite section of society they presented a distorted perspective that offered little insight into the life of the 'common man'. Differences between the descriptions of the texts and archaeological discoveries were highlighted to justify an agenda of separation and emphasise the gulf between history and archaeology. The methodological practices of prehistoric archaeologists were applied in classical archaeology and excavators were encouraged to, '...study what is before us'.

In this paper I would like to consider the role of myth in the study of the past. Each generation seeks the past that it wishes to find. In considering the past, we must take into account our own perception of it and our expectations. Our search for the individual and belief that science can explain everything are modern myths that reflect the interests of the current generation. In creating such myths we encourage separatism, science versus literature, fact versus fiction without recourse to the checks and balances that a wider approach to sources encourages. In maintaining boundaries between disciplines, we are in danger of creating a past that is in itself a myth, a pallid reflection of our own society based on modern perceptions and modern needs.

### **A question of belief(?): historical and archaeological perspectives on the Christianisation of the ancient world**

*Eberhard Sauer, Keble College, Oxford and Leicester*

The study of the Christianisation of the ancient world is a prime example for the fragmentation of our discipline. Church historians sometimes see the religious changes through the eyes of early ecclesiastical writers without much objective appreciation of pre-Christian religious systems. Scholars specialising in ancient history and religion have often a tendency to focus on classical literature, epigraphy and iconography. The study of material evidence (other than 'high' art) is frequently considered to be of little relevance or of inferior reliability. Modern scientific research methods or statistics are scarcely used. It is the material evidence, however, which has the potential to reveal when and under what circumstances religious sites were abandoned. Do archaeologists make the most of it? Roman religious sculpture is often found in a severely damaged state, scattered over temple floors or deposited in wells. Sometimes it is clear that religious images have been deliberately hacked into pieces or otherwise mutilated. Many classically trained archaeologists will devote much energy to a thorough art historical

appreciation, but will not get distracted by the mode of destruction which lies chronologically and methodologically outside their field of interest. Some other archaeologists do take an interest in the pattern of destruction; some claim that hostile invaders are to blame whereas others claim with equal conviction that this was the work of Christian missionaries, mostly without much scrutiny of written evidence for such actions. It appears that there is a whole crowd of detectives approaching the scene of the crime from different angles without taking much notice of each other's work.

### **Section 3) Philology and archaeology at the 'fringes' of civilisation**

#### **Herodotus and the Amazons meet the Cyclops: Philology, Osteoarchaeology and the Eurasian Iron Age**

*Eileen M. Murphy, Queen's University Belfast*

'Father of History' or 'Father of Lies', love him or loath him the writings of Herodotus are universally recognised as being one of the foremost sources of written information concerning the societies of the Classical World and beyond. Much has been written regarding the interpretation of his writings, but the supporting evidence for these conclusions has invariably been drawn through a comparison of his work with those of his contemporary writers. In some cases, however, the findings of archaeological excavations have been found to shed light on his writings particularly when these have involved the excavation of burial sites and cemeteries. The objective of the presentation is to focus on one aspect of scientific archaeology, namely osteoarchaeology, to highlight the valuable contribution that osteology and palaeopathology can make in the interpretation of Herodotus' writings.

The paper will concentrate on osteoarchaeological findings that have recently been obtained from the analysis of human skeletal remains recovered from the Iron Age cemetery of Aymyrylg in South Siberia. This research has enabled us to gain a greater understanding of the health, diet, lifestyle, warfare practices and burial rituals of the semi-nomadic pastoralists who roamed the Eurasian steppes during prehistory. By following a multidisciplinary approach, which combines the osteoarchaeological and archaeological evidence with the writings of Herodotus, it is possible to gain even greater perceptions of life and death among these ancient peoples. In addition, this work has provided new insights into sections of Herodotus' writings which have been hitherto considered improbable and fanciful.

#### **Iron Age chariots and medieval texts: a step too far in 'breaking down boundaries'?**

*Raimund Karl, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, and Vienna*

Analysing "Celtic" chariots by using Iron Age archaeological material and Early Medieval Irish texts might seem to be more than but one step too far in breaking down boundaries. Considering the huge chronological and geographical gaps between the sources, the objections raised against the concept of "Celticity" by Celto-scepticists, and the Antinativist school of thought in Irish Literature, such an approach might look like outright nonsense to many archaeologists and scholars in medieval literature alike.

Using a "functional" method according to the new Viennese approach to Celtic Studies, to allow cross-disciplinary comparison of archaeological, historical, iconographical, legal, linguistic, literary and numismatic sources, it can be argued that, however obvious the above objections might seem to be, they nonetheless are unjustified.

By developing independent functional models for Iron Age and Early Medieval chariots, a perfect match between the two can be demonstrated, and comparison with "non-Celtic" models shows that they also are characteristic. Having thus established a solid connection, new possibilities for interpretation become available: Iron Age chariot finds can be used to reconstruct Early Medieval Irish chariots, which are mostly absent from the archaeological record, while in turn the Irish texts allow us valuable insights into Iron Age chariotry.

Thus, interpreting Iron Age chariots in the light of Medieval texts and vice versa is not a step too far in breaking down boundaries, but an absolute necessity for any serious research of this topic.

### **Archaeology versus Tacitus' Agricola: a first century worst case scenario**

*Birgitta Hoffmann, University College Dublin*

Tacitus's account of the governorship of Agricola (his father-in-law) has since the 17th century been treated as one of the few historical god-sents of Roman Britain. A bibliography of works attempting to link the archaeological remains of Scotland and the North of Britain to this short text would fill several pages. Traditionally, this text has been treated as gospel, its information as an exact year-on-year account of what happened, producing exact reconstructions of campaigns using the archaeological evidence of Roman camps as in the work of J.K.St Joseph. Even more importantly this literary source has become the lynch-pin for dating an entire phase of Roman material culture in Roman Britain.

However, is such an uncritical approach to this source justified? Classicists have long since proved that Tacitus often distorts historical facts for a more strident story line, and in some cases flagrant invention and near verbatim copying from earlier authors have been identified. In a parallel development, dendrochronology has now provided a dating tool of similar exactitude to Tacitus, and in the case of Carlisle - up to that discovery termed an 'Agricolan foundation', the dating difference amounts to nearly twenty years, while the archaeology of the so-called 'Agricolan' Gask Ridge frontier produces multiple phase occupation on a regular basis - proving the famous short term occupation of Flavian Scotland of c. 18 months doubtful at least.

The paper will, therefore, address the question, if and how the use of literary sources like the Agricola can be justified as a source for the development of Roman Britain.

### **Section 4) Past and future of disciplinary separatism**

#### **Archaeology and text**

*John Moreland, University of Sheffield*

Until recently, the relationship between archaeology and history has been akin to that between servant and master. Few historians have considered this a problem, and most archaeologists seem to accept their subordination. Challenges have arisen largely within archaeology and have usually resulted in calls for a rapprochement between the two disciplines. However, in seeking to understand, and renegotiate, this relationship, few archaeologists have explored its origins, its place in history. Like many historians, archaeologists seem to accept as 'natural' the epistemological primacy of the Word. In this paper, I present just such an exploration. Beginning with the Middle Ages, I will show that the Word was not always regarded as *the* prime means of accessing the past; that it did not always dominate the Object and the Voice. I will then explore the gradual demise of the latter in the context of the new understandings of the relationship between Man and the supernatural which arose during the Reformations of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is this context, which also saw the dissemination of the *printed* Word and the rise of 'science', that we must situate the epistemological primacy of the Word.

I will conclude by arguing that this excavation of origins *necessitates* a re-evaluation of the relationship between archaeology and history, for if most of the people in the historic past constructed themselves and their worlds through the Voice and the Object, why do we persist in trying to understand them primarily through the Word.

#### **A house divided: the study of Roman Art and the Art of Roman Britain.**

*Martin Henig, Wolfson College, Oxford*

Roman Archaeology in the British Isles was split into two strands from the beginning of the discipline in the early 17th century. On the one side there were those who could afford to travel to Italy and the Levant or to pay agents to collect for them and on the other lesser men, clergy, schoolteachers, librarians and doctors who travelled their native land and recorded its topography. The subject closest to those like Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and his successors, epitomised by the Dilletanti of the 18th century, was art and architecture. On the other hand for Camden, Aubrey and Stukeley, roads, camps and other humps and bumps on the ground were the primary interest. Art was of merely incidental concern.

For a short period only, during the Napoleonic Wars, Samuel Lysons and his patrons merged both approaches in a series of de luxe volumes dealing with the architecture of Bath and villa complexes with impressive ranges of mosaics such as Bignor, Frampton and Woodchester. The moment passed and well into this century in British Universities including Oxford, study of the cultural aspects of Roman Britain was derided by classicists for its lack of quality and often by 'dirt archaeologists' for its lack of interest. Even the Late Professor Jocelyn Toynbee's heroic attempt to do justice to Romano-British art from her perspective as a Classicist has only half achieved the acceptance her efforts deserved. Objectively the study of the art of any culture of Antiquity should be given equal weight and for those of us who live in the lands of the North-West provinces of the Roman Empire, local aspects are highly deserving of attention. In fact they merit just as much care as the art of the Mediterranean World, because this art often displays greater individuality and moreover it had a formative influence on later styles. It is high time that the dislocation between the two cultures, the result from the beginning and down to our own day of the snobbery of classicists and the philistinism of local archaeologists, should be healed. Instead, we should together enjoy the art of the Roman Empire in all its varied manifestations.

### **After years of trying are we getting anywhere? The dialogue between ancient history and archaeology**

*Ray Laurence, University of Reading*

The 'disciplines' of Roman Archaeology and Roman History have an uneasy dialogue with each other. There have been numerous attempts to define how these two 'disciplines' interact at conferences or in print (e.g. most recently *AJA* 105: 181-208). The result at times of these ventures is to define the two 'disciplines' as separate and maybe unable to effectively interact. However, at least within Britain, it would appear that these two 'disciplines' are content to provide training to students taking combined honours degrees and to promote a form of mutual interaction by producing trained graduates who have training in both disciplines. More reactionary colleagues may regard such graduates as only half trained in neither 'discipline'.

What I will argue in this paper is that in our post-present the boundaries set up between Roman archaeology and Roman history no longer have any meaning and should be seen as a product of modernization and the modern movement of the early to mid-twentieth century. It is only by moving the debate of the artificial divide away from types of evidence, an area that does not seem to hinder other cross-disciplinary interactions, e.g. geo-archaeology. Indeed, it is only by stepping away from entrenched academic positions into the cultural realm that we can begin to understand the nature of what appears to be an entrenched divide. I will suggest that a key problem within both 'disciplines' is a continuing belief (or suspension of disbelief?) that we can know what happened in the past, alongside some deconstructed but maybe not forgotten grand narratives. Finally, I will suggest that there is a need to recognise that these 'disciplines' have either mutated or are in the process of mutation that reflects our rapidly changing post-present cultures.

## **ARCHAEOLOGY TALKS BACK: CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTER-AND EXTRA-DISCIPLINARY DIALOGUES**

**Session organisers:** *Andrew Gardner and Steve Townend, Institute of Archaeology, UCL*

**Discussant:** *Cornelius Holtorf, Dept. of Archaeology, Cambridge*  
The goal of this session is for archaeologists to share ideas on some of the ways in which they can move beyond the ingestion of theories and techniques from other disciplines (philosophy, sociology, anthropology, physics, chemistry, etc.) and start to contribute something to those disciplines. The problem of the distinctiveness of archaeology, and its borrowing of ideas from other fields, has been on the agenda at least since the advent of the New Archaeology. While some have claimed that archaeology has a unique set of theoretical requirements, there is little doubt that other disciplines have, directly or otherwise, contributed much to the current shape of the subject. This session is intended to look at where this process



might be taken next. How can the particular developments of such borrowings within archaeology allow archaeologists to make genuine contributions to wider debates? Papers are therefore invited which are addressed at discussions happening in other subject areas today, and which attempt to rewrite the received wisdom of those disciplines using insights derived from archaeology's focus on materiality and on conditions of being other than those of the sociological or ethnographic present. In addition, it would be appropriate to consider the contexts within which inter-disciplinary dialogues take place, and how, indeed, archaeologists can talk back to those from whom they have drawn inspiration.

#### **The absence of materiality in social theory - the case of critical realism**

*Michael Tierney, Eachtra Archaeological Projects and University of Wales, Lampeter*

If historians deal with temporality and geographers deal with spatiality, it can be argued that materiality within the social world is the proper subject of analysis for archaeologists. Despite the interest in material culture studies in recent years, I would argue that there has been an undertheorisation of materiality in archaeology. The turn to ontological questions in archaeological theory needs to be extended beyond the discursive aspects of social reality, which has dominated so much of post-processual thought

I want to show how a concern with materiality addresses an absence within social theory - the ontological absence identified by Michael Schiffer in his recent work. I want to show how the lack of an explicit theory of materiality affects even the most materialist of traditions, critical realism. Archaeological understandings can deepen the critical realist project while also benefiting from this engagement.

#### **Cognition through matter: the archaeological perspective in contemporary cognitive science**

*Lambros Malafouris, Cambridge*

This paper will critically discuss some important developments in contemporary cognitive science generally referred as the 'embodied cognition' paradigm. Focus will be placed on two of its major tenets (conceptual metaphor theory and blending or conceptual integration theory) that present an important challenge to the prevailing 'computational' framework. Grounding cognition in bodily experience and foregrounding metaphoric and integrative projections as the foundation of human conceptual architecture the above perspectives have been indeed quite successful in overcoming the traditional 'ghost in the machine' paradox. However, it will be argued that in their attempt to expand the ontological boundaries of the *res cogitans* as to include the human body they have created an embodied 'cognitivism' where the manifold cultural particulars and artefacts remain situated 'outside' the projective web of the cognitive agent, and as such separated, external and subsequent to the cognitive structure. The above theoretical deficiency I will suggest derives from their methodological failure to systematically engage with non-linguistic evidence, and as such to recognise the ontological inseparability of cognition and matter and to incorporate the mediational capabilities of material culture as an integral part of their research strategies. It is upon this point, that contemporary archaeological focus on the active dimensions of material culture may have an important contribution to make, offering a useful means to overcome the above limitations and simultaneously establishing the ground for fruitful inter-disciplinary dialogue.

#### **Archaeology in social theory: developing the structurationist project**

*Andrew Gardner, UCL*

Archaeologists have, since the late 1980s, made extensive use of the social theory of Anthony Giddens, alongside work in a similar vein by Pierre Bourdieu and others interested in the 'agency/structure' problem. As successful as many of these studies have been in developing interpretations of particular contexts within archaeology, they have generally failed to feed back in to the wider debates about these issues within the social sciences. In a recent

edited volume on Giddens, for instance, archaeology does merit a mention as a discipline which has used structuration theory, but this is based on references from the 1980s and does not address what point such archaeological applications might serve.

In this paper, I will argue that overcoming disciplinary boundaries is extremely important, and that it can be achieved not simply by using other disciplines' ideas, but by developing them and 'talking back' to the - often still ongoing - discussions of their validity in those disciplines. Aspects of structuration theory - like the relationship between tradition and change, or the role of identities - can be enhanced by archaeological studies with their emphasis on material culture meanings and temporality. This paper will feature such a case study - late Roman-period Britain - and argue that archaeology has an important role to play in the development of social theory in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### **Death Warmed Up – Cremation in Archaeology and Beyond**

*Howard Williams, University of Wales, Carmarthen*

It is one of the great ironies of archaeology that dead bodies are commonly the subject of archaeological endeavour, and yet they are rarely used to discuss the nature of human mortality. Bodies and the objects and contexts associated with them are regarded as mines for information about almost everything but the way in which people deal with death. This paper argues that archaeologists have been shy about the possible significance of their discipline to wider debates on the nature of human responses to mortality.

For example, studies of cremation rites provide a good example of inter-disciplinary research among historians, archaeologists, anthropologists and sociologists in which archaeologists are often seen as the beneficiaries. Yet archaeological perspectives upon cremation – both in terms of practical and osteological studies, and in terms of archaeological theory – have the potential to make a profound impact on the study of human mortality in many disciplines. Before this can happen, archaeologists need to look in new ways at piles of burnt bones...

#### **Archaeology and the Discourse of War: archaeology's 'moral voice' revisited**

*John Carman, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge*

In 1997, I concluded my edited volume 'Material Harm' with a chapter entitled 'Giving archaeology a moral voice'. The argument was that archaeology has made little or no contribution of relevance to the 'great' debates of our time and that it was time we did so. The chapter went on to outline some very preliminary ideas on how archaeologists could make a contribution to a debate on human violence — and especially war — drawing in particular on some of the newer developments in writing archaeology. In this paper I should like to look with a more considered eye at the issues involved in making archaeologists part of a wider debate, and in the contributions archaeologists are making to the understanding of war, taking into account the recent rise in the interest in warfare shown by archaeologists. These in turn can be seen to reflect and parallel developments in other disciplines related to a widespread 'interpretive turn' in the social sciences and humanities.

#### **Thinking out loud/thinking about thinking: can we do it? should we do it? does anybody care?**

*Steve Townsend, UCL*

The above title suggests what this paper is intended to be, that is, a thinking out loud. It will be a thinking out loud about archaeology's contribution to thinking in, of and about the world; can we do it, should we do it and does anybody care about our thoughts/thinking. There are two levels to this thinking. One is philosophical. Do we as archaeologists think that we have anything to contribute to philosophy. Holtorf and Karlsson have already asked us to consider what philosophy can do for archaeology, I wonder whether we can or should have anything to say in return and whether the philosophical community would care either way. The other is directed at the world at large; does anybody give a monkey's about what we think, and under what conditions do they care or not care? Therefore, should we bother, and can we do it meaningfully anyway?

#### **Archaeology and the turns required to 'go beyond' science-values, knowledge-power, and epistemology-ontology dichotomies**

*Stephanie Koerner, Manchester*

In this contribution I wish to show why archaeology is highly relevant to some of the most promising directions suggested by the critique of meta-narratives occurring throughout the human sciences and philosophy. Relating to some of the general aims of the session, I will focus the implications of that critique for going beyond the science and values dichotomy, and the division between epistemology and ontology on which both Enlightenment and Romantic versions of metaphysics hinge (cf. Foucault 1990). (Examples from the literature on archaeology's relations to nationalism, colonialism, and imperialism are used to illustrate the challenges involved [Díaz-Andreu and Champion eds. 1996; Kohl and Fawcett 1995].) In the process I hope to indicate (a) why considerably more turns than those offered by received models for 'social constructivist' and 'interpretive turns' are required to address the challenges of 'going beyond' these supposed antitheses; and (b) that bringing archaeology to bear upon the problem poses issues which (with very few exceptions) have been excluded from philosophical discussion since the late Renaissance.

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#### **WORKING IN ARCHAEOLOGY: CRAFT AND/OR LABOUR**

**Session organisers:** *Maggie Ronayne and Jayne Gidlow for: Workers in Archaeology Action Group, SIPTU Archaeological Section and IPMS Archaeologists' Branch.*

The difference between the vision of archaeology assumed in many academic conferences and the reality for many fieldworkers, teaching assistants and temporary staff in Europe and the US is now quite stark. Most of the work in archaeology is extremely poorly paid, done in unacceptable and often dangerous conditions with no job security and poor access to benefits. There is little recognition of the need for individuals and families to survive and the possibility of development or progression in terms of people's capacities and skills is remote. It is work done in an atmosphere of lack of respect and recognition for the person who does the work. Equally in countries such as Brazil, as a result of economic recession, cuts in state funding and privatisation, archaeologists are now surviving and supporting families by holding down several non-archaeological part-time jobs as well. Poorly paid archaeologists may also be faced with the 'choice' of doing work in various regions of the world which gives the green light to projects that, in turn, cause displacement, damage and loss to large numbers of other people. There has been debate about the situation in these islands in the pages of *The Digger* in the UK, as well as the SIPTU and IPMS section newsletters. A large amount of organising work has been done in order to make voices heard and change this situation. This session has two aims: to set the scene in terms of the wider economic, social and cultural issues facing workers in archaeology and to discuss where organising to change this situation goes next. Topics discussed will include the exploitation of women's work in particular; updates on pay claims, conditions and union recognition; other experiences of organising archaeological labour; class and archaeology; 'development' and its relationship to archaeology around the world. Speakers will give their views on these topics in 10 or 20 minute talks for the first half of the session, followed by a chaired discussion on the way forward in organising for change in this situation.

#### **'Boom Time for archaeologists in IPMS' (Trade Union Bulletin headline July 2001)**

*Jayne Gidlow, IPMS Archaeologists' Branch*

In the last 2-3 years the demand for archaeological skills and labour has grown and far fewer archaeologists (in the UK anyway) are unemployed. European directives have made a positive impact upon terms and conditions, particularly for field staff. So why has Trade Union membership grown amongst archaeological workers in these islands? The dynamics of archaeological work have changed, with multi-million pound developments bringing together large numbers of field workers. Archaeologists come into contact with other development sub-contractors regularly and see the provision of far superior facilities: so vital in these dangerous workplaces. For many workers this has meant throwing their rose-tinted, 'rescue' spectacles on the spoil heap!

To Rescue the Archaeological Resource is not enough in the cut-throat world of competitive tendering, the possibility of recession and its impact upon a rapidly expanding workforce. Nor can it contend with the expansion of the archaeological marketplace into other countries where the social and political context of development is very different. It is suggested that Union membership is a sign that archaeological workers find their conditions of employment unacceptable and are keen to participate in changing those conditions. Unionisation is an acceptance that there are areas of conflict within archaeological organisations where disenfranchised workers require outside representation. Such participation ultimately demonstrates that archaeologists are a dedicated workforce with a sense of responsibility for what they do whilst at work.

#### **Towards a Labour History of Irish Archaeology**

*Michael Stanley, SIPTU Archaeological Section*

In the preface to *A History of the Irish Working Class* Peter Beresford Ellis wrote that "the labour history of Ireland . . . is largely an unexplored territory". While labour history is a relatively new and minor discipline within general historical research it has received little or no attention with regard to the history of Irish archaeology. This paper seeks to investigate the role of archaeological labour since the formation of the State with specific reference to how labour was organised. It will also outline the more recent efforts of the Services Industrial Professional Technical Union in organising the largest body of working archaeologists in Ireland and the problems that have been encountered along the way.

#### **Processing Irish Archaeology: Tales from the Factory Floor**

*Louise Chalkley, Archaeologist*

Recent archaeologically sensitive planning legislation coupled with the 'Celtic Tiger' frenzy for development, both public and private, has resulted in the Irish commercial archaeology sector swinging along into its own mini boom. Consequently, contract archaeologists, now much in demand to satisfy these planning regulations, are demanding fees comparable to other professionals. Good times to be an archaeologist in Ireland; plenty of work, recognised professional status and reasonable wages for all. Not So. The truth is that the majority of archaeologists employed by contract companies in Ireland are working for a minimum wage, in appalling conditions, with little or no job security. They have no company benefits, often do not get paid sick leave or holiday pay and do not have a contract. And that's just the men. Women in contract archaeology also have these obstacles but in addition they deal with other problems including the lack of toilet facilities on site, exclusion from maternity benefits for those on short-term employment and lack of provision for child-care.

This paper aims to firstly expose the irresponsible work practices of the commercial archaeology sector and particularly how they affect women working in archaeology. I will argue that commercial archaeology has simply become another industry with a flexible (disposable) labour force, incorporating work practices that make it practically impossible for any woman to embark upon a long-term career in the profession. This paper will also look at some of the possible reasons why archaeologists are willing to make the sacrifices to work under these circumstances. Finally I will offer a solution. I will urge action and use my paper to call for a mass exodus of the workers. Demand better conditions, put down your trowel and walk out. Only then can the negotiation begin.

### **Where Is Everyone? The lonely voice of the invisible archaeologist**

*Ange Brennan, Department of Archaeology and Art History, University of Manchester, UK*

Even though today's archaeologists might consider themselves as more theoretically minded there still seems to be a lot of catching up to be done, especially within contract archaeology. We, as field practitioners find ourselves excluded, erased even, from site reports and our diverse voices are silenced in a bid for objectivity. I wish to discuss the struggle that we face to make ourselves heard and acknowledged within the archaeological record.

### **Notes from the Underground: Archaeological Fieldworkers Unites!**

*Theresa Kintz, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton*

Does making archaeology profitable as a business in a capitalist economy necessitate the exploitation of the profession's workers? Some views on the ethical implications and class dimensions of capitalist archaeology in the context of lived experiences of archaeological fieldworkers organizing for change in the US and UK.

### **The Politics of Excavation Methodologies**

*Michael Tierney, Eachtra Archaeological Projects and Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter*

Excavation involves the production of the past in the present. The results and uses of this production is mostly determined by the context we work in and our understanding of that context. In this paper I outline the way the introduction of single context recording has been received in an Irish context, and the effects of this introduction. The potential of applying the system in a manner which encourages the democratisation of the process of archaeological production is outlined. The boundaries set on this potential by the commercial and research environment we work in are explored. The methods we apply in the field are never of purely technical importance, never simply about what is the best way of recording and representing evidence of peoples lives from the past. A deepening of our understanding of the politics of archaeological

methods can enhance the potential of archaeology to break from producing state-centred narratives, and offer more radical alternatives which can replace these. The argument for necessity of integrating these understandings into the struggle for workers rights and power in archaeology is outlined. The organisational consequences of these ideas are teased out in an argument which suggests that we need to look to look beyond trade unionism for other models of counter-hegemonic struggle.

### **Archaeological Labour and 'Third World Development'**

*Maggie Ronayne, Workers in Archaeology Action Group and Department of Archaeology, National University of Ireland, Galway.*

The massive processes of so-called development and the influx of capital from metropolitan governments and multi-national corporations to countries suffering under huge debt burdens are accelerating in the global economy. This affects archaeology too since mega-projects like dams flood the very river valleys that have seen intense settlement since the earliest times and they also affect thousands, sometimes millions, of people today who are forcibly displaced or lose their livelihoods and historical/cultural places as a result of these projects. The move recently to draft in field archaeologists from a UK unit to 'save' the Roman/Hellenistic cities of Zeugma/Apamea in Turkey in advance of the Birecik dam on the Euphrates is only a taster of plans afoot to apply the commercialised CHM/developer led model from Europe and the US to the rest of the world. Therefore, archaeologists on low pay and working in unsafe conditions in Europe and the US may increasingly be asked to work on such projects or carry out what are, in fact, impossible assessments.

They may find themselves to be the unwilling tools of a new wave of global repression and control. And they will find their jobs being used as a justification for these projects by governments and corporations – 'providing jobs for British/Irish workers'. But what can archaeologists do about it? And don't we face some similar dilemmas with road schemes for example at home? And don't we need the jobs? I will talk briefly (with input from IPMS members regarding their recent vote of a 'green ban' on the Ilisu dam) about what can be done regarding this situation and why and how we urgently need to act on this issue more generally.

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