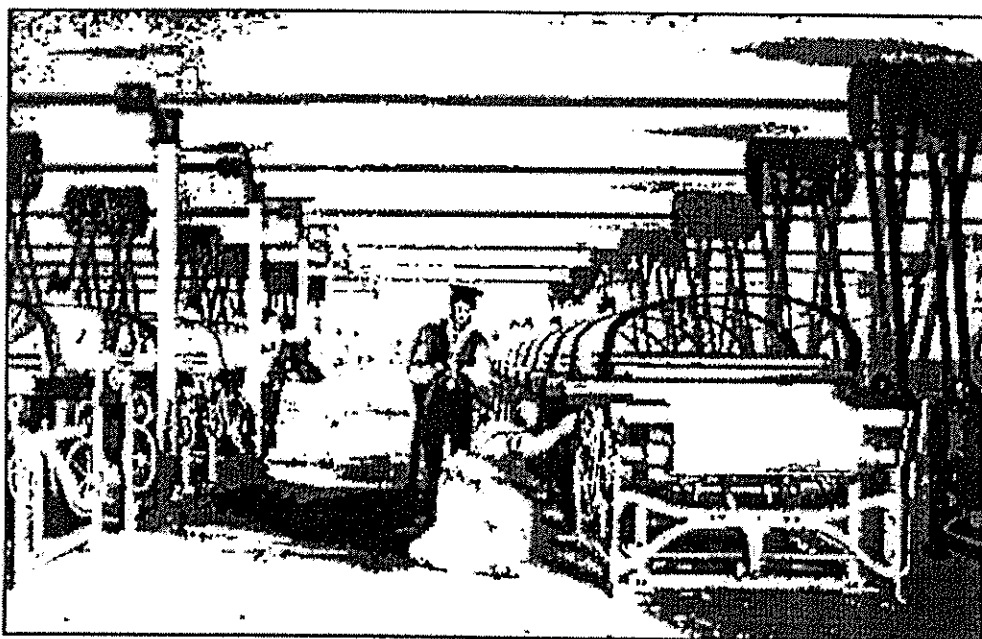


# TAG 2002

## MANCHESTER

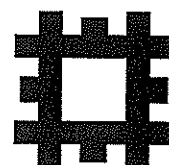


THE 24<sup>th</sup> ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE  
THEORETICAL ARCHAEOLOGY GROUP

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER  
21<sup>st</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> DECEMBER 2002



THE UNIVERSITY  
of MANCHESTER



ENGLISH  
HERITAGE

# ABSTRACTS

## 21 December Morning Session

### An Industrial Revolution? Future Directions for Industrial Archaeology

Dr Eleanor Conlin Casella and James Symonds

Session sponsored by English Heritage



Over the past decade, industrial archaeology (IA) has emerged as a theoretically driven subfield. Research has begun to meaningfully engage with such weighty issues as globalisation; post/modernity; power; innovation and invention; slavery and captivity; class, ethnic, and gender identities; social relations of technology and labour; and the spread and diversification of western capitalism. Through a series of international presentations, this session seeks to both highlight the current "state of play" in IA, as well as explore future theoretical and methodological directions. As we expand from basic technological studies to draw from the fields of labour history, economics, sociology, and anthropology, how is IA shaped by our common focus on the material world? How can we integrate our concerns with both the natural and social sciences? How do we manage and represent industrial sites as particular types of cultural landscapes? How can we find new social meanings in our recent industrial past?

#### Part I: Re-thinking Industrial Archaeology.

- 10:00am *"Social Workers": New Directions in Industrial Archaeology.* Eleanor Conlin Casella
- 10:20am *Experiencing Industry: Beyond Machines and the History of Technology.* James Symonds
- 10:40am *Positioning People in the Industrial Past.* Marilyn Palmer
- 11:00am *Publishing and Priority in Industrial Archaeology.* David Gwyn
- 11:20am *Industrial, Later 2nd Millenium, or Production Archaeologies?* David Cranstone
- 11:40am Coffee

#### Part II: The Conservation of Industrial Monuments and Landscapes

- 12:00pm *From Valves to Values – why industrial archaeology is responsible for Conservation Planning in the UK.* Kate Clark
- 12:20pm *More Trouble at t'Mill? Struggling with 'industrial archaeology' in Ironbridge, Bristol and the Caribbean.* Dan Hicks
- 12:40pm *Industrial Archaeology in Scotland! Strategies of Preservation or Ignorance?* Kylie Seretis and John Atkinson
- 1:00pm *Gas and Grain: Networked Landscapes. Managing and representing industrial sites as particular types of cultural landscape.* David Worth

#### 1:20pm Lunch:

#### Part III Archaeologies of the Factory and Mine

- 2:30pm *The Distribution of 18th century textile mills in Cheshire and Greater Manchester – a case of social archaeology?* Mike Nevell
- 2:50pm *Technological innovation in the early nineteenth-century Irish cotton industry: Overton cotton mills, County Cork,*

- Thomas Cheek Hewes and the origins of the suspension waterwheel.* Colin Rynne
- 3:10pm *Archaeology as Political Action: Digging Up the Colorado Coal Field War.* Randall H. McGuire
- 3:30pm *Mines, what mines? Evidence of a small scale mining enterprise and attitudes to it over the centuries.* Nigel Dibben
- 3:50pm Coffee

#### Part IV Culture, Consumption, Identity

- 4:10pm *Cultural Identity and the Consumption of Industry.* Stephen A. Mrozowski
- 4:30pm *Las Vegas Africana.* Martin Hall
- 4:50pm *The Further Reaches of an Industrial Domain: Thomas Edison's Botanic Garden in Fort Myers, Florida.* Anne Yentsch
- 5:10pm *Issues for the Industrial Historic Environment in England's North West.* Malcolm Cooper
- 5:30–6:00pm Discussion

#### PART I: RE-THINKING INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGY.

**"Social Workers": New Directions in Industrial Archaeology.**  
Eleanor Conlin Casella (University of Manchester)

Since the 1990s, Industrial Archaeology has developed new encounters with social theory. As our scholarship has begun to expand beyond the formative site-specific studies, we are increasingly confronted with the task of understanding sophisticated networks and multiscale relations of production, exchange and consumption. Descriptive accounts of local resource processing now provide a solid material framework for wider archaeological interpretations of diversifications in western capitalism, hierarchical and exploitative organisations of labour, and differing expressions of power within systems of industrial production. Theories of social identity have helped further illuminate material patterns of gender, ethnic, class, age, and religious difference within the Industrial Era. How can our explicitly material focus of research contribute to broader sociological studies of labour, production, reproduction and consumption? This introductory paper will highlight the invigorating theoretical possibilities offered through the papers of this symposium. In addition, a case study focused on recent archaeological work at Alderley Edge, Cheshire will emphasize the significance of local community involvement for drawing links between macroscale socio-economic transformations and the everyday politics of domestic and workplace life.

**Experiencing Industry: Beyond Machines and the History of Technology**  
James Symonds (ARCUS, University of Sheffield)

In the most recent overview of industrial archaeology in the UK Sir Neil Cossons cautioned that industrial archaeology risks becoming a "one generation subject" that stands on the edge of oblivion alongside the mid-twentieth century passion for folklife studies. Should we accept this fate gracefully and hang up our anoraks? Or can we move beyond sterile histories of technology? Is it possible to generate new perspectives that challenge received historical narratives and foreground the human experience of industry? This paper offers case studies from recent archaeological work in Sheffield and beyond. I argue that we must re-invigorate the study of industrial societies and

that in our efforts to find meaning in the industrial past archaeologists have an important part to play in informing contemporary cultural debates on the nature of work, race, ethnicity and gender.

**Positioning People in the Industrial Past**  
Marilyn Palmer (University of Leicester)

The paper will argue that the study of industrial archaeology must move beyond its traditional techno-centred paradigm in order to consider the social dynamic of the material remains. Industrial sites need to be considered within a framework of inference which seeks to establish social as well as economic and technological meanings. The process of industrialisation brought about not just redefinitions of class but attempts to define and reinforce status on the part of both employer and employee. The former often disguised social control and surveillance under the umbrella of paternalism, while the workforce met strategies of domination with strategies of resistance, not just in riots and strikes but in the more subtle ways by which they tried to order their material existence. The paper will also consider whether new industrial processes reinforced or re-ordered existing gender roles, again using the evidence of surviving physical remains. It will conclude by considering how the study of industrial archaeology can contribute to our understanding of labour issues in contemporary industry.

**Publishing and Priority in Industrial Archaeology.**  
David Gwyn (Govannon Consultancy)

Industrial Archaeology has developed as a discipline since the 1960s, but, at least as practiced in Britain, has tended to remain insular in focus and narrowly technocentric. More recently, a debate has begun both in Britain and the USA as to its nature and direction. Recently-published papers have discussed whether IA is properly a thematic or a period-specific discipline, but so far the broader theoretical debate, as it seeks to find new social meaning in IA, has barely entered the published domain.

This paper considers the ways in which the debate may be opened out and taken forward through publication and other fora. It argues that this debate is essential if IA is to engage with other areas of archaeology and other academic disciplines.

**Industrial, Later 2<sup>nd</sup> Millenium, or Production Archaeologies?**  
David Cranstone (Cranstone Consultants)

IA remains confused about its identity. At a popular level, it has a clear *de facto* identity, crossing the disciplinary boundaries of archaeology and indeed the boundaries between the academic, practical conservation, and leisure realms, and has a valid identity as 'what industrial archaeologists do'.

At an academic level, however, IA has not fully developed as either a period or a topic specialisation. In a period sense, the separation from Post-Medieval archaeology has in practice worked as an unhelpful separation of production from consumption, and IA may be better subsumed within a broader study of later 2<sup>nd</sup> millenium archaeology (under whatever title). This itself forms part of the broader developing sub-discipline of Historical Archaeology.

IA in its topic sense can be defined as 'the archaeology of production'. As we move beyond data-gathering, IA should develop real insight into the processes of invention, innovation and development – the role of archaeology and archaeological science in putting in the bottom-up role of the craftsman and worker, in dialogue with the emphasis of the historical record on the inventor and industrialist.

Technology is created by society and by individuals, but also recreates them. This is true, but we need to move beyond merely importing the ideas of Giddens and others into archaeology – if archaeology is to contribute anything genuinely original to the intellectual world, that must by definition come upwards from within the discipline, and a good starting point is our ability to identify what people

actually did on the ground, in dialogue with the historian's ability to identify what people (often not the same people) said and thought.

#### PART II: THE CONSERVATION OF INDUSTRIAL MONUMENTS AND LANDSCAPES

**From Valves to Values – why industrial archaeology is responsible for Conservation Planning in the UK**  
Kate Clark (English Heritage)

A decade ago, Judith Alfrey and I conducted the Nuffield Survey of the Ironbridge Gorge. At first I thought that the work would involve ticking boxes – using the documents to identify known sites and then 'ticking' them off when they were identified in the field. After doing the fieldwork, I was overwhelmed by a huge amount of data that didn't seem to tell me much more than I could read in the standard histories. By the time the books were written, I'd begun to appreciate that industrial archaeology was a very different field of inquiry to economic history, with a different range of questions and a different theoretical basis. It taught me to look at landscapes through time and in space; to recognise the complexity of the relationship between documents and archaeology, and to understand the limits and strengths of physical evidence in historical inquiry, as well as providing insights into the nature of innovation, to adaptive re-use and the very basis of industrialisation.

By the end of the project I was frustrated. Despite the huge amount of work we had done, decisions were being made about that landscape which ignored the information we had gathered, and as a result, a special place was being damaged. I had failed to make a connection between what we were doing, and those who were making critical decisions.

Since the Nuffield project ended, I have been working in the field of heritage management. The Nuffield work became the basis for the idea of Value-led Planning, (or Conservation Planning) – an approach to managing sites which uses an understanding of the place as the basis for making decisions. Using the work of Jim Kerr and the ideas in the Burra Charter, I developed an approach to site management which is now in use in Britain and abroad. The critical element is the idea of 'value' as a basis for decision-making, which in turn comes from a holistic understanding of a place. The aim was to create a framework where the understanding which comes from industrial archaeology could not be ignored.

Industrial archaeology is a powerful tool, which has the potential to become the basis of much of our thinking on sustaining the environment as a whole. Conservation is impossible unless we understand what is there, what matters and why, and most of what is there today is the product of the past 200 years. It is impossible to make informed decisions about any landscape or urban area in Britain today, without understanding its industrial archaeology.

**More Trouble at t'Mill? Struggling with 'industrial archaeology' in Ironbridge, Bristol and the Caribbean**  
Dan Hicks (University of Bristol)

Kate Clark's seminal paper on industrial archaeology in the 1980s demonstrated the importance of the adoption of landscape-based approaches by industrial archaeologists: widening out perspectives across 'landscapes of industry' such as the Ironbridge Gorge. Fifteen years on, while historical archaeology has changed radically, much industrial archaeology (and much landscape archaeology) remains dry, processual and isolated.

Inspired by Clark's study, this paper will return to Ironbridge, and will detail recent fieldwork in 18th century landscapes in Bristol and in eastern Caribbean sugar mills. In these contexts, attempts to practice 'industrial archaeology' are fraught with problems of defining what is 'industrial' and what is not. The paper will consider whether 'industrial archaeology', like garden archaeology or clay pipe studies, should finally end its isolation from a broader historical archaeology.

### Industrial Archaeology in Scotland! Strategies of Preservation or Ignorance?

Kylie Seretis (University of Glasgow) and John Atkinson (GUARD, University of Glasgow)

Through a review of Scotland's industrial archaeological sites, this paper outlines the current state of Scottish industrial archaeology. The aim of this paper is to address the diversity of Scottish industrial sites and their related social, theoretical and methodological issues, through a comparison of the types of Scottish industrial sites. In 1996 Bell's Pottery was the first industrial archaeological site to be protected as a Scheduled 'Ancient' Monument where no extant remains survived. Is this the way forward for the preservation of industrial archaeological sites in Scotland, or should we be aiming to protect the surviving remains first by the use of policy statements on the subject. This paper will highlight the on going views of industrial archaeology in Scotland, including our current state of knowledge.

### Gas and Grain: Networked Landscapes. Managing and representing industrial sites as particular types of cultural landscape.

David Worth (University of Cape Town)

Can the infrastructure required for the distribution of commodities be considered as a cultural landscape? This paper uses South African case studies to examine two very contrasting distribution networks, and argues that they do indeed form a particular type of cultural landscape.

At a local scale, the first case study examines the material evidence left by the Cape of Good Hope Gas Light and Coke Company, a privately owned enterprise whose late nineteenth century gas works was closed, and quickly demolished, in the 1990s. In this instance, the "landscape" principally comprises the sites of two gas works, and the network of supply pipes that linked them to each other and to their customers, both domestic and industrial.

The second case study is very different, and comprises a state funded, nationwide system of grain elevators, established in the 1920s for the express purpose of increasing the country's maize exports. Built for the South African Railways and Harbours Board, only one of the thirty-three elevators has failed to survive. Some of the sites have been heavily modified, and adapted as part of more modern, and considerably larger, grain handling facilities, while others have fallen into dereliction.

In both examples, the spatial organization of the networks is considered in terms of what might now be called "points of presence" (the gas works and the elevators) and the inter-connecting networks (the pipes and the railways). The paper concludes by examining some of the issues around their conservation and management, within the contexts of sustainability and development.

## PART III ARCHAEOLOGIES OF THE FACTORY AND MINE

### The Distribution of 18<sup>th</sup> century textile mills in Cheshire and Greater Manchester – a case of social archaeology?

Mike Nevell (UMAU, University of Manchester)

Research in the North West during the last 20 years has focussed upon the identification of water and steam powered textile mill sites. The data thus gathered has produced over 2000 textile sites in Cheshire and Greater Manchester spanning the 1730s to the 1960s. In most cases the original functions of the mills are known, along with their original power source, and documentary research has revealed the names of the builders and first occupiers of over 50% of these sites. It is now possible to review this data, and in particular the evidence for the first 18<sup>th</sup> century textile mills, which has a wider, but nevertheless uneven distribution pattern that a further analysis appears to be related to 18<sup>th</sup> century social constraints rather than technological problems.

1864 textile mill sites are known from the Greater Manchester and eastern Cheshire area. Of these, archaeological, documentary and map evidence suggests that at least 207 mills in Greater Manchester and 53 in Cheshire were constructed before 1800, and a further 29 18<sup>th</sup> century textile sites are known from north-western Derbyshire. These were not evenly distributed across the landscape, and although there were textile mills in places as far apart as Nantwich and St Helens the greatest concentration lay in an arc around Manchester that ran from Horwich in the north west to Congleton in the south-east. Even in this area the mills were not evenly distributed; there were notable concentrations along the major river valleys and minor tributaries of the region and concentrations in three towns; Macclesfield, Stockport and Manchester. Furthermore, in terms of height above sea level distribution these mills ranged from c 20m AOD at Wilderspool to over 300m AOD in Saddleworth.

What can this distribution of textile mills in Cheshire and Greater Manchester tell us about the way industrialisation developed in the North West during the 18<sup>th</sup> century? Ostensibly it reflects the available water supply or the availability of fast flowing streams. But it will be argued that even the lowland rivers were capable of supporting even the largest water powered textile mill of the period, the Arkwright Mill. The resulting textile mill distribution is thus the product of social constraints and not just technological problems.

What might these social constraints be? Two likely courses have emerged over the last 20 years of research. Firstly, the legal restrictions on the availability of water supply and secondly, the presence of large landed estates and their impact on the way in which the landscape was utilised during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

### Technological innovation in the early nineteenth-century Irish cotton industry: Overton cotton mills, County Cork, Thomas Cheek Hewes and the origins of the suspension waterwheel.

Colin Rynne (University College Cork, Ireland)

Severely disadvantaged in terms of coal resources, relative to their English competitors, the development and extension of water-powered prime movers became a technological imperative for Irish industrialists throughout the nineteenth century. Such resource constraints were, indeed, keenly felt by Ireland's textile industries. In 1870 waterpower accounted for almost one fourth of Ireland's recorded industrial horsepower (the corresponding British figure was one twentieth), of which the Irish textile industry was responsible for just over 83% of the total percentage of Irish total waterpower. Water power in Ireland, therefore, was exploited whenever and wherever possible, yet it was not simply a matter of opportunity matching choice. Irish industrialists and millwrights aggressively sought out new forms of water-powered prime movers both in England and on the continent.

Recent research in Ireland has shown that the desire of the Irish cotton industry to compete with its English counterpart led, in at least one instance, to a startling example of technology transfer from the Manchester cotton industry to the environs of a small Irish town. This paper, which uses newly discovered documentary and archaeological evidence, is a case study in the social relations of technology between an early nineteenth-century Irish cotton mill owner, George Allman of Overton, county Cork, and the technological mainstream of the Manchester cotton industry, which culminated in the construction of the world's first suspension water wheel, in an Irish cotton mill, in 1802. It will also be argued that this development was part of a wider agenda in Irish textile industries as a whole, during the first half of the nineteenth, in which the same technological imperatives were adopted by linen industry in Ireland, and led to the introduction of modern reaction turbines into Ireland, in the early 1850s, before their adoption in England.

### Archaeology as Political Action: Digging Up the Colorado Coal Field War.

Randall H. McGuire (Binghamton University, USA)

On April 20, 1914 Colorado National Guard troops opened fire on a tent colony of 1,200 striking coal miners at Ludlow, Colorado, killing eighteen strikers, including two women, and eleven children. The Ludlow Massacre is the best known episode of the 1913-1914 Colorado Coal Field Strike. We have initiated a long term archaeological project studying the 1913-1914 strike. The project is excavating at the site of the massacre and in the company towns that the miners lived in before and after the strike. We seek to understand the day to day lives of the miners, and of their families. These people chose to strike because of the deprivation of their everyday lived experience, and the strike was ultimately broken by the increased deprivation of the strike. The project is also a form of political action. By excavating at Ludlow we make the events of 1914 news once again, and we initiate a dialogue involving our students, the United Mine Workers, and the general public about class, and unionism in the United States. In doing so we transcend the traditional Middle Class audience for archaeology and seek to create an archaeology about and for the Working Class.

### Mines, what mines? Evidence of a small scale mining enterprise and attitudes to it over the centuries.

Nigel Dibben (Derbyshire Caving Club)

The copper minerals at Alderley Edge are known to have been mined since the Bronze Age (carbon dating c. 3800 bp). Copper or lead was worked during the Roman era (probably 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD) and sporadically from around 1693 until 1919. Despite this long history, mining has always been on a small scale. The evidence left has quickly disappeared and, if it were not for recent field work, even more would probably have been lost. Nevertheless, the argument for *better* protection is growing and, recently, scheduling of part of the site as an Ancient Monument has led to changes in methods employed by those working in the area. This presentation will briefly describe the surface and underground evidence remaining and show what may still be observed, despite the ravages of time. The small scale of the operation will be discussed and views will be expressed on how this influenced the perception of the mines in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. The presentation will also demonstrate and explain how the attitudes and techniques of the resident mine exploration group (the Derbyshire Caving Club) have changed over the last thirty years leading up to and including the Alderley Edge Landscape Project run jointly by the Manchester Museum and National Trust between 1996 and 1998. A further aspect of the changing attitude to the investigation of the site is the number of range of stakeholders involved and the way their views of and interaction with the site have developed. Parallels could be drawn with industrial archaeology on other mining related sites around the country.

## PART IV CULTURE, CONSUMPTION, IDENTITY

### Cultural Identity and the Consumption of Industry

Stephen A. Mrozowski (University of Massachusetts, Boston, USA)

This paper explores the construction of cultural identity during the age of industry. Drawing on case studies from Lowell, Massachusetts this paper examines the growth of working class and middle class cultural consciousness during the nineteenth century. Its primary focus is the manner in which material culture served to reify and communicate class distinctions. Material culture and landscape evidence recovered from worker's housing reveals they both resisted and embraced different aspects of middle class consciousness in forging their own identity. Evidence collected from the excavation of management housing points to behaviors that ran counter to a public ideology of abstinence and piety that pervaded literature of the period. That same evidence suggests a blurring of differences between working class and middle class households that calls into question notions of individualism and democracy that have reemerged as the gap be-

tween rich and poor has grown in the United States during the late twentieth century. By examining some of the theoretical implications of the burgeoning consumption of industrial products during the nineteenth century I hope to offer fresh insights into the reasons underlying this process and the forces that governed its trajectory.

### Las Vegas Africana

Martin Hall (University of Cape Town)

The gaming industry is among the most prolific producers of material culture, and Las Vegas is the paragon of this experiential economy. Success depends on drawing in customers from a widening socio-economic pool through ever-fresh attractions that rival their predecessors and competitors in audacity and scale: Treasure Island, the Fountains of Bellagio, the Tomb of Tutankhamen at the Luxor, the Guggenheim at the Venicia.

Over the past few years, this casino culture has been exported to Africa. International consortia have used European and North American capital to build a series of extravagant gaming resorts close to South Africa's major cities. Some, such as Caesars Gauteng, follow the classic formula of opulence and extravaganza. Others are more inventive. Johannesburg's Montecasino is a full-scale reproduction of a Tuscan village while Cape Town's CasinoWest is local ethnic, with a historic Cape Malay theme. One is studiedly bush – Emerald Casino, in partnership with a consortium of London clubs, offers game safaris by day and slots, blackjack and roulette while the African sun rises.

The industrial archaeology of South Africa's new-style gaming industry is instructive for a number of reasons. Firstly, casinos have been built as a result of specific policy decisions by the Department of Trade and Industry, replacing the discredited homeland fleshpots of the apartheid days. As a result of government controls, they all follow a set formula, setting up ready-made comparisons. Secondly, they come at a time of social reconstruction, when the earlier tight association between race and class is breaking down and an affluent, consumer-focused black middle class is emerging in and around the cities. Consequently, the experiential economy is a zone in which new identities are forming, and being formed, with new associations and new exclusions. Because the brashness, scale and materiality of resort development leaves little room for subtlety, the ligaments of these new material culture forms can perhaps be seen more clearly, serving as a mirror which reflects back the current dynamics of society.

### The Further Reaches of an Industrial Domain: Thomas Edison's Botanic Garden in Fort Myers, Florida.

Anne Yentsch (Armstrong Atlantic State University, USA)

Landscapes are complex entities. Their multivalence appears most clearly by blending data from a range of sources. Here information is drawn from photographs, letters, diaries, newspapers, plant exploration, agricultural treatises, landscape surveys, tree measurements, manufacturing requirements. Insight into cultural values, especially Victorian concepts of man and nature, is crucial. Men who left the countryside to turn technological innovation into new products together with the tools and materials they used provide the focus. The centerpiece of the paper is an American genius, Thomas Edison, and his work on rubber-producing plants.

From an early age onward Edison found plant materials and their uses fascinating. However, it was after World War I when his botanical experiments created a new landscape at his Florida home. Recently, photographs were used to recreate in mind and on paper the testing garden that Edison's research produced. In these pictures one can see a carefully manipulated if not ruthlessly controlled landscape that is, simultaneously, almost out of control. Its appearance reflects the outlook of three powerful twentieth-century American industrialists: Thomas Edison, Henry Ford, and Harvey Firestone. It shows both their foresight and their fear.

Photographs document how the three men and their workers imposed human will on subtropical ground. The same photographs also



reveal a willful disregard of the domination they desired. The dichotomy between highly structured land use, subversive paths, and wayward plants was not why men took these photographs. Instead, the photographs are inadvertent evidence of innovative ingenuity. A critical question is whether the complexity of the scientifically motivated landscape would be visible in the archaeological record if studied solely in terms of what could be found in the ground.

#### Issues for the Industrial Historic Environment in England's North West.

Malcolm Cooper (*English Heritage*)

The UK Government's submission of tentative world heritage sites to UNESCO in 1999 was slanted heavily towards elements of the industrial historic environment. Included within the list were Manchester/Salford and Liverpool's waterfront. Both of these reflect the importance of the north west region in the country's industrial development. This recognition of the region's importance might have been expected to be welcomed, but this is not the case. Whilst Liverpool has moved forward rapidly, progress in Manchester has been slower due to concerns over its effect on development.

The wider context is worrying. A study undertaken by the North West Development Agency has identified that the industrial past may be having an adverse impact on inward investment. Draft regional planning guidance prepared by the North West Regional Assembly also identifies some 75,000 terraced houses for clearance – many of these relate to the north west's industrial past. Indeed English Heritage, in partnership with the local community, has recently opposed demolition of 400 historic terraced houses at a difficult public inquiry.

This paper will draw on work currently being undertaken in Liverpool, Manchester and Nelson in Lancashire to explore the competing value systems being applied to industrial heritage in the region. It will explore how images of the industrial past have been used in rhetorical constructions to justify either preservation or its loss. The paper concludes by identifying future challenges and some methods for overcoming them.

#### Curating the past<sup>1</sup>: the production of narratives of identity and place in Britain and Ireland

Siân Jones & Angela McClanahan (*University of Manchester*)

The relationship between archaeological heritage and discourses of authenticity, identity and place has become an important field of research over the last two decades. Historiographical studies have provided new insights into the relationship between archaeology and national identity in particular countries. Theoretical debates have raged about the responsibilities of archaeologists, and the extent to which archaeological interpretation can be extracted from contemporary interests and identities. However, our understanding of how specific archaeological remains are involved in constructing multiple identities and interests *in practice*, and how archaeological enquiry and heritage management are involved, is often superficial and/or based on generalizations. Meanwhile, much heritage management literature often continues to present the relationship between national identity and heritage as self-evident and unproblematic, despite frequent instances of dispute and contestation.

This session aims to explore how specific archaeological remains are involved in constructing multiple identities and interests, not just national, but regional, local, ethnic and class identities. How are national identities produced and consumed in practice through engagement with archaeological sites and monuments? To what extent are the façades of national unanimity, so often presented by the heritage industry, contested, recast and reformulated? How are archaeological practices, heritage management policies, and tourist

organizations involved in mediating the kinds of narratives of identity and place that are produced in relation to material remains? Through specific case studies from Britain and Ireland, the contributors of this session address these questions at a time when processes of devolution, and changing concepts of citizenship and identity, are creating new relationships between archaeologists, heritage managers and members of the broader society. Far from being myopic, the study of such processes in relation to *particular* monuments and landscapes is essential for advancing our understanding of the role of the past in production of contemporary identities and values.

<sup>1</sup> The title 'Curating the Past' refers to all the processes involved in conserving, classifying, collecting, managing and interpreting archaeological materials which mediate people's experience of them, and engagement with them.

- 11.00am Introduction
- 11.15am *Ways of telling – the Leskernick Stone World exhibition.* Barbara Bender
- 11.35am *Stone circles: narratives of seeing.* Elizabeth Curtis
- 11.55am *Talking about understanding 'heritage' in the landscape: a 'visual repertoire' of pictures in the head.* Jon Kenny
- 12.15pm Questions/Discussion
- 12.45pm Lunch
- 2.00pm *Monument or Artefact? Who cares? Towards understanding the local and national politics of early medieval sculpture through 120 years of Scottish experience.* Sally Foster
- 2.20pm *'They made it a living thing, didn't they ...': Hilton of Cadboll and the production of community, place and belonging.* Siân Jones
- 2.40pm *Access and 'Atmosphere': practicing the construction of place in the Heart of Neolithic Orkney.* Angela McClanahan
- 3.00pm Questions/Discussion
- 3.30pm Coffee
- 4.00pm *Ancestral connections: genealogical identity and the heritage-landscape.* Paul Basu
- 4.20pm *Remembering to forget / forgetting to remember: why are we still thinking about the Celts?* Angela Piccini
- 4.40pm *Opposing New Culture Histories in Fortress Ireland and Fortress Europe.* Maggie Ronayne
- 5.00pm Questions/Discussion

#### Ways of telling – the Leskernick Stone World exhibition

Barbara Bender (*Department of Anthropology, University College London*)

A team of archaeologists and anthropologists recently worked on the Bronze Age settlements at Leskernick on Bodmin Moor. The project was not only about the prehistoric settlement and the ancestral stone world of its inhabitants, but about a contemporary sense of place and landscape. In the last and fifth year a small travelling exhibition was created and was on display in a local village hall. Some of the anthropologists spent three weeks with the exhibition talking with visitors about their reactions to the site, the excavation and the exhibition. The variability of response, the way in which local and regional issues surfaced, the importance of making 'academic' findings accessible and available to the public, and the ways in which this one-way flow converts into more open ended exchanges will be discussed.

#### Ancestral connections: genealogical identity and the heritage-landscape

Paul Basu (*Department of Anthropology, University College London*)

This paper is concerned with the burgeoning phenomenon of 'roots-tourism' in the Scottish Highlands and Islands, with journeys made by people of Scottish descent ordinarily living in the USA, Canada, Aus-

tralia and New Zealand to places in the 'old country' associated with their ancestors. Such visitors are often keen to distance themselves from 'ordinary tourists', defining their journeys in terms of pilgrimage, quest and homecoming. Interrogating such assertions, I consider the symbolism of the destinations of these journeys, suggesting that they may be understood respectively as sites of memory, sources of identity, and shrines of self. Roots-tourists are not only attracted to those sites to which they have established some documented genealogical connection, but are often profoundly drawn to prehistoric monuments. With the postcolonial unsettling of settler societies in North America and Australasia, I suggest that these sites answer a desire in the roots-tourists to find their own 'indigenous' landscapes, places which represent an ideal of unproblematic belonging. Implicit in my discussion is a critique of the prosaic approach of much heritage interpretation, which, I maintain, reduces the semantic potential of our cultural landscapes and is erosive to a sense of place. Using roots-tourism as an example, I argue that heritage-landscapes are being 'consumed' in ways far more complex and sophisticated than most heritage managers imagine, and that there is a need to resist a banal 'develop or die' attitude towards heritage sites driven by an unimaginative tourism agenda.

#### Stone circles: narratives of seeing

Elizabeth Curtis (*Department of Cultural History, University of Aberdeen*)

'Every locality had its story, telling of how it was created through the earth-shaping activities of ancestral beings as they roamed the country during the formative era,' (Ingold, 2000). Just as in the 'Dreaming', familiar narratives underpin the ways in which people see and respond to stone circles. This paper will explore some ways in which individuals have created narratives from their experiences of visiting or living with stone circles in northern Scotland. The narratives explored in this paper take various forms including oral, written and pictorial and were created between the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the present day, by a wide range of individuals from antiquarians to pagans. Each narrative is particular to its creator and reflects the ways in which they saw the monument they were encountering. Seeing, as Ingold and others have noted, is far more than just looking, and involves both our minds and our bodies as we consume our environment. Seeing also involves noticing and explaining absences, both the tangible and the temporal as previous forms of the stone circle are imagined. In creating narratives of seeing, people experience the monument in the present and its recent past, whether or not they consider it to be an ancient relic of a long forgotten past.

#### Monument or Artefact? Who cares? Towards understanding the local and national politics of early medieval sculpture through 120 years of Scottish experience

Sally Foster (*Historic Scotland*)

Scotland has had over a century's history of contested and high-profile claims relating to the location of early medieval sculpture, one of the nation's prime cultural assets. But why? There is no single answer and each case has to be set against its broader historical context, but common threads emerge. The most notable cause of tension is the schizophrenic identity of sculpture – whether it is treated as a monument or artefact – and the closely related question of its ownership. This technical distinction, reflected in the respective policies and working practices of cultural resource managers and museum curators has occasionally brought such professionals into conflict. But it can also starkly reveal the radically different ways in which more local parties perceive and value such remains, views which may have no patience for legal niceties. Case studies from the last 120 years, but particularly the ongoing Hilton of Cadboll project, will be used to illustrate and develop an understanding of the issues and how they might be addressed in the future.

#### 'They made it a living thing, didn't they ...': Hilton of Cadboll and the production of community, place and belonging

Siân Jones (*University of Manchester*)

The Hilton of Cadboll Pictish cross-slab from Easter Ross, Scotland, is variously regarded as having local, national and international significance. Its significance as a national icon is reflected in the prominent position of the largest fragment of the cross-slab in the Museum of Scotland. However, discovery and excavation of the missing bottom part of the sculpture last summer, rekindled disputes about the ownership and presentation of the monument, which revolved around an opposition between local communities and national heritage agencies.

Drawing on participant observation and qualitative interviews carried out in the Seaboard Villages of Easter Ross, I will discuss how the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab provides a vehicle for the conception of community, place and belonging. The monument itself is symbolically conceived as being both a member of the community, with a specific social biography and sets of relations, as well as standing for the entire community or village. Through symbolic representation of community, it also plays a central role in the articulation of a sense of place; and the production of Hilton as 'a place of significance'. Simultaneously, against a background of displacement and dislocation in the Scottish Highlands the cross-slab also provides an icon of displacement and a means to symbolically resist such historic processes. I will conclude by arguing that exploration of the ways in which such monuments act as vehicles for the conception of community, place and belonging, is fundamental to understanding conflicts over their ownership and display.

#### Talking about understanding 'heritage' in the landscape: a 'visual repertoire' of 'pictures in the head'.

Jon Kenny (*Archaeology Data Service, University of York*)

This paper will consider ways that the symbolism of 'heritage' sites and monuments in the landscape is at once self evident and constant whilst also being contested and subverting. This contradiction is discussed in relation to concepts of visual stereotypes, 'common sense thinking' (Billig 1987, 1991, Condor et al 1988, Shotter 1990) and 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995).

To illustrate the contradictory roles of 'heritage' in the landscape the paper refers to research into family discourse generated by visual aspects of national, supranational and local identities. Family discourse was observed in action through engagement with images of archaeological sites and monuments from the Worcester landscape. The resulting family discussion and argument regularly displayed the 'discourse of continuity', yet such continuity was regularly subverted.

This paper suggests that such discourse illustrates multiple meaning in action. The family groups taking part in the study displayed the ability to deal with multiple meaning and apparent self-contradiction by focusing on different aspects of an image or blurring the mental image of their local landscape and its features. This paper will suggest that this ability to deal with continuity and subversion are reflected in, often rapid, changes in apparent attitude towards features of the historic landscape.

#### Access and 'Atmosphere': practicing the construction of place in the Heart of Neolithic Orkney

Angela McClanahan (*University of Manchester*)

This paper focuses on an ethnographic study of the development of four Neolithic archaeological monuments in the Orkney Islands as UNESCO 'World Heritage Sites', collectively known as 'The Heart of Neolithic Orkney'. Throughout the project, issues relating to the 'access' to, and the 'atmosphere' of, the sites tended to dominate in narratives of peoples' experience and expectations of them, tying in most frequently with discourses of ownership and authenticity. Social actors from a variety of groups who use, manage and/or live near the monuments, including native Orcadians, tourists, 'incomers', archae-

ologists and the heritage and tourism sectors, expressed particular (and often competing) interpretations of these concepts through various modes of *practice*. These include the habitual movement of visitors (and local observation of that movement) around monuments and the wider landscape; landscape planning; and participation in a World Heritage 'Project Group' and 'Consultation Group'.

The aim here is to explore the relationship between Orkney residents and members of the heritage sector by examining their participation in Orkney World Heritage Consultation Group and Project group meetings. By focusing on the everyday experiences and cultural forms the groups draw on during these face-to-face engagements, it is possible to understand how each groups' different interpretation of 'access' to and the 'atmosphere' of the monuments contributes to the tension and reification of the power relationships between them. This reification in turn informs the contestation and re-formulation of community, class and national identities, having direct impact on the way the sites are managed and constructed as 'heritage places'.

#### Remembering to forget / forgetting to remember: why are we still thinking about the Celts?

Angela Piccini (Department of Drama: Theatre, Film, Television, University of Bristol)

In the late 1980s and 1990s members of the UK archaeological community constructed a radical rethinking of the Celts that sought to problematize conceptions of cultural (inter)change and the equation of material culture in the ground with contested identities on the ground. Despite powerful critiques of the conflation of race and politics which characterizes Celtic-centric heritage media – just one European example would be the use of Celtic imagery by the far-right football supporters of Rome's Lazio team – much work has yet to be done on the specific mobilization of Celtic images in the everyday.

Interviews I conducted with visitors to Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica – two different Welsh spaces of Celtic representation – fed into my questioning of how discourses of authenticity and performativity, seamless and singular identity and Celtic-centric place percolate through individual engagements with heritage media. Today I will be reframing that work in the context of the material culture produced by the Welsh state agency, Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, in order to explore more fully both production and consumption processes. What distinctions, if any, can be drawn between the seeming binaries of state and private heritages; between 'serious' and 'popular' histories; between self-defined 'objective' and 'nationalist' narratives? How might the specific quotidian concerns of presenting heritage media – health and safety, tendering processes, management structures – shape the various Celtic-centric narratives at play in the specific theatrical spaces of heritage? But ultimately, how might the specific eventhood of the heritage visit with its attendant themes of loss (that time last summer...) and forgetting (was it in Pembrokeshire...) impact on the broader politics of Welshness?

#### Opposing New Culture Histories in Fortress Ireland and Fortress Europe

Maggie Ronayne (National University of Ireland, Galway)

As a result of globalisation and its wars, Ireland has received thousands of people who have been displaced – fleeing death, ethnic cleansing, violent repression and poverty in Eastern Europe and the global South. As with other countries in 'Fortress Europe', racism has risen exponentially, stoked up by State and private sector interest in maintaining exploitative hierarchies of sex, race and class. The tightening of national and supra national borders – culturally and historically as well as physically and legally – and the forcible 'nation-building' outside of those borders have gone hand in hand with this. Much of the media, academic and policy discourse in Ireland has only served to stereotype immigrant communities as a new set of 'people without history'. In the process of setting up case studies of exoticised identity and isolating traits of 'Other' worlds, there has been a

particular manipulation of the undeniable reality of sexism and sexual violence against women of colour within the communities from which they have fled. This has justified racism towards male immigrants and even more blatant racist abuse of immigrant mothers and pregnant women.

However, new communities – local and global – have formed based around common need for defence, autonomy, resistance and struggle against this situation. The material remains of the past, both in Ireland and in the countries from which people have fled, cannot but be implicated in these processes. If archaeologists are to be part of building these oppositional communities and if our analysis aims to be of use in counteracting this situation we all find ourselves in, why should archaeological remains and landscapes be privileged objects of investigation? Why should we confine ourselves within the economic and institutional frameworks of a profession, a nation-state, Fortress Europe or its 'Others'? Why should the social relations we are speaking of all be subsumed under the heading of 'identity'? In exploring these questions, I want to look at examples from Ireland and Kurdistan.

#### Archaeology and the Inspiration of the Visual

Liliana Janik (University of Cambridge)

Visual aspects of archaeology and its impact of the way we see the past and the way past visually mediate in constructing the present is going to be a subject of this session. This session suggest joining various themes of visual aspects of archaeology together by breaking the boundary between the way archaeology inspires and the way we visualise the past interpretations.

How archaeology inspire through visual aspects of material culture e.g. the great discoveries and their impact on contemporary world of fashion and design. Past material objects, the process of archaeological excavation and documentation as an inspiration in creating films or slide shows which talk to us by its visual aspects rather than descriptive language like vocabulary. Monuments in landscape for generations inspired people as a visual memory of the past, the impact on passers by, children playing around or directly on them can not be underestimated on a way visual aspect past are implicate in our appropriation of the present.

Museum expositions as a visual way in interpreting and shaping the past as well as visually communicating between the peoples will also feature in this session. Archaeological understanding of the past and human endeavour is enticingly linked with the way we see and classify material culture from Thompsen in XIX c. to the way we teach archaeology. In the process of 'doing archaeology' the visual aspects feature prominently, the features in the ground we excavate, the drawings capturing those feature, photographs taken, artists impressions, illustrations for the publications are the part of archaeological practice which is taken as a priori. In interpretation the past we use variety of visual methods, like GIS, modelling, reconstruction, even virtual trip to the past as a common tools, without very often indicating that visualisation of the past is a aim of those research rather than writing about the past. Archaeological interpretation for years proposes to understand the creative aspects or visual expression in the modes of the language, its grammar, its structure, and its order. Here we propose to look at those images as images with its own interpretatory rights as non-linguistic visual communication in the past and now.

11.00am *Roman Re-enactment: Fact or Fiction, the 'Tunic Wars'*. Grahame A Appleby

11.20am *Visualising Cyber-archaeology: communicating archaeology through the visual medium of the internet*. Mim Bower & Dan Leighton

11.40am *Self-deceiving drawings: how rock-art recording in the 20th century may have missed the point of the images*. Christopher Chippindale

12.00pm *Visualising Jomon Pots*. Simon Kaner

12.30pm Lunch

2.00pm *Making the past strange again*. Mark Knight

2.20pm *Formation processes and Remote Sensing: Display and Process in Art and Archaeology*. Colin Renfrew

2.40pm *From the Picturesque to the Virtual: Images of Megaliths at Carnac, Brittany*. Corinne Roughley.

3.00pm *Ways of seeing: museum exhibitions of arrowheads since the 16th century*. Robin Skeates

3.00pm Coffee

3.20pm *Recreating our invisible pixelated past*. Christopher Stevens

3.40pm *To See is to Know?: A Sense of the Visual in the Museum Space*. Sharon Webb

4.00pm *'Is this a handaxe I see before me?' Some thoughts on visual perception in the Palaeolithic*. Will Whalley

4.20pm Discussion

#### Roman Re-enactment: Fact or Fiction, the 'Tunic Wars'

Grahame A Appleby (University of Cambridge)

I have been involved in Roman re-enactment for the past 15 or so years. Over this time, and as a result of interest in matters Roman, I have come to the opinion that re-enactment groups present Roman military and civilian life in a very sanitised fashion. Additionally, it tends to pander to the perception of Rome that has been popularised by the media and film industry with red tunics, togas, shiny helmets and armour! Re-enactment groups have also tended to concentrate on the 'upper' end of the material aspects of Roman life leading to a bias in presentation and less attention to the more mundane and everyday aspects of life.

This paper, albeit too briefly, examines the following issues around the role and use of re-enactment as a means of interpreting artefactual data, and how this is translated into presentation material for public consumption. Additionally, do national bodies and institutions such as museum subscribe to the popular notion of Rome suggested above as this is what the public allegedly expects. Areas covered will include: Introduction – re-enactment/reconstruction as engagement with archaeological data. Is this true? ; What is the role of re-enactment – a hobby, education, or is it too embedded in the heritage industry to now make a distinction? ; Matters of controversy – accuracy versus representation (for example the colour of tunics, the over use of Samian) – Gladiator, and what to represent? Use of 1st century Romans in the portrayal of the collapse of Empire!!

Presenting to the public – what is it that we hope to achieve?

Responsibilities of the heritage industry – do they have one when they use re-enactors? – an open question.

#### Visualising Cyber-archaeology: communicating archaeology through the visual medium of the internet.

Dr Mim Bower (University of Ulster) & Dan Leighton (Internet Consultancy, Cambridge)

The internet is a powerful communication tool. It uses the interface of design, language and images to impart information. Although the internet is primarily a visual medium it is unusual in so much as it allows and indeed excels as an interactive tool. The internet provides the facility to allow assimilation of information via all three of the primary modes of communication: visual, kinaesthetic and auditory.

The discipline of archaeology has up 'til now been dominated by verbal and textural communication, which has not always provided the most effective means of communicating the inherently material reality of much of archaeology. Use of media such as the internet

provide a means of changing the teaching and communication paradigm and enhance the accessibility of the discipline.

Using the newly launched archaeological researcher's website, www.unhanged.org, as an illustration, we aim to examine the application of design principles which enable the building of an intuitive format. We explore some of the interactive visual elements that are achievable on the internet and examine the visual structure behind accessibility. We will assess some of the present attempts at communicating archaeology via the internet and make recommendations for the future possibilities of the medium.

#### Self-deceiving drawings: how rock-art recording in the 20th century may have missed the point of the images

Christopher Chippindale (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology)

The 20th century saw a strong concern with improving methods of rock-art recording. Consistent in this was the disentangling of the human image from the natural distractions of the surface on which it was made. The image came to be conventionally drawn in solid black on smooth, featureless, flat and uniform paper. All the distractions immanent in the usually curving rather than plane form of the surface, with its irregularities, cracks and fissures were safely omitted. But, first in South Africa, and now in other regions, researchers have found cause to think the form of the image was in considerable part directed or affected by the form of the surface and by features on that surface. So the drawing methods perfected through a century begin to appear as deceiving drawings, in which much care was taken to omit what was actually essential! The new century is the time to re-think fundamentals of how we visualize rock-art, and so how we best draw, photograph and illustrate it, as researchers in e.g. Norway are beginning to do.

#### Visualising Jomon Pots

Simon Kaner (Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures)

Visualisation is one of a number of techniques used in shamanic curing, along with therapeutic touching, hypnotherapy, stress reduction, and what is described by Mathias Guenther in the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunter-Gatherers* as "the mental and emotional expression of personal will for health and healing". The shaman has been making something of a comeback in archaeological theory (e.g. James Pearson, *Shamanism and the Ancient Mind. A cognitive approach to archaeology*). The idea of shamanism is influential in theories of social organisation in the pottery-using foraging Jomon period in the Japanese archipelago, during which time it has been suggested that egalitarian communities actively resisted the urge to inequality. This paper takes a critical look at the concept of visualisation and the role of shamans in Jomon society, and examines how they may be useful in interpreting the highly decorated pottery vessels of the Middle-Late Jomon period of the central Japanese archipelago (c. 5000- 4000 BP).

#### Making the past strange again

Mark Knight (Cambridge Archaeological Unit)

Postholes, ring-gullies, footings, and eaves drips are part of the foundations of our imaginations when it comes to reconstructing prehistoric houses. We can re-build these dwellings of past peoples, giving them walls, doorways and roofs. Once built, we can stand outside and begin to wonder what kind of people lived in these houses? How we reconstruct these spaces directs how we see the past and, as with any reconstruction, how the past comes to be seen. Previously, pragmatism has been the key architect behind most reconstructions – the pitch of the roof versus rainfall, porch construction and prevailing wind direction, longevity of construction against number of post-holes. The resulting reconstructions tending to have an appearance somewhere between a traveller's bender, a Dartmoor cottage and a

generic African mud-hut. Is it any wonder that the buildings look familiar, and that although they might be a bit smoky at first, we feel we could be reasonably comfortable living in them. In contrast, ethnography presents us with difference – there seem to be as many styles as there are houses. Standing outside of these structures and looking in we become a little less comfortable, there are things unfamiliar – the limits of our imagination are challenged. The intention of this presentation is to make past architectures strange again.

#### Formation processes and Remote Sensing: Display and Process in Art and Archaeology

Colin Renfrew (University of Cambridge)

Two aspects of contemporary art and contemporary archaeology are selected for discussion in relation to 'the inspiration of the visual'.

The birth of archaeology came about through the collector. From the early 'cabinets of curiosities' and the fanciful notion of the 'home of the Muses' (museum) came the serious study and classification of the relics of antiquity. From the early explorations of those seeking antiquities for the cabinet and the museum there developed the disciplines of archaeological excavation. We see the simultaneous origins of the art gallery and the museum in *The Tribuna of the Uffizi*, and the birth (or rebirth) both of 'art' (in the Western tradition) and of 'archaeology' can be located there and in the Vatican Belvedere. Notions of 'display' were investigated by Marcel Duchamp, and the work of such contemporary artists as Joseph Cornell, Lothar Baumgarten, Suzan Hiller and Joseph Beuys calls into question the status of artefacts and what it is we do when we study and display them.

The practice of archaeology has been examined by the contemporary American artist Mark Dion in a way which invites us to re-examine what it is that archaeologists do. It will be argued that the world of the practice of archaeology is one of extraordinary sensory and especially visual richness. The work of the contemporary British artists Kate Whiteford, Cornelia Parker (*Cold Dark Matter*) and Antony Gormley (*Field for the British Isles*) will be considered, drawing attention to the remarkable range of sensory and cognitive experience which fall within the scope of everyday archaeological practice.

#### From the Picturesque to the Virtual: Images of Megaliths at Carnac, Brittany

Corinne Roughley (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Dramatic archaeological sites, like the Carnac megaliths, have inspired painters, engravers and tourists, over several centuries, and of many nationalities, to produce images, as well as professional archaeologists. There is a rich diversity of 17<sup>th</sup> century drawings and paintings, picturesque engravings, sketches taking with a camera lucida, and plans made by 19<sup>th</sup> century land surveyors. These different images are often barely recognisable from modern archaeological recording of the sites. Different perceptions and drawing conventions have led the creators of the images to render a given monument, and landscape, in a particular way. Some of these may appear to us unfamiliar, and "inaccurate". Through considering these apparent inaccuracies, it is possible to understand something of the human experience of the monuments and landscape in recent centuries, either real or desired. The diversity of images of the monuments, even in comparatively recent history, challenges the perceived accuracy of our modern archaeological images of the monuments.

Understanding how the landscape may have been perceived and experience in the Neolithic is hindered here even more than in many other localities. "Restoration" and modern buildings have radically altered the monuments and the landscape. It is now very difficult to study the landscape in the field, as the relationships between monuments are obscured. The use of historic documents, whilst providing an important contribution, is restricted by the locations chosen for drawing, as well as their inherently static nature. However, recent research using dynamic visualisations has enabled views of the landscape which are impossible to now achieve in the field to be ob-

tained, revealing important aspects of the visual landscape context of the monuments only hinted at in the historic images and completely invisible on the ground. These visualisations may not have the artistic quality of the early images, indeed they do not strive to be "realistic", yet they can radically change our perception of these important Neolithic monuments.

#### Ways of seeing: museum exhibitions of arrowheads since the 16th century

Robin Skeates (University of Durham)

Although the artefacts of past peoples may survive physically in the present, visual perceptions of such objects have changed significantly over time, particularly according to different visual conventions or 'ways of seeing'. This transformation process is particularly evident in the history of archaeological collections and museums, where artefacts and their images have been re-framed in new displays by different generations of collectors.

In this paper, I shall examine this process in more detail, with particular reference to transformations in the visual perception, classification and display of prehistoric stone arrowheads in Italian museums between the sixteenth century and the present day. A clear contrast can be drawn, for example, between ways of seeing such objects in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, comparisons of the physical (and especially visual) properties of arrowheads (including their colour, size, shape, hardness, translucency, luminosity, smoothness and weight) led them to be classified and displayed alongside objects such as fossil sharks' teeth and *Bellemnites*, within encyclopaedic natural history collections and their illustrated catalogues. In the nineteenth century, by contrast, arrowheads came to be seen as part of assemblages of provenanced artefacts within archaeological and ethnographic collections.

By examining this transformation process, it may be possible to come to a more critical understanding of the ways in which we visualise the past today.

#### Recreating our invisible pixelated past.

Christopher Stevens (University College London)

It has long been argued by philosophers, archaeological, anthropological, and social theorists alike that the key to understanding past societies does not lie in the present but lies in our ability to interpret past cultures within their own setting. Our ability to understand the past lies in the extent to which we can visualise and reconstruct the many facets of past societies.

The past is a difficult thing to visualise is its relationship to the processes by which that past is created within archaeological practice. The artefacts, features, and data produced are often de-contextualised. Artefacts are encountered as objects in museums, line drawings in books or types and weights. Environmental data as lists of latin names and numerical counts or percentages. Features as line drawings with little depth, rarely placed within their past environmental setting. Their association within the archaeological excavation are equally obscure. They are hence de-contextualised from both their archaeological past and their subsequent recovery in the present day to be re-contextualised in black and white print. The call for further integration of various fields of specialisation has long plagued archaeological practise. This paper offers an insight into my own experiences of how computer modelling within archaeological reconstruction may be used to bridge this gap. The archaeological world by its nature tends to be highly inorganic, flesh and plants rot and decay leaving us with a sterile world of bone, metal, clay, stone and carbon. The computer modelling of past artefacts, places, structures and people forces us to deal with the invisible organic past. The depth of modelling is limitless and as we model settlements and their populations we are led to deal with the relationships between social organisation, kinship and the settlement pattern. As we model individuals in action we are forced to consider which members of society

carried out which tasks. The modelling of the formation of the archaeological record may further help us both understand and teach how much of the past eventually becomes invisible. While computer modelling may not answer many questions concerning the past it is believed that it may provide a valuable tool both in teaching and exploring questions which we may at present not be asking.

#### To See is to Know?: A Sense of the Visual in the Museum Space

Sharon Webb (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology)

The museum space is a culturally constructed 'way of seeing'. Museum exhibitions communicate knowledge by appeals to all five senses, but in the majority of displays the visual sense is most actively worked. How curators, archaeologists and exhibition designers envisage that the museum space works has changed over time, as has the perceived importance of the visual sense in museums. Today museums attempt to communicate their messages by direct appeal to other senses, such as touch and smell, but the visual is still primary. Modes of display in use today are not accidental compositions, but the result of a long history of practices, ideas and theoretical considerations. These will be explored in this paper, as will the reasons for the enduring importance of the visual sense in the museum space. Not only are 'ways of seeing' culturally constructed, but they are also themselves 'constructing'. The influence of the visual compositions these institutions create on constructions of knowledge of the past, has been underestimated by the discipline of archaeology as a whole, as has the power of the museum and this will be emphasised throughout the paper.

#### 'Is this a handaxe I see before me?' Some thoughts on visual perception in the Palaeolithic

Will Whalley (University of Cambridge)

Beyond being a celebrated psychologist, J. J. Gibson can justly be said to be one of the most influential thinkers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After briefly outlining his ideas and their relevance to archaeologists, this paper attempts to show how at least some of the criticism levied against Gibson may be explained as the result of attempting to understand his ideas in terms of the very categories and idioms he was trying to avoid. Particular attention is given to the related concepts of direct perception and affordance, and to exploring what these debates might mean for archaeologists in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### Personhood and the material world

Chris Fowler (University of Manchester)

Over the past decade or so archaeologists have become interested in a set of related ideas concerning the treatment of both human beings and the material world. These two phenomena are no longer divorced from each other as subjects of archaeological enquiry. Some of the most common areas for studying the inter-relation between people and other entities are:

- comparison of the treatment of bodies and objects (e.g., pots as homologues for the human body)
- exchange and the idea of 'animate' objects and 'inalienable' objects
- biographies of objects and places as related to human biographies
- personhood as 'distributed'; located in the body but also elsewhere in the material world
- transformation of the person through time, changing the state of the person (including after death)
- use of human remains as material culture, and the objectification of human beings or human remains
- relationships between concepts of the human person and other

- sentient beings (e.g., animals, spiritual entities).
- personification of non-human entities and things

These studies can serve to demonstrate similarities in how human bodies and other kinds of 'bodies' were treated in the past. They often draw on ethnographic analogies or critiques of assumptions we might make about the modern self and a capitalist or individualistic world. They also bring us close to discussing past concepts of the person.

This session aims to promote discussion of the above approaches, and to ask the following questions with reference to past contexts:

- What is a person? What does a person consist of, and how are they made?
- What role does material culture play in generating personhood?
- What are the processes through which concepts of the person are naturalised or subverted?
- What is the relationship between the conditions for action in the past and dominant conceptions of personhood?
- Is there a connection between (1) an economic and spiritual attitude towards the world and (2) an attendant notion of what counts as a person?
- What are the potential connections between materiality and personhood?
- What implications do mortuary practices have for understanding past concepts of the person?
- What place should we give personhood in our interpretations of the past?

11.00am *Frameworks for interpreting personhood: things, bodies and relations.* Chris Fowler

11.20am *Showing some emotion – distributed personhood and assemblages.* Chris Gosden

11.40am Break

12.00pm *Local knowledge and layers of identity in Neolithic Italian pots.* John Robb

12.20pm *Death, Personhood and Memory in Early Medieval Britain.* Howard Williams

12.40pm Questions and Discussion

1.00pm Lunch

2.20pm *Connecting Materiality and Selfhood in the Roman World: a way beyond subject/object dualism?* Andrew Gardner

2.40pm *Assembling animals.* Chantal Conneller and Thomas Yarrow

3.00pm *TBA.* John Chapman

3.20pm Break

3.50pm *A Life in Fragments: Exploring personhood in the European Neolithic.* Andy Jones

4.10pm *Assemblages of things and people.* Lesley McFadyen

4.30–5.30pm Discussion, lead by Sarah Green, Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Manchester.

#### Frameworks for interpreting Personhood: things, bodies and relations

Chris Fowler (University of Manchester)

This paper will partly act as a welcome to the session, making some general observations on interpreting personhood, and partly as an example of one approach to relationships between persons, bodies and objects in different cultural contexts. I will offer an anthropological definition of personhood, providing a framework for understanding relationships between the person, the human body, and non-human bodies; animals, objects, architecture and landscape. These bodies operate at different scales and are of different types, yet can be understood in par-



allel fashion. Personhood refers to the ongoing production and transformation of persons through such material bodies.

The person will be described as a temporary incorporation of different aspects (e.g., in European culture, the mind, body and soul). These aspects can be located in bodies and bodily materials of different kinds. Numerous ethnographic accounts describe how qualities similar to the mind or spirit are transferable between bodies, and encapsulated by the bodies of things, animals and places as well as humans. Bodies are transformed – constituted, revised and deconstituted – through exchanges between them which often serve to demonstrate inextricable connections between the human and material world. Yet in some contexts those connections and their biographies are underplayed so that relations between human and other bodies predominantly alienate these bodies from each other. In other contexts those connections lie at the core of personhood, accentuating how one person is connected to another or how the human is inalienable from the non-human. Fields of memory and experience are generated in interacting with and through material bodies and their components, and so are also distributed throughout the material world.

I will argue that material bodies are produced through predominant structuring principles which we can interpret into metaphors or narratives. Both human bodies and non-human bodies are the media for these narratives. The citation of practices central to such narratives provide the conditions for human experience and personhood. I will illustrate this argument with a brief example from the British Neolithic. This approach will demonstrate how a focus on personhood does not simply revise our understanding of what past persons and communities were like, but also fundamentally revises the relationship between material culture and people which lies at the heart of archaeological interpretation.

#### Showing some emotion – distributed personhood and assemblages

Chris Gosden (Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford University)

The notion of distributed personhood raises questions of unity. How is the unity of personal identity maintained if agency is distributed through a series of objects and acts separated in time and space? Anthropology has concentrated on issues in respect of the person. Archaeologists should be more interested in problems of unity concerning material culture. Just as persons which might appear unitary can be seen to be distributed, then assemblages of objects which appear to be lacking connection may have some unity. The idea of the assemblage is important here, where assemblages are sets of artefacts connected by their aesthetic and material qualities, so forming some unity. It is the connections between objects that allow some unity to distributed personhood. I shall briefly explore the nature of assemblages and argue that what gives the sensory qualities of objects their social force is through their power to evoke human emotions. Our emotional relationship to things is vital in creating groups and individuals of particular types deriving from varied social and cultural backgrounds.

#### Local knowledge and layers of identity in Neolithic Italian pots

John Robb (University of Cambridge)

Artifacts imply knowledge, and one criterion for shared identity is shared knowledge. Material culture does not imply a single definitive interpretation but rather authorizes many different understandings. However, it is crucial to realize that these many potential interpretations, while subjective, are not random or independent; rather, they will be interdependent and to some extent create a system of relative positioning which helps constitute a system of situational identities. (It follows that culture is neither transparent or univocal nor anarchic and unpredictable, but rather functions as recurrent experiences of systematic misunderstanding).

One important axis along which different interpretations might be relatively positioned is localness. Layers of local knowledge, embedded in the time depth of local history and in the network of immediate social relationships, create quite different interpretations of the same material thing, whether we are dealing with a landscape or a tiny artifact. This provides an archaeological entry via patterns of spatial variation and geography. This paper attempts to understand how pottery was used to create layers of local identity in the Middle Neolithic of Southern Italy, and how this function changed dramatically in the Late Neolithic.

#### Death, Personhood and Memory in Early Medieval Britain

Howard Williams (Cardiff University)

The rich archaeological data of early medieval cemeteries has frequently been a focus of theoretical debate. Over recent decades we have seen changing perspectives question interpretations of ethnicity, religion, social organisation, symbolism and ideology derived from the mortuary data. Mostly recently, there have been attempts to investigate early medieval burial sites using social and anthropological theories. An understandable desire to escape from regarding cemeteries as a 'mirror' of society (a view still prevalent in many quarters) has led to a more appropriate focus on the active role of mourners in using material culture during mortuary practices to negotiate their individual and collective identities and political relationships.

However, these studies retain a problematic and questionable approach to the role of the dead and their physical remains in the mortuary rites. The skeletal remains of early medieval cemeteries are frequently regarded as a source of biological data and as inanimate, passive foci around which early medieval communities actively 'performed' their identities through the use of artefacts, monuments and landscape. While fruitful, such perspectives remain predicated upon recent Western conceptions of death as a biological event rather than a social process. In turn, this has rendered the physical remains of the dead convenient 'resources' rather than materials imbued with personalities, memories and emotional relationships with the living. Consequently, such views have under-estimated the importance of the management and transformation of the body during mortuary practices has social and ritual technologies that serve to define and articulate concepts of personhood, community identity and social memories. Instead we should see human bones as foci for constructing the social person from their status upon death to a new identity in death. This is a process in which the dead, as well as the living, are frequently regarded as active participants in the funeral.

This argument is developed by using the cremation burial rites of the fifth to seventh centuries AD from eastern England as a case study, and relying on anthropological analogy concerning the significance of cremation in societies around the world. By studying the process of transformation involved in cremation, the post-cremation rites, and the places chosen for the disposal of the remains, we can regard the mortuary practices not as convenient contexts for the living to define their identities, but rites that use the body as a focus for defining the social person and social memories. In particular, the uses of material culture and the bones need to be understood in post-cremation rites as parallel means of reconstituted the social person into a new physical form and space.

#### Connecting Materiality and Selfhood in the Roman World: a way beyond subject/object dualism?

Andrew Gardner (University College, London)

To Marcel Mauss, the western notion of the person was forged under the twin influences of Roman jurisprudence and Christian metaphysics (1979 [1950]:78-89). This particular kind of person could be contrasted with others, found in different cultural contexts, bearing varying characteristics in relation to what we might label 'society'. A considerable quantity of anthropological and archaeological work has since been conducted which explores this notion of alternative cate-

gorizations of the person, as well as the role that material culture plays in constructing these. In this paper, I would like to carry this kind of approach back to that originary context that Mauss identified for the western 'self', and in so doing develop a much broader theory of the relationship between people and things which fundamentally challenges subject/object dualism.

In my view, there is no doubt that the material world does play an important role in the formation of a sense of self, particularly as a constituent element of intersubjective relations between people. Things serve a number of roles in these relations, such as objectification, mediation and hybridization, and through these any boundaries which might be drawn between human subjects and an external object-world become blurred. More fundamentally, things provide a model for the relationship of the self to itself, and it is for this reason that I will focus on objectification in this paper. In examining all of these issues, the Roman world is interesting not because of the perspective hindsight affords on certain trends commencing then, but rather because of the variation in materiality – and therefore, perhaps, personhood – that it encompasses. From this variation considerable interpretive leverage may be gained on the profound questions at the heart of this session.

Mauss, M. 1979 [1950]. *Sociology and Psychology: essays*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

#### Assembling animals

Chantal Connelor (University of Cambridge) and Thomas Yarrow (University of Cambridge)

This paper examines the production of human and animal bodies during the Early Mesolithic. Rather than viewing these as fixed entities or biological givens it is argued here that bodies can be seen as mutable, as assemblages of skills, properties and references. From this perspective the relationship between humans and animals is explored through discussion of the Star Carr antler frontlets and deposits consisting of both human and animal bone from Mesolithic sites such as Thatcham.

#### Title TBA

John Chapman (University of Durham)

Abstract TBA.

#### A Life in Fragments: Exploring personhood in the European Neolithic

Andrew Jones (University of Southampton)

Issues of personhood and identity have risen to prominence in recent studies of the European Neolithic, and have provided an exciting avenue for research and interpretation. However a fairly restricted set of theoretical constructs have been utilised to interpret the nature of personhood during this period. In this paper I will review some of the recent theoretical constructs applied to the European Neolithic to ask whether we need to explore a greater diversity of possibilities. In an avowedly broad brush approach, I will compare and contrast the nature of personhood in Western Europe with that described for Central and Eastern Europe, to investigate the range of ways of describing a person during the Neolithic.

#### Assemblages of things and people

Lesley McFadyen (University of Wales College, Newport)

This piece of work is about dynamics and dynamic connections. It is an attempt to represent bodily dynamics through the ways in which assemblages of things and things and people were entwined. It is an understanding of dynamics where connections were woven together from the small things of life. For in this way things and people became known through their actions, and were marked and became a plausible part of historical process, but at the same time these histories were not created as if they were the only one.

## Archaeology and Performance

Alessandra Lopez y Royo

Can one study performance in all its manifestations – dance, music, theatre, feasting, processions, spectacle and ritual – archaeologically? If so, how? Pearson and Shanks in their *Theatre/Archaeology* (London, New York: Routledge, 2001) discuss the relationship between site specific performance and interpretations of the past and propose a fusion of the two disciplines of theatre and archaeology to produce a 'blurring of genres'. In this session we will question this relationship further, inviting scholars and practitioners to examine their own practices and their interconnections, in the hope of stimulating a lively debate and exchange between archaeologists and performers.

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|--------|---|
| 2.00pm | <i>Choreographing heritage, performing the site</i> . A. Lopez y Royo   |
| 2.20pm | <i>Site Specific Texts: Embodied Performances In The Written Record Of Late Period Egypt In The Past And The Present</i> . Robyn Gillam |
| 2.40pm | <i>Reconstructing Archaeological Sites in Manchester</i> . Fiona Campbell & Jonna Hansson   |
| 3.00pm | Break   |
| 3.30pm | <i>Ambiguous realities: the materiality of performance and memory in the Early Bronze Age of SW Wales</i> . Marcus Brittain             |
| 3.50pm | <i>Embodying archaeology: dancing the past into the present</i> . Vena Ramphal  |
| 4.10pm | <i>Polar Theatre</i> Mike Pearson   |
| 4.30pm | Discussant: Julian Thomas   |

#### Choreographing heritage, performing the site

Dr. Alessandra Lopez y Royo (School of Arts: Dance and Dance Studies Roehampton, University of Surrey).

The practice of 'performing the site' – the use of performance at archaeological sites – has been criticised as 'neo-colonial site appropriation', a taking over of other people's past entangled with globalism, motivated by nostalgia and a desire for spiritual renewal, regardless of who is involved and why. The issues related to 'performing the site' are however much more complex. The performance types practised at sites are disparate, even when accounting for the occasional convergence and/or overlap at the level of individual and institutional practice. The question of how the interaction of private (individual) and public (institutional) management of heritage is articulated through 'performing the site' should be considered in context and further nuanced, carefully steering away from a facile essentialising of the performance process. In criticising the homogenizing action of globalism, one should not sweep under the carpet issues of nationalism and its manipulative engagement with archaeology, articulated through 'performing the site', where this becomes a stage for the 'rituals of heritage'. This is the process by which the archaeological site becomes the stage for national ritual and spectacle. The site is re-appropriated by national bodies and used as a political instrument to affirm a continuity with an ancient glorious past, through specially commissioned choreographed performances which explore given themes, as for example the *Ramayana* ballet (*sendratari*) of Prambanan, in Central Java or the performance of 'classical' Khmer dancing (also involving the *Ramayana* story) at Angkor, with the *apsaras* of Angkor Wat as background. As a form of commissioned state art, such forms reflect the nation's self-image and reconstitute the past to suit contemporary political needs. Though principally aimed at tourist consumption of the site, choreography becomes here an important metaphor for how heritage is imagined and a ritual expression of this imagining.

At times these 'rituals of heritage' intersect with living religious practices when taking place at temples which are archaeological sites reconstituted as places of worship – an example of this are the Buddhist *candi* Borobudur and Mendut, in Central Java. Here ritual is a carefully choreographed performance and one can witness the balancing act of religion and secularisation with all the tensions and ruptures that this entails.

**Site Specific Texts: Embodied Performances In The Written Record Of Late Period Egypt In The Past And The Present**  
*Robyn Gillam (York University, Toronto, Canada)*

While the re-enactment of Egyptian ritual texts and representations in the classroom and university campus is first and foremost a pedagogical exercise, it may also be of use in conceptualizing some form of reconstruction of bodies' interaction with architectural and other sites as well as each other in the execution of these activities. The politics of on and offsite re-enactments will be discussed as well as their manifestly "allegorical" character. This paper will focus on three main textual artifacts, The Triumph of Horus, an ensemble of text and pictures found in a temple dating from the late 2nd century BCE, apparently a "dramatic" enactment of a sacred narrative, The Mysteries of Osiris in the Month of Khoiak, another such document from the 1st century B. C. E. which explains how to manufacture models of the dead god Osiris and the Mummification Ritual of the Apis Bull, a papyrus document of roughly the same period which, along with a number of private votive inscriptions, details how the funeral rites of the divine incarnation of national gods of Egypt was celebrated.

The performance of these materials raises important issues, like the relationship of enactments to their representation in architecture, their "literalness," and the interaction of the living and the dead, as expressed in spatial ensembles, all important issues for archaeological theory at the present time.

**Reconstructing Archaeological Sites in Manchester**  
*Fiona Campbell & Jonna Hansson (Göteborg University, Sweden)*

We will begin a process of investigation into reconstructing archaeological sites in Manchester. This process mobilizes the complexity of sites and engages with artefactual records of difficult matters. This process explores diverse fields of risk and reveals the logic of site-seeing.

**Embodying archaeology: dancing the past into the present**  
*Vena Ramphal (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)*

Earlier this year at a symposium on South Asian Aesthetics in Britain it was suggested that artists of South Asian origin working in Britain needed to choose between artistic roots and new routes when making work. In the context of South Asian art, particularly dance, the constitution of identity is often framed in terms of tradition versus modernity where tradition is perceived as static, or at best a closed set of rules. This paper suggests not only that roots can inform routes, but routes can and do inform roots. It is not just a case of accepting that our view of the past necessarily journeys from our individual present. More interestingly, a dynamic relationship with the past could offer fruitful ground for contemporary dance production (training, choreography and performance). Focusing on the relationship between classical South Asian dance and sculpture, the paper demonstrates that a dance based engagement with the archaeological site (sculpture, architecture and text) means that the latter becomes part of an event – animating and animated by the activity of dance.

**Ambiguous realities: the materiality of performance and memory in the Early Bronze Age of SW Wales.**  
*Marcus Brittain (University of Manchester)*

How does performance present itself in the prehistoric material record? Using examples from the Early Bronze Age of southwest Wales, I explore this question with the premise that the concept of per-

formed *Action* may work as a complement to the textual forms of archaeology, working towards an interpretation that is sensitive to an inter-subjective past. I describe how memory is ambiguous in nature, and that in many contexts, often 'ritual', there is a 'liminal threshold' between innovation and tradition, the old and the new, forming a series of creative possibilities.

A number of recent works have explored the many facets of the past in the past with a number of differing conclusions regarding the structure of memory in the archaeological data. I consider these current studies in light of the 'crossing-over' of performance-based theory and question the validity of pre-determination. Instead I argue that particular monuments in the Early Bronze Age of southwest Wales were formed by a number of performed pre-determinations rather than one singular process, and that these are entwined within reproduction and regeneration, instability and change. The main interest of this paper is therefore to understand how performances draw on past performances and how (if at all) this can be studied today.

**Polar Theatre**  
*Mike Pearson (Department of Film Television and Theatre, University of Wales Aberystwyth)*

'Pony shoes are piled in what were the stables...seal blubber still oozes in the hallway...a waxed ball of Dutch cheese lies beside a still-intact biscuit.' Ravaged by the polar climate, picked over by souvenir hunters, the detritus of the expeditions of Scott, Shackleton, Mawson, et al. at the beginning of the twentieth century survives. Currently in need of conservation, the substantial wooden huts they built – and their contents – are amongst thirty-four listed historic sites in Antarctica. They are the relics of the 'heroic era' of exploration – 'monuments to bravery', 'linked with remarkable feats of human endeavour and scientific achievement' – still part of, still perpetuating, a discourse the explorers themselves helped script.

Yet what was the reality of daily life here? This presentation uses elements of specially written narrative, eye-witness reports and contemporary film and photographs to evoke a few moments in Scott's hut at Hut Point from the 1901-4 'Discovery' expedition, a description of activities so extraordinary, unexpected and 'unheroic' that they might help to critique – to queer – modes of interpretation based solely upon functionality and gently to question normative notions of the 'archaeological record'.

**Ethnicity and Cultural Kinetics: Material Culture and Identity in the Past**

*Steven G. Matthews (University of Manchester)*

'For there are nearly as many ways in which such identities, fleeting or enduring, sweeping or intimate, cosmopolitan or closed in, amiable or bloody-minded, are put together as there are materials with which to put them together and reasons for doing so.'

Clifford Geertz, *Available Light*.

We live in a 'world of restless identities and uncertain connections' and these ethnicities have been fundamental to the shaping of the modern world. The past century has seen the political geography of the modern world continuously changed and transformed as a consequence of ethnic relations and antagonisms. Our contemporary political and social situations continue to be effected by our attitude toward the past, its interpretation and representation, and this attitude can have serious, and sometimes dire, consequences. This important role that history plays in the modern nation state is inherently linked to our narratives, our construction, of the past.

Despite the West's best ideals for modern multi-racial societies, of acceptance and understanding, race and ethnicity continue to represent a forum for this distinction of identity. Skin colour, physical

morphology, symbolism, materiality and socio-ritual and economic practices are all medium for the creation of 'powerful' identities and relations. Whilst we cannot assume that such identities were indicative to the operation of society in the past, neither can we assume that they were not.

As well as understanding this contribution archaeology has made to the construction of contemporary ethnic identities, it is equally important that we consider the construction of the ethnicities of the past. Ethnicity was a central investigative principle of Culture History traditions in archaeology, representing peoples as exclusive polities, producing bounded material assemblages that reflected a distinct identity. However, the importance of past ethnic identities has been largely underestimated amongst contemporary post-processual discourse. A lack of original critical and theoretical consideration, its avoidance in analysis, discussion and elaboration, can ultimately only hinder and impoverish our understanding of the cultural kinetics of past societies.

With this in mind this session seeks to contribute to the ongoing awareness that in ethnicity, as well as continuing to be a fundamental principal in the shaping of contemporary political and social relations, there is also a need for the investigation of the role of ethnicity played to and in the past. Developments in the understanding of meaningful relationships between individuals and objects have provided substantial avenues for this exploration of past ethnic identities and their consequences for the kinetic interplay within and between cultural groups. As such, this session hopes to explore:

- The role and validity of material culture as ethnic and cultural signifier.
- The nature of the relationship between objects and peoples in constituting, representing and perpetuating different ethnic and cultural identities.
- The consequences of cohesive ethnic identities in relations within and between past societies, as well as to those past societies.

2.00pm	<i>Introduction.</i> Steven G. Matthews
2.20pm	<i>Defining the Relationship between Ethnicity and Socio-Political Elites in Minoan Crete.</i> Ellen Adams
2.40pm	<i>The Pre- to Roman Britain Transition – Cultural Diffusion?</i> Judith F. Rosten
3.00pm	<i>The role of Maritime trade in the spread of Islam.</i> J. Jansen-Van-Rensbur
3.20pm	<i>Invasions and conquests in New Zealand – or issues of power and control?</i> Caroline Philips
3.40pm	<i>Early medieval ethnicity: beyond nationalism and culture history.</i> Susanne E. Hakenbeck
4.00pm	Coffee
4.20pm	<i>The Extraordinary Use of Ordinary Objects: Material Expressions of Ethnic Identity in the Cemeteries of the First African Baptist Churches, Philadelphia.</i> John P. McCarthy
4.40pm	<i>The discursive space of Post World War 2 Japan and the fate of archaeological discourse in Post-Modernity.</i> Koji Mizoguchi
5.00pm	<i>Afrocentric methodology in archaeology</i> Michael Reynier & Richard P. Benjamin
5.20pm	<i>Archaeology and Views Beyond 'Globalization-Multiculturalism' and Other Dualist Paradigms for Human Nature and History.</i> Stephanie Koerner & Russell Palmer
5.40pm	Discussion

**Defining the Relationship between Ethnicity and Socio-Political Elites in Minoan Crete**  
*Ellen Adams (University of Cambridge)*

Traditionally in Old-world prehistory, ethnic groups have been defined by the material culture of the elite. The relationship between ethnicity and the socio-political divisions within the cultural group is therefore fundamental to the study of the relationship between eth-

nicity and (material) culture. However, there are clear problems with distinguishing between the various types of group identities, and it is also the case that the choice of modes of expression, which are used by and for each group, is historically specific.

Minoan Crete was initially defined by Sir Arthur Evans in opposition to other known 'civilisations', especially the Mycenaean, the Ancient Greek and the Near Eastern ones. During the Neopalatial period (the peak of the Minoan palatial system) there was an island-wide distribution of elite features in Minoan Crete, such as the 'palatial' architectural form and (non-Greek) Linear A. Since Evans, there has been a tendency in Minoan studies to conflate this cultural homogeneity with socio-political unity, in itself a questionable assumption. This homogeneity must also have taken a creative role in defining the essence of 'being Minoan', although the awareness of ethnicity will have varied between the social groups within the same community. Whether the homogeneity in elite expression is more due to the representation of 'Minoan-ness' in contrast with other ethnic groups, or more to internal socio-political competition and/or control, is the crucial question to be addressed in this paper.

Classical Archaeology has the (somewhat unjustified) reputation for continuing to practice culture-history. Minoan Crete sits between this tradition and mainstream prehistory, benefiting from the wealth of data available in the Classical world and the theoretical insights gained from archaeology. It is therefore an ideal testing-ground for exploring theoretical debates. This paper sets out the historiography of this issue in Minoan studies, and explores how prehistoric archaeology can distinguish between different kinds of self-representation, in this case ethnicity and the socio-political elite.

**The Pre- to Roman Britain Transition – Cultural Diffusion?**  
*Judith F. Rosten (University of Southampton)*

Most research on the intermingling of cultures tends to focus on the elite levels of society as it is with respect to the conversion of the higher classes by the dominant culture that the success of the conversion of the people is often judged. This is understandably so as remains of the wealthy are often more visible in the archaeological record, however, this does not give a complete, or necessarily accurate, view since it ignores the less wealthy classes. This segment of society outnumbers the people on whom the study is normally concentrated.

This session aims to understand the flow throughout society; it reaches down into the details of everyday life and hence considers the effects on society as a whole. Our consideration of this topic starts with the period between initial active contact with the Roman world through Julius Caesar, to the period of the second invasion by Claudius in the mid first century AD. By this stage much of the Roman way of life had not filtered down into the lower echelons of society. Following the second invasion, a more complete presence of the Romans led to a more thorough percolation of the culture through society. So, how far into the society of the ancient Britain's did the Roman culture penetrate? This will be discussed by looking at the many aspects of Romano-British town life, with special emphasis on the towns of Silchester (Cavella) and St Albans (Verulamium).

**The role of Maritime trade in the spread of Islam**  
*J. Jansen-Van-Rensbur (University of Southampton)*

When looking at a person's identity whether socially or culturally we need to realise that it is built up of a wide array of aspects such as ethnicity, nationality, kinship, sex, gender, race and religion as well as strictly social aspects such as status and class.

By looking at maritime trade I seek to look at a group of people that are and were instantly recognisable in every society – the seafarer – whether merchant or sailor, and the role they played in the spread of the new religion, Islam. Thus immediately the concept of identity has become even more complex than envisaged through attempting to trace the spread of a religion by a social group whose



daily lives were influenced by the sea and who's relationship with the people of dry land was found to be uneasy and marked by suspicion of that which they could not understand.

Thus during the rise and spread of Islam as a religion we find a complex array of individuals coming from a wide variety of social backgrounds with only a small number of common traits, that of religion, race, and language.

Thus what material evidence is there that would show this spread of religion through these trading networks? What are the problems with the idea of archaeological cultures as ethnic identities? Certainly we need to look to theoretic discourse in determining the interpretation of this culture and its influence in the spread of Islam.

#### Invasions and conquests in New Zealand – or issues of power and control?

Caroline Phillips (*Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, Whakatāne, New Zealand*)

In New Zealand, Maori oral traditions frequently refer to wars, conquests and invasions. Amongst Hauraki Maori of the Waihou River the story is that a new people came and conquered the former inhabitants, either killing them or driving them out of the area. Yet the genealogies show that, rather than outright death and destruction, the conquest was one of intermarriage. In fact the descendants of those people said to have been annihilated still exist some 350 years after their supposed demise.

New Zealand archaeologists are often caught between the claims of rival Maori groups, so the events of the past are very real today. Claims for the right to have a say about resource management issues, and through the courts for the rights to money and public lands unfairly taken by the colonial British authorities, often bring archaeologists into a very testing political arena. The problem of identifying sites and their contents with particular Maori groups is to do with status, politics, power and ideology. Of course, archaeology can never identify to whom the remains of past occupations belong.

On a recent trip to Ireland I noted that interpretations of change there also revolve around the replacement of one people with another, resulting in the transformation of the material culture, language and genes. Although the scale of time, population and the changes might be greater in the Irish case, I wondered if in fact, like the Maori situation, the truth was, and is, rather one of changing political control.

#### Early medieval ethnicity: beyond nationalism and culture history

Susanne E. Hakenbeck (*University of Cambridge*)

Traditionally ethnicity has held a central position in early medieval archaeology, or the archaeology of the Migration Period, as it is tellingly called. On the continent, in particular, the typological classification of artefacts according to ethnic groups is standard procedure. Post-processual theories, in their focus on identity politics, have rightly challenged such simplistic interpretations. However, it has rarely been attempted to put a constructive theoretical alternative in their place.

This has several reasons. Ethnicity is seen as a tainted and problematic concept. Within archaeological theory it has its roots in a culture historical paradigm that has been shaped by nationalism. Even more reflexive studies of ethnicity can rarely escape the trap of essentialism; that is, the myth of a stable and innate ethnicity. A further problem is the identification of ethnicity in the material culture, if typological assemblages can no longer be considered meaningful starting points. This is valid criticism.

However, the potential of a theory of ethnicity that challenges the nationalist paradigm must not be overlooked. It has to have a clear focus on the way in which material culture is used to express ethnicity. The relationship between material culture and ethnicity is context specific and cannot be described by simply giving objects ethnic labels. Material culture is used to tell a story and thus actively

contributes to the creation and maintenance of ethnicity.

A theory of ethnicity cannot remain abstract, but has to grow out of a specific historical and geographical context. At the same time we have to be aware that this, too, is an imposition of present day concepts onto the past. Equally, we can capitalise on the tension between having to take a broad view of ethnicity and its function as form of group affiliation, and the realisation that this will inevitably blur the boundaries to other forms of social identification such as class, gender or age.

Evidence from two 5th to 7th century AD cemeteries in south-eastern Germany shows that it is possible to develop a model of early medieval ethnicity that challenges both the nationalist paradigm and culture historical concepts of ethnicity.

#### The Extraordinary Use of Ordinary Objects: Material Expressions of Ethnic Identity in the Cemeteries of the First African Baptist Churches, Philadelphia

John P. McCarthy, RPA (*Pennsylvania Department of Transportation, Pennsylvania, USA*)

Many archaeologists have argued that material culture plays subtle, but important, roles in the creation of meaning and identity in everyday life experience. In early 19th-century Philadelphia free, urban African Americans employed quite ordinary material objects to express community and ethnic identities in the extraordinary context of laying the dead to rest. Non-Western burial practices that appear to be derived from Creole slave culture and/or West African sources included: 1) burial of a shoe on the top of the coffin, 2) burial of a plate on the stomach of the deceased inside the coffin, and 3) placement of a single coin in the coffin, usually near the head of the deceased.

This paper will discuss these burial practices and consider them in the contexts of Philadelphia's growth and industrialization in the first half of the 19th century and the formation of African-American culture to argue that the considerably greater occurrence of these practices in the later of two cemeteries suggests the maintenance, or revival, of African identity as a active expression of resistance to domination in a context of in-migration, economic stress, and growing racism. Finally, the paper will consider the implications of these results for our understanding of the material expression of ethnicity in the archaeological record.

#### The discursive space of Post World War 2 Japan and the fate of archaeological discourse in Post-Modernity

Koji Mizoguchi (*Kyushu University, Japan*)

The discursive space of Post World War 2 Japan up to the late 1980s can be characterized by its being situated in a world system in which the U.S. occupies the centre. After the devastating war which had totally discredited the pre-existing technologies of self-identification, the Japanese invented a new one in which the U.S. was designated as the dominant Other and the Japanese identified themselves through reacting to/making sense of it.

In the new discursive space opened up by the above illustrated move, the imagined/differentiated relationships between the U.S. and Japan were metaphorically transformed to the relationships between all kinds of entities ranging from persons to nation states past and present, and the position of the entity with which one identified oneself with was made sense of. In archaeology, the relationships between the U.S. and Japan were transformed to that between mainland Asia and the Japanese archipelago. In this discourse, the archipelago was treated as if a well-bounded, unified entity, and its inhabitants were depicted to have expressed their identity by creatively reacting to influences from the Asian mainland.

The end of the cold war has marked the end of the above illustrated technology of self-identification, and the position of the Other in the self-identification of the Japanese, once occupied by the U.S., now has to be filled with a new entity. The past, which once was treated as the Same for the self-identification of the Japanese, is now

reinvented as the Other, and has begun functioning as the (imagined) source of primordial ethnic identity.

By tracing the above illustrated process, that roughly coincides with the transformational process from Modernity to Post-modernity, the paper will consider the causes of the global (re) rise of ethnocentrism and how we as archaeologists can react to it.

#### Afrocentric methodology in archaeology

Michael Reynier (*University of Leicester*) & Richard P. Benjamin (*University of Liverpool*)

The interpretation of the Black diasporic archaeological record could gain new momentum through an Afrocentric paradigm. The Black British archaeological record could also benefit from an Afrocentric theoretical approach. One that focuses on the African archaeological record of the UK. Also, Black people in the USA and the UK should do more than get physically involved with public archaeology programs. The projects, from start to finish, should begin to be viewed from a Black perspective. Not a predominantly white male, western one. The notion of ethnicity would be addressed from a Black point of view.

#### Archaeology and Views Beyond 'Globalization-Multiculturalism' and Other Dualist Paradigms for Human Nature and History

Stephanie Koerner (*University of Manchester*) and Russell Palmer (*University of Manchester*)

Today we are seeing a virtual explosion of cross-disciplinary interest in the dynamics of 'globalization and multi-culturalism' (eg. Miller 1995; Inda and Rosaldo eds. 2000; Geertz 2000). Recent discussion of relationships between the contents and socio-historical contexts of archaeological research alerts us to the impact this interest has had on the emergence of new lines of inquiry structured around such themes as: (a) the nature of 'cultural' and/or 'ethnic identity', and the problem of equating the question as to the nature of ethnic groups in the sense of self-conscious identity groups with that of the nature of 'archaeological cultures'; (b) agency, and (c) the discipline's relationships to nationalist, imperialist and colonialist ideologies.

Yet the articulation of these new areas of archaeological interest with cross-disciplinary discussions of processes of globalization and multi-culturalism remains all too often implicit. In consequence, few archaeologists have: (a) assessed critically and constructively the conceptual tools offered by frameworks for investigating the dynamics of globalization, (b) challenged wholesale applications of highly generalized received concepts and models, or (c) considered archaeology's special relevance to issues posed by cross-disciplinary discussion of these models. A detailed discussion of these problems lies beyond the scope of the present contribution. Instead we attempt to show why it is worthwhile to bring them up in this session, and argue for initiating discussion of archaeology's relevance to the challenges facing attempts to go beyond core-periphery models of 'globalization and multi-culturalism' and other dualist paradigms for human nature, history and knowledge.

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Miller, D. (ed.) 1995. *Worlds Apart: Modernity Through the Prism of the Local*. London: Routledge.

## The Archaeology of Land Allotment

Adrian Chadwick (*University of Wales College, Newport/Wessex Archaeology*) and Helen Wickstead (*University College London*).

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|-------------|---|
| 9.20am      | Introduction Adrian Chadwick and Helen Wickstead  |
| 9.30am      | <i>Fields for discourse? Towards a theorised approach to the archaeology of field systems</i> . Adrian Chadwick   |
| 9.50am      | <i>An empty hole or a meaningful whole? Approaches to the study of pit alignments</i> . John Thomas   |
| 10.10am     | <i>Class 1b: 'irregular but generally rectangular fields'</i> . Robert Johnston   |
| 10.30am     | Coffee  |
| 11.00am     | <i>The view from above</i> . Alison Deegan  |
| 11.20am     | <i>The making of the Bronze Age landscape</i> . David Yates   |
| 11.40am     | <i>The pleasant land of counterpane: linking site-specific archaeological land use to landscape-scale systems</i> . Helen Lewis                           |
| 12.00pm     | <i>Finding it different</i> . Mark Knight   |
| 12.20pm     | Discussion. Morning chair Andrew Fleming  |
| 12.45pm     | Lunch   |
| 2.00pm      | TBA. Gretta Byrne   |
| 2.20pm      | <i>Treading a thin line: maintaining the boundaries of a Chilterns parish</i> . Hannah Sackett  |
| 2.40pm      | <i>How long is a Piece of String in the Bronze Age? Surveying Practices and Measurement in the Bronze Age Field Systems of Dartmoor</i> . Helen Wickstead |
| 3.00pm      | <i>Early land allotment on the Marlborough Downs</i> . David McOmish  |
| 3.20pm      | Coffee  |
| 3.50pm      | <i>'Brutes, Bullies and other obstructions': fields and people in the Peak</i> . Tim Allen  |
| 4.10pm      | TBA. Seamus Caulfield   |
| 4.30pm      | <i>'After Celtic fields'</i> Richard Bradley  |
| 4.50-5.30pm | Discussion. Afternoon chair Tom Williamson  |

#### Fields for discourse? Towards a theorised approach to the archaeology of field systems

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

The late 1970s and 1980s saw a series of 'new approaches to ancient fields' (q.v. Hayes 1981). In Britain, there were pioneering studies of prehistoric and Romano-British field systems and linear boundaries in areas such as Dartmoor, the Fens and East Anglia, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, and Salisbury Plain. Medieval fields were also a subject for renewed investigation and debate. These studies were characterised not only by their extensive breadth of survey and/or excavation, but also by the theoretical ideas current at the time that drove many of the enquiries. The work of these authors continues to be important, as does that of more recent researchers. The work of the National Mapping Programme and recent volumes on the Yorkshire Wolds and Salisbury Plain illustrate the scale and size of prehistoric field systems, and the continued archaeological interest in them. Despite this however, I would argue that little has actually changed in field system and linear boundary studies within archaeology, especially during the 1990s. Field systems, linear earthworks and pit alignments still continue to be considered largely within economic meta-narratives, or merely as chronological markers in the landscape palimpsest. The communities creating and inhabit-

ing these fields are often either invisible, or portrayed as little more than a lumpen peasantry or materially impoverished 'hicks in the sticks'. Why is this so?

There have been considerable improvements in the methodological tools we can use, including palaeo-environmental and micromorphological analyses, aerial photography, GIS, excavation techniques, ethnographic studies and theoretical ideas concerning human societies. These should allow us to write much more fine-grained archaeologies. The histories we write could be setting these features within more nuanced and localised considerations of landscape, taskscape, inhabitation, seasonality, complexity, access and restriction, persistence and discontinuity. By weaving the lives of people, plants and animals together with critical ideas concerning landscape, material culture, structure and agency, we can produce challenging, exciting and more explicitly theoretical narratives that explore routine, everyday practices in the past.

Hayes, P. 1981. New approaches to ancient fields. In G. Barker (ed.) *Prehistoric Communities in Northern England*. Sheffield: Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, pp. 105-121.

#### **An empty hole or a meaningful whole? Approaches to the study of pit alignments**

*John Thomas (University of Leicester Archaeological Services)*

Pit alignments are a common but enigmatic landscape feature of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. These features, which are largely confined to central and eastern areas of Britain, are generally accepted as some of the first major landscape divisions of the period. Consisting of long lines of regularly spaced pits, their apparent 'dysfunctional' form has set them apart from other broadly contemporary boundary systems such as the Wessex linear ditches or the Dartmoor reaves.

During a period when the predominant boundary form was continuous, the permeable nature of pit alignments has encouraged debate over the effectiveness of what has been seen from a modern viewpoint, as a non-functional boundary feature. Such attitudes have been reflected in the predominantly 'common sense' explanations of pit alignments to date. Interpretations of the use of pit alignments have acknowledged their unusual form, but by and large have failed to transcend the common sense approach. Although purely functional explanations of pit alignments go some way towards reaching an insight of their original significance, a more rounded understanding must take into account human involvement, and the thought processes behind this involvement. It is possible that our understanding of these monuments may have missed the point, and it may be that their importance lies in their intentionally 'different' form.

In the light of recent reappraisals of the way in which life was organised during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, it may be more appropriate to consider the symbolism of pit alignments as well as their functional aspects. Taking the view that archaeological features cannot be fully interpreted without a consideration of the human thought processes behind their construction, earlier explanations of pit alignments will be considered and compared to more 'humanistic' approaches. A number of case studies, largely from the midlands, will be examined to illustrate the argument that pit alignments represent important, symbolic early boundaries in the transformation between open and enclosed landscapes.

#### **Class 1b: 'irregular but generally rectangular fields'**

*Robert Johnston (University of Wales, Bangor)*

The discussion of prehistoric land allotment frequently centres upon the well-known and most visually impressive examples. Often left out of the discussion are the many small, irregularly shaped plots and fields bounded, though not always fully enclosed, by low banks or rickles of stone. They have been recorded in many upland areas of Britain where they are usually found associated with hut circle settlements and occasionally cairnfields. The form and context of these boundaries is interesting. They enclose small spaces, often in close

proximity to house structures, yet they are rarely sufficiently substantial to have acted as a barrier to livestock. They are constructed from field-cleared stone, though it is not clear whether it the act of clearance that creates the field, or if a boundary acted as convenient location for the deposition of fieldstone. This paper will discuss these issues with reference to changing traditions of tenure and stone clearance during later prehistory.

#### **The view from above**

*Alison Deegan (Independent Consultant)*

Air photographs can give unique views of the past. Archaeological aerial survey (photographing, mapping, recording and interpreting) is particularly adept at identifying the long ditches, banks and pit alignments that are the markers of land allotment and boundaries. Aerial survey has its limitations, and these must be clearly explicated, but careful observation and intelligent mapping and recording can give chronological depth to cropmark landscapes. The potential for aerial survey to contribute more than just two-dimensional plans can be seen in the work of the National Mapping Programme (NMP) and other research and developer-funded projects. The medium-scale mapping of the NMP has provided insights into landscapes such as those in which Riley's 'brickwork plan' fields, Lincolnshire's multi-ditched boundaries and Northamptonshire's articulated pit alignments are found. Larger-scale survey, undertaken as part of the planning process, informs and enhances both pre-development investigations and post-excavation analysis and synthesis.

Current methodologies and recording procedures however, may be too coarse to retrieve key information retrospectively and, notwithstanding the flexibility and potential of GIS, registering macro-scale survey with data of millimetric accuracy is a challenge. Alone, maps from air photographs document location, morphology and size but when integrated with other spatial, cultural and environmental data their archaeological value is compounded.

#### **The making of the Bronze Age landscape**

*Dave Yates (University of Reading)*

During the Later Bronze Age distinct zones of formal landscape were constructed in lowland Southern Britain. Each was characterised by the building of both co-axial and aggregate field systems together with elaborate stock enclosures and integrated droveways. Such land appropriation reflects a new social value attached to prime land. Such a rational economic maximisation explanation of boundary creation is however limited, for the shaping and use of the new formal landscapes, including the sunwise orientation of land boundaries, suggests that communities were constructing vast monumental landscapes. The drive to build such social grids may also have had more to do with signalling membership of a wider inter-regional exchange network.

#### **The pleasant land of counterpane: linking site-specific archaeological land use to landscape-scale systems**

*Helen Lewis (University of Cambridge)*

This paper will address the issue of whether the application of methods aimed at exploring site-specific cultural activity in the landscape beyond the settlement site can allow us to address the assumptions we hold on how fields and land use relate to ancient social organisation, landscape perceptions, and use of space in the landscape. The focus will be on fields: the field as a feature deserves attention in landscape archaeology, not least because it forces one to address the perceived nature: culture divide by presenting a spatial and temporal physical entity in which these two categories are melded. The study of fields, and especially field systems, has a long history in the archaeology of north-west Europe. There have, however, been few cases of research into fields that have integrated the 'subsistence' with the 'domestic' and 'ritual' arenas. Despite the known spatial and assumed conceptual relationships existing between ancient fields, dwellings

and burial monuments in the region, fields and field systems appear to be interpreted mainly as having fixed meanings and forms. They are perceived either as being incidental to other cultural remains, or else their evidence is abducted into the purely 'ritual' sphere. The practical and theoretical difficulties in relating these various aspects of the archaeological record are the focus of this paper.

#### **Finding it different**

*Mark Knight (Cambridge Archaeological Unit)*

The Bronze Age was not inhabited by farmers or archaeologists. No matter how much farmers or archaeologists work the land, be it keeping sheep or walking landscapes, neither can claim that these kinds of experience afford them some kind of special insight into Bronze Age practice. 'Farmers-sense' approaches to prehistory must be viewed with the same scepticism as particular phenomenological approaches, especially if we want to get beyond 'the past was just like the present' interpretations. Fortunately for everyone concerned, the Bronze Age was inhabited by different humanities that had different histories from farmers or archaeologists. *Finding it different* discovers that the relationships between the features that make up the Bronze Age (round barrows, field systems and settlement) contradict a farmer's world view of prehistory and dares to suggest that there was more to 'land division' than farming.

Other key words: builders weavers singers cleaners knappers warriors fishers potters healers hunters carpenters sailors dancers butchers miners travellers brewers painters teachers squatters metalworkers

#### **TBA**

*Gretta Byrne (Ceide Fields Centre, Co. Mayo)*

#### **Treading a thin line: maintaining the boundaries of a Chilterns parish**

*Hannah Sackett (University of Leicester) (reserve paper)*

The simple forms of banks, hedges and ditches often used to create land divisions mask their complexity. Identifying land divisions in the archaeological record is only part of the challenge. Once we have asserted that a given feature is, for example, a boundary, we need to ask how that boundary was perceived and experienced by the people inhabiting the landscape. This paper explores this point by looking at how the same parish boundary (Monks Risborough, Buckinghamshire) was recorded, maintained and experienced at two different points in time (the tenth century and the nineteenth century). In doing so, this paper also addresses issues of how land divisions have been represented, both in the past and in archaeological publications. It also looks at the role of paper and practice in the maintenance of parish boundaries over a thousand years.

#### **How long is a Piece of String in the Bronze Age? Surveying Practices and Measurement in the Bronze Age Field Systems of Dartmoor.**

*Helen Wickstead (University College London)*

The spatial arrangement of coaxial boundaries has in the past been seen as evidence for centralised organisation in Bronze Age societies. It has been argued that structural regularities in prehistoric field systems, repeated across large tracts of the enclosed landscape, must have resulted from the execution of a pre-ordained plan. Devising and enforcing this plan would have required a prehistoric 'planning authority' which could have comprised either an administrative elite or some kind of more democratic institution. This paper re-examines the above idea using the results of research I am undertaking for my thesis. I am applying a range of quantitative methods to the Dartmoor field systems and their environment. This paper focuses on the analysis of enclosure dimensions in an attempt to suggest how prehistoric people surveyed their fields and what kinds of possibilities for social organisation these practices may have brought into being.

#### **Early land allotment on the Marlborough Downs**

*David McOmish (English Heritage)*

This paper will review the detailed histories of land use on the Marlborough Downs during the 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC and attempt to characterise the significant modifications that resulted in repeated re-workings of this block of chalkland. Episodic but fundamental changes were played out across a fairly restricted geological and topographical range, and there were associated transformations in material culture – all of this impacted in the ways that the landscape was used, adapted and lived-in. Paramount amongst this was the development over time of what we could, prosaically, term the 'domestic' landscape – a landscape seemingly recognisable to us because of the familiarity of its component parts, namely fields and settlements. Discussion will focus largely on these fields and their systems, as well as other forms of land division, and will provide a commentary on the complex and often contradictory inter-relationship between agrarian and settlement histories. A clearer chronological definition is essential here and an attempt will be made to provide a framework upon which to fix the major developments witnessed in the Marlborough Downs landscape during the 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC.

#### **'Brutes, Bullies and other obstructions': fields and people in the Peak**

*Tim Allen (University of Sheffield)*

In a group of villages and farms in the southern Peak of Derbyshire, preserved in the shapes of the fields are the relics of past relationships between people, and past understandings of how the world might be ordered. When in the late seventeenth century Elizabeth Wheeldon recalled the '*Brutes Bullies and other obstructions*' she and her fellow parishioners had to avoid when walking the bounds of Hognaston Parish, we see something of the tensions that existed between different understandings of community, property and land.

This is a paper about places and what they might have meant to people, and how the physical forms of land division persisted in new contexts to gain new meanings. The village of Bradbourne and its neighbours in the southern Peak has been the focus of my PhD research. My work has run alongside an ongoing programme of survey and excavation around Bradbourne undertaken by the University of Sheffield Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, under the direction of Dr. Mark Edmonds, Dr. John Moreland and myself.

#### **TBA**

*Seamus Caulfield (University College Dublin)*

#### **After Celtic fields**

*Richard Bradley (University of Reading)*

For many years Celtic fields were regarded as one of the archetypal features of the British Iron Age – as indeed the name suggests. Their creation and operation were fundamental to reconstructions of the Iron Age economy and even to experiments that sought to recreate prehistoric agriculture. Recent work, especially by David Yates, has shown that the great majority of lowland field systems in southern England were created during the Middle and/or Late Bronze Ages and that very few of these systems extended far into the Iron Age. The same argument can be advanced for earthwork systems in the uplands. It seems likely that 'Celtic' fields were little used in the very periods with the strongest evidence for Iron Age farming. Their creation did not resume until the late pre-Roman period.

## Composing nature: how societies make sense of the world

Joshua Pollard (University of Wales College, Newport), Robert Johnston (University of Wales, Bangor) and Vicki Cummings (Cardiff University)

Following on from the 'Society in nature' session at TAG in 1999, this session will present substantive examples which will explore the range of ways that societies make sense of the world around them. While it has been acknowledged for some time that dichotomies such as culture and nature, and mind and body, are modernist constructs, there have been few archaeological explorations which investigate ways of working around or beyond these dualisms. Getting beyond the culture nature dualism is not simply about breaking down dichotomies but about constructing contextually specific world-views in their place. In this session we want to explore the relationship between people in the past and their surroundings. In particular, we are keen to explore issues which relate to the interface between humans and non-humans in past societies, and how people understand and conceptualise what we describe as the 'natural world'. How did people compose their own societies in relation to non-human (and often unaltered) things? How did people actively build and rework particular kinds of boundaries?

- 9.00am Introduction Joshua Pollard, Bob Johnston and Vicki Cummings  
9.10am *There's something about sarsen...* Joshua Pollard  
9.30am *"His accounts do not easily separate the natural from the social": the natural, the social, and Martin Martin's accounts of the Western Isles in the seventeenth century* Cole Henley  
9.50am *Human and animal bodies in Ertebølle social relations.* Chris Fowler  
10.10am *No Culture. No Nature. No Difference. Swords in the Later Prehistory of North-Western Europe.* Mike Williams  
10.30am Tea break  
11.00am *"They painted the world and everything in it" – the Immediate and Extended Interface of California Rock Art* Dave Robinson  
11.20am *Circlescapes* Aaron Watson  
11.40am *Making mountains: conceptualising natural places in Neolithic Britain* Vicki Cummings  
12.00pm *Underworlds: mines and caves in Bronze Age north Wales* Bob Johnston  
12.20pm Discussion

### There's something about sarsen...

Joshua Pollard (University of Wales College, Newport)

Adopting a fully contextual and biographical approach to particular phenomena provides one way of moving beyond the problematic nature: culture dichotomy. Here such an approach is employed in investigating the changing contextualization of stone within the landscape of the Upper Kennet Valley, Wiltshire. Transformations in the relative conceptual 'distance' between people's inhabitation of the landscape and its distinctive sarsen stonescapes are explored from the late Mesolithic to the present. As locations for the working and deposition of other stones, early in the Neolithic sarsens were woven into the fabric of human taskscape, became places in their own right, and were perhaps even invested with animistic qualities. It may have been an appreciation of their 'agency' that led to the movement and transformation of some and their incorporation into the fabric of monuments. By the early modern period, a categorical distinction between 'natural' stones and those forming humanly-created monuments was beginning to emerge: they became variously relics of paganism, a hindrance and a commercial resource (once modified). We

still operate within this legacy, and this has implications for the way in which we investigate, think and write about, and conserve 'natural' sarsens versus those forming elements of the Avebury region's Neolithic monument complex. This is not a tale of 'nature and culture', nor of 'no nature, no culture', but rather a story of how ontological and material relationships are shifting and contextual across time and within any given cultural setting.

"His accounts do not easily separate the natural from the social": the natural, the social, and Martin Martin's accounts of the Western Isles in the seventeenth century  
Cole Henley (Cardiff)

In 1703 Martin Martin's *A description of the Western Islands of Scotland* was published, chronicling his travels in this area and providing detailed accounts of the history, customs, traditions, and beliefs of the people he encountered, and the natural world in which they lived. Martin's accounts were published at a time when the western world, through natural philosophy, the colonization and exploration of new worlds, and the industrial revolution, was beginning to classify and categorise the world in new and different ways.

In this paper I want to examine the implications of Martin's work in the context of an emerging natural-social dualism, the ways in which he considered the relationship between people and the world in which they lived, and how this differed from the prevalent perspectives of the time. Furthermore, through closer inspection of Martin's work we can begin to see how a series of other dualism came to be challenged.

### Human and animal bodies in Ertebølle social relations.

Chris Fowler (University of Manchester)

Some ethnographers have described social relations with animals and other natural things under the terms animism, totemism and naturalism. There are disagreements about the definitions of these terms, but Descola (1996) suggests that naturalist relations objectify animals as alienated products, and that totemic relations protect and curate animals which Ingold (2000) argues are, like humans, produced from an ancestral landscape. Ingold, Descola, Bird-David and others suggest that animistic relations treat animals, objects and other natural phenomena as *potential* persons formed through ongoing relationships and engaged with dialogically. Two of these 'modes of identification' – totemism and animism – are described as usually co-present to varying degrees. Descola also identifies three 'modes of relations' – predatory, protective, and reciprocal – which cross-cut his 'modes of identification'. These distinctions cannot be equated with types of subsistence economy, like agrarianism, pastoralism or foraging. Rather they describe modes of relationships not only between humans and animals, but also between humans and any type of entity – including other human beings.

Although there are several problems inherent in the construction of categories like these, the idea that there are different co-present modes of interaction between the human and the non-human is potentially useful in thinking about the past. This paper will suggest that we can examine human relations with animals and other 'natural' things in a comparable way to human relations with other humans. Were there social modes of engagement with animals that paralleled or were radically at odds to those between people? In particular, how do the different or over-lapping treatments of human and animal bodies provide a useful basis for understanding social relations both between humans and with the non-human? This paper will interpret a range of relationships between human and animal bodies in the aceramic Ertebølle of southern Scandinavia. In particular I will argue that Ertebølle society could be described as 'multi-natural' (Viveiros de Castro 1996), with people defined through their engagement with the natural and particularly animal world. Heterogeneous relationships between the human and non-human will be explored through Ertebølle cemeteries, focusing on how the generation of social bodies also naturalised an understanding of the material world.

Descola, P. 1996. Constructing natures: symbolic ecology and social practice. In Descola, P. and Palsson, G. (eds.) *Nature and Society: anthropological perspectives*. Routledge, London. pp. 82-102.

Ingold, T. 2000. Totemism, animism and the depiction of animals. In Ingold, T. *The perception of the environment: essays in liveliness, dwelling and skill*. Routledge, London. pp. 111-131.

Viveiros de Castro, E. 1996. Cosmological deixis and Amerindian perspectivism: a view from Amazonia. *JRAI* 4: 469-88.

### No Culture. No Nature. No Difference. Swords in the Later Prehistory of North-Western Europe.

Mike Williams (University of Reading)

The culture-nature dichotomy has been expanded to include varied constructs but, at its most fundamental, it seems to describe what is human, and therefore conscious, against what is not human, and therefore inanimate. Whilst such rigid categorisation has been rightly attacked, particularly when it has been uncritically applied to past societies, very little has been proposed to take its place. What is needed is another way of looking at the world that avoids the rigidity of Western and modernist thought. This paper suggests that such a world-view exists in those traditional societies that adhere to a shamanic cosmology, where there is no ontological difference between humans and non-humans since everything is considered alive and is therefore conscious. When applied to the past, this view challenges the way the archaeological record is usually interpreted and provides for a truly radical alternative. Taking later prehistoric swords as its example, this paper suggests that, rather than viewing swords as inanimate objects that were made, used and discarded by humans, they were actually seen as alive and containing a consciousness of their own. Swords were not made but were born. They were not used but lived. And they were not discarded but died. In the prehistoric past, swords were considered equal to humans. No culture. No nature. No difference.

### "They painted the world and everything in it" – the Immediate and Extended Interface of California Rock Art

Dave Robinson (University of Cambridge)

Rock art can be conceptualized as a physical medium that was employed to negotiate both physical and imagined boundaries. Drawing upon the interpretation of indigenous perceptions gleaned from California ethnographic sources, this paper attempts to explore how the use of materiality engaged individuals within multiplicities of discourses. Rock art provided more than one trajectory within this nexus. As a manipulative substance, pigment in particular facilitated both personal contact with places of importance and communication with wider powers of agency. This paper explores the intersections and correspondences between people, places, things and the extended environment of indigenous California.

### Circlescapes

Aaron Watson (University of Reading)

From the north of Scotland to southern England, Neolithic stone circles and henges were frequently situated within basins or river valleys so as to be enclosed and contained by hills. Sometimes referred to as 'circular' landscapes, these distinctive relationships dramatically juxtapose monumental architecture against the surrounding topography. What was the relationship between the users of these monuments and the wider landscape? Were standing stones and earthworks intended to separate Neolithic people from the natural world, or might their experiences have been entirely different?

In order to consider these questions, this paper will reflect upon how archaeologists actively rework their own encounters with Neolithic places in order to make sense of them. While we might increasingly acknowledge the modernist constructs embedded within interpretations of the Neolithic, it is at the same time extremely difficult for us to see beyond them. In order to construct new Neolithic

world-views, it may first be necessary to question our own, as well as to supplement traditional modes of fieldwork observation and communication with other ways of telling. These issues will be explored through the circular monuments of later Neolithic Britain, monuments that appear to articulate unprecedented relationships between people and their surroundings.

### Making mountains: conceptualising natural places in Neolithic Britain

Vicki Cummings (University of Cardiff)

In this paper I will explore the meanings of a range of places that have, as yet, produced no archaeological evidence of being 'used' in the Neolithic. In particular the focus will be on the mountains of western Britain but I will also discuss a series of other natural features. What did Neolithic people think of these places? How did people make sense of these places? How did they understand and conceptualise places they may never have visited but which they could see as they moved about in their everyday lives? I will argue that locales such as mountains can only be understood in relation to the unique topographies of each individual area. In this sense, the meaning of mountains and other natural places would have been contextually-specific within both space and time. But I will also explore the properties of these places, the agency of these places and their role in the creation of the mythologies and world-views of Neolithic Britain.

### Underworlds: mines and caves in Bronze Age north Wales

Bob Johnston (University of Wales, Bangor)

The extraction of copper ore during the second millennium BC created an architecture of stone fissures, tunnels and caverns. These spaces were opened as people followed the seams of ore-rich deposits both on the surface and through a network of tunnels; 'natural' spaces were exposed and defined by humans. To be successful, these excavations required an intimate understanding of the properties of the ore and the surrounding rock. They also obliged the miners to confront underworlds: unhuman and perhaps unnatural places concealing latent dangers that had the potential to be physically and spiritually destructive. This coming together of human and nonhuman worlds was not an alien experience; caves and fissures had for a long time been the focus for a variety of occupation and votive practices. This study explores the extent to which initial encounters with mining spaces were structured by the existing ontological significance of underworlds, as evidenced by earlier and contemporary deposits in nearby caves.

### Sense and sensibility – reflections on the ontology and epistemology of GIS

Doortje Van Hove and Ulla Rajala

- 9.00am *Sense and sensibility – reflections on the ontology and epistemology of GIS.* Ulla Rajala  
9.20am *Time and experience: taskscape within GIS.* Doortje Van Hove  
9.40am *On the concept of virtual archaeology: for a definition of spatial information modelling processes.* Stefania Merlo  
10.00am *Sensuous GIS: an alternative to visibility analysis.* Matthew Fitzjohn  
10.20am Coffee  
10.40am *Forensic Geography and GIS.* Gianna Ayala  
11.00am *Making GIS more culturally sensitive.* Caroline Phillips  
11.20am Discussion



- 2.00pm *Listening to the landscapes: modeling past soundscapes within GIS.* Dimitrij Mlekuz
- 2.20pm *Spatial Variables as Proxies for Modeling Cognition and Decision-Making in Archaeological Settings: A Theoretical Perspective.* Thomas Whitley
- 2.45pm Coffee
- 3.10pm *Bringing it all back home: the practical visual environments of Southeast European tells.* Steve Trick
- 3.30pm *Personal experiences and general characteristics – correlating aspects of the Breton Neolithic landscape.* Corinne Roughley
- 3.50pm *The Sociable Hunter-Gatherers: A Regional Examination into the Social Interaction of the Natufian Culture in the Southern Levant.* Carla Parslow
- 4.20pm Discussion

**Sense and sensibility – reflections on the ontology and epistemology of GIS**

*Ulla Rajala (University of Cambridge)*

In this paper I will try to approach the basics of archaeological GIS by reviewing different types of studies from the philosophical point of view. At an elementary level, I will discuss what has been supposed to be legitimate to study and what kind of world archaeologists think they are studying with points, lines, polygons, TINs and grids. I will attempt to define the characteristics of knowledge we archaeologists use in research and what kind of conclusions we can draw from that knowledge. Does GIS modelling make sense? What might be a sensible way to build a theoretical frame of reference? I will consider the possibility of 'post-postprocessual' answers.

**Time and experience: taskscapes within GIS**

*Doortje Van Hove (University of Southampton)*

Within the archaeological discipline, the agency debate has re-emphasised the importance of human volition within the archaeological landscape. Human action is influenced by how groups perceive their worlds and, more importantly, structured by the accommodation of affordances, created by the dynamic interplay between humans and their animate and inanimate surroundings. This conceptualises the notion of 'taskscape', in which different interpretations of space, time and accumulated experience generate a variety of potential pictures of past human lives. Human taskscapes are dynamic and built upon the historicity of human action, emphasising that spatial patterns of human practice are not static but contexts reflecting back on past and predicting future behaviour.

For archaeological analyses of the spatial structure of past human activities, the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) has mostly been restricted to the recognition of spatial patterns in one-dimensional space and time. Static GIS therefore yields only an ahistorical picture of the past. Dynamic or temporal GIS includes the possibility of looking at dynamic taskscapes over time, enabling them to become both medium for and outcome of human action.

Current PhD research by the author theorises the implications of the implementation of taskscapes for past human practice, through land use modelling within the southern Calabrian (Italy) Neolithic, using temporal GIS. This paper will specifically discuss outcomes of dynamic simulation models and interpretations of results to emphasise an alternative approach to southern Italian Neolithic culture.

**On the concept of virtual archaeology: for a definition of spatial information modelling processes.**

*Stefania Merlo (University of Cambridge)*

This paper aims to clarify the concept of virtual archaeology as stated by Reilly in 1991 and address the issue of three-dimensional modelling of archaeological deposits. Recent literature (in particular papers from the CAA Conferences) has been increasingly interested in the

application of virtual reality and GIS techniques for excavation recording and intra-site analysis. Despite this effort, it can be argued that most archaeologists have failed to tackle the main implications of such an issue. In fact, sites and monuments are still recorded, visualised and interpreted in two or, at best, 2 dimensions. The majority of time, on site, is spent forcing data into plans and sections that give a false view of the world. The challenge to improve the quality of archaeological data is met by considering three-dimensional spatial modelling as the modelling of an analytical research process. The process consists of the integration of different phases, from the decomposition of the archaeological deposit to its re-composition as the electronic virtual model. Gardin's logicistic approach for the formalization of archaeological reasoning is used for the cognitive exploration of the entire process which is not only dependent on the objects per se, but on the codification used in the description.

**Sensuous GIS: an alternative to visibility analysis**

*Matthew Fitzjohn (University of Cambridge)*

'Sight paints a picture of life, but sound, touch, taste, and smell are actually life itself.' (Sullivan and Gill 1975:181)

Much of archaeological understanding is grounded in visualisation. One of the most important parts of archaeological fieldwork is to experience monuments and the landscape by going to 'see' them. Yet we have tended to ignore the fact when 'seeing' these places we are also touching, smelling and hearing the environment. Following our experiences in the field, we have used maps to locate our findings and observe the distribution of archaeological sites through time. GIS has been used increasingly to integrate and visualise a variety of environmental and cultural digital data in the hope of understanding not only the distributions of sites but also landscape meaning in the past. One of the most prolific means of 'seeing' past landscape meaning has been through the use of visibility analysis. This paper will present some recent attempts to overcome the problems of carrying out 'sight' based GIS analysis and propose some alternative ways of a creating a more sensuous archaeology.

**Forensic Geography and GIS**

*Gianna Ayala (University of Cambridge)*

This paper will discuss the use of GIS in the study of past landscape dynamics and land use practices in the Mediterranean Uplands. Cultural landscapes are often investigated following either environmental or humanistic paradigms. Through the use of GIS an attempt has been made to merge the two in the study of an upland river valley in central Sicily.

Using a geoarchaeological approach, this investigation has modelled the effects of human impact on the physical environment. This paper will discuss how this form of modelling has led to an understanding not only of the physical development of this landscape but also the formation and evolution of the cultural landscape through time.

**Making GIS more culturally sensitive**

*Caroline Phillips (Whakatane, New Zealand)*

Settlement pattern studies began in the 1970s with analyses of the archaeological landscape to discover the environmental, economic and political systems of the past. These earlier methods have now been computerised into GIS, sometimes with the addition of cognitive approaches such as viewshed analysis. The bases for most of these were the geographic studies of the 1960s, and universal problems have been acknowledged in transporting these techniques from modern urban situations to an archaeological database. However, there are also less well-recognised assumptions that are exposed when the models are applied to an archaeological landscape where there is some ethnographic control.

In New Zealand, archaeologists have followed the international

trends, but failed to notice the contradictions between the assumptions underlying settlement models and pre-contact Maori patterns of land use. Detailed ethnographic studies in one region demonstrate that the standard approaches assume complete, or at least unbiased, site distribution; contemporaneity, or at least a repeating pattern of settlement; permanent, or repeated seasonal occupation; and limited mobility with discrete economic and political territories. None of these requirements were present in the Maori land use practices of the study area.

These findings indicate that new settlement pattern models are required that can answer questions of changing complexity, specialisation and permanence. It is hoped that research in other areas, where there is a strong ethnographic record, can assist in the development of new models, which may offer alternative interpretations for those places where the ethnographic record is not present.

**Listening to the landscapes: modeling past soundscapes within GIS**

*Dimitrij Mlekuz (University of Ljubljana)*

Recent years have brought a range of diverse and innovative approaches that address the complexities of people-landscape interactions. GIS studies have tried to keep up with these approaches by developing the viewshed studies. Those approaches and applications, however, involve a central problem which lies in the confusion of the concept of vision and that of perception. This problem stems, on the one hand, from a privileged status of visual perception within the Western civilization and the technical convenience of the ready-made tools available in the GIS toolkit on the other.

The main motivation behind this paper is encouragement of new ways of approaching (i.e. "listening to" instead of just "looking at") the landscapes, thereby stressing the importance of multisensuous approaches in the study of past landscapes.

The paper critically discusses the use of the concept of "soundscape" (originally developed by the Canadian musicologist R. Murray Schafer) within landscape archaeology and its implementation in GIS, addressing several theoretical questions concerning the implementation of soundscape models and multisensuous approaches in general within GIS:

- What are the key differences between aural and visual perception and why are they important for the understanding and modelling of past landscapes?
- How are past landscapes created from individual sonic acts and how are they related to the processes of social life in the landscapes?
- How are soundscapes related to other perceptual "scapes"?

Last but not least, the paper discusses some procedural and pragmatical questions regarding the implementation of soundscapes and the multisensuous approach to past landscapes within humanistic GIS.

**Spatial Variables as Proxies for Modeling Cognition and Decision-Making in Archaeological Settings: A Theoretical Perspective**

*Thomas Whitley (Brockington and Associates, Inc., Georgia, USA)*

In recent years there has been a flourish of archaeological studies focusing on cognition or psychological behavior on the basis of GIS generated interpretations. These have taken two very different forms on either side of the Atlantic. In the empirically-driven positivist community of North American researchers, CRM projects have created a tendency toward using GIS based archaeological data in the context of so-called "predictive modeling" or within typically large scale interpretations of environmental motivations for settlement. This perspective has its origins in the nature of the North American archaeological record, and the development and dominance of processualism. In contrast, the highly complex European archaeological record and the influence of both post-processualism and landscape forms of archaeology have led to a European focus on using GIS as a

tool for reconstructing social and cognitive interpretative landscapes. Most frequently this has been in the form of visibility and viewshed analyses of henge-type monuments, hill fortifications and their surrounding environs. The disconnect between these two dichotomous traditions suggests on the one hand that North American approaches could benefit from methods that generate a more enriching discussion of agency and social theory, while European approaches could benefit from a less speculative form of empirical argumentation. These ideas may come together through the use of an enhanced approach to explanation and causality (in keeping with developments in the history and philosophy of science) and key tools such as the use of spatial variables as proxies for cognitive decision-making and social agency.

**Bringing it all back home: the practical visual environments of Southeast European tells**

*Steve Trick (University of Cardiff)*

The primacy given to the visual in much GIS-based analysis has recently been a subject of much criticism. This debate has been informed by ethnographic studies which argue that outside Western European society, rather than being the dominant sense, vision can often contribute a lesser role in environmental perception. While these studies are important for highlighting the different configurations that sensory perception can take, observations amongst other social groups bear testament to the importance of the visual. A recent study by Mark Harris of the Paruaros, a small-scale rural community dwelling in the floodplain of the Amazon river, has highlighted the importance that visual events play in informing people about rhythmic changes in their surroundings, and practical opportunities brought about through attendance to these changes.

Using GIS-based tools as a method for investigating visual perception, these ideas are explored through a case study from Neolithic Southeast Europe. In Southern Romania during the latter half of the 5th millennium BC people chose the active fluvial environments of river floodplains as the places in which to found villages that would become monumental tells.

Incorporating recent developments in the application GIS-based visibility analysis, this paper explores the nature of vision within this riverine landscape, focussing particularly on the zones habitually viewed from tells, and the presence of people and practical opportunity within these zones.

Harris, M. 2000. *Life on the Amazon: the Anthropology of a Brazilian Peasant Village.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

**Personal experiences and general characteristics – correlating aspects of the Breton Neolithic landscape**

*Corinne Roughley (University of Cambridge)*

It is now more widely accepted that GIS is not inherently restricted to environmentally deterministic analyses. Indeed, there is a growing body of researchers using GIS and other modelling techniques who are striving to incorporate insights from contemporary archaeological theory into their work. However, there are still relatively few in depth examples which demonstrate the contribution GIS and related techniques can make to wider current archaeological debates. This is in part because the majority of archaeological computing papers still concentrate on one, or possibly two, techniques currently being applied to a case study. Whilst the development of novel techniques (e.g. Llobera 2000) is crucial, their impact on wider archaeological questions often remains limited.

This paper demonstrates the importance of utilising a wide range of techniques in the pursuit of answers to archaeological questions. The relationships between the different Neolithic monuments in southern Brittany have been the subject of extensive and vigorous debate over the last 150 years (eg Bojout and Cassen, *Antiquity* 1993). By considering this important archaeological landscape using a wide range of techniques, from unfashionable spatial statistics,

through novel terrain characterisation algorithms, to dynamic visualisation, it has been possible to contribute significantly to current debates in ways which would not have been possible if a specific method had been relied upon. Supporting person-centric visualisations of specific monuments with wider statistical analysis increases their contribution to archaeological debate, rather than undermining theoretical credibility. Each individual technique has limitations in its theoretical appropriateness and technical applicability, but by using a diversity of approaches, we can greatly enhance the archaeological relevance of our work.

**The Sociable Hunter-Gatherers: A Regional Examination into the Social Interaction of the Natufian Culture in the Southern Levant.**

Carla Parslow (University of Toronto, Canada)

This paper examines possible indicators of social agency in the Natufian culture through the employment of a geographical information system (GIS). The Natufian culture (ca. 12,500–10,500 BP) represents the final period of archaeologically known hunter-gatherers in the Southern Levant, and is critical to our understanding of the transition from mobile hunter-gatherers to sedentary hunter-gatherer-farmers. Previous research, focused on core and periphery areas of the Natufian culture, has shed considerable light on the palaeo-environment, technology and material culture, and settlement and subsistence strategies. Within the core area, there is an overall consistency in technology and material culture, while variability is much greater in the periphery. Previous researchers have explained this variability from an ecological perspective. This paper is unique in that it focuses on technological and material culture similarities from a diachronic and spatial perspective. Topics explored include the problem of employing a social agency paradigm rather than the current ecological trend for interpreting Natufian behaviour, and dealing with cultural and ecological data at the intersite and intrasite level. It is proposed that archaeologists can understand social interactions and settlement strategies by treating material culture as a medium between humans, their actions and their environment.

**Integrating Egyptology – science and theory in Egyptology**

Sonia R Zakrzewski (Southampton) & Rachael Dann (Durham)

- 9.00am *Science as Status: Clarifying the Significance of Science in Ancient Egyptian Culture.* Elizabeth Hind
- 9.20am *Currently conflicting contexts: Astronomy, History of Astronomy, Archaeoastronomy and Egyptology.* Dr Kate Spence
- 9.40am *Conceptualising the Body in Ancient Egypt.* Kathryn Piquette
- 10.00am Coffee
- 10.20am *Ancient Egyptian Mummies: A Resource For Scientific Research.* Professor Rosalie David
- 10.40am *Technology into Tradition: the application of statistical analysis and Geographical Information Systems to the analysis of Egyptian mortuary data.* Joanne M. Rowland
- 11.00am *Investigation of diet and subsistence in Predynastic and Dynastic Egypt through stable isotope analysis.* Alex H. Thompson
- 11.20am Discussion

**Science as Status: Clarifying the Significance of Science in Ancient Egyptian Culture.**

Elizabeth Hind (University of Liverpool)

This session seeks to explore the impact scientific techniques could

have on the study of Egyptology. However, there is another issue in uniting science and Egyptology, the problem of looking at the science of the ancient Egyptians themselves. History of science has been allowed to be separate from mainstream histories and archaeologies.

In histories of mathematics ancient Egyptian mathematics is treated as a curiosity, a prologue to the story of Greek mathematics. In popular culture the Egyptians are seen as magicians obsessed with mortuary ritual. We must realise that this belief about the ancient Egyptians affects the way in which the subject of Egyptology itself is viewed by the general public and the rest of the academic community. If we accept the idea that history is propaganda, that is written to justify or validate a particular philosophy or world-view, then we must consider to what extent modern science is promoted by the history of science. We must also be vigilant as experts on the period of history in question that conclusions drawn from the history of science are suitably contextualised. This paper will consider ways in which science can be brought into mainstream Egyptology and reassess the nature of Egyptian scientific endeavour.

**Currently conflicting contexts: Astronomy, History of Astronomy, Archaeoastronomy and Egyptology**

Dr Kate Spence (University of Cambridge)

The study of ancient Egyptian 'astronomy' is an area in which science forms an important part of an integrated approach to the ancient material. Research in this area is carried out by Egyptologists, Astronomers, Historians of Astronomy and Archaeoastronomers and by a significant group of others interested in the field. There is research that studies the ancient Egyptian approach to 'astronomy' and that which uses science to reconstruct or examine aspects of the ancient Egyptian material record, textual or archaeological.

Sensitive interpretation of the source material and an awareness of context are essential: hard scientific fact is of no use if it is incorrectly or inappropriately applied. However, what has become increasingly apparent over the last few years is the extent to which interpretation of that all-important context differs according to the background of individual researchers and, in particular, the status they attribute to sources other than 'astronomical' texts. The Egyptian source material has also frequently been studied within the broader context of the ancient Near East and other cultures; this has had benefits at a general level but has raised further problems. The roots of these differing understandings of context will be examined and suggestions made as to how the situation might be at least partially resolved.

**Conceptualising the Body in Ancient Egypt**

Kathryn Piquette (University College London)

The aim of this paper is to try to understand how the ancient Egyptians conceptualised the body and articulated it in a material form on a series of inscribed Late Predynastic-Early Dynastic bone, ivory, stone and wooden labels.

Presumably attached to funerary equipment in royal and high status tombs in Upper and Lower Egypt, these labels are inscribed with a range of signs and motifs. Among these images are figures apparently representing human and animal bodies and body parts. Many examples attest to the fact that human and animal bodily attributes and features and their associated meanings were not clear-cut categories in the world of the ancient Egyptians, but were often melded together.

This paper explores what the fragmentation of human and animal bodies and the unification of body parts might tell us about Egyptian concepts of body and self. Moreover, through an examination of the iconography of the body, it may be possible to relate representations of bodies to social concerns, particularly notions of identity including ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, occupation, rank and status, etc.

I attempt to demonstrate the value of going beyond a descriptive, taxonomic account of early Egyptian material culture to consider alter-

native and innovative approaches. Because society is composed of living, functioning individual bodies which change according to social processes and perceptions (Montserrat 1998:2), bodies are effects of cultural, and historical activity (Turner 1984:49). Therefore taking account of Egyptian bodies can only be achieved through an understanding of the manner in which they were perceived, and ascribed meanings and values. By applying sociological approaches to this material, it may be possible to identify relationships between representations of human and animal bodies and developing beliefs and attitudes which characterised early Egyptian concepts of the body.

Montserrat, D, 1998. *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: studies on the human body in antiquity.* London: Routledge.

Turner, B, 1984. *The Body and Society: explorations in social theory.* Oxford: Blackwell.

**Ancient Egyptian Mummies: A Resource For Scientific Research**

Professor Rosalie David (University of Manchester)

Since 1973, the Manchester Egyptian Mummy Project has pioneered a multidisciplinary approach to the use of biomedical and scientific techniques to obtain data about disease, DNA identification, and mummification procedures. Key elements in this project have been the introduction of virtually non-destructive techniques, including radiology and endoscopy, to investigate mummified remains; the establishment of an epidemiological study of schistosomiasis in ancient and modern Egypt, over a 5,000-year period; and the inauguration of the International Ancient Egyptian Mummy Tissue Bank. To date, the Bank has received over a thousand samples from mummies held in Egyptian collections in Europe, USA and Australia, and provides a loan resource for bona fide researchers working on specific scientific projects. In 1995, the University of Manchester introduced a unique Degree, the MSc in Biomedical and Forensic Studies in Egyptology, in order to continue the Manchester team's expertise in this field, and there is also an active PhD and postdoctoral programme.

This paper will summarise the contribution that the Manchester Project has made to Egyptology in general, and will consider how this area of study might be developed in the future.

**Technology into Tradition: the application of statistical analysis and Geographical Information Systems to the analysis of Egyptian mortuary data**

Joanne M. Rowland (University College London)

Traditionally, funerary evidence has played a key part in research surrounding the period of state formation in Egypt. Researchers have long been using statistical analysis to derive patterns from data sets of mortuary remains in order to assist them in their understanding of the communities who used these cemetery sites. The current research is taking a further step, by integrating a computerised database system with the technology offered by Geographical Information Systems (GIS).

This paper examines the types of mortuary data that are being used for research into four cemetery sites in the east Delta of Egypt: Kafr Hassan Dawood, Kufr Nigm, Minshat Abu Omar, and Tell Ibrahim Awad. This data relates to grave construction/architecture, grave contents (quantity and type of objects), and the treatment/position, and age/sex of the individual. Discussion is also focussed on how spatial and statistical analysis can each be used to examine the data from different perspectives, and how these two methods can complement each other.

The application of this methodology aims to both provide a standardised method for examining issues of social differentiation on an intra- and inter-site basis, and to make a contribution towards research into the problem of state formation in Egypt. The closing discussion considers firstly how GIS can be used at individual sites to produce compatible data, and secondly, looks to the number of ways in which GIS is becoming more widely integrated within archaeology in Egypt today.

**Investigation of diet and subsistence in Predynastic and Dynastic Egypt through stable isotope analysis**

Alex H. Thompson (University of Bradford)

Diet and subsistence in Predynastic Egypt has not been extensively investigated. This is partially due to a lack of textual information and also because the study of diet has not been a significant area of interest in Egyptian archaeology or Egyptology until very recently, leading to a lack of archaeological evidence of diet. Newer methods of investigating diet, such as examining stable isotopic ratios in bone collagen can provide important information on Egyptian diet.

This presentation presents new information on Egyptian diet using stable isotope analysis of carbon and nitrogen isotopes in collagen from Predynastic and Dynastic Egyptian human and animal remains. The human remains range from Predynastic (ca. 5000 BC) to New Kingdom Dynastic (ca. 1500-1000 BC) and are from a range of sites. The animal sample used are also from a range of species and sites and provide baseline isotopic values for protein known to have been consumed, allowing the interpretation of the human isotopic values. The results indicate that there were differences in subsistence patterns through time, especially during the period of state formation.

Keyword: Stable isotope analysis, carbon and nitrogen isotopes, Predynastic and Dynastic Egypt, diet and subsistence.

**Paleolithic North Sea Basin**

Kristian Pedersen (University of Newcastle) and Clive Waddington (University of Newcastle).

- Geoff Bailey (University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne)
- Graeme Warren (University of Dublin)
- Graeme Young (University of Sussex)
- Richard Chatterton (University of Manchester)
- Clive Waddington (University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne)
- Kristian L.R. Pedersen (University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne)
- Berit Valentin Eriksen (Moesgaard Museum)
- Tony Barrow (University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne)
- Alan Saville

**The Earliest Settlement of Scotland?**

Alan Saville

This talk will look at the earliest positive evidence currently available for the Mesolithic period in Scotland, from Cramond near Edinburgh at around 8500-8300 cal BC, and will discuss and speculate on the possibilities for occupation earlier in the Mesolithic or Lateglacial.

**Material Agency: Towards A Non-Anthropocentric Approach**

Lambros Malafouris and Carl Knappett

- 9.00am *Video introduction 'Material agency'*
- 9.20am *The argument for material agency.* Lambros Malafouris
- 9.40am *Engagement theory (and the pitfalls of 'agency').* Colin Renfrew
- 10.00am *Seeing through sensitive stone.* Andrew Cochrane
- 10.20am Break
- 10.40am *The agency of tools.* Tim Ingold
- 11.00am *The neglected networks of agency.* Carl Knappett
- 11.20am *Double agents.* Thomas Yarrow
- 11.40am *Embodied agencies at the interface.* Lucy Suchman
- 12.00pm Discussion

**Introductory session – video clip 'material agency'**  
*Lambros Malafouris and Carl Knappett (University of Cambridge)*

A short video clip illustrating instances of human – nonhuman agency, as a stimulus to debate.

**The argument for material agency**  
*Lambros Malafouris (Darwin College, University of Cambridge)*

"Consider a man felling a tree with an axe. Each stroke of the axe is modified or corrected, according to the shape of the cut face of the tree left by the previous stroke. This self-corrective (i.e., mental) process is brought about by a total system, trees-eyes-brain-muscles-axe-stroke-tree; and it is this total system that has the characteristics of immanent mind...But this is *not* how the average Occidental sees the event sequence of tree felling. He says, "I cut down the tree" and he even believes that there is a delimited agent, the "self", which performed a delimited "purposive" action upon a delimited object" (Bateson 1972, 318).

Critically reviewing the prevailing conceptualizations of agency in contemporary sociological and archaeological theory, this paper reacts against what appears as the common denominator behind the various nuances of this notion. That is, the deeply entrenched assumption that agency – in the real sense of the word – is solely an attribute of the human individual. This challenge to the prevailing anthropocentric doxography is followed by a suggestion for an alternative symmetric conceptualisation that foregrounds the possibility of material agency in equal terms. The label, i.e. material agency, provocative as it might sound, is to some extent a misnomer, yet serves well as a wake-up call from our deep humanistic slumber. The argument is not for an either/or choice between human and material agency, nor for extending a human 'a priori' to the realm of materiality. The argument is that such an 'a priori' does not exist, but only as an emergent and distributed property. In the human engagement with the material world, there are no fixed roles and clean ontological separations between agent-entities and patient-entities, but a constitutive intertwining between cognition and matter, between intentionality and affordance, between resistance and accommodation. The thesis draws elements from a variety of components ranging from ecological cybernetics, to Actor-Network-Theory and enactive cognitive science. At the empirical level it is explored and explicated using examples both from contemporary and past material culture. Finally, it concludes by addressing some key accusations, which after being demystified and deconstructed are transformed into a method i.e. the metahumanistic path of methodological fetishism.

Bateson, G. 1972. *Steps to an ecology of mind*. New York: Ballantine.

**Engagement Theory (and the pitfalls of 'agency')**  
*Colin Renfrew (University of Cambridge)*

'Agency is... a buzzword par excellence : it is vaguely defined and semantically loaded' (Robb 1999, 3).

It is argued that the term 'agency' has utility in focussing the attention of the archaeologist upon the intentionality of the individual and (in the work of Gell) upon the relationship between individual and collective. But it has the defect of being difficult to define or observe (to the extent that intentionality is a state of mind). It carries also the limitations of an egocentric or even solipsistic approach, inviting consideration neither of interactions among individuals nor of the interactions between the individual and the material world. It is proposed that in the discussion of human activities the concept of *engagement* avoids these pitfalls and invites exploration of the relevant issues underlying long-term culture change.

It will be reiterated that one appropriate focus for study is the engagement between the human actor and the material world, including the engagement between the individual and other humans.

The engagement between the individual human and the material world involves intelligent and knowledgeable action by the person, through cognition and understanding (what is sometimes termed the exercise of 'mind'). Such knowledge involves a mapping of the world through the formation of constructs (and models) which facilitate the utility of the actions undertaken. This is knowledge, and knowledge that is used in practice. The approach advocated is thus a material one, and in that sense 'materialist', but it lays emphasis upon cognitive aspects. An example is offered by notions underlying measurement, including the concept of weight.

Equally crucial is the engagement between the individual and other individuals (i.e. people) within a community and beyond that community. Within the community the use of language permits the development of shared constructs and shared understandings and thus the construction of what John Searle terms 'institutional facts'. It is upon such shared understandings that such everyday realities as marriage, property, commodity and value are based. The example of 'money' is proposed.

An example is offered for both aspects of the engagement process by the sedentary revolution, particularly when this is reflected in the development of settled village communities, normally (but not invariably) supported through food production. The development of the city and of the early state (or specific examples of such) may be considered in an analogous way. A suitable (if complex) contemporary example would be the development of the New York stock exchange in its material (technical) and social (including economic) aspects, inviting considerations in terms of connectivity.

It will be suggested that engagement theory offers a coherent framework for the study and interpretation of long-term culture change, and the elucidation of what has sometimes been termed the 'sapient paradox'. It invites discussion also of the similarities and differences between cultural phylogeny (long-term trajectories of culture change) and cultural ontogeny (the education of the individual within the community from birth to adulthood).

**Seeing through sensitive stone: considering the dynamic nature of the depictions on Irish passage tombs**  
*Andrew Cochrane (Cardiff University)*

'...I once asked an old man: Are *all* the stones we see about us here alive? He reflected a long while and he replied, "No! But some are"...' (Hallowell 1960: 24).

This anthropological anecdote from Ojibwa ontology in northern Canada illustrates how some non-western societies do not make the assumption that inanimate objects lack personhood or agency. By incorporating examples from Irish passage tombs, such as Knowth and Newgrange in the Boyne Valley, this paper will consider how stones depicting visual images can be regarded as existing in a condition of being, imbued with movement, volition and memory.

Recently a number of people have been debating how material objects are experienced before, during and after production with emphasis being placed on texture and appearance. These sensual examinations have generally included externalities such as season, time of day and climate in their modelling. Following an approach adopted by Ego (2001), this paper will assess the role that water-flow as a liquid solution may play in developing snapshots of a reality, on the surface of the stones in Irish passage tombs. Rain water, which is prolific in modern Ireland, is an extraordinary element that can influence ones engagement with monuments and the depictions on them. In detailing the dynamic action that water can have on painted and engraved motifs this paper will demonstrate how inanimate material objects can transcend time and memory via the liquidation effects of rain water. I will present how this periodical bath can create a gradual destruction or distortion, resulting in a metamorphosis of the rock face. Finally, I will discuss whether this might be regarded as the image becoming animated with natural agency.

By placing theories of material agency into contextualised ar-

chaeological data, this paper will attempt to demonstrate how 'inanimate' objects can play an active and dynamic role in social life.

Ego, R. 2001. A pictorial device: the dynamic action of water in a few depictions of rain animals. *Pictogram* 12, 27-34.

Hallowell, A. I. 1960. Ojibwa ontology, behaviour and world view. In S. Diamond (ed.), *Culture in history: essays in honour of Paul Radin*, 19-52. New York: Columbia University Press.

**The agency of tools**  
*Tim Ingold (University of Aberdeen)*

To anyone who has worked with reindeer in a roundup fence it is obvious that this non-human animal, at least, is empowered with vital agency. But to describe the encounter as the meeting of two agents, one human and the other non-human, is to leave out of account the tools through which it is mediated. What of the reindeer's lasso, his knife and his binoculars? Do these have their own agency, or do they merely extend the agency of the herdsman? Do lassos catch, knives cut and binoculars see? In the attempt to answer these questions we are forced to recognise that agency is not an attribute of persons or things, given in advance of their involvement in the theatre of activity, but is rather the outcome of a process of growth or ontogenetic development, in the course of which the relations in which entities are involved are enfolded into their very constitution. The kinds of agency that entities have depend on the kinds of development they undergo. But entities that enfold nothing of the histories of their relations with others can exert no agency at all.

**The Neglected Networks of Agency**  
*Carl Knappett (Christ's College, University of Cambridge)*

As psychological agents, not to mention as biological organisms and social persons, humans become inextricably enfolded within their surrounding material environment. Agency is neither solely in human hands, nor resident entirely in the nonhuman. It operates in their interrelations. It is these interrelations that endow the human with agency, not vice versa. But how are these interrelations patterned? The manner in which humans and nonhumans are interconnected is neither endlessly fluid nor uncompromisingly rigid. The topology that emerges is a hybrid, between structure and flow – the topology of the *network*. This is the kind of position that in socio-anthropology has been developed within the context of 'Actor Network Theory' (ANT), particularly in the work of Bruno Latour. One of its key premises has been to acknowledge the complex interconnections that hold humans and nonhumans together in socio-technical networks.

My argument here is that although the agent/actant component of Actor Network Theory has attracted considerable scholarly attention, its *network* component has in comparison remained somewhat underdeveloped. I intend in this paper to consider the various kinds of network topology we might expect of human-nonhuman 'intra-actions' (Suchman 2000). In order to do this I shall use some recent ideas emerging from exciting new research on networks, relating in particular to 'small world networks' and 'scale-free networks' (Buchanan 2002; Barabasi 2002). One particular question to ask is whether the structure of human and nonhuman intra-actions is hierarchical or heterarchical, following the pattern of an 'aristocratic' or an 'egalitarian' network. Understanding the topology of human-nonhuman configurations can play an important part in the investigation of change and innovation in complex socio-technical networks, a point I explore here in relation to examples from the Bronze Age Aegean.

Barabasi, A.-L., 2002. *Linked: the new science of networks*.

Buchanan, M., 2002. *Small world: uncovering nature's hidden networks*.

Mauss, M., 1950. 'Les techniques du corps', in *Sociologie et anthropologie*, 363-86.

Suchman, L.A., 2000. 'Human/Machine Reconsidered', Dept. of

Sociology, Lancaster University, at: <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/soc040ls.html>

**Double Agents**  
*Thomas Yarrow (University of Cambridge)*

This paper will examine the documents that enable archaeological sites to be translated into archaeological records. This record is produced through the thoughts and actions of people on site and it might be assumed that they are the main agents in this process of recording. Yet the material and patterned form of the documents (e.g. context sheets) that are used in this process acts in particular ways to structure the actions and thoughts of those who fill them in. The assumption that agency is a human attribute is therefore confused by the extent to which these documents themselves create parameters for the actions and interpretations of people on site.

**Embodied agencies at the interface**  
*Lucy Suchman (Lancaster University)*

This paper considers how cultural imaginaries of agency – the capacity for action taken as distinctive of humans – have first constituted, then migrated across, a line of demarcation between humans and machines. That boundary, or 'interface', delineates two separate bodies, one organic, the other artifactual. My aim is to bring together two established critiques of the way that humans, and their relations to machines, are currently figured in the development of information and communications technologies. The first of these is a critique of efforts to develop intelligent, interactive machines – interactive not just in the sense that that term references the particular dynamics of new computational media, but in the sense of machines that can engage in conversation with us. The second line of critique starts from the observation that discourses of ICT have tended to erase the human labor that continues to be involved in technological production, implementation, maintenance and the like. This erasure is tied to the more general ways in which information has been rhetorically dematerialised – has 'lost its body' in Katherine Hayles' apt phrase (1999). Drawing on experiments in interactive interface design read through Karen Barad's (1998) conceptualisation of 'intra-action', I close with some reflections on the possibilities for a non-reductionist reconfiguring of embodied agencies at the interface.

**22 December Afternoon Session**

**The Uses and Abuses of Ethnographic Analogy in Archaeology**

*Kathryn Fewster (University of Wales, Lampeter)*

Hodder argued that analogies are constantly being made in archaeological interpretation, even if the process is not conscious – a prehistoric stone axe is only an "axe" as opposed to "a piece of polished stone 4x4cm" because of the image we have in our heads of everything that an axe *is* (in Western society and in, for example, Australian Aboriginal society). Ethnoarchaeology, in its broadest sense, is the theoretical and methodological basis by which both these "simple" analogies between anthropological and archaeological data and much more complex ones are made. As well as using ideas and images suggested to archaeologists from ethnographies, archaeologists also use anthropological theory. Conversely, archaeologists may provide insight into anthropological studies by their specialised focus and expertise in material culture. Given these areas of mutual interest, it is interesting that there remain misunderstandings between archaeology and anthropology that affect the means by which archaeologists use (and abuse) ethnographies in their work, the means

*hooked*  
*The Soul of it*  
*me*  
*me*  
*Donald*  
*Shakespeare*  
*John Searle*  
*said content of reading*

*Implications in technology*

*materiality of the object*  
*what's here*  
*focus*  
*where's materiality*



by which archaeologists tailor anthropological theory to their own ends and the means by which the status of the reciprocal nature of the relationship is negotiated.

The first aim of this session therefore is to provide a space for discussion on some of the broader interdisciplinary issues between anthropology and archaeology, especially those which affect the theory and method of ethnoarchaeology.

In the 1960s to 1980s, and in the United States in particular, much of the research in ethnoarchaeology was directed towards the creation of epistemology and much effort was put into the production of *Middle Range Theory* to deal explicitly with the exact means by which ethnographic analogy is used in archaeological reasoning. The British-based critique of processualism in the 1980s and 1990s dismissed such methodology as part and parcel of the New Archaeology which created it. In keeping with contemporary theory, no coherent methodology was set up to address the issue of analogical reasoning in post-processual contexts. However, the legacy of this is that, given the importance of the interpretive tool of ethnoarchaeology, analogies continue to be used in British archaeology yet there are still few working to produce a coherent epistemological base in post-processual ethnoarchaeologies that suit the questions now being asked of archaeological data. It is anticipated that the production of ethnoarchaeological methodologies is now a necessary part of the process of paradigm shift and that they may be the result of a synthesis of processualist ideas with those of the post-modern critique.

The second aim of this session therefore is to act as a forum for archaeologists who are attempting to develop or work with ethnographic analogy, specifically with regard to the theory and methodology by which archaeologists make analogy to ideas such as personhood, agency, phenomenology.

It is anticipated that these two aims will not be incompatible.

- 2.00pm *Introduction.* Kathy Fewster  
2.10pm *Modernity, Alterity and Analogy.* Julian Thomas  
2.30pm *Objects of affection; "Material tales" of the Greek periphery.* Elizabeth Kirtzoglou  
2.50pm *Houses and heads: competing analogies.* Alasdair Whittle  
3.10pm Discussion  
3.30pm Break  
4.00pm *Revisiting the late nineteenth century – the current state of archaeology and anthropology.* Chris Gosden  
4.20pm *Ethnographic analogy in New Zealand.* Caroline Phillips  
4.40pm *Selectivity in the application of ethnographic analogies to prehistoric agriculture in the Highlands of New Guinea.* Tim Denham  
5.00-5.30pm Discussion

#### **Modernity, Alterity and Analogy** *Julian Thomas (University of Manchester)*

Why should archaeologists need to know about ethnography? After rejecting its initial belief that anything about the past can be discovered through archaeological evidence alone (providing that the methodology is robust enough), processual archaeology found ways of incorporating ethnographic data into a project of generalising about the human condition. However, if we are more concerned with the specificity and contingency of human existence, and consider it unlikely that any precise analogues for (say) the societies of prehistoric Europe exist in the contemporary world, why should we bother with anthropology? In this contribution I will argue that our biggest problem in prehistoric archaeology lies in challenging our own prejudices and assumptions. In particular, I will suggest that archaeology is a discourse of modernity, imbricated in a series of the practices and habits of thought of the modern world. We may never be able to guarantee the truth value of particular analogies used to explain specific aspects of archaeological evidence. In a sense, this doesn't matter. What is more important is that we use an awareness of

anthropology as a means of trying to think outside of the conceptual space of modernity.

#### **Objects of affection; "Material tales" of the Greek periphery** *Dr. Elisabeth Kirtzoglou (Department of Anthropology, University of Wales Lampeter)*

This paper is concerned with a certain set of ritualistic objects called 'the bonds' and their importance for a group of Greek gay women who employ them in order to conceptually mark their decision to establish an erotic relationship. Specifically chosen identical objects, the bonds are regarded by these women as signifiers of an erotic involvement and are exchanged, worn or carried around while a relationship lasts but also after its end. I claim that the bonds are pieces of material culture invested with non-discursive narrative properties and symbolic of the group's collective history as well as of the biographies of individual persons. Through wearing and exchanging such objects the women-protagonists of the present paper create a collection of tangible emotions, or else of material evidence of their erotic choices. As such, the bonds can be seen as objects of affection and historicised processions with identity making properties insofar as they also become the means through which the past is recreated and mythologised while notions of gender, identity and the self are exemplified. My ethnographic interest thus revolves around narratives and memories cast in matter that play an active role in the construction of history which is made ever-present through material artifacts invested with signs of the gendered self.

#### **Houses and heads: competing analogies** *Alasdair Whittle (Cardiff University)*

It is often suggested that the use of analogy is somehow an option in the business of archaeological interpretation. It is hard to see how this can be so, since simply by using our own language we are already involved in procedures of analogy. The conscious widening of possible analogies should be encouraged, as part of the imaginative and creative side of archaeological interpretation. Nor does it really make sense to talk of the abuse of analogy, unless one operates within a framework in which exactness of fit and objectivity are central. But while accepting and welcoming analogy, the perhaps under-regarded problem remains of what to do about competing analogies. I briefly consider the cases of the use of long houses and of head injuries. My goal is better understanding of long house use in sixth millennium BC Europe, and of inter-personal violence in fourth millennium BC southern Britain. Ethnographic studies in Papua New Guinea and Amazonia, by Weiner, Hugh-Jones, Arhem, Chagnon and others, offer competing interpretive possibilities. One frequent solution is to claim that in the end 'the archaeological evidence will decide'. I suggest that the situation is more complex, and the interpretive outcome unavoidably more uncertain.

#### **Revisiting the late nineteenth century – the current state of archaeology and anthropology** *Chris Gosden (Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford)*

In the last third of the nineteenth century archaeology and anthropology were barely differentiated, both pursuing issues of origins and cultural variability, within an evolutionary framework and both privileging the study of material culture. For some the evolutionary framework still provides a link between disciplines and for others it does not. But many of the other elements of the late Victorian landscape have reappeared, not least of which is a resurgent interest in material culture. I shall explore the similarities between the late nineteenth century and the present as a means of reviewing the state of the relationship between archaeology and anthropology. There are surprising similarities which we may be loath to admit, but one major difference is the intervening rise and (partial) demise the notion of structure, which ran through both structural-functionalism and structuralism. I shall argue that it is the critique of structural thought in its

various guises which has allowed us to return to the concerns of the late Victorians but in a more overtly self-critical manner.

#### **Ethnographic analogy in New Zealand** *Caroline Phillips (Archaeological consultant)*

Ethnographic analogy in New Zealand has had a chequered past. At the end of the nineteenth century the idea that Maori were dying out led to the collection of oral traditions and the writing of synthetic histories by interested amateurs. However, the process of synthesis resulted in huge distortions. As a consequence, the use of ethnographic analogy was rejected as being too difficult, or inaccurate, for the purposes of archaeological interpretation.

Recent detailed studies of Maori traditions and early European accounts in certain regions have led to the development of far more rigorous ethnographies. These can provide valid direct historical analogies for the explanation of archaeological findings from the immediate pre-European contact and early post-contact periods, especially for those regions which have been studied in detail.

#### **Selectivity in the application of ethnographic analogies to prehistoric agriculture in the Highlands of New Guinea** *Tim Denham (Flinders University of South Australia)*

Upon initial discovery, features (e.g., ditches, pits and post/stake holes), artefacts (e.g., digging sticks, 'stone hoes') and archaeobotanical finds (e.g., gourd exocarp, *Dioscorea* sp. tuber) documented in wetland archaeological sites in the Highlands of New Guinea were interpreted in terms of contemporary agricultural practices. As the antiquity of agriculture in the Highlands of New Guinea increased, archaeological finds became increasingly different to, and more difficult to interpret using, ethnographic analogies of modern horticultural practices. Despite these differences, ethnographies were still used to infer the mechanisms driving cultivation of wetland margins from 10,000 Cal BP.

In this paper, the use of ethnographic analogies is considered with respect to the following themes:

1. The interpretation of archaeological features in terms of contemporary gardens/plots.
2. Ethnohistorical accounts of wetland field systems and the introduction of agents to reconstructions of practices in the distant past.
3. Macro-scale relationships between people and their environments as the causes of wetland cultivation.

These reflections are intended to illuminate selectivity in the use of anthropology and geography by archaeologists (i.e., why one interpretation is preferred to another), and to question what we seek to show in applying ethnographic information to prehistoric contexts.

#### **Social Archaeology of the Mesolithic and Palaeolithic**

*Erica Gittins (University of Southampton)*

The Palaeolithic and Mesolithic are vast in their focus of study, and their impact on the Western perspective of world history has been crucial. Not only do later archaeological periods draw on the Palaeolithic/Mesolithic, it conditions public understanding of human identity. Yet in recent times the influence of early prehistory has remained predictable and static. The basic framework of the discipline and the questions it is concerned to answer remain the same. This session aims to examine the role of early prehistory, the central principles on which prehistory rests and their relationship to social theory.

The central role of early prehistory is as a provider of origins. The relationship between origins research and early prehistory is of considerable interest as it both constrains and defines the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic. The existence of early prehistory is required for the

construction of social histories and yet it this period has little social theory of its own. The adoption of alternative theoretical approaches within archaeology has questioned the significance of origins theory, however these have had little impact on early prehistory.

Many of the underlying discourses which operate within early prehistory are poorly understood and require similar examination, for instance the notions of transition or monolithic categorisation of evidence and cultural groups. Addressing these issues will create richer social archaeologies within the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic.

- 2.00pm *Early Prehistory and origins theory.* Erica Gittins  
2.20pm *Transitions, change and identity in the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic of Western Europe.* Fiona Coward  
2.40pm *Talking Food.* Helen Holderness  
3.00pm Break  
3.30pm *The people who made the Levantine Mousterian.* Chris Jones  
3.50pm *The Origins of Warfare.* Nick Thorpe  
4.10pm *Colonisation myths: narratives of dispersals and explanation of change in the Palaeolithic.* Lucy Grimshaw  
4.30-5.30pm Discussion

#### **Early Prehistory and origins theory** *Erica Gittins*

The notion of the origin is central to archaeology and holds particular sway in early prehistory, as it is to the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic that archaeologists look for the beginnings of modern institutions and behaviours. Indeed, without its role as a provider of origins, early prehistory would have little purpose. Origins theory acts as a powerful discourse that restricts the range of interpretation in early prehistory, and by examining its historically derived operations we can uncover why our statements about the past do not change regardless of the prevailing theoretical climate.

As this paper will show, it is necessary to recognise the interpretive limitations of origins theory so that more self-reflexive frameworks for understanding the past can be attempted.

#### **Transitions, change and identity in the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic of Western Europe** *Fiona Coward*

Traditional divisions of the Palaeolithic by lithic typologies creates the impression of a linear series of 'cultures', reducing a dynamic process of change into 'blocks' of time and space and negating consideration of variation, process and change except at the points of 'transition'. These industries are also often associated (implicitly or explicitly) with social or 'ethnic' groups. Change in various aspects of the archaeological record (subsistence, lithic technology, spatial behaviour) is certainly apparent in the archaeological record. However, there is no consensus on how or why variation in one such aspect might relate to that in others, or to the people and societies responsible.

This paper will argue that these different aspects of the archaeological record can be reintegrated and related to the people who experienced them in prehistory, by a focus on identity. This is seen as arising from, structuring and constituted by the relationships experienced by people – with fellow hominids or humans, animals, places and material objects. The potential of such a viewpoint for the Middle – Upper Palaeolithic 'transition' and the replacement of Neanderthals with modern humans will be discussed.

#### **Talking Food** *Helen Holderness*

Why has the transition to agriculture produced such debate in archaeology? For many people this is because *that* was when we became us. But why is it farming that we have decided on as being THE

point in human history that defines us? I suggest it's because we can imagine ourselves back to the land, self-sufficient, a simpler life, at a moment in history before the modern world took over and a myriad of other reasons. The connection is there, and not at an earlier time: gatherer-fisher-hunters have too strange a way of life. People can relate to cooking pots and the keeping of animals. They have more of a problem with the nomadic, hand to mouth existence that the Mesolithic is often portrayed as.

Much archaeological literature concerning the Mesolithic focuses on the basics – subsistence, "technology", survival, etc. Any social interaction is reduced to generalisations. And material culture is only just being recognised as being meaningful. But these components of life operate within cultures that are communicating to others. It is stating who they are and what they think about the world around them.

This paper will try to place food within the social sphere of the Mesolithic. Too often the data from sites are reduced to a list of animal, bird and fish bones, some shellfish and if you're lucky, some plant remains. But these show only one part of the picture. It is what we do with the data afterwards that really counts – how we place these items into a social world that was is where the Mesolithic really starts to get interesting.

**The people who made the Levantine Mousterian**  
Chris Jones

Interpretations normally generated for the Middle Palaeolithic of Europe are infected with a eurocentricism that often accompanies the dualist tradition, leading us to expect that the evolutionary narrative established there should be normativised and naturalised as globally applicable. If it does not apply to other regions, for example, the Levant, then that history is viewed as somehow deviant. This is a kind of twisted orientalism. Recently, notable specialists have called for a clear temporal segregation in the Levant, with an earlier phase of anatomically modern humans and a later phase of Neandertals.

However, this is only achieved by ignoring some of the fossils. In any case, the Neandertals of the Levant are never 'fully so', in that they do not express so markedly the traits shown by 'classic' European inhabitants. Similarly, most specialists take care to signify that the anatomically moderns of Qafzeh and Skhul are not quite fully modern, particularly with regard to facial characteristics. Further, the Levantine Mousterian was a long-lasting tradition participated in by a wide range of bodies, including differences going beyond those between different ethnicities today. This calls into question the clear segregation idea. The inescapable conclusion is that the Levant was home to an indigenous population throughout the Middle Palaeolithic, but these must have been 'open societies' and outsiders were occasionally included, for how else may we explain the diversity among the fossils?

**The Origins of Warfare**  
Nick Thorpe (King Alfred's College, Winchester)

The main theories of the origin of warfare – from evolutionary psychology/sociobiology, materialism, cultural evolution and historical contingency – are examined. Their implications for our understanding of 'human nature' and their use of primate and anthropological analogies are critiqued, then their relationship to the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic archaeological record assessed. The early prehistoric evidence for conflict and warfare, mainly from Europe, is considered. The difficulties of interpreting pictorial evidence, 'weapons' and skeletal trauma are outlined. The more convincing cases are presented, ranging from individual injuries, mainly club wounds on the skull, through death by arrowshot and bone spear, up to mass killings of the majority of a group, such as at the Mesolithic site of Ofnet, Germany.

There is significant variation in this evidence, especially in its intensity, e.g. between Southern Scandinavia and Portugal, or within the Balkans, which argues against the validity of any universal theory.

Instead we need to adopt a more considered approach which considers each case separately, rather than assuming that all Palaeolithic or Mesolithic societies were the same.

**Colonisation myths: narratives of dispersals and explanation of change in the Palaeolithic.**  
Lucy Grimshaw

Colonisation and dispersal of hominids has been a major concern in the study of the Palaeolithic. Dispersal into Europe has taken place on at least two occasions, and potentially far more. Dispersal has been used as an explanation of cultural change, and has been associated with the major transitions of the Palaeolithic. However, the mechanisms and processes underlying dispersal and allowing colonisation have not been explicitly addressed by Palaeolithic researchers. Archaeologists have failed to take advantage of the models developed by other disciplines, such as geography, in which migration has been a major research focus. Archaeological treatments of dispersal in the Palaeolithic have conformed to preconceived ideas about these processes. These issues need to be addressed in order to investigate dispersal processes independently of such biases.

This paper will address the underlying agendas and theoretical perspectives that have determined the view of dispersal in the Palaeolithic. The narratives of dispersal and colonisation in the Palaeolithic will be shown to be agenda driven. The construction of these narratives by the manipulation of the archaeological record will be discussed. The potential usefulness of dispersal in Palaeolithic explanation will then be outlined.

**Landlocked and Introspective: Archaeology all at Sea**

Jon Adams (University of Southampton), Helen Farr and Fraser Sturt (University of Cambridge)

Until recently Archaeology has retained both feet squarely on terra firma with only a glance seaward. Maritime aspects of culture and the maritime landscape, are at best acknowledged with little real understanding, and at worst, simply ignored by the majority of archaeologists. This session proposes that this is a reflection of our current relationship with the sea in many parts of Western Europe, rather than a feature of the archaeological record. Our own alienation from the sea has not only affected the ways in which we approach archaeological material from watery contexts, but has also deeply affected the ways in which we have constructed narrative. To do so without utilizing material of such significance is irrational. Doubly so when one considers how many traditional foci of archaeological study such as: material culture and technology, trade and exchange, communication and interaction, environment and landscape, experience and belief, are all affected by maritime issues. This session seeks to bridge the gap and build toward a more integrative archaeology where the maritime and terrestrial relationships are explored rather than partitioned or ignored.

- 2.00pm Introduction. Jon Adams
- 2.10pm *Wet 'n dry: from segregation to integration.* Jon Adams
- 2.30pm *Title not yet received.* Lise Nordenborg Myhre
- 2.40pm *Cognitive perspectives and symbolic perceptions: interaction between elites in Orientalising and Archaic Mediterranean maritime landscape.* Alexandra Luchetti
- 3.00pm *Getting your feet wet: an investigation of the specialist knowledge and skills of Neolithic seafarers in the Central Mediterranean.* Helen Farr
- 3.20pm Coffee
- 3.40pm *Islands in the fastlane: A new approach to the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition in Britain.* Gordon Noble

- 4.00pm *Hydrophobia and the Early Orcadian Neolithic.* Fraser Sturt
- 4.20pm Discussant. Andy Jones
- 4.40pm Discussion

**Introduction: Landlocked and Introspective: Archaeology all at Sea**

Jon Adams (University of Southampton)

**Wet 'n dry: from segregation to integration**

Jon Adams (University of Southampton)

Our concern with the past, as expressed through archaeology has, until recently, focused mainly on the land. Maritime research is a later development, and while no longer 'new', has suffered a rather laboured take-up within the discipline. Far from being the inevitable result of technical and environmental constraints, the landward perspective is a social construct deeply embedded in our educational and legislative systems.

This paper examines the ways in which maritime affairs became segregated, not because they were liminal but precisely because they were central to the institution of state. As a result, both in this country and elsewhere, custodianship of the maritime past was appropriated by special interest groups, typically emerging in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The knowledge structures of these organizations heavily influenced both the focus and strategies of early 'nautical' archaeology. This paper compares the nature of this appropriation in England and Sweden. It then describes current work in the coastal landscapes of both countries that seeks to transcend artificial dichotomy and utilize a more integrative approach.

**TBA**

Lise Nordenborg Myhre (University of Cambridge)

**Cognitive perspectives and symbolic perceptions: interaction between elites in a Orientalising and Archaic Mediterranean maritime landscape.**

Alexandra Luchetti (University of Southampton)

This paper aims to deconstruct the way in which maritime archaeology has approached the maritime landscape, specifically the idea of 'maritime cultures' and the 'maritime cultural landscape'. It advocates a maritime perspective based on 'specialised concerns' – in this case maritime – encompassing all that is cognitive, symbolic, material and social in the landscape, while aiming to break down perceived barriers between land and sea. The methodology employs past and present theory, practice, phenomenology and ethnography to try to explain rather than merely describe and highlight the importance of a maritime perspective in a phenomenological understanding, without attempting to empathise with past perception.

The area being studied is the focus of my PhD research on the Orientalising and Archaic Mediterranean coastline, specifically the coastal sanctuaries of Etruria, and their role as viewed from the sea. It is the sea itself which must be seen as the centre, the platform for analysis, enabling a holistic approach to the Mediterranean. I will look at the manipulation of space, place and movement through the landscape to attempt to explain the location and construction of these sanctuaries and the importance of water in social and cognitive terms. Their liminal location is extremely important in relation to the lives of those who created them and is linked to other maritime symbols and monuments within the landscape. This study aims – at a later stage – to provide comparative data from other parts of the Mediterranean to unite a maritime world which transcends ethnicity and nationality and demonstrate the existence of a Hellenized Mediterranean *koiné*, which perhaps could be understood as some form of maritime, trading diaspora.

**Getting your feet wet: an investigation of the specialist knowledge and skills of Neolithic seafarers in the Central Mediterranean**

Helen Farr (University of Cambridge)

Maritime studies of prehistoric seafaring have focused on the constitution of possible vessels and routes, yet where there is no archaeological evidence, this research approach becomes problematic. It may be for this reason that traditional analyses of Neolithic obsidian circulation in the central Mediterranean tend to bypass questions of maritime transport and travel, instead concentrating on geochemical source analysis.

This paper addresses the problem of analysing maritime transport and travel in prehistory by examining the types and need for "Specialist" knowledge in seafaring and the transmission and maintenance of this knowledge. In so doing this will draw attention to the technical knowledge and skill involved in seafaring as well as redefining the concept of specialization within the Neolithic. Thus, not only concentrating upon the maritime minutiae but also on broader questions of social organisation and interaction.

**Islands in the fastlane: A new approach to the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition in Britain.**

Gordon Noble (University of Reading)

The Mesolithic-Neolithic transition, the period when continental resources- cereals and domesticated animals were introduced to Britain has been discussed in a number of ways. The dominant debate in recent archaeological literature has focused on the nature of the transition: whether crops and animals were introduced by settlers from continental Europe or whether these things were adopted by indigenous communities, with little or no population movement involved. These interpretations, however, rarely discuss the actual mechanics of transporting the material culture of the Neolithic across the sea into Britain. I believe that essential to examining the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition is a discussion of maritime culture and it is suggested in this paper that certain communities may have been better placed to receive or adopt Neolithic material culture. The paper begins by hypothesising that small island communities may be better adapted to maritime life and that if we examine the archaeological record of these places we can identify significant differences from adjacent mainland areas in these places during period of the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition. These differences may suggest that these places received aspects of the Neolithic well before much of the adjacent mainland. These areas rarely appear in wider syntheses of the period. This is perhaps due to our modern conception of islands, which tends to regard them as cultural backwaters with little relevance to the mainland. Consequently, what we regard as peripheral areas in the modern world may have been crucial in instigating perhaps one of the most significant changes in the history of the British Isles.

**Hydrophobia and the Early Orcadian Neolithic**

Fraser Sturt (University of Cambridge)

Land, and peoples relationships with the land, has emerged as a key point of discussion within Neolithic studies. Yet in coastal and island areas this focus on the land may be limiting rather than enabling understandings of more abstract concepts such as ontology and social change. In island/coastal areas land bound narratives will only ever reveal part of the story and as such provide only incomplete understandings of shifting relationships and practice. This paper combines practice theory with a time/space geography approach to investigate how an appreciation of maritime activity within the early Orcadian Neolithic can challenge our current interpretations of ontology and social change. It will be demonstrated that it is only through attempting to understand a vast array of relationships, between people, animals, land, sea, and technology that we can truly begin to grapple with the ontological or cosmological with any degree of confidence. The demanding

nature of a time/space geography approach, where action needs to be considered from the hourly to the yearly, will be shown to be particularly apt for addressing these complex issues.

## 23 December Morning Session

### People, Places and Things: Recontextualising the Landscape

David Mullin (Freelance Archaeologist)

The rise of landscape archaeology over the last twenty years has transcended "site-based" methodologies in an attempt to explore the relationships between sites and monuments and the landscapes that they occupy. However, the landscape approach has still been largely site-led in that the areas between sites have largely been seen as setting, rather than an entity in itself. The same could also be said to be true for phenomenological methodologies in that the phenomenology of monuments has been privileged over that of the natural landscape.

Ethnographically, the deposition of artefacts within the landscape can be seen as both complementary to, and as important as, the construction of ritual monuments, adding both subtlety of meaning to specific places and to monuments themselves. The deposition of material culture can make the landscape meaningful, perhaps drawing as much on associations between places and people as the construction of monuments. Landscapes which are seemingly devoid of monuments need not therefore have been devoid of meaning. Unfortunately, the traditional dichotomies between field archaeologists and artefactual and environmental specialists has meant that this is an aspect which has been under-developed, despite the increased interest in the landscape as a unit of analysis.

This session will encourage new ways of looking at landscapes, stressing a contextual approach based on the integration of artefactual and environmental analyses with site-led approaches in an attempt to understand the ways in which the deployment of material culture can transform landscapes and make them meaningful.

- 10.00am *People Places and Things: Recontextualising the landscape.* David Mullin.
- 10.20am *The Vanishing Boat.* Lise Nordenborg Myhre and Richard Bradley.
- 10.40am *A contextual study of the Later Bronze Age occupation of the West Sussex Coastal Plain.* David Dunkin.
- 11.00am *Dripping, Dank and Dark? Neolithic Cave Use in South-West England.* Jodie Lewis.
- 11.20am Coffee
- 11.50am *Bourges and the Bituriges – between settlement and sacredness.* Adriene Baron Tacla.
- 12.10pm *Dredging up the Bronze Age: a fresh look at Thames metalwork.* Jill York.
- 12.30pm *Beakers, monuments and the landscapes of north-east Scotland.* Gordon Noble.
- 12.50pm Discussion.

### Introduction: People, Places and Things: Recontextualising the Landscape.

David Mullin (Freelance Archaeologist)

This session came about as a result of a disaffection with "traditional" landscape archaeologies which, although attempting to transcend "site based" methodologies, have rarely succeeded in doing so. Many landscape archaeologists pay only lip service to environmental data

and where this data is inconvenient it is often overlooked. Thus the connections between sites and how they were experienced in the past is severely hamstrung. Further, non-monumental expressions of material and ritual behaviour are also frequently ignored. Although it is becoming realized that such behaviour may have taken the form of structured deposition, for instance, these behaviours have been seen as a compliment to monumentality, rather than as possible alternatives.

This paper will argue that landscape archaeology needs to move away from exploring the ways in which monuments were located and how they were perceived, and begin to explore the way people interacted with their environments on a smaller scale, such as by the deposition of artefacts, structured deposition, and how these events created place and meaning.

### The Vanishing Boat

Lise Nordenborg Myhre (University of Cambridge) and Richard Bradley (University of Reading)

The creation of visual images on natural surface in the landscape can be compared with the deposition of artefacts, and sometimes there is a close relationship between the two: some of the objects depicted in rock art may also appear in hoards. Rock art may include images that were also important in the design of monuments. In this paper we comment on the carvings of ships found in Southern Scandinavia. These pictures can only be understood by comparing them with the monuments known as ship settings in the Bronze Age landscape, with the forms of the rocks on which these designs were made and with the distribution of mortuary cairns across the wider landscape. A few of those cairns were even embellished with similar motifs. We suggest that these were all expressions of a single theme, representing death as a voyage to another world and that this interpretation is supported by a new study of the organisation of prehistoric rock art in the south of Norway.

### A contextual study of the Later Bronze Age occupation of the West Sussex Coastal Plain

David Dunkin (Archaeology South-East)

The archaeological record shows that the Later Bronze Age was a time of fundamental change in Southern Britain. The emergence of a 'domesticated' landscape characterised by farm and field and largely devoid of newly constructed monuments, might suggest that communal ritual expression had lapsed. Hitherto, metalwork deposition (single finds and hoards) during the period has been viewed as an act of deliberate burial by smiths and merchants for later retrieval. For a large number of the single finds, loss has been mooted in many cases. However, it now seems unlikely that these reasons could account for such a level of metalwork appearing in the record. This paper aims to show that by taking a contextual approach in which the topographical, geological and archaeological circumstances of each find is considered, a new analysis emerges.

Recent fieldwork on the West Sussex Coastal Plain has identified some interesting preliminary results. The juxtaposition of settlement, metalwork deposits and burnt mounds together with disposal of the dead would appear to have a prescribed order. The physical relationship between them seems to be largely determined by the configuration of the local landscape and other local factors. However, an extended campaign of fieldwork needs to be undertaken on the coastal plain and elsewhere in order to test out this assertion further.

### Dripping, Dank and Dark? Neolithic Cave Use in South-West England.

Jodie Lewis (University College Worcester)

The use of caves throughout human history transcends chronological divisions, suggesting that they were re-used, re-invented and re-contextualised over millennia. The explanations for cave use range from the purely functional to the purely esoteric. This paper will focus

on the exploitation of caves in the Mendip region of south-west Britain during the Neolithic period. The perception and use of caves appear to have dramatically changed during this 2000 year period, resulting in distinctive patterns in the deposition of both "people" and "things". The inaccessibility of caves also suggests that specialised knowledge and equipment would have been essential prerequisites for much cave utilisation, rather than simple opportunism.

The use of caves as "places" in the landscape will also be examined, places that were not monuments but could be monumentalised through practice. However, the physical and ideological relationship between caves and other sites in contemporary use suggests that dualistic notions of domestic space and ritual place are untenable. To better understand the Neolithic landscape of this region it is vital that the use of natural places is incorporated into our interpretations. Only when dichotomous relationships between the visually dominant and the invisible are broken down will it be possible to attempt to recontextualise the landscape.

### Bourges and the Bituriges – between settlement and sacredness

Adriene Baron (Tacla, St. Cross College, Oxford)

Described by Caesar in his *Gallic War* as 'naturally defended' and one of the most fertile places of the *civitas* of the *Bituriges Cubi*, Bourges (*Avaricum*) has revealed to be an important site for understanding the ritual and worship practices during the Iron Age in France. Not only it has been considered as the most western example of a *Fürstentum* and an important node for trade routes in Gaul, but it had also suggested to be of particular interest for the study of funerary practices and settlement patterns during the transition from Hallstatt to La Tène period in the so called western Hallstatt societies.

We intend to address in this paper the issues of settlement development and its relationships to religious beliefs and social practice, in order to understand the appropriation, uses and ordering of the landscape at Bourges.

### Dredging up the Bronze Age: a fresh look at Thames metalwork

Jill York (University of Reading)

A considerable amount of Bronze Age metalwork has been found in the river Thames, much of it weaponry with some tools and ornaments. Little is known of how or why it arrived in the water. This paper examines the metalwork found upstream of Teddington and considers its treatment before it entered the river. A high proportion of the artefacts show signs of use and some were deliberately destroyed. There are clear variations in the selection and treatment of these artefacts along different lengths of the river, and in different periods. The proportion of metalwork that was deliberately destroyed appears to have increased sharply over time. Possible scenarios are suggested for the deposition of this material in the river.

### Beakers, monuments and the landscapes of north-east Scotland

Gordon Noble (University of Reading)

Early Bronze Age Beaker pots in Scotland have rarely been studied within a landscape perspective. Indeed in north-east Scotland, the only discussion of these artefacts has focused on their stylistic traits and little attention has been paid to the contexts in which they are found. Utilising what we know of their landscape context, and the little pollen data that we have it is possible to interpret these pots in an entirely new way. Beakers seem to have been deposited in parts of the landscape that were devoted to the agricultural practices of the group and undoubtedly in places that were part of the settled landscape. This is in contrast to the major monument type of the period: the Recumbent Stone Circles. These were placed in very different parts of the landscape that show little evidence of human activity and rather than expressing relations to the land may in fact be aligned on the sky and the moon in particular. These differing landscape contexts can tell us a great deal about how both people and monuments related to the land and shows that an integrated, context-

tual approach that considers different classes of material is essential in producing fuller landscape based interpretations.

### Views Beyond the Privatization of Ethics and the Globalization of Indifference: Changing Perspectives on 'Agency', Material Culture' and Historical Memory.

Stephanie Koerner (University of Manchester) and Julian Thomas (University of Manchester)

The last decade has seen remarkable growth of interest in concepts of 'agency', 'material culture', and 'historical memory', on the part of participants in discussions of archaeological theory. A complex range of questions are being posed: (1) What roles have conceptions of agency and material culture played in historical relationships between human sciences and nationalist, imperialist and colonialist ideologies? Are recent approaches relevant to social critique? (2) How does agency relate to material culture (or issues of the meaning of things)? Is it primarily about human intentionality? Can it be attributed to material things? (3) If agency is important for understanding particular human activities, must it be included in explanations of long-term socio-cultural change?

This panel seeks to provide a context for exploring these questions, as well as issues posed by areas of overlap between some current approaches. The papers are not intended to resolve these questions and issues, but to present several different perspectives and to highlight some themes that might be taken up in the part of the panel that is devoted to open discussion.

- 10.00am Introduction
- 10.05am *Background Concerns Motivating the Panel, and a Perspective on Issues at Stake.* Stephanie Koerner (University of Manchester)
- 10.30am *Can Objects have Agency?* Robert Layton (University of Durham)
- 10.55am Break
- 11.15am *Material Culture and Historical Memory: the De-paradoxisation of the Paradox of the Nation-State Through Archaeology.* Koji Mizoguchi (Kyushu University, Japan)
- 11.40am *The Veiled Body: Conventual Architecture as Metaphor.* Helen Hills (University of Manchester)
- 12.05pm *Ethics and Difference.* Julian Thomas (University of Manchester)
- 13.00pm Discussion

### Background Concerns Motivating the Panel, and a Perspective on Issues at Stake

Stephanie Koerner (University of Manchester)

Despite the diversity of the archaeological literature on agency and material culture, two bodies of theory are recognized as particularly influential. One might be summarized under the expression, the 'critique of meta-narrative', while the other centres on the terms, 'globalization and multi-culturalism'. Rather little attention seems to be given to (a) tensions between these bodies of theory, (b) the impacts of current developments in international law and wider public discussion of human rights, and (c) issues posed by cross-disciplinary attempts to probe the limits and possibilities of historical representation.

This contribution has two aims. One is to highlight some of the concerns that motivated the organization of this panel, including tensions between the impacts on archaeological approaches to agency and material culture of the two above mentioned bodies of theory. I will attempt to do this from the perspectives offered by an overview



of key foci of the meta-narratives critique, including (a) dualist paradigms for human nature and history, (b) essentialist options for the conditions of historical [archaeological] research, (c) the 'privatisation' of ethics and the globalization of indifference. My second aim has to do with issues at stake. I will take as a point of departure two of the main responses to the meta-narratives critique in archaeology, namely: (a) arguments against the notion of a human self that is prior to its embodied and material preconditions, and (b) the concern to focus attention on the discrepant experiences. I admire much of the epistemological work that has been motivated by arguments against traditional notions of a timeless, placeless disembodied agent. But I am worried that, if we come to close to reducing agency to material and embodied preconditions, we are unlikely to be able to address the issues posed by studies seeking to focus on discrepant experiences. The problem may relate to disputes over whether (and what sort of) 'agency' can be attributed to 'material culture'. It may also figure importantly among the reasons why controversial debates continue to center on the question: "If agency is important for understanding particular human activities, must it be included explanations of long-term socio-cultural change?" (Dobres and Robb 2000: 11).

I will argue that this problem can be avoided from the perspectives offered by an ontology of the historicity of human agency, which gives ethics a central role. Building upon an approach to archaeology that undermines traditional notions of an archaeological 'record' and philosophical principles bearing upon the historicity of agency, I will outline the key requirements of such an ontology. Emphasis falls on requirements that relate to the question of whether human experiences of discrepancies between how things *are* and *ought to be* can make a difference not just in the outcomes of particular events, but in *conjunctures* that reconfigure life-worlds over the *longue durée*. I will conclude with an example, which shows why the answer to the question posed by Dobres and Robb (2000) is certainly, yes, and how this relates to archaeology's importance to attempts to challenge meta-narratives, which encourage the privatization of ethics and globalization of indifference.

Braudel, F. [1949] 1966. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols, trans. by S. Reynolds. New York: Harper and Row.

Dobres, M. A. and Robb, J. (eds) 2000. *Agency in Archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Husserl, E. [1936] 1970. *The Crisis of European Science and Transcendent Phenomenology*, trans. by D. Carr. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

Wilson, R. A. 1997. *Human Rights, Culture and Context*. London: Pluto Press.

#### Can Objects have Agency?

Robert Layton (University of Durham)

The idea that objects might (wrongly) be thought of as agents is not new. Marx analysed what he called 'commodity fetishism' in *Capital*. Durkheim tried to explain why a soldier might give up his life to defend the regimental flag in *The elementary forms of religious life*. Recently, Alfred Gell (*Art and Agency*) set out to replace the idea of art as visual communication with a theory that art objects are intrinsically powerful. Art objects, he argued, dazzle or bewitch the recipient in ways that extend the agency of their maker. At one point, Gell compares art objects to land mines as agents of the evil intent in the minds of Pol Pot's soldiers (Gell 1998: 21). Pol Pot's soldiers used them as extensions of their own agency. But art objects do not have the same kind of agency as man traps or poisoned arrows. Gell also argues that art objects take effect in the way Frazer described magic. The power of the icon is exemplified through what Frazer called homeopathic magic. Homeopathic magic aims to destroy an enemy by destroying an image of him, or cure someone by giving them medicine made of healthily-coloured objects (Frazer 1994: 29). The power of the index is exemplified by contagious magic. Contagious magic

works on fragments a person gives off, such as hair or nail clippings (Frazer 1994: 37). My paper will consider what is meant by agency, how it differs from cause, and what types of agency might be attributed to unexploded bombs, gold coins or works of art.

Gell, A. 1998. *Art and Agency: an Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Frazer, J.G. 1994. *The Golden Bough* (abridged edition). New York: Oxford University Press.

#### Material Culture and Historical Memory: the De-paradoxisation of the Paradox of the Nation-State Through Archaeology

Koji Mizoguchi (Kyushu University, Japan)

A constitutive element of the nation-state is its internal homogeneity. What underpins the internal homogeneity of a nation-state varies; a form of money, a legal system, an ethnicity, a religion, and so on, function to make and keep those who live within the boundary of a nation-state homogeneous, and in order for a money, a legal system, and so on to function properly, those who live in the domain within which these media (of social communication) function have to be homogeneous, i.e., they must be citizens of the nation. They must be made to identify themselves neither with their shared, hence localised, experience nor with their class affiliation but with something abstract, i.e., a 'nation'. This does not mean that the selves of the all citizens are homogeneous; on the contrary, the existence of those homogenising media allows every citizen to be different from one another; they are meant to be relieved from the communal pressure of being the same. That means that the communication systems, which used to rely on the existence of local knowledge/norm are faced with unprecedented difficulty in their reproduction. This means that all the selves constituting a nation-state have to be made to feel able to communicate with one another, in spite of their mutually predicted differences, and in order for that to be achieved the citizens have to be made to assume/imagine that they all share a set of values, norms, and so on that do not derive from shared and accumulated local knowledge and experiences but come out of something more deep-rooted, abstract, and delocalised (within the domain of the nation-state), i.e., something transcendental. In other words, a nation-state needs a transcendental entity with which its citizens can identify themselves. Archaeology constitutes a locus in which such transcendental entities reside. This paper will argue that there are structural parallels between the nature of archaeological material culture and such transcendental entities, and show that the mediatedness of historical memory typically constituted through the study of material culture makes archaeology an ideal medium through which the self is constituted and expressed in modernity.

#### The Veiled Body: Conventual Architecture as Metaphor

Helen Hills (University of Manchester)

My paper investigates the architecture of baroque aristocratic convents in Italy (especially Naples) in relation to, indeed as metaphors of, the bodies of the nuns they house. Crucial here is the relationship between flesh and stone, as I seek to uncover connections between the clothing of bodies and the layered cloaks applied to the walls that housed them, their unclothing and the fears of their nakedness.

The richness of the decoration of aristocratic convent churches publicly demonstrated the familial, worldly, and spiritual riches of the nuns. Paintings, gilt stucco, coloured marble revetment reward awaiting redeemed humanity, but physically separated the congregation from the nuns, and became, as it were, a rich and splendid cloak for the nuns. Her architecture, rather than the female bodies it shields, is adorned. The bodies of aristocratic young women were made austere and stripped of their rich finery. That rich costume was transferred to convent church walls. Conventual regulations inveighed against 'precious clothes' or clothes that were elaborately fashioned. Architecture takes their place, a substitute, working by metonymy, replacing the ascetic body of the invisible virgin with the richly adorned body of

the church. Thus my paper interrogates the degree to which material culture, may assume agency.

#### Ethics and Difference

Julian Thomas (University of Manchester)

In western philosophy since Locke and Kant, ethical conduct has often been seen as the prerogative of the individual. Individuals are bearers of reason, are responsible for their actions, possess a moral sense, and have rights. Rights are conceived as the quasi-property of individuals, and are to be respected. Now, while we might have political sympathies with the demand for human rights, this whole scheme is severely flawed. For while rights are presented as belonging to individuals by virtue of their humanity, history tells us that people can be divested of their rights by being declared less than human. Moreover, the notion of the individual as moral agent is Eurocentric, and potentially anachronistic when applied to the distant past.

I will argue that an archaeological ethics should not concern itself with sameness (we all have rights because we are all human) but with difference (we are limitlessly responsible to the other in their difference).

#### Cornwall: A European Regional Case Study in Identity

Dr Caradoc Peters (Truro College)

How should one define past identity through the archaeological and historic record? There are problems of land boundaries, physical geography, ethnicity and alternative viewpoints, both now and in the past.

Cornwall provides just such an example, with a mixture of widely varying identities. This session will attempt to suggest approaches to define what "Cornwall" actually means and how useful the term may be. It is hoped that these approaches could have wider implications for other regional studies of archaeology.

10.00am Introduction. Dr Caradoc Peters

10.10am 'Hail to the Homeland': *Cultural Memory Dynamics in relation to Cornish Identity*. Dr Garry Tregidga.

10.30am *Talking Kernow and Breizh*. Treve Crago

10.50am *When King Arthur met the Pisky and the Knocker: Cornish Dreamtime or Nightmare?* Dr Caradoc Peters

11.10am Coffee

11.20am *Cornwall perceived: multiple identities make a muddled image*. Pete Herring

11.40am *Cornovian Characteristics? Impressions from South Western Decorated Ceramics*. Henrietta Quinnell

12.00pm *Cemetery and Society in Early Bronze Age Cornwall*. Andy Jones

12.20pm Discussion

#### 'Hail to the Homeland': Cultural Memory Dynamics in relation to Cornish Identity

Dr Garry Tregidga, Institute of Cornish Studies (University of Exeter)

In recent years historians and archaeologists seeking to understand the past identity of distinct communities have started to apply the concept of cultural memory. This term relates to the way in which a macro or micro society is able to preserve a sense of cultural continuity by passing on its collective knowledge from one generation to the next. My paper will explore memory culture in regard to the Cornish experience of identity development. Issues of popular community identification, both in a regional and local context, will be addressed through the discussion of specific examples taken from the Early Modern period to the twentieth century. The paper will then conclude with a consideration of the impact of Celtic Revivalism in Cornwall

from a cultural memory perspective.

#### Talking Kernow and Breizh: Interpreting Perceptions of Identity through Oral History.

Treve Crago (Institute of Cornish Studies, University of Exeter)

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Brittany and Cornwall alike, Cultural/Nationalist movements have evolved and succeeded in becoming increasingly visible through the wide scale adoption of icons of identity such as the 'Gwen ha du' and the flag of St Piran, respectively. However in marked contrast, on both sides of the channel, at the ballot box the nationalist parties have been spectacularly unsuccessful. It therefore remains unclear as to the true extent that the respective populations of these 'Celtic nations' have absorbed any projected nationalist agenda.

My paper will focus upon the narrative contained within recently collected fieldwork recordings in order to compare and contrast popular perceptions of Cornish and Breton identity held beyond the confines of the nationalist/cultural activists. Furthermore it will review the practical and methodological debates that arise in using Oral History as a medium to undertake research.

#### When King Arthur met the Pisky and the Knocker: Cornish Dreamtime or Nightmare?

Dr Caradoc Peters

The Late Middle Ages saw the creation of a protohistoric unitary ethnic entity with a royal ruler at the head of its most senior lineage. This lineage was linked to the legendary King Arthur by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The History of the Kings of Britain* and by the creation of monumental architecture. From the late eighteenth century, a new historic identity was synthesized from classical texts and mediaeval Irish literature to form the idea of Celtic nations. This included the tantalising possibility of a Cornish nation. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the clash between these two identities was as much a question of fundamental perceptions of dimensionality as of historic trends. The result has been a compromise culture unusually concerned with trade, products and the means of production of local industries, especially those of fishing and mining.

#### Cornwall perceived: multiple identities make a muddled image

Pete Herring

Using Historic Landscape Characterisation mapping we can identify a number of subregions or *pays* in medieval and post-medieval Cornwall. Add to this the variety of intersecting local communities (parish, estate, tithing, kinship, friendship, trade etc) with which we can expect individuals to have identified with more vividly than with the entity now known as Cornwall. We can expect regional identities to have been fuzzy and imprecise, only resorted to at particular times or in unusual circumstances. This is made most apparent by the culturally previous boundary of Cornwall with Devon. If we then mix in perceptions developed out of time and space, by retrospective culturalism and by benign but alien communities respectively, we get the confused Cornishness of today: a Cornishness that can also be seen as faithfully and nicely reflecting the richness of the landscape, community and culture of a very special place.

#### Cornovian Characteristics ? Impressions from South Western Decorated Ceramics

Dr Henrietta Quinn

An exploration of the differences between the Middle Iron Age ceramics of Cornwall and those of Somerset – recent work indicates a longer chronology, a more complex range of decoration, fewer vessel forms, with curation and some structured deposition of sherds with elaborate designs. How relevant is any of this to our understanding of the communities who used these ceramics ?

## Cemetery and Society in Early Bronze Age Cornwall

Andy Jones

The chalk downlands of Wessex are in the minds of many people synonymous with the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods in England (and Britain as a whole). Indeed it is only within the last couple of decades that more regionally based archaeologies have started to emerge. However all too many of these studies are actually devoted to areas within Wessex, which means the nature of Early Bronze Age Societies in other regions still remains to be addressed. My research is designed to redress the imbalance, which has been caused by the lack of a regional theoretical approach. By examining Earlier Bronze Age cemeteries and their constituent monuments within their landscape settings it has been possible to begin to uncover localised cosmologies, which are very different from their chalk land counterparts. This Paper outlines the results from the study of one cemetery in West Cornwall.

## Archaeological Theory and the Ancient Near East

Stuart Campbell (Manchester)

- 10.00am Introduction. Stuart Campbell  
10.15am *A Time for Change: Reconsidering Culture in the Late Neolithic Near East.* Jonathan Pickup  
10.35am *Interpreting artefactual deposition in a Near Eastern context.* Adam Jackson  
10.55am *Death, Display and Performance: a discussion of the mortuary remains at Cayonu Tepesi.* Karina Croucher  
11.15am Coffee  
11.30am *Symbols in Re-action: Padre Pio of Pietralcina and the 3rd Millennium BCE Mesopotamian "Naked Hero": Icons of a conservative power.* Nicola Laneri  
11.50am *Dismemberment, cremation, boiling, crushing, decapitation and pottery.* Steve Bell  
12.10pm *Towards an Archaeology of Excavated Texts: Greco-Roman Egypt and Beyond.* Scott Bucking  
12.30pm Discussion

### Introduction

Stuart Campbell (University of Manchester)

### A Time for Change: Reconsidering Culture in the Late Neolithic Near East

Jonathan Pickup (University of Manchester)

The interpretation of later Neolithic societies in the Near East remains, to a great extent, dependant on paradigms defined by Culture History. As the study of Near Eastern prehistory begins to become more theorised, there is naturally a need to break down these cultural constructs, indeed this work is now well under way. However as we move away from issues of culture definition we should not lose sight of what these idealised entities represented; now more than ever the continuities in material culture through time and across large geographic areas demands examination. Through specific reference to what is classically termed the Halaf period, this paper as part of a work in progress, seeks to propose alternative interpretations of these phenomena based on social practice, especially the participation in shared social institutions involving exchange. Specifically this will be attempted in order to address the ways in which interpersonal interaction and material transfers act to allow people access to, and the ability to translate alternate worlds of meaning, within which familiar and alien aspects of material culture are engaged and come to be bound up with the identities and narratives of persons, groups and places.

## Interpreting artefactual deposition in a Near Eastern context.

Adam Jackson (University of Edinburgh)

Within Near Eastern archaeology, archaeological reconstructions of past societies and of major socio-political and economic transformations are often constrained by theoretical and practical shortcomings in the collection, analysis and interpretation of settlement data. Recent theoretical developments associated with the post-processual era, with their focus on, for example, context, meaning, agency, practice and the role of the archaeologist as interpreter, afford new directions for archaeological investigations. However, in the Near East, new theories have frequently given rise to interpretations that remain founded on traditional methods, theoretical frameworks and assumptions. With few exceptions, the impact of post-processualism on archaeological practice is – as yet – limited. Using data from Tell Jerablus Tahtani (Northern Syria), this paper undertakes a critique of past and current approaches that have informed archaeological interpretations of the use and abandonment of artefacts and space. Special emphasis is placed on the potential meanings and associations attached to artefacts and contexts, and to their treatment at deposition.

### Death, Display and Performance: a discussion of the mortuary remains at Cayonu Tepesi.

Karina Croucher (University of Manchester)

The themes of display and performance have been prominent in recent archaeological dialogue. Treatment of the dead is often entwined with these themes, as I believe is evidenced through the archaeological remains of the pre-pottery Neolithic site of Cayonu Tepesi in Southeast Turkey. In this paper I will examine this case study in relation to the site's 'Skull Building', where the skulls of approximately ninety individuals were deposited, in addition to hundreds of further bodily remains. Through examination of the site material, including an investigation of the mortuary remains and architecture, I will discuss the themes of display and performance, transition, bodily transformation and repeated deposition.

### Symbols in Re-action: Padre Pio of Pietralcina and the 3rd Millennium BCE Mesopotamian "Naked Hero": Icons of a conservative power

Nicola Laneri (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples)

During the period of 1999 to 2002, Padre Pio of Pietralcina, a monk of the Chapucin order, received the Beatitude and was then Sanctified by Pope John Paul II. During the last few years his image has spread throughout Italy as the most important and venerated icon of Italian Catholicism. His beard, slight smile, and brown monk's cloth are the basic elements of his iconic image. Some of his images also emphasize the stigmata on his hands, feet, and ribs which illustrate the holiness of his figure through the creation of a direct connection between himself and Jesus Christ. Padre Pio exemplifies a real, historical person who has been transformed into a mythological character of a large religious community.

During the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium BCE a naked hero fighting against wild beasts appeared in the iconography of the Near East. His image dominates scenes depicted on several cylinder seals excavated from both urban and funerary contexts. His nude body is positioned in profile, while his reassuring smile and bearded face gaze at the viewer as he stands fighting against "wild nature". The icon of the Naked Hero contains the stereotypical elements of an Ancient Near Eastern mythological figure, thereby recalling several other mythological characters known from Mesopotamian texts, such as Gilgamesh, Dumuzi, and Enkidu.

Both Padre Pio and the Naked Hero represent conservative symbols of a reactionary, ideological power over a given society and exclude a sense of reassurance which has the ability to subdue individual's fears. The analysis of the way in which these icons control the imagination of their retrospective societies, provides the possibil-

ity to define their social structures and how individuals interact with symbols of their own community.

### Dismemberment, cremation, boiling, crushing, decapitation and pottery

Steve Bell (University of Manchester)

Mortuary practice during the Late Neolithic in the Near East is a largely neglected area of study. On the surface, the apparently diverse nature of human remains does little to enforce ideas of the homogenous culture groups established in the early 19th century. General practices have been discussed such as skull removal and flexed burial positions, and even these vary to some extent throughout the Halaf associated region and time-period (c.5000–4500 BC). The paper attempts both an overview and an interpretation of some of the human remains within their local and wider contexts. This will focus upon the relationship between the dead, the living and material culture, through the subsequent interplay between uses of space and architecture.

### Towards an Archaeology of Excavated Texts: Greco-Roman Egypt and Beyond

Scott Bucking (DePaul University, Chicago)

This paper offers some theoretical approaches to defining the relationship between archaeology and papyrology. Although in principle these two disciplines are inextricably linked, they have for the most part developed along separate paths. Since the late 19th century, papyri from the Greco-Roman period have been excavated from the sands of Egypt. Why then have the two disciplines taken such divergent paths? How can one develop more integrated views of these disciplines and what might be the benefits of such views? I shall address these questions by exploring two major themes. The first is objectification, which concerns the identity of papyri as archaeological objects. Papyrologists have traditionally viewed papyri only as texts and have therefore relied mainly upon philological approaches to construct meaning in them. Such a view underscores a fundamental problem concerning the relationship between artifacts and texts. My second theme is context, which will be examined at two different levels. The first level involves situating the papyri within their archaeological settings. This issue of physical context is noticeably absent from most papyrological interpretations and the reason for its neglect has much to do with the problem of objectification. The second level concerns the social context of the objectified papyri. At this level, I shall bring the papyri into the archaeological debate concerning agency and social structure by looking at the papyri as artifacts produced and manipulated by social actors in particular fields of time/space. Finally, from a more global perspective, it is my intention to show that these concepts of objectification and context are critical not only to the interpretation of the papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt, but to the interpretation of excavated texts from any region or time period.

### Think / classify

Dr Andrew Baines & Dr Kenneth Brophy (University of Glasgow)

Archaeological typology and classification has been subject to continuous critique and re-evaluation in recent decades. The central issue – 'are types real?' – has been well and truly answered in the negative for material culture, monuments, people and landscapes within interpretive archaeology.

And yet it seems it is impossible to escape the discourse of typology. Archaeology is now so underpinned by a series of immutable labels and categories that to subvert them seems impossible. To offer a critique of typologies and classificatory schemes has been to either replace them with still more categories; or leave us stranded with an infinite universe of difference or molecular variation. Even alternative ways of approaching material culture categories like phenomenology

and hermeneutics have brought us no closer to an alternative way of describing the traces of the past we engage with in the present.

Perhaps as archaeologists it is now time for us to accept that we are data collectors and sorters whether we like it or not. How should we categorise? Do we have to accept that the way we categorise the material world that we are involved in is the only way that we can ever come to terms with interpreting and communicating other material cultures? In this session, we hope that speakers will attempt to move beyond the easy target that is archaeological typology towards alternative flexible ways of sorting. Think/classify.

- 10.00am *Think/classify: an introduction to the session.* A Baines, K Brophy  
10.20am *Confessions of a cataloguer.* G Warren  
10.40am *Embracing Difference: Examples from the Neolithics of Scotland.* G Noble  
11.00am *Breaking Down the Boundaries: classifying the Iron Age of SW Scotland.* T Poller  
11.20am Break  
11.40am *Bigfoot: man or myth?* A Baines, K Brophy  
12.00pm *Rocks. Soil. Sound. Light. What is Stonehenge?* A Watson  
12.20pm *The Clyde cairn type needs you: the importance of typology.* C Henley  
12.40pm *Topological Thinking: Lines, Categories and Concepts.* T Denham  
1.00-1.30pm Discussion

### Think / classify: an introduction to the session

Dr Andrew Baines & Dr Kenneth Brophy (University of Glasgow)

See session abstract

### Confessions of a cataloguer

Graeme Warren (University College Dublin)

OK. It's time for the truth. What actually happens when you hand a bag of lithics to a specialist? What goes on behind the closed doors of offices and labs when archaeological materials are codified, classified, and transformed into numbers and words? What material and intellectual processes are involved in this absolutely fundamental aspect of archaeological practice? How do these particular ways of thinking define our narratives? What alternative possibilities are there? A personal perspective on all these, and more ('how much thought is involved in categorising an assemblage of 15000 lithics on a tight deadline?') will be presented, and some shame-faced confessions made. Some references to early Scottish prehistory will also appear, albeit fitfully and against their better instincts.

### Embracing Difference: Examples from the Neolithics of Scotland

Gordon Noble (University of Reading)

Archaeologists often simplify and generalise the past. Typology is only part of this process of trying to come to terms with the variety in the archaeological data and is one of the means archaeologists use to dismiss difference. However, this produces a linear past that excludes all that diverges from this singular narrative. Instead of producing such restrictive interpretations we should instead embrace the differences within the archaeological record as a means of making more satisfying, more inclusive interpretations of the past. This paper will base these observations on case studies of how the Neolithic period in Scotland has been interpreted in the last few decades.

### Breaking Down the Boundaries: classifying the Iron Age of SW Scotland

Tessa Poller (University of Glasgow)

As the session abstract indicates there is no way of avoiding classification and typology in archaeology, especially when discussing a chronological category, the 'Iron Age'. What makes up the 'Iron Age'?

As archaeologists we turn to the evidence: sites, landscapes, artefacts; themselves categorised within systems of classification. How do these systems interact?

My paper will focus on how the different archaeological features such as cropmark evidence, upstanding remains and artefacts are used to interpret the Iron Age of an area where there has been limited excavation. How can we use the systems of classification together? I would also like to examine what assumptions are made about the Iron Age. Ceremonial structures are not automatically associated with the 'Iron Age' like a defended settlement may be. How do these assumptions affect the way the archaeological evidence is examined and how we classify sites?

### **Bigfoot: man or myth?**

*Andrew Baines and Kenneth Brophy (University of Glasgow)*

"The vision of such creatures stomping barefoot through the forests of north-west America, unknown to science, is beyond common sense. Yet reason argues that this is the case." (John Napier, *Bigfoot: The Yeti and Sasquatch in Myth and Reality*)

North America – Bigfoot, Sasquatch

Europe – Kaptar, Biabin-guli, Grendel, Ferla Mohir, Brenin Ilwyd

Africa – Ngoloko, Kikomba.

Asia – Gin-sung, Yeti, Mirygyd ,Mecheny, Chinese Wildman, Nguoi Rung"

(Adam Wolf, The Shadowlands Bigfoot website)

The study of ambiguous phenomena like bigfoot type creatures and aliens have concentrated on sub-dividing these creatures into different ethnic groups with certain physical and emotional characteristics; and material culture associated with them has been similarly analysed. Mostly, these typologies of 'alien' beings and the traces they leave behind have involved imposing human characteristics on them, and trying to render them familiar and 'less alien'. Material culture is appropriated from various different sources and explained in terms of these creatures, from unusual footprints to yeti scalps, often ignoring the social contexts these objects may already exist in. There are comparisons here with the ways that archaeologists deal with the alien beings and objects of the past – but what can we learn from them?

### **Rocks. Soil. Sound. Light. What is Stonehenge?**

*Aaron Watson (University of Reading)*

What is Stonehenge? Stonehenge has been described as a Neolithic monument that consists of an earthwork and circles of standing stones, pits and postholes. The site has a complex sequence during which its appearance changed considerably, and archaeologists have identified a number of parallels between its features and sites else-

where. The segmented earthwork resembles some causewayed enclosures, while stone and timber circles are found widely in the later Neolithic. Stonehenge even lent its name to an entire class of monuments. Yet all of these definitions, and the interpretations which arise from them, are ultimately founded upon a particular reading and classification of architecture.

Might there be other ways?

In this paper I would like to sidestep the preconceived and largely abstract notions of architectural classification in order to emphasise other possibilities for understanding Stonehenge and its place in the Neolithic world. This will not be a reading of Stonehenge as a causewayed enclosure, stone circle, henge, or even monument, but rather an elemental Stonehenge that is composed from rocks, soil, sound and light.

### **The Clyde cairn type needs you: the importance of typology**

*Cole Henley (University of Cardiff)*

Typologies were, for a long time, the cornerstones of archaeological thought. They provided a means for understanding and classifying artefacts and monuments across an endless time and space that had hitherto been known only as 'pre-history'. However, with the advent of new methods and theories typologies fell into neglect, a legacy of old ways of 'doing' archaeology. Yet we all still use them. We talk about henges, ceramic traditions, or the Neolithic because these are categories that we (and many others) understand and within which we can allot archaeological residues. In a return to some old friends like Childe, Daniel and Piggott, I want to consider some of the benefits that typologies may present to contemporary archaeology if we are prepared to reconsider the implications of using them beyond critiquing the pigeonholing of the past.

### **Topological Thinking: Lines, Categories and Concepts**

*Tim Denham (Flinders University)*

As archaeologists we draw lines. These lines are drawn on sheets of paper to delineate features, around things to define types, and they bound our concepts. Some lines are visible, others invisible – but they all demarcate geometric and conceptual spaces. Each type of line is only an approximation; its exact boundaries are ambiguous and contested.

In this talk I will reflect on how lines are drawn at different levels of interpretation in the origins of agriculture debate in New Guinea. Lower-order interpretations require lines to delimit 'a thing', to interpret that thing as a 'pit' and to infer that pit to be 'an agricultural pit'. Higher-order interpretations focus on describing prehistoric plant use and attempt to situate these practices within broader debates on domestication and agriculture. In each type of interpretation, lines encompass and define contested spaces.