TAG 2004

Theoretical Archaeology Group conference

17th - 19th December 2004

University of Glasgow

UNIVERSITY of GLASGOW

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

The Higher Education Academy

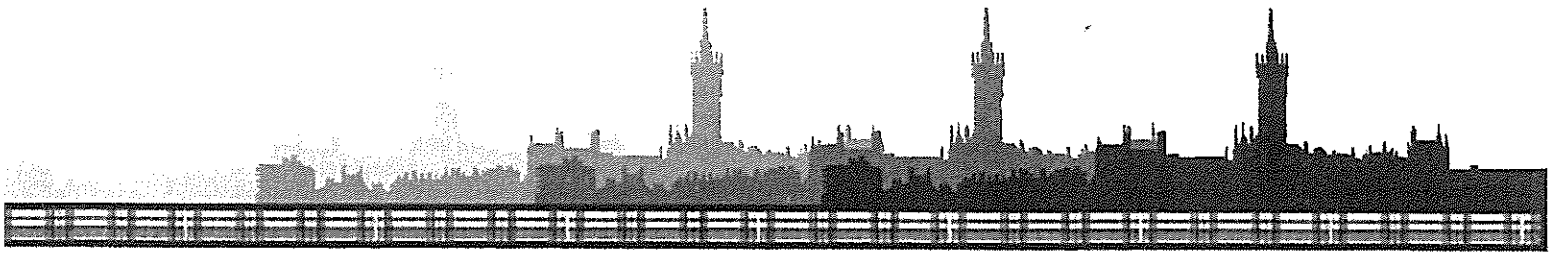
BARR

Glasgow
CITY COUNCIL

WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

HISTORIC SCOTLAND

Programme and Abstracts



SESSION ABSTRACTS

1A. The Archaeology of Conflict

Organisers: Iain Banks and Tony Pollard (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division). Chair: Phil Freeman (University of Liverpool)

There has been a dramatic growth of interest in the field of 'battlefield archaeology' over the last few years, with at least three conferences and major conference sessions a year now devoted to the subject. Much battlefield archaeology has thus far been concerned with the collection of data, which is to be expected in any nascent branch of field archaeology. One of the purposes of this session, however, will be to try and move beyond these, essentially empiricist foundations to explore more theoretical and holistic readings of the data and the landscapes of conflict from which they have been recovered.

Another important aim of the session will be to expand the scope of discussion beyond battlefield archaeology to look at the archaeology of conflict in its broader sense. Fields of interest include, the archaeology of industrial and popular protest, contested landscapes and monuments and the origins of conflict.

This session also marks the founding of 'The Journal of Conflict Archaeology', edited by the session organisers and to be published annually by Brill Academic Publishers. Some of the papers given in this session will be included in the first volume of the journal due to appear in late 2005.

Finding fear in the Iron Age of southern France

Mags McCartney (Queens University, Belfast)

Warfare is a relatively new realm of study in archaeology, and we are still looking for models to indicate the presence of warfare or explain its causes and consequences. In prehistoric and non-state archaeology especially, where we tend to lack the substantiation of battlefield evidence, this is a problem. We look for 'direct' evidence, which can be misleading (weapons don't have to be functional, and osteological trauma just means violence: not necessarily warfare), or we look for ritualised indications of violence: iconography or funerary arrangements.

Recent anthropological research has revealed a correlation between 'warlike', non-state societies and 'socialization for fear'. In ethnographic accounts this relationship manifests itself as an increased delineation of personal space and reductions in social access on an individual level. Perhaps in archaeology it might look for the same things. It is possible that the fairly commonplace sets of evidence which reveal this 'fear' are apparent in the settlements of the later Iron Age throughout the Bouches du Rhone.

War patterns and social practice in the Iron Age

Ian Armit (Queens University, Belfast)

The multivallate 'developed' hillforts of the Wessex region of southern England have an iconic status within the British Iron Age. Following Wheeler's excavations at Maiden Castle they had come, by the 1970s, to be seen as responses to a specific form of warfare based around the massed use of slings. As part of the wider post-processual 're-think' of the British Iron Age during the late 1980s and 1990s, the traditional 'military' interpretation of hillforts was subject to rigorous critique. Military weaknesses in hillfort design were identified and many of the most distinctive features of these sites (depth of enclosure, complexity of entrance arrangements etc) were reinterpreted as symbols of social isolation. Yet this 'pacification' of hillforts is in many ways as unsatisfactory as the traditional vision. Both the traditional and revisionist camps have tended to view warfare as a detached, functional and disembedded activity which can be analysed in terms of essentially timeless concepts of military efficiency. Yet recognition of the military role of hillforts does not preclude engagement with their multiple additional roles, for example as settlement, storage, ritual and gathering places. What we appear to see in Iron Age Wessex is the emergence of a specific war pattern embedded within local social practices: neither can be meaningfully studied in isolation.

The art of St. Rock Street, Barcelona: malignant undercurrents within urban contestations

Hector A. Orengo (University of Valencia) and David W. Robinson (University of Cambridge)

In a festering side street of medieval Barcelona, urine, trash, and a bewildering array of graphic imagery splatters the narrowing walls between two major thoroughfares. A contemporary conflict between residents and unknown artists is played out in the localised habitus: the weaponry ranges from banners to bottles, stickers to posters, stencils to spray paint. In this shadowed liminality, globalism and the war on terror are debated – modern mythologies competing, superimposed upon substructures constructed from disease, prostitution, and the Saint of the Plague. The continuing urban struggle constitutes temporal statements of dirt and purity, violence and humour, dominance and resistance, death and salvation. Like the renovated facades masking the crumbling remains of structures long neglected, the government's literal whitewashing of the art is a temporal cover-up of a discursive symptom emergent from deeply embedded preconditions: the multilayered past with its continuing troublesome urban manifestation is our focal concern. However, from his niche in the angular bend of the alley bearing his name, the statue of St. Rock remains unblinkingly staring, raised slightly above the contestations expressed below

Politicised landscapes: modern borders, shifting identities

Kylie Seretis (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division)

Social and cultural landscapes are created by people (individuals, groups and communities) through their lived experiences and engagement with the world around them. Social landscapes are complex, they incorporate political action, encompass change, have elements of both past and present, are half-imagined or created from memory, they are about identity or lack of identity. The examination of identities and how they interrelate provides a way to explore the ways in which people, differently engaged and empowered, appropriate, contest and shape their landscapes. Social and cultural landscapes are customarily multi-ethnic: research in archaeology, history and anthropology suggests that bounded, homogenous 'societies' or 'cultures' are exceptional (if they can be said to exist at all).

This paper looks at the changing material manifestation of division in Cyprus over the last 100 years. The violence and aggression in Cyprus over the last 40 years has led to the creation of a militarised landscape. National armies (Greek and Turkish as well as Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot) and United Nations security forces have had a major visual and physical impact on the landscape. The military presence is all too familiar to the locals: there is a physical dividing line of concrete, steel, barbed wire and (in the form of the military) human beings, which demarcates the 'Turkish Occupied Area' from that of the 'Republic'. The effect of this divide, the creation of this boundary between North and South is the physical separation of the two communities; *difference* has been

institutionalised, physically, mentally and emotionally. The reopening of the borders in March 2003 have changed this yet again.

Conflict in Early Medieval archaeology

Howard Williams (University of Exeter)

The theme of military conflict has always been strong in early medieval historical writing and often archaeologists have attempted to identify the sites and material evidence of early medieval battles and conflicts through numerous methods including place names, earthworks and excavations. Indeed, prehistoric, Roman and medieval earthworks have all been drawn into the discussions of military campaigns and invasions since the birth of early medieval archaeology in the middle nineteenth century.

However, recent research has challenged the character of violence and conflict in early medieval societies, as well as critically appraising 'military' interpretations of early medieval sites and objects. This paper intends to: a) explore a critique of these approaches from the Victorian era to the present together with their abuses of a range of archaeological evidence, b) suggest some alternatives for how early medieval archaeological evidence might be employed to identify conflict in the past, and c) suggest how early medieval people may have perceived and commemorated violence and conflict as an integral part of political, social and ritual life.

Weapons use and abuse, loose about this hoose!!

Barry Molloy (University College Dublin)

For many archaeologists, there is a perceived 'obviousness' about hand held weaponry that has often obviated significant enquiry into their actual combat use. Traditional fields of archaeological inquiry can, I believe, learn from the experience of groups who engage with archaeological material from a different perspective and with a very different motivation – historical re-enactors and martial artists. Weaponry, in particular, is best understood when wielded, and more-so by those with a depth of experience in this practice. This experiential approach seeks to understand the dynamics involved in handling weaponry in effective combat techniques.

How a weapon could be used, is of course tied into why, where and when it was, contextualizing this within wider archaeological issues concerning this class of artefact. Through the act of deposition, for example, a weapon is removed from everyday use, but for this to be considered a socially significant occurrence, the object being consigned to temporal oblivion must have accrued a level of symbolic potency. This was likely to have been derived from the living history of specific pieces in the hands of their owners, making the artefacts themselves socially empowered objects.

This paper will discuss the significance of developing our understanding of the use and handling of ancient weaponry, and how this applies to a variety of related social activities.

Eyewitnesses and archaeology at Culloden: a case of Rashomon revisited?

Tony Pollard (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division) and Jeffrey Stephen (University of Aberdeen)

Eyewitness accounts provide an important documentary resource for the archaeologist wishing to understand past conflicts. It goes without saying that these accounts have also played a central role in the work of military historians, where among other things they have been used to bolster arguments and theories set out by the historian. As far as British battles are concerned, these accounts tend to be few and far between and have therefore gained an even more important position in modern attempts to understand these quite fleeting events. Culloden, fought in 1746 and the last pitched battle on British soil, is something of an exception, having left in its bloody wake an impressive collection of written accounts by combatants and observers, some of whom also produced maps depicting the engagement. Although there is a deal of agreement between these various accounts some of them also suggest alternative interpretations of the place and the events they describe.

Most of the Culloden eyewitness accounts have long been in the public domain and snippets are commonly quoted in military histories, but this material has never been considered in its entirety. This paper will attempt to do so by discussing it in the light of archaeological data from the site. How much does one type of evidence inform, or alternatively disagree with the other? Is there a meaningful consensus view to be drawn from these sometimes contradictory accounts, or are we looking at a case of Rashomon* revisited?

*Kurosawa movie in which a group of people witness a crime, but in recollection it would appear they all observed a different event.

Battlefields of Class conflict: Ludlow, 1914

Dean J. Saitta (University of Denver)

The Colorado Coal Field War is a little known yet significant event in American labour history. The conflict between striking coal miners and Colorado Fuel and Iron Company operatives occurred April 20-30, 1914. It was most directly provoked by the April 20th killing of men, women, and children at a striker's tent camp near the Ludlow train depot, an event memorialised as The Ludlow Massacre. For the next 10 days armed miners and company gunmen fought pitched battles along a 40 mile front in the Colorado foothills. Peace was restored only when President Woodrow Wilson sent in federal troops to disarm both sides.

This paper explores some dimensions of human agency in this conflict as revealed by archaeological investigations at the Ludlow Tent Colony. It addresses the tactical strategies used by Labour and Capital to gain advantage in the conflict, as well as the survival strategies employed by ordinary people in harm's way. Theoretical work by Raymond Williams and David Harvey guide the argument. I identify future research directions and offer some implications of our work for a general anthropology of war. I also address recent vandalism at the Ludlow Massacre Memorial which suggests that, ninety years later, the Ludlow ground remains a contested landscape.

Ghosts in the desert: a cautionary tale

Iain Banks (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division)

Battlefield archaeology relies very much on historical information as much as archaeological, largely because battles are major events in the course of history. However, as anyone who has worked in battlefield archaeology will know, the historical sources can be very misleading and the archaeological results can produce a very different story to the official history. When the history is linked to nationalism and state myth-making, getting past the historical accounts can be a difficult process. This is true even for relatively recent conflicts that have been well-documented. This paper will provide an example of the problems of challenging the historical accounts with a case study based in North Africa.

1B. The Materialisation of Social Identities

Convenor: A. Bernard Knapp (University of Glasgow)

Issues related to social identity propel much recent research. Early anthropological work in 'traditional' societies sought to construct fixed, stable and creative identities. Modernists regarded identity as more

mutable, personal and self-reflexive, whilst postmodernists have promoted the concept of dispersed identities, and argue that people adopt differing identities as social situations demand. Contemporary social science, then, regards identity as the product of difference and exclusion rather than as an essential sign of an identical unity. Pushed to its limits, a postmodern denial of identity would have quite negative implications for archaeology. Given the constraints of the complex and fragmented data sets with which we work, archaeologists typically treat identity in one dimensional terms, e.g. ethnic identity, class identity or gender identity. Archaeological interpretations that equate various aspects of material culture (e.g., weaponry, horsing equipment) with group identity (e.g., masculine warriors) are concerned only with what one puts on or around one's body, not how it is worn nor the postures, gestures and social structures that are also involved. Shared social practices – imprinted materially as symbols, bodily ornament, utensils, tools and more – may be actively involved in creating and expressing identities. Papers in this session will consider how different identities are likely to be proclaimed as distinguishing features, and what kinds of materials might mark such features in the archaeological record.

The instantiated identity: critical approaches to studying gesture and material culture
Steven G. Matthews (University of Manchester)
Gesture and bodily comportment are fundamental to the maintenance and transmission of social identities. The degree to which they are employed and convey meaning is often culturally exclusive, rule-driven and context-specific. Gestures are also power relations, structuring particular forms of social distinction, such as gender and age, and thereby replicating certain socially normative patterns of sexuality and role. A significant aspect in the study of gestures and bodily comportment that is often overlooked by other disciplines is the human utilisation of the material environment. Whilst the construction of the social being through movement is integral to both the experience of the lived body and a sense of personal identity, it is also one that is significantly negotiated through relations with things as well as other persons. By examining ornamental objects from the Central European Bronze Age this paper discusses ways in which archaeology presents the opportunity to study from a material perspective the 'generative field' that would have structured the appropriate use of gestures as an embodied discourse in the maintenance and transmission of particular social identities and roles.

From 'communal' to 'individual'? Rethinking death and identity in Late Prepalatial Crete
Despina Catapoti (University of Sheffield)
A common analytical strategy in Minoan archaeology has always been to draw a distinction between 'community' and 'individuality' and to juxtapose the two in evolutionary fashion. The main reason for this has been the need to demonstrate that the emergence of the so-called 'palaces' on the island of Crete during the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) was the result of a gradual process leading from egalitarian forms of social organization – the ideological basis of which was allegedly provided by the concept of 'community' – to hierarchically structured societies, which were in turn, taken to be linked with ideologies of the 'individual'. Many scholars have used examples from the funerary record of the 'prepalatial' phases to support this premise. The archaeological evidence from this period has so far confirmed the operation of two distinct funerary strategies on the island: in the earlier stages of the Early Bronze Age (EBA), the Cretan landscape was dominated by large architectural structures designed to accommodate multiple burials, whereas in the later EBA, small burial containers appear and soon become a common practice in most parts of the island. Many scholars have taken the appearance of burials containers as the first clear indication that Minoan society had 'at last broken free from the demands of communal burial' (Branigan 1993: 66), making explicit 'the existence of rank and status among the living' (141). This paper demonstrates that recent developments in the field as well as social theory seriously challenge the above interpretation. A closer look at recent evidence suggests that containers served as burial facilities *for many successive burials* as well as *ossuaries*. Rather than 'individual' burials, these structures thus appear to have acted as *smaller collective units.* In itself, this does not necessarily run against the evolutionary agenda, which is prone to see the (gradual) isolation of *any kind* of social unit as an indication of 'individualism'. In view of recent developments in theoretical discourse, however, the above empirical observation may serve as a point of departure for the formulation of an entirely different perspective. The latter sees the 'communal' and the 'individual' as inherent and inextricably linked elements of the human condition since neither of the two can be constructed and/or realized without reference to the other. Strathern's term 'dividual' ought to be preferred since it captures far better how the construction of any identity is made possible. Instead of insisting on staring at something, which no conceptual framework will ever help us trace, this study then focuses on the exploration of the term 'dividuality' and seeks to demonstrate that its application to Minoan archaeology may alter quite profoundly our image of the late 'prepalatial' period and the occasion of death in particular.

Branigan, K. (1993) *Dancing with Death*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.

Making it your own: breaking through beaker identity assumptions
Sheila Kohring (University of Cambridge)
The introduction of Beakers into Copper Age and Early Bronze Age assemblages has often been associated with concepts of migration, ideology and particularly, identity. Ideas of group inclusion actually creating an emphasis on the individual seem to be predominant and generalised. It is unlikely Beakers were used in such a straightforward, overt or overarching manner. Beaker use within communities would open up the potential for different identities and act as identity markers for individuals and their community. Identity may have changed as material symbols from external sources infiltrated local and regional ideological systems. The manner in which these emerge, however, is likely to be variable and dependent on individual and community context. Using data from Western Spain, this paper explores the use of Beakers and other contemporary decorated pottery in a very contextualized manner. Peripheral territorial sites, such as San Blas, demonstrate a specific contextual use for decorated pottery as a whole, suggesting a community-specific identity as well as having implications for its use by individuals within the community to differentiate themselves from their neighbours and align themselves with regional and broader identity spheres.

Going astray in the fort field: ringforts and 'traditional' identity in 19th-century Ireland
Máirín Ní Cheallaigh (University College Dublin)
More than most other monuments of the Irish archaeological record, ringforts – understood to have been constructed as the 'farmsteads' of early first millennium AD agriculturalists – have lain at the intersection of diverging worlds of symbolic imaginings encompassing a range of what are seen as interacting social and cultural identities. These overlapping worlds have ranged from the cottages of the rural tenant

labourer and farmer, to the salons of the antiquarian elite, to the excavation trench of the archaeologist. Engagement with the materiality of ringforts was (and is) articulated through the social structures and belief systems of those who visited, actively avoided or equally consciously destroyed them. In this paper, I consider how – for the so-called 'traditional' communities in 19th-century Ireland in particular – ringforts and the 'practice of ringforts' helped to distinguish and define what might be considered as the internal and external 'edges' of the identity which they projected or enacted. The treatment of ringforts, their physical curation or destruction, can be interpreted as the positioning of individuals and communities relative to assertions of identity, communal ideology, belief, modernity and conflict. I also wish to consider how the structured suites of social understandings, particularly those that peopled ringforts with butter-churning or aristocratic fairies, fallen angels, land-owning 'Danes', stolen wives, and prehistoric builders may have been reflected in the perception and shaping of the features of the 'typical' ringfort.

Complex identities on 19th-century Zanzibar
Sarah Croucher (University of Manchester)
Identities on nineteenth century Zanzibar have been described as 'multiple, fluid, strategic and situational' (Fair 2001: 55) yet beyond this vague idea little is known about the massive social changes that occurred there during this period. Documents relating to the social history of nineteenth century Zanzibar are rare and typically written by European male explorers and missionaries. Can archaeology offer an avenue of exploring an area where thousands of both voluntary and forced migrants were arriving and interacting with each other and with the pre-existing indigenous 'Swahili' population? This paper employs data from fieldwork on clove plantation sites on Zanzibar to explore this question. Clove plantations were sites where many of these groups lived and interacted, and an arena in which identities between differing social groups were created, performed and negotiated. I discuss how it may be possible to use archaeology combined with oral history and documentary sources to build up an interpretation of identity change. Ceramics, jewellery and domestic space will all be considered as classes of material culture used in the formation of gendered, class, ethnic and religious identities.

Fair, L. 2001. *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community & Identity in Post-Abolition Zanzibar.* Oxford.

Material practice and social identity: change and continuity in northern New Spain
Barbara L. Voss (Stanford University)
Archaeological studies of identity confront dilemmas of correlation and causality. How do material practices participate in the social construction of identity? How does social discourse relate to identification practices? This paper adapts historian Henry Abelove's concept of 'goeswith,' to an archaeological context through a study of material practice and social identity at one historic community, El Presidio de San Francisco. Extant documents indicate that in the early 1800s, the residents of this community were actively transforming racial, gendered, and ethnic identification categories. The archaeological record provides a means for examining the recursive relationship between materiality and these changes in social identities, particularly regarding the temporal pacing of change and continuity in material practice.

Rock art design, social boundaries and social identity: the case for Torres Straits
Liam M. Brady (Monash University)
The fixed or static nature of rock-art implies a permanent attachment to place. Alternatively, portable material culture objects have a more transient nature particularly in trade and exchange contexts. What are the implications for the movement of designs across space? Historically, Islander and Aboriginal groups of the Torres Strait region took part in major trading and exchange networks spanning the region from Aboriginal Australia (Cape York) to Melanesian southern New Guinea. Ethnographically documented patterns of interregional interaction provide an opportunity to investigate the role of design conventions on rock-art and portable material culture objects in ways not usually apparent from the archaeological evidence alone. An examination of designs from the Torres Strait region reveals spatial correlations between decorated material culture objects and rock-art. However, these correlations were not representative of expected design patterning between individual Islander and Aboriginal communities in the region. Irrespective of design medium, designs still move across space, crossing social boundaries and thus informing us about social processes involved in the construction of social identity.

Cyborgs, chimeras and other hybrid selves: an actor-network perspective on the construction of identity
Peter Whitridge (Memorial University of Newfoundland)
The premise of actor-network theory (ANT) that agency is a property of heterogeneous networks of human and non-human actors has profound implications for our understanding of identity. Like Haraway's cyborgs, the hybrid assemblages of bodies, things, and representations that constitute persons do not end at the skin. It is not enough to assert that identity is reflected or communicated by material culture, nor even that individuals are constituted within the material structures of a social field. From an ANT perspective there are no individuals, only collectives of humans and non-humans, and no society apart from the things that hold people together; things are as a much a residue of persons as their skeletons. The ANT framework can be put to work in social archaeology by attending to the hybrid collectives implied by contextual associations of things, people, animals etc.; the scripts or programs of action folded into material culture; the seams or interfaces between bodies and things (e.g., musculoskeletal stress markers, the ergonomic design of tools and architecture); and the more or less explicit discourses on past sociality embedded in art, ritual and other symbolic practices. A case study from Canadian Arctic prehistory reveals the very different sorts of selves configured by material scripts in contrasting cultural settings, as well as the heterogeneity of actor-networks within societies due to such things as age, gender, class, and biography.

1C. Fiery Theory: The Role of Fire during the Neolithic

Cole Henley (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland) and Amelia Pannett (freelance)
One would be hard pressed to find archaeological contexts from the Neolithic period of Britain and Ireland that have not been given shape, at least in part, through fire. Burning has been identified as a part of funerary and mortuary rituals at a number of monumental sites whilst hearths feature prominently at – and are arguably the primary defining characteristic of – Neolithic settlement contexts. Fire has been noted as a tool for managing both agricultural land and woodland, as well as a tool in the processing of foods and materials: from plant and meat to cooked food, in the working of stone and in the transformation of clay into pot.

Despite this range of contexts, the significance and symbolism of fire to Neolithic communities has rarely been considered in the archaeological literature. This

can be contrasted to work in recent years on the role of fire during the Mesolithic and Bronze Age, notably through consideration for woodland management in the former and cremation rites in the latter.

Fire, stones and monumental traditions in the Western Isles of Scotland
Joanna Wright (University of Manchester)
Fire and the practice of burning can evoke images of destruction, devastation, obliteration, and endings, but conversely it can also bring forth an impression of cleansing, purging, purity, and new beginnings. The destructive element of fire wipes out all traces of the past and leaves behind it a fresh, blank canvas for new seeds to be sown, in both the literal and metaphorical sense. Fire has undoubtedly been recognised and used as a powerful tool in this context in both domestic and ritual spheres throughout prehistory. In this paper I intend to show the different ways in which this imagery and power of fire could have been used or manipulated.

The symbolic use of fire at significant sites certainly dates back to at least the Mesolithic, and by the Neolithic was occurring at many monumental sites. For example evidence of burning appears inside some chambered cairns, an associated activity that would have undoubtedly carried with it many of the connotations outlined above. It will be demonstrated that the practice of burning and controlled use of fire continued into the Bronze Age for increasingly symbolic and complex reasons and I will illustrate this with an in depth look at the role of fire at standing stone sites in the Western Isles of Scotland.

Hot rocks: fire and the manufacture of stone tools in Neolithic Britain
Amelia Pannett (freelance)
Analysis of numerous lithic assemblages from Neolithic sites in Britain has revealed that the heat-treatment, or burning of raw materials was common practice. Traditional explanations for the use of fire in the working of lithics have suggested a functional role, namely to compound the structure of the raw material to make it easier to knap. While this idea may hold some weight, with a number of studies demonstrating that the heating of material may have proved advantageous to knappers, it fails to account fully for the quantity of burnt lithic material found on sites, particularly those in areas where the lithic resource is abundant and/or of high quality. The application of heat causes a variety of physical alterations to stone: colour change, crazing of the surface and, ultimately, shattering. Could the alteration of stone through the use of fire have had a more complex role in lithic technologies than simply easing the process of manufacture? Was the transformation of the raw material through the application of heat considered significant? Were people choosing to deliberately heat lithic materials as a means of expression? Was the potency of tools heightened through the use of burnt lithic materials? This paper will examine the role fire could have played in the manufacture of stone tools, both as a functional aid and a means of transformation and social expression.

Putting the pieces together at Durrington Walls, Wiltshire
Anne Teather (University of Manchester)
This paper investigates the use of fire at the British Late Neolithic site of Durrington Walls, Wiltshire. Durrington Walls is the largest henge monument in Britain, encompassing an area of almost 19 hectares. Interpretations suggest it has been a place for gathering, feasting and structured ritual deposition, in addition to having a wider role in mortuary practice in the Stonehenge landscape. As suggested by the organizers of this session, fire in the Neolithic has rarely been studied in terms of symbolism and significance, more often being seen in utilitarian terms.

This paper brings together analysis completed on the depositional elements of the site and examines how fire can be seen as influencing both deposition and architecture. Focusing on the Southern Circle and its associated features, I suggest that the position of hearths provided visual and physical cues for specific types of movement and practices within the monument. Furthermore, the use of fire may be suggested in accelerating the decay of timbers, contributing to a range of possible activities in the construction, use, decay, reuse and deposition at this site.

Burning down the house: the destruction of timber structures in lowland Scotland in the 4th millennium BC
Gordon Noble (Durham University)
A whole series of different types of timber monuments were built in Earlier Neolithic lowland Scotland. These timber constructions included cursus monuments, mortuary enclosures, timber halls, cremation pyres and other forms of enclosures. While these structures assumed many different forms and can be markedly different in scale, these structures also have much in common. All were rectangular in shape and were constructed of massive oak timbers and nearly all were burnt down at the end of their lives, whether it was a timber hall or cremation pyre. In this respect, they are part of a wider European tradition of burnt Neolithic structures that include many of the sites identified as Earlier Neolithic houses in Ireland and some of the structures under long barrows in England. The crucial aspect of these sites may have been the burning, which may have been associated with creating memories of people, places and events. In lowland Scotland it is argued that the timber structures may have been related to the Neolithic settlement pattern and were structures that added notions of permanency to a lifestyle that involved a large degree of settlement mobility. Drawing on images of the house these structures were aimed at creating social unity at times when this was threatened.

A good hearth these days is hard to find: a view from the Western Isles
Cole Henley (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland)
Hearths provide warmth, light and a means for cooking and drying as well as a place for story-telling and social interaction, whilst the ash from hearths can be used to manure fields and gardens. Centrally located within houses, hearths provide a focal point as well as an architectural feature, and despite serving a number of functions their role is not solely functional.

It can be argued that it is the hearth which provides the defining aspect of British Neolithic settlement, certainly given the lack of a consistent architectural form for Neolithic 'houses' and the generally ephemeral character of settlement in this period. Yet there has been very little work on the role itself of the hearth and perhaps more importantly the diversity of forms and methods of construction between individual hearths.

By considering the variability in hearths from a handful of settlement sites in the Western Isles of Scotland I hope to consider how hearths might reflect different kinds of settlement, mobility and attitudes to place, and how such inauspicious features might provide a broader insight into this period.

A burning issue? Houses, lifecycles and fire in Neolithic Ireland
Jessica Smyth (University College Dublin)
Large-scale investment in Ireland's infrastructure has led to significant transects of the Irish countryside being archaeologically monitored and excavated. In the past five years, archaeological investigation has dramatically increased the number of Neolithic houses previously documented in Ireland with the number of timber-built rectangular structures excavated approaching fifty. These buildings all show remarkable similarities in shape, size and methods and materials of construction. However, the subject of this paper will be their relationship with fire.

At nearly half of these sites structures have either been substantially or completely burnt. This phenomenon has been interpreted in a number of ways: structures were destroyed in violent attacks or in accidental conflagrations; they were formally decommissioned upon the death of a household member; they were burnt down to control the spread of disease. In cases where there is no clear evidence for burning in situ, archaeologists have suggested that timbers were simply charred prior to their erection as a means of preserving them in the ground.

Many of the above interpretations, however, do not hold up to closer scrutiny. Exploring how a wooden building decays and burns and considering the evidence from sites like Balbridie, Claish and Crathes in Scotland and Opovo in southeast Europe, I will make the case for such burning being a deep-rooted and perhaps even pan-European phenomenon in the Neolithic, and a process which reflected the important role of fire in creation, destruction and transformation.

Fire as an element of performance in the chambered cairns of Neolithic Orkney
Michael Pearce (Westmont College)
Fires have obvious domestic uses in food preparation, heat and lighting, and the evidence for these can be discussed briefly, but there are deeper symbolic meanings to the Neolithic use of fire that should not be ignored. Colin Richards' description of the general alignment of Neolithic hearths at Barnhouse to the South-East illustrates that a symbolic understanding of fire existed in the Neolithic. When his plot of the alignments of domestic fireplaces is compared to the plot of the generally South-East alignments of entrance passages of chambered cairns in the Orkneys, it seems clear that similar symbolic approaches were made in both spaces. In the case of the cairns, fires were not made in hearths, but either within the structures or immediately outside, which suggests that the cairns were viewed by their users as places of transformation, where fire should not be safely contained. Fires made in cairn spaces burned human and animal bone, pottery and flints, but scorched bones need not imply that they were used in funerary rites if we consider the possibility that they were used in the performance of a rite of passage. Simple statistics drawn from Davidson and Henshall show that evidence of fire is almost universally found in Orcadian cairns. Other writers have commented on the lack of evidence for the cairns as exclusively sepulchral monuments.

Charcoal has been viewed as the remains of fires made from wood, but we may be overlooking the use of charcoal as a fuel in its own right; the charcoal found in cairns may be the remnants of the fuel supply used in rites. While Aaron Watson is correct to suggest that closing the door of Maes Howe when a fire was burning would decrease air circulation, charcoal is a less smoky fuel, and may have had a symbolic aspect given the scarcity of wood in Orkney. The door may also have been closed in order to enhance the use of the smoke of herbs as incense, or the containment of the vapour of herbs that caused hallucinations or altered states of consciousness. If Schenk's account of Henbane poisoning is read in context of the Balfarg Henbane we may paint an extraordinary picture of what may have happened within chambered cairns.

The doorway at Maes Howe is designed to be rocked closed from the inside, implying the use of the space by the living, not the dead. This corresponds with Eliade's summary of the common phenomena of rites of passage, in which he describes the processes used by participants in rites. Open passages appear to offer easy access and frequent use, which does not sit well with the paucity of human remains in many of the chambers, but is appropriate to Eliade's 'segregation in Shadows'.

1D. 'The Muckle Stane in the Ailley': Archaeology and Storytelling

Session organisers: Valentina Bold and Michael Given (University of Glasgow)
Stanley Robertson is the Keyworker for the Oral and Cultural Traditions of Scottish Travellers Project, based at the Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund. Lawrence Tulloch appears here thanks to the Shetland Arts Trust. This session is taking place thanks to the generous support of the Live Literature Scotland scheme of the Scottish Book Trust and Historic Scotland.

Communication lies at the heart of archaeology. All researchers have a general academic duty to publish and disseminate, but archaeology also has a wide and varied public, and a major role in the heritage industry. Most archaeological communication is indirect, carried out through a book, website or television programme. Even when the audience experiences the artefact, site or landscape first-hand, the sherds and wall lines are often meaningless to the non-expert. Best of all is to listen to and carry on a dialogue with an archaeologist or guide. And one of the most vivid and direct ways of experiencing the past is through the storyteller.

This session, bringing together academics from different disciplinary backgrounds along with skilled practitioners in the field, hopes to shed new light on the precise ways in which reading – and telling – the archaeological landscape can interact in storytelling events.

The skill of these two performers will vastly enhance the audience's appreciation of the genres, and allow the audience to appreciate the ways in which storytelling informs archaeological understanding at a popular level. Are there differences, for instance, between responses to publicly told stories of place and private performance occasions? Does the active performer perceive the landscape in different ways to the passive tradition-bearer? Do changing performance contexts (the use of new media, for instance, in transmitting archaeological tales) affect responses to specific places? Does the storytelling form (e.g. anecdote, aetiological legend, ballad) have a bearing on how sites are remembered?

For archaeologists, storytelling is not just a means of communicating: it often played an important role in shaping the societies that we study. Stories build up round local characters such as saints or outlaws, and around meaningful places in the landscape, acts of resistance, or daily activities which give a sense of pride or belonging. They can be used for educating the young, entertaining, passing on information, creating and maintaining a community or a particular identity, or for political propagandising. Archaeologists need to understand storytelling in order to understand the dynamics of the societies that they study.

St Kilda: stories from an iconic island
Andrew Fleming (University of Wales Lampeter)
The history and lifeways of the community which inhabited St Kilda (an archipelago 40 miles off the Western Isles of Scotland) have generated much literature, both before and after the 1930 evacuation. From Martin Martin in 1698 to Tom Steel and Charles Maclean in the later 20th century, commentators have been reluctant to discuss St Kilda and its history in normal Hebridean terms. Instead they have invested St Kilda with a great deal of symbolic significance. Like one or two other famously 'remote' islands, St Kilda has begun to generate philosophical reflections on long-term human history. This paper illustrates this process, particularly as it has emerged to colour perceptions of this World Heritage Site in the late 20th century.

Archaeology and storytelling: fact or fiction?
Lorraine Seymour (University College London)
The relationship between archaeology and storytelling has moved considerably beyond that the traditional distinction that has been discerned between them. Analysis of the transformation in this relationship shows that both narratives have been heavily influenced by the advance and retreat of successive intellectual paradigms. These paradigms also determine the criteria by which these discourses are appraised by researchers.

I will explain how the current assessment of the relationship between archaeology and storytelling is related to the promotion of post-modern and post-processualist concerns. The recent archaeological impasse in response to competing narratives derives from a paradox within archaeological theory that can be attributed to the post-modern critique. Post-modernism's aversion to conceptual hegemony has permitted the ineffective synthesis of conflicting trajectories within archaeological theory. This tendency has resulted in the evaluation of archaeology's factual integrity remaining polarised between opposing arguments for its categorisation as either data or interpretation. The prevalence of this paradox undermines archaeological confidence in discriminating between those representations of the past that articulate the actualities of existence and those which profess other human truths.

Have you ever been to Karanis? A story of tax, resistance and archaeology
Michael Given (University of Glasgow)
Is it possible to convey archaeological data and interpretation in a way that is appealing and informative, but still carefully researched, logically argued and fully referenced? If so, it has the potential of reaching a relatively broad audience without creating an artificial and divisive split between 'academic' and 'popular' archaeology.

One possibility is to borrow ideas and techniques from the rich and potent world of storytelling. Rather than discussing the issues in the abstract, I intend to illustrate the possibilities by telling a story myself. It is set in the Roman-period town of Karanis, in the Fayum oasis of Egypt. The sand blows in from the desert and swirls round the alleyways and mud-brick houses, as a little caravan of heavily-laden donkeys plods its way towards the vast state granary. The donkey driver looks on as a family delivers its annual tithe of wheat to the Roman state. But why are the villages round Karanis half-abandoned, and the convoys to Alexandria with the tithes so heavily guarded?

Interviews, discussions and stories
Stanley Robertson (Shetland) and Lawrence Tulloch (University of Aberdeen)
During the rest of the session, we will present two of Scotland's foremost storytellers in conversation. A pre-scripted interview scenario will allow key interpretative points to be suggested, but we will keep the structure relatively fluid, inviting audience participation and aiming for an atmosphere of interactivity.

We will foreground the work of Stanley Robertson, the well-known North East storyteller, from the renowned traveller family (he is the nephew of Jeannie Robertson), currently a Research Fellow in Aberdeen University's Elphinstone Institute. Robertson's strongly-grounded regional traditions will be explored alongside those of Lawrence Tulloch, from the island of Yell, in Shetland. Tulloch is unusual in being both a skilled storyteller and spokesman for his local traditions, and an active participant in the Shetland tourist industry, through the Shetland Tourist Board and as a tour guide. His unique perspective will allow comparisons to be drawn relating to the functions of stories for these two performers and their audiences.

Where a story is learnt, as well as where it is told, and who it is told to, profoundly affects their delivery; the performer's understanding of the built environment are aspects which make storytelling particularly resonant for the archaeologist. Robertson, for instance, will consider North East songs and stories such as 'The Laird o Drum', 'Tifty's Annie' and 'The Battle o Harlaw', showing how tales map out the area for storytellers and their audiences, profoundly affecting their interaction with the landscape. Tulloch will explain how the use of stories, in relationship to local history, affect the resonance and appreciation of place, allowing us to compare the functions of stories for the visitor, whether a tourist or an archaeologist, against their functions for residents (whether with generations of background in the area, or more recent incomers).

1E. Archaeology and the Electronic Word

Session organiser: Jeremy Huggett (Univ. of Glasgow)
'It is reasonable to suppose that the proliferation of information-processing machines is having, and will continue to have, as much of an effect on the circulation of learning as did advancements in human circulation (transportation of systems) and later, in the circulation of sounds and visual images (the media) ... The nature of knowledge cannot survive unchanged within this context of general transformation.' (Jean-Francois Lyotard 1986 *The Postmodern Condition,* p. 4)

It generally seems to be assumed that the use of computers in the generation, production, distribution, and consumption of texts is beneficial – or at least benign. Few would argue with the speed and flexibility with which texts can be prepared using information technology, for example. Some would go much further – Hodder and others have argued for the benefits of technological texts (hypertext in particular) in aiding archaeological reflexivity through aspects such as intertextuality (connections within and beyond a text), the creation of 'living' texts, and non-linear writing.

Today, archaeology communicates through an increasing number of textual contexts – books, journals, hypertext, web sites, web pages, blogs, newsgroups, discussion lists, and the like – but to what extent are these used for distinctly different purposes, and to what extent are they appropriated for specifically archaeological uses? How are the relationships between author and reader affected by different methods of technology-based writing, and what drawbacks might there be? Is the fragmentation of narratives made possible through technology altogether benign? Do technological texts fulfil their promise of greater access and democracy, and at what cost to reader and writer, and the subject? How far do different technological texts promote gendered ways of knowing? Does the circulation of archaeological knowledge through technological intervention leave the nature of that knowledge unchanged?

Online but off target: bridging the gulf between 'grey' websites and their audience
Hugh Corley and Ingrid Shearer (University of Glasgow)
This paper will assess and critique the process of creating project-specific websites, from the perspective of those working in the commercial sector. The dissemination of archaeological information generated from within developer-funded archaeology has long been a thorny issue. The Internet has often been cited as a panacea for this problem, allowing for the rapid dissemination of information to a wider audience. Defining that audience is the key to creating effective, accessible and relevant websites and it is this issue in particular we wish to explore. A poor understanding of audience has resulted in a glut of ill conceived, under budgeted websites, often tacked on to large projects as a means of 'getting the information out there'. We believe that it is time for a critical assessment of the widening gulf between the expectations of clients, website creators and their perceived audience.

The team as audience: social software and the future of 'the report'
Sarah Cross (English Heritage)
The nature and structure of any piece of writing is heavily dependant on the relationship between author and audience. Traditional forms of archaeological reporting assumes an audience of social and professional peers of the author, and further assumes that they will not have been directly involved in the investigations being described. Many authors have discussed the influence of digital technology on the author reader relationship – but this work usually concentrates on finished reports. Of equal importance are the relationships between team members, as authors, readers and co-authors and collaborators. This paper will examine how digital technology can and does alter these relationships and the intermediate texts they produce. It will focus on the shifting balance between individual and group voice and on validation and control in the group authoring process.

Fieldwork, narratives, and digital practice: a hypermedia stroll beside the seaside
Graeme Earl (University of Southampton)
The adoption and adaptation of multimedia technologies for archaeological aims are rightly open to an extended critique. This paper provides a recent and ongoing multimedia application and considers directly the impact of the methodologies chosen, and their surrounding research context, on the archaeologies created. In particular it considers the impact of a range of multimedia devices – link style, sedimentation of movement, page layout, interface design – on navigation and interpretation.

Specifically, narratives constructed during the lifetime of the Quseir al-Qadim project on the Red Sea coast of Egypt are combined with a multilayered, interconnected archive, both in established archaeological documentary style segments and expressive, personal debates and commentaries. Through the multimedia interface this archive grows, fragments and in turn defines a changing perspective on the site as excavated and the fieldwork project as lived and subsequently re-lived online. The paper asks whether this approach is worthwhile (or rather part of an over-emphasised, under-theorised technological bandwagon), how it impacts upon the construction of archaeologies in and of Quseir, and what the knowledge as presented and defined through multimedia practice has to offer.

From page to pixel: archaeology and the electronic word
Jeremy Huggett (University of Glasgow)
Today, archaeology communicates through an increasing number of textual contexts – books, journals, hypertext, web sites, web pages, blogs, newsgroups, discussion lists, and the like – but to what extent are these used for distinctly different purposes, and to what extent are they appropriated for specifically archaeological uses? How are the relationships between author and reader affected by different methods of technology-based writing, and what drawbacks might there be? Is the fragmentation of narratives made possible through technology altogether benign? Do technological texts fulfil their promise of greater access and democracy, and at what cost to reader and writer, and the subject? How far do different types of technological texts promote gendered ways of knowing? Does the circulation of archaeological knowledge through technological intervention leave the nature of that knowledge unchanged?

How to become illiterate
William Kilbride (Archaeology Data Service, York)
The rhetoric of information technology heralds ubiquitous, instant, worldwide cultural snacking. It promises 'communication at the speed of thought', the 'knowledge economy' and 'information society'. This din of progress is not entirely unexpected – but it can hardly be denied that the pace of changes has been faster than most would have anticipated. Within little more than a decade a whole new vocabulary inhabits our thought world. It is naïve to assume that this digital revolution is socially neutral. The excluded are often the subject of the debate, giving rise to discourses of inclusion and accessibility, materialised in futile efforts for them to 'be brought on board'. A more useful insight would come if we were to ask how they became dispossessed. It is also naïve to assume that this revolution is unprecedented. Archaeology is uniquely placed to evaluate previous revolutions in information technology, such as speech, reading and writing and printing. Each in turn present substantial case studies of how such technologies give rise to asymmetrical relationship of dependence. These provide a useful model of the dialectics of social exclusion within communications, and sustaining radical insights into how elites create and police hegemony.

This paper will explore illiteracy as a form of social exclusion, with a case study from archaeology that highlights the effortless and unchallengeable hegemony of the literate. It will be suggested that much rhetoric of social inclusion through information technology is bogus. The roll and implication of data standards will be explored and the nature of power relations in the digital world discussed. Rather than presenting conclusions per se, participants will be presented with a series of stereotypes against which to measure their own continuing relations with computers.

HIS 'n' HERs: heritage information systems and historic environment records
Martin Newman (English Heritage)
This paper will consider the role information technology is playing in what is arguably the largest information ecology in English archaeology: Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) as they strive to fulfil their newly-widened remit as Historic Environment Records (HERs). The availability of funding for outreach programmes is resulting in the web-enabling of these systems. How is the use of hypertext in outreach systems enabling HERs to create both linear and non-linear narratives? How is the greater interaction with varied audiences that this outreach has created integrating into a recursive model of information flows in HERs and affecting their content? To what extent can HERs be viewed as post-modern records? What is the potential for this new relationship between HERs and their stake holders to contribute to the democratisation of archaeology?

1F. Ownership and Responsibility: Cultural Property and Human Remains in the 21st Century

Organisers: Elizabeth Bell and Suzie Thomas (University of Newcastle)

This session will focus on issues related to the ownership of human remains and cultural objects. Both have been at the centre of ethical debates concerning their treatment and storage for many years. The origins of the 'reburial issue' as it has become known lies in America and Australia where indigenous communities began to question the lack of respect shown to their ancestors by archaeologists and museum curators. Today the issue has spread geographically and there is even some question as to whether it is acceptable to excavate and display human remains at all. When do we stop treating the dead as a person and start viewing them as a specimen to be dug up and studied? Should human remains hundreds or thousands of years old be returned to their country of origin? Should recent human remains be excavated or left in peace? Who has the right to decide? At the centre of the issue lies the question of ownership, something that up until now has been little addressed in the UK.

In the case of cultural property, the debate of ownership is no less complicated. Repatriation cases such as the Parthenon/Elgin Marbles debate have been well publicised for a while and the recent *Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums* has also proven controversial, causing the World Archaeology Congress to adopt a new resolution at its meeting in Washington DC (WAC 2003). These developments question the responsibility that should be taken by museums about how antiquities are and should be acquired. These questions are applicable to artefacts in many situations. For example, is the private ownership of archaeological artefacts in collections ever an acceptable way of expressing interest in the past, or does it in fact merely support and encourage the illicit trade in antiquities? Is it fair for archaeologists to claim exclusive rights to studying and excavating the past? Is international legislation such as the UNESCO 1970 *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* having the desired effect or still failing to deter an increasing black market in cultural goods?

With the ongoing work of the Government Select Committee for the Treatment of Human Remains and the new *Dealing in Cultural Objects (Offences) Act*, as well as the continued development of the *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, now is an appropriate time to be discussing such issues at TAG.

WAC (2003) 'Resolution on the influence of the world's museums on the continuing looting of archaeological sites worldwide', as agreed by the session *Collecting Material Heritage: Past and Present Orthodoxies* and adopted by WAC 26th June 2003.

Two laws for archaeology

Andrew Selkirk

There are basically two types of law for archaeology. There is the Anglo-American type of law, where antiquities are owned by the landowner, and where anyone can then excavate, except on specially-designated 'scheduled' sites. Contrasting with this are the Continental-type laws, which are wide-spread in most of the rest of the world, where all antiquities belong to the state, and all excavation is forbidden except under license. I will discuss these two types of laws, and their implications. I will then go on to take an international view of archaeology, and argue that there is no point in keeping all Greek objects in Greece, all Egyptian objects in Egypt, and all Scottish objects in Scotland. I believe that the world would be a happier and more peaceful place if we all learnt to appreciate other cultures and that therefore 50% of all archaeological objects should be treasured outside the country of origin. Trade, or rather, exchange of objects is therefore ipso facto a 'good thing' and I will discuss some practical ways in which it can be increased.

Is there a human right to loot?

Sam Hardy (University of Sussex)

In the chaos that ensued after the Coalition's invasion in 2003, thousands of artefacts were pillaged from museums and archaeological sites across Iraq. In this context, conflicts between the right to physical health and the right to mental health were explored. It was concluded that, as for every end that one has a right to, one necessarily has a corresponding right to the means to obtaining that end, so the right to physical health implicitly incorporated a right to loot if there were no alternative means to preserve it.

Treasure trove in Scotland

Alan Saville (National Museum of Scotland)

Scotland has an entirely separate process to the rest of the UK for dealing with portable antiquities, all of which – together with all excavated finds – come through the Treasure Trove system. This talk will describe Scottish Treasure Trove and how it works, focusing on the fact that the system operates to ensure portable antiquities are preserved by incorporation in museum collections throughout Scotland. Comment will be made on why the Scottish system has evolved in the way it has, and on how state as opposed to private ownership of portable antiquities is perceived.

A pragmatic approach to the problem of portable antiquities: the experience of England and Wales

Roger Bland (Portable Antiquities Scheme)

All countries have found the need to devise a system of protection for objects of archaeological, historical or cultural importance found in their territory by members of the public by chance – 'portable antiquities'. These approaches vary widely and in many states, the UK included, different territories contain separate legal régimes. In many countries of Europe the state requires that all objects of archaeological importance be reported and frequently the state claims ownership of them; there are mechanisms for paying rewards to the finders of varying generosity and there is usually protection for archaeological sites and controls over the use of metal detectors. All countries experience problems with the illicit recovery of archaeological finds from sites and their sale on the market. The purpose of this paper is to explain the approach that has been adopted to these issues in England and Wales, particularly the Treasure Act 1996, the Portable Antiquities Scheme and recent measures to stem the illicit trade in archaeological objects originating from the UK. It is a pragmatic approach and one that has its critics, but it is also, I would argue, beginning to bear some quite remarkable results.

Home, home on the range: the conflict of constructed identities in the 'management' of the past

Roberta Robin Dods (Okanagan University College)

Canada is the *home* of people defined by ethnic origins such as 'French Canadians, English Canadians, Italian Canadians, Japanese Canadians, German Canadians, ...' superimposed on the landscape of the 'other' – the land of the 'First Nations'. The national identity is composed through the emigration/immigration policies of governments and the constructed concept of 'multi culturalism'. The archives of the origins of the hyphenated Canadians, their commencements as a defined people, rest elsewhere – they live, essentially, in *truncated sequentia*, separated by time and space from their origins. Within this country in search of nationhood, however, there are those whose origins lie within its boundaries – those termed, somewhat gratuitiously, the First Nations. These are the original peoples, the indigenous peoples. They stand apart from, but within, Canada and define themselves as Nations on the basis of shared culture, language and territory – their ethnicity. They do not define themselves as Cree-Canadians, Mohawk-Canadians, or through any such hyphenated hybrid term. However, until recently the place and the taking place of their lives has been ordered by those dominant in political, economic, and academic institutions composed by and for the immigrant peoples. Here anthropology and archaeology has been part of the process of dispatched truth in support of a historical and political dogma. Emerging from this is a 'new' view on the role of anthropology and archaeology driven by the worldviews of the First Nation Peoples themselves. This movement by indigenous peoples to control the interpretation of their past and present identities is echoed elsewhere in the world and presents to the academy of dominant groups a serious ethical challenge.

A special connection with human remains?

Neil Curtis (Marishcal Museum, University of Aberdeen)

'The (Australian and British) Governments recognise the special connection that indigenous people have with ancestral remains' (July 2000 Declaration). The treatment of human remains has become a very complex and contentious topic as archaeologists struggle with the idea of showing respect to the remains of the dead. In this paper I will argue that this reveals historically specific attitudes in early 21st century Western culture, rather than a true respect for the wishes of indigenous people today or of people in the European past. Just as the West created the Orient, so we create an image of what it is to be indigenous. I will suggest that part of a solution lies in promoting the special treatment of other material, as well as the remains of human bodies. I will highlight examples from our own and other cultures to show that other material can be accorded similar meanings. Likewise, I will suggest that the considered study and display of human remains is a powerful way of encouraging a critical appreciation of archaeological evidence. This can be aided by considering the social role of archaeologists and museums to be analogous to those of priests and temples. Rather than reacting to supposed universal norms, it is the recognition of cultural differences that reveals respect.

If I should die: treatment of the bodies of missing soldiers

Jon Price (University of Northumbria)

During the Great War many millions of soldiers were killed or died, and many thousands of civilians. Of these a significant proportion were mislaid. The British imperial armies alone have over a quarter of a million soldiers 'for whom no known grave exists'. Some of these lie in ossuaries, or in graves of unknown soldiers, and some were reduced to fragments unrecognisable as bodies, but many are still on the battlefields, and their bodies are regularly uncovered during excavation. The treaties made after the war tended to treat dead soldiers as government property, and the disposal of their remains was an official issue into which personal input was not welcomed. One result of this was the setting up of cults of the unknown soldier with attendant ritual. In more recent times the rights of blood relatives have continued to remain secondary to the states ownership and treatment of the remains of soldiers and this has affected official approaches to forensic archaeological examination of remains. These responses have, for a variety of reasons, ranged from non-existent (Germany), through informal but structured (UK), to fully structured (US). This paper looks at these responses to the missing, their intersection with the rights of relatives and descendants, and the role of archaeology in the process; and also to the intersection of these processes with contemporary politics, and popular responses, in France, the USA, South East Asia, and Iraq; and contemplates the Cultural Resource Management issues surrounding the dead soldiers, their treatment, and the treatment of their undiscovered, and official resting places.

How can the repatriation of El Negro be used as an example of success when dealing with future repatriation cases?

Micaela Pereira (Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam)

Although considerable research has been devoted to the study of successful significant cases of repatriation of cultural material, less attention has been paid to the successful repatriation of human remains. I will present the study and importance of the reburial of the human remains of El Negro. His remains were on display from 1916 till 1991 in the Darder Natural History Museum in Banyoles, Spain. His remains were reburied in Botswana in 2001. Controversies during the process of repatriating El Negro will be discussed as the results of a visitor survey taken at the burial site of El Negro in Botswana. The result of the research will be placed in the light of key developments linked to other repatriation cases.

Ownership of native American cultural items on federal and tribal lands within the United States

Myra Giesen (Bureau of Reclamation) and Paula Molloy (National Park Service)

Ethics, archaeology, and museum practice often differ on how to address the cultural remains of past and present cultures, especially when it comes to human remains. Topics of disagreement include collection strategies, treatments, preservation, display, interpretation, and disposition. Add the concept of ownership and the issues become an even more complicated political and cultural quandary. In 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed into law in the United States with most of its implementing regulations (43 CFR Part 10) being finalized in 1995. NAGPRA addresses, among other thing, the rights of lineal descendants, Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations (parties with standing) to Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony (collectively referred to as cultural items.) The statute requires federal agencies and museums to provide information about Native American cultural items to parties with standing and, upon presentation of a valid claim, ensure the item(s) undergo disposition or repatriation. Interestingly, the process for establishing claimants varies within the statute depending upon which sections apply. This paper will addresses Section 3 of NAGPRA that specifically speaks to the ownership of Native American cultural items that are intentionally excavated or inadvertently discovered on federal or tribal lands after November 16, 1990. This section differs from the more widely known sections 5, 6, and 7 that deal with Native American cultural items controlled by federal agencies and museums prior to November 16, 1990. As NAGPRA often is identified as a model for applying a national approach to ownership of cultural items, it is useful to understand the subtle, yet significant, differences that exist in its application.

1G. Archaeology, Media & Image Wars

Organisers: Marcus Brittain, Tim Clack, Stephanie Koerner (Univ. of Manchester), Angela Michael (Univ. of Glasgow), Layla Renshaw (Kingston Univ.). Discussant: Thomas Dowson (Univ. of Manchester)

Several new areas of debate have emerged at recent TAG conferences, which challenge the ways in which the dynamics of archaeology's 'contents' and 'contexts' was discussed only a few years ago. A 'crisis of interpretation' is perhaps being experienced by those engaged in serious reflection not only on archaeology's contributions to the ways in which the diversity of human life forms are represented in a widening diversity of public institutions and media, but also how these may selectively (mis?)represent archaeological research. This session questions public images of archaeological interpretation and practice, whether these are becoming increasingly distant from (or even inversions of) academic discourse and field practice.

It bears stressing that this is unlikely to be an unprecedented venture for TAG. The Group developed in the context of one in the series of 'crisis of interpretation,' which occurred in the 20th century history throughout the humanities, human sciences and philosophy in response to concerns with historical roots predominant paradigms share with the most powerful colonialist, imperialist, and nationalist political ideologies of modern times. 'State of emergency' in the dynamics of epistemic debate and social strife, Benjamin (1933-1939) argued, is not anomalous but a ruling principle of modern ideologies. Their efficacy hinges on treating multiplicity of experience and interpretation as evidence that there are unbridgeable gaps dividing the historical contingency of all human knowldge from reality, anything can mean anything else in a world in which what is held to be true today will be shown to be false tomorrow, (in a world in which detail is of no importance), and that 'alternative' conditions of possibility are already engulfed in an infinitely vanishing past. Many debates at TAG meetings have centred on how such insights might help us bring about a corresponding 'state of emergency' in relations between archaeological practice, academia and public motivated by such principles. One of this session's aims is to provide a context for considering archaeology's conditions of possibility for engaging in the wider struggle with forms of knowledge, power and media images that obscure and threaten diversity of human life-forms.

Introduction: archaeology and media. Conflicts of images, or a state of affairs?
Marcus Britain (University of Manchester)
Have the political edifices of an engagement between medusa and archaeology been properly theorized/ analysed? Is the current state of this engagement due to our understanding, or at least negotiation, of appropriate images? Is this an evolving, revolving or devolving relationship of interests? Are the identities that archaeology creates of the past, and the identities of archaeology, exhaustive images for media appropriation, and does this effect the integrity of an archaeological discourse? This paper will highlight the concerns that are integral for understanding the increasing dependence between media and archaeology.

The simulacra and simulations of Irish Neolithic passage tombs
Andrew Cochrane (Cardiff University)
Scholars and the general public endeavor to understand the images on Irish passage tombs by attaching metaphors and theoretical models. These approaches are understandable, with narratives attempting to create a real past through conceptual proposals. Unfortunately these simulacra and simulations have no connection to reality. This paper will suggest that such models can be detrimental to a modern spectator's perception of past realities. For instance, Irish Neolithic engraved motifs all become dictated by their 'ideal' models presented in the form of modern archaeological visual images and interpretations. Thus the distinction between the archaeological image, or simulation, and past Neolithic realities breaks down. This creates a world of archaeological hyper-realities where the boundaries between real and un-real are blurred. It will be suggested that when the real is no longer, nostalgia assumes its full meaning.

The effects of simulations in the past are equally as enchanting. By looking in detail at some Irish Neolithic passage tombs, this paper will consider the possible effects of engraved abstract motifs. The contextual evidence suggests that past agents participating within a daily round were increasingly bombarded by visual images (engraved motifs – simulations) and illusions (material culture – simulacra), which may have encouraged them to act in prescribed manners. By addressing sequential overlays of motifs, it will be proposed that the agents over time, eventually become apathetic to the mythical and oral processes that may have produced these images, as the simulations and simulacra ultimately had no referents. Simulation and simulacra become the real as there were no stable structures on which to ground social activity. Irish Neolithic society therefore becomes a flux of images and technological illusions, not only for them, but also for the modern spectator; creating archaeological strategies of the real, neo-real and hyper-real.

It is proposed that future debate and interpretation can be augmented by considering that simulations of the material data, both past and present, develops multiple experiences, which in turn create more complex understandings of the Neolithic people in Ireland.

The exploitation of antiquity
James Doeser (University College London)
Archaeology is an activity. One participates in excavation, post-excavation research or conservation, etc. The representation of these activities in the media creates a dichotomy. Whilst the archaeologist on paper/screen/radio is an active participant, the reader/viewer/listener is passive (whether or not the media is in the classic didactic style). This dichotomy is an unavoidable result of the operation of media.

This paper will focus upon a question relating to the depiction of 'finders' of archaeological material: 'How the media status (in terms of depiction, detail and access to publicity) of metal-detectorists, looters, academia and archaeologists can affect government policy. Emphasis falls on policies associated with the Treasure Act 1996, Dealing in Cultural Objects (Offences) Act 2003 and Portable Antiquities Scheme.

Picturing the past: bog bodies, poetry and hard science
Christine A. Finn (University of Bradford)
This paper is based around a 10 minute DVD film entitled 'Strange Powers', which the author made as an installation piece for an exhibition in Gallery II at the University of Bradford, in March this year. The event brought together arts and sciences for an academic and general audience. The film offers an example of various media being brought together to tell a series of narratives relating to the discovery of, and reception to, the bog bodies found in Denmark 50 years ago. Issues raised will include the apparent 'aestheticising of death', a charge leveled at the poet Seamus Heaney following the publication of his important 'bog poems' in the 1970s. An extract from a performance DVD will show the same film being used as the backdrop for a theatre piece acted and directed by two Bangladeshi actors, and this will open up discussion of the material in cross-cultural perspective.

The mobilisation of space by image
Lesley McFadyen (University of Cambridge)
I work on the ways in which spaces were actively being made during the Late Mesolithic and early Neolithic of

southern Britain. A necessary part of that work is by image. Images do not always represent things but can instead create particular kinds of knowledge. I will argue that images do not always portray a sense of past worlds, rather, by image, we can make connections that mobilise space and get at knowing worlds through ever-changing dimensions.

History for sale: the commodification of the past in contemporary society
Angela S. Michael (University of Glasgow)
This paper concerns the ways in which archaeology is used, experienced, remembered and created when filtered through the multiplicity of perspectives in contemporary society. Saddam Hussein astride the Ishtar Gate of Babylon; Tony Robinson galloping through a field; Mother-goddess worshippers holidaying in Malta; kebab shops decorated with classical motifs. The past is increasingly being recognised as a commodity or a tool by groups ranging from governments, and the mass media to the business community. This variability raises a number of questions about the role of archaeology in contemporary society, and the means by which we can assess or engage these roles critically and constructively. One of this paper's main aims is to provide a context for considering how the wider society engages with archaeology through the past's commodification in contemporary society. To this end I will discuss examples from the media, tourism, and education, in order to contextualise the position of archaeology in contemporary society and question its uses. I will then go on to consider some of the effects that this might have on the discipline.

Questions to consider include: Who uses the past and why? Should the creators of the past (archaeologists and historians) have some control over how it is used? Should those groups that use the past as a commodity contribute to funding its creation (excavations and research)? How should archaeologists respond to the multiplicity of contemporary interpretations, employments, as well as problematical caricatures of their work? How does all of this affect the research that is done and the results that are published?

Emerging iconographies of exhumation
Layla Renshaw (University College London)
This paper will build upon research concerning issues posed by newspaper representations of exhumations of mass graves dating to the Spanish Civil War.

Teletubbylandscapes: children's engagements with archaeology
Jane Ruffino & Thomas Kador (University College Dublin)
This paper is based on the researches of school children during a two-day archaeology workshop that took place during the summer of 2004 and involved eighteen children from local primary schools. Over the two days, the children interpreted objects and spaces from both present and past, and presented those interpretations in a variety of ways. The children were young enough to have fewer preconceived, media-influenced notions about archaeology, but they brought plenty of their own imaginative knowledge to the project. Ideas and interpretations such as theirs can be used to challenge our ways of engaging with the past: if everyone owns the past, then our job is to facilitate others to make the past speak for them, not simply to explain it.

The authors actively acknowledge that children are part of these past and present worlds, and see their experiences of engagement as valid contributions to the discipline. Children are not generations 'of the future', but are already engaging with the world, and if we can't empathise with their experiences, how can we claim to empathise with those who have been gone for hundreds of generations? Their creative explorations can help spark new questions, as well as help us to be self-critical about our own methods of interpretation and representation of material worlds, past and present.

This paper provides a glimpse of these children's experiences with objects and spaces old and new, and the ways they chose to interpret and express these. From these, we offer some new ideas about how we can truly encourage constructive multiple interpretations of the past that allow all to participate as active agents in the present.

Artefacts, souvenirs and images of the past
Ian Russell (Trinity College, Dublin)
In a basic sense, an archaeological artefact is a souvenir – a found natural object from a site of excavation which is taken, interacted with, interpreted and often placed in a collection away from the initial point of recovery to be viewed. Where once antiquarians took artefacts as souvenirs of their travels and studies, tourists now take representations of artefacts and monuments as souvenirs of their cultural experiences. Whether replicas of Stonehenge or postcards of western Irish landscapes, souvenirs have overwhelmed society, eclipsing artefacts as the main source of images of the past. In some cases, souvenir images have become overly imbued with social expectation of the past to the point that they alter society's perception of the artefact, monument or landscape upon which they were based. This raises the question of whether archaeology has ever separated itself from the appropriation of images of the past for their purely symbolic potential by travellers, tourists and tourism industries. In other words, it is possible to view artefacts as an authoritative source for knowledge of the past, or are they merely another image based on 'outsiders" (social, geographical and temporal 'outsiders') perceptions of human agency. This paper will make the hypothesis that artefacts and souvenirs are not mutually exclusive concepts and that they are part of the same matrix of images which has developed out of individual and social conceptions of images of the past.

Digital media and the politics of archaeological representation
Michael Shanks (Stanford University)
This paper argues that new digital media are precipitating a rethinking of how media work, and discusses how archaeologists are presented with an opportunity to reassess fundamental practices of collection/database design, authorship, and even ontology and epistemology.

Media are often understood simply as supplement to real archaeology, to do with presentation and the dissemination of findings and theories following excavation and data processing, for example. It has, however, also long been recognized that publication is one of the foundations of any archaeological knowledge. I argue that a new understanding of media as the work of mediation, and a reevaluation of some issues of information science in relation to archaeology puts media at the heart of our discipline. This includes both conventional analogue media as well as new digital media -digital media are not a radical break with analogue, but they are helping to precipitate reevaluation of media as a whole. Further rethinking is being prompted by work on inscription, imaging and representation in the likes of science studies. There is also the familiar background of reflexive and critical thinking in the humantities and social sciences. I will consider specific implications for publication, archives, primary research and interpretation, pedagogy, and interpretation for non-archaeologists. Archaeologists are presented with an opportunity to effect breakthroughs in the collaborative authoring of dynamic collections of information, genuinely pluralist construction of knowledge involving open forms of narrative that nevertheless makes robust claims to knowledge and conspicuously avoids criticisms of relativism that so often accompany models of pluralist, multi-vocal and situated knowledge.

The paper will present its argument through my work on the archaeology of the early Greek state, experiments in the Metamedia Lab at Stanford with new classes of authoring and databasing software, including the Three Landscapes Project and the Traumwerk Project.

Iconoclasm as a 'cultural system'
Stephanie Koerner (University of Manchester)
Especially when they seek to memorialise, monumentalise and publicise their endeavors--image breakers (worried about the efficacy of symbolic forms, the powers of images, failures to distinguish between 'people' and 'things,' and the idolatrous beliefs that 'others' are said to have in images--become images makers - especially. Consider, for instance, the clash between Plato's iconoclasm and the longevity of his 'myth of the cave': 'And you see,' Plato says, 'men passing along the walls carrying all sorts of vessels, and standards, and figures made of wood and stone and various materials, which appear on the wall? Some of them are talking, others silent.... [T]hey see only their own shadows, or the shadows of one another, which the fire throws on the opposite wall of the cave (Plato, *Politics*, VII, 515b). Or the clash between the image breaking and image making of such iconic figures as the following:

Consider, for instance, this clash in alone the works of the following: Aquinas (1224-1274), Duns Scotus (ca. 1266-1308), Ockham (1288-1347), Dante (1265-1321), Valla (14301499), Dürer (1471-1528), Cranach (1472-1553), Copernicus (1473-11543), Luther (1483-1546), Bacon (1561-1626), Galileo (1564–1648, Kepler (1571-1630), Rubens (1577-1640), Descartes (1596–1650), Hobbes (1588-1679), Rembrandt (1606-1669), Newton (1642-1724), Kant (1724-1804, Freud (1856-1939).

If time remains, I will try to illustrate something of the bearing that the notion of 'iconoclasm as a cultural system' may have upon some issues the session poses.

2. Creating Tomorrow's Archaeologists: Who Sets the Agenda?

Organiser and chair: Thomas A. Dowson (University of Manchester; HEA Academy Subject Centre for History, Classics and Archaeology)

Be there at **1.45** to get your **TAGIG*** – you can't participate in this interactive event without one!

A recently published paper in *World Archaeology* (June 2004) begins with the statement that 'UK university archaeology departments are not delivering the training that equips students to begin working lives in archaeology'. This is a bold and intentionally provocative statement, and is made by those who believe the primary aim of a university degree in archaeology should be to *train* potential archaeologists, who can then be employed by the 'CRM' industry. Many university-based archaeologists, however, challenge this view on the understanding that an undergraduate education is primarily about developing students' abilities to articulate critical and ethical judgements; it is not primarily concerned with imparting generic or subject specific skills. And of course, as with any debate, there are many other positions in between these two diametrically opposed characterisations of the education versus training debate. This debate often assumes there is agreement on what it is to be an archaeologist, and what constitutes professional archaeological work. Interestingly, that same issue of *World Archaeology* also includes an altogether different critique of archaeological teaching in Higher Education, which begins by asking: 'Why is there so little discussion on pedagogy in archaeology?' Although we now have a greater understanding of who sets the theoretical and political agenda for the construction archaeological knowledge, there is little critical discussion of educational and training agendas in archaeology – agendas that greatly influence who constitutes the next generation of archaeologists.

This session brings together some of the different stakeholders in creating the next generation of archaeologists. But the session will not simply be a parade of formal presentations detailing specific positions. The delivery of this session will take advantage of the venue's technology that allows for enhanced audience participation to encourage a dialogue between the audience and those selected to present certain position papers. By using an Electronic Voting System, panellists will explore, by actively engaging the audience, such questions as: What does it mean to be an archaeologist? Who or what body decides when someone is an archaeologist? And, what is that decision based on? Are so-called 'academic' archaeologists different to 'professional' archaeologists? Is there a culture clash between academia and practice? Does the teaching of archaeology or the training of archaeologists reproduce structures of power and hierarchy? And does it promote a certain view of and values about the past and the present?

The Panel
Dr Kenny Aitchison (Institute of Field Archaeologists)
Mr Richard Benjamin (University of Liverpool)
Prof. Meg Conkey (University of California, Berkeley)
Dr Yannis Hamilakis (University of Southampton)
Prof. Bill Hanson (University of Glasgow)
Prof. Matthew Johnson (University of Southampton)
Dr John Walker (Chair of the Standing Committee of Archaeology Unit Managers)
Discussant: Prof. Lord Renfrew (Univ. of Cambridge)

* TAGIG = TAG Interactive Gadget

3A. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' Material Culture between Postcolonialism and Post-Modern Iconographies

Organisers: Christopher Bowles and Peter van Dommelen (University of Glasgow), Sven Schroeder and Emma Waterton (University of York)

The cult of Veteres in Roman Britain
Martin Goldberg (University of Glasgow)
Judging from the evidence of Roman dedicated altars, the cult of Veteres was one of the more popular in Northern England. However, this deity has largely defied interpretation or categorisation, despite the dedication of 58 altars in a fairly consistent geographic distribution, a shrine site, and a 'cult centre' where almost a quarter of the dedications occur. This lack of interpretation is due to the ambiguous nature of much of the surviving evidence. Veteres is usually invoked as a singular male *dea* but can also be invoked as a plurality and occasionally as a female. The theonym has defied translation because of frequent irregularity in the spelling of the name. There are 17 variations, some of which begin with Hv- and have resulted in a speculated Germanic origin. Despite these ambiguities many of the previous theories about Veteres can fit together into a coherent framework.

The material culture considered here are the altars dedicated to Veteres, and the concepts of hybridity, religious syncretism and linguistic creolisation will be discussed, in order to develop an understanding of this elusive cult. Through an examination of the context of its cult sites and iconography, Veteres can be shown to have a strong association with geographical, physical and meta-physical boundaries. The Veteres will be established as a native British cult, regionalized in the area of the North Pennines, but with close parallels in Northern Europe and in wider Indo-European cosmology. These parallels allowed this deity to appeal across linguistic and ethnic boundaries and can help to explain the popularity of this cult in the multi-cultural milieu of Northern England during the Roman occupation.

Postcolonial theory and colonialism on the east coast of the Iberian peninsula
Jaime Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez (Museo de Prehistoria, Valencia, Spain)
This paper focuses on colonialism in the 'real world', in this specific case the ancient Mediterranean. It deals with the interconnections between Phoenicians and indigenous communities on the east coast of the Iberian peninsula between the 8th and 6th centuries BC.

The starting point is the articulation of this cultural encounter in two local contexts within the wider region: in the South, there is good evidence of permanent Phoenician settlement but these appear to be absent in the North, even if it is clear that material culture was exchanged in this area, too. Although both areas have usually been classified as being engaged in exchanges with the Phoenician world, the archaeological evidence shows that contacts in the South were substantially more intensive. As this relates in my view to different indigenous responses to the foreign presence, it follows that the indigenous Iberian communities actively interacted with the colonial network and that they actually played a central role in regional developments.

Is at this point that postcolonial theory can offer useful insights for interpreting these contact situations. Concepts as 'hybridisation' and 'appropriation' offer key tools for interpreting the material culture assemblages of the eastern Iberian seaboard in the 8th-6th centuries BC in terms of local practices. The consequences of colonial contact can be demonstrated by numerous examples: not only was Phoenician pottery regularly imitated but new types of pottery, architecture and even funerary rituals did also emerge. Given the two local contexts, it is evident that no single explanatory model can be proposed for the whole area without resulting in dualist and essentialists representations. I will therefore rely on the notion of 'ambivalence' to suggest a more nuanced and balanced interpretation of this colonial context.

How the Britons got their groove back: hybrid culture in the Late Antique Bristol Channel
Christopher Bowles (University of Glasgow)
Identities in the Late Antique Bristol Channel (between AD 350-600) underwent significant change. The Britons, successors to Roman governance, formed politically into small kingdoms, maintained the Christian religion and engaged in a cultural revolution that would strip away much of the *Romanitas* veneer creating a new, hybrid, culture that would last for centuries. In this way, the Late Antique Bristol Channel is unique in Western Europe as a region where cultural change in the post-imperial context was largely unhindered by the migrations besetting the Western Empire or the political supremacy of the Church and Byzantium. This paper will present a case for the hybridisation of culture in the Bristol Channel over the fifth and sixth centuries. Three sites come under examination: Dinas Powys, Glamorgan, Cadbury-Congresbury and Cadbury Castle, both of which are in Somerset. At each of these sites, architecture, ceramic assemblages and personal ornamentation provide clues to how the Britons who inhabited them engaged in active and continual identity strategies. These were influenced by the ambivalent remembrance of the Roman and pre-Roman past; encounters with Germanic groups, the Irish, sailors from the Mediterranean and western Europe; and the reactions to everyday social contexts arising in the wake of the end of imperial control. It is further hoped that this examination will dispel the myth that post-Roman western Britain was somehow degraded and barbarous compared with life under the Romans.

'Can the subaltern speak?' Iconography of local resistance, Canaan, 4th millennium BC
Yuval Yekutieli (Ben-Gurion University, Israel)
The paper deals with the implications of postcolonial theory for the research of one of the earliest documented cases of colonization in the eastern Mediterranean – the Egyptian occupation of southwest Canaan during the last quarter of the 4th millennium BC (the transition from the Egyptian Predynastic to Protodynastic periods). Archaeological investigations carried out over the past four decades in the region of present day southern Israel, the Gaza strip and northern Sinai, have indicated that Egypt established in this area an archaeologically recognizable regional entity that employed Egyptian socio-political apparatuses and manners.

Researchers of this episode identified it as a colony, and discussed it mainly from the colonizer's point of view: identifying Egyptian artefacts and structures within the colonized zone, speculating about the reason that led the Egyptians create the colony (trade, military expansionism, experimental power management, etc), attempting to portray the kind of behaviour the Egyptians expressed towards the natives (cooperation, violence, etc.), trying to identify the Egyptian rulers involved, and aiming to synchronize the event with the Egyptian chronology.

In addition, most of these discussions are marked by the assumption that the process was mono-causal and that it involved two separate and distinct groups: the Egyptians versus the Canaanites. Awareness of postcolonial theory indicates that such episodes are much more complex, involving multiple identities, intricate processes, numerous types of interaction and inevitable after effects. It is claimed that a postcolonial theory oriented research might reveal clear indications within the archaeological record for hybridisation, resistance, collaboration, hegemonic and subaltern discourses, manipulations of memory and forgetting, and more. Faithful to the session's theme – letting the subaltern speak; this paper concentrates on the voice of the indigenous Canaanite population, by suggesting a new interpretation for a well-known collection of iconographic graffiti found at Tel Megiddo during the 1930's.

The Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage routes: A eurocratic view of God and other Europeans
Sven Schroeder (University of York)
Both a transformation of nation-state politics and a new form of relationship between nation-states, the European Union represents a new politico-economic phenomenon. The development of EU-wide institutions has created a form of *supra-national* governance. To the surprise of many of its political architects, however, this 'New' Europe cannot exist on political and economic changes alone. Instead, it must become firmly rooted within the social sphere. As such, it is only recently that EU governmental bodies have begun to establish a range of measures to further the integration of European citizens. This took the shape of developing and promoting a cultural identity shared by all the EU's citizens. It is in this context, that in particular the cultural past has become the eurocratic tool to achieve this aim, taking the concrete shape of identity forming projects and institutions.

This paper seeks to provide a critical analysis of one of such eurocratic efforts to generate a sense of belonging among EU citizens by 'inventing traditions' in terms of supra-national symbolical paraphernalia. Assessing the EU's use of the past in the concrete context of the Council of Europe's *European Cultural Routes Project*, this paper will assess the elements of the cultural past employed in the project. It will do so by asking questions about the overt symbolical discourse,

as well as the underlying cultural assumptions. Focusing on the project's *Santiago de Compostela Pilgrimage Routes*, this paper will evaluate the interpretations of the European past allowed for by the institutional discourse. What becomes the character of the supposedly typical European past? How does this historical past become employed in the generation of a new/old European *Self*? What becomes the character of this new European cultural *Self*? And even more important, what shape takes the new non-European *Other* in a society supposedly characterised by ideas of openness and diversity? It is in this context, that this paper will argue that despite the EU's post-modern rhetorics, the New European *Self* becomes characterised in particular by Catholicism, while the non-European *Other* takes the shape of Islam.

'Inclusion means more ethnic minorities visiting our sites': heritage management and the postcolonial present
Keith Emerick (English Heritage)
Recent publications by English Heritage (*Power of Place*, 2000), the government response (*Force for our Future*, DCMS 2001) and more recent utterances on culture (*Government and the value of culture,* DCMS 2004) all stress the ways in which cultural heritage can be used to strengthen a sense of identity, address issues of social exclusion and assist in urban and rural regeneration. The irony is that those same heritage institutions, their infrastructures, bases of power and knowledge and the particular, west European definition of the cultural heritage they created were in large measure perfected in colonial environments. This paper will examine the difficulties that will be encountered when using current approaches to the cultural heritage as a means of addressing political issues, particularly when the political origins of what was then 'preservation' but is now 'conservation' and 'heritage management' remains largely unacknowledged. One area requiring further analysis is that of colonial experiences and attitudes towards preservation/conservation. Heritage-based initiatives to address political aims – particularly those concerned with exclusion, identity and multiculturalism – can only succeed when a new definition of cultural heritage is employed that recognises the impact of its own political and colonial past.

Deconstructing Greek colonialism – and what to put instead
Søren Tillisch (Næstved Museum, Denmark)
Through the 1990's research in 'Greek colonization' has increasingly called for a rethinking of this complex problem. Archaeology has shown that the interaction between Greeks and the so-called 'indigenous' peoples are of a much more complex nature than merely Greeks bartering luxury goods for raw materials. The search for a prime mover has increasingly worked to atomise the subject. Also, studies in scientific history point to the very heavy influence of 18th-19th century colonialism on the subject of Greek colonization, thus creating a Corinthian empire in the 8th-7th century BC based on evidence that is at best scrappy. Deconstruction of the matter is easy. It is more difficult and more important to reconstruct. In this lecture an alternative term, 'Greek expansion' is offered, and I hope to open a lively discussion about our ideas of the past.

The communicability of English heritage without words: a discourse-analytical approach
Emma Waterton (University of York)
The aim of this paper is to examine how the 'posts' (post-processualism, post-colonialism and post-modernism) have affected the heritage management process in practice. Particularly, this is concerned with the theorising that seeks to recognise an increasing range of stakeholders and interests groups and their differing constructions of 'heritage'. This paper takes as an example the constructions of 'heritage' in terms of iconography and 'emblem' heritage. Specifically, it will look at English Heritage, and the ways by which an organisation creates, maintains and disseminates its own discursive understanding through carefully managed imagery.

Taking a discourse-analytical approach, this paper pushes discourse towards its broadest interpretation, in which it becomes multi-semiotic and understood as a way of thinking or seeing. This ensures that the analysis of iconography is taken beyond the visual dimension and implicates social practices and situations. Focus is thus concerned with the iconography English Heritage uses in terms of how this: (I) defines and confirms a sense of what the organisation is, and (II) how this feeds back into the approaches taken to manage 'heritage'.

Essentially, the analysis will draw from the ways by which 'heritage' is advertised and conveyed through visual media. A focus on tangible, 'built' heritage by English Heritage communicates a particular understanding of 'heritage'. This understanding is not only mediated by one distinct discourse, but such representations work to perpetuate this discourse. How, then, do the marginalized voices 'discovered' by post-processual, post-colonial and post-modern theories align themselves against this dominant discourse? How do these different modes of thinking or seeing negotiate the recognition of distinct ideas of 'heritage' with the discourse that continues to dominant practice?

3/4B. Audioscapes: Sound in/of Antiquity

Organisers: Robin Dods (Okanagan University College, Canada) and Astrid Lindenlauf (German Archaeological Institute, Athens, Greece)

This session aims to bring together archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, musicians, representatives of traditional communities, and museologists to discuss the audioscapes of the ancient past - those culturally constructed environments of sound/non-sound recognized as meaningful by peoples of antiquity.

More specifically, we invite papers and/or performance art pieces that explore the spectrum of sound, from music to noise, in ancient times on the basis of written, art historic, archaeological sources (material culture remains), or traditional representations enacted in the present. Presenters may focus on cross-cultural approaches to sound or, alternatively, they may deal with one society, looking at the role of music in different cultural contexts (education, cult, drama, etc.) or literally traditions (Plato's moral and aeshetic discussion versus Homer's performing elements of music). Sound itself may be investigated seeking descriptions of the hierarchy of sounds of musical instruments, the visualisation of sounds in space-created acoustics, the association of sounds with specific social groups (armateur/professionals, man/women, old/young, free/slave, etc.) or the classification of sound/non-sound (meaningful/ambient, cultural/natural, sacred/secular). In addition, papers may focus on phenomena related to sound, including echoes and silence as well as the role of soundscapes in museums to create a holistic representation of the past.

Introduction: The syncopation of life
Robin Dods (Okanagan University College, Canada)
Sound situates us first, in the wombs of our mothers, as both connected to another yet supremely alone. The beat of two hearts is our first rhythm of life – two beats in syncopation but never synchronized. We live in an ambiguous world of connection and disconnection where silence defines space as well. Sound resonates viscerally and, unlike light, can strike a beat at our very core. The last of the senses to leave us at death is the sense of sound. Silence becomes our final separation from life although many religions define an afterlife as sound filled. For the archaeologist, the internal and external audioscapes of life are both directly accessible while tantalizingly removed yet positioned within a realm of possibilities accessible to us today. The papers and soundscapes presented here today illustrate this challenge and conundrum.

Sounds of 'living' water
Fiona Haughey (University College London)
The movement of water – such as heavy rain, thunder & lightning, flowing rivers, tidal waves and waterfalls – would have constituted some of the earliest acknowledged sounds in the ancient past. This paper will seek to examine a number of ways in which these natural phenomena may have been utilised in antiquity. Moving or 'living' water produces a compelling resonance to its listener as well as acting as a sounding board for noise passing over and through it. The selection of waterside and island venues for settlements might have been made with more than merely economic overtones. Additionally, the positioning of ritual sites may relate to integrating the acoustic qualities of water as well as the liminality of those locations. The innate musicality of the flow of fresh water and its significance will be considered within a number of prehistoric societies across the globe.

Tasked and gendered 'audioscapes' of the Neolithic ditched settlements of the Tavoliere Plain, Southern Italy
Sue Hamilton and Ruth Whitehouse (University College London)
Our work is on 'domestic noise', its parameters, and its impact on the conventions of daily life. This work forms part of our ongoing Tavoliere-Gargano prehistory project – which aims to investigate the relationship between, and the characteristics of, these two distinctive topographies at different spatial scales: regional, inter-site, and site-based. At the site-based level we have particularly focused on the phenomenology of the experience of place and how this re-informs traditional socio-economic considerations of the spatial use and function of sites and landscapes. In particular this work focuses the use of a phenomenological methodology to consider the characteristics of vision, physical effort, and sound to investigate the sensory aspects of 'taskscapes' and their gendered variability. Our work is particularly distinctive in focusing on the sensory world of daily and domestic routine practices, rather than the heightened world of rituals, ritual architecture and public forums. It is also distinctive in considering and evoking these issues *in situ* on unexcavated sites that are now invisible to the participator archaeologist. We have developed a range of methods to overcome the lack of present-day archaeologically obvious dominating stimuli at these sites, and these will be discussed. With respect to audioscapes, our current results indicate meaningful variability in the distance carrying capacity of male and female shouts, whistles and talking voices, and also in the distances over which different everyday mechanical sounds will travel. With respect to the Neolithic communities of the Tavoliere, these results have wide social implications for how daily tasks were performed on sites and in their adjoining landscapes. Additionally, by taking a holistic approach through our collective consideration of the critical distances over which sound, vision and physical effort can be used to negotiate places and their localities, we suggest that past taskscapes can be more overtly identified and characterised.

Sounds of power: the concept of sound in ancient Egyptian religion
Alexandra von Lieven (Free University of Berlin)
Speaking of sound the ubiquitous presence of music in Ancient Egyptian society immediately springs to mind. While this is legitimate, it is however only part of the picture. Apart from 'music' in a strict sense the concept of sound as an important cultural category was well established. Especially in the magic-religious sphere sound was perceived as a means to acquire power. The lecture will present the evidence and try to explore the underlying theoretical concepts of the Egyptians themselves.

Claudius Ptolemy and the shapes of sound
Massimo Raffa (Liceo Classico, Milizzo, Italy)
In third chapter of the first book of his treatise, which contains a detailed exposition of the physical causes of the characteristics of sounds and noises, Ptolemy mentions the 'difference in shape' (*he parallage tou schematos*), which, according to his theory, belongs to the object struck, i.e. the source of sound. This 'shape' of the thing struck is supposed to be responsible for changes in the so-called *schematismoi* ('configurations of tongues and mouths') and – interestingly – for the phonic pattern of the nouns (*patagos*, *doupos*, *klagge*, etc.) created by the language to signify various kinds of noise. Ptolemy seems here to postulate a general law (*nomos*) which, as from particular shapes of the thing producing the noise, gives rise to corresponding configurations of mouth and, in consequence, to nouns 'physically' related to their *definiendum*. In my opinion, this is a noteworthy attempt to conceive a scientific theory of onomatopoetic basis of human language.

Melpomen: ancient Greek music for an Athenian *symposion* of 480 BC
Conrad Steinmann (Winterthur, Switzerland)
In ancient Greek, *symposion* literally means 'a drinking with', thus a 'drinking party'. It was a significant social event with drink, music, revelry, and often intellectual discussion. A sample of this reconstructed and newly composed piece of music by Steinmann will be played and will be followed by a brief explanation of the instruments involved, the method of their reconstruction and the guidelines of the composition.

Acoustic phenomena and their perception in ancient Greece
Astrid Lindenlauf (German Archaeological Institute at Athens, Greece)
The term 'acoustics' derives from the ancient Greek term *akouo* (to hear, listen, to give ear to, to hear oneself called, obey) and thus refers to one of the senses with which we perceive the world. In this paper, perceptions of acoustic phenomena among the ancient Greeks are explored on the basis of literary, epigraphic and art historical data. More specifically, their spectrum (including sound, noise, music, silence, lament, cry, song etc), classification (good – bad, articulated – unarticulated, typical for a woman – a man – a fish etc) and associations (with light, weight, time and space etc) are illuminated with a view to understanding the role of non-visual senses in the construction of the ancient Greek *kosmos*. Having explored the way in which acoustic phenomena were described and represented in written texts such as legal texts, tragedies and comedies, the discussion turns to the representation of aural events in ancient Greek vase-paintings and sculpture. In this iconographic section, emphasis is put on the ways in which non-visual phenomena, such as speech, sound and silence, are expressed in visual media, thus tracing the conventions that were employed in translating auditory aspects of the Greek understanding of the world into images.

Archaeology and musical skill
Patrizia Brusaferro (University of Cambridge) and Jonathan Impett (University of East Anglia)
This paper commences with a performance on two different baroque trumpets: one a reconstruction as far as possible of an early eighteenth century instrument, the other as now used universally for 'authentic' performances of music of that time (including by one of the writers on the recently-finished series of recordings of Bach cantatas). The difference opens up an acoustic/cultural space which the paper attempts to explore in terms of the rediscovery of skills and of the complexity of their context.

The salpinx
Peter Holmes (Middlesex University)
From the several thousand literary references to the salpinx a general picture emerges of the way it was used and of the power and meaning of its sound. From the iconography a picture emerges of its morphology. From the two extant 'salpinges' and the few representations in ceramic models, yet another picture emerges with yet another morphology. Unfortunately, none of these views of the 'salpinx' coincide!

Playable reproductions which match the clear iconography have been made by the author and blown both by him and a number of other brass players. However, these fail to justify the claims made in the literature, while copies of the extant instruments – similarly made and blown - tell another story. This paper describes experimental work designed to unravel the true story of the salpinx and to reproduce its sound by the manufacture of copies from the iconography and from extant evidence accompanied by experimentation with a range of mouthpieces which match the literature, the iconography or the demands of a brass instrument. The instruments made will be presented and blown during the paper and will be available for other conference attendees to blow.

Instruments of ritual
John Was (Royal Holloway, University of London) and Aaron Watson (University of Reading, England)
'Instruments of ritual' is a multimedia exploration of Neolithic monuments such as Stonehenge, Maeshowe and the West Kennet long barrow. It will creatively explore the results of archaeo-acoustic research conducted at megalithic sites across the British Isles (Watson and Keating 1999; Watson 2001), and in particular the potential for these places to generate powerful and transcendent multisensory experiences.

Watson, A. and Keating, D. 1999. Architecture and sound: an acoustic analysis of megalithic monuments in prehistoric Britain. *Antiquity* 73, 325-36.
Watson, A. 2001. The sounds of transformation: acoustics, monuments and ritual in the British Neolithic. In: N. Price (ed). *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. London: Routledge, 178-192.

The drone in Scottish and Irish prehistory
Simon O'Dwyer (Prehistoric Music of Ireland)
An examination of the use of the drone to act as a carrier for tone variation in Bronze Age and Iron Age horns and *trumpas* from Scotland and Ireland. This raises the possibility of a connection forward to the contemporary use of the drones of pipes to accompany the varying melody of the chanter. The presentation will include demonstrations on a selection of bronze horns and on an Iron Age *trumpa* (*loughnashade* reproduction) in a solo capacity as well as accompanying a piper.

The sounds of prehistoric Scotland?
John Purser (composer, writer, musicologist)
Archaeo-musicology is still in its infancy in Scotland. A complete inventory, never mind thorough record, of artefacts, which are or might be classified as musical, has yet to be made. None-the-less, some fascinating – even seminal – reconstructions have been undertaken in collaboration with the NMS, Kilmartin House Museum and other bodies; working with craftsmen, musicologists, performers, acousticians and archaeologists. Existing original artefacts have also been examined and recorded, varying from bone artefacts from Skara Brae, to rock gongs, early Celtic hand bells, and early mediaeval wooden straight horns. Connections with the Irish archaeological record and iconography are of particular significance and have been pursued in collaboration with the Ulster Museum, the NMI and with Irish musicians and craftsmen. The presentation will endeavour to give an overview of this research (both published and unpublished), using slides, recordings, and live performance.

3/4C. Prehistoric journeys

Session organisers: Vicki Cummings (Univ. of Central Lancashire) and Robert Johnston (Univ. of Sheffield)
Prehistoric people's movements between and around places in the landscape would have been fundamental to creating and maintaining social identity and social life. In our reconstructions and re-imaginings of journeys we can account generally for the spread of ideas, the movement of objects and materials, the engagement of people with landscapes, and so forth. Yet, we struggle to really come to grips with the potential meaning and importance of specific journeys or movements. More recent finds and analyses have offered intriguing insights into the journeys of prehistoric people. The central European metalworker buried at Amesbury close to Stonehenge or the man killed upon a high Alpine pass between Italy and Austria are powerful prompts towards a more detailed consideration of the motivations and the impacts of individual journeys. The recovery of Neolithic stones axes far from the rock source from which they were made or boats wrecked off the southern English coast laden with Continental bronze work allude to the creation of social relationships and identities through material culture. Recent research on the analysis of DNA and stable isotopes from prehistoric populations has also begun to reveal different scales of movement and cultural geographies that had hitherto been treated with considerable caution. New finds and analyses, therefore, have the potential to offer us insights into the significance of specific journeys in prehistory.

At a more intimate level, recent approaches to landscape and architectural complexes can also offer us another way into thinking about movements and journeys. Recreating the movement of people across closely realised landscapes or within the confines of specific monuments has led to reconsiderations of the role that journeys played in giving places and performances meaning. So far, the emphasis has been primarily on the engagement with place and landscape, but we should also consider the potential significance of the journey itself in these encounters.

In this session we would like to explore the following themes: the movement of people on specific journeys; the movement of people around specific landscapes; and the movements of materials within specific cultural contexts. The aim of the session, therefore, is to try and get a real sense of the significance and role that journeys, of either people or things, may have had in peoples lives. This may relate to the creation of social identity, the maintenance of social relationships, the performance of specific rites of passage or engagement with particular places. The aim is get beyond the general and at the specificity of journeying in prehistory. We envisage that the contributors to this session will tackle these themes at a variety of temporal and spatial scales, while juxtaposing reconstructions and re-imaginings of specific journeys with explorations of the significance and role of journeys and journeying in prehistory. We hope that alongside spoken, analytical papers, contributors may also consider visual and/or narrative presentations.

To boldly go where no (hu-)man has gone before: some thoughts on deep prehistoric journeying in unfamiliar landscapes
Felix Riede (University of Cambridge)
High mobility is one of the cornerstones of the hunter-gather life style. Whilst the coarse-grained nature of the Palaeolithic archaeological record makes it exceedingly difficult to identify individual journeys, the ethnographic record of arctic and sub-arctic peoples challenges archaeologists to do just that: individual mobility and travel play major roles in the expression of individuality, the avoidance of conflict and cultural contact.

In this paper, I will try to take some steps towards answering this challenge by exploring a case study from the Late Palaeolithic of Northern Europe. By adopting a strategy of 'tacking' between coarse-grained/large-scale and high-resolution/small-scale types of evidence it might be possible to link patterns of settlement and models of mobility to individual actions as seen through spatially and temporally discrete events of deposition (e.g. caching) and production (e.g. refitted lithic scatters, rock art). If the phases of earliest colonisation (the Hamburgian in the Bølling, and later, the Ahrensburgian during the Younger Dryas) are compared with later phases of established residence (the Bromme during the Allerød, as well as the later Mesolithic societies of the Preboreal), a shift from a highly conservative linear mobility, guided by natural features to one of a more radial, more confident nature becomes evident. If this change is seen as an increase in knowledge about the landscape, it becomes plausible to say that individual and group journeys also took on a very different character. Both Palaeolithic art as well as specific raw material strategies can be seen to reflect people's engagement with ecological knowledge, but such knowledge would always have been encoded in myths, stories and legends. Landscape knowledge thus becomes a two-sided analytical nexus around which both ecological as well as social interactions take place. As such it can be seen to constrain people's ability, willingness or freedom to conduct their journeys. The context of primary colonisations is particularly interesting as people would have often lacked a clear concept of an 'endpoint' to their journeys. Whilst it will remain well-nigh impossible to reconstruct individual journey in the deep past, the approach outlined here might allow a reconstruction of people's changing attitudes towards journeying as well as how these attitudes were realised in actual practice.

Territories of the caribou hunters
Ulla Odgaard (National Museum of Denmark)
In Western Greenland, south of the polar circle and the long fjord Kangerlussuaq, lies a now secluded landscape. Earlier, people who lived at the coast most of the year used to make a long and dangerous journey to get to this land and spend the summer there. They rowed their umiaks from their camps on the outer coast into the fjord and walked from the bank to reach their base camps inland. Extensive surveys have demonstrated the potential of combining the rich archaeological and ethno-historical sources in a direct historical and contextual approach to the study of summer settlement patterns in this 'classic' caribou hunting area. Most of the archaeological remains belong to the Thule culture, but there is also evidence that the inland was used during the Saqqaq period, 3000 years ago. Since there is only little or no sedimentation, the camps are still visible on the surface, and it is even possible to follow the routes of the hunters marked by hunting structures and cairns. This paper explores aspects of movement patterns and territoriality based on the archaeological surveys and ethno-history, supplemented with ethno-archaeology. This makes it possible to investigate questions of mobility, territoriality and ideology.

Stone age motion pictures: an object's perspective
Thomas Kador (University College Dublin)
Archaeologists have long been struggling to find an appropriate unit and scale of analysis to approach people's journeys. Since, with some notable exceptions, prehistoric paths and tracks themselves tend not to survive, the focus has generally remained on the common units of archaeological investigation, such as site, landscape and artefact. Narratives of people's journeys are then usually constructed around these units. The general rationale would appear to be that the fact that a particular place was visited is a reflection of the importance of this place. Similarly materials and objects which have evidently been moved for considerable distance are thought to have had high value, standing and significance – and this is the reason why they were moved. The possibility that people's movements could actually have served to bestow meaning and significance onto a certain place or object is rarely considered. Yet, just as objects may be transported and places visited because they already are significant, both places and objects may equally take on significance because they form, or have formed, part of people's journeys. That mobility in itself has been an important consideration in early prehistory can be seen in the way people structured their social landscapes as well as in terms of the artefacts they utilised. The majority of the latter are inherently mobile and hence it would seem obvious that their potential mobility must have been meaningful and represents an important aspect of the role these objects played in people's lives. Put differently, it seems clear that in producing mobile artefacts people had journeys on their mind.

In this paper I will suggest that the relationship between people, places and/or materials is much more reflexive and interactive than most of the general narratives would allow for, as they tend to 'freeze-frame' one single aspect of this relationship. Based on case studies from early prehistoric Ireland I will discuss the importance of individual journeys and how they may have related to people's social lives, with the aim to present a more flexible approach capable of following people and objects on their journeys.

Monumental journeys: ceremonial complexes and society in Neolithic Scotland
Gordon Noble (University of Durham)
The Later Neolithic period in Britain and Ireland was a period of great change. Contact with Europe appears to have largely ceased and a whole series of regional monument traditions and pottery styles were replaced with styles of monument and material culture which are found across the length and breadth of the British Isles. These national styles of monument and material culture indicate that as Britain and Ireland became isolated from Continental Europe the links between communities within the islands themselves became more important. Monuments increased in size and these monuments began to be grouped more closely together, creating what archaeologists have termed 'ceremonial complexes'. Ceremonial complexes or monument complexes are loosely defined as the places where a wide range of structures, often of more than one period have been found in the same location. The largest monument complexes are often associated with concentrations of objects made from non-local materials (principally stone axes) and the monuments themselves may reference traditions more commonly found elsewhere in the British Isles. The presence of non-local

references and influences is undoubtedly due in part to the increasing contact between regions in the Later Neolithic and this can explain one of the most significant aspects of ceremonial complexes: their location on the major routeways that undoubtedly formed the main means of communication in prehistoric Britain. In the Later Neolithic some of the largest monuments ever built in the Scottish landscape were created at a time when communications between groups of people across Britain and Ireland were reaching new heights and at a time when the identities of these island peoples were focused on insular relations. Monument complexes were located in the areas where communications between regions could be best facilitated.

Journeying into different realms: travel, pilgrimage and rites of passage at Graig Lwyd
Bronwen Price (Cardiff University)
Graig Lwyd, the Group VII 'axe factory' near Penmaenmawr in North Wales, is ripe for re-examination. Familiar to most as the lesser-researched contemporary of Great Langdale in the Peak District, the Neolithic quarry faces are accompanied by a diverse range of prehistoric structures aligned along a route that indirectly leads towards the cliff edge. These include portal dolmens, stone circles with portalled entrances, a possible stone 'screen', standing stones, quartz-ridden glacial erratics, ring cairns and barrows.

I argue that the Neolithic quarry faces were an appendage to the crux of the site, which increasingly by the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, became focused on various scales of passage, into, through and out of thresholds to microcosms and the outer world. Such attention to notions of various states of being suggests that the windy cliff top held significance as a place of danger, liminality and potential metamorphosis. It is for this reason that I explore the concept that journeys to such realms as alternative 'heres' may have made explicit current senses and dimensions of being which may have otherwise been more inherent. In turn such places allowed the expansion or reconfiguration of *habitus*, enabling personhood to become unwound and re-pliable.

However, by consensually uniting the metaphysical with the metaphorical journey at specific foci such as thresholds, perhaps marked by monumentality, rites or moments in collective memory, the experience of transcendence became choreographed, and therefore more easily regulated. The danger to 'social order' of transgression empowering agency was thereby chastised. Indeed by the Early Bronze Age, Graig Lwyd had become a highly structured ritualised setting where attributed meanings and increasing monumentalisation interacted with visitors to create an orchestrated experience synonymous with a pilgrimage. Its souvenirs were readily available in the nearby cliff sides, and their deposition patterns may reflect Graig Lwyd's considerable reputation. The re-examination of this and other 'axe-factories' under the premise that axes were only one element of their lasting endowment, can take us a small way towards comprehending the multidimensionality of place, and its entwinement with the creation, and recreation of identity.

High places in the Central Pennines: experience, meanings and movement
Phil Richardson & Rob Isherwood (Univ. of Manchester)
The central Pennines of the north of England have been seen as a route-way for the procurement of raw materials; such as flint and chert from Yorkshire or stone axes from Langdale in Cumbria. Thus the area has been treated as a filter for the movement of people and things, but what of journeys that were made within this environment? Today the moors and uplands of the central Pennines are thought of as bleak and unforgiving and generally not considered as places where people would live. But there is much evidence that these same uplands were important places in prehistory. Modernists ways of navigating and travelling, mainly with the aid of maps and roads would suggest that it was the valleys that were the important means of movement within this area. However, here we wish to challenge this conception and demonstrate that it was the high places that were important in prehistory, for it was in these high places that people would have made their journeys and connections. Part of this was drawn out through the interconnection and intervisibility of natural features and monuments which provided points of orientation and reference. We will highlight these issues through our own study of what it was like to make journeys from place to place in what is a particular kind of geography.

On the right track?
John G. Roberts (University of Cambridge)
The hills and mountains of north west Wales are peppered with stone-built monuments, such as cairns, ring cairns and stone circles, dating to the late third and early second millennia BC. The notion of the 'trackway' has been commonly invoked to explain the distribution of some of these monuments, mapping out a series of possible 'prehistoric trackways'. Trackways imply journeys, but there is little sense in the literature of who might be travelling and why. The focus on trackways as an un-theorised interpretive device has detracted from our understanding of the wider relationships between landscape, monuments and people. A wider look at the distribution of monuments in this area indicates a far greater subtlety to the principles which underlay their siting and their form. In exploring the relationship between monuments and landscape, we need to guard against reduction and simplification; the diversity of monumental forms, settings and contents bear witness to 'overlapping' ways of being in and understanding the world (Whittle 2002: 192-193).

In this paper I will consider different geographies of movement around and between monuments in upland north west Wales. Through looking at the idea of trackways as an interpretive construct for the later Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age landscapes here we can see how assumptions about upland areas prevalent within antiquarian and archaeological accounts (for example as marginal, physically demanding and dangerous places) are embedded in the way that past life-worlds are interpreted today. It stimulates us to think about the way that patterns of linear movement through the landscape might be set in relation to the more wandering pathways of routine practice and everyday life.

Whittle, A. 2002 Conclusion: long conversations, concerning time, descent and place in the world, in C. Scarre (ed.) *Monuments and Landscapes in Atlantic Europe*, London: Routledge, 192-204.

Routes and river valleys: the role of inter-valley movement in creating Neolithic and Bronze Age identities
Jessica Mills (Cardiff University)
People are inherently dynamic. Movement can be seen as an essential, physical and metaphorical universal characteristic which forms the most fundamental element of a person. Modern, westernised conceptions of movement see people as static and sedentary beings, however, from the small-scale and ephemeral nature of many Mesolithic, Neolithic and Early Bronze Age deposits and ethnographic analogy, such a static conception of human beings appears to be at times, in appropriate. Therefore, a consideration of movement in everyday dwelling and taskscape is necessary if we are to better understand prehistoric lifeways. Through movement we conceive, understand and engage with the world around us, and foster notions of self, personhood, and identity. As moving around inevitably brings individuals face-to-face with other people, animals, objects and places, the significance of movement in fostering and asserting ways of life becomes all the more clear. This paper will consider the role of movement in the creation of Neolithic and Bronze Age identities in three east Midlands river valleys. The neighbouring river valleys of the Great Ouse, Nene and Welland comprise three significant landscape corridors which extend from considerably inland to the Fen-edge. Connecting a series of diverse and unique environments and situations, the potential for examining prehistoric movements and in particular, journeys, is great within these riverine landscapes.

From archaeological evidence we know that staying close to the river was important, hence journeys along the river, within the floodplain and valley sides would have formed part of the routines of everyday life. A spectrum of movements can be envisaged, from the longer distances traversed to attend monumental complexes spaced along the lengths of each valley, or the herding of domesticated animals onto summer pasture, to shorter journeys that may have entailed the collection of water, gathering of food, visiting others, hunting of animals, and collection of flint, wood and clay. This inter-connecting web of movements would have enabled people to engage in familiar activities in familiar surroundings but also to apprehend people, situations and places that would have been altogether unfamiliar and strange. Such encounters would necessitate a need to assert identities and this would have worked not only at the individual level, but also at smaller and larger group scale. This paper will not only consider routine movements and journeys but will also attempt to address the experiential aspects of the unfamiliar.

It's 17km as the crow flies...
Duncan Garrow (University of Cambridge)
This paper considers two earlier Neolithic sites in East Anglia, and the possibility of journeying between them. The pit sites at Kilverstone and Hurst Fen, 17km apart, are very similar. In fact, it seems quite possible that they were actually created and inhabited by the same people, who used the same kind of pots and did the same kind of things. As a result of my encounters with the material from these sites, I came to think in more detail about those connections, and consequently the journey from one site to the other. This paper aims to explore that journey in particular, but also the idea of shifting settlement during the Neolithic as a whole. By making the walk between the two sites, I hope to find out if personal experience can inform our understandings of the Neolithic landscape in East Anglia, or whether the journey between them is actually better approached in a different way – through the material found at both ends.

Journeys through the seascapes of Scilly
Gary Robinson (University College London)
This paper will explore prehistoric wayfaring and seafaring within the coastal waters of the Isles of Scilly. The sea was not merely a symbolic backdrop for activity on land, but was central to the daily lives of prehistoric islanders. It will be demonstrated that knowledge of the sea and land are intimately linked and that only by studying the archipelago from the sea – through journeys made within the seascape – can we begin to appreciate the relationship between the natural and constructed environment. Through the identification of: entry points into the archipelago, landing places, routes taken within the seascape and wayfaring skills, we will explore the prehistoric social production of both the landscapes and seascapes of Scilly.

Animal journeys: field systems and drove ways
Helen Wickstead (University College London)
This paper explores the ways that animals (human and non human) co create spaces through the performance of relations appropriate to those spaces. Attachments between sheep, goats, cows and people may have been reshaped during the 2nd millennium BC as landscapes of boundaries and buildings were constructed. These attachments led to the increased involvement of humans in the life cycle events of some animals and vice versa. Senses of time and space were generated by animal movements and the choreography of routine journeys made by animals and their humans played a part in moulding landscape structure. Examples from Bronze Age Dartmoor including the many 'drove-ways' and 'stock handling features' as well as evidence for past land uses provide illustrations of contexts in which animal relations were performed.

Inter-community interaction and its role as an external memory store
Marc Abramiuk (University College London)
Research into external symbolic storage, or more generally, into external memory, has shown to be a fruitful paradigm in which to couch certain archaeological studies into how people in the past thought. External memory studies up to this point have primarily dealt with the artefacts themselves and how the materials we have around us function as external memory devices (e.g. pen and paper). It also has been proposed that certain social institutions, such as ritual and exchange, constitute external memory sources into which individuals can tap. However, there has not been a sustained and concerted effort to explore how such social institutions, which normally involve the movement of people and materials from one location to another location, generate external memory. The focus of this paper will be on exchange and how the dynamics of exchange, specifically how goods are spatially distributed through time, can be seen to constitute an information processing system. By information processing system, I do not mean a system describing how an idea is spread, as it is conventionally regarded in the archaeological literature, but how an idea is actually generated from scratch by the exchange system and stored in the exchange system for its individual participants to internalise. I draw on a case study of Classic Maya ground stone exchange and utilize a mathematical model describing an inter-community exchange system to illustrate how a social idea can be formed and stored in the minds of the individual participants of the exchange system. The implication of this study is that peoples' journeys from one community to another with the intent of exchanging goods can be seen as being responsible in part for the formation of certain social ideas and the storage of these ideas.

On the trail of the little ancestor: exploring the relationship between prehistoric track routes and the evolution of infant inhumation in Iron Age Southern Britain
Mike Lally (University of Kent)
Past theory formation concerning later prehistoric society has been dominated by a fixation with material culture. Pottery and coinage have in essence created our vision of how Iron Age peoples lived and died. Differences in material design and construction have preoccupied research with a need for inventing tribal groups and boundary areas. Conflict has become a primary consideration, as a growing interest in warfare and warriors has transformed the Iron Age from a period of agriculture into one of defence and incursion. Considerations of trade have become dominated by an incestuous preoccupation of Britain being influenced and affected by continental 'Celts', 'Greeks' and 'Romans'.

Through such processes, certain aspects of native British life have been lost.

To date, prehistorians have largely conformed to the opinion that infants within Iron Age Britain were given low or no actual status in life and death by their living family or wider community. By examining the archaeological record of twenty-two southern English counties, my research is at last beginning to give a voice to previously unheard individuals. Rather than occupying a marginal position within culture, Iron Age infants played a substantial and important role within special funerary rituals. Infant inhumation has a chronological and geographical evolution of its own. By exploring the Iron Age evidence, one is in fact putting the 'human' back into 'humanity'.

The use of prehistoric tracks, trackways and natural landscape routes by their contemporary peoples is widely acknowledged within archaeology. Yet the nature of travel, inter-British trade and the diffusion of socio-symbolic ideas and practices via route passage is rarely considered or evidenced. My paper shall demonstrate just how vital the natural landscape and track routes were to Iron Age Southern Britain. The evolution of infant inhumation during this period appears to be directly correlated to their existence and use.

Trackways, hooves and memory-days – human and animal memories and movements around the Iron Age and Romano-British rural landscapes of the English north midlands
Adrian Chadwick (University of Wales, Newport)
In this paper, I will examine the routine movements of people and animals around the farmsteads and field systems of Nottinghamshire, and South and West Yorkshire, during the Iron Age and Romano-British periods. I will demonstrate the significance of ditched trackways to these movements, and how such features developed and were then maintained over time, in some instances for many centuries. I will also show how exploring both long and short-distance journeys through these landscapes can allow us to move closer to understanding the biographies, identities and memories of animals and people, and the inter-dependence and agency of both. These mundane movements were, in the alternative sense of the word 'mundane', worldly and grounded pathways of place.

3D. Archaeology on the Couch: Psycho-Analysis, Archaeology & Archaeologists

Organiser: Ewan Campbell (University of Glasgow)
This cross-disciplinary session will look at the links between psycho-analysis and archaeology. Freud's concept of the unconscious mind is one of the key ideas of modern life, but has been little applied to archaeology. Freud frequently used archaeological metaphors, and was deeply influenced by archaeologists and antiquities, even seeing archaeology as psychoanalysis's major competitor in understanding the development of the human psyche. If archaeology is the study of the residues of human individuals actions, both conscious and unconscious, then the processes of psycho-analysis (including unconscious communication and free association), its theoretical concepts (e.g. sublimation, regression, projection, narcissism, Oedipus complex, the unconscious), and post-Freudian theoretical developments (e.g. object relations and attachment theory) may be able to contribute to understanding past material culture.

While post-colonial theory, feminism, structuralism and post-modernism all have provided new insights into social archaeology and the contexts of past archaeological thought, there has been less study of the individual motivation of archaeologists. The psycho-analytical process gives us an opportunity to address major issues which should concern all archaeologists: Who are archaeologists? Why are we interested in origins? Why do some fields of study receive more attention than others? What are we really doing when we engage in archaeological methodology? These are difficult and perhaps disturbing questions, but necessary if we are to have an honest understanding of the archaeological process.

The archaeology of the self: depth and quest, origin and progression – themes in modern psychoanalytical thought
Rob Leiper (Psychoanalyst and consultant forensic psychologist)
There has been renewed scholarly interest in the influence of the archaeological metaphor on Freud's construction of the psychoanalytical enterprise. Modern analytical theory has expressed reservations about the helpfulness of the imagery of excavation and reconstruction. This paper will explore the function of, and needs for, a conceptual structure which supports the psychoanalytical 'mission' of personal change and may open sight lines on archaeology's own quest.

Sigmund Freud's archaeology
Julian Thomas (University of Manchester)
Throughout his life, Sigmund Freud was fascinated with archaeology, and he once remarked that he had read more archaeological than psychological texts. In a variety of ways, this interest in archaeology provided him with ways of thinking through issues that presented themselves in both his psychoanalytic work and his own life. In this contribution, I will discuss some of the various ways that Freud's interests intersected with archaeology, and suggest that this may be informative of the cultural position that archaeology holds in the modern west.

Object agency vs. internalisation: using object relations theory to understand the archaeological imagination
Ian Russel (Trinity College Dublin)
Why do archaeologists study the past? Are we unique members of society with a heightened understanding of the past, or are we simply compelled to engage with objects that survive as evidence of human agency in the world? Artefacts and objects from the past cannot speak. They only have relevance in contemporary society based on the stories that are told about them. It is my theory that archaeology is the beginning of that story – a story inspired by the evidence of human activity in the world. So what is the nature of this inspiration? Although, many articles have studied the notion of material agency, it is my theory that this concept is an archaeological method of discussing the aspect of internalisation in Object Relations Theory (ORT). In this paper, I will discuss the interaction between the archaeologist and the archaeological object using ORT based on the psychoanalytical schools of Winnicott, Fairbairn and Klein in the UK and Jacobson, Mahler and Kernberg in the US. Then I will discuss different models of the interaction between the artefact, archaeologists and society at large. The multiple layers of object relations and social relations will be examined as part of the construction of social concepts of history, the past and notions of group identity.

Hope and dread in archaeology
Ewan Campbell (University of Glasgow)
This paper will take a personal look at what archaeologists do, and why they do it. If we are to encourage a self-reflexive methodology in archaeology, we have to deal with the paradox recently articulated by Julian Thomas. He has shown, in *Archaeology and Modernism*, that the modern mind is uniquely unsuited to understanding pre-modern societies. I would like to

suggest that the techniques of the psychoanalytical process such as free association and the concept of the 'Freudian Pair' (the analyst and analysand) may give some help as a means of approaching archaeological data. Hopefully, this approach can give new insights into archaeologists' personal dialogues with their data.

3E. Hunter-Gatherers in Early Prehistory

Lucy Grimshaw (University of Durham) and Fiona Coward (University of Southampton)
The success of the post-processual critique of processual models of prehistory has led to the development of models of human behaviour that prioritise people and their activities in a social milieu. However, although some aspects of these approaches have crept in to the late Mesolithic, the vast majority of illustrations of such paradigms in archaeology have been post-Neolithic. Why is there no social archaeology of the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic? Firstly, the nature of the data is argued to be insufficient both quantitatively and qualitatively to address the lifeways of people in the past. The questions considered appropriate for the study of the Palaeolithic have thus been largely restricted to those considering the economics of subsistence or raw material procurement and lithic manufacture. Secondly, the problem is one of identification; the attitudes of researchers towards post-Neolithic farmers and Mesolithic and Palaeolithic hunter-gatherer (and particularly pre-human hunter-gatherer) populations have meant that the two branches of research are considered fundamentally different.

The effect of this process of estrangement of hunter-gatherer archaeology from the rest of the discipline is the establishment of an apersonal Palaeolithic. The pre-eminence of the evolutionary paradigm, which equates change and evolution, identifies the process of evolution as purely a factor of time; change is conditional only on time passing, and is thus virtually unrelated to humans and their activities. The focus of research into Pleistocene archaeology has been at continent-wide geographical scales and geological timescales, which have removed the possibility of accessing personal experiences and actions. In addition, the conception of a culture as a system seeking homeostasis means that change requires external causality – usually, in the Palaeolithic, the environment.

This session would like to reintroduce the not-so-radical notion of 'people' to the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, as creators of the archaeological record, and as inhabitants of the Pleistocene world. How can we access aspects of the prehistoric hunter-gatherer past that would have had meaning for its inhabitants/ creators? How does the recognition of hunter-gatherer 'persons' in prehistory affect the generalizing, continent- and geological/climatic- scale models of the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic which are current in the discipline? We invite papers that use new perspectives to 'crack open' the 'black box' of hunter-gatherer 'persons' of the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic to access new perspectives on and understandings of the period.

Upper Palaeolithic social colonisation and Lower Palaeolithic biological dispersal? A consideration of the nature of movements into Europe during the Pleistocene
Lucy Grimshaw (University of Durham)
Palaeolithic archaeology has begun to consider the social aspects of the archaeological record, but these new approaches have largely been restricted to the Upper Palaeolithic and *Homo sapiens*. This paper will discuss whether the exclusion of pre-*sapiens* hunter-gatherers from a social and personal archaeology can be justified, and examine the presumption that the archaeological record of the Lower and Middle Pleistocene shows weaker evidence of people than that of the Upper Palaeolithic. I will reconsider the processes that occurred during the population movements associated with the initial occupation of Europe by pre-*sapiens* hominids during the Lower Palaeolithic and the spread of the early Upper Palaeolithic, particularly aspects of environmental and landscape learning and behavioural changes that take place during movement into previously unknown territories. Patterning in the composition of archaeological assemblages in space and time across Europe during these events will be investigated for signs of innovations and developments that may relate to the development of social identity among the migrants, and thus allow previously existing continental scale research to be utilised in the consideration of the social life of the Palaeolithic.

Transitions, change and identity: the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic of Vasco-Cantabrian Spain
Fiona Coward (University of Southampton)
Current thinking in the Palaeolithic divides the archaeological record into a succession of discrete 'cultures' defined in terms of lithic industries, thus creating 'points' of 'transition' such as the infamous 'Middle-Upper Palaeolithic transition', where differences in the archaeological record have been explained away as being the result of 'evolution', applied in a simplistic *post hoc*, accommodative way.

Such a 'top-down' perspective assumes qualitative differences between Neanderthals and 'modern' humans, particularly in terms of their mental abilities regarding abstract thought. Such assumptions are dangerous in the limitations that they place on the interpretation of the record – hominids, sites, industries, etc., can only ever be 'modern' or 'non-modern', with both categories pre-defined and pre-'explained'. A 'bottom-up' approach can be developed from the conceptualisation of both hominid and human populations as inevitably immersed within a four-dimensional world as a fundamental fact of their existence. Crucially, these ecosystems are not individual and discrete but are inescapably shared with other 'persons', whether these are hominid, human or animal, with whom interactions occurred on a daily basis. Thus the archaeological record – and particularly the faunal record – can be seen as demonstrating the signatures of certain kinds of interaction, providing clues to the 'place' and 'time' at which they occurred and therefore to the kinds of movement and interaction that constituted the identities and personhoods of the people who deposited material there.

This paper presents a methodology for addressing the four-dimensional structure described by the potential paths of movement and activity that were centred on some of the Palaeolithic sites from Vasco-Cantabrian Spain, along with something of the quality of the interactions that occurred between the people who lived there and other persons and types of person in that ecosystem. The results demonstrate the way in which fragments of the narratives of the lives of persons in prehistory can be re-presented, and highlight the potential of this methodology for reconsidering the lives of past populations and the similarities and differences of Neanderthals and 'modern' humans.

Darwin vs. Bourdieu: celebrity deathmatch or postprocessual myth?
Felix Reide (University Of Cambridge)
A number of years ago, William Davies (2000), rather euphemistically, described the relationship of Palaeolithic specialists with postprocessualism as 'pragmatic'. Whilst it is true that not much of the postprocessual 'people'-centred archaeology of the last two decades has had significant impact on Palaeolithic archaeology, there are clearly good reasons for this: Vicious taphonomic distortions, an extremely coarse-grained stone-and-bone-only archaeological record as

well as uncertainties about the cognitive states of pre-modern hominines mitigate against interpretations that go beyond the economic and ecological.

I would like to argue that to some degree this lack of integration between postprocessual theory and Palaeolithic archaeological practice is rooted in a mostly unconscious selective reading of key sources by both postprocessualists as well as Palaeolithic archaeologists. With a series of quotations and a case study from the Late Palaeolithic of Denmark I demonstrate that agentive approaches to technological skill are reconcilable with evolutionary thinking. Further, by drawing on recent developments in ecological modelling and evolutionary theory, I will show that traditional data on raw material economy and site location can be used to examine individual strategies of 'landscape learning' and enculturation. Again, I will draw on a case study from the Northern European Late Palaeolithic. To deny the biological dimensions of human (and hominin) existence would be folly. Postprocessual archaeologists are well advised to engage more fully and openly with evolutionary theory and to discontinue the bad practice of caricaturing Darwinian evolution as deterministic. Indeed, Darwinism, if wisely adapted, provides a powerful framework in which to examine the ultimate causes and processes of prehistoric culture change.

Davies, W. 2000. The Palaeolithic and Post-processualism: a Pragmatic Approach? *Archaeological Review from Cambridge,* 17(1):5–17.

3F. The Archaeology of Western Asia Today: Exploring the Definition of Archaeological Approaches amid a Climate of Neo-Colonialism, Orientalism and Political Turbulence

Organisers: Daniel Hull (University of York) and Tobias Richter (University of Wales, Lampeter). Discussant: Brian Boyd (University of Wales, Lampeter)

The lack of critical, theoretical debate in archaeological research in Western Asia has thus far discouraged archaeologists from rethinking the frameworks and methodologies used to interpret the material remains of the past in this region. Rarely – if ever – has the predominantly Western European and North American intellectual basis of 'Near Eastern' archaeology been rigorously deconstructed. Furthermore, few attempts have been made to discuss in explicit terms the relationship between archaeological research and the complexities of post-colonial and neo-colonial political realities.

The reasons for this current lack of theoretical debate in the region can be grouped broadly into two main issues. The first is an over-reliance on empiricist and materialist methodologies employed in current research frameworks. These frameworks often consider the past as a neutral and objective concept that is straightforwardly accessible through the material facts of the archaeological record. Culture-historical or processual paradigms that dominate current agenda commonly rely on this method of interpretation.

The claim of 'Near Eastern', 'Levantine' and 'Middle Eastern' archaeologists to be able to produce verifiable, historical truths is significant, because it reinforces the underlying Orientalist narrative engrained within the discipline. This dominant narrative is largely a consequence of the western colonial encounter with the 'Near East' and the conceptualisation of the 'Arab World' as the Other. Traditional research maintains, therefore, that the archaeology and history of Western Asia simultaneously provides the origins of the modern 'west', while at the same time defines the 'Near East' or 'Middle East' as the west's opposite and contestant. This dual conceptualisation is, thus, a direct result of the presence of a dominant colonial discourse that aims to rationalise and tame this 'otherness'.

The second broad issue with regard to the difficulties of applying archaeological theory in the region is that precisely because of its position as the West's exotic contestant, research in Western Asia is often perceived as being 'on the fringe'. As a region, it is often treated as 'special', and thus deserving and requiring approaches not used elsewhere. This perceived marginality of the 'east' has wide ranging and crucial implications for cultural and intellectual constructions, and links in important ways to both the other social sciences as well as catastrophic recent events in the Middle East.

The two issues highlighted above have never been more apparent than today, and have never seemed so in need of review. Within the context of the current 'War on Terror' there exists a social, political and violent struggle which pervades so much more than the political arena alone. The pervasiveness of such discourses do not make the role of the archaeologist – whether indigenous or foreign – straightforward. Indeed, while most scholars are aware of the immense political changes in the Middle East, they often fail to acknowledge the reflexive relationship between such changes and their own work: instead we carry on with 'research as usual'. However, the geo-political realities are not only paralleled by the academic and wider understanding of the 'Middle East', but also influence academic research through the policies of funding agencies and institutions, the themes and topics which academics choose to explore, and the scale and focus of their research projects.

We as archaeologists are duty-bound to interrogate the 'value' of archaeological and historical research in Western Asia amid the current climate of political and social difficulty. Is it ethical for western archaeologists to be studying the material culture of the region at all? If it is, how can we proceed in ways which are both intellectually different and stimulating, and also sympathetic and non-antagonistic to ongoing – and in some cases worsening – political situations. How can archaeologists create situations in which other, alternative narratives and histories are not silenced and ignored in favour of dominant discourses?

Given the enormous range of issues raised above, this session aims to be broad and open in its agenda. Thus, this session will involve papers that are concerned primarily with historiographical critique and discourse analysis in the context of Western Asian archaeology. Contributors will also explore the political and social context of archaeologists, as well as the role of western archaeologists working in the region.

Whose past(s) is it anyway?

Bo Dahl Hermansen (University of Copenhagen) and Mikkel Billel (University College London)

'Near Eastern' archaeology emerged in the 19th century as a constituent part of a colonialist discourse in which the 'oriental' was defined as an 'other': degenerate and inferior, but at the same time exotic and fascinating. More recently, a discourse on such premises has been upheld by various 'biblical', 'culture historical', and 'neo-evolutionary' approaches which all incorporate a view that implicitly measures cultural phenomena according to a western scale. This implicit attitude is constantly reinforced in a dialectic with archaeological practice in the field. (We)stern archaeologists typically organise archaeological field work in West Asia as little empires with, on the top, 1) a hierarchy of western scholars and students, sometimes in collaboration with members of regional academic institutions, 2) a representative of the state department of antiquities, and 3) on the bottom, a local, casual labour force, which is employed under

conditions that would never be considered acceptable, at least by West- and North European standards.

There is an increasing awareness, however, that such an attitude can no longer be sustained without raising problems in the encounter with an increasingly aware, confident, or sometimes desperate 'other', who has his/her own agenda concerning labour, concerning the past, and concerning the archaeological record as a phenomenon of the present. In short, a contemporary West Asian archaeology has to be sensitive to our hosts' needs to understand and influence their own situation, and it has to be aware of the various ways the archaeological record can help them do this. In this paper, we wish to discuss how steps in that direction may be taken in the Petra-region of southern Jordan. The archaeological monuments of this area are highly contested. They are claimed as the national heritage of Jordan, as a constituent of the history of the 'land of Israel', and as a UNESCO world heritage site. At the same time, these monuments, especially those of Petra itself, are contested by local Bedouin tribes who claim Petra as inherent tribal territory. This is not least because they are under strong pressure from local authorities to give up entirely their traditional lives in tents or caves, due to a radical interpretation of UNESCO's directives for preservation of world heritage sites. We will illustrate these problems with concrete examples and offer an outline of how we try to deal with these sensitive issues.

Context, conflict, and community: working at Tall Dhiban, Jordan

Bruce Routledge (Univ. of Liverpool), Benjamin Porter (Univ. of Pennsylvania), Danielle Steen (Stanford Univ.) and Jenny Jacobs (Univ. of Pennsylvania)

The interests and expectations of national governments and local communities dictate that Euro-American archaeologists conducting research in the Middle East are increasingly required to work differently from their predecessors should they wish to work there at all. Most particularly, this involves a shift in the relative priority of the national and site-specific context where fieldwork is conducted, as against the traditionally more prestigious academic context of home universities, international journals, and conferences such as TAG. These developments are 'post-colonial' in the sense that they originate not from the moral compunction of Euro-American archaeologists but from the assertion of interests and authority on the part of national governments and, to a lesser degree, local communities, media, and interest groups. More than ever, ethical conduct requires not a methodology for some future emancipation of research from politics, but rather the continual addressing of the position from within which research is conducted. To this end, in this paper we present preliminary thoughts on the initiation of a community-oriented field project at the site of Dhiban in Jordan this past summer. This project is concerned with integrating already instituted site development plans of the Department of Antiquities with the interests and concerns of local residents, as well as traditional archaeological research questions. We reflect in particular on discursive understandings of heritage, history, and the *tall* of Dhiban within the modern town of Dhiban, as well the evident uses made of the site on a day-to-day basis. These issues come to the fore both as points of conflict and as possible avenues for consensus building in a context that involves multiple stakeholders with different domains and degrees of power.

'Not just Egyptians; not just Europeans. Different cultures, working together...'*: discovering the past in Quseir, Egypt

Darren Glazier and Alistair Jones (University of Southampton)

It is hardly revolutionary to suggest that archaeological research in Egypt is deeply embedded within imperialistic and nationalistic discourses. Little has changed in the century that has passed since Carter first began to scrabble around the hills and valleys close to Luxor: though the Egyptian authorities have regained control of the artefacts recovered by archaeologists, the vast majority of archaeological excavations are still conducted in a manner that is more reminiscent of the 19th century, than the 21st.

Or are they? Throughout this paper we will offer an alternative approach to archaeological investigation in Egypt through a discussion of the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, a unique research project founded upon the premise that it is no longer acceptable for archaeologists to reap the material and intellectual benefits of another society's heritage, without that society being involved and able to benefit equally from the endeavour. In doing so, we will examine the potentials inherent in collaborative archaeological practice and demonstrate the richer texture of an archaeological narrative that seeks to incorporate all ways of knowing the past. The session abstract challenges archaeologists working within the region to devise new research methodologies that are both intellectually invigorating, yet socially and politically sensitive. We suggest that you could do worse than look toward community archaeology.

* Extract from an interview conducted with a resident of Quseir as part of the project's interviews and oral history programme.

Living with others and yourself: ethics and practice in Near Eastern archaeology

Andrew McCarthy (University of Edinburgh)

Although ethics in archaeological practice is a constantly moving target, it has nonetheless been the topic of intense scrutiny in Britain, Europe and North America, especially in regard to indigenous archaeology. Outside of these western contexts, however, the political, historical and academic situation has given rise to a complicated and very different set of rules to those of their western counterparts. In the Middle East, ethics is often an *ad hoc* and even more often unspoken and unreflective set of personal tastes. This is not to say that Middle Eastern archaeologists are by their nature unethical, rather that what it means to be an ethical Middle Eastern archaeologist is something that has never been satisfactorily defined. The reasons for this are partly linked to the history of archaeology in this part of the world, and partly to the political realities of dealing with antiquities authorities as a foreigner. But most importantly, there is a divergence between the fact that the *reasons why* we practice archaeology are justified by western sensibilities, and that the *practice of* archaeology in a Middle Eastern context has been treated as special and outwith western ethical jurisdiction. This divergence has led to an irreconcilable double-standard: if we use western academic ethics to justify our activity with foreign archaeological resources, how can we ignore (and not be bound by) the ethical constraints which have arisen from the same western academic ethics? While funding bodies restrict the way in which we use money for archaeological research, we need to ask ourselves whether we should accept funding to carry out a project without being provided a reasonable budget for modern 'western-style' ethical concerns. The intention of this paper is not to create definitive guidelines to follow for ethical practice of archaeology in the Middle East, but a fundamental question will be raised: should we be practicing archaeology at all if we cannot do so ethically?

Deconstructing colonial legacy in the Middle East: the role and influence of the French Catholic Church in the archaeology of Syria
Daniel Hull (University of York)
Colonialism is an unavoidable issue in the Middle East. Archaeology was born and developed under its aegis, it has shaped the post-Second World War political landscape, and continues in all of its varied post-colonial and neo-colonial strains to have a profound influence over every country in the region. But what are the effects of this on the archaeological research carried out by colonial powers, and how are we to regard and interpret the resulting texts ? This paper argues that the detailed investigation of the ideological position of former colonial powers can contribute a great deal to our understanding of both the practice and the publication of fieldwork. I present the role of the French Catholic church in Syria as an example. The ramifications of an overtly Christian administration seeking the remains of a Christian past are of interest on various levels. It is argued that a deconstruction of the players, circumstances and intentions of early fieldwork allows useful scrutiny of the conclusions which that work produced. Such scrutiny is crucial for us today in that it both informs the construction of current archaeological agenda in the region, and encourages a degree of self-reflection as archaeologists assemble their intentions for the future amid a turbulent political climate.

Mapping the other: on the use of maps in the archaeology of Western Asia
Tobias Richter (University of Wales, Lampeter)
In this paper I rely on the work of contemporary human geographers to consider the agency and trajectories of archaeological maps in Western Asia. The use of maps can be associated with the archaeology of Western Asia from the inception of the discipline in the 19th century. Adventurers, cartographers and gentleman antiquarians ventured into what seemed to them as the wild and desolate countries of the 'Near East' and the 'Levant'. One of their key tasks was the creation of maps that showed the distribution of archaeological sites, in particular sites of importance to the history of the bible, although their work was primarily supported by European nation states to gain maps for strategic purposes.

In contemporary archaeological practice in the region maps of different kinds and constitution continue to feature as strong tools for presenting and modelling the past. However, as I will suggest in this paper, the seemingly static and closed nature of maps as currently employed also embodies modern conceptions of the landscape as a static drawback to human culture. The physical geography of the region is commonly seen as a compilation of resources, obstacles and natural boundaries that have affected and determined the configuration of societies in the past. Furthermore, by considering a number of maps depicting the archaeology of various periods it will become clear that the use and creation of archaeological maps is neither neutral nor depicting objectively verifiable facts. Instead, I intend to demonstrate that maps and the archaeology they depict reinforce underlying geographical imaginations of the 'Near East', as well as present geo-political realities.

South Levantine Iron Age archaeology as western origin myth
Charlotte Whiting (Council for British Research in the Levant)
Few critical assessments of present constructions of the south Levantine Iron Age have been published. The few that have, however, take the perspective that current interpretations have produced a circular, self-referential history of ancient Israel and early Judaism based on the attempts by modern Israeli politics to substantiate the existence of the Jewish people as a nation and their historic association with the Land of Israel. While this is undoubtedly the case, little attention has been paid to the central role of the 'Holy Land' in the construction of national origin myths amongst the emerging western nation states as a result of its key role in the development of Christianity.

Indeed, the study of Palestine was regarded as providing the background and atmosphere for understanding the religious developments which were the foundation of western civilisation. The study of the southern Levant developed in terms of its importance for western civilisation and the origins of its monotheistic faith. Western Europe saw the 'Semitic Near East' and 'Aryan Persia' as monotheistic and individualistic cultures similar to the west in contrast to the Far East of India, China, and Japan. This fostered the belief that the civilisations of the ancient Near East were culturally continuous with the West.

Such uses of the past in the construction of modern western identity have had an immense effect on the nature of archaeological enquiry in the southern Levant. Archaeology has played a key role in substantiating the historic association of the west with the 'Holy Land', by providing material evidence for the events and peoples of the Bible. As a result, there has been a strong bias towards the study of biblical sites, traditionally dated to the Iron Age. Furthermore, present interests have determined the types of questions that have been asked, and how archaeological material has been interpreted. There is thus an urgent need for critical review of such approaches and their basis not only in modern Israeli politics, but within the broader context of the history of western interest in Western Asia.

Faith, fact and fiction: the problems of religious archaeology in the Near East
Rod Millard (University of Wales, Lampeter)
This paper seeks to raise some of the difficulties posed by the archaeology of religious sites in a society where three living world religions are represented in the archaeological record. The religious tension in the Near East has, for a long time, sought to justify political attitudes through the archaeological record, and this has led to an imbalance in archaeological research as well as in the representation of both living and dead religions.

Drawing on established principles in the Anthropology of Religion, this paper examines issues such as religious bias, symbolic interpretation, and the position of archaeology in the Insider-Outsider question. It then goes on to examine how anthropological solutions such as Disclosure and Methodological Agnosticism can be applied to the archaeology of religion, before calling on archaeologists to redefine their terminology in the context of interdisciplinary debate.

3G. Ageism in Archaeology and the Archaeologies of Ageing

Session Organisers: Jenny Moore (University of Sheffield) and Lynne Bevan (Independent consultant)
'The widespread theory that people in the past were all dead by the age of 50 is based on wholly false premises. Grandparents should also be numbered among the casts of past societies' (Chamberlain 1997, 249). While we can identify older people in the past and even assess their lifestyle, how is our interpretation influenced by current negative attitudes towards ageing?

Within the next two decades 40% of the British population will be aged over 50 and, due to pension shortfalls, a person's working life might extend into their 70s, yet older people have no place in our youth-obsessed culture. They tend to be marginalised and excluded, regarded only as a burden, irrespective of any social or intellectual contribution they made during their working lives and beyond.

In this session we explore how current attitudes may affect our interpretation of the past – a popular TAG theme, but with a new slant. We will be considering ageing, lifestyles, and representations of people in the past, but also how our current culture of youth affects our interpretation of them. We hope to evaluate how ageism negatively affects the progress of people within the profession. Can only the young stoke the fires of intellectual endeavour and produce the ideas to kick start archaeological thinking into the 21st century? Is archaeology only for the young? There are increasing numbers of mature students in their 30s, 40s and 50s who hope to have an archaeological career but is it only acceptable to be 'older' if you are a professor, an amateur or an eccentric media personality? What are the long-term implications for the profession, if so?
Chamberlain, A.T. 1997. Commentary: Missing Stages of Life. In Moore, J. and Scott, E., *Invisible People and Processes*. Leicester University Press, Leicester.

Ageism – a sport for the young?
Jenny Moore (University of Sheffield)
In the first part of this paper I will be considering ageism in archaeology. I will explain how the idea for this session came about and evaluate how ageism pervades archaeology. It seems to me it is critical that those teaching archaeology understand and act constructively on what is currently happening – it may only be the wealthy elderly who can afford to undertake an archaeology degree. In the second part of my paper, I will reflect on how ageing may have affected men and women very differently in the past, outlining how I think patriarchy came to dominate the social order.

Access denied? Children and youths in archaeology
Anna-Carin Andersson (Göteborg University, Sweden)
Even though the last century has seen a tremendous change in attitudes towards children, still, the adult society seem to have little spare time and social room for children – in archaeology as well as in contemporary everyday society. Though nobody denies that there were children and youths in the past, archaeological interpretations – historically and in general – show that it is not self-evident and that they were not active contributors to the formation of the past.

Initially this paper therefore tries to evaluate how the subject of children and youths been approached in archaeology, followed by some reflections on current attitudes on children and youths in contemporary Swedish society. It is argued that current attitudes highly affect our interpretations of the past. According to the general, 'mainstream' archaeological interpretation, the past is mainly peopled by adults (the famous 'faceless blobs'). This circumstance is particularly notable in relation to ageing. Also, it is interesting to note that we, as adult archaeologists and researchers, obviously have forgotten the crucial circumstance that an individual is not 'born adult', but *becomes* an adult. In every human society there occurs a transitional period between childhood and adulthood – a process where the individual step by step moves towards adulthood, to finally become 'grown up'.

In archaeology, the experiences of childhood or transitions in the lifecourse (ageing) have rarely been considered. With point of departure in a minor study of grave-material originating from the Middle-Neolithic Pitted-ware culture on Gotland, Sweden, a concluding discussion on ageing and transitions in the lifecourse in an archaeological context is presented.

What to do with the youth – consolidating gerontocracy in the early Neolithic
Paul Davies and John G. Robb (Bath Spa Univ. College)
Some social scientists have argued that the lifestage we now term 'youth' is a modern phenomenon (e.g. Aries 1962), although there are historical studies that seem to contradict this view (e.g. Gillis 1974). This paper will consider the position of elders and youth in pre-farming and subsistence agricultural societies, and consider how the introduction of farming in the British Isles may have affected relationships between these two groups. In particular, it will be argued that the introduction of farming may have led to the emergence of an 'idle' youth, and that strategies were needed to mitigate against rebellion or disaffection with 'elders-who-know-best'.
Aries, P. 1962. *Centuries of childhood*. Vintage Books.
Gillis, J.R. 1974. *Youth and History*. Academic Press

The art of assumption: exploring age and gender in prehistoric rock art
Lynne Bevan (Independent consultant)
The prehistoric rock art of Valcamonica in Northern Italy, among which images of armed, fighting males predominate, has been interpreted as an art made by men for men. While some Bronze Age carvings depict both male and female figures in mixed-sex and exclusively female groups (currently interpreted as showing figures participating in rituals), it has been claimed that there is not a single female figure in the Iron Age rock art.

The implicit assumption is that other age and gender groups, especially females, were excluded from the art, which was purely a forum for the construction and celebration of masculinity. Yet the fact that younger people – small male figures interpreted as warriors in training – have been identified in the Iron Age rock art demonstrates that it was not only intended to portray the activities of adult males. Moreover, not all of the Iron Age warriors are identifiably male and there are many gender-neutral figures in the rock art, particularly those in carvings portraying farming scenes.

It is argued here that gender may only have been emphasised when gender was important to the activity being carried out and that many important activities were performed by both males and females, as well as by different age groups within those categories. While agricultural tasks, for example, were almost certainly carried out by all sections of society (excluding the very old and the very young, with the former conveniently able to look after the latter), the stick figure anthropomorphs depicted in the rock art tend to look the same. Therefore, how is it possible to identify different age groups in rock art? Did advancing years bring social exclusion or increased respect? Was apparent exclusion from rock art an indication of low social value, as some archaeologists have claimed, or were activities and rituals being carried out by different age and gender groups in different contexts? This paper contradicts the old assumption that rock art was used simply to express and maintain the social and ritual exclusivity of a dominant elite. It also challenges the biologically-impossible view of prehistory being populated by adult males alone.

Being old in the European Bronze Age
Nick Thorpe (University College Winchester)
Within social sciences generally, the study of ageing is under-developed, for 'Our culture is not much interested in what it means to grow old' (historian Thomas Cole). Two problems confront archaeologists: difficulties in accurately ageing skeletons and differences between biological and social age. Nevertheless, analyses of Bronze Age European cemeteries suggest that the elderly were often buried with less ceremony and fewer grave goods and that gendered burial differences break down with age. To consider social age we need to examine wider issues of social structure, e.g. within 'warrior' societies did elderly men have a role?

Acting their age: representations of old age in Roman art
Iain Ferris (Independent consultant)
The study of ageing in Roman society can be greatly enhanced by the analysis of works of art that portray individuals of a mature age and the elderly, such as the canonical Republican portrait of an old man found near Otricoli and now in the Museo Torlonia in Rome. This portrait head, with its veristic rendering of the physical evidence of ageing in the form of deep lines and heavy wrinkles, is perhaps a metaphor for 'the experience and wisdom of the sitter' (Kleiner 1992: 38) and a reflection of the esteemed place in Roman society of elderly aristocratic men such as this.

In contrast, under the Empire it is possible to identify a conscious strategy of avoiding the depiction of the emperors Augustus and Trajan as ageing men. The famous Prima Porta statue of Augustus, showing the emperor in his twenties, when at the time of its production he was in his early forties, well illustrates his regular depiction as an eternal youth. Trajan's portraits, following his accession to the purple at the age of forty five, show him forever at this age. He was, as Diana Kleiner has dubbed him, 'the ageless adult' (Kleiner 1992: 208). This paper will examine these and other artworks which suggest a complex mesh of representations perhaps reflecting tensions in Roman society between celebrating old age and denying its physical onset, while recognising the value to the state of experience and lineage.

Kleiner, D.E.E. 1992. *Roman Sculpture*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

These old bones of mine: ageism, osteology and old age in the past
Becky Gowland (Cambridge University)
Age as an aspect of social identity has been addressed by a number of archaeologists over the last few decades. Much of this focus has, however, been on childhood and it is apparent that 'the elderly' have received comparatively little attention. This is, in part, due to the misconception that very few individuals in the past lived beyond the age of forty years. This is a predicament unfortunately given credence through the systematic under-ageing of skeletal material by current osteological techniques. However, it also relates to the social marginalisation of older people within modern Western society which has conceptualised them as 'inactive' and 'dependent'. Sociologists have, for some time, discussed the way in which elderly people are consistently denigrated and problematised in today's ageing society.

These negative stereotypes appear to have infiltrated archaeological interpretations concerning older individuals in the past, who also tend to be perceived as socially passive and generally of 'low status'. Through the examination of a large sample of skeletons from late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, this paper discusses the potentials and limitations of osteological evidence for the identification of older members of past societies. It also examines this skeletal evidence in relation to the cultural variables from the cemetery context. It discusses the way that ageism has effected archaeologists' interpretations of older people and demonstrates that past perceptions of these individuals were, in fact, rich, varied, and dependent on other aspects of social identity such as gender.

3H. Cropmarx. Theoretical Perspectives on Aerial Archaeology

Session convenor and chair: Kenny Brophy (Univ. of Glasgow). Chair: Tim Darvill (Bournemouth Univ.)

Part 1: THEORY

The hermeneutic spiral: a brief history of theoretical aerial archaeology
Kenneth Brophy (University of Glasgow)
Aerial photography is one of the most mis-understood areas of archaeological practice amongst most academics and field archaeologists. The technology, the gadgets, the costs, the limited participation, and the ambiguous results have created an enigmatic process with an elite group of participants who often exist only on the fringes of archaeological discourse. Yet there are several elements of the whole process of what is sometimes called 'aerial archaeology' that resonate with archaeologists in general, themes that should be of interest to us all.

The process

'The most important elements in the interpretation have taken place before he presses the button on the camera' [David Wilson, 2000, *Air photo interpretation for archaeologists*, Tempus]. In the air, archaeology is a purely visual experience. There is a level of detachment that is not found anywhere else in archaeology, but also a unique perspective. Points of decisions, the excitement of discovery, the interaction between recognition and interpretation, and filtering it all through technology.

The product

'Each target photographed costs less that £20 at an average rate of circa 10 targets per hour' [Bob Bewley 1999 *Aerial Survey for Archaeologists: Report of a British Academy working party*]. Beyond the economics of what is a surprisingly cheap way to find and record lots of sites, we have the images captured from the air. Elusive images. Phantom cropmarks, ghostly archaeological traces that appear merely as differential crop height and colour, projections of the past. Mirages in soil created by moisture content. Archaeological signifiers transmitted at the atomic level.

This session builds on recent moves towards developing theoretical perspectives on aerial archaeology and air photo interpretation, drawing on speakers who are both participants in, and consumers of, the process. Papers should challenge the image of aerial archaeology as an elitist, objective, techno-heavy process; in turn, this challenges the images we have of all archaeological fieldwork. This introductory paper will offer a biography of theoretical approaches to aerial archaeology, and suggest how these, and future, developments, should have implications for the practice of aerial survey in archaeology.

Competing stories – henge or amphitheatre: some remarks on narration in archaeology
Włodek Rączkowski (Adam Mickiewicz Univ., Poznan)
Saying that our knowledge about the past is a construct is but a truism today. The relevance of social context to construing images of the past has been widely debated. Even though the role of culture in interpreting the past is well recognized, it may be surprising that two very different interpretations of the same empirical data can be offered within one theoretical approach.

A reference to hermeneutic pre-understanding may explain some but not all controversies. I will draw attention to the psychological concept of 'narrative scheme'. The narrative scheme organizes our perception of events and facts and is decisive to our ordering of them. What is more, it can make us stress the role of some events and disregard other events. This is why a narrative scheme plays a very important role in our construction of narration about the past. The psychological narrative concept can largely contribute of our understanding of controversies in the interpretation of archeological finds from Catterick in Yorkshire.

If we accept the high relevance of narrative scheme to interpretative processes and refer to it while discussing controversies in archeology, the question arises over the future of archeological narrations. How, in this context, should we view archaeological narrations construed within aerial archeology? What is the place of aerial archeology within archeology?

The eye in the sky: interpretive archaeology and the aerial viewpoint
Andrew Baines (University of Glasgow)
Aerial photographs are used most frequently in the identification of sites and monuments, and to illustrate them in printed texts and spoken lectures. Perhaps because of the predominance of the grounded, subjective viewpoint in contemporary 'post-processual' archaeology, aerial photographs seldom play a central part in interpretative accounts. It seems that aerial images have been written off as sterile, objectified and dehumanised. They are commonly viewed as the domain of a small group of specialists, of little relevance to the ordinary archaeologist. This paper considers why this should be so, given that aerial images offer an alternative viewpoint that might be of use to archaeologists thinking about the possibilities of alternative perspectives. Using examples taken from existing aerial images, it will explore ways in which they might be used to generate interpretations that challenge or subvert the dominance of the grounded viewpoint.

Sites versus sights
Jessica Mills (University of Cardiff)
Why do aerial archaeologists take photographs? Is it to record the locales and landscapes of past human experience, or is it to capture and produce visual images, the aesthetics of which are universally appreciated? The technique of aerial photography has long been used as a way of recording past human activity. However, whilst this methodology has produced a substantial body of archaeological evidence, a proportion of this evidence only masquerades as archaeological data. This paper wishes to highlight how current, favoured approaches to aerial survey are not sufficient for the recording of archaeological sites. The prevailing technique of oblique photography which is highly selective, focused, and subjective fails to adequately address the context of archaeological sites. It will be proposed that the use of geographically unbiased vertical survey which record landscapes and not particular sites engenders a more effective approach to aerial archaeology.

As oblique photography entails making decisions as to what is recorded and what is left behind, and how each site is recorded, the potential for creative output comes to the fore. What makes a good photograph? However, it is important not to forget that the cropmarks, soilmarks and earthworks that are captured within aerial photographs have been created through past human activities. Through such tight focusing upon the very visual patterns, textures and phenomena that form such features, the archaeological site turns from being the place of dwelling, activity, taskscape, relations, engagements and so on, to an abstract pattern of colour and textural changes which disassociates the very essence of the people that created them. On occasion, it appears that some oblique photography is more concerned with recording aesthetic, circumscribed patterns in the landscape and not the recording of locales of past human activity. People in the past were not constrained to their aerially-visible sites, they would have moved around the surrounding landscape in a constant routine of everyday life, which makes it more imperative to record such wider landscapes in a geographically unbiased way.

Part 2: PRACTICE

Jack of all trades or master of none: when does an air photo interpreter become a landscape archaeologist?
Helen Winton (English Heritage)
This paper will draw on my experience in aerial archaeology - for over ten years I have worked as a 'specialist' in a research department which exists largely within a heritage management environment not the university-based academic world. It appears to me that aerial archaeology is far from exclusive simply because of the 'wow factor' of AP's which drew many of us to the profession in the first place. As a discipline it is, in fact, misunderstood and marginalised precisely because of the disrespect of theorists, academics and other survey specialists. Neither can aerial archaeology be accused of being techno-heavy. The basic tools, aerial photographs in libraries (and to a certain extent relatively cheap flight), cameras, and maps have been available to archaeologists for over 100 years, in contrast to the equipment used by, for example geophysicists or dating and environmental analysts.

The bulk of my paper will discuss whether aerial archaeologists are in fact 'landscape archaeologists' who have a valid contribution to academic study and heritage management. I shall briefly discuss the current compartmentalisation of the aerial archaeological process and argue that there should be a cycle between existing AP collections, archaeologists and flyers within the framework of knowledge of a topographical area. I shall explain why AP interpreters can be excellent identifiers and analysers of archaeological shapes but how this only has meaning in an academic, theoretical and topographical context. I will examine whether it is possible to have an academically rigorous approach to the kind of multi-period archaeology that specialism in a particular survey technique engenders. I shall explore whether knowledge of many periods and areas is 'better' than a period focussed, or topographically specific, view. Both perspectives have their own inherent biases, whether on the ground, or in the air, when interpreting archaeology. To illustrate my discussion I shall, in particular, compare the 'newly' expanded view of the Neolithic and prehistory from the air with the apparent lack of visibility of the early Medieval period.

Aerial archaeology for real: the local and community context
Frances Griffith (Devon County Council) and Eileen Wilkes (University of Wales, Lampeter)
Kenny Brophy's description of aerial archaeology as 'elitist, objective and techno-heavy' rings few bells with the locally-based flyer – though of course we do all have a crack at objectivity. 'Popular, personal and pragmatic' might be nearer the mark (marx?).

In locally-based reconnaissance the immediate feedback in the brain of the airborne observer relating observed features to the area's known archaeology, development pressures and research activity makes for focussed and informed observation. This integrated approach in our view more than compensates for the relative lack of available 'gadgets' (Brophy's word). So far from being a fringe activity, aerial reconnaissance in a large English county, Devon, since 1983 by FG has not only radically altered archaeologists' understanding of the prehistoric archaeology of lowland Devon and informed conservation and rescue policy, but has also changed many local communities' perceptions of their own area. The 'magic' of results in good cropmark summers captures the public imagination (and that of local politicians), while aerial images provide a compelling medium for the presentation of issues such as plough damage to non-specialist rural audiences.

In Devon, a number of the sites discovered in recent reconnaissance have been taken up with enthusiasm by their local communities. In 2003 EW, in the course of doctoral research, carried out geophysical survey and limited excavation on the site of two enclosures identified through aerial reconnaissance in south Devon.

The excavation team was composed almost entirely of local people, who were enchanted to find the history of their parish extended by more than a thousand years. They engaged with 'their' site to such an extent that money has now been raised by the local History Society for a further two seasons of work. Many participants are experiencing archaeology at first hand for the first time, while the results will be important to the understanding of the little-excavated archaeology of the area.

It is our contention that, so far from being remote, aerial archaeology can actually engage the non-archaeologist rather better than many terrestrial branches of the subject, and that in a locally-based context it is vital, cost-effective, and a delight to its practitioners.

Cropmaps: on rehabilitation of aerial photographs and maps in postmodern world
Lidka Zuk (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan)
The session on aerial archaeology, which is organized on a conference dedicated to theory in archaeology, is undoubtedly an attempt to break through 'theoretical' isolation. The intention is to demonstrate the potential of this field of archaeological practice for providing interesting and inspiring theoretical reflection. In my paper I would like to invert the problem and ask whether non-aerial archaeologists are ready to accept theoretical aerial archaeology? Analysis of the key works in landscape archaeology provides undisputedly negative answer. Dominant phenomenological approach demands an „embodied form of understanding and interpretation' that is a direct presence of an archaeologists in a given place. Aerial photographs and maps are against such experience, because they imply a considerable distance between 'subject' and 'object' – behind the claims of objectivity is hidden desire to control and discipline the past. Maps are accused of presenting a sectional view of the past which pretends to be a voice of everybody, the full picture. Thus in postmodern world aerial photographs and maps are excluded from landscape phenomenological discourse. However, it seems that such criticism is based on total misunderstanding of the practice of aerial archaeology. From the very beginning maps are built from fragments – hundreds of single photographs, which record 'ghostly' traces of the past. But the final result is also far from being a total picture of the past. At the end we realize that we still deal with fragments – they are only bigger than initially. This help us realize that we always built our stories from fragments, which are linked together into coherent narration. Therefore any accusation of 'totalitarianism' which are addressed to maps simply miss the target – the problem is *how*, not *what* tools we use. Conversely, it may be argued that phenomenological approach, in which a single photograph (even if taken from human perspective) represents whole place, may be far more 'totalising' than a map. Instead it is argued that maps offer an experience of landscape which could be much closer to that of prehistoric people.

Some observations on the nature of aerial survey
Dave Cowley and Simon Gilmour (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland)
The processes involved in survey of any type range across the technical, intellectual and emotional; where they have been articulated, discussion has tended to concentrate on the mechanics of the procedures and technical aspects of equipment. Much more difficult to express are the intertwined roles of perception, experience and cognition, which operate at an individual level and render the survey process an essentially subjective experience, driven by a cycle of decision making, both conscious and unconscious. This subjectivity is increasingly recognized and can be harnessed, both as a means of understanding what elements of the survey are a consequence of the individual(s) undertaking the work or the methodologies employed, and as a mechanism to engage in a reflective, or 'reflexive', way with the survey process and the material under examination. In this context, the assessment of subjectivity and bias in aerial survey should begin to shrug off the negative connotations that these terms often evoke, enabling practitioners and end users to engage in constructive dialogue about this sometimes vexed issue.

On imaginary and disappearing archaeology
Antonia Kershaw (English Heritage) (poster)

3/4I. Revelation Salon

Matthew Gompertz, Keith May and Sarah May (English Heritage)
Revelation is an English Heritage project that will be producing a new integrated information system for English Heritage research over the next few years. We start from the position that this is a theoretical and archaeological task first and foremost and that technical issues should support these processes rather than determine them. Mindful of our position within the sector, we are anxious to get the views of as many people as possible on the development of the project and its future relationships with the rest of the sector.

In the morning we will be working on the basic ideas behind the project: the theoretical, critical and practical issues involved in information systems in archaeology, the progress of the project so far and our plans for the future. We will be giving a presentation on our work on these issues at 9.30, 'drop in' discussion of the issues, with the purpose of exploring your ideas and responses to this work. We will be taking notes in this session in order to incorporate these ideas in our future planning. This pattern will be repeated at 11.30 to allow people to join the discussion who missed the first presentation.

In the afternoon we will focus in on a modelling excerise that we have carried out this year. We have produced an event based 'ontological' data model of Archaeological Research based on our own practice and using the CIDOC conceptual reference model. This model, once extended and finalised, will form the basis of our future information systems. Since the model purports to reflect archaeological practice in a broad sense, we are keen to discuss it in detail with people engaged in understanding archaeological epistemology. As with the morning session, there will be a presentation at 2.00 followed by discussion and another iteration at 4.00. Our experience in discussing this model is that it takes about 1/2hr of looking at it and thinking/ discussing before being in a position to comment, so this session will create the space for consideration.

4A. Moving beyond Metaphors: Approaches to the Life and Activity of Things

Organisers: Shaun Moyler (University of Southampton) and Maartje Hoogsteyns (University of Amsterdam).
Discussant: Peter van Dommelen
'We should not consider material culture as a passive outcome of human intentions! Material culture is active!' 'This collection of objects all had their own specific biographies'. Phrases like these, concerning 'the active roles of things' or 'the biography of objects', regularly crop up within present-day archaeological and material culture studies. Although they seem to be generally accepted, little thought has been given to the variety of ways in which the phrases can be interpreted from both a theoretical and practical perspective. In this session we wish to discuss different approaches to material objects from these parallel viewpoints, that both share a complimentary theoretical foundation.

'The active role of things' can be understood in several ways. For example, grounded in a tradition of anthropological literature on exchange, some studies tend to centre themselves on specific artefacts that are considered active because of their particular role as social agents. Other approaches, inspired by structuration theory, focus on the way mundane artefacts constitute a daily cultural environment through and by which people construct themselves. Despite the differences in interpretation though, there has been an overall tendency to emphasize the immaterial and mental aspects of artefactual activity. This tendency has recently been challenged by a renewed interest in materiality, functionality, skills and physical experience within archaeology and material culture studies. Without adopting a determinist or essentialist stance, it is nowadays stressed that the meanings of things cannot be seen to be separate from their materiality and functionality (i.e. what they 'do'). Against this background, papers are sought for the first part of the session where researchers reflect on the implications of 'the active role of material culture'. What do they mean by this phrase in a specific context and how do they make the idea behind it operational? In what way(s) does the materiality of the object play a part in this situation?

The notion of a 'biographical approach' to material objects has become firmly established in shaping the methodologies employed in archaeological interpretation. However, while the concept of an object having a life history akin to that of humans provides a suitable *metaphorical* mechanism with which to foreground the great diversity of ways in which people and objects may be related, its archaeological application has seen it primarily used as an interpretive tool that draws on a recurrent set of ethnographic examples to cross culturally identify that material evidence *could* also have been viewed in these ways. In many cases, it has been considered sufficient to merely point out that objects must have had 'rich biographies', even though very few people have attempted to reconstruct these specific biographical trajectories themselves (Woodward 2002: 1040). This situation has arisen in part from a failure to examine some of the ways in which an objects history may be recognised from the physical evidence itself, let alone a consideration how these object lives may have been connected to the personal histories of people.
Woodward, A. 2002. Beads and beakers: heirlooms and relics in the British EBA. *Antiquity* 76: 1040-1047

Materializing the active roles of objects
Maartje Hoogsteyns (University of Amsterdam)
While there is a need to reintegrate the material dimensions of objects with their active social and cultural roles, this is not such an easy task. How do we combine the sensory and functional dimensions of objects with their active roles (often located in their meanings) while avoiding essentialism? How can we navigate between social and material reductionism? It has been suggested that a way to achieve this is to turn to the network-approaches developed, amongst others, by Bruno Latour. In this paper I want to address the following question: does the approach espoused by Latour indeed cater for the *material dimensions* of ordinary things in their *active roles* and if so, in what ways? I will illustrate both some possibilities and limitations of the approach by considering Dutch medieval cesspits as active material objects.

Bottom-up biographies: how everyday objects resist narrative
Carl Knappett (University of Exeter)
This paper challenges what appears to be a common assumption in some areas of material culture studies: that everyday things can only be made interesting if they are activised or given a narrative (i.e. a biography, a life-history). While Latour's argument for a 'symmetrical' anthropology that valorises the social roles of both things and people is an important step, it should not be mistaken as an attempt to establish an *equivalency* between the two. Things and people tend not to play the same roles in socio-technical interactions; they have different properties and thus contribute differently to the hybrid forms that result. Unlike people, objects are very often inactive – immobile, patient, silent. While some objects may well have biographies, such as the figurines and artworks selected in some accounts, in other cases this academic aspiration to imbue objects with 'greatness' or history is seriously misplaced. For everyday things occupying a different register, one that is banal and mundane, the search for narrative is intrusive. Such objects are not to be understood consciously, at arm's length, but in a creatural, sensual and tactile fashion. In order to shed further light on this distinction, between what we might call artworks on the one hand and artefacts on the other, I draw upon the work of art historian Norman Bryson. In particular, his use of the terms 'megalography' and 'rhopography' in relation to the practice of still-life painting, is invaluable. It transpires that archaeologists may have much in common with some painters of still-life: seeking to depict the everyday from a top-down, narrativising perspective that privileges 'greatness'. Bryson examines the ways in which painters such as Chardin overcame this fundamental paradox, managing to depict the mundane within its own rhopographic terms of reference. I suggest that in order to tackle this same dilemma, archaeology needs to find new ways of generating narratives from the bottom-up. One solution proposed here involves the development of network approaches for the study of meaning in material culture.

Materials against materiality
Tim Ingold (University of Aberdeen)
I start from the observation that while recent literature in both archaeology and anthropology has much to say on the subjects of materiality and material culture, it has virtually nothing to say about the actual *materials* of which things are made. Discussions concerning materiality tend to move on a level of high abstraction, engaging concepts of a similar order such as agency, intentionality, embodiment and semiosis. These discussions have not in the least advanced our knowledge or understanding of materials. We would learn more from engaging directly with the materials themselves. My thesis is that the focus on materiality is not only a distraction from, but systematically precludes, the proper understanding of materials. Drawing on James Gibson's tripartite division between medium, substances and surfaces, I argue that materials have no essential component of materiality that escapes the current of their own growth and transformation. Materials do not *exist*, as manifestations of materiality, they *occur*, as moments in a process of becoming. If we ask 'What is the stoniness of stone?' or 'What is the woodiness of wood?' the answer can be neither a quality on the side of mind nor a property on the side of matter. It can only lie in the way this piece of wood, or that stone, is enmeshed in relations with its surroundings, including human beings and much else besides. To understand materials we need to focus not on materiality *per se*, but on the histories of these relations.

Agency, objects and reality in Roman culture
Andrew Gardner (Cardiff University)
Material culture is actively meaningful in the shaping of human life-worlds, but it becomes so only insofar as it

mediates the agency of people. Humans form social relationships with and through objects, which in turn – because of their physicality – help to make those relationships seem 'real', that is as part of an external world. In this paper, I will explore this process at work in the forts of northern Roman Britain. The practices in which agency and structure interact are material ones, and so archaeologists have access to the conditions and possibilities of structuration. The objects used by soldiers and others in sites along Hadrian's Wall reproduced social institutions as tangible elements of people's lives, but also provided the means for the transformation of those institutions, a process we now describe in terms of the collapse of Roman society in Britain. Insights from the work of Anthony Giddens and George Herbert Mead will be deployed in this study to show how technology materially mediates symbolic interaction, and in doing so extends the realities of people's lives across space and time.

Media|archaeology and the post-interpretive turn: to the life of things
Christopher Witmore and Michael Shanks (Stanford University)
The paper works through case studies drawn from current research on the Argive Survey Project in Greece, Shanks, Pearson, and McLucas's theater/archaeology, and from the field of science and technology studies. We propose that action be conceived less as focused upon intentional agents and more as a distributed and collective realm that encompasses things (as well as other social and cultural forms) – what we have called heterogeneous networks, following John Law and others in the history and sociology of technology. This analytical levelling of people and things, their treatment in symmetry, poses a problem for human-centred interpretation in the humanities because it re-establishes relationships with the material world outside of the subject/object paradigm upon which most interpretation rests. A rich suite of schemes for dealing with the complexities of how science transforms the material world, for example, have been developed within this post-interpretive/post-human turn. Still, these schemes are often embedded in traditional media and modes of documentation – they fall short when it comes to conveying those properties of the material world encountered through human sensation and experience in scientific practice. This paper addresses this shortcoming by highlighting the importance of media, both old and new (digital), as modes of engagement through which we mobilize, manifest, and materialize aspects of the material world (the archaeological) that are denied by our traditional forms of documentation. To this end, we advocate acts of mediation through which aspects of the material world can be manifested, brought forth and disseminated. We discuss the status of knowledge claims within this kind of work and argues that its epistemology is a robust one.

The flow of the partible animal: biographical paths to the Late Bronze Age household
Kristin Oma (University of Southampton)
This paper aims at exploring ways of investigating the relationship between humans and animals in the household context. Humans and animals are perceived as living in a shared embeddedness, inhabiting a shared life-space. The proximity and relatedness between humans and animals is articulated through the material culture, which is laden with a biographical significance stemming from the intertwined human-animal practice. The flow of the household is a spatial concept, expressing a transformation of the congealed pattern of the spatial distribution into a fluid reality. Primary and secondary products from animals are a fragmentation of the animal; inherent in this is that animals are partible in a temporal and spatial sense, and that their parts have specific properties. The transformative process of fragmentation and de-fragmentation links animals and humans together through the postulated flow of materiality that create biographies. The biographically laden materiality is detected as a transformative flow of objects, creating complex entanglements of actions, sensory experiences and memories. The relationship between humans and animals as performed in the practice of everyday life is considered to be structuring principles governing the practice of the household. The spatial interaction which provides the setting for the biographical process of materiality is explored.

The biographies of Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egyptian palettes
Alice Stevenson (University of Cambridge)
The identification of prestige goods has been used as the fundamental springboard into discussions of power negotiation and the way in which material culture can be 'active' in arenas of elite competition. Recently attention has been redirected to the problem of understanding *why* and *how* certain objects acquire such value. The life-history model can be invoked here as a framework within which to articulate cultural trajectories and value processes. Yet many models are only metaphorical in application allowing only reflection upon such cultural processes. The refocus on the 'activity' of artefacts can alert us though to the inadequacies of viewing life histories as merely a metaphor and by refocusing our analytical gaze on the materiality of artefacts we can perhaps engage more hermeneutically with the concept. Through a case study of the development of value in the 'cosmetic' palettes of Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt (ca. 3900 – 2950 BC) I will explore some the themes pertinent to the issues of 'activity of artefacts' and 'life-histories'. From the platform of petrological analysis a line of enquiry into the attribution of value here touches upon: issues of the tensions between biographies of different forms and compositions of artefacts; the question of whether agency can reside and act from 'within' artefacts; and the conceptual link between biographical scales from specific life-histories to generic social histories.

A touching story: Bryn Yr Hen Bobl and the articulation of memories
Shaun Moyler (University of Southampton)
The chambered cairn known as Bryn Yr Hen Bobl on the Isle of Anglesey provides something of a typological anomaly, with its extended 'tail' and 'porthole' entrance. Traditional approaches to the structure have sought to determine how these features differ from the more established typologies recognised in Southern England and to suggest possible external cultural influences that may account for its both origin and form. This contribution offers an alternative assessment of the physical evidence where I will move beyond these larger scale concerns to trace the more specific constructional trajectory of the cairn throughout its life. I suggest how its history is closely allied to the way in which the monument deliberately incorporated particular active material features that emphasised specific senses while simultaneously referencing past events. My argument critically highlights the varying temporal scales at which the nebulous 'biographical approach' has been employed archaeologically to map material change.

Reflections on the Iron Age: a biography of pre-Roman Iron Age mirrors
Jody Joy (University of Southampton)
Mirrors are some of the most recognisable and enigmatic objects from the British pre-Roman Iron Age. To develop our understanding of this period I am using a biographical approach to material culture which involves charting the lives of Iron Age mirrors from their manufacture, through their changing uses and meanings, to their social death and re-discovery. Recent research has concentrated on individual mirrors. A wider comparative framework is required if we are to understand the significance of mirrors to the people who made and used them. For example, their occurrence in burials in the first centuries BC/AD is linked to the discovery of other toilet objects, indicating new attitudes towards appearance and the body, and signalling changing expressions of social differentiation.

Memorialising race in the deep South: the case study of the 'Good Darkey' statue, Louisiana, USA
Fiona J. L. Handley (University College London)
The period between the 1st and 2nd World Wars saw the development of a series of memorials commemorating African Americans in Southern USA society. These appeared at various places, usually in the form of plaques, however, the 'Good Darkey' is unique in being a life-size statue cast in bronze. It was erected in Natchitoches, northwestern Louisiana in 1927, where it remained in a prominent position in the centre of town until it was taken down in 1969, ultimately ending up in the LSU Rural Life Museum where it is displayed as the statue of 'Uncle Jack'. Initially, the statue served as both a witness to changing social relations and a prescription for appropriate black behaviour by white people, though its creation has to be understood within the context of violent crimes towards African Americans in the early 20th century South. The rapid evolution of meanings associated with the statue over the last 40 years, from acceptable paternalism, to its politicisation in the 1960s, to the confusion as to its current cultural worth make this an interesting case study in the multiple layers of meaning and value that constitute the social lives of objects.

4D. The Archaeology of Love and Anger

Organisers: Oliver Harris and Alasdair Whittle (Cardiff University). Discussant: Stephanie Koerner (University of Manchester)

The archaeology of love and anger, and a case study from the Early Neolithic of the Great Hungarian Plain
Alasdair Whittle (Cardiff University)
If the best of agency theory and the dwelling perspective provide powerful ways of thinking about past people acting in their worlds, is this enough ? Are not agents (both single and collective) too often presented as somewhat anonymous, motiveless, emotionless and unbound by close ties or shared values? Agents often seem to be agents chiefly because they act. This session offers a starting point for thinking further about emotive, affective and aesthetic dimensions of small-scale social existence which are often comparatively neglected or left out of the account altogether. It takes its title deliberately from Overing and Passes (2000): *The anthropology of love and anger*. When I came across this set of papers about Amazonian sociality quite recently, it made an immediate impact on me. Here were anthropologists talking about precisely those dimensions so often lacking in archaeological agency theory and the dwelling perspective. A central concept is conviviality, or in this context the art of living well together. Overing and Passes draw attention to an aesthetics of action, 'styles of everyday relating that are morally – and therefore aesthetically – not only proper but beautiful and pleasing' (Overing and Passes 2000, xii). They use the term conviviality to connote living together and sharing the same life, grounded in: 'peacefulness, high morale and high affectivity, a metaphysics of human and non-human interconnectedness, a stress on kinship, good gifting-sharing, work relations and dialogue, a propensity for the informal and performative as against the formal and institutional, and intense ethical and aesthetic valuing of sociable sociality' (Overing and Passes 2000, xiii-xiv). While there is much emphasis on harmony and love, the intensity of attachment to such an aesthetic of living also explains the converse of dispute and anger, and the fragility of affective community (20-23).

The papers that follow explore the implications of this kind of approach. The session is *not* offered as a single, extended ethnographic analogy, though of course it does raise the recurrent question of the value of such approaches. It is worth noting that *The anthropology of love and anger* is not the only recent anthropological/sociological volume to explore these perspectives: both Mark Harris's *Life on the Amazon* (2000), and Vered Amit's *Realizing community* (2002) raise many of the same issues. The papers in this session explore varying aspects of the affective, emotional and aesthetic side of small-scale living together. They are far from being unified, but it is hoped that they offer useful ways of expanding and refining agency theory and the dwelling perspective, rather than replacing them.

My paper first briefly sets out the aims and scope of the session. It then offers a case study of social existence in the first half of the 6th millennium BC on the Great Hungarian Plain: the Early Neolithic Körös culture. This has often been modelled in terms of great issues of colonisation and acculturation, the establishment of more settled existence and of animal husbandry and cereal cultivation, and interactions between large-scale cultural groupings. Without setting these aside, I try to establish a different perspective. Drawing on the notion of conviviality, and also that of the choreography of social existence (James 2003), I explore ways of thinking about life in small groups, in a pattern of both fixed attachment to place and moving around the taskscape, through rhythms of alternating isolation and periodic aggregation, and framed by contrasts between the immediacies of day-to-day living and the demands of the past, the dead and memory.

James, W. 2003. *The ceremonial animal: a new portrait of anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Overing, J, and Passes, A. (eds) 2000. *The anthropology of love and anger: the aesthetics of conviviality in native Amazonia*. London: Routledge.

Where are all the people? The post-colonialist critique and an anthropology of the everyday
Joanna Overing (University of St Andrews)
How do we develop an anthropological gaze that avoids the fallacy of the myths of progress and the superior position of western civilisation within modernist grand narratives of Society? How do we develop anthropological/archaeological writing that does not silence 'the other'? How do we decolonise intellectuality so as to be able to translate well other people's knowledges, ways of thinking, relating, and doing? This is for sure a political endeavour, but one crucial to the future intellectual and academic success of the Human Sciences. The specialised language of western social theory became clearly a political technology of negation: e.g. through ethnography, Amazonian peoples became best known, not for what they were, but for what they were not: stateless, no government or political authority, and not much social structure. Indeed, so the myths of the west go, they had precious little creativity, moral order, aesthetics, poetics. We had pretty well erased these peoples, with this assumption about peoples having different *degrees* of Society, polity, creativity. Given our objectified views of otherness, we completely missed the point about Amazonian, and many other, peoples – and *their* horizons of concerns.

Well, one thing is certain. The anthropology of today is not what it was a couple of decades ago, for we have

experienced an overwhelming shift in point of view. This is due in large part to the blossoming of a post-colonialist critique. Anthropology became the obvious target of much of this literature. Nevertheless, because anthropology is a discipline that understands the importance of the *particular,* and thus the local, many anthropologists became engaged in the debate. The main cry became: 'where are all the People? Please, let's see and hear the people!' Today more and more scholars are working at the intersections of disciplines, bringing together the concepts and procedures of philosophy, linguistics, anthropology, psychology, poetics, history. I shall provide a few examples, both within and without anthropology, all of which make a plea for the necessity of the *local* within moral, political, and social theory (Bauman (1995) noting in despair the cultural crusades of modernism that had disqualified and uprooted all those particularizing authorities seen to be standing in the way of the modernist dream of human homogeneity).

1) There is the philosophical and political science 'counterculture', all working toward critical de-centrings of certain key grand narratives of Society that operate against the creative success of science.

2) There are those, both within and without anthropology, who are disclosing the paucity of modernist sociological theory that places all the richness of living and everyday practice, its aesthetics and poetics, *outside* society's boundaries – as pertaining to (irrational) domains that sit beyond the pale of the sociological. We are obviously in need of new visions of 'the sociological', a widening and extending of the anthropological endeavour beyond the restrictive, self-serving borders of modernist sociological theory. I shall refer to Michel de Certeau who argues that sociological meaning is to be found in the arts of the everyday, in its tactics, poetics and its trickeries; to Ivan Brady who notes with relief that anthropology is rediscovering its poetic base to become again an 'artful science'; to Roy Wagner who argues that anthropologists have nickeled and dimed human realities to death.

The post-colonialist critique has truly opened up anthropology, as we can see by the wonderful ethnography and rhetoric over the past 10-15 years (e.g. the notion of the dialogical emergence of culture). We see a development of an anthropology of consciousness, and of the everyday (e.g. the culinary arts), where the importance of everyday poetics is finely displayed. The 'sociologically wayward' ways of peoples of Amazonia, New Guinea, and Asia have become more accessible within this new sociology of knowledge – one that recognises, first of all, that our own concepts of Society, Culture, Aesthetics, Poetics, Polity, and Agency (the relation between mind and body, between intellect and affective life, between the individual and the collectivity) *are local ones*. Once this basic idea is accepted, we can then engage in conversations – as equals – with others of different times or places, and the process, in Gadamer's terms, of perspicuous contrast can begin.

We find that indeed there exist many narratives of society and sociality that contrast to our own. I shall conclude with mention of some of my recent work (2004) on how the genres of the grotesque used by Piaroa narrators (of the Orinoco Basin) relate to mythscapes, and thereby to situated practices ('taskscapes' as Alasdair Whittle, drawing on Tim Ingold, refers to them) and the arts of being and relating *in* the world.

Bauman, Z. (1995) *Life in Fragments: Essays in Postmodern Morality*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Overing, J. (2004) The Grotesque Landscape of Mythic 'Before Time'. In E. Halbmayer and E. Mader (eds.) *Kultur, Raum, Landschaft,* Brandes and Apsel.

Emotional agents? Conviviality, identity, performance and practice at Windmill Hill

Oliver Harris (Cardiff University)

Building on a perspective rooted in both dwelling and agency, this paper will argue that any attempt to understand past peoples must also take into account the role that diverse senses of personhood, memory, identity, values and emotions may have played. Furthermore this is vital if we are to prevent notions of agency becoming essentialist and universal. Drawing on the work of a number of philosophers and anthropologists the paper will suggest that the varied and socially contingent nature of emotions in particular have yet to be dealt with adequately by archaeologists.

In order to develop this discussion the paper will then turn to a brief case-study: that of the causewayed enclosure on Windmill Hill. The material excavated here contains a huge variety of deposits; humans, animals, stone tools and pots, some or all of which may have been considered to be persons at different times and in different contexts. Whilst this touches on the small-scale and the intimate, the broader architecture of the site refers to larger groups of people coming together, building, feasting and sharing. This paper will argue that an understanding of emotion, conviviality and shared values can deepen our narratives around these detailed acts of building and deposition. Certain activities, such as the burial of infants, may have created or demanded certain emotional responses, and these responses themselves may have been central to the act of internment. These emotions may have been accepted, challenged, supported or subverted by other people and other feelings. They may have been seen as part of the proper way to behave, or themselves have been acts of empowerment that challenged and undermined other hegemonies (cf. Seremetakis 1991). The key is not to discover the 'true' emotions of the past, but to explore how material conditions such as those at Windmill Hill may have been lived through in emotionally textured ways. The emotions of the past were different, but the past was certainly not emotion-free. Through such understandings, acts of performance and practice already redolent (to our eyes) of memory, identity and personhood can be shown to be caught up within particular moments, as well as more general fields, of emotion and sociality, and therefore within the 'aesthetics of conviviality' (Overing and Passes 2000).

Overing, J, and Passes, A. (eds) 2000. *The anthropology of love and anger: the aesthetics of conviviality in native Amazonia*. London: Routledge.

Seremetakis, C.N. 1991. *The last word: women, death and divination in inner Mani*. Chicago University Press.

The emotional Mesolithic: past and present ambiguities of the Ofnet cave, Bavaria

Daniela Hofmann (Cardiff University)

34 skulls, mainly of women and children, cut from the bodies soon after death, some showing traces of a violent end, all arranged in concentric circles and heaped with deer teeth and shells – this is Ofnet cave. For years, discussions have revolved around re-examining the 'facts', which change with every attempt. Scholars fall into two camps: some see the skulls as victims of a barbaric act of violence, others prefer symbolically charged reverential burial. Membership hinges on theoretical outlook, as the evidence on the ground is ambiguous enough to support both interpretations. Present emotionality has clearly taken centre-stage, with accusations of crudeness and over-simplification being exchanged. What has entirely been ignored is the equally powerful and ambiguous emotions the site evoked in Mesolithic witnesses: either a mixture of aggression and fear as people first butcher their enemies and then adorn the remains, or a mixture of

love and anger, as those suffering a bad death are bloodily torn apart, yet are revered and remembered.

Interpretation will always be dictated by personal preference, but wherever research moves from here, this extraordinary emotional tension and the sensory impact on the witnesses must be the basis for our writing. Whoever was present would have left the scene with a dramatic memory likely to last for the rest of their lives, carried forward in mythical geographies and personal recollections. Any social goal, belief, metaphor or expression of identity we read into this site can only have worked because it was grounded in individual emotional response to a site still hard to comprehend rationally today.

'Delivered over to my mood': emotion and world-disclosure

Julian Thomas (University of Manchester)

It is one of the paradoxes of archaeology that we are poorly placed to speak of the emotions, passions or moods of people in the past, and yet if we are to construct an adequate account of prehistory, we must attempt to do so. I am personally wary of much discussion of emotion in archaeology, because of the frequent resort to presumed human universals and/or empathy. I do not doubt that people in the distant past had rich and complex emotional lives, but it seems to me somewhat presumptive to assume that these can be apprehended on the basis of our shared humanity.

While I shrink from accounts of 'what they must have been feeling' when prehistoric people buried their dead, shared food or killed animals (and the rather Californian desire to 'share in the emotion' that this implies), there is at least one area of archaeology in which a consideration of questions of affect seems to me imperative. Experiential or phenomenological archaeologies have sometimes been criticised for assuming a universal or neutral human subject, to whom experiences just happen. This is perhaps not a problem where we use our own physical experiences as a form of allegory, acknowledging that those of past people would have been quite different in character. However, it may be that one way of building upon these ideas, and addressing the differentness of past lifeworlds may lie in addressing questions of mood and attunement. These are aspects of phenomenological thought that have been little discussed in archaeology. The point that I will hope to make is that mood (whether joy, anguish or indifference) is not a superficial level of feeling added onto our everyday engagement with the world, but is deeply implicated in the way that things 'show up' to us. Consequently, it may be that we now need to address the cultural construction of feeling.

Exploring personhood, community and sociality

Chris Fowler (University of Newcastle)

This paper will review some anthropological examples of how people attain, maintain and transform personal identities by their absorption in particular community concerns and desires. It will explore connections between the attainment of personal identity and forms of sociality, and lay particular emphasis on the place of material exchanges and transformations in the ongoing generation of both personhood and community. It will consider the role of specific shared forms of desire in these interactions and the tropes such interactions draw on. How does recognition of desires alternative to the attainment of hierarchical status or the perpetuation of a rigid social structure or formalised community allow us to reframe our understanding of lives in the prehistoric past? What key tropes can we identify in the generation of prehistoric personhood, community and sociality? What sort of narratives can be produced by an emphasis on alternative modes of sociality in conceptualising, for instance, a British Neolithic community?

Recovering love in the archaeological record: ancient Egyptian love poems as material culture

Yvette Balbaligo (University College London)

How can we know the minds of people from an ancient civilisation, let alone know what was in their hearts? Can we assume that what we understand as love today evoked the same feelings as in those who lived over 3000 years ago? Is it possible to recover love in the archaeological record? This paper will focus on love in ancient Egypt through a body of literature called 'the love poems'. The Ancient Egyptian love poems are among the oldest poems in existence, dating from the New Kingdom (c.1550-1070 BC) and are songs of love, separation, longing, sensual pleasure, tenderness and joy, and give us an insight into the hearts and emotions of an ancient people. By exploring the range of emotions displayed in the love poems, this paper will consider the context for love and pleasure in ancient Egypt and the part poetry, music and art contributed to conviviality. Furthermore, this paper will examine the social context for the poems and discuss their reception, transmission and functionality, as well as the problems of translation and using texts as material culture. Poetry and music still play an important part in life and identity in North African and Middle Eastern cultures and countries. This paper will conclude by outlining the tradition of classical and modern Arabic love poetry and music, and the relationship between Arabic and ancient Egyptian literature.

Feeding relations: archaeologies of conviviality in the Iron Age

Mel Giles (University of Leicester)

When we talk of 'conviviality' in the Iron Age, we tend to think of competitive feasting events, traditionally seen as part of the way in which elites rivalled and challenged each other's power and influence within a community. Whilst there is substantial evidence for events of conspicuous consumption and deposition within the Iron Age, our images and understandings of these practices are all too often drawn from the exotic accounts of classical authors or uncritically applied early Medieval analogies. Moreover, an exclusive focus on the occasional, spectacular and euphoric events of feasting fails to capture the way in which affective social relationships within a community were also reproduced and maintained through day-to-day acts of nurture, care and procreation. This theme is explored through the phenomenon of Iron Age storage pits from hillforts in Wessex, to examine the moral, aesthetically pleasing practices of 'good living' in the world *with* others, which lie at the heart of the anthropological concept of conviviality defined by Overing and Passes (2000). However, in focusing attention upon the solitary labour of domestic life, we must not lose sight of the way in which these practices were also riven through with the politics, rivalries and tensions which characterise even the most intimate of social relations.

4F. Doing Historical Archaeology: Time, Space and Data

Organisers: Chris Dalglish and Kylie Seretis (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division)

Historical archaeology encompasses differing scales of time and space and varying forms of data. Historical archaeologists can focus on a few years, centuries or millennia. They can concentrate on the local, regional or global. Data derive from excavation, survey, environmental remains, documents, maps and much besides. Much recent debate on the post-medieval and modern eras has been separate from discussion with those working on similar timescales and different material in earlier periods. There is also little explicit discussion of the creation of long-term narratives, although such narratives often form the structure for

archaeological analysis (e.g. the 'archaeology of Scotland', covering over 1000 years). The implications of working at local and global scales of analysis are a significant recent concern, and require ongoing analysis.

This session will focus on contrasting ways of doing historical archaeology. What forms of data are relevant in constructing short, medium or long term and local, regional or global histories? What are the implications of such narratives for present society and politics? When might we wish to emphasise the long-term or global over the short-term or local, or vice versa? Should one narrative necessarily be privileged over another? In what ways do the data constrain research (i.e. do environmental data require one analytical scale, and excavated data another)? Can we correlate these different narratives?

Navigating through time: historical archaeology and Scottish land rights
Chris Dalglish (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division)
This paper will address the issue of the use of different temporal scales of analysis in the historical archaeology of the recent past, with a particular focus on the political implications of competing narratives. Different narratives in the archaeology of rural Scotland from the Medieval period through to the nineteenth century will be discussed with particular regard to the issue of land rights. This issue of land rights is one of ongoing relevance in Scottish society and politics and has assumed renewed prominence in recent years with new land access and ownership legislation passing through the Scottish Parliament. Claims to the land are often grounded in differing accounts of the past. Some histories claim the primacy of long-standing, and therefore authentic, tradition. Others focus on more recent, and seemingly short-lived, episodes like the Clearances and the commercialisation of Scotland's estates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It will be suggested that the historical archaeology of rural Scotland cannot avoid the analysis of past relationships with the land, as this is a defining theme in past (as present) Scottish society. One result of this is that, unwittingly or not, archaeological narratives are situated in relation to contemporary land rights debates. In discussing this specific case, comment will be made on the general issue of narrative scales in historical archaeology. In recent years, there has been debate over the necessity and aptness of the creation of master narratives (e.g. in 'global historical archaeology') as opposed to localised and situational accounts. In this debate, protagonists tend to favour one form of narrative over the other on the basis of general principle. But is this an appropriate basis on which to navigate through the competing narratives available? The situation is perhaps more complex than has been recognised, and one scale of narrative cannot necessarily be privileged over another without regard to the context(s) in which that narrative will be received.

Eulogy to lost nations: Spanish chroniclers of the Andes
Melissa Goodman Elgar (Washington State University)
The cultural phases of Europe rarely mirror cultural developments in the Americas. However, the use of early historical documents as points of reference for earlier periods shares many similarities. In Andean South America, the home of great pyramid builders and vast empires, indigenous achievements were recorded with a variety of skill by Spanish conquistadors, missionaries and colonists collectively called the Spanish Chronicles. These documents relate most closely to the Inca Empire, which stretched over 1000 km from Venezuela to Argentina at the time of Spanish contact. I assess the contributions of this contentious literature as source material to understand the cultures that fell under this colonial gaze.

Taken as ethnography, these chronicles share the limitations often observed in early anthropological work. This is to say, they project the unexplored ethnocentrism of the writers on their subjects and present their themes as timeless and ahistorical. Limited first hand observations were projected far from their sources in many instances. In the case of indigenous writers, a desire to record the former glory of their ancestors or to protect political aspirations serves to cloud the reliability of their texts. Indeed, this highlights the broader need to identify the reason such texts were written and preserved in their time.

Archaeologists have plundered these Chronicles for insights they may provide on any number of themes: ritual pilgrimages, tax systems, Inca genealogy and crop production regimes are just a few examples. There is a tendency to project the information gleaned from them not only outside the regions described but also through time to hundreds of years before they were recorded. Thus, archaeologists may further propagate the colonial view of these societies. Despite these shortcomings, the value of the Chronicles for archaeologists cannot be denied. As considered in this paper, when used critically and tested empirically, these texts provide inspiration and context for the discovery of the Incas and the peoples once under their control.

Early Historic(al) Archaeology: caught between history and prehistory in c. AD 600-900 Scotland
Meggen Gondek (University of Durham)
Very few would argue that the written documents that exist for c. AD 600 – 900 Scotland are completely irrelevant to archaeologists of the period. The common usage of 'Early Historic' for this period of Scotland's past, rather than 'early medieval' for example, reinforces the idea that we are working in an historical period. But are we historical archaeologists looking at a period when 'history' existed and no longer survives to us, or prehistorians looking at the cusp of a new 'historical' world view? Does it even matter? This paper will consider these questions in the context of the archaeology associated with a most historically elusive element of Scottish archaeology – the 'Picts'.

Medieval charters and the significance of place: the use of charters within a consideration of landscape
Oliver O'Grady (University of Glasgow)
Here I will explore the theoretical implications of a recent re-evaluation of the early medieval sculpture of Strathclyde. This was undertaken through an examination of specific medieval charters, produced during the 12th and 13th centuries within the Glasgow area. The investigation of such material focused upon the social significance of specific places, places that coincide with the earliest find spots of early medieval sculptured crosses. The medieval reuse of space is interpreted through the juxtaposition of early medieval archaeological remains and the significance of space embedded within 12th-13th century charters. This will be discussed through close examination of specific examples of sculpture, and the immediate localities at which they where originally displayed. In this way the implications of landscape theories were considered through an integration of textual and art historical data. I attempt to explore the interesting possibilities for understanding early medieval significance of place through later medieval negotiations of contemporary social landscapes. Furthermore we may reflect upon the implications, and complexities, of this 'retrospective' methodology for wider medieval studies. Can high medieval literary perspectives of time and space be useful within a discussion of early medieval sculpture? Such sculpture has long been the preserve of art historians, and interpreted within bracketed chronologies of theoretical 'schools'. To what extent may we correlate such disparate conceptions of time and social theory?

When was the nineteenth century?
Kylie Seretis (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division)
This paper will address the differences in how archaeologies of the 19th century are studied/ conceptualised between the Old and New Worlds (Britain, Europe, North America, and Australia). This paper will consider how the long-term histories favoured by Europe and Britain appear to curtail the importance of the 19th century as a period of innovation and change from archaeological study. The New Worlds, with distinct breaks between indigenous pasts and European settlement, seem to favour the short term and allow for the detailed historical and archaeological study of the 19th century. This paper will address some of the many ways in which the 100-year period that comprises the 19th century is considered. Sources considered range from environmental data, primary documents, ethnographic and or historical accounts to archaeological excavations and finds analyses. Finally, this paper will conclude with why an archaeological perspective is not just another interesting narrative for the 19th century but imperative to understanding facets of 19th century life through comparison with other sources.

'Historians build cities in the air and archaeologists live in them'
Andy Hutcheson (Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service)
I am working on a thesis exploring the patterns of material culture across the East Anglian landscape during the 7th to 10th centuries. One of the major themes of this work is exploring much discussed concepts of state, settlement hierarchy, towns and trade through the archaeological record but within a historical framework. I believe that the processual approach of divorcing the archaeological evidence from the historical and re-working it through the lens of substantivist economics furthered understanding but effectively separated the two subjects. My work is a dialectical attempt at a history of this region during this period. Essentially, I am attempting to write a narrative of the events both archaeological and historical.

4G. Hunting for Meaning: Interpretive Approaches to the Mesolithic

Organisers: Steven Price and Hannah Cobb (University of Manchester)
'Archaeologists have traditionally placed hunter-gatherers at the bottom of the social evolutionary heap. Some have given the impression that the most interesting thing about hunter-gatherers is that they finally gave up and started farming' (Rowley-Conwy 1997, 7). This statement summarises neatly the resulting attitudes of some of the major problems underlying hunter-gatherer studies, and Mesolithic studies specifically. The most crucial of these problems is that whilst other prehistoric periods have received a rigorous interpretive treatment over the past 2 decades, the Mesolithic has fallen by the wayside. Hence, post-processual approaches now dominate studies of the Neolithic, whilst processual methodologies prevail within Mesolithic studies. This has to some extent emphasised the increasing social and ideological sophistication of the Neolithic in contrast to what appears to be the paucity of such complexity and elaboration in the preceding Mesolithic. For many, the nature of the material record in the Mesolithic sentences it to purely functional and economic approaches that support this picture. However, by drawing explicitly upon interpretive theory we can convincingly argue that material culture played a central part in the creation of meaningful Mesolithic world views. Thus a lack of the standing monuments which characterise the Neolithic does not necessarily mean we cannot examine complex ideologies and diversely understood human relations in the Mesolithic. This session will, for the first time, bring together approaches toward the Mesolithic that explicitly take this stance. Through insightful discussion of such approaches this session will demonstrate that hunter-gatherer world views were actively and meaningfully created and that acknowledging this opens a multitude of new directions for interpreting the Mesolithic.

Rowley-Conwy, P. (1997). *In Sorrow Shalt Thou Eat all thy Days*. British Archaeology No. 21. Council for British Archaeology 7.

Transforming bodies: practices of disarticulation in the British Mesolithic
Chantal Conneller (University of Cambridge)
Relatively little attention has been paid within British archaeology to Mesolithic mortuary practices. Instead the paucity of the British Mesolithic record – and its missing cemeteries – has been emphasised. Admittedly the evidence that does exist is spatially and temporally restricted and has usually been excavated in less then ideal circumstances. However instead of bemoaning the record, we need to emphasise its positive aspects: the Early Mesolithic cemetery at Aveline's Hole, Somerset, for example, where around 100 bodies were discovered between 1797 and 1933. Additionally, increasingly refined dating of human bone (undertaken for the purposes of stable isotope studies) is increasing our knowledge of the context of Mesolithic human remains.

In this paper I want to focus on the isolated human bones found in the British Mesolithic record. Rather than being poorly preserved or badly excavated burials, I will argue that disarticulation was the major mortuary treatment in the British Mesolithic. An examination of disarticulation as an intentional human practice has the potential to throw light on many important aspects of Mesolithic lives; articulations of nature and culture, the significance accorded to particular places and attitudes to death, the human body and animal bodies.

Can't see the trees for the wood
Steven Price (University of Manchester)
Within Mesolithic studies the symbolic role of plants is rarely addressed, with the emphasis placed firmly on economic factors such as resource availability and environmental reconstruction. In these cases the landscape becomes a backdrop to human activity, providing resources and predictions of fauna, thus reducing wood to a raw material to be exploited and is supposed to have been perceived in an economic and scientific stance much as is common today. This model, whilst recognising the technological properties of different woods, ignores the diversity of different tree species and the qualities that they bring to a place; in short, how they are lived with and experienced. Within many societies (including our own) forests, different tree species, and even individual trees hold a much greater significance to people than as raw materials to be exploited as and when they are needed, and indeed, our category of 'tree' is not a universal nor obvious one. Thus, this paper will address these issues and examine how people in the Mesolithic of Scandinavia categorised wood through an examination of how different types of trees are and are not used.

Woodland clearances and tufa edges: environmental angst in the Mesolithic
Paul Davies (Bath Spa University College)
The paper will discuss fear of woodlands (xylophobia) using anthropological and ethnographic case studies.

Following this, it will consider the evidence for woodland clearances in the UK Mesolithic, and propose that such clearances may have been created or utilised in their capacity as 'buffer-zones' against the perceived dangers of the wider woodland environment. Following on from this, the paper will review Mesolithic activity near tufa springs and, using recent evidence from an excavation in Somerset, propose that at least some of the activity is concerned with acknowledging and marking the edges of these tufa deposits. The paper will conclude by suggesting future research agendas with respect to such defined contexts.

Midden, meaning, person, place: interpreting the Mesolithic of Western Scotland
Hannah Cobb (University of Manchester)
Of the British Mesolithic, perhaps one of the most prolifically and intensively studied areas over the last century has been the West of Scotland. These studies were characterised by typological debates in the earlier twentieth century, and in recent decades work on the area has become increasingly concerned with issues of economy and subsistence. Where such studies have considered people within these accounts it has been mostly their relation to their environment in an adaptive and economic sense that has remained a central concern, and very little attention has been afforded to the people who populated the region during the period outside of such processual concerns. Additionally a number of dubious analogies have been drawn to elucidate aspects such as gender relations and ideologies, yet these have always remained closely tied to subsistence practices. However, current research is beginning to illustrate the existence of meaningful ideological connections far beyond the previous economic and subsistence based interpretations that have ever been offered before. Consequently, this paper will argue that by turning to alternative ethnographic accounts and examining aspects of personal identity a radical new interpretation of the Mesolithic experience of the world in Western Scotland is now possible.

Reconstructing the social topography of a Mesolithic lakescape
Aimée Little (University College Dublin)
In the northern Midlands of Ireland a number of finds/sites have been identified in a variety of contexts: from single finds exposed along the foreshore to *in situ* material excavated from fen peats after a drainage scheme in the 1960's lowered the water table in a series of Loughs connected to the River Inny. Despite this, there has never been a comprehensive landscape study which encompasses lake, river and dry land locations in any truly meaningful way. It is argued here that the significance of this internal network of water systems for hunter-gatherer societies has been overlooked in Irish Mesolithic research, creating a partial picture of a potentially much more dynamic landscape than has previously been realised. This research addresses the social aspects of hunter-gatherer inhabitation in the northern Midlands from an ideologically and cosmologically grounded perspective, where hunter-gatherers are seen as active agents in the *physical* transformation of space into place. This act of environment transformation will be explored through a number of key themes, including: the manufacture, use, and discard of objects, variation in the temporal and spatial contexts of activities, and the construction and meaning of 'artificial' islands. This paper will focus on the importance of identifying alternative forms of evidence that have historically been overshadowed by a reliance on lithic datasets, and will discuss the different methodologies that can be used to construct a *social* narrative about life at this time.

4H. Speed Conference

Organisers: James Dixon (Pre-Construct Archaeology), Sam Hardy (University of Sussex), Thomas Kador and Jane Ruffino (University College Dublin). Discussant: Angela Piccini (University of Bristol)
Archaeological conferences such as TAG provide opportunities for delegates to listen to other people's views, find inspiration and new ideas as well as air their own. To a large extent, such conferences appear to be about dialogue and, in turn, this dialogue should drive our discipline forward. In practice, however, the format for presenting papers within sessions tends to create a one-way flow of information. The allocated time for discussion at the end of each session mostly takes the form of questions and answers rather than an open debate. This results in forcing the 'real dialogue' to the conference margins, that is the coffee and lunch breaks or the social events in the evenings, when participation in discussions becomes partly circumstantial.

This session presents an experimental format that will allow this all-important fringe activity to take centre-stage. The session will focus on short one-to-one dialogues between participants, aimed at allowing each person to talk directly to other individuals with a variety of backgrounds and interests, rather than rely on the flawed and static paper – question – answer format. Between each dialogue, participants will be encouraged to produce a short written comment responding to the preceding engagement. These comments will then form the basis of a round-table discussion in which all will be able to take part fully, with prior knowledge of a number of other people's ideas and without the often restrictive barrier of presenter – audience. To fit with the spirit of the session, this speed conference will focus on 'Archaeology and Time'. Within this deliberately broad subject, we aim to consider such areas as how the past exists in the present and the ways in which we can look at this; how we deal with the 'distance' of the past; the employment of chronologies, and the concept of 'time' itself with its potential limitations. We would suggest potential participants arrive with some prepared ideas on how their own research or reading can contribute to some of these discussion points.

Installation: Poetic TAG

Organisers: Marjolijn Kok (University of Amsterdam) and Erik van Rossenberg (Leiden University)
Poetics – both textual and visual – can express thoughts and feelings, make connections beyond ordinary ways of thinking and change our view/perspectives. The familiar becomes unfamiliar and lingering thoughts take shape. In our everyday handling of the archaeological past this poetic dimension often gets submerged in site-reports and databases. Poetic TAG tries to reinsert this dimension into our engagement with the past, taking shape as an installation of posters. The aim of this sideshow is to make creative leaps and investigate new relations but not forget about the archaeological phenomena. The contributors integrate textual and visual imagery, taking their inspiration from archaeological experiences. These experiences range from archaeological fieldwork and museum visits to travelling in landscapes. Come and visit this sideshow, and let the experiences captured in this installation make your mind wander inbetween the regular sessions.

Melanie Giles (Univ. of Leicester). 'The last Wold Ranger'
Michael Given (Univ. of Glasgow). 'Fieldwalkers'
Marjolijn Kok (Univ. of Amsterdam). 'This pit'
Erik van Rossenberg (Univ. of Leiden). 'Participant observation'
Alice Samson (Univ. of Leiden). 'Rocking through Drenthe'
Wouter Waldus (ADC ArcheoProjecten). 'The journey'
Aaron Watson (Univ. of Reading). 'Monumental images'