

SESSION AND PAPER ABSTRACTS

20 December

PEOPLE, PLACES AND POSSESSIONS I RE-DEPOSITING PREHISTORY WITH ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO ARTEFACTS

Anne Teather (University of Sheffield)

Objects, and their placement within archaeological deposits, lie at the very heart of our discipline. It is directly from deposition that we construct both large scale and small scale chronologies, lifetimes, events, movements, biographies. Twenty years ago, radical new approaches to deposition through reference to ethnography enabled us to interpret deposition as structured. This structuring can be seen as both repeated deliberate singular events, or as a result of longer term, repetitive action. It is now commonplace to refer to certain deposits as ritualistic, symbolic and in some cases metaphorical, moving our interpretations forward through ethnographical analogies. Increasingly these analogies enable meanings to be applied to interpretations, whether explicitly or implicitly, and consequently much material culture in prehistoric interpretations has a functional purpose or rather decontextualised ritual significance. There are both advantages and disadvantages to this which I hope to explore through this session.

In recent years, object or material culture studies have been sidelined in favour of often regional or experiential approaches to the past. Whilst this is a challenge of interpretative scales, studying objects thoroughly and contextualising them is key to our analysis of the past. This session seeks to explore current approaches to objects, and demonstrate the results which can be achieved when artefacts are placed at the centre of interpretations offered through a range of prehistoric examples. There is no strict thematic approach within this session, rather it is hoped that in addition to those papers offered through the other "People, Places and Possessions" sessions it will allow us to critically examine the similarities and/or differences prevalent within both prehistoric and historical archaeological interpretations, through the study of material culture.

- 9.00 Introduction
- 9.10 Making memories social: The construction of community identity through the deposition of artefacts identified at the Phase 1 dolmens of the Youngdam complex, Jinan, southern Korea. *Ilhong Ko*
- 9.30 The art of Catoptromancy: Revealing agency in the microstructural examination of metal artefacts *Roger Doonan*
- 9.50 Making a mark in the Early Bronze Age: Some thoughts on the social implications of decorating prehistoric pottery *Rob Law*
- 10.10 Just an impression? Cordage and textiles as 'invisible' materiality *Mary Ann Owoc*
- 10.30 Tea/Coffee
- 10.50 Life on the cutting edge: extending the scope of object biography *Shaun Moyler*
- 11.10 Of Pots and Bodies *Rhiannon Pettitt*
- 11.30 Materiality in prehistoric material exchange

Osamu Maeda

- 11.50 On the nature of possession *Subhadra Das*
- 12.10 Discussion *Julian Thomas*
- 12.30 Lunch
- 2.00 Post-middenism: Late Bronze Age pottery deposition at Broom, Bedfordshire *Matt Brudenell*
- 2.20 Pots and pits: investigating the social significance of early ceramics in the Near Eastern Neolithic *Rachel Conroy*
- 2.40 Re-thinking the 'structure' in deposition *Duncan Garrow*
- 3.00 Neolithic Phallacies *Anne Teather*
- 3.20 Tea/Coffee
- 3.40 Perceptions of ontology in a Bronze Age world: materials, artefacts and order in the Northern Isles of Scotland *Jane Downes*
- 4.00 From Meaning to Materiality *Joshua Pollard*
- 4.20 Building Houses, Abandoning Querns *Rachel Pope*
- 4.40 "Traditional" approaches – new insights: a taphonomic, spatial and temporal study of the pottery from a Bandkeramik cultural layer *Sabine Wolfram*
- 5.00 Discussion *Joshua Pollard*

Making memories social: The construction of community identity through the deposition of artefacts identified at the Phase 1 dolmens of the Youngdam complex, Jinan, southern Korea

Ilhong Ko (University of Sheffield)

The late EBA was a time in which long term nucleated settlements began to be established in the central western region of the Korean peninsula. This period also saw the establishment of capstone dolmen cemeteries in the region. Recent excavations undertaken in the Youngdam complex of the Jinan region have yielded a series of dolmen and settlement sites dating to the late EBA and MBA which present an ideal opportunity to examine the ritual practices associated with dolmen construction and use. In this paper, I will examine the dolmens of Youngdam Phase I (late EBA) to investigate the possibilities in which the construction and ritual use of dolmens may have acted to reproduce notions of the settlement community. This will be done by focusing on specific practices of deposition in which pottery and stone artefacts were ritually killed and objects, possibly personal belongings of the deceased, were interred as grave goods. I argue that it was through these practices that the memories of social events connected to the deceased's life history were articulated, enabling them to be shared and therefore become 'social memories'. These social memories would have contributed to the reproduction of community identity among settlement members participating in the event of dolmen construction, both through their existence and the processes by which they came about.

The art of Catoptromancy: Revealing agency in the microstructural examination of metal artefacts

Roger Doonan (Sheffield University)

Microstructural examination is a routine task in the investigation of metal artefacts. It is argued that the interpretive potential of microstructural data remains underdeveloped because investigators have fetishized

artefacts whilst failing to engage with the intellectual challenges associated with archaeological practice.

This paper suggests that rather than valuing microstructural data as a property of the artefact used to define 'technological horizons' or type it can be more fruitfully employed as an indicator of human practice.

With reference to ethnographic data, evidence for metal production in the Aegean Bronze Age is reconsidered. It is argued that when human practice is foregrounded in the interpretation of microstructures, transformations in craft traditions can be understood in light of changes occurring in other spheres of social life. Specific metallurgical practices accord meaning with other social practices whilst symbolically referring to the transformation of individuals, institutions and the natural world.

Making a mark in the Early Bronze Age: Some thoughts on the social implications of decorating prehistoric pottery

Rob Law (University of Cambridge)

Archaeologists have traditionally studied the decoration applied to prehistoric pottery in order to construct ceramic typologies and to identify chronological and regional differences within particular ceramic traditions. While such endeavours have proved useful, the social significance of the decorative process itself remains largely unexplored. By carefully examining the decoration upon a number of Early Bronze Age vessels recovered from funerary contexts within Britain and Ireland, this paper sets out to investigate how the decoration of such objects may have been firmly embedded in the negotiation and transformation of social relations. It suggests that the decoration on several of these vessels may have emerged through the combined effort of a number of individuals each contributing to the creation and completion of the overall decorative scheme. This expression of collective labour during the final stages of the production process may have taken on the air of a performance, signalling the restructuring of relations between mourners and the intended recipient of the funerary vessel.

Just an impression? Cordage and textiles as 'invisible' materiality

Mary Ann Owoc (Mercyhurst College)

This contribution argues that despite their commonality as vessel impressions in British prehistory, cordage and textiles, understood as classes of material culture, rarely receive detailed or appropriate study in site reports or interpretative analyses. Further, an emphasis on decorative motif in the absence of adequate technical assessment of perishable construction and impression technique has hampered proper stylistic interpretation. It is suggested that contemporary concerns with and understandings of visibility preclude an engagement with contextual relationships between perishables and other items in the past and, the alternative classifications upon which they rest. It is argued that the interplay between textiles and ceramics constitute particular, time-bound understandings of materiality that remain unexplored in contemporary studies of prehistoric ceramics. Exemplary case studies will be presented from south west Britain.

Life on the cutting edge: extending the scope of object biography

Shaun Moyler (University of Southampton)

A 'biographical approach' to material culture is frequently evoked to provide the basis of many archaeological methodologies and held to provide a suitable mechanism by

which to foreground the great diversity of ways in which people and objects may be related. However, its archaeological application is generally characterised by the overlaying of a number of well known anthropological studies onto prehistoric evidence. While it is often rightly declared that objects must have had 'rich biographies', very few people have attempted to reconstruct specific biographical trajectories (Woodward 2002: 1040). My contention is that this situation has arisen in part from a failure to examine some of the ways in which object history may be recognised from objects themselves. With this in mind, my approach outlined in this paper centres on an examination of wear and damage exhibited by Early Bronze Age axes from Scotland. While such features have not gone unnoticed in previous metalwork research, they have primarily been set into either side of a series of dichotomous oppositions, emanating from an emphasis on either phases of production or deposition. In contrast, my analysis suggests we must now question these dichotomies, and demonstrates how axes, when defined by factors such as their durability, use intensity or relative circulation times, had very distinct lives after they were made and before they were deposited.

Of Pots and Bodies

Rhiannon Pettitt (University of Manchester)

There are a great many variables employed in the creation of pottery during the Bronze Age in Britain. Although general trends occur, styles and fabric can differ greatly over chronological periods and geographical areas. This may prove problematic in the use of pottery as a tool for dating stratigraphy but as an indication of social identities and beliefs they are invaluable. Certain choices are made by the potter in the attainment, creation and decoration and then the subsequent use and deposition of pottery. These choices acted upon indicate more than a simple differentiation between cultural groups and must be considered in an understanding of deeper social values. In this paper I shall focus on how pottery practices relate to bodily practices and consider shared metaphorical and imbued values. I will follow concepts of completion, fracturation and transformation in relation to both body and pottery and consider their implications in the creation of such values. Moreover, I will consider the use and combination of artefact and body as a way to express and materialise identity.

Materiality in prehistoric material exchange

Osamu Maeda (University of Manchester)

Material exchange has always been a large concern for prehistoric archaeology. Since early days, numerous studies of exchange have been conducted, whether it is simply studies of patterns seen in geographical movements of objects or studies of structured forms of exchange patterns often based on statistic models. For the last few decades, a lot of effort has been made to establish universally applicable models of prehistoric exchange.

However, when we think of an interpretive approach to prehistoric exchange, there should be another way to understanding it by focusing social meanings of exchange activities and of exchanged materials in individual contexts. In fact, some studies have already proposed exchanged materials gain social value during a course of exchange and use of exchanged materials serves for continual social reproduction in terms of creation and maintenance of relationships between exchange partners.

Nonetheless, although such an approach seems to promise a better understanding of prehistoric exchange,

only a few studies from this standpoint have dealt in detail with archaeological artefacts as exchanged materials. This paper will study the case of obsidian exchange in the Neolithic Near East and argue, based on an actual artefact study, how social relationships between exchange partners were materialised in exchanged materials and how use of the exchanged materials, at the same time, reproduced the social relationships between them.

On the nature of possession

Subhadra Das (UCL)

This paper uses possession, the uniquely intimate ways in which individuals relate to everyday objects, as a means of analyzing a prehistoric society: the British Early Bronze Age phenomenon widely referred to as the 'Wessex Culture.' This anthropological approach to an archaeological problem defines possession as the ways in which the ownership of and association with particular objects are used to present and perpetuate individual identities. By studying the artefacts of the 'Wessex Culture' and their depositional contexts, possession can be used as an analytical device to relate to prehistoric individuals, and thus to interpret this prehistoric society from the inside out. The study reveals that the 'Wessex Culture,' usually approached from a regional perspective which views it as a uniform and wealthy portion of European Early Bronze Age society, is in fact more complex when examined from an internal perspective, focussing on the individuals who made up that society and the objects they possessed

Post-middenism: Late Bronze Age pottery deposition at Broom, Bedfordshire

Matt Brudenell (Cambridge Archaeological Unit)

The identification of 'special', 'formal' or 'placed' deposits of pottery on Late Bronze Age sites often rests on a set range of criteria. Individual deposits are ascribed a 'special' status either because they contain a large number/weight of sherds, comprise of large individual sherds from a single vessel or range of vessels, or consist of 'selected' parts of vessels (usually rims).

This paper argues that the current criterion used to distinguish purposeful deposits is problematic, and creates an arbitrary or misleading division between the practices that produce the 'special' deposit and those practices responsible for deposits elsewhere on a site. Using the analysis of a large assemblage of Late Bronze Age pottery from Broom Bedfordshire, this paper demonstrates variation in the nature and composition of pottery deposits, both large and small. Variation is described as a continuum from deposits containing single sherds from an individual vessel, to deposits containing hundreds of sherds from numerous vessels. Analysis of the condition of material, sherd size, and refits, suggests that almost all pottery was incorporated into a pre-depositional context, indicating that the vessels had a more complex history from the time of breakage to deposition. Variation in the size and 'freshness' of the material can be explained by differences in the time lag between vessel breakage and final deposition, making the inclusion of large sherds or near complete vessels perhaps more incidental than 'placed'. These interpretations need not imply that concern with formal deposition is misplaced, but that approaches more sensitive to the material are required.

Pots and pits: investigating the social significance of early ceramics in the Near Eastern Neolithic

Rachel Conroy (University of Manchester)

The need for an understanding of the social context of the earliest ceramics in the Near East is underpinned by the tendency in archaeology to use ceramics as tools to assist the formulation of chronologies, define supposed cultural boundaries and to reconstruct patterns of influence and interaction. An appreciation of the social aspects of their appearance and the status of ceramics as a new form of material culture has been almost entirely neglected.

This paper will present one example of how we can begin to challenge the traditional perception of this material. A repeated feature of discoveries of early ceramics is their deliberate deposition within pits. An appreciation of this depositional context can be used as a starting point to place incipient ceramics within the wider context of material and symbolic traditions of the Near Eastern Neolithic, in order to enhance our understanding of the material and the communities in which they were produced.

Neolithic Phallacies

Anne Teather (University of Sheffield)

Phalli made of flint and chalk are found on a variety of prehistoric sites. Thirty years ago their deposition on Neolithic and Early Bronze Age sites was referred to by Richard Bradley as being 'almost ubiquitous' (1975), but despite this, there has been no mainstream cohesive discussion of them as objects within a social context in the past: only a current discourse amongst archaeologists usually on an informal level, accompanied by intoxicating beverages. This has been a serious omission when it is appreciated that these objects embody a clarity in artistic (sic) expression and form not seen across the spectrum of Neolithic material. It is my intention in this paper to provide ideas and scope in how to commence examining and interpreting them in an academic framework. I will refer to textual sources where ritual sexual behaviours are described and examine the prevalent 'pub theories'. I will not be trying to avoid the difficult interpretive areas and will conduct this paper in an inquiring and open fashion. I will show that once we remove our biases, we can begin to deepen our understanding of both deposition and materiality with regard to these objects.

Re-thinking the 'structure' in deposition

Duncan Garrow (University of Oxford)

In making a case for 'structured deposition', many previous studies have focused on variability in terms of the quantities of different materials deposited in different contexts. This variability has been used to argue that those deposits actually were 'structured' – that certain things had been intentionally placed in certain places, guided by 'ideology' or 'ritual'.

While this kind of selective depositional practice undoubtedly did occur throughout prehistory, it might be suggested that in focusing predominantly on the potential symbolic meanings of artefact variability, we have overlooked other possible interpretations of depositional patterning. By exploring the material dynamics on a number of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pit sites in Eastern England, this paper aims to highlight the potential that a consideration of other such possibilities – which also gave structure to deposition – has in terms of our understanding of the materiality and temporality of people's lives.

Perceptions of ontology in a Bronze Age world: materials, artefacts and order in the Northern Isles of Scotland

Jane Downes (University of Highlands and Islands)

A barrow is an artefact created from a series of deposits. Some of the elements of the creation are what we would call 'artefacts', some are 'ecofacts' and others 'materials'. Other parts are, to archaeologists, in a class of their own – 'human remains'. When they are brought together all these elements could be referred to a 'material culture' as detailed study shows all have been modified by technology. Close consideration of the barrow architecture, in terms of the order and juxtaposition of all parts of the artefact, reveals cremation and barrow construction to be a strategy to avert the chaos of death and ensure the continued fertility and regeneration of life. That the strategic deployment of this material culture also expresses an indissoluble link between people and their land/environment, and is thus suggestive of a divisible personhood, can only be posited by a consideration of the same 'material culture' in other spheres such as domestic and agricultural. It was perhaps properties attributed to materials, often but not always through transformation, that determined their role in strategic deployment, rather than whether they were perceived to be an object, or artefact. These ideas will be illustrated through examples from the Orkney and Shetland.

From Meaning to Materiality

Joshua Pollard (University of Bristol)

The symbolic and structural archaeology of the 1980s sought to interpret deliberate deposits as material statements. Deposition was seen as a process through which meaning and message were situated and communicated, the deposits themselves acting as signifiers for complex concepts. However, the characterisation of deliberate deposits as material statements can fail to fully explain their format and context, and limits our comprehension of the active role they could play in shaping social processes.

A focus on the performative context of deposition and the ontological status of objects, their materiality and agency, is more productive. The emphasis is shifted from the determination of symbolic content to issues of agency, intention and causation. By virtue of their participation in complex networks of production, exchange and use, things might carry with them something of the identity or substance of people, places and supernatural entities, perhaps becoming hybrid amalgamations of these entities in the process. This conferred them with an agency – at very least a legacy of associations – that had to be negotiated upon deposition. It might demand care and respect, or a more aggressive removal from circulation in the case of those things regarded as dangerous or malign. By thinking of things as subjects, if of a particular kind, we might begin to comprehend why they were treated in such complex and apparently alien ways at the point of deposition, and understand their effective power on those taking part in these processes. The challenge is to look at how the imbricated relationships of people and things were played out through deposition and how the agency of things was negotiated.

Building houses, abandoning querns

Rachel Pope (University of Leicester)

This paper addresses the popularity of quern deposition in the later prehistory of northern Britain, particularly on the construction of houses. Why querns? Can we say anything meaningful about the action behind deliberate deposition of these artefacts? Attempting to achieve this, the paper will first analyse differences between the types of artefact deposited on house construction and house abandonment; and secondly assess what other types of artefact are

deposited in contexts sealed by house construction. Alongside consideration of the temporalities of settlement and use of landscapes in later British prehistory, discussion will explore the role of kinship in the movement of these artefacts.

“Traditional” approaches – new insights: a taphonomic, spatial and temporal study of the pottery from a Bandkeramik cultural layer

Sabine Wolfram (University of Frankfurt)

Due to massive erosion the surfaces and floors of the Bandkeramik settlements are lost. Thus finds from these early Neolithic sites (5500-4950 B.C.) have only survived if they were once deposited in postholes or more importantly in pits. The Bandkeramik settlement of Hanau-Klein-Auheim (Germany) lacks these features and instead consists of a cultural layer bearing huge numbers of finds. For example 50,000 potsherds were recovered from the excavated area of 672 m². The cultural layer represents partly the old Neolithic surface and thus provides new and complementary insights into the spatial organisation of the settlements of the first farmers. This can be demonstrated by a taphonomic, spatial and chronological study of the (decorated) pottery.

ORIGINS OF CERAMICS AND HUNTER GATHERERS OF NORTHERN EURASIA

Peter Jordan & Marek Zvelebil (University of Sheffield)

This session (and subsequent edited volume) will investigate the patterns and processes underlying the dispersal of ceramic technology amongst hunter-gatherer populations in northern Eurasia during the early Holocene.

Conventionally the invention and spread of pottery has been closely associated with the emergence and dispersal of early farming societies in the Neolithic. However, we now know that pottery use amongst hunter-gatherers was far more widespread than had hitherto been recognised, and in many areas predated the emergence of farming by several thousand years. In fact, ceramic technology and the domestication of plants and animals appear to have quite separate histories.

The session (and book) will trace the origin and dispersal of early hunter-gather ceramic technology from the putative centres of origin in Japan and the Far East, through to its eventual arrival in western Europe. Papers/chapters will assess the social factors underlying the spread of this innovation, including the practical benefits of vessel technology for health and diet, the use of pottery as a medium of symbolic exchange and its potential role as a prestige technology for competitive display.

This session is sponsored by the AHRC Centre for the *Evolutionary Analysis of Cultural Behaviour*, who will be providing travel funds for Russian guest speakers.

The session will be published in 2006 as: *Use of Ceramics by Old-World Hunter-Gatherers: Forms, Functions and Symbolic Meanings*. Edited by Peter Jordan and Marek Zvelebil. Publisher: UCL Press

- 9.30 Introduction
- 9.40 *Ex Oriente Lux*: The Earliest World Ceramics among Hunter-Gatherers of Northern Eurasia: Chronology, Geographic Scope and Questions
Marek Zvelebil
- 10.00 Hunting, Gathering and Making Pots: Anthropological Insights into the Production,

	Use and Exchange of Ceramics in Mobile and Foraging Societies <i>Peter Jordan</i>
10.20	Long-Term Innovation: the Appearance and Spread of Pottery in the Japanese Archipelago <i>Simon Kaner</i>
10.40	Tea/Coffee
11.00	Long-Term Trends in the Pottery-Making Traditions of Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherer Cultures in NE Asia <i>Irina Zhuschikovskaya</i>
11.20	Early ceramics from the Korean Neolithic <i>Daeyoun Cho & Ilhong Ko</i>
11.40	Early Ceramics in Urals and Western Siberia <i>Natalia Chairkina</i>
12.00	Discussion
12.20	Lunch
2.00	Pottery-Making Revolutions in Eastern Europe <i>P. Dolukhanov, A. Mazurkevich, K. Davison & G. Sarsons</i>
2.20	Early Karelia Ceramics NW Russia <i>Konstantin German</i>
2.40	Hunter Gatherer Ceramics in Poland <i>Marek Nowak</i>
3.00	Ceramics: from Figurines to Cereal Grains and Pots <i>Miha Budja</i>
3.20	Tea/Coffee
3.40	The Early Development of Ceramics Technology: Pitted Ware Culture <i>Mats Larson</i>
4.00	Pitted Ware Culture Ceramics: the Case of Central Baltic islands <i>Ludvig Papmehl-Dufay</i>
4.20	Early Hunter Gatherer Ceramics in Regions Peripheral to the LBK Culture <i>Detlef Gronenborn</i>
4.40	Discussion

Ex Oriente Lux: The Earliest World Ceramics among Hunter-Gatherers of Northern Eurasia: Chronology, Geographic Scope and Questions.

Marek Zvelebil (University of Sheffield, UK)

This paper will consider general issues surrounding the emergence, production and use of ceramics in the prehistoric hunter-gatherer societies of Eurasia. Special attention is directed at the forms, practical uses and social and symbolic meanings associated with these early hunter-gatherer ceramics, which suggest that modes of pottery usage amongst these communities was quite different to that characterising later farming societies.

Hunting, Gathering and Making Pots: Anthropological Insights into the Production, Use and Exchange of Ceramics in Mobile and Foraging Societies

Peter Jordan (University of Sheffield, UK)

How and why was the use of ceramic technology incorporated into hunter-gatherer social and subsistence practices? This paper examines general features of circumpolar hunting, fishing and gathering societies and identifies a range of potential routine and ritual roles for ceramic artefacts in prehistoric contexts. Attention is also directed to the complex social factors underlying the invention and selection of technical innovations in small-scale societies.

Long-Term Innovation: the Appearance and Spread of Pottery in the Japanese Archipelago

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

Ever since early pottery fragments associated with obsidian microlithic stone tools from the Fukui Cave in northwestern Kyushu were radiocarbon dated to 12,700 BP in the 1960s, controversy has surrounded the appearance of pottery in East Asia and in particular in the Japanese archipelago. It took many established archaeologists a long time to accept the new long chronology for the Jomon period, the period which took its name from the cord-marked pottery identified by Edward Sylvester Morse during his investigations at the Omori shell middens in 1877, widely recognised as the first scientific archaeological excavations undertaken in the archipelago. The calibrated AMS dates for pottery fragments from Odai Yamamoto in Aomori Prefecture suggest that pottery was being manufactured some 16,000 years ago, in the late Palaeolithic. It was not until considerably later, however, well into the Holocene, that pottery appears in the large quantities that are so distinctive of the Jomon tradition. This paper will (1) survey the context for the appearance of pottery in the Japanese archipelago and provide accounts of pottery and associated assemblages from the late Palaeolithic / Incipient Jomon (c. 16,000 - c. 10,000 BP) (2) consider the history of research into this topic and (3) explore the epistemological issues raised by the classification of chronological periods and technological traditions in the archipelago, (4) discuss ideas as to why the technological innovation represented by pottery took so long to really take off and relate this to theoretical models concerning innovation, notably those propounded by Pierre Lemonnier, T.D. Price and others.

Long-Term Trends in the Pottery-Making Traditions of Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherer Cultures in NE Asia

Irina Zhuschikovskaya (Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia)

The report considers main tendencies of the dynamics of pottery-making craft in hunter-gatherers cultures of Russian Far East. Research area includes three regions differing in their natural conditions and cultural-historical patterns – mainland part of southern Far East (Lower Amur and Primorye districts), insular part of southern Far East (Sakhalin island), northern part of Far East. Earliest appearance of ceramics technology took place in mainland part of southern Far East 13-9 mil. BP corresponding to transitional phase between the Paleolithic and Neolithic. The beginning of pottery-making is interpreted as adaptation of prehistoric peoples to changed circumstances. Following development of hunter-gatherers pottery-making activity in Russian Far East passed within Neolithic and Paleometallic periods. The dynamics of pottery-making in considered regions demonstrates common and distinctive tendencies and traits. The factors which influenced the development of pottery-making – the climatic situation, raw materials base, subsistence and technological patterns, mode of life. These factors determined the technological, morphological and design traditions of ceramics craft, functional contexts of the pottery.

Early Ceramics from the Korean Neolithic

Daeyoun Cho & Ilhong Ko (University of Sheffield, UK)

This paper will examine the reasons underlying the emergence of ceramic technology in early Holocene hunter-gathering/foraging contexts in the Korean peninsular.

Early Ceramics in Urals and Western Siberia

Natalia Chairkina (Urals State University, Russia)

This paper will examine the earliest hunter gatherer ceramics in western Siberia and the Urals region.

Pottery-Making Revolutions in Eastern Europe

P. Dolukhanov (School of Historical Studies, University of Newcastle upon Tyne), A. Mazurkevich (The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia), A. Shukurov, K. Davison, & G. Sarsons (School of Mathematics and Statistics, University of Newcastle upon Tyne)

The transition from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic (from 8,000 to 4,000 BC in Europe) was the major change in human prehistory. With the arrival of the Neolithic, hunting and food gathering gave way to agriculture and stock breeding in many parts of Europe; pottery-making spread into even broader areas. This transition resulted from some combination of human migration and the transmission of cultural and technological innovations alone. This process, evidenced by radiocarbon dating and archaeological data, are consistent with basic models of mathematical population dynamics which indicate that the spread started, at about 8,000 BC, from a localized source in the Near East. However, radiocarbon dates and archaeological evidence suggest significant variations in the rate of spread of the Neolithic in Europe. Furthermore, farming was less important in the East than in the West. Here we propose a novel model of population dynamics that reproduces the most prominent regional variations in the propagation of the Neolithic in Europe, and show that it provides a surprisingly good fit to the radiocarbon data, given the simplicity of the model. We use the model to suggest that the East-West variation in the nature of the Neolithic can be attributed to the presence of two waves of advance, one from the Near East, and another through Eastern Europe. The former is associated with both agriculture and pottery making, whereas the latter shows limited evidence of agriculture. Thus, we provide a quantitative framework in which a unified interpretation of the Western and Eastern Neolithic can be developed.

Early Karelia Ceramics, NW Russia

Konstantin German (Petrozavodsk Museum, Russia)

This article discussed early Neolithic Sperrings and Säräisniemi 1 ceramics found on the territory of Karelia. Environmental conditions were best for life of hunter-gatherer communities around the area of Lake Onega and the White Sea circa 6500-5500 BP. It was in this period that the first Sperrings ceramic ornamented by stamps of fish vertebrae were adopted by the ancient population of Karelia. Sperrings and Säräisniemi 1 ceramics are distinguished chronologically, geographically, by their ornamentation, shape of vessels and, perhaps, by their ethnic characteristics. According to shoreline displacement and radiocarbon dating, the adoption of Sperrings ware in South and Central Karelia is dated back to 6500 BP and Säräisniemi 1 ware in North Karelia back to 6100 BP approximately.

Hunter Gatherer Ceramics in Poland

Marek Nowak (University of Krakow, Poland)

This paper will examine early hunter gatherer ceramics in Poland.

Ceramics: from Figurines to Cereal Grains and Pots

Miha Budja (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)

The paper discusses the ceramic materialities and social practices in hunter-gatherer's and farmers' contexts in western Eurasia. The ceramic technology become the agency of hunter-gatherers much before the food production and farming social agglomeration appeared. Fired clay was one of the medium of artefact manufacturing and manipulating in a way of an active interferences in

people's lives that certainly depends on ability to transmit or to get access to knowledge that obviously predate the transition to farming. The ceramics were embedded in hunter-gatherers' trajectories and social networks, and in a continuum of traditions, symbolic systems and beliefs.

The Early Development of Ceramics Technology: Pitted Ware Culture

Mats Larson (Kalmar University, Sweden)

This article concerns itself with the Middle Neolithic in Eastern Middle Sweden and especially the Pitted Ware Culture (PWC). The first part is made up of a history of research where attention is drawn to the many very different models that have been used in the discussion of the origins of the PWC. The two main models can be summarised as follows:

1. One dualistic model consisting of two different ethnic groups
2. Differences in material culture reflect variations inside one overall ethnic group.

In the following text the PWC is discussed using human agency as a way of interpreting how people used material culture and ritual to maintain stability. In this way public meanings and interpretations were negotiated and contested, through human agency. In times of rapid change people used, re-invented and re-used both new and old principles while still being able to communicate through the medium of material culture. The starting point for the discussion is the site Åby in eastern Sweden where several investigations have revealed a challenging pattern. The people on the site used material culture, in this case pottery decoration, to set them apart from other social groups. A distinct pattern like the hanging triangles is interpreted as a way for humans with the help of agency could maintain social relations in time and space.

Pitted Ware Culture Ceramics: the Case of Central Baltic islands

Ludvig Pappmehl-Dufay (University of Stockholm, Sweden)

The paper deals with ceramics of the middle Neolithic (c 3300-2300 BC) Pitted Ware culture in eastern Sweden, particularly the island of Öland and the recently excavated site Ottenby Kungsgård. Following a brief discussion about ceramics and culture in general and Pitted Ware ceramics in particular, the ceramic assemblage from Ottenby Kungsgård is focussed upon. A detailed recording of various sherd parameters on the whole assemblage is combined with lipid and ceramic thin section analysis on smaller samples, as well as local raw clay samples, in order to provide a foundation for a multi-faceted image of the social and practical role of the ceramic craft within this particular cultural context. The established image of Pitted Ware ceramics as simple, rough and homogeneous is put into question and instead an appreciation of variation and the dynamics of a ceramic craft is called for. It is argued that the ceramic craft has held a central social position within the Pitted Ware culture, evidenced among other things by the large amounts of pottery on the sites, the dominance for decorated vessels and the occurrence of vessel miniatures.

Mesolithic-Neolithic Interactions Revisited: Transregional Culture Contacts and the Neolithization Process in Western Temperate Eurasia

Detlef Gronenborn (Roemisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Frankfurt am Mainz, Germany)

In recent years the evidence for culture contact between agriculturalists and hunter-gatherers along the "frontier zone" of the classic Neolithic of "Danubian Tradition" has

increased and the scenarios have become much more complex. Inter-group and inter-personal contacts have resulted in a variety of mixed economies where farming and pastoralism had been adopted to a certain extent in the West, while the hunter-gatherer population towards the North remained largely unaffected until the terminal 5th millennium although long-term contacts had existed also across these economic barriers. The different economic – and cultural – traditions forming the Neolithization Process between the 7th and 5th millennium across Temperate Western Eurasia may be coarsely grouped regionally to an Occidental-Mediterranean Tradition, the classic Danubian Tradition, and what may be termed the Hyperborean Tradition with its roots ultimately in the Russian Steppe Zones and Northern Eurasia.

20 December Morning

SCRAWL AND SCRIBE: WRITING IN THE MARGINS

Tim Neal (Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield) & Jeffry Oliver (Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield)

Making a mark, an inscription, is the act of materialising a voice. Archaeology has always laid great emphasis on the deciphering of inscriptions: through the decoding of the Rosetta Stone a chronology was authenticated; patterning in cave and rock art may elucidate a structural relationship between humans and animals; the deciphering of linear B has shed light on the structure of ancient Aegean landholding. This session considers inscriptions that go against the discourse of the status quo or that are found in 'unusual' places? Archaeology has largely avoided investigating what we call 'wild' signs, the inscription of symbols, signs, writing or design onto 'inappropriate' surfaces or in 'irregular' locations. This session brings together work which examines such inscriptive acts and pays particular attention to how spaces are appropriated and (re)territorialized.

The various papers address different forms, distribution and meaning that material voices and wildsigns can have: marking territory, exclusion, memory and identity; issues that are not brought into dialogue other than through their inscription. Urban, and rural landscapes, buildings, underpasses, posters or trees, the papers discuss how they are appropriated and re-dedicated through physical acts of inscription. Acts of inscription that may be subversive, their meaning closed, others public or open statements, decorative or aesthetic or combinations of the above, enshrining a fall from law and order or from other perspectives constituting natural law.

- 9.00 Introduction
- 9.10 tagging@tag: photographs of tags and graffiti in Sheffield *Karl Rose*
- 9.30 Basque Aspen Carvings: The biggest little secret in Western USA. *Joxe Mallea-Olaetxe*
- 9.50 The writing on the Trees: Arborglyphs in the British Landscape *Tim Neal & Jeffry Oliver*
- 10.10 Vandals or Votaries? An Analysis of English Medieval Church and its Role in Religious Practice *Kirsty Owen*
- 10.30 Tea/Coffee
- 10.50 In London You're Only 100 Feet From a Rat (Stencil): The Rat and Urban Folklore *Paul*

Cowdell

- 11.10 Theo loves Doris: Wild-signs in landscape and heritage context *John Schofield*
- 11.30 Inscribing Identity in Historic Buildings *Kate Giles & Mel Giles*
- 11.50 Magic Markers? *Stella McGuire*
- 12.10 Discussion

tagging@tag: photographs of tags and graffiti in Sheffield

Karl Rose (Independent photographer), Tim Neal (Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield) & Jeffry Oliver (Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield)

An exhibition of photographs (tagging@tag) by Karl Rose showing tags and graffiti in Sheffield will form the backdrop for the introduction to the session.

Basque Aspen Carvings: The biggest little secret in Western USA

Joxe Mallea-Olaetxe (Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno.)

The American West contains Indian petroglyphs, and everyone knows it. Dozens of books have been published on them, even though the experts still do not agree on their meaning. On the other hand, there are many more readable aspenglyphs throughout the American West, yet they remain largely unknown and in grave danger. Aspen carvings document the life of the shepherd alone in the high country during the summer months, and the majority were the work of Basque herders who emigrated to the United States after 1848. Even though shepherding was fundamental to the development of the West, American historians have ignored it almost totally. The carvings deliver precise and very personal information and they are found everywhere aspens grow and herders roamed. They record a century of shepherding, detailing the whereabouts of an entire immigrant minority group, yet, we have allowed 70 percent of these carvings to disappear. It looks like a classic example of historical discrimination. The presentation will integrate video and slides, and will deal with the major themes that the herders discussed, based on close to 25,000 carvings read during my seventeen years of research, especially in the states of California and Nevada.

The writing on the Trees: Arborglyphs in the British Landscape

Tim Neal (Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield) & Jeffry Oliver (Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield)

Interpretations of tree carving are widely known from archaeology and anthropology generating a literature documenting indigenous carving of arborglyphs in North America, Australia and Scandinavia. However little attention has been directed towards the widely distributed and varied ways in which people carve on trees in the British landscape. In this paper we intend to look at contemporary and historic arborglyphs. We examine ways in which they may provide information on historic relationships between people and a locality. We describe these tree carvings as wildsigns, understood to appropriate space, mark territory, anchor memories or make political and other statements. Tree carving is almost ubiquitous in urban and rural contexts across Britain. We begin by asking whether it is appropriate to use ethnographic analogies as a starting point for our discussion. Drawing from historical accounts we review some of the ways in which trees are known to have been

marked and the significance of these practices. Drawing on case studies in South Yorkshire and Oxfordshire we propose an introduction to the practice of tree carving drawing attention to their chronology, problems with methodology and analysis and conclude with an appeal for further research.

Magic Markers?

Stella McGuire (Currently working on a Conservation Plan for Stanton Moor, commissioned by English Heritage from the Peak District National Park Authority)

In the Early Bronze Age, it is possible that natural rock pillars on Stanton Moor in Derbyshire may have been part of the reason why this was the 'right place' to build stone circles and to bury the dead. At around the same time, or perhaps a little earlier, people carved hard-to-interpret patterns on rock outcrops at nearby Rowtor and Harthill.

Around 4000 years later, in the early 1800s, several of the Stanton rocks were skilfully inscribed with dates, initials and (sometimes) coronets - interpreted by the Royal Commission in 1986 as "quarrymen's graffiti of an exceptionally high standard". Mostly hidden by trees, some of these carvings now teeter on the edge of dangerously steep drops into the (now controversial) Lees Cross Quarry.

For various reasons, the Royal Commission interpretation seems unlikely: but who made these inscriptions, what did they 'mean', and what do they mean to us now?

Pretentiously referencing both Proust and the Arabian Nights, I want to discuss how the process of investigating their origin and significance - the equivalent of munching on that madeleine, or rubbing that lamp - has opened up a rich world of potential connections: the possibility of a British Revolution in the 1830s; the brutal substitution of sheep for Highlanders in distant Sutherland and Karl Marx's angry commentary; the impact on Britain of the anti-slavery movement and Uncle Tom's Cabin; the Grand Old Duke of York of the nursery rhyme; and - fast-forwarding unashamedly - the biggest UK sex-and-politics scandal of the 1960s.

Where then do these 'graffiti' lead us? If we could thoroughly decode and label them, would they - as objects in the landscape - lose or gain the power to impress? And what are the implications for the unravelling of those far older symbols on Rowtor Rocks?

Inscribing Identity in Historic Buildings

Kate Giles (University of York) & Mel Giles (University of Manchester)

Incised and inscribed marks on the walls and floors of historic buildings tend to be dismissed as ephemeral traces of past lives, which are of less interest than the major stratigraphic phases of these structures. In this paper, we argue that they are the result of intimate engagements between people and place, which reveal how their inhabitation was tied up with the reproduction of identity. Deliberately focusing on non-textual inscriptions in northern England, the three case studies we will use are the Medieval 'tracing floor' of York Minster, a seventeenth century domestic dwelling in Cheshire and nineteenth century graffiti in the farmyards of the Yorkshire Wolds. These contrasting case studies highlight different reasons for making such marks: to explore ideas and practice designs, to assist the construction of timber frames and protect dwelling spaces, to count-out days of labour and negotiate the realities of agricultural life. Importantly, we will argue that these inscriptions are not merely a means to an end, but an ongoing presencing of people in place, which

spoke of their role in the making of these buildings, and ongoing care and concern for them, to future generations.

In London You're Only 100 Feet From a Rat (Stencil): The Rat and Urban Folklore

Paul Cowdell (National Centre for English Cultural Tradition [NATCECT], University of Sheffield)

A recurrent image around central London is the series of rat stencils designed by the graffiti artist Banksy. They present ironic images of rats as the true inhabitants of the urban environment. This paper argues that Banksy's vision of rats is consistent with folkloric use of rats as a way of understanding the city. It examines contemporary popular beliefs about rats in London (regarding numbers, and their proximity to the human population), based on a recent field survey. It details the folklore background to such beliefs, charting their development and shift from rural to urban environments, and considers similarities between ratlore in London and elsewhere. Addressing questions of rats' natural history, and whether any distinction is drawn between different species of rat in Britain, the paper examines notions of Other-ness in ratlore, particularly around the racialisation of rat narratives. Finally, it offers some suggestions on how ratlore defines Londoners' attitudes to their home.

Vandals or Votaries? An Analysis of English Medieval Church and its Role in Religious Practice

Kirsty Owen (Department of Archaeology and Ancient History. The University of Leicester)

English Church graffiti has received remarkably little academic attention. Within contemporary society, graffiti connotes oppressed voices, illicit vandalism and criminality. This conception of illicit inscription has resulted in a tendency to dismiss the marks and focus on the surfaces which they are seen to deface. Some intriguing links have been drawn between graffiti and acts of worship by researchers working on illicit inscription on the Continent. By examining the graffiti within its particular context of creation, a small number of studies have sought to challenge the assumption that graffitiing was universally an act of vandalism, rendered solely by a disaffected minority. This paper will consider the significance of graffiti within churches in medieval England and its possible votive connotations, focusing on potential links between marking surfaces and marking pilgrimage. Images identified at a number of locations in southern England will be examined within the context of medieval religious travel and assessed as manifestations of worship rather than instances of vandalism.

Theo loves Doris: Wild-signs in landscape and heritage context

John Schofield (English Heritage)

With contemporary archaeology and the preponderance of alternative histories on the rise, our definition of material culture - and of what constitutes cultural heritage - becomes broader and more diverse. This contribution will focus on the wild-signs that are characteristic of the world we ourselves have created and which we shape and influence in our everyday lives. I will describe and emphasise the significance of these signs in landscape context (the space within which actions occur, and which the signs help us to interpret), and in terms of their status as 'heritage', as recognised by local authority and state officials, for instance. The examples I will use concentrate on these alternative histories, notably: the preponderance of graffiti and signage recorded at former military sites, created

both by military personnel during their occupation, and by others, subsequently; and the recording of graffiti (like 'Doris loves Theo') as part of a landscape archaeology of Strait Street, Valletta (Malta), where sailors spent their time ashore in bars and brothels, prior to Malta's independence in 1964. Finally, I will discuss the connectivity between art and material culture, through projects recording Cold War sites in Nevada and the UK.

...THINGS FIRST

John Bennet (University of Sheffield), Chris Gosden (University of Oxford)

In periods covered by textual evidence there may be a tendency to place less evidence on objects as sources of information about social and historical relations. In this session we aim to explore the links between objects and texts in the following ways. First, what are the analytical and theoretical problems in combining textual information with that from material culture — how far does each set of sources tell us different or complementary things? Secondly, what impact did early texts have on the lives of contemporary peoples? Here issues of the creation of memory, history and mythology are crucial, as well as the changing connections between habitual action, often hard to put into words, and the discursive universe of words, written and spoken. Lastly, can we see texts as objects and appreciate their physical nature in the way we might with other forms of material culture? The session hopes to explore the interactions between objects and texts in a wide-ranging manner, bringing in people with a range of expertise and differing perspectives.

9.00	Introduction <i>John Bennet</i>
9.10	The material embedding of writing in early Egypt <i>John Baines</i>
9.35	Administration or recording: the 'life' of Linear B documents <i>John Bennet</i>
10.00	Early Medieval monuments as 'Things First' <i>Howard Williams</i>
10.25	Textualities: the geographies of the word <i>John Barrett</i>
10.50	Tea/Coffee
11.10	Many things <i>Chris Gosden</i>
11.35	Texts as objects and things <i>Carl Knappett</i>
12.00	Closing Comments <i>Chris Gosden</i>
12.10	General Discussion

The material embedding of writing in early Egypt

John Baines (University of Oxford)

Much recent research on early Egyptian writing has focused on the decipherment and interpretation of the inscriptions recovered in the 1989 discovery of Tomb U-j at Abydos in particular. This probable burial place of a ruler contained around three hundred inscribed artefacts, which together constitute the earliest body of material from Egypt that is generally accepted as bearing writing. The inscribed objects from the tomb typically bear only one or two signs. Without an enveloping web of signification in human action and associated material culture they could have communicated only the most limited messages. The principal aims of this paper are to model social and aesthetic contexts for such writing and its use, and to suggest how the practice of writing may have arisen from

older, unwritten modes of transaction, communication, and ceremonial.

Administration or recording: the 'life' of Linear B documents

John Bennet (University of Sheffield)

Can an inscribed piece of clay bring in a contribution of hides? Can an inscribed clay tablet effect a polity-wide collection of bronze, or shearing a flock of sheep?

Phrased in this way, these questions sound odd. Yet the term 'administrative documents' is often applied to artefacts inscribed in Linear B, and their production and manipulation called 'administration'. If we define the term 'administration' as a human activity in which control is exercised by members of one (small) group over the lives of another (larger) group, then these documents do not conform. We might better define them as 'records' and their production 'recording'. The texts materialise the actions taken by administrators.

It might appear, therefore, that the material objects of Linear B — tablets, various types of 'sealing' and inscribed clay vessels — are merely epiphenomenal to palatial administration in Late Bronze Age Greece. Given their size, their find spots and their material, their ability to effect action beyond a small group seems highly constrained. Such administration might have gone on without 'recording', the only difference that a window into the LBA world is denied to modern archaeologists.

My goal is to adopt a contrary viewpoint that situates the Linear B documents, as material objects, at the centre of an administration, taking as an example the Pylos M-series. Their production as performance is entirely consistent with other aspects of LBA Greek palatial social practice and explains how such minuscule documents achieve effects on a large scale.

Early Medieval Monuments as 'Things First'

Howard Williams (University of Exeter)

Early medieval burial mounds and stone monuments have long been understood with recourse to different forms of textual evidence, but more recently they have been likened to texts in a variety of ways. Like early medieval chronicles, histories, genealogies and saint's lives, monuments were the active creations of an author (or authors) to honour and commemorate elite personages, as readable (and re-readable) in different ways and on multiple levels, as integral to ritual performances in public settings, and as a means of making memorable socio-political statements or materialising mythologies for a wide audience. Through their creation, the display and concealment of knowledge, their repeated use and re-use, early medieval mounds and stones have been seen as 'multi-media' texts. Together with both illuminated manuscripts and church architecture, they served to constitute both sacred and secular memories and identities in contrasting ways from the fifth to the eleventh centuries AD.

While these 'textual' analogies have their benefits, there remains a tendency for them to prioritise the written and naturalistic aspects of monuments in the production and reproduction of early medieval social memories. This paper argues that only by regarding monuments as 'things first' can we appreciate the roles of texts and images placed upon them in early medieval ritual performances. The paper will explore this argument by showing the intentional interaction of inscriptions and images with the shape, size, materiality and location of selected Viking-period monuments from central and southern Sweden.

Textualities: the geographies of the word

John Barrett (University of Sheffield)

The reductive argument that everything can be treated as text (human action, material culture etc) seems to depend upon the principle that the significance of all things is relational. As a number of commentators have noted, this is an argument that adopts uncritically a Saussurian theory of the sign as comprising the dualism of signifier : signified. One alternative, the work of Charles Sanders Peirce, recently drawn into archaeology by Robert Preucel and Alexander Bauer, notes that for a sign to have meaning the 'interpretant' has also to be present, indeed it is the interpretant who constructs the sign and by so doing also constructs their position as interpretant. I wish to outline a criticism of the line taken by Preucel and Bauer whilst also supporting the turn towards Peirce. I will make my case with reference to the archaeology of two kinds of text, monumental inscriptions and the Mycenaean Greek Linear B archive and by so doing demonstrate why Linear B was not used as a form of public and monumental inscription.

Many Things

Chris Gosden (University of Oxford)

Assemblages of objects of linked style and type may well have had an influence on the manner in which people made and used them. This paper will explore how style works through assemblages (a very old topic in archaeology) and the manner in which such assemblages influenced people (a rather newer issue). Objects have agency not at the individual level but as stylistic groups, which have repeated impacts on the sensory perceptions of the material world and its emotional impacts. The paper will present a brief case study from the late Iron Age and Romano-British periods.

Texts as objects and things

Carl Knappett (University of Exeter)

...Things first. The term is demanding, challenging. It needs something of us, if only attention. Texts can do this to us. So can pictures. They are gaze-inverting, turning the subject-object relation on its head. We become the objects of their gaze.

Texts and pictures might be capable of this; what about artefacts? But texts and pictures are artefactual too: one might even argue that they are 'things first' and foremost. This is the argument pursued in this paper — that texts and pictures ought to be treated as things. They might sometimes be special kinds of things, but they need not always be.

This paper follows Brown (2001) in differentiating between things and objects. Objects are artefacts that are understood, transparent. Things are ambiguous albeit concrete. Pass me that green thing over there. The green thing is unintelligible in some way. When it comes to texts, some may be objects and some things. Or the same text may be an object to some protagonists and a thing to others. Texts, pictures and artefacts can all shift between these different registers. In order to explore the 'thingness' and 'objecthood' of texts in relation to pictures and artefacts, examples will be drawn from the Aegean Bronze Age. Ultimately, the aim is to develop a conceptual framework that does justice to the specificities of texts and pictures while indeed putting 'things first'.

Brown, B. 2001. 'Thing Theory', *Critical Inquiry* 28(1), 1-22.

PREHISTORIC DAILY LIFE

Penny Bickle (University of Cardiff) and Oliver Harris (University of Cardiff)

Archaeology, whether processual or interpretive, has traditionally focused on general themes of power, politics, ritual and religion. But what is left when these concerns are taken away? In direct conflict with how archaeologists have approached prehistory, ethnographic studies have shown that communities engage far more readily with the demands and rhythms of everyday life. Increasingly sophisticated studies of monuments, materiality and architecture have enabled us to write more specific narratives of identity and sociality but these have failed to enlighten the diverse prehistoric quotidian experience.

In contrast to this we recognise that daily life was the arena through which communities were formed. Skilled and artful practice, as illustrated by Michel de Certeau and ethnographers such as Joanna Overing, are central to the rhythms and choreography of people's communal and sensual experiences. Broad concerns of temporality, space, materiality and architecture emerge from routine actions. However, they do so at an intimate, everyday scale. The coming and going, the interaction and engagement, the making and breaking of everyday life are at the forefront of our attempt to refocus the archaeological lens. It is only when this local level of understanding, and performance, is captured that we can begin to comprehend the shared values that enmeshed people, place and community together.

This session will explore the centrality of themes such as gender, identity, personhood, memory, emotion and agency to community. These different facets and textures of quotidian experience form the drama of the everyday that we seek to illuminate. These themes will not be addressed in themselves but rather we will examine their impact, singularly or collectively, on the choreography and conviviality of prehistoric communities. Whether engaging with any or all of these themes the papers in this session seek to expand our narratives around prehistoric daily life.

9.00	Introduction
9.10	Acting common: creating meaning through everyday tasks in the Mesolithic of Southern Scandinavia <i>Steven Price</i>
9.30	Moving closer: steps towards an intimate archaeology <i>Thomas Kador</i>
9.50	The LBK is rubbish <i>Daniela Hofmann</i>
10.10	All through the house? Evoking daily socialities through LBK architecture <i>Penny Bickle</i>
10.30	Tea/Coffee
10.50	Emotional and mnemonic geographies: movement, materiality and deposition in the Southern British Neolithic <i>Oliver Harris</i>
11.10	The everyday in Scotland's 'ritual valley' <i>Phil Richardson</i>
11.30	Movement, materiality and magic in the minutiae of the mundane <i>Adrian Chadwick</i>
11.50	What was May 23 rd ? Ephemeron, trace, residue and the daily surface of the urban <i>Douglass Bailey and Mike Pearson</i>
12.10	Discussion

Acting Common: Creating meaning through everyday tasks in the Mesolithic of Southern Scandinavia

Steven Price (University of Manchester)

Making a canoe, skinning a pine martin, gathering shellfish; such routine activities made up the everyday life of people in the Mesolithic, but were performed within the context of learning alongside others. Knowing how to perform a task went alongside knowing when and where to conduct the performance, with different people performing activities in different places. Within any society, it is unlikely that people are equally skilled in all activities, but rather, various people become more skilled in particular practices, opening up relationships with the world whilst closing off others. Engaging in everyday activities then was a means of negotiating different identities at different times and being involved in (re-)creating the world. Through such engagements and relationships, the world was understood and social concerns were expressed and contested. Further, through skilled practice, social conventions and modes of action were learnt, often becoming taken for granted in performance and used as the stable background upon which further activities were learnt.

Through examining the ways in which everyday material interactions were performed, insights can be gained into the social conditions which formed the background to everyday life and enabled action. From this, different forms of agency can be examined in terms of shifting identities in relation to the performance of daily tasks. This paper will examine such issues through looking at the material remains of everyday tasks in the Mesolithic of Southern Scandinavia, in order to suggest how people lived and interacted with the world on a day to day basis.

Moving closer: steps towards an intimate archaeology

Thomas Kador (University College Dublin)

Human movement is one of the most everyday and routine activities. However, archaeological approaches have traditionally approached movement as a means to an end or taken it for granted altogether. The physical act of moving along certain routes and following tracks and trails has rarely been considered. Yet the ethnographic record of many small-scale communities from around the world is rich in descriptions of the important role people's movements play in the creation of communities and the forming and maintaining of group identity. Equally archaeological remains for Ireland's earliest prehistory would also suggest that groups and communities from different parts of the island maintained regular contact with one another. Therefore the movements of people and materials between different places may have contributed to the shaping, reaffirming and possibly challenging group identity. However, hitherto archaeological research has largely failed to detect these relationships because the common top-down scale of analysis did not allow identifying these often very subtle and small-scale variations in material culture and the use of place.

In this paper I will discuss how we can engage with material evidence for early prehistoric activity on an intimate scale as part of a strategy exploring people's movements. I will draw on examples from my own research in Ireland to illustrate this.

The LBK is rubbish

Daniela Hofmann (University of Cardiff)

This paper is concerned with how Neolithic daily life created sensuous geographies of the settlement space with their own emotional associations for its inhabitants. I start by examining depositional practices around LBK houses from select settlements, mainly in Lower Bavaria, to show how routine engagements of people in and around structures entextured the ground with socialities, identities, hopes and

fears. Similar ideas can be applied to the settlement as a whole, where different kinds of material, their degree of weathering or their frequency, literally felt through the soles of one's feet, gave subtle hints as to appropriate behaviour or histories and may have helped to trigger deeply personal memories and associations. While these engagements may not have been consciously appreciated at all times, it is argued that they formed the very basis of feelings of belonging and alienness and are a good starting point for investigating relationships of people to the world around them.

All through the house? Evoking daily socialities through LBK architecture

Penny Bickle (University of Cardiff)

In building, in hunting, in eating, in playing and in arguing, the complex performances of everyday community living are created, mediated and explored. Recognising these aspects of artful living entails envisioning social life as the shared practices and tactics that made community. However, to the detriment of this messiness of people sharing houses and tasks, archaeologists often prefer to present more easily consumable narratives. This is particularly pertinent to the Linearbandkeramik (LBK) longhouse, which is often regarded as the essential locus of identity in the Central European Neolithic and has rarely been considered through the multi-faceted aspects of daily practice. These seamless singular narratives of the longhouse are challenged here through an engagement with how everyday activities choreographed community relations. The house, the village and the surrounding forestscapes offered different theatres for everyday life. These theatres (or connections), between bodies and materials, between skin and wood, give us the opportunity to discuss the rhythms of daily sociality. Using the various forms and materials of LBK architecture from the Aisne Valley, France, this paper will discuss how multiple performances in the everyday allowed *different* practices of community and architecture to be brought about.

Emotional and mnemonic geographies: movement, materiality and deposition in the Southern British Neolithic

Oliver Harris (University of Cardiff)

Monuments have often been central to the various ways people have approached the Southern British Neolithic. What if we took a different approach? Ethnography, philosophy and cultural theory have shown repeatedly how the artful and convivial practices of daily life are at the heart of people's on-going engagements with the world. This is not the domestic as opposed to the ritual. Rather it recognises that shared values and senses of community emerge from forms of daily practice that are always partly ceremonial, partly choreographed. This paper will examine how daily engagements with movement, materiality and deposition helped shape and texture Neolithic worldviews *affectively* through the ways in which socially contextual understandings of emotion and memory were tactically employed. Emotion and memory play crucial roles in people's bodily engagements with daily life, with the ways in which senses of place are formed and the ways in which people interact with one another. The paper will suggest that the emphasis on monumental architecture has limited our understanding of the Neolithic, including those very monuments themselves. If we are to fully grasp how people and communities were formed and performed in this period it will require a widening of our archaeological viewpoint that acknowledges, explicitly, the centrality of daily practice.

The Everyday in Scotland's 'Ritual Valley'

Phil Richardson (University of Newcastle)

The Kilmartin Valley has been described as 'Scotland's richest prehistoric landscape' and as a 'ritual valley', a tract of land set aside for the ceremonial use of a wider community. These characterisations are due to the dense concentration of prehistoric monuments within the area. This long standing interpretation of the Kilmartin Glen as a ritual arena has proved difficult to overcome. It is the simple dichotomy between ritual and domestic that perpetuates this issue, and its continued use, denies the multiple layers and textures of quotidian experience. This, apparent, pre-eminence of the area for funerary and ceremonial use then, should not be considered a given for the full extent of prehistoric use. How did the day-to-day routines of the society impact upon a landscape that was the product of a series of inter-connected meanings and relationships, based on thousands of years of significance? Through the use of the concept of biography; I will consider how landscapes and society change and act dialectically back upon one another. Focusing upon the concept of inhabitation; the understanding that relationships between the existing material and social conditions guided the ways in which the inhabitants of this landscape lived their lives, including the active principles of habit, tradition, and knowledge. This sharp distinction between the ritual and the domestic use of particular places, then, fails to take into account the experience of the everyday and the process of ritualisation. Thus, by tracing the nature of the Early Neolithic activity in the Glen it will be argued that it was a combination of quotidian experience *and* the building of monuments of earth and stone that led to the formalisation of this landscape as a *place for monuments*

Movement, materiality and magic in the minutiae of the mundane

Adrian Chadwick (University of Wales, Newport)

At Ledston in West Yorkshire, aerial photographic survey and excavations in 1976 and 1996, revealed an intriguing complex of enclosures, trackways and pits dating to the later Iron Age. The report on this site has just been published. But how can we interpret the evidence from Ledston, and other northern, small-scale occupation sites and settlements of Iron Age and Romano-British date, in order to write about the everyday, embodied experiences of the people who inhabited these rural landscapes? How can we explore and understand the rich weave of their spiritual beliefs and their routine lives and practices? This paper shows how it is possible, using detailed contextual and interpretative approaches, to write such archaeologies of inhabitation, and to move towards such 'minutiae of the mundane' (Chadwick 2004: 9).

Chadwick, A.M. 2004. 'Geographies of sentience' – an introduction to space, place and time. In A.M. Chadwick (ed.) *Stories from the Landscape: Archaeologies of Inhabitation*. BAR (International Series) S1238. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 1-31.

What was May 23? Ephemeron, trace, residue and the daily surface of the urban

Douglass Bailey (University of Cardiff) and Mike Pearson (University of Aberystwyth)

How do we understand the interfaces between the ephemerality of the everyday and physical traces of human activity? Is it possible (or of any value) to read material surfaces as archives that contain records of daily being: of

people, of movement, of identity, of community, of route and routine, of unconstituted social practice? We suggest that answers to these questions are found by "reading off" the surfaces of the everyday, where reading off is the complex and never stable process of thinking around a phenomenon (in this case May 23 in Cardiff). Our paper takes the form of a visual/textual work focusing (literally) on the greasy skin of the city, a surface from which seep and ooze complex and ambiguous minglings among residue, trace, activity, as well as the fleeting and the concrete. The intentions are to demonstrate current mis-understanding of the daily occupancy of the city, to reject closed definitions of Cardiff's static identity, and to stimulate thinking about the frayed ligatures that bind materiality to daily reality and which, together, render the traditional understanding of modern urban spaces.

ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SENSES

Eleanor Breen (University of Wales, Lampeter) & Katherine Smith (University of Wales, Lampeter)

The tension between understanding the obscure nature of much of the material world and our disciplines' tendency towards its over-classification is fundamentally bound to the methodological approaches of the archaeologist / anthropologist and his/her own interpretations. Current data classification systems are the product of a methodology that often separates the material world from the actions of people. There is a growing appreciation that meanings ascribed to archaeological and anthropological data and to the actions of past peoples are created through the personal engagements and interactions between the researcher and the research subject. Explorations of experience, sensory perceptions, emotions and sentiments can enhance our understandings of the material world both in terms of how it is embodied by the archaeologist/anthropologist as well as by people in the past. These explorations, acknowledging a self-reflexive analytical stance, afford a better understanding of the role of the researcher in writing about past societies.

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Sensing Places and People on the Isles of Scilly

Eleanor Breen (Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Wales, Lampeter)

The application of categories to artefacts is considered an essential tool in the management of archaeological data. These data are consulted in order to understand the activities of past people. The possibilities for pre-determined interpretations of past practices are endless. My research on the field systems of the Isles of Scilly will be used to exemplify some of the shortcomings inherent in a category-led archaeology and how the experience of place can be used to identify further interpretive possibilities beyond those such as economy and function commonly associated with field systems.

Feeling Mesolithic: Exploring the Sensual Experience of Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers in the Northern Irish Sea Basin

Hannah Cobb (School of Arts Histories and Cultures, University of Manchester)

This paper will argue that hunter-gatherers are frequently discussed in a sensually sterile sense. Whilst I acknowledge that we do address the sensual experience of the actual activities of hunting and gathering, such as the processes of making a stone tool, or of hunting an animal or using a digging stick, this marks the extent of our considerations of the sensual experience of hunter-gatherer life ways. Consequently the full extent of the continuous practices of feeling and experiencing that constituted hunter gatherer being are frequently overlooked. Drawing on current research, this paper will question if and how we can explore wider aspects of hunter-gatherer experiences. From the stench of a shell midden, to the rocking of a tiny boat on the sea, to the shelter of a wooded valley, to the view of places visited; this paper will suggest that we must begin to engage with such sensual realities and their wider associations for hunter-gatherers if we are to achieve the fundamentally interpretive approach to hunter-gatherers that many Mesolithic archaeologists are now calling for.

Embodied Experiences in Prehistoric Macedonia

Vasileios Tsamis (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton)

This paper engages in the interpretation of bodily actions and space, putting people back into the places they created and used, identifying space as a sensual experience. The primary task will be, through the embodiment of spatial organisation and material culture, to identify ways of experiencing and remembering between the Late Bronze Age societies of Kastanas, Assiros and Toumba Thessalonikis. The existing archaeological interpretation of Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age Greece suggests difference in social organisation patterns, however it fails to address whether the people of this period embodied space homogeneously or differently and what implications this could have in the understanding of social organisation. The study of the body will be used as a method of interpretation. It will help to identify if the traits of social power relations in Kastanas, Assiros and Toumba Thessalonikis were a cultural, natural or personal course of action. It will be an effort to find individual and collective patterns of experiencing spatial and social relations.

An investigation of these three Prehistoric sites in Central Macedonia can illustrate how three communities of the same period within the same framework of organisation and evolution embodied space and material culture differently. The body and society related and influenced by each other

can suggest levels of influence and distinct strategies made by these people and the implications that this can have in reconstructing prehistoric communities. Built spaces will be experiential and able to trigger memory illustrating the impact the body and social relations can have in their arrangement.

Parental Emotions Towards Infant Death: an archaeological perspective

Eileen Murphy (Department of Archaeology and Palaeoecology, Queen's University, Belfast)

The Perils of Locking Your Homunculus in the Shed

Mark Gillings (School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester)

During the course of the last decade there has been a growing interest in the potentials and possibilities of an explicitly sensory archaeology, building upon important bodies of work in disciplines such as Anthropology and Geography. Enmeshed within broader explorations of embodiment and memory, alongside exhortations to embrace encounter, engagement and perception as central to past experience and understanding, researchers have drawn attention to the potential of such an approach and have speculated as to its form and character. This paper seeks to suggest ways of integrating such concerns into our everyday practice and in so doing effect a much more sensuous archaeology. This will be through challenging the dominant (yet I would argue limiting) tendency towards compartmentalisation and distillation (viewsheds, soundsheds, smellsheds and the like) through the delineation of what might be termed sensory envelopes. It will be argued that by stepping back and thinking about the full sensory field its inherent triggers, dynamics and tensions between modalities can be highlighted, creating useful points of departure for interpretation and understanding.

A Queer Sense of Place

Brian Boyd (Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Wales, Lampeter)

The reflexive and explicit monitoring of the body, of gesture, of positioning and posture, of dress and appearance is central to queer constructions and understandings of space and place. This paper discusses the practices and perceptions involved in queer sexual geographies, focussing specifically on the ways in which certain types of place are put to queer use through a range of conventionalized body practices. How does a queer sense of place result in the construction of such spaces, and which factors make a place suitable or unsuitable for queer appropriation? The implications for the writing of queer histories/archaeologies are emphasized

Emotion and the Care of Things

Steve Matthews (School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, University of Manchester)

The way that people perceive things is important to their understanding of the world. Sensory perception is not merely the observation of particular devisable properties of an object (such as colour), but rather concerns a series of value judgements relating to the care of things: the fact that things matter to us, and that they matter greatly. As more than mere objects of possession or mediators of action, things are our companions in forming and understanding the world in which we live and, in turn, speak of who we are and who we are becoming during the course of our lives. Material culture then is a very particular currency of knowledge, and one that would benefit from a more sensual

interpretative approach. Drawing on examples from the European Bronze Age, this paper will explore the effect that emotion has on people's relationship to things, and how the notion of affective states should form a fundamental aspect of archaeological interpretation.

Artefacts that 'Fix' Perception and Meaning

Matt Edgeworth (commercial archaeology)

Artefacts engage our senses in multiple ways. Different people see/experience things differently. One person can hold various viewpoints on objects or grasp their nature in manifold ways according to point of view. Given that the point of view taken by any embodied agent shifts from moment to moment, it follows that experience and understanding of things shifts too. The sensory meaning of things is fluid, and must have been so for people in the past as for people in the present. Yet there are some objects which, partly by virtue of their design or patterns of wear, engage our senses in a particular fashion – defying everything that might be said about subjective and cultural specificities. We can be fairly confident that on some level our sensory experience of them coincides with that of people in the past. These artefacts provide a link or bridge between ourselves and fellow human beings in other cultures and distant times. Such a link must not be confused with empathy or other kinds of subjective feelings. I suggest that all archaeologists tacitly use such practical connections in building their interpretations of the past. To serve as an example, I will use a replica of a fairly ordinary artefact I dug out of the ground about ten years ago. It came from the fill of a sunken feature building (*grubenhauser*) during the excavation of the middle Saxon settlement at Stratton in Bedfordshire.

A Sense of Self: understanding the embodiment of objects in a Welsh museum

Katherine Smith (Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Wales, Lampeter)

The sense of self, as a researcher, is a classic epistemological issue in the social sciences as it is continually recognised that the presence and situating of the researcher in relation to the 'researched' constitutes the nature of the data collected. This paper aims to present my experiences as a researcher, a student and an (north) American conducting ethnographic research regarding the embodiment of objects with sentiments and ideologies and the affects of such embodiment on perceptions of 'Welshness' at the Museum of Welsh Life, St Fagans in Cardiff, south Wales. What is distinctive about Welsh perceptions of 'Welshness' is the need to remember and protect their culture(s), not only through (re)presenting identities within the context of social knowledge but through experiencing *hiraeth*, a personal and ideological sentiment evoked in the processes of relating to the material culture within this particular museum. In such an exploration of these sentiments and ideologies, which are (re)created and (re)negotiated through ever-changing perceptions of Wales' past, this unique understanding of the performances, perceptions and maintenance of 'Welshness' was afforded through the self-reflection asked of me, as a researcher, by some of the respondents.

Uncertainty and the Interpretation of Art

Prof. Robert Layton (Department of Anthropology, Durham University)

ENTERPRISING ARCHAEOLOGISTS: THINKING OUTSIDE OF THE TRENCH

Tim Darvill (University of Bournemouth) & Jenny Moore (University of Sheffield)

At TAG 2004 in Glasgow, Thomas Dowson (University of Manchester) ran a session 'Creating tomorrow's archaeologists: who sets the agenda?' The session brought together 'some of the different stakeholders in creating the next generation of archaeologists'. The views were many and varied, but the session ran the route of so many before it: few jobs, short-term contracts, poor pay.

Thomas had opened his session abstract with a provocative quote from a paper published in *World Archaeology* (June 2004) that 'UK university archaeology departments are not delivering the training that equips students to begin working lives in archaeology'. 'Enterprise' and 'Entrepreneurship' are not terms which are perceived as readily connecting with archaeology. Indeed, few academic departments would consider that enterprise and entrepreneurship might go some way to equipping students to work in archaeology. This session will explore and hopefully show the potential for an entrepreneurial approach to archaeology – literally, thinking outside of the trench.

- 9.00 Introduction
- 9.10 What archaeologists make *Tim Darvill*
- 9.30 Flooded trenches and the training of maritime archaeologists *Joe Flatman*
- 9.50 Try, Fail, Try Again, Fail Better – Entrepreneurial archaeology as a risky business *Kenneth Aitchison*
- 10.10 Are we there yet? Or...let's skip this one, it is not relevant to what I want to do *Ehren Milner*
- 10.30 The Entrepreneurial archaeologist? *Bob Handscombe*
- 10.50 Tea/Coffee
- 11.10 'The silence of the lambs': giving voice to the doozers *Mariana Diniz*
- 11.30 So what are you going to do then? Investigating alternative paths and entrepreneurial outlooks in archaeology graduate careers *Karina Croucher*
- 11.50 Out of the trench – and onto the web *Barbara Brayshay*
- 12.10 Closing the gap: archaeology, academe and the public *Ian Heath & Catherine Parker*
- 12.30 Discussion

What archaeologists make

Timothy Darvill (Archaeology and Historic Environment Group, School of Conservation Sciences, Bournemouth University)

The last 20 years or so has seen a scalar increase in the level of archaeological activity in the UK and in many other parts of the world too, especially Europe and the US. In part this is linked to changes within archaeology itself, but it is suggested that other major contributing factors are the greater integration of archaeological interests with the environmental lobby and also the close connections forged with the tourism, leisure and entertainment industries. In all these areas there is evidence of enterprise and entrepreneurial flare. But how do we reconcile some of these things with the traditional aims of archaeology? How do they square with our theoretical perspectives? And where do we go next? Here it is argued that we should

focus on what we make: knowledge. Tensions between different kinds of knowledge, and the different processes that lead to its creation, may provide the impetus for developing new fields of endeavour for the 21st century.

Flooded Trenches: Enterprise and the Training of Maritime Archaeologists

Joe Flatman (Lecturer in Maritime Archaeology, University College London, 31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PY)

Maritime archaeology is an increasingly popular subject at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. In recent years, graduate programmes have emerged across Europe, the US and Australia, all aiming at this lucrative market. The question is, what job prospects are there for graduates of these programmes and do universities provide suitable training and transferable skills? This paper will discuss this question with reference to the MA programme at UCL Institute of Archaeology, which involves close collaboration with industry and archaeological consultancies, an example of how the university sector can provide better trained graduates suited to immediate employment in the public and private sectors.

Try, Fail, Try Again, Fail Better – Entrepreneurial Archaeology as Risky Business

Kenny Aitchison (Head of Professional Development, Institute of Field Archaeologists, SHES, University of Reading, Whiteknights, po Box 227, Reading, RG6 6AB)

In 2002, average earnings for self-employed workers (in all areas of work, across the whole UK) were £121 higher per week than the average earnings for employees.

While a very significant proportion of graduates would be willing to consider entrepreneurship as a route to employment - according to the 1994 Student Enterprise Project, 45-48% are potentially interested in establishing their own business – the number that actually directly enters self-employment is as low as 1% (HESA 1997).

Would-be entrepreneurs need particular skills, attitudes and opportunities, of which a creative approach and a willingness to engage with risk are crucial. This paper will explore these prerequisites and, drawing on examples from across the sector and from personal experience of establishing an archaeological business, will discuss the benefits and potential pitfalls of entrepreneurial archaeology.

Are we there yet? Or ... let's skip this one, it is not relevant to what I want to do

Ehren Milner (Archaeology and Historic Environment Group, School of Conservation Sciences, Bournemouth University)

More than twice the numbers of archaeologists work in the commercial sector than work in academia (Aitchison and Edwards 2003). Does an academic approach to training archaeologists provide the training needed for archaeologists to 'make a living'? Should academic archaeologists provide training to meet the current needs of the commercial sector or should they instead be taking a leading role in shaping how future archaeological work is conducted – or both? Past trends in English archaeology, as shaped by European legislation, will be discussed to see where potential legislative changes may take us. Or, where archaeologists may be able to take the legislation based on what we have learned about past archaeological practices.

The entrepreneurial archaeologist?

Bob Handscombe (Director, White Rose Centre for Enterprise, University of Sheffield)

White Rose Centre for Enterprise is all about embedding enterprise in the curriculum and inspiring students to think entrepreneurially. It has been active across the three White Rose Universities of Leeds, Sheffield and York since 2000 and has gained a world class reputation for embedding enterprise in science and engineering. The recently awarded Centre for Excellence in the Teaching and Learning of Enterprise is enabling the three universities to turn their attention to Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities.

The presentation addresses some of the generally accepted characteristics of the entrepreneur and some of the elements of enterprise incorporated in WRCE modules and considers their relevance to archaeology. It may seem that there are a wealth of reasons why an entrepreneurial approach can't be taken to working in archaeology, but this view is countered by a case study of a successful archaeologist, suggesting how an entrepreneurial and enterprising approach might just be as important as trowel stroke.

'The silence of the lambs': giving voice to the doozers

Mariana Diniz, Centro de Arqueologia, Departamento de História - Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa, 1699 – Lisboa Portugal

This paper, which will be presented in form of a video, will show the brutal contrast between archaeological theory lectures, which I have been teaching for several years to graduate students, and their professional daily life after graduation. In the former, students are invited to think about the past and the present in post-modern ways – by debating the social, political and economic utility of archaeological knowledge, the value of truth, the power of the reader, and the archaeologist's role in shaping an different world where multiple and alternative pasts contribute to build a more plural society – while in the latter they carry baskets and dig in the middle of future highways, future dams, future parking zones; a eight-hour day's labour that leaves neither time nor space to 'think outside the trench'.

Since today it is almost impossible to find a job in archaeology outside of private companies in Portugal (as no places are available in local administrations, museums or universities and scholarships to postgraduate studies are very rare), this work aims to give voice to these silent people, the 'doozers with white helmets'.

Whether they buy books, go to libraries, attend congresses, write anything but field reports or have some sort of specialization, this is the kind of question that will be asked of these field archaeologists, who dig all over the country, on all types of archaeological sites.

Putting side by side the words of these doozers and those of some 'famous theoretical gurus' will show that real life is also a *narrative*, but with little resemblance to that of great thinkers or books.

So what are you going to do then? Investigating alternative paths and entrepreneurial outlooks in archaeology graduate careers

Karina Croucher (Archaeology HCA, Higher Education Academy, SACE, University of Liverpool, Hartley Building, Liverpool, L69 3GS)

The Subject Centre has recently begun a project surveying archaeology graduates, exploring the diverse range of careers that our graduates follow outside of archaeology. A great number of graduates also display entrepreneurial qualities in establishing successful businesses in a competitive, challenging environment, both within and outside of the discipline. During this paper we will report on preliminary results of our survey, including case studies,

where we explore the reasons why archaeology graduates have chosen their career paths, their influences and motivations, and the role an archaeology degree played in providing them with the necessary skills to pursue their career.

Out of the trench – onto the Web

Barbara Brayshay (GM Broadband Project, Connected Communities Manager, MDDA, Manchester M1 6ED)

Web based communication tools for sharing knowledge, information, learning and networking are all increasingly available via the world wide web. However, few archaeologists, from local community groups (often very entrepreneurial!) to professional and academic archaeologists are aware of the potential. As a result, the skills training to equip students for the new age of digital archaeology is patchy and limiting the potential for enterprise and entrepreneurship outside of the trench. This is doubly important in the current climate of students having to pay for their degrees and having to see that the skills they acquire in a degree will lead to employment. My aim here is to discuss some aspects of the internet such as 3D visualisation, weblogs etc and to show the potential for knowledge transfer and innovation. Key aspects I will be considering are:

- the theoretical/strategic framework and change model for a connected community project
- the use of a toolkit to facilitate ICT in community projects
- creating a virtual (thematic) connected community
- using web based communication tools to link together international, national, regional and local participants involved in community archaeology projects.

Closing the Gap: Archaeology, Academe and the Public

Ian Heath & Catherine Parker (Archaeologica: Peak District Archaeological Tours)

In recent years, there has been an increasing emphasis on 'widening participation' in both Archaeology and Higher Education. The traditional response to this has been to offer more places on degree level Archaeology courses in Universities. This paper/presentation details the birth and development of a venture which seeks to appeal to those who are unable or unwilling to travel this route. The philosophy which drives this venture and how people have engaged with it thus far are a feature of this presentation.

EXHUMATION/EXCAVATION: MATERIALIZING CORPSES

Zoë Crossland (Leicester University) & Layla Renshaw (Department of Anthropology, UCL)

The named or name-able bodies of recent exhumation pose a challenge to the established ways in which we deal with the 'anonymous body' usually encountered in archaeology. The work of recent exhumation, particularly in forensic contexts, contrasts with most archaeological excavation, in that it is both more immediate and more familiar, while also being out-of-the-ordinary, alien and disturbing. Emotional attachments between the dead and living (whether individuals or interest groups) are expressed, created and manipulated through the act of exhumation. Cases where human remains have been exhumed and/or stolen show the ways in which the body comes to represent more than the person in life, taking on a potent symbolic force in the writing of alternate histories and the construction of present day

realities. This session explores the ways in which the materiality of the corpse is constituted through the performative acts of exhumation, display, and analysis. How are human remains remembered and recreated through archaeological practice, and what are the implications for the individual identity and agency of the dead, and the negotiation of relationships with the living?

9.00	Introduction
9.10	Socialising The Dead: Some Historical Perspectives on Archaeological Practice <i>Trevor Kirk</i>
9.30	Cremated Bodies as the Alienable Dead <i>Jane Downes</i>
9.50	Bridging That Gap. The Individualised Body in Archaeology: Seductive, Dangerous and Political <i>Liv Nilsson Stutz</i>
10.10	The Chains That Bind – DNA, The Living and The Dead <i>Keri A. Brown</i>
10.30	Intentional Limitations on Identifications <i>Derek Congram</i>
10.50	Tea/Coffee
11.10	The Things They Carried - Material Culture and the Re-membrance of the Fallen 1914-18 <i>Martin Brown</i>
11.30	La Fosa Común: Shared Graves and Individuated Bodies from the Spanish civil war <i>Layla Renshaw</i>
11.50	Title to be announced (On exhumation, disappearance and community politics in Cyprus) <i>Paul Sant Cassia</i>
12.10	Bodies as / and Objects. The Ontological Status of Human Skeletal Remains <i>Joanna Sofaer</i>
12.30	Creating the Dead: Discourses of Bodies and Evidence in Archaeology and Forensic Science <i>Zoë Crossland</i>

Socialising The Dead: Some Historical Perspectives on Archaeological Practice

Trevor Kirk (University of Wales Lampeter. t.kirk@lamp.ac.uk)

This paper takes an historiographical approach to the excavation/exhumation of human bodies. A variety of British and European case studies illustrate changing attitudes to the human body and, by extension, diverse perceptions of human subjectivity on the part of archaeological practitioners through time. The paper examines dialectical relations between cultural context and perceptions of the body, both in the production of archaeological interpretation and in our understandings of past societal notions of personhood, identity and the significance of the human body.

Cremated Bodies as the Alienable Dead

Jane Downes (Orkney College, UHI Jane.Downes@orkney.uhi.ac.uk)

Cremated bodies are objectified and depersonalised, and interpreted in less interesting and rigorous ways than inhumed bodies. In the ground they appear alien - the bones are fragmented, dry, and clean, the body formless and directionless, and unrecognisable as a human to the archaeological practitioner. An ambivalence regarding our own mortality and current treatment of the dead is extended to other times and cultures, to a large degree uncritically. In this paper I will outline aspects of the history of the

cremated body, and examine the impact of its alienation on considerations of identity and personhood.

Bridging That Gap. The Individualised Body in Archaeology: Seductive, Dangerous and Political

Liv Nilsson Stutz (Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Lund University. Liv.Nilsson_Stutz@ark.lu.se)

Human bodies as archaeological materials...the concept itself touches upon the notion of the abject: a category occupying a space between object and subject. To the archaeologist the gap is clear as we work our way through analysis and interpretation, from the materiality of the remains toward the living individual in the past. Indeed, it is often while engaging in this process that we connect to the human dimension of the past. But to bridge the gap is not only seductive; it also carries its own risks. Just as archaeologists can cling to the past through the medium of the material remains of a person, so can others. The bodies of the dead become loci of emotions and arenas for political struggles. They become the receivers of the projection of political and spiritual ideas that sometimes collide with those represented by archaeologists. This paper explores the emotional and political dimensions of dead bodies in archaeology.

The Chains That Bind – DNA, The Living and The Dead

*Keri A. Brown (University of Manchester
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The construction of the dead as remote and 'different' is challenged by genetic analysis which can identify maternally-inherited mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) and paternally-inherited Y chromosome lineages stretching into the past. These lineages connect the living and the dead to a greater or lesser extent, as we all inherit our DNA from our parents, and they from their parents, and so on back in time. People who have the same mtDNA or Y chromosome haplotypes are descended from an ancient shared ancestor, yet some feel emotionally connected with this unknown person, however far back in time. This 'connectedness' is being commercially exploited by gene typing companies in Britain and the US. There are gene typing companies that offer a 'roots finding' service to Afro-Americans by typing mt and Y DNA. However finding out about your DNA roots can be devastating if the results show up something murky in your family's past. For example 1/3 of male Afro-Americans have European type Y chromosomes, and kinship analysis of the mediaeval Earls of Konigsfeld, Germany, showed that an intrusive Y chromosome crept into the lineage, probably the result of mediaeval adultery. Genetic analysis of males with the same surname (and thus assumed to be descended from the same paternal ancestor) turn out to have a variety of Y haplotypes, instead of a single one. DNA is a two edged sword which has the potential to overturn long held assumptions of family history, and hence identity. The recent explosion in genealogical research has led to inquiries from people who wish to exhume a presumed ancestor with which to compare their DNA. Historical questions regarding the first British colonies have also led to calls from the relatives of the colonists to be exhumed in order to provide DNA samples to compare with DNA from burials in the US. While DNA can tell us much useful information about people who lived in prehistory, whose names and lives are lost to us, should we be exhuming the recent dead to satisfy the curiosity and emotions of genealogists and historians? Are their questions really so important? I would like to explore these issues in my paper.

Intentional Limitations on Identifications

Derek Congram (Forensic Archaeologist, Regime Crimes Liaison Office dc4nzix@yahoo.ca)

In conventional archaeological exhumations, determinations of identity are limited by contextual and historical evidence, available resources and the current state of scientific knowledge. Thus, one may come up with a limited profile of, for example: Roman soldier, aged 35-55 who may have died of syphilis. In the forensic context, identifications may be intentionally limited according to the needs of the investigating authority. In an investigation of genocide, an archaeologist may be asked merely to assess two criteria: civilian or combatant and ethnic or cultural affiliation. As the use of DNA in individual forensic cases around the world has shown, positive individual identifications are possible. We know from the example of humanitarian work by ICMP (International Commission for Missing Persons), in Bosnia-Herzegovina (and NOT the international tribunal, ICTY), that bodies from mass graves can also be uniquely identified and the remains returned to families for customary burial. Forensic archaeologists however, may only be asked to demonstrate that a body in a grave is that of a young female Kurd rather than Afan Aziz, daughter of Karim Aziz of Kirkuk.

Should archaeologists be content with this imposed limitation? Is something better than nothing? Are we obliged to do as much as possible due to the contemporary importance of forensic investigations and the contributions of archaeology to them? As archaeologists in the forensic sphere, are we to submit to the legal authorities in obtaining the information they desire according to their objectives under investigations of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes?

The Things They Carried - Material Culture and the Remembrance of the Fallen 1914-18

Martin Brown (No Man's Land - The European Group for Great War Archaeology Martin.Brown3@de.mod.uk)

Each November the western world remembers "The Fallen". Silences, ceremonies and public holidays mark the sacrifice/slaughter/disappearance of a generation. Whether they are The Fallen, The Missing, or Our Glorious Dead they are an amorphous body of men forever held in sepia tone images, memorialised in marble and, in many cases, "Known unto God" because they were unidentified.

Recent work on the Western Front has demonstrated the value of archaeology in seeing behind the icon, stereotype and myth of the Great War and seeking to see again the man. Through processes of excavation, interpretation of remains, identification and reburial, as well as dissemination through a variety of media archaeologists have sought to restore humanity to these bones that had become iconic tropes of the dead soldier rather than as people. Human remains from the battlefield can be re-membered through consideration of their context, dating and material (and *materiel*) culture. In its most successful form this work may result in the formal identification of an individual, opening the possibility of contact with surviving relatives, family histories and ensuing dialogues but even where identification remains elusive the things they carried affords opportunities to construct identities for the found. The archaeological study of the personal effects of the dead of 1914-1918 can engage in a process of both re-remembrance and remembrance through narratives and dialogues set against the cataclysm of 1914-18 and its legacy. In so doing the archaeologist seeks to humanise the soldiers' skeletons, to rescue them from an eternity in uniform and to explore their individuality and humanity.

The title of this paper is inspired by Tim O'Brien's 1991 collection of short stories. Based on experiences in Vietnam

O'Brien uses "The Things they Carried" of the title to springboard into the stories of the soldiers as men. In essence these stories carry the same purpose as the work on the dead of the Western Front since both attempts to convey something of the individual, restoring humanity and dignity to the otherwise anonymous.

La Fosa Común: Shared Graves and Individuated Bodies from the Spanish civil war

*Layla Renshaw (Department of Anthropology, UCL
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The individuating process – reconstituting identified human remains from the enforced anonymity of a mass grave appears at first sight to be a humane undertaking with a clear ethical justification. However the ongoing exhumation of Republican mass graves in Spain illustrates the ethical and political complexity of this process. These complexities have generated heated debate amongst the archaeologists and campaigners currently working to excavate the graves, as to whether the individual or collective identity of the dead should be privileged. Yet more campaigners argue that the mass grave is itself an artefact, more than the sum of its constituent bodies and a site of memory that should not be broken up. These debates are echoed on a community level as villages decide how to re-bury the named dead recently returned to them.

The emphasis on the individuality of each skeleton can be seen as an empowering adoption of both prevailing human rights discourse and the precedent set by other countries, such as Argentina, in their use of forensic archaeology to address past abuses. The process of individuating a body reasserts the significance of each life and death.

Yet a detailed examination of Fascist repression in Spain reveals the extent to which it systematically dismantled any basis for a shared or collective identity amongst its victims, who were left atomized and isolated in 'inner-exile'. In this context individuation cannot be politically neutral; it risks a disavowal of the shared identity of both victims and survivors that perpetuates the legacy of Franco's victory.

Exhumation of Missing Persons in Cyprus

*Paul Sant Cassia (Department of Anthropology,
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This paper outlines how the issue of Missing Persons in Cyprus, persons (both Greek and Turkish Cypriot) who disappeared in the course of hostilities between the two communities between 1963-67, and as a result of the 1974 Turkish invasion, have continued to poison relations between the two communities, and contributing to a climate of mistrust. Faced with increasing pressure by relatives, the authorities on both sides of the Green Line have begun exhumations. This paper shows how these exhumations have proved particularly embarrassing to the political authorities, and discusses the likely implications.

Bodies as / and Objects. The Ontological Status of Human Skeletal Remains

*Joanna Sofaer Department of Archaeology, Southampton
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The separation between objects and people is deeply ingrained in the discipline. This traditional distinction rests on a division between animate subjects that belong to the cultural world and inanimate objects that are part of the material world. Accordingly, the living body is regarded as a person but as soon as the transition to death is made, the body becomes an object. Death not only describes an event horizon, but precipitates an ontological shift in the

perception of the body that assumes a sudden change in its qualities.

The distinction between bodies and objects can be problematised on a number of levels. Most frequently, the distinction between objects and people has been questioned from the side of the object, the concern being to establish how like people objects can be. For example, objects, like people, are said to have histories, biographies and social lives. Less archaeological attention and explicit theorisation have been devoted to illustrating how like objects people can be. This may be because when the body is discussed as an object this is understood to be real rather than metaphorical and is consequently deemed to be disturbing, dangerous and open to accusations of essentialism. The effect has largely been to react against the categorisation of bodies as objects by encouraging politically ideal perceptions of the body that impose a universal equality.

This paper explores the tensions between contrasting notions of the body and their implications for archaeological practice.

Creating the Dead: Discourses of Bodies and Evidence in Archaeology and Forensic Science

Zoë Crossland (Leicester University zc107@cam.ac.uk)

This paper looks at the becoming of bodies after death, and asks how are the dead created and maintained as bodies, and as corpses, through acts such as excavation and exhumation? The process of investigation of the bodies of the dead through archaeological practice regulates and demarcates excavated bodies as dead, and differentiates them from the living. One of the ways in which this demarcation takes place is through the portrayal and treatment of bodies as evidence. The popularity of this metaphor for the dead body, particularly in forensic contexts, relates to an understanding of the body's materiality as empirically unchallengeable, and therefore a vehicle for truth which can confront more mendacious or subjective accounts. The performance of exhumation, display, and analysis therefore reproduces foundational categories that separate mind from materiality, and living from dead.

The ways in which this discourse operates are illustrated by forensic excavations in Argentina, where the instrumental and evidential treatment of the dead body contrasts with other, more embodied understandings of the body after death, which, in contrast to seeing the corpse as simply material *remains*, view the dead person as again made present through the materiality of their corpse.

20 December Afternoon

IRON AGE THOUGHT: RECONCILING LOCAL AND GENERAL IN THE IRON AGE

*Bill Bevan (Peak District National Park Authority,
inHeritage, Australian National University)*

What did people in the Iron Age think of their world?

British Iron Age studies have moved from the generalising ideas of pan-Celtic societies and mass folk migrations, to more geographically specific studies that emphasise regionality. Such a shift in approach has explained local variation and diversity in Iron Age society, giving more highly nuanced social interpretations that place the agent more centre stage and exploring the dynamics of social interaction. Yet, what do we do with the evidence that ideas, material culture, and social practices were shared over vast geographic areas? Some seemingly similar concepts and

objects were held and used by different communities, sometimes living great distances apart.

These two scales of analysis need to be reconciled by addressing the dynamics of how diverse local communities realized wider concerns beyond their immediate horizons.

This session will discuss these issues by proposing various ways that similar trends, at least as observed by archaeologists, might have been shared in the Iron Age. It will not be a series of cautionary tales on how to interpret archaeological evidence. Nor do I hope that speakers fall back on over-generalising cross-cultural explanations that ignore regional variation. Participants are urged to come to positive conclusions that will push forward our understanding of later prehistoric societies in Europe.

Questions to be addressed include the following:

In what ways did individuals conceive of the world beyond their own communities? What concepts were used to understand their world? How wide did the 'imagined community' reach? How were ideas shared and communicated, sometimes over vast distances?

2.00	Introduction <i>Bill Bevan</i>
2.20	Toutios and Allobrogs: citizen and foreigner <i>Raimund Karl</i>
2.40	Iron Age Burial Rites <i>John Collis</i>
3.00	Near and Far: embodying distance in Iron Age art <i>Mel Giles</i>
3.20	Tea/Coffee
3.40	Local and International in Iron Age Material Culture: the case of the carnyx <i>Fraser Hunter</i>
4.00	Living with the Dead: human remains from settlement contexts in Iron Age Britain and beyond <i>Ian Armit & Vicky Ginn</i>
4.20	When History became Myth: the archaeology of Iron Age Atlantic Scotland <i>Kate MacDonald</i>
4.40	Perceiving Communities: later Iron Age societies in western Britain <i>Tom Moore</i>
5.00	Discussion - Hill's Thoughts of the Iron Age <i>J D Hill</i>

Introduction

Bill Bevan (Peak District National Park Authority, inHeritage, Australian National University)

A coarse history of archaeological theories to explain cultural change might begin with the cultural historical view that new 'ways' were carried on the backs of 'folk' who invaded and migrated across vast geographic areas. We could then forward to the approach that ideas moved but not people, diffusing across the landscape without mass folk movement. Regionalism became more prevalent, though sometimes tied down by cross-cultural generalisations and often handicapped by the assumption that ideas moved unidirectionally from core to periphery. The deconstruction of 'grand narratives' and emphasis placed on the dynamic reworking of society in the relations between individual agent and social structure, switched focus to interpretations of more local material. Small communities were placed more centrally to the study of archaeology. Wider scales of analysis were often downplayed. Archaeological interpretation could be characterised as dividing into simplistic generalisations or detailed local studies.

Recent funerary discoveries from a different period at some southern henge may give us food for thought. Certain individuals could travel large distances to live in distant communities: local communities could accept strangers into their routines. This suggests that individuals and groups from different communities could come into contact with

each other in many different arenas of social contact. There is much Iron Age evidence for physically constituted practices spanning vast geographical distances. Roundhouses, La Tene decorated metalwork and rotary querns demonstrate a communication of ideas. The presence of square barrow burials in both eastern Yorkshire and northern France is as unlikely to be a coincidental reinvention of the (chariot) wheel as much as it could be the result of an overlong works outing. Novel ideas and historically long-held practices could be shared, experienced, discovered, reinforced through an array of complex social interactions. Thought could be influenced not only by the individual's involvement in familiar, daily routines, but also through the identification with imagined communities removed from everyday experience, perceived to exist beyond the horizon, possibly without physical contact.

Andrew Fleming has discussed how the small community is a robust institution with a capacity for long-term history that is affected by formal institutions on a regional scale. Individuals and families interact most with others within their local community, so emphasising the boundedness of a community more than its permeability. This is where social identity is *most strongly* created through the regular, everyday reworking of social relations. But, communities are interconnected with neighbours and more distant groups through sharing resources and by exchange, so participating in wider, regional identities. Deeply embedded concepts may exist beyond the regional. Locally constituted ideals can echo shared beliefs.

A challenge to archaeology in the 21st century is to produce theoretically robust interpretations which bring together the two different scales of analysis with an understanding of the potential complexities of social interaction based on the material evidence. How do archaeologists learn to explain commonality without generalising, discuss local agency without myopia? I hope Iron Age Thought will go some way to furthering the debate.

LANGUAGE

Toutios and Allobrogs: citizen and foreigner

Raimund Karl (University of Wales, Bangor)

Iron Age social interaction was predominantly short range, societies were, primarily, constituted locally. As John Collis has rightly observed, 'it is clear from the archaeology that there is an enormous range, from the urbanised societies of Gaul in the 1st century BC to the decentralised societies of the English Pennines; from the highly stratified societies represented in the burials of Vix and Hochdorf, to societies where it is difficult to pick out any prestige material goods', all of which have been lumped together under the label 'Celtic'. Yet, regardless of all these obvious differences, there are, without doubt, some similarities as well, not least in the field of artistic language.

We can be reasonably sure that most of those vastly different western European Iron Age societies that we can observe in the archaeological record spoke closely related languages, which the linguists have decided to call 'Celtic'. These 'Celtic' languages provide us with terms for the member of the community, *toutios*, and the foreigner, *allobrogs*. For all we know, a foreigner was a non-person in Iron Age societies, without any protection by law. This is the case in every attested early European law, from Greek and Roman law to the early medieval 'Celtic' and 'Germanic' laws. The local short-range, small-scale Iron Age community, the *touta*, thus clearly was a closed system. But how can we reconcile the difference between *toutioi* and

allobroges, to explain their shared languages, be they spoken or artistic?

This paper will try to let the Iron Age people speak for themselves, as Simon James demands, rather than imposing our views on them, as Simon James does. We will take a look at the practices of providing **snad-*, 'protection, hospitality', to foreign travellers, and **altros*, 'fosterage, education', to children of 'foreigners'. Both allow to explain how locally constituted, predominantly small-scale *toutas* could develop shared languages, both spoken and artistic. And, given that virtually all modern sociological theories, whether it be Boudieu's theory of practice, Giddens' theory of structuration, Habermas' theory of communicative action or Luhmann's social systems theory emphasise the importance of reflective agency, it might even provide a solid reason to revive the old term 'Celtic', as those societies might not have been that different after all.

BURIALS

Iron Age Burial Rites

John Collis (University of Sheffield)

Studies of burial rites across central and western Europe in the second half of the first millennium have either concentrated on ethnic interpretations (Celts, Germans, etc), or have emphasised supposed links in the burial rites and their social meaning (elites, Celtic warrior societies, etc.), with terminology such as chariot burials, warrior burials, burials with 'Ringschmuck'. In fact this ignores the fact that for large areas of Europe, especially Britain and western – central France we have virtually no recognisable burials, and even in the areas where we have burials, there are usually major chronological gaps in the sequence, and evidence that some, if not the majority, of the population, were buried in some other way. However, even a cursory look at, for instance, the distributions of burial types such as chariot burials (concentrated, dispersed, etc), the context of the burials (in cemeteries, isolated), and the percentages (high in Champagne, low in Yorkshire or the Hunsrück-Eifel) suggest that the 'meanings' of apparently similar rites are very different from one area to another. On the other hand, there are wide similarities across Europe, in art style, artefact types, etc. Clearly we need to look much more closely at the contexts before leaping to conclusions about supposed links (e.g. between Champagne and Yorkshire) and simplistic social interpretations.

ART

Near and Far: embodying distance in Iron Age art

Mel Giles (University of Manchester)

'Celtic' La Tène art is often seen as a phenomenon which links the local to the global in the Iron Age 'world' of northern Europe, because of the sharing of designs, styles and ideas which it supposedly represents. These common practices are variously attributed either to the spread of people through migration, a shared sense of ethnic identity or emulation by social elites. To investigate this issue, this paper will explore the decorated objects of middle-late Iron Age Eastern Yorkshire: an area which has been linked with the Continent due to its distinctive square barrow and 'chariot' burials. By analysing the use of materials and artistic style, it will critically consider the nature of connections between regions, including exchanges of craft knowledge and skill. The paper will deliberately emphasise the performative aspect of both making and using objects which embody connections with distant places, and how origin influenced the use and meaning of 'exotic' substances and designs. It will suggest that whilst the thoughts of Iron Age peoples are not accessible to us, we can use

ethnographic analogy to explore how small-scale communities *might* have perceived and understood people, places and things at a distance from themselves.

MUSIC

Local and International in Iron Age Material Culture: the case of the carnyx

Fraser Hunter (National Museum of Scotland)

Celtic art has been one of the major stumbling blocks for regional narratives of Iron Age Europe. While there is evidence of regional variety in art styles there are also clear connections over great distances, connections which fuelled the very concept of the Celts. This paper will consider the interpretation of Celtic art and related aspects of material culture, particularly through a case study of the *carnyx*, the animal-headed trumpet known from across much of Europe. The variety behind the concept of a *carnyx* will be explored, touching on issues of regional and international scales of analysis and interaction. Possible explanations for these phenomena will be explored, including the role of musical instruments in the Iron Age and the transmission and adoption of artistic and technical innovations. The *carnyx* will be presented as a potent example of the integration of regional and international in Iron Age studies.

HEADS

Living with the Dead: human remains from settlement contexts in Iron Age Britain and beyond

Ian Armit and Vicky Ginn (School of Geography, Archaeology and Palaeoecology, Queen's University Belfast)

The occurrence of human remains in Iron Age settlement contexts in southern England is well-attested and has been the subject of considerable recent debate. Bodies and body parts from sites like Danebury suggest a complex series of practices associated with the disposal of certain human bodies, and it is improbable that a single explanation (such as excarnation, retention of war trophies, or display of ancestral relics) can account for all of them. Less well known are the human remains from settlement contexts in other parts of Iron Age Britain. In Atlantic Scotland, for example, human body parts are found consistently, if in small numbers, in Atlantic roundhouses, wheelhouses, souterrains, and other settlement forms. Again, they suggest no single unified practice, but rather a complex and evolving set of attitudes to the human body, its display, curation and disposal. Although the specific practices remain essentially local, certain concerns appear common to both areas, and some, for instance the special treatment accorded to the head, have resonances at a much wider geographical scale.

SETTLEMENT

When History became Myth: the archaeology of Iron Age Atlantic Scotland

Kate MacDonald (University of Sheffield)

The most elaborate Iron Age architecture in northern Europe is found in Atlantic Scotland, where brochs dominated the social landscape for centuries. These tower-like dwellings appear to be defensive, but such complex structures could only have been planned and built during a period of stability. Brochs would have been crucial in maintaining peace through a show of economic and political strength.

The geographical range of brochs extends for hundreds of miles: communities that were dispersed across an extensive area shared a common style of architecture and way of life, suggesting a degree of collective identity. People construct their identity from their historical roots, and a shared

heritage, whether real or imagined, is one of the strongest bonds that can unite people. Conflict arises when we fail to forget old differences and to leave the past behind. The building of brochs across Atlantic Scotland during the 1st millennium BC marks an important transition, as diverse architectural traditions were replaced by a universal style of dwelling. Local identities and histories must have been played down, to make way for a regional community.

In Orkney, the people who created brochs were familiar with their rich heritage of Neolithic structures. The origins of these ancient monuments would have been beyond the limits of historical knowledge in an oral society. They would have been an abundant resource of architectural symbolism for those who wished to identify themselves with a mythical past, one that could be manipulated to legitimise the widespread connections that characterised the Iron Age.

LANDSCAPE

Perceiving Communities: later Iron Age societies in western Britain

Tom Moore (University of Newcastle)

In recent years British Iron Age studies have focused on emphasising regionality whilst critiquing the hierarchical, central place model of Iron Age society. Despite the success of these approaches there has been little detailed replacement of previous social models with an understanding of how Iron Age communities were constituted; at what levels did society conceive itself, how were concepts of identity transmitted and how do they relate to what we interpret as regionality? Increasingly we need to re-examine what we mean by 'community' and ask at what geographic, spatial and temporal levels Iron Age people perceived themselves and their place in the landscape.

Looking at the Later Iron Age in Western Britain this paper combines an examination of the use, exchange and deposition of material culture alongside study of the landscape to explore the nature of community. It will be argued that in western Britain, Iron Age societies used material culture to construct and maintain social relationships within and between communities at a variety of levels. The use of visual landscape references and the exchange of material culture allowed groups to engage in wider perceived, as well as 'real', communities embedding groups in a range of relationships which engendered, transmitted and transformed 'community'. It will be suggested that through examination of artefact and landscape biographies we can begin to create new narratives and models of the nature of Iron Age communities.

A SYMMETRICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Bjørnar Olsen (University of Tromsø, Norway), Michael Shanks (Stanford University), Timothy Webmoor (Stanford University) & Christopher Witmore (Stanford University)

Archaeology has long struggled with or even straddled divides as those between the material and the social, the present and the past, and the sciences and humanities. Caught in what can be broadly construed as a cyclical fluctuation between concerns with realism and constructivism, epistemology and ontology, objectivity and subjectivity our history of disciplinary "turns" associated with the negotiation of such divides is familiar to many. In this session we suggest a series of paths that do not lead to the continuation of such cycles of "dialectical war," which

faithfully and persistently repeat the gesture of the Kantian (Copernican) revolution.

Symmetrical archaeology gathers approaches that share the conviction that the world is far better represented and understood if conceived of in terms of mixtures and entanglements rather than dualisms and oppositions. It poses a radical levelling of the way we treat humans and things, both in our articulations of the material past and in our reflexive analyses of our own archaeological practices. However, this is not a claim to an undifferentiated world. We acknowledge the differences between entities but conceive of them as *non-oppositional* or *relative* facilitating collaboration, delegation and exchange. Through the application of the principle of symmetry we attend, not to how people get on in the world, but rather to how a collective, the entanglement of humans and nonhumans, negotiates a complex web of interactions with a diversity of other entities.

In accentuating links and crossovers with science studies, pragmatism, semiotics and empirical philosophy, this session reconfigures our understandings of human relationships with the material world in ways that are not necessarily subject to modernist thought. This session gathers together practitioners who wish to demonstrate how archaeology can set alternative agendas in the humanities and sciences by articulating a new "ecology" packed with things, mixed with humans, and which prioritizes the multitemporal and multisensorial presence of the material world.

- 9.20** A fifteen-minute manifesto for a symmetrical archaeology *Christopher Witmore*
- 9.40** Genealogies of asymmetry: why things were forgotten *Bjørnar Olsen*
- 10.00** Asymmetrical Time: Stratigraphy in archaeological practice *Ashish Chadha*
- 10.20** Beyond Asymmetry: A View from Historical Archaeology *Dan Hicks*
- 10.40** Tea/Coffee
- 11.00** Latourian cesspits *Maartje Hoogsteyns*
- 11.20** Material hermeneutics *Don Ihde*
- 11.40** Symmetrical archaeology and pragmatism *Timothy Webmoor*
- 12.00** From a postprocessual to a symmetrical archaeology *Michael Shanks*
- 12.20** Discussion *Stephanie Koerner*

A fifteen-minute manifesto for a symmetrical archaeology

Christopher Witmore (Stanford University)

Archaeology as a discipline has deeply transformed over the last 25 years. Indeed, today there seem to be as many forms of archaeology as archaeologists. One could argue that this is the success of pluralism. Still, others might contend that the current fragmentation is a post-hypercritical state which exists simply because the fragment is most resistant to critique. Whatever the response our complicity in this state of affairs is the easiest way to turn our back on archaeology's unique, and rather tortured, state stretched across the divide between the humanities and the sciences and plagued by the divides between ideas and things, past and present, and so on. A symmetrical archaeology holds that these are divides of our own making. It argues that there is indeed a great deal of common ground to be had.

Furthermore, in excavating underneath such divides, a symmetrical archaeology recharacterizes the world, not in terms of dualisms or oppositions, but in terms of mixtures

and entanglements. It poses that we treat humans and things in the same terms, both in our articulations of the material world and in the reflexive analyses of our own practices. A symmetrical archaeology accords the things of the past action today. Such matters of concern hold profound implications for a discipline which considers the past to be separate, distant and distinct. They offer substantial possibilities for grasping what it is to be human; for engaging in precisely how humans are blended with things; for understanding that just as things are 'us' that various pasts percolate 'now.'

This paper will limn the symmetrical project by rummaging through the discipline's tool kit and addressing some of the most fundamental questions in archaeology concerning agency, materiality, space and time.

Genealogies of asymmetry: Why things were forgotten

Bjørnar Olsen (University of Tromsø)

The study of things has long fallen victim to an intellectual tradition that has devaluated and stigmatised the material. Despite the renewed interest in material culture witnessed in a number of disciplines, its materiality and 'thinginess' continues to be sacrificed in favour of the readerly veil of humanly embodied meanings that envelopes it. Trying to explain the oblivion of the thingly, the author traces an effective history of asymmetry and suspicion toward things in Western thinking.

Asymmetrical Time: Stratigraphy in archaeological practice

Ashish Chadha (Stanford University)

This paper will investigate the genealogy of one of the most traditional media used in archaeological excavations - practices based upon the concept of stratigraphy. These are representational strategies that have a considerable amount of conceptual valence in contemporary archaeological theory of practice. Stratigraphy is still considered the most important form of mediational framework through which the temporality of a site is mapped. In order to investigate the ideological and methodological salience of stratigraphy to the archaeological project, I will focus on the archive of one of its key proponents - Sir Mortimer Wheeler, and especially his work in South Asia. This paper will analyze Wheeler's attempt at transforming stratigraphy as a fringe archaeological strategy into a core mediational practice to represent chronology - a form of temporal cartography.

Beyond Asymmetry: A view from historical archaeology

Dan Hicks (Bristol University)

This paper considers the potential significance of the notion of a 'symmetrical archaeology' from the point of view of the archaeology of the most recent past. Inspired by Latour's (1993) anthropological critique of a spurious, asymmetric 'Great Divide' - between human and nonhuman/material worlds, or between modern and premodern situations - the paper explores how archaeological studies of the most recent past have in a similar fashion begun to question the distance between past and present, archaeologist and object (cf. Hicks 2005).

Rather than leading to a new interpretive formalism, based around the geometrical metaphor of symmetry and its connotations of coherence or dynamic equilibrium, through a series of case studies in historical archaeology the paper suggests that such archaeological work leads away from 'asymmetric' approaches towards accounts that foreground complexity, material agency, noncoherence and partiality (rather than interpretation or meaning, for instance). Historical and contemporary archaeology holds the potential

to move beyond 'asymmetric' thinking towards more nuanced, situated and complex archaeologies.

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Latourian cesspits

Maartje Hoogsteyns (University of Amsterdam)

Dutch medieval cesspits all look similar: 14th century cesspits do not seem to differ from 17th century cesspits, cesspits in the east of the Netherlands resemble cesspits in the west. Yet, despite their seeming similarity, cesspits were probably very different things within these different collectives.

This multiplicity has not so much to do with the interpretive flexibility of humans, but with the variety of mediating roles cesspits fulfilled. Consequently, although their appearance to us seems stable, the materiality of cesspits must have varied. In this paper, it is argued that considering cesspits as multiple and disputable actually makes them more real and tangible.

Material hermeneutics

Don Ihde (Technoscience Research Group, Stony Brook University)

A material hermeneutics is a hermeneutics which "gives things voices where there had been silence, and brings to sight that which was invisible." Such a hermeneutics in natural science can best be illustrated by its imaging practices. The objects of this visual hermeneutics were not texts nor linguistic phenomena, but things which came into vision through instrumental magnifications, allowing perception to go where it had not gone before. One could also say that a visual hermeneutics is a perceptual hermeneutics with a perception which while including texts, goes beyond texts. This local history gives but a small glimpse of the directions I tried to outline in *Expanding Hermeneutics*. Such material hermeneutics are doubly material—first, in the sense that the objects being investigated are material entities—paramedia, extra-geocentric satellites, and eventually even the chemical make-up of the stars—but also it is material in the sense that the instruments being used to 'bring close' such phenomena are also material entities, technologies, by which and through which the natural sciences are embodied. In *Expanding Hermeneutics* I outlined both a weak program of hermeneutics in natural science, that is, a program of actual and extant practices which can best be understood as hermeneutic practices, and a strong program which was more prescriptive, suggesting ways to radicalize a material hermeneutics. In part the trajectory of expanding hermeneutics comes from much that I have learned from the new versions of interdisciplinary "science studies" which include the strands of the new sociologies of science, feminist critiques of science, and the varieties of philosophy of science which emphasize praxis, instruments, and laboratories over sheer theory production - all under which I now title "technoscience studies". I have developed a sensitivity to the ways in which our instruments, technologies operate in hermeneutic ways. And that is a story I wish to tell here—with a new twist.

Symmetrical Archaeology, Pragmatism and Archaeological Hope

Timothy Webmoor (Stanford University)

This paper suggests the current convergence of classical and (analytic)neo-pragmatism and recent science studies' concern with overcoming the dilemmas of 'modernist metaphysics' provides a lens and practice for dealing with the discipline of archaeology's current crisis of epistemology-ethics.

First, I briefly sketch the current 'crisis' in theoretical archaeology which has resulted from an increasing *anthropologizing* of archaeology in response to the interest of indigenous and stakeholder groups to legally mandate the right to interpret/appropriate the past within non-Western, non-Scientific frameworks of understanding. The divisive crux: how to balance the ethical imperative to incorporate non-archaeological interests in global heritage without compromising an 'objective' rendering of the past.

Such a response is dependent, however, on a non-pragmatist view of truth. Consequently, I (second) trace the pragmatist elements in a symmetrical approach to archaeology and argue how such a concern with an ontological collective of people-things naturally fords a way around the epistemological standstill. In bypassing a need for 'accurate representation' and instead drawing-out the enmeshed-through-action character of archaeological matter *and* archaeological stakeholders within specific contexts of engagement, symmetrical archaeology provides a socially useful criterion of 'truth' which is more relevant to global heritage and its attendant cultural politics than previous, more narrowly defined and practiced, frameworks for rendering the past.

Utilizing such a pragmatist premise, the convergence of symmetrical archaeology emphasizing an inclusive people-thing 'Constitution' with global heritage may offer hope rather than intellectual crisis.

From a postprocessual to a symmetrical archaeology

Michael Shanks (Stanford University)

This paper will track the intellectual trajectory from postprocessual archaeology through to the symmetrical programme.

GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND? KNITTING AND UN-PICKING ARCHAEOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Rachel Ballantyne (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge), Joanna Bending (Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield) & Mette Marie Hald (Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield) Contact: rmb51@cam.ac.uk

Environment has a variety of meanings in common use and this is reflected in archaeological interpretation. It may be perceived as the sum of ostensibly natural components within a region: flora, fauna, soils and topography, or be used to describe theatres of life at a multitude of scales: from daily activities, to urbanism and "the totality of the physical conditions in which a human society lives" (Oxford English Dictionary). The implications for the use within landscape archaeology of the latter definition form the basis for this session.

In recent years, the integration of time into mapped distributions, or 'landscapes', of archaeological remains has attracted debate. Interpretations increasingly emphasise past rhythms of daily life and their associated experiences, largely expressed through concepts of embodiment, dwelling and inhabitation. Perceived limitations to the

concept of landscape have also been revealed, with a proliferation of phrases including seascape, cityscape, taskscape, and soundscape. By contrast, the holistic quality of environment is undeniably attractive; it forces the recombination of apparently self-contained categories, whether 'on-site' or 'off-site', natural, artefactual or architectural. Might not the growing compartmentalisation of landscapes be a circular act, reasserting more traditional analytical categories?

Concurrently, the sub-discipline of 'environmental archaeology' has been largely redefined as 'bioarchaeology', which downplays the notion that biological remains are solely relevant to species lists and economic relations. The indivisibility of actor and environment suggests that biological remains are integral to any archaeological interpretation. 'Natural' floras and faunas can be consciously and unconsciously shaped by human action, and their remains can be artefactual.

Is environment-landscape thus merely semantics, or an example of how terminology can shape archaeological interpretation?

This session presents speakers who are actively engaged in research that transgresses 'environmental' and 'landscape' archaeology. How can biological remains and contextuality be creatively knit together to further our understanding of past lifeways and experiences?

- 2.00 Natural Backdrop or Theatre of Life? Towards a holistic approach to landscape and environment
Rachel Ballantyne, Joanna Bending & Mette Marie Hald
- 2.20 Rising from the reedbeds: tempos of life in the Early Neolithic floodplains of southeast Hungary
Mark Gillings
- 2.40 Landscape as site: interpreting the historic landscapes of Kincardineshire
Cole Henley
- 3.00 Environment, land-use and society on Bronze Age Dartmoor
Joanna Brück
- 3.20 Tea/Coffee
- 3.40 Attitudes to Altitude: the meaning and perception of risk in a "marginal" Alpine Landscape – the integration of palaeoecological and archaeological data at 2200m
Suzi Richer & Kevin Walsh
- 4.00 From Metastable Environment to Cultural Landscape of Diversity and Choice
Lila Janik
- 4.20 Rhythm: 5000-2000 on the Edge
Fraser Sturt
- 4.40 Epistemology and Environment: Towards an understanding of how past peoples experienced, perceived and gained knowledge of their environments
Chris Stevens
- 5.00 Discussion
Ben Croxford

Natural Backdrop or Theatre of Life? Towards a holistic approach to landscape and environment

Rachel Ballantyne (University of Cambridge), Joanna Bending (University of Sheffield) & Mette Marie Hald (University of Sheffield)

What do we mean when writing and researching about past 'landscapes' and 'environments'? Why, and how, have these two separate concepts emerged regarding the worlds in which human societies live? As the title of this introductory paper suggests, should we be treating flora and fauna as a natural, biological backdrop for cultural decisions and values, or building more integrated models, which incorporate both time and space into rhythms of colour, texture, resources and actions?

The above, ostensibly nature:culture, tension has already been superseded in archaeological theory, and the interwoven qualities of human cultural action and ecology are widely recognised. However, *practical* approaches to biological remains within archaeological research are changing very slowly, as is the language used to articulate interpretations of those remains. The uptake of GIS methodology within landscape archaeology has catalysed interest in past flora, as a route to enriching and understanding the models produced. Concurrently, environmental archaeologists have growing interest in the qualities ascribed to the resources they identify in the past – for example notions of taboos, luxuries or staples, and the lifeways associated with their procurement and use. But we often still construct research objectives and collect samples separately, and only try to draw the separate strands of work together during the later stages of research. Are we missing something?

Rising from the reedbeds: tempos of life in the Early Neolithic floodplains of southeast Hungary

Mark Gillings (University of Leicester)

If you take the dots representing the locations of early Neolithic settlements and sprinkle them on a map of south-eastern Hungary, something quickly becomes apparent. The sites appear to be preferentially located close to active and relic river channels, oxbows, backswamps and areas prone to seasonal inundation. An interesting (and obvious) question is why, and since the 1930s scholars have sought to answer it, usually citing the rich mosaic of natural resources that accompany the rivers and floodplains as a driving factor.

This paper also seeks to explore this question, however, I intend to go about it in a slightly different way. This firstly involves inverting the traditional question that lies behind many settlement studies, asking not '*why are these settlements located where we find them and not in any of the other places they might have been?*' but instead posing the question '*what would it have been like to live out a life there?*'. It also involves a different way of thinking about the relationships between water, people, plants, houses, animals, pasts and futures and the simultaneously predictable, unexpected, prosaic and unusual ways in which they are woven together in the routine practices of everyday life.

In so doing I will draw upon a (by now) well established body of research that has foregrounded the immediate and contingent, and stressed the importance of local knowledge, social memory, experience, encounter and engagement in the shaping of past landscapes and their contemporary understandings. At the heart of this is a particular reading of the concept of *affordance* introduced into archaeology by Tim Ingold.

In attempting to describe what it may have been like to inhabit these locations (thinking from the inside out) rather than seek to explain why these sites are found in soggy places (thinking from the outside in) my ultimate aim is to draw conclusions that transcend the immediacy of the site itself to create new points of departure for thinking about the broader pattern of dots that has so dominated studies to date.

Landscape as site: interpreting the historic landscapes of Kincardineshire

Cole Henley (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland)

The HLA (Historic Land-use Assessment) Project is a collaborative project aimed at mapping evidence within the

contemporary Scottish environment for past land-use. The product of this project will be a GIS database outlining the current form of the Scottish landscape and the history and origins of its formation.

Focusing on the recently completed work in Kincardineshire, this paper will outline some of the main impacts on this particular landscape through time whilst also reflecting on the interpretative process of mapping. It will be demonstrated that there are few aspects of this landscape that have not been shaped in some way by past human activity - conflicting with the conventional distinction in this county between wild, untouched uplands to the north and west and domesticated coastal lowlands to the south and east.

Overall, it is hoped that the HLA can be shown to be a practical tool for examining a social history of the environment and, in viewing the landscape as site (in contrast to the traditional emphasis in landscape archaeology for examining the landscape context of individual archaeological sites), an approach which usefully transgresses the problematic site-environment divide.

Environment, land-use and society on Bronze Age Dartmoor

Joanna Brück (University College Dublin)

The Bronze Age field systems on Dartmoor are often considered to indicate the intensification of agricultural production. This is thought to have resulted in the over-use and subsequent deterioration of soils in the region. However, other evidence indicates that there was no such exploitative attitude towards the environment during this period and that this model unthinkingly imposes modern economic principles onto the past. Drawing on the results of excavation, survey and palaeoenvironmental reconstruction by the Shovel Down Project, this paper will consider whether it is possible to move beyond determinist frameworks and explore how social conditions and cultural attitudes towards the environment informed past land-use practices.

Attitudes to Altitude: the meaning and perception of risk in a "marginal" Alpine Landscape – the integration of palaeoecological and archaeological data at 2200m

Suzi Richer (University of York) and Kevin Walsh (University of York)

This paper presents the archaeological and palaeoecological work of a diachronic landscape project in the Southern French Alps. As well as outlining the conventional ways in which environmental data aids interpretation of these high altitude sites, in terms of vegetation change, settlement location and economy, the paper considers other ways in which the Alpine landscape can be examined.

We reject modernist notions which characterise the Alpine landscape as a marginal and inhospitable place. Possible changes in perception of these environments from the Mesolithic onwards are discussed. People are embedded within their landscapes, and as such, are subject to the influence of other actors within their landscapes, as well as outside factors such as the political and social *milieu*. By integrating and weaving together palaeoecological and archaeological data we seek to work towards an alternative interpretation of an Alpine landscape.

From Metastable Environment to Cultural Landscape of Diversity and Choice

Lila Janik (University of Cambridge)

Most archaeologists have discussed environmental change in the Holocene in terms of a succession of climatic phases associated with the steady spread of particular forest zones, each of which has its own set of potential food resources. These models depict environmental change as stadial, uniform over a large region, linear and unidirectional. Recent work in palaeoecology shows that the environment was in a constant state of change, that the changes were fluctuations rather than linear unidirectional shifts. This new view of the Holocene environment means that we need a fresh approach to understanding how the diverse ecosystem changed through time and to the economic conceptualisation of the local fisher-gatherer-hunters. Such a lack of equilibrium has significant implications for archaeological interpretation, and theoretical stand point, as it implies that the fisher-gatherer-hunter communities lived within a constantly fluctuating biological environment. The actions of these people therefore took place in dynamic and ever changing surroundings, rather than as suggested until now in a stable environment disrupted by sudden changes which interrupted the existing equilibrium.

I shall argue that the fisher-gatherer-hunters actively participated within the dynamic structure of the ecosystem by choosing the types of food which they procured. This choice was constrained by the economic conceptualisation of the environment by these fisher-gatherer-hunters, conceptualisation that was based on their classification of food resources into a number of categories often challenging our understanding of the prehistoric way of life in North European fisher-gatherer-hunters.

Rhythm: 5000-2000 on the Edge

Fraser Sturt (University of Cambridge)

It has long been noted that nomenclature has a lot to answer for in archaeology. Not only does it enable debate through laying down the foundations of shared understanding, but so too it frequently leads to division and atomisation of knowledge. Whether it is a split carved between Mesolithic and Neolithic, or environmental and material cultural evidence, once divided it proves very hard to reunite. In recent years concepts of rhythm and tempo have emerged as powerful tools for removing such divisions. In light of this inspired by the work of Henri Lefebvre this paper offers a rhythm analytical approach to life on the Eastern Fen Edge of East Anglia from 5000 – 2000 BC.

Epistemology and Environment: Towards an understanding of how past peoples experienced, perceived and gained knowledge of their environments

Chris Stevens (Wessex Archaeology)

It is unlikely that the people archaeology studies would recognise the divisions that have arisen from the material they left. Environmental archaeology emerged as a separate sub-discipline by virtue of the nomenclature and methods employed to study otherwise problematic categories of material. The use of science has, however, led to the exclusion of other approaches traditionally used within the humanities, limiting both interpretations and the agenda of the sub-discipline and leading to its increased isolation. This isolation is further reinforced by the way environmental archaeology is taught, written, published and funded.

In terms of its present agenda environmental archaeology can be split into two study groups; those using "environmental data" for the purpose of reconstructing the environment and those using it to reconstruct diet and "economy" of a site. The agenda of the latter has been strongly influenced by theories associated with the natural sciences rather than the social sciences. While

environmental data is used to study past interactions with the environment, such interactions are rarely placed within a social context. This paper explores some of the theories that have been employed in understanding the relationship between people and the environment using the theme of knowledge and how it shapes and is shaped through experience. An approach is advocated in which environmental data are used to understand the social context in which knowledge, experience and interaction with the environment is transmitted between generations, and how such knowledge becomes embedded within cultural identity through traditions and belief systems.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE INACCESSIBLE

Kenneth Aitchison (Institute of Field Archaeologists) & Thomas Evans (Oxford Archaeology)

Traces of past human activity persist in places that can today seem to be beyond our reach. It may have been natural processes or the subsequent action of humans that has rendered these places unreachable, through conflict or contamination, but there are also places that required such a great technological investment for humanity to reach them in the first instance that they have simply never been returned to.

This session invites the exploration of the inaccessible, through presentations of archaeological projects that have sought to retrieve and analyse the stories of past humanity in places that we can no longer safely go. The very untouchability of such sites has made those archaeological remains all the more valuable a resource, and the methods developed for accessing that data can be truly considered to define the very cutting edge of ambitions and capabilities. Reasons for, results of and techniques employed by these remarkable and at times spectacular projects will all be presented and discussed.

- 2.00** Introduction *Kenneth Aitchison*
- 2.20** Issues surrounding accessing the archaeology of the recent past: Long Kesh/Maze Prison site, Northern Ireland *Laura McAtackney*
- 2.40** Breaching the natural defences of a Clan Stronghold – past work at Dun Eistean, a sea stack in Lewis *Chris Barrowman*
- 3.00** The Minaret of Jam Archaeological Project (Afghanistan) *David Thomas & Iain Shearer*
- 3.20** Tea/Coffee
- 3.40** A River Runs Through It: Reconstructing the Drowned Landscapes of the Southern North Sea *Simon Fitch, Vince Gaffney & Ken Thomson*
- 4.00** Excavation of a deep-sea historical wreck site *Pamela Gambogi, Claudio Mocchegiani Carpano & Sergio Bargagliotti*
- 4.20** The Ultimate Inaccessibility? Archaeology on the Moon, in Space and on other Celestial Bodies *Beth Laura O'Leary*
- 4.40** Discussion *Thomas Evans*

Issues surrounding accessing the archaeology of the recent past: Long Kesh/Maze Prison site, Northern Ireland

Laura McAtackney (Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Bristol)

Long Kesh/Maze prison has a short, but significant, historical past that runs parallel with the recent conflict in Northern Ireland. Initially utilised to hold internees with the introduction of internment in 1970, it soon became the focus of power struggles between paramilitary prisoners and the State with the construction of the infamous H Blocks in 1975 (which were built as part of attempts to curb prisoners' political status). The prison has been empty for five years and now lies at an interesting crossroads between what Northern Ireland was and what it is hoped Northern Ireland can be: it has become the touchstone for legislators' attempts to deal with politically-loaded sites in a time of relative peace.

Breaching the natural defences of a Clan Stronghold – past work at Dun Eistean, a sea stack in Lewis

Chris Barrowman (GUARD)

The isolated sea stack of Dun Eistean in the north of the Isle of Lewis in the Western Isles of Scotland is traditionally known as the refuge of the Clan Morrison. Archaeological investigation of the remains of several buildings and walls has been ongoing since 2000. This paper describes the work undertaken, with emphasis on the difficulties involved in accessing the stack and how perceptions of the site have changed as access to it has improved over the course of the fieldwork.

The Minaret of Jam Archaeological Project (Afghanistan)

David Thomas (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge) & Iain Shearer (Institute of Archaeology, University College London)

The twelfth century Ghurids thrived on the inaccessibility of their mountainous heartland in central Afghanistan, foraging forth to carve an empire stretching from eastern Iran to the Bay of Bengal. As with so many rapidly expanding empires, however, the Ghurids became overstretched, and the empire collapsed as the Mongol hordes marched west. Deprived of the pillaged goods and tribute exacted from their subjects, the splendour of Firuzkuh, the Ghurid summer capital, crumbled, and remained largely forgotten about until the 1950s. The Minaret of Jam Archaeological Project's recent work at Jam is attempting to redress this. This paper will attempt to demonstrate how the remote location of Firuzkuh was at first an asset, before ultimately contributing to the collapse of the unsustainable lifestyle the Ghurids had become accustomed to.

Excavation of a deep-sea historical wreck site

Pamela Gambogi (Ministero Beni e Attività Culturali – Direzione Generale Beni Archeologici), Claudio Mocchegiani Carpano (Ministero Beni e Attività Culturali – Direzione Generale Beni Archeologici) & Sergio Bargagliotti (Studio Archeologico TETHYS)

Excavation of a deep historical site off the coast of Elba Island (Tuscany). The wreck of the 19th century steamboat *Polluce* lies at a depth of 103m, and has been the focus of media attention in the past five years because of its extremely valuable cargo of coins (silver and gold), jewels and many other objects from everyday life. It has been heavily looted and damaged, so an excavation has been undertaken trying to get as much information as possible from a campaign of only a few days. Four saturation divers lived in a pressurised chamber during the mission in order to investigate the wreck under the supervision of underwater archaeologists from the *Ministero per I Beni Culturali e Ambientali*.

A River Runs Through It: Reconstructing the Drowned Landscapes of the Southern North Sea

Simon Fitch (Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity, University of Birmingham), Vince Gaffney (Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity, University of Birmingham) & Ken Thomson (School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences, University of Birmingham)

Eventually, all things merge into one, and a river runs through it. The river was cut by the world's great flood and runs over rocks from the basement of time. On some of the rocks are timeless raindrops. Under the rocks are the words, and some of the words are theirs. I am haunted by waters.

Norman Maclean (1902-90), *A River Runs Through It*
Prior to the melting of the Ice sheets at the end of the last glacial maximum much of the area of the southern North Sea was a large plain that had been settled by human groups. Inundation followed the melting of the ice and this landscape was almost entirely lost beneath the North Sea. Amongst many archaeologists the area is often considered only as a "land bridge" between the British Isles and Europe, rather than an important area of human landscape that must be understood in order to interpret the terrestrial archaeologies that surround the North Sea. Research funded by the Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund at the Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity and the School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences (University of Birmingham), is utilising seismic data collected for oil and gas exploration to gradually reveal this previously inaccessible prehistoric landscape in considerable detail. Today, new technologies permit us to explore the inundated landscape and to gradually reveal the hills and valleys that were, for millennia, the territory of hunters and gatherers.

The Ultimate Inaccessibility? Archaeology on the Moon, in Space and on other Celestial Bodies

Beth Laura O'Leary (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, New Mexico State University)

Exo-archaeology or space heritage is an evolving field where the sites and artifacts do not exist on the earth, but rather in space or on other celestial bodies. Most were created during the Cold War and are inaccessible and temporarily protected by the very nature of their remoteness. The current political and economic commitment to and responsibility for preservation and the lack of legal structures to deal with these sites as cultural and historic resources leave them vulnerable to impacts in the near future by many varieties of space travel. With a focus on the Apollo 11 Tranquillity Base landing site on the moon, this paper will explore the historic context of sites in space, the nature of the assemblages and the retrieval of archaeological data. The paper discusses the results and efforts of the Lunar Legacy Project and argues that without a framework for preservation even these inaccessible sites in space stand to become accessible.

BURIED IN DIVERSITY: THE INTERPRETATION OF COEXISTING AND NON-EXISTING FUNERARY PRACTICES IN LATER PREHISTORY

Erik van Rossenberg (University of Leiden)

Used as we are nowadays to a range of funerary practices, it is tempting to take diversity in ways of dealing with the dead for granted. It can be argued, however, that coexistence of different funerary practices in the past highlights particular historical situations and represents

changing material conditions. Going beyond general attempts at interpretation of these situations in terms of transitional phases between dominant ways of burial, the aim of this session is to address the problem at hand in specific historical situations. The coexistence of different funerary practices can provide a focus for situated interpretations, considering these practices as constituent of social and cultural change within communities. Among the issues to be addressed are:

- selective and non-selective burial; What was the significance of selection of particular individuals for burial? What was the significance of differentiation in funerary practices in a non-selective situation?
- non-existing funerary practices; What was the role of archaeologically invisible ways of dealing with the dead? How can we increase their visibility?
- cremation and inhumation; Can structural similarities be discerned between cremation and inhumation burials? Is it possible to integrate the study of cremation and inhumation methodologically?
- secondary treatment of human remains; What was the significance of secondary practices, in comparison with primary burials? What was the significance of handling human remains, including cremated remains, in social reproduction and cultural change?

The papers in this session deal with situations of coexisting and non-existing funerary practices in later prehistory (Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age) of Europe and the Mediterranean. The common denominator is that they start from a specific case-study of mortuary practice at a particular site or in a particular microregion and make a connection with the wider issue addressed here, i.e. the social and cultural significance of co-existing funerary practices.

2.00	Introduction: funerary practices, social reproduction and cultural change <i>Erik van Rossenberg</i>
2.20	'Carpe cadaver': evidence of excarnation as a British Neolithic mortuary rite <i>Martin Smith</i>
2.40	Them bones: diverse dealings with the dead in the Oer-IJ area (the Netherlands) <i>Marjolijn Kok</i>
3.00	Tea/Coffee
3.20	Burial diversity and change in Middle Helladic Asine, Southern Greece <i>Eleni Milka</i>
3.40	Beyond bi-ritualism: the Early Iron Age cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa (Lazio, Central Italy) revisited <i>Erik van Rossenberg</i>
4.00	Discussion

Introduction: funerary practices, social reproduction and cultural change

Erik van Rossenberg (University of Leiden)

For a long time the study of mortuary practice has been regarded as a short cut to social structure. Over the last decades the emphasis has shifted to the practicalities of burial, in order to gain a more profound understanding of these events. Burials are no longer treated as closed finds, since archaeologists have started to study funerary contexts as sequences of action. In some cases this has yielded evidence for the prolonged duration of funerary practices, including reuse of burial places and secondary treatment of human remains. These detailed studies have highlighted that mortuary practice should be regarded as a set of practices that may have constituted social reproduction in more than one way, and as such provided opportunities for change.

In the introduction to this session I will focus on the question how we can relate the detailed contextual information resulting from these studies to the role of funerary practices in social reproduction. It will be argued that historical situations of coexisting funerary practices provide a starting-point for the study of this relationship, because the existing differentiation can be used to explore several aspects of community formation. It also gives the opportunity to reconnect mortuary practice, as situated action, with wider issues of social and cultural transformation. I will take as an example the particular opportunities provided by a) secondary treatment and recontextualisation of human remains and b) changes from selective to non-selective burial.

'Carpe cadaver': evidence of excarnation as a British Neolithic mortuary rite

Martin Smith (University of Birmingham)

The vast majority of people who lived during the British Neolithic were disposed of after death by means that are not archaeologically visible. A possible funerary rite that may explain the absence of human remains from the period is excarnation. Although such a practice has long been suspected to have been widespread during the period, hard evidence for this rite has been slow to emerge until quite recently. Adlestrop barrow is an earlier Neolithic monument in the Cotswolds, which contained a human bone assemblage with clear evidence for scavenging by large canids, most probably either wolves or domestic dogs. The pattern of damage present on the bones is argued to be consistent with a scenario where scavenging animals were permitted access to corpses for a limited period before the bones were gathered and placed in the monument. Whilst constituting further evidence for the existence of such practices, this assemblage also begs a number of questions. For example, why was effort made to collect these individuals' bones when those of others may have been left unrecovered? Were the animals responsible wild (as commonly assumed) or could they have been domesticated and how did people view the involvement of these animals in 'transforming' the dead during this period?

Them bones: diverse dealings with the dead in the Oer-IJ area (the Netherlands)

Marjolijn Kok (University of Amsterdam)

The diverse practices associated with the dead should not automatically be associated with a diverse set of ideas, social positions or groups. The deposition of human remains in different contexts from the Late Neolithic until the Roman Iron Age in the Oer-IJ area (the Netherlands) will be analysed in order to show a common set of ideas behind the treatment of the dead. The Oer-IJ area is situated between Amsterdam and the North-Sea coast and is approximately 350km². The data, although limited in number, range from barrows to single bones and from domestic to ritual contexts. Prevalence of form over content when classifying the differentiated practices associated with human remains, does not seem to bring us closer to an understanding of these practices. There are seventeen sites known with human remains. These human remains have been deposited in seven different ways in fifteen different types of features. For such a small group of human remains the diversity in appearance seems to foreclose an understanding. But maybe it is precisely this diversity that can give us a glimpse of what these practices meant. In this paper I will try to show that by looking at all the human remains in relation to their different contexts a more coherent picture can emerge. This is not done to overcome

differences and homogenise cultural traits, but hopefully in this way we can come to understand diverse practices as situated action.

Burial diversity and change in Middle Helladic Asine, Southern Greece

Eleni Milka (University of Groningen)

At the end of the Middle Helladic (MH) and the beginning of the Late Helladic (LH) period (c. 2000-1500 B.C.) a general social and cultural change occurred in the Argolid: a gradual change in site hierarchy can be observed, differentiation between age, gender and, possibly, kin groups became more pronounced, and the way kinship and status were articulated underwent a deep transformation. Differentiation in this period was primarily expressed in the mortuary sphere and not in the domestic space. Different cemetery and grave types co-existed, greater emphasis was put on grave offerings, and age and gender divisions became stricter.

The central question to be addressed here is: what is the significance of co-existent burial grounds in one site? The comparison between intramural and extramural, tumuli and extended cemeteries will be central in the discussion. I would like to suggest that the co-existence of different cemeteries in Asine highlights both the general social change and the change in burial ideology.

Beyond bi-ritualism: the Early Iron Age cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa (Lazio, Central Italy) revisited

Erik van Rossenberg (University of Leiden)

Bi-ritualism in mortuary practice (both inhumation and cremation) has been recognised as a recurring feature of Italian later prehistory (Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age). There is a large number of burial places and cemeteries which have been characterised as bi-ritual. Possibly the best-known and arguably the best-published one is the Early Iron Age cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa (Lazio, Central Italy). Three co-existing types of burial can be distinguished at this site: a) inhumations in graves, b) cremations in pits, and c) cremation assemblages laid out in graves. This evidence will be used to show basic structural and conceptual similarities between inhumation and cremation burials in the Italian Early Iron Age. On the other hand, it will be shown that particular differences between the funerary practices attested at Osteria dell'Osa, can be used to connect the practicalities of social reproduction at cemeteries with wider social and cultural change. This particular cemetery provided a social arena for the creation of a new kind of community. It will be argued that both secondary treatment of human remains, including cremated remains, and recontextualisation of grave goods would have played an important part in social reproduction and community formation.

APPROACHING 'PREHISTORIC ARCHITECTURES' OF WESTERN EUROPE FROM A 'DWELLING PERSPECTIVE' (continues on 21 Dec)

Vítor Oliveira Jorge (University of Porto, Faculty of Arts, Cultural Heritage Department, Portugal), João Muralha Cardoso (Museum of the City of Lisbon, Portugal) & Gonçalo Leite Velho (Polytechnic Institute, Landscape Management Department, Tomar, Portugal)
<http://architectures.home.sapo.pt>

Far from being divided into natural (neutral objects) and built

(intentional, cultural) forms, the environment is a product of a continuous evolution, or form-generation process (Ingold, 2000). Why did people in certain phases of "prehistory" (taken in its broadest sense) engage in particular modes of dwelling in an environment which we call now "architectures", devoting thereby a long lasting effort and energy in the transformation of certain features of that environment? In order to improve knowledge, from an archaeological point of view, we need to connect a phenomenology of those "architectonic devices" made out of the landscape to an historic-sociological approach of the communities that built them.

Detailed analysis, as survey and excavation, are much needed, but the very process of excavation is an interpretative one. This means that a permanent hermeneutic spiral occurs in the process of giving meaning to the materialities we uncover. We need fresh ways of looking into the so-called "prehistoric" or "vernacular" architectures - and this session will try to focus on these emerging approaches.

- 2.00 Introduction
- 2.10 Investigating dwelling in the prehistoric landscape of the Tavoliere, southeast Italy *Sue Hamilton & Ruth Whitehouse*
- 2.30 Passage-graves of NW Iberia - settings and movement. An approach to the relationship between architectures and iconography *Maria de Jesus Sanches*
- 2.50 Copper Age "monumentalized hills" of Iberia: the shift from positivistic ideas to interpretive ones. New perspectives on old techniques of transforming place and space from our experience in the NE of Portugal *V. O. Jorge, J. M. Cardoso, & G. L. Velho*
- 3.10 El Pedroso: the cave in the landscape and the landscape in the cave *Richard Bradley*
- 3.30 Tea/Coffee
- 3.50 A dwelling place in bits *Paul Cripps, Graeme Earle & David Wheatley*
- 4.10 Material culture as architecture - Neolithic long barrows in Southern Britain *Lesley McFadyen*
- 4.30 Constructing meanings from the architecture of landscape: a case study from the Isles of Scilly *Eleanor Breen*
- 4.50 Buildings of Substance: Dwelling in Neolithic Britain *Trevor Kirk*
- 5.10 Discussion *Julian Thomas*

Investigating dwelling in the prehistoric landscape of the Tavoliere, southeast Italy

Sue Hamilton and Ruth Whitehouse (Univ. College, London, UK)

In the context of our ongoing field project – the Tavoliere-Gargano Prehistory Project – we have been investigating the phenomenology of a holistic experience of place, notably from a gendered and social perspective, during later prehistory. For the purposes of this presentation we shall concentrate on the Neolithic, specifically the well-known 'ditched villages' of the Tavoliere plain.

Our work focuses on the sensory world of daily and domestic routine practices, rather than the heightened world of rituals, ritual architecture and public forums, on which much phenomenology has traditionally concentrated. It is also distinctive in considering and evoking these issues *in situ* on unexcavated sites that are now invisible, or barely visible, to the participating archaeologist.

We are investigating vision (including colour), sound and smell within, across and around the prehistoric sites, as well as the sensory characteristics and settings of the quotidian taskscapes of daily business – such as carrying water from rivers up to and into settlements. In terms of both vision (including colour) and sound, we have been interested in human communication and the sensory parameters affecting socialisation (and also knowledge of ‘others’), such as how the scale of body gestures and clothing colour affect the visibility of people, and the carrying capacity of different sounds used in inter-person or community communication. In the case of sound our work also includes a consideration of ‘background noise’, in the literal sense, such as dogs barking and babies crying. Two different aspects of this background noise interest us. On the one hand it represents sound that is competitive with human communication, over or against which one would have to talk or shout to attract attention or convey information; on the other hand, the background noise would form part of the world of familiar everyday experience, contributing to people’s understandings of their location in the world, in relation to places (the village or the house) and other people (relations and friends). Our work has recently expanded to monitoring olfactory experiences, including surveying the distances over which pungent smells such as those of roasting meat and living sheep can be sensed, which would both, in their different ways, also have been part the world of familiar experience during the Neolithic.

Passage-graves of NW Iberia - settings and movement. An approach to the relationship between architectures and iconography

Maria de Jesus Sanches (Univ. Porto)

Our talk is based on published information concerning decorated megalithic monuments (dolmens and passage graves), from north-western Iberia, which also yield further archaeological data that may be studied in terms of effective, phenomenological, use of their inner space.

These monuments were erected and used from 4000BC to 2500BC, and linked therefore with a regional social and building behaviour, restricted in time.

Although the monument forms an architectural and “functional” unit, composed of an artificial mound of soil and stone, the inner dolmen and passage grave, and the surrounding natural and social landscape, our attention is focussed on the inner space, i.e., the chamber and access areas.

We study the burial chamber and its links with the outside area, concentrating on the possible movement exterior-interior / interior-interior/ interior-exterior, and its relationship with both the iconography identified and other “sensorial” features (colour, shape, light). Iconography is considered only as an archaeological document, no further iconological interpretations are attempted. The iconographic motives, their organisation and distribution are seen as the generating force of “scenarios” / variable environments and related to movement and light (natural or artificial).

The number of people the monument may enclose is also taken into account. It has been assumed that only a restrict number of people had access to the monument, possibly only one (the Shaman). However, taking into account that the interior is a special place where the ancestors lay and where “specialized” people communicate with other worlds, it is essential to evaluate the likelihood of this function being restricted to one single person, or to a limited group, in view of the different types of monuments under study.

Copper Age “monumentalized hills” of Iberia: the shift from positivistic ideas to interpretive ones. New

perspectives on old techniques of transforming place and space from our experience in the NE of Portugal

V. O. Jorge, J. M. Cardoso & G. L. Velho (Univ. of Porto, Portugal)

The experience of excavation of the hill site of Castelo Velho de Freixo de Numão (V.^a N.^a Foz Côa, Portugal) by Susana Oliveira Jorge, Univ. of Porto (1989-1993), showed that this kind of sites of the III/II mill. b. C.- commonly called in Iberia “fortified settlements” – demand a completely new sort of approach. They are mainly huge monumentalized hills, built settings conceived as a sort of microcosmos, in order to create and reinforce social cohesion and communal identity. They were focal points in a territory. Also, they were rammed earthen architectures which used a base course of stone, thus starting a long tradition of Mediterranean architecture which lasted until the present. The authors present the recent results of the excavation (since 1998) of Castanheiro do Vento hill site, a place, in fact, which belongs to the same general typology of Castelo Velho and, outside the region, of Los Millares (Almeria) or Vila Nova de S. Pedro/Zambujal/Leceia (Portuguese Estremadura). Extensive excavation, interdisciplinary approaches, and new ways of looking at these architectures are fundamental to overcome current interpretations, because these ones may provoke eventual misunderstandings, and even damages in the restoration results.

El Pedroso: the cave in the landscape and the landscape in the cave

Richard Bradley (Univ. of Reading, UK)

El Pedroso is a decorated cave on the Spanish / Portuguese border dated to the mid third millennium BC. Outside it are a number of structures, whilst the walls of the cave are decorated in two different styles: cup marks in the accessible first chamber, and more elaborate designs in the inaccessible rear chamber.. This paper discusses the development of the site in relation to the use of a nearby hillfort and considers its credentials as a ‘natural’ passage grave. The same division can be observed in the open air rock of the same region, so that in a sense the cave provides a microcosm of the wider landscape.

A dwelling place in bits

Paul Cripps, Graeme Earle & David Wheatley (Univ. of Southampton, UK)

This paper considers computed means for constructing and interrogating prehistoric architectures. We ask where the ‘landscapes’ created through points and arcs divide us from the prehistory we seek and whether in fact these virtual landscapes offer new prehistoric places in which to dwell. Taking as a starting point the formulation of models of prehistoric space the paper considers how habitual computed action, constrained as much by technological systems as by archaeological information, and informed by analytical approaches to such ‘architectures’, defines places usefully from which to consider dwelling choices and dwelling experiences. By considering the development of landscape as a complex cultural continuum, incorporating both prehistoric architectures and natural features reinterpreted through the environmental experience of successive generations, it becomes possible to produce parallel dwelling places in virtual worlds which we can inhabit, and from which we can develop novel narratives of the past.

Material culture as architecture - Neolithic long barrows in Southern Britain

Lesley McFadyen (Univ. of Leicester, UK)

How were 'taskscape' produced and understood in the past? Many archaeologists have argued that technical practice (e.g. flint working, butchery practices, etc.) had dimension; that is was an important medium through which people made something of their lives; that networks of technical practice actually produced landscapes in the past. However, accounts of the same working practices at long barrow sites have been described exclusively in terms of 'deposition'. Histories have been written of particular items of material culture in long barrow ditches, separating technical practice from other practices of making played out elsewhere. In these accounts, the production of material culture is understood as having been separate from the production of architecture. But why is technical practice not linked to other practices of making at these sites? Why is the working of flint and the butchery of particular animals separated from the constructional process?

This paper explores how technical practice could have extended into further practices of making at long barrow sites. Rather than simply seeing architecture as a built form, or as an arena in which people and things were set, I will figure the working of flint and the butchery of animals as events in construction. By extending the 'taskscape' into the making of architecture, I hope to offer an alternative account of 'dwelling' in the Neolithic.

Constructing meanings from the architecture of landscape: a case study from the Isles of Scilly

Eleanor Breen (Univ. of Wales, Lampeter, UK)

The Bronze Age field systems of the Isles of Scilly, Cornwall, England have long been discussed in terms of agriculture and economy although there is a general consensus that there is little evidence for such a functional interpretation of much of the archaeology in question. Regardless of the intention of the builders, the numerous walls and associated cairn fields were part of the social landscape. My exploration of Scillonian archaeology is based on living in and moving through this landscape focussing on the nature of encounter of both the geological (natural) elements of the landscape and the built features and how people in prehistory related to these aspects of the architecture of landscape that are separately classified by archaeologists.

Buildings of Substance: Dwelling in Neolithic Britain

Trevor Kirk (Trinity College, Camarthen, and Univ. College, Lampeter, UK)

Architecture cites and reworks material substances and the relationships and cultural values with which substances are associated. British Neolithic buildings are matrices of substances (e.g. stone, earth, wood, objects, animals, people) that form relational networks through acts of building and dwelling. These engagements between people and substances - relationships involving exchange, building, technology and transformation - play a central role in the constitution and transformation of peoples identities and social relationships.

21 December

AN ETERNAL CONFLICT? ARCHAEOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE POST-IRAQ WORLD

Umberto Albarella (Dept. of Archaeology, University of Sheffield, Sheffield S1 4ET, UK. Email: u.albarella@sheffield.ac.uk)

More than any other event of the last few decades the Iraq war reminded us - the archaeological community - that there is a pulsating, suffering and screaming world beyond our excavations, our offices and our archaeological theories. This world contributes to the way our discipline is organised and practised whilst at the same time our activities as archaeologists contribute to the shaping of this world. It is this awareness of the relevance of archaeology to the local and international political scene that led our professional community to react - at times vibrantly - to the recent conflict in the Middle East. The response was diverse, ranging from direct engagement in forensic and conservation work carried out in Iraq, to the creation of anti-war pressure groups and the heated debates that occurred at the World Archaeological Congress in Washington. In many cases the reaction was, however, ephemeral, which is at odds with the continuation of the bloodshed in Iraq, the persistence of the political and economic forces that generated the onset of the war and the effects they have on our lives and professional activities. But the Iraq war only represents a specific episode of a much wider malaise that affects the way world societies interact and often collide. We are indeed involved in an eternal conflict, with all its military, religious, ideological and economic connotations. Equally eternal seems to be the hesitation of the archaeological community to confront this conflict and to come to terms with its responsibility towards the wider society. This session will include papers that are prepared to explore the lessons that archaeologists have learnt in the short but intense period of political debate preceding and following the invasion of Iraq. We will also welcome contributions to the more general debate on the social responsibility of archaeologists and their role in places and at time of conflict, including historical perspectives that are prepared to address the present and aim to explore the ethical issues that underpin archaeological engagement in contemporary politics. One of the aims of the session will be to come up with suggestions regarding how archaeologists can engage themselves to address political issues of relevance and concern. The general theme of TAG 2005 is 'humanity' and we will therefore need to tackle the sometime uncomfortable but always important question of the respect that archaeologists have for human life - past, present and future.

- 9.00** Are archaeologists human? On ethics and social responsibility [Introduction to the session] *Umberto Albarella*
- 9.20** Archaeology and the theorisation of change: an emancipatory archaeology? *Sandra Wallace*
- 9.40** Protecting cultural heritage in times of war: lessons from Iraq *Peter Stone*
- 10.00** Archaeology under transition: globalization and nationalism in the post-conflict states *Ana Bezić*
- 10.20** Problems of cultural heritage during armed conflict: experiences of the Polish stabilisation mission *Lukasz Oledzki*
- 10.40** Tea/Coffee
- 11.00** Topographies of terror: personal conflicts at locations with a 'history' *Joe Flatman*
- 11.20** 'Some Talk of Alexander' - Archaeology, conflict and combatants *Martin Brown*
- 11.40** Work repression *Rebecca Roseff*
- 12.00** Racism in the archaeological record: lessons for the modern world *Anke Cross*

12.20	The spoils of war: the British government, political expediency and illicit antiquities <i>James Doeser</i>
12.40	Lunch
2.00	Towards an anti-capitalist archaeology <i>Neil Faulkner</i>
2.20	The Embedded Archaeologist: neo-colonialism, archaeology, and the 2003 Iraq invasion <i>Yannis Hamilakis & Darren Glazier</i>
2.40	Some observations on notions of 'Britishness' with reflections on current government policy <i>Chris Cumberpatch & Helen Wickstead</i>
3.00	Ethics in action: politics and practice in contemporary archaeology <i>Mark Pluciennik</i>
3.20	Tea/Coffee
3.40	Truth and other casualties of war <i>Kevin Andrews & Roger Doonan</i>
4.00	The discourse of world heritage: shifting the World Heritage List from amalgamation to multiculturalism <i>Chiara De Cesari</i>
4.20	Spinning in their graves; the political sin, spin and parameters of mass grave exhumations and the archaeologists who dig them <i>Derek Congram</i>
4.40	Discussion

Are archaeologists human? On ethics and social responsibility

Umberto Albarella (University of Sheffield, UK)

In this introduction I will discuss the reasons why I decided to set up this session, how its organisation developed in the last few months and what I expect it may achieve. I will also examine the link between the subject of the session and the wider conference theme ('humanity'). Can human societies be built without a sense of responsibility? And how does this apply to the past and to those who study its material remains? Can we be human without being humane, professionals with no soul, entrenched behind a wall of apparent neutrality? In the last few years the controversy on the Iraq war has provided the archaeological community with an appropriate platform for pondering these questions. In this introduction I will discuss the lessons that could have been learnt and how this session could represent one of the outcomes of a wider process of ethical searching in archaeology.

Archaeology and the theorisation of change: an emancipatory archaeology?

Sandra Wallace (University of Sydney, Australia)

To address questions of social responsibility and the political role of archaeology, other more fundamental questions must also be asked. What is archaeology? What do we aim to achieve? Why do we aim to achieve it? The type of archaeology we practice will govern the impact archaeology can have (or will want to have) on the wider society, including politics. Archaeology that is mired in the empirical, and focussed on description, will not possess the dynamic tools that enable political engagement. This paper will characterise archaeology as a discipline that seeks to examine and explain change on a large scale, both temporally and spatially. Theories of change as a process, as opposed to empirical descriptions of differences through time, are inherently political. If change is seen as a process of 'becoming', we all have a role in what is to become, including those who have been marginalised by the Iraq war. On the other hand, if change is theorised as atomistic

differences through time, the focus is then on what exists/ed instead of the possibility of change for the better, or even the understanding of why things change/ed for the worse. Roy Bhaskar's critical realist philosophy, which highlights the emancipatory potential of the social sciences through a dialectical understanding of change, will be discussed in relation to archaeological theory. This paper will argue that theorising change is at the core of a socially responsible, politically aware and progressive archaeology.

Protecting cultural heritage in times of war: lessons from Iraq

Peter Stone (University of Newcastle, UK)

Peter Stone is Director of the International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies at the University of Newcastle, UK and has been the Chief Executive Officer of the World Archaeological Congress since 1998. His main teaching and research interests are heritage management, education, and interpretation. He is NOT a specialist in the archaeology of the Middle East or specifically of Iraq. Given this background Peter was somewhat surprised when he was approached in February 2003 to advise the UK Ministry of Defence on the identification and protection of archaeological sites and museums in Iraq in the event that a conflict developed in that area. The paper will cover what Peter was able to achieve in this role and his failures. It will also address the appropriateness of archaeologists working with the military and what steps have been, and are being, taken to ensure a more measured and effective archaeological response in the future.

Archaeology under transition: globalization and nationalism in the post-conflict states

Ana Bezić (Stanford University, USA)

Discourse about destruction of monuments around the world during armed conflicts has produced significant number of papers and edited volumes (eg. Meskell 1998). The outcry for protection of such monuments can now be seen as an integral part of the conflicts. As armed conflicts move, so does the global archaeological interest in preserving the past. Little is known about destruction of monuments in the peace time. Thus it may be argued that archaeological performance lies in its inherent disciplinary sensationalism. This paper offers a critical perspective of this sensationalism in archaeological practice to argue that more enduring archaeological practices are needed. As I will aim to show destruction of monuments does not only occur in the context of armed conflicts but also under disguise of reconstruction and rebuilding. This is particularly evocative in the post-socialist Balkan, where for example centuries-old mosque was levelled and replaced with a new one. In an effort to promote Kosovo's Islamic identity, Persian Gulf-based organizations have taken on the construction of new mosques as well as the restoration of centuries-old ones, with a zeal that has often come at the expense of the mosques' historic character, or of the mosques in their entirety. I will investigate how both local and global institutions of heritage management and protection influence the process of destruction of heritage they were supposed to protect.

Problems of cultural heritage during armed conflict: experiences of the Polish stabilisation mission

Lukasz Oledzki (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland)

This paper deals with the problem of the connection between protection of cultural heritage and the current situation in Iraq. The location of the Coalition Forces' camp

in the area of the Babylon archaeological site led inevitably to a serious conflict between military interest and the need to preserve the cultural heritage. Poland was actively engaged in international activities aimed towards the protection of the Iraqi cultural heritage threatened by destruction. This was made more pressing and significant by the importance of the country's cultural heritage for the world's culture. In addition, there were international agreements ratified by Poland and Iraq. Polish archaeologists and military specialists were forced to find immediately a solution, which would satisfy both interests. Was this possible? The Polish programme of protection of Iraqi cultural heritage could be understood as an experiment. I called this activity 'experiment' because archaeologists were confronted with two different kinds of interests. On the one hand, archaeologists as specialists of Coalition Forces represented military interests. On the other, as archaeologists, Polish specialists were responsible for the protection of the cultural heritage in Central Iraq. This situation could be seen as a real conflict of interests. I will focus on two basic aspects of this problem. Firstly, I will present the current idea of a co-operation between military units and local people, so called Civil Military Co-operation in NATO forces. Secondly, the situation in Iraq demanded special activities concerning protection of the cultural heritage, cooperation with local archaeologists and authorities and realisation of special projects, and this will also be discussed. The cooperation with the army was the only possible way to set up a project of activities concerning the protection of Iraqi monuments and heritage in Central Iraq. This paper will be based on my personal observations and experiences from Iraq.

Topographies of terror: personal conflicts at locations with a 'history'

Joe Flatman (University College, London, UK)

In the spring of 2005 the author visited Berlin, having just returned from fieldwork at the 19th century penal colony of Port Arthur, Tasmania in Australia. Although Berlin and Port Arthur have at first glance nothing in common, on closer inspection both record 'topographies of terror' in their layout, architecture and tourist industries. 'The Topography of Terror' is the title of a display on the 20th century history of Berlin in the ruined cellars of the former SS headquarters close to the line of the former Berlin Wall - the history of conflict and death in Berlin need scarcely be recounted. Port Arthur was a notorious prison and lunatic asylum, now a major tourist attraction, that became the location of Australia's worst ever peacetime massacre in April 1996, when a local man murdered over 30 people in a shooting spree on the site. At both Port Arthur and Berlin, visitors have to confront the multiple histories of these locations. Both sites witness millions of visitors a year and a thriving economy derived from the varied remembrance voyeurism? - of the terror, pain and suffering of countless unwilling visitors in the past. Both sites also have substantial architectural remains, including many ruins, which are akin to archaeological sites. Questions arise from this, particularly: are all forms of remembrance 'good' forms of remembrance, even those that seem tacky or trite? And how do archaeologists, used to compartmentalising evidence, cope both personally and professionally at sites so imbued with death and destruction?

"Some Talk of Alexander" - Archaeology, conflict and combatants

Martin Brown (Defence Estates, UK)

Issues surrounding the protection of cultural heritage in wartime were widely discussed in the days running up to the invasion of Iraq. Numerous calls were made in the media for military awareness of the archaeological remains in Mesopotamia. The highest profile of these calls came in the form of a television programme by Dan Cruickshank, featuring footage of "the cradle of civilisation" and suggesting it was under immediate threat. At the senior level in both government and the military there is recognition of the significance and fragility of the cultural heritage. As a signatory to The Hague Convention HM Govt acknowledges that certain cultural treasures are worthy of protection in wartime. Yet away from the front line what steps are taken to instil a sense of responsibility for heritage in the men and women being trained for deployment into the theatre of conflict? This paper will consider how cultural heritage is included in the training of troops. Military training has the ultimate objective of a mission successfully undertaken, which includes the safe return of personnel. However in accomplishing that mission numerous issues have to be balanced, including both the protection of heritage and the protection of lives. The paper will seek to explore the efforts of UK MOD to protect the cultural heritage of UK within its own estate, both for itself and as a training objective as part of efforts to develop responsibility to the heritage. That heritage can, of course, can include sites and monuments within training facilities or encountered "in theatre" on one of the wide range of operations that include the deployments of British forces.

Work repression

Rebecca Roseff (Hereford, UK)

My talk is about the lack of freedom of expression at work. This is not a dramatic subject like war, in fact it is largely ignored; yet it is extremely important. The culture that generates work repression is closely related to the war ethos and to other forms of domination and oppression of people who are different or simply think differently. There is a connection between the western aggression to the middle east and the lack of freedom in work environments - including archaeological organisations. Work repression is the cause of much personal suffering and stultification of work processes, hindering change for the better. Nearly everyone is subject to it. It is important at institutional level because not speaking out means systems do not change, but continue indefinitely even if there is no obvious gain or purpose. The right of freedom of expression is encased in law, in Article 12 of the Human Rights Act, yet hardly anyone knows this or still less uses this freedom at work. People acquiesce to an alarming degree. Why is this? I will discuss possible reasons behind this situation and provide examples of people - inside and outside the archaeological world - who have stuck by their principles and survived in their workplaces. How did they do this and what lessons can be learnt?

Racism in the archaeological record: lessons for the modern world

Anke Cross (University College, London, UK)

The study of perceptions of the 'Other' in the past and the present shows how exorably intertwined conflict and racism are. Conflict breeds racism and racism in turn breeds more conflict. Furthermore, racism is a tool of those in power, and a function of fear, ignorance and uncertainty. There are, however, some questions which need to be addressed: Were ancient peoples and societies racist? What is racism exactly - can it be defined only through biological parameters or culturally specific ones as well? Can such a

modern term be used without the danger of putting modern constructs on ancient societies? And finally, can we learn any lessons from studying racism in the past? The current crisis in Iraq is just one example where racism has been engendered in a climate of fear, ignorance and misunderstanding, in Iraq itself as well as in the West. Racism has been cultivated by those in power, and those who seek power, to satisfy their own agendas. This comes at the expense of civilians and soldiers alike. As archaeologists, we are in a position to recognise racism in the archaeological and historical records, and as such, this enables us to recognise racism and indeed becomes our duty to confront it in present conflicts.

The spoils of war: the British government, political expediency and illicit antiquities

James Doeser (University College, London, UK)

Archaeologists have the means to make more than an ephemeral difference to the world around them. Academics and archaeologists can move beyond their ivory towers and muddy holes with political legitimacy by influencing, and participating in, the policy processes of national governments. This can be undertaken at both national and international levels. During the Iraq war archaeological concerns (while clearly subservient to the welfare of individuals undergoing their own human catastrophes) moved up the international agenda as a result of the visible looting of archaeological sites and the Baghdad Museum. The behaviour of the occupying forces, their treatment of archaeological remains and their failure to plan for a secure post-Saddam Baghdad, created a situation in which the British government had to be seen to act. This paper seeks to show how the Dealing in Cultural Objects (Offences) Act 2003, though many years in the making, enabled the British government to show it had a coherent policy to deal with the unfolding archaeological crisis in Iraq. By assessing the trajectory of this rare piece of archaeological legislation it is possible to see how archaeologists are forced to confront the world around them and, with any luck, how they are able to change it.

Towards an anti-capitalist archaeology

Neil Faulkner (University College London, UK)

Archaeology takes place in a contemporary social context and interpretation is informed by contemporary social theories. The 1980s gave us neoliberal economics and postmodernist theory. The first implies that human beings cannot control the world. The second implies that neither can they understand it. Both positions amount to an attack on the Enlightenment tradition that argues a) the world is real and can be comprehended by reason, and b) it can be changed so as to improve the human condition. The anti-war and anti-capitalist movements since 1999 have transformed global politics, challenged the neoliberal consensus, and created the material basis for an attack on postmodernism within the Academy. The notion that human beings make history – and that the world in which they act is real, structured, and subject to change – is implicit in the existence of the anti-capitalist movement. We therefore have the basis for confronting the 'commonsense' of contemporary archaeology, and, both in theory and practice, building an alternative archaeology of resistance. It is likely to involve: 1. Opposition to privatisation and marketisation as an attack on archaeological standards and on the job security, terms of employment, and career prospects of professional archaeologists. Support for trade union organisation and collective action. 2. Opposition to bureaucratic control from above and over-regulation.

Support for community control, the democratisation of archaeological work, and policies to achieve maximum public participation and social inclusion. 3. Support for interpretations of the past which stress: the existence of a real and testable material world; the role of human agency in creating and recreating this world; the centrality of exploitation and violence in 'complex' (i.e. class) societies; and the experience and collective struggles of the common people. An anti-capitalist archaeology will show that another world is possible – by revealing the diversity and mutability of the past, while engaging with others to change the present.

The Embedded Archaeologist: neo-colonialism, archaeology, and the 2003 Iraq invasion

Yannis Hamilakis and Darren Glazier (University of Southampton, UK)

Like its predecessors, the fifth World Archaeological Congress will be remembered as much for the controversy that surrounded it as for its papers, its symposia and its workshops. Held in Washington DC in June 2003, just three months after the bombs began to fall once more on Baghdad, the attention of the delegates was understandably focused upon events in the Gulf. As it became increasingly clear that several delegates had worked as consultants with military specialists in the weeks and months preceding the invasion, the conference, and the discipline itself, was faced with a stark question: just how does archaeology confront the rise of the 'embedded archaeologist'? This paper will discuss the workings of a Taskforce that originated at that conference. Sponsored by the World Archaeological Congress, the 'Archaeologists and War Taskforce' seeks to investigate the role of archaeologists in armed conflicts around the world. Through interviews with scholars directly involved with or affected by archaeology-led military decisions, we explore the ethical dilemmas faced by the discipline in the post-Iraq world, and the social and political consequences arising from archaeological collaborations. The involvement of archaeology with military strategists raises some pressing, and often disturbing questions, such as: are we experiencing the (re)militarisation of archaeology? Is the figure of the "embedded archaeologist", who offers professional expertise on the rescue of antiquities, maintaining an assumed neutrality on the face of an unethical and illegal war and occupation, the shape of things to come? And how are the politically and ethically committed archaeologists to react to this situation? They are questions that must be confronted if we are to ensure that archaeology regains its political awareness, and retains a social relevance in the twenty-first century.

Some observations on notions of 'Britishness' with reflections on current government policy

Chris Cumberpatch (Sheffield, UK) and Helen Wickstead (University College, London, UK)

Following their victory in the 1997 General Election, the Labour Party came to power advertising themselves as 'New Labour' and emphasising an notion of Britishness drawn from contemporary culture with an emphasis on youth and novelty. Today the slogan 'New Labour' is rarely heard, government websites carry images of Stonehenge and the Department of Culture, Media and Sport now has a designated 'Minister for Heritage'. In this paper the authors trace the changing orientation of the government with regard to the past and discuss some of the aspects of the use of the past which should be of relevance to archaeologists. Of particular concern are the attempts to define a concept of 'Britishness' which draws on archaeological imagery and

employs archaeological and historical data. We suggest that archaeologists should treat such attempts with scepticism and should be active in resisting the deployment of selective (and sometimes wildly inaccurate) information regarding the past for party political and nationalistic ends.

Ethics in action: politics and practice in contemporary archaeology

Mark Pluciennik (University of Leicester, UK)

This paper considers how personal and professional politics, duties and responsibilities are entwined in our daily practices not only as archaeologists but also those of our other social and political personae. It is suggested that though organized and co-ordinated action will often be part of the response to particular issues, any attempt to codify either situations or responses – including issues pertaining to archaeology in Iraq – often has counter-productive outcomes. What is important is to maintain dialogue and raise awareness, within the plural and heterogeneous constituencies of archaeology. The ways in which this perspective plays out over various scales and interest groups is briefly considered.

Truth and other casualties of war

Kevin Andrews (Cyprus) and Roger Doonan (University of Sheffield, UK)

This paper explores the impact on academic life of 'covert operations' within one British HE institution that were initiated as a result of the conflict in Iraq. As the war in Iraq progressed it became increasingly obvious that we as academic archaeologists working in the holiday resort of Bournemouth were also caught up in "The War Against Terror". We reflect on how archaeological practice was used to justify the invasion of Iraq and how as this unfolded, academic practice was placed beyond open debate. We discuss the implications of research groups that are able to subvert the norms of inclusion and openness within academia and yet legitimate their 'operations' through the use of their academic affiliations. We argue that there are important ethical, moral and theoretical issues to recognise, define, and debate.

The discourse of world heritage: shifting the World Heritage List from amalgamation to multiculturalism

Chiara De Cesari (Stanford University, USA)

The World Heritage List is a significant site for the production of what counts as humanity's heritage. The idea that certain remains of the past have significance not only for immediate stakeholders but for all humanity was institutionalized in a list of properties to be placed under the protection of the international community with the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972. In spite of the universalist and democratic inspirations of the World Heritage project, accusations of Western imperialism have been moved since the beginning of the 1990s to a World Heritage List clearly dominated by European monumental sites. These critiques brought forward a change in approaches by the World Heritage Centre geared toward a more representative list accommodating cultural diversity and a certain cultural relativism in terms of what constitutes "outstanding universal values" within the world heritage discourse. This paper looks at the discourse of world heritage through the lens of some of its most important policy documents, seen as key sites in the heritagization process. The focus is on the problematic character of the world heritage discourse's framing of universalism and inclusiveness. I will argue that the world heritage discourse has been shaped by contemporary

models for the political integration of cultural diversity, ranging from the amalgamation/melting pot model in the early years of the List to the multiculturalism/mosaic model in the 1990s. Furthermore, I will discuss the problematic conceptualizations of "cultural property" and "cultural difference" of the world heritage discourse in light of the current condition of imperial globalization.

Spinning in their graves; the political sin, spin and parameters of mass grave exhumations and the archaeologists who dig them

Derek Congram (San Jose, Costa Rica)

What responsibilities do archaeologists have in relation to the work they do or decline to do? Generally speaking, should we agree to do all that we can given our abilities and knowledge? Under which conditions or circumstances should we refuse to work? What are these conditions or circumstances? Do they apply to archaeology in the forensic sphere? Forensic Archaeology is not the simple transference of skills and methods to a different context. Therefore, how do limitations in traditional archaeological compare with forensic archaeology? In the case of Iraq, does working for the Regime Crimes Liaison Office (RCLO) make one complicit with the invasion of Iraq, signify approval of the current Iraqi government or even with the death penalty- the near-certain fate of those convicted by the Iraqi Special Tribunal (IST)? This paper will explore the opinions of practicing archaeologists (forensic or otherwise) to better understand and establish the social responsibilities of forensic exhumations in places such as Iraq.

21 December Morning

APPROACHING 'PREHISTORIC ARCHITECTURES' OF WESTERN EUROPE FROM A 'DWELLING PERSPECTIVE' (continued from 20 Dec)

Vitor Oliveira Jorge (University of Porto, Faculty of Arts, Cultural Heritage Department, Portugal), João Muralha Cardoso (Museum of the City of Lisbon, Portugal) & Gonçalo Leite Velho (Polytechnic Institute, Landscape Management Department, Tomar, Portugal)
<http://architectures.home.sapo.pt>

Far from being divided into natural (neutral objects) and built (intentional, cultural) forms, the environment is a product of a continuous evolution, or form-generation process (Ingold, 2000). Why did people in certain phases of "prehistory" (taken in its broadest sense) engage in particular modes of dwelling in an environment which we call now "architectures", devoting thereby a long lasting effort and energy in the transformation of certain features of that environment? In order to improve knowledge, from an archaeological point of view, we need to connect a phenomenology of those "architectonic devices" made out of the landscape to an historic-sociological approach of the communities that built them.

Detailed analysis, as survey and excavation, are much needed, but the very process of excavation is an interpretative one. This means that a permanent hermeneutic spiral occurs in the process of giving meaning to the materialities we uncover. We need fresh ways of looking into the so-called "prehistoric" or "vernacular" architectures - and this session will try to focus on these emerging approaches.

9.00 Introduction

- 9.10** Enclosures interpretation practice: how does it work in theory? *Alasdair Whittle*
- 9.30** Solid “nature” and ephemeral “architecture”? Understanding Neolithic occupation from a dwelling perspective *Joshua Pollard*
- 9.50** Creating (and using, amending and reacting to) appropriate dwellings for the dead in Neolithic Scotland *Alison Sheridan*
- 10.10** Monumental architecture in the islands of Orkney: Creating a sense of Otherness in a densely occupied landscape *Niall Sharples*
- 10.30** Tea/Coffee
- 10.50** A life amongst trees: perceptions of the environment in the Neolithic of Northwest Europe *Gordon Noble*
- 11.10** Constructive consumption: feasting in Iron Age Britain *Sarah Ralph*
- 11.30** Dwelling in an old country *Amy Gazin-Schwartz*
- 11.50** Discussion *Julian Thomas*

Enclosures interpretation practice: how does it work in theory?

Alasdair Whittle (Univ. of Cardiff, UK)

I have been thinking about enclosures in the varied contexts of Neolithic Europe for years and years, and have tried to resist some of the commonsense explanations based around comfortable and familiar notions of settlement and defence – though people dwelling at chosen places and people in conflict need not be excluded. I am currently engaged (with Alex Bayliss and Frances Healy) in a major programme of radiocarbon dating and Bayesian modelling of causewayed enclosures in southern Britain. This may lead us to a sense of very specific horizons of change, and much diversity in terms of subsequent histories: some surprisingly short, others extended. So looking ahead to writing this up, I am reflecting again on what kind of interpretations we engage in when think about enclosures. There are few if any obvious analogies that we can draw on. There are bodies of general theory which can inform us, including the dwelling perspective, but also varied notions of space, agency, sociality and materiality. These can be very productive, but often remain very general. In the specific case of southern British causewayed enclosures, there are rich bodies of deposited material, with which we often construct complex narratives, in a ‘bottom-up’ kind of way: which may be a good thing. But is there sufficient linkage between our use of more general theory and of particular data from specific sites? To highlight this, I concentrate on the temporalities of enclosures: their dates of construction, the circumstances surrounding construction, and spans of use. More precise estimates of time may open fresh lines of interpretation.

Solid “nature” and ephemeral “architecture”? Understanding Neolithic occupation from a dwelling perspective

Joshua Pollard (Univ. of Bristol)

The archaeological traces of settlement during the Neolithic of southern Britain are often characterised as ephemeral, because of the recurrent absence of solid domestic architecture. While there are structures that have been identified as ‘houses’, these are comparatively rare, often very early and short-lived, and their status is open to debate. However, searching for elusive Neolithic ‘houses’, as defined through a normative expectation of what constitutes architecture (i.e. planned, humanly-executed, static constructs), may be limiting our understanding of

processes of inhabitation. We need to ask what constitutes ‘architecture’ if we adopt a dwelling perspective? Working beyond the legacy that divides the ‘natural’ and the ‘culturally’ constructed, I would like to present a picture of the architectures of Neolithic landscapes as complex and fluid hybrids of constructions, topographic affordances and human and non-human agents. Clearings, cattle, stones and tree-throws become architecture as much as posts and thatch.

Creating (and using, amending and reacting to) appropriate dwellings for the dead in Neolithic Scotland

Alison Sheridan (National Museums of Scotland, UK)

An explicit aim of this session is to arrive at an understanding of prehistoric architecture by means of ‘an historical-sociological approach [to] the communities that built them’. This sounds dangerously like an invitation to indulge in a culture-historical perspective, and it therefore gives me much pleasure to have this opportunity to investigate Scottish Neolithic funerary monuments in a way that some would brand as ‘culture-historical’. There is, after all, a role for polemic in forging new ideas. This contribution will seek to map out some key trends in the design of these monuments, whose ‘story’ starts with a dichotomy between an Atlantic tradition of constructing closed megalithic chambers and simple passage tombs and a non-Atlantic tradition of using non-megalithic monuments of various forms. Various subsequent developments in different parts of Scotland are then traced, and some possible reasons for the specific design trajectories are proposed. In doing so, the origins (!), cosmologies, and group dynamics of the communities responsible for building, using and amending these monuments are explored. I will also be airing some interesting new C14 dates.....

Monumental architecture in the islands of Orkney: Creating a sense of Otherness in a densely occupied landscape

Niall Sharples (Univ. of Cardiff, UK)

The islands of Orkney are famed for their prehistoric architecture from the earliest Neolithic tombs like Maes Howe to the Medieval complexities of St Magnus cathedral. One of the most well known groups of monuments are the brochs of the Middle (Roman period) Iron Age. These monuments are known from many other areas of the Atlantic fringe of Scotland and have been well studied in recent years. However, the representativeness of the Orcadian monuments has been questioned in recent years because of a number of Orcadian peculiarities. The presence of complex settlements surrounding the broch is very unusual and the Orcadian villages are unique in the form and character of the surrounding settlements. The architectural form of the internal fittings of the brochs can not be paralleled in other regions and provides an immensely informative perspective on house use. Finally the landscape position is distinctive and in particular the close relationship with earlier Neolithic tombs provides an interesting insight into attitudes to the distant past in the Iron Age. This lecture will examine these different features and attempt to explain how Orkney became different through a consistent application of wider principles to distinctive local circumstances.

A life amongst trees: perceptions of the environment in the Neolithic of Northwest Europe

Gordon Noble (Univ. of Glasgow, UK)

Interaction with the natural environment forms the basis of people’s understandings of the world around. It is difficult for

most of us today to imagine what it would be like to live in a wooded environment, but in Neolithic Scotland everyday life was surrounded by the forest. Trees and woodland are rarely studied in any detail in prehistoric archaeology as they often only leave fragmentary traces in the archaeological record. However, timber formed an important medium for the construction of monuments in the Neolithic and it is crucial that we consider the materiality of this substance in our considerations of past lives. In this paper it is argued that Neolithic communities in Scotland drew on the symbolism of the forest when constructing their built environment and that the architectures they constructed were a synthesis of the natural and cultural environments. Timber seems to have been used as a medium through which ideas about the fundamental processes of life and death were symbolised and these ideas were incorporated into a number of different forms of monumental structure, all of which were built from the architectural building blocks of the forest environment.

Constructive consumption: feasting in Iron Age Britain

Sarah Ralph (Univ. of Cambridge, UK)

Food consumption acquires such an immense significance and power in societies past and present because it involves the human body. Given the diverse and powerful meanings related to the embodied experience of food, it is hardly surprising that food is constantly used in the generation, maintenance, legitimisation and deconstruction of authority and power.

Food, being one of the most powerful embodied mnemonic devices, can play a key role in the production of remembering events of importance, on both a personal and group level. Feasting was about creating lasting political bonds and these could have been expressed physically in the landscape through the construction of lasting monumental statements such as funerary monuments or middens. By giving meaning to a location through the act of feasting, one can perhaps make these new social and political relations more visible, tangible and permanent, thus providing an added significance to a particular place or landscape and increasing the mnemonic power of these events. Therefore, it is important to identify the nature of feasts and to explain how and why they appeared in certain socio-economic contexts.

This paper examines feasting in relation to its location within a landscape focusing on Iron Age Britain.

Dwelling in an old country

Amy Gazin-Schwartz (Assumption College, Worcester, Massachusetts, USA)

A dwelling perspective suggests archaeology can be particularly useful in addressing temporality in the landscape. Rather than dividing the 'built' landscape into arbitrary periods, paying attention to continuity between periods can contribute to a more sensitive understanding of cultural concerns with the past and the future. This paper will use archaeology and folklore to explore issues of continuity and change in the context of rural settlement in prehistoric/medieval/early modern highland Scotland.

OTHER PAPERS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE PUBLICATION RESULTING FROM THIS SESSION (JOURNAL OF IBERIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, VOL. 8 – SPECIAL – 2006)

Architectures of Iron Age Sicily

Matthew Fitzjohn (School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology, The University of Liverpool)

This paper seeks to focus attention on the relationship between physiologically and socially embodied forms of cognition. Archaeologists of the Italian Iron Age have traditionally interpreted the form and internal organisation of vernacular architecture as representative of distinct cultural or ethnic groups, who shared not only the same form of material culture but also the same ways of perceiving and operating within the world. These explanations have failed to acknowledge how people make sense of the world through personal and immediate experience and through their specific activities with material objects in a particular environment.

Although there are certain cultural similarities and practices that occur in specific spaces, such as a house, individuals perceive of them as different places. Place is an individual construct, where an individual reproduces their material and intellectual existence. Our sense of place and identity is fundamentally defined through sense experience. In this paper I will examine the sensory experiences associated with living in Iron Age Sicily and their role in the formation of an individual's identity and conceptualisation of the world.

Social Housing: dimensions of dwelling in Neolithic longhouses

Daniela Hofmann (University of Cardiff)

Reading about LBK longhouses, it often seems as though the main reason for their existence was to provide increasingly detailed chronological schemes and regional typologies for archaeologists. Even accounts with an explicit focus on post-processual archaeology often characterise the house as a self-explanatory entity on which abstract symbolic or political points are mapped, but which remains divorced

SITUATING PERFORMANCES OF HUMANITY

Erick N. Robinson (University of Sheffield) and Lukasz Oledzki (Uniwersytet im Adama Mickiewicza, Poznan)

Notions of 'humanity' have traditionally been abstracted from the complex material realities of particular communities situated in space and time. These different material realities amongst which people resided were part of the ways in which its members found it possible to define themselves and to be recognized. An understanding of the many layered fabrics of humanity spanning time and space calls for discussions correlating performance and world-view. Performance manifests a unique yet culturally diversified process of creation and stylization, and does not imply the restricted interpretation of performativity as reliant upon the acting out of dramatic texts on a stage. Performance occurs within a specific world-view, yielding potentials for dynamic ways of being by the constitution of identity, time/space intersubjectivities, and an explication of the complex narratives of human agency. Performance processes are manifest by cultural determinations of humanity and explicate the exploration of borderlines of representative abilities. This session seeks discussion concerning the various ways in which archaeology might conceptualize cultural performance. Our understanding of performance applies to any activity situated within the human attempt to interact with surroundings, whether it is through landscape, architecture, dramatic performance, flint work/exchange, etc. It is imperative that we discuss the multitudinous ways in which archaeological inquiry might situate the performance of humanity. 'Humanity' must be

contextualized within the lives of the people we study.

- 9.20** Introduction
- 9.30** 'Sweat, steam, mud and man-handling': topography and tactics in rural ludic practices
Mike Pearson
- 9.50** The role of expert intuition in inventing 'the human'
Susan Melrose
- 10.10** Material culture signatures as the resolutions of cultural performances during the agro-pastoral transition of northern France and southern Belgium
Erick N. Robinson
- 10.30** Tea/Coffee
- 10.50** Practices of making and how people changed their worlds during the Neolithic in southern Britain
Lesley McFadyen
- 11.10** Performing the goddess, performing the site
Alessandra Lopez y Royo
- 11.30** Shrine 'Franchising' and the Tallensi of Northern Ghana. Ritual, Ethnography, and Archaeological Potential
Tim Insoll
- 11.50** Alternative worldviews and the performance of heritage
Robert J. Wallis & Jenny Blain
- 12.10** Discussion
John C. Barrett

'Sweat, steam, mud and man-handling': topography and tactics in rural ludic practices

Mike Pearson (University of Wales, Aberystwyth)

Taking the 'Haxey Hood' -- a surviving calendar custom from north Lincolnshire, first noted in the early 19th century -- as an example, this paper problematises definitions of performance predicated solely upon display. It positions such traditional practice as a particular kind of spatial manipulation, delinquency and re-appropriation, and of strategic and tactical engagement with the land, set within long-established rules, conventions and understandings. Landscape is figured as somatic space, and as *taskscape* within which the performer is immersed in a dynamic and mutually affecting relationship. This relationship of action and environment is as much ergonomic and commemorative as phenomenological. Landscape and performance, the paper suggests, are here co-emergent; and both are marked by the event. Is it possible then to conceive of critical models for the apprehension of performance in the past that provide an alternative to the familiar conventions of mediated historical re-enactment?

The role of expert intuition in inventing 'the human'

Susan Melrose (Middlesex University)

My presentation starts with a confession: I am not a professional archaeologist. Nor am I, perhaps more tellingly, a professional performance-maker. In professional terms, I am an educator and performance writer, with a particular interest in the role (and relations) of discourse in the context of (research into) professional or expert performance-making. A second confession: I have in the recent past argued that what many of us in Theatre and Performing Arts in the university identify as "Performance Studies" is actually a Spectator Studies which does not speak its name. A third: I have equally observed that the aspiration to interdisciplinarity, in the university, might well have caused some of us to overlook the specificity of disciplinary expertise and mastery.

Now, disciplinary expertise, as far as expert or professional performance-making is concerned, tends to mean that performance-making is fundamentally collaborative (e.g. performer, choreographer, lighting designer). Secondly,

expert or professional performance-making tends to be calculated in terms of a spectator, which means that 'performance', in disciplinary terms, is constitutively relational. Third, professional or expert performance is time-bound, and time-governed: its *event* and its status as event means that the play of time - perceived and remembered - informs each of the decisions involved in its making.

In beginning to outline performance-disciplinary specificity, I am suggesting that there may well be no easy "fit" between those performance disciplines, and the practices and perspectives of archaeology. Where there might well be commonality between expert performance-making and archaeological invention, on the other hand, is in the widely undertheorised operations of expert or professional intuition, and the productive interface between the operations of expert intuition and the logics of performance-production. I argue in this presentation that as long as expert intuition remains under-theorised, in these sorts of disciplinary fields, *we know not what we do* - not least when we are attempting to invent 'the human', while equally theatricalising her.

Material culture signatures as the resolutions of cultural performances during the agro-pastoral transition of northern France and southern Belgium.

Erick N. Robinson (University of Sheffield)

Material culture assemblages have rarely been associated with theoretical notions of performance. This is due to the presupposed vagueness of the term performance in relation to what archaeologists attempt to understand by studying prehistoric lithic industries. This paper aims to clarify what cultural performance is, and how our interpretations of lithic assemblages manifest dynamically constituted situations of performativity. Performativity relates to the ways in which local and regional cultural contexts condition the production of chipped stone tool industries. The performative aspects of artefact production yields tremendous insight for the delineation of material culture signature. This paper lays the theoretical foundation for future research aiming to demarcate material culture signatures for local and regional variability during the agro-pastoral transition on the western fringe of the Northern European Plain.

Practices of making and how people changed their worlds during the Neolithic in southern Britain

Dr. Lesley McFadyen (School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester)

This paper explores how building activities relate to the topic of performance and the performative. In particular, it focuses on the aspect, or the force of action, that has *affect*, what Michael Shanks in his 2003 paper "Three Rooms Archaeology and Performance" describes as "the remains of something that lingers, in different ways, and something that may be called the performative".

I examine the different spaces that were being made at early Neolithic long barrow sites in southern Britain. I will describe areas of construction where, due to the ways in which the stonework was precariously placed, people would have had to hold stone up while further material was rapidly brought in to stabilize a matrix of things. I argue that, with this "quick architecture", bodies were made to matter through a negotiation of junctions with other materials or living things.

To build in such a way, by setting materials on edge, is to employ a building technique that changes matter. Stone is no longer solid and structurally independent but instead becomes precariously placed and dependent on other materials and other people's help. These building techniques also affect the builder by making people acutely

aware of themselves and their relations with other people and to other things. Quick architecture created a very demanding and direct articulation of how things and people could become caught up in each other.

Performing the goddess, performing the site

Dr. Alessandra Lopez y Royo (University of Roehampton)

How does archaeology conceptualize cultural performance and situate the performance of humanity? How does the performance of humanity relate to archaeology? In an attempt to answer these questions, I will discuss a performative event which took place at the sixty-four *yogini* (goddesses) temple at Hirapur, near the city of Bhubaneswar, in Orissa (Eastern India), in the summer of 2005.

The temple, a 9th century hypaethral, round construction and an Archaeological Survey of India protected site, officially not in worship, is located in a relatively remote village. Through the choreography, performed by an Odissi exponent, the site was animated, breathing life into the imagery of the powerful *yoginis*, presided by the goddess Durga, and reactivating the defunct practices of worship of their cult. The performance constituted a way, for the performer and the spectators, of interacting with the surroundings, and of retrieving, re-articulating, re-imagining and re-presenting the archaeological site, dancing the past into the present and elaborating its poetics.

Temples in India have been and continue to be instruments for the performance of ritual, their function being "to web individuals and communities into a complicated and inconsistent social fabric through time"¹, creating a fluid ritual arena. The dance performance which took place at Hirapur was not an established ritual nor a locally recognized performative tradition but was informed by the syncretic vision of the choreographer. Through it, the past was mobilized and a 9th century way of worshipping was recontextualised in the 21st century, reactivating the human element and finding a renewed spirituality in the fragmented ritualistic function of the archaeological site.

Shrine 'Franchising' and the Tallensi of Northern Ghana. Ritual, Ethnography, and Archaeological Potential

Tim Insoll (University of Manchester)

Recent research in Northern Ghana amongst the Tallensi of the Tongo Hills has indicated that powerful shrines are franchised to other ethnic groups and communities. Besides isolating the definitional weakness of the term 'shrine', this notion will be explored with regard to its potential for archaeological

interpretation and considered with reference to a couple of examples from the British Neolithic specifically in relation to how it may give us an insight into the former existence of ritual per se, even if we know nothing of the rituals themselves.

Alternative worldviews and the performance of heritage

Robert J Wallis (Richmond University, London) & Jenny Blain (Sheffield Hallam University)

Situating cultural performance for archaeologists most obviously involves looking back, to the echoes of ritual and other aspects of daily life in the past as evidenced by material culture. We argue that 'an archaeology of cultural performance' must also consider the representation of the past in the present and specifically alternative (to the

conventional, to the archaeological) worldviews and the performance of heritage. A 'new-indigenous' approach, generating its own consciousness of engagement with cultural landscape, produces cultural performances of heritage that, however problematic they may appear, require consideration and analysis as human understanding, and creative potential. Our 'Sacred Sites, Contested Rites/Rights Project' (www.sacredsites.or.uk), now in its fifth year, examines contemporary pagan engagements with the past: from the deposition of votive offerings at West Kennet long barrow and long-running disputes over access to Stonehenge as a 'sacred site', to the display of ritual paraphernalia derived from archaeological contexts (a Thor's hammer pendant, for instance), pagans perform their worldviews and engage with heritage in diverse ways. Archaeologists, heritage managers and other interest groups increasingly engage with these performances. In this paper we discuss the ways in which pagans perform their spirituality, on the stage of the heritage of Britain and north-west Europe. Examples are drawn from our forthcoming volume 'Sacred Sites, Contested Rites/Rights: Contemporary Pagan Engagements with Archaeology' (Sussex Academic Press 2006).

ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE MARGINS: RECOGNISING THE LOCAL IN THE CONTEXT OF ANCIENT STATES

Jennifer Gates (Cambridge) & Jane Rempel (Sheffield)

'Empire' and 'kingdom' are broad interpretive frameworks, often ones that have been imposed through historical sources and rely disproportionately on the influence and importance of centralised state power. Especially in reference to the ancient world, these terms are often used loosely to describe the political, cultural and economic relationships dominated by a central figure or institution. At the same time, it is understood that these particular forms of state are usually characterised by considerable internal diversity and varied levels of engagement with that centralised authority in the economic, political and even personal spheres.

While there has been considerable debate about the nature and definition of empire, kingdom and, in a related vein, city-state, they remain fuzzy concepts and problematic as terms for state. The 'edges' of these entities are particularly difficult to understand in the context of a state-centric model. Stronger economic and cultural connections to other polities, internal resistance and loose ties to the central authority all serve to encourage the strengthening of local networks and traditions, introducing considerable variability in the arrangements made on the margins of larger political entities.

This session will explore the limits of empire, kingdom and state as concepts for explaining localized phenomena, and in particular the tension between the often ideological construction of a state and its impact in marginal regions and more local phenomena. Papers will address the question of defining locality in relation to state and the role of material culture in determining small-scale patterns of participation and consumption within a larger, often historically-defined entity. An underlying theme of this session will be the impact of ancient and modern impositions of labels like empire and kingdom, but the larger questions for discussion are what is a 'state' at its margins and how does this political concept influence our

¹ Meister, Michael W. (ed) 2000 *Ethnography and Personhood: Notes from the field*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications, pp.24

understanding of other aspects of ancient society?

- 9.20 Introduction *Jane Rempel & Jennifer Gates*
- 9.40 Hegemony of the margins: the archaeology of local politics in Achaemenid Armenia *Lori Khatchadourian*
- 10.00 Production and Consumption of Elite Material Culture in the Roman Period Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt *Mark Eccleston*
- 10.20 Desert borderlands: margins of the Ptolemaic state *Jennifer Gates*
- 10.40 Tea/Coffee
- 11.00 Defining local and Roman identities through funerary display on the western margins of the empire *Maureen Carroll*
- 11.20 Between West and East: Near Eastern Imports to Ionia in the Early Iron Age *Rachel Fentem*
- 11.40 Stately Homes: Experiences of the early polis *Matthew Fitzjohn*
- 12.00 Discussion

Recognising the local in the context of ancient states

Jane Rempel (Sheffield) and Jennifer Gates (Cambridge)

While the political constitution of ancient empires, kingdoms and states have been problematised in recent years, an explicit discussion of the implications of these concepts and their revision has been lacking from the archaeological perspective. States, in all their various guises, remain a touchstone for explanatory model-building throughout the ancient world, at the same time as archaeological data increasingly demonstrate more subtle, localised interactions between other entities. In this introductory paper, we briefly explore the theoretical underpinnings for these models, their particular iterations in the context of the ancient world, and the assumptions implicit in them. We then stress the important role of small-scale and local phenomena within state structures and introduce the types of political, economic and indeed personal responses to larger state entities that are discussed in the session papers.

Hegemony of the margins: the archaeology of local politics in Achaemenid Armenia

Lori Khatchadourian (University of Michigan)

In the mid-first millennium BC, an empire centred in Iran and known by the name of its reigning family, the Achaemenids, gained ascendancy over much of southwest Asia and the eastern Mediterranean. The contours of Achaemenid authority resist familiar interpretations of imperial organization, with their heavy reliance upon dichotomous notions of core and periphery. Despite considerable investment into the rhetoric of imperial order in the Achaemenid heartland, the authorities of this state seemed little concerned with commanding, and materializing, commitments to a centralized polity. In so far as it existed, the Achaemenid Empire was largely sustained not by its centre, but by its margins, where local polities produced different cartographies of authority all the while engendering their own subordination within the empire.

One such local polity, known as the Yervandid dynasty, governed the highlands of Armenia—a persistent locus of imperial marginality, first as the northern limit of the Kingdom of Urartu, and most recently as the southern edge of the Soviet Union. Archaeological evidence from Achaemenid-era sites on the Ararat and Tsaghkahovit plains of Armenia suggest that political capital in this polity was generated not through the imitation of imperial *forms*, but through the mimicry of imperial *practice*. Like the

Achaemenid court and unlike their Urartian predecessors, Yervandid elites refrained from bombastic impositions of authority and instead built the polity upon the hegemony of local politics. Quotidian practices and local commitments to past and place ultimately secured day-to-day political order in Yervandid communities.

Production and Consumption of Elite Material Culture in the Roman Period Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt

Mark Eccleston (Sheffield)

The Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt's Western Desert lies at what was the very edge of the Roman Empire. Although it was isolated geographically, recent excavations have yielded considerable evidence to suggest that it was in no way devoid of what might be considered 'high-status' material culture. This paper will discuss the archaeological evidence for the production and consumption of ceramics, metals, glass and faience in this region and explore the significance of these finds. Recent examination of the glass and faience corpora have yielded especially interesting results about the ways in which we might think about where 'high-status' objects may have been manufactured and consumed throughout Egypt. Rather than concentrating on major centres such as Alexandria, this research has shown that it can be more productive in lots of ways to look at areas on the extremities of a region to gain a more nuanced appreciation of how different industries may have been organised in Egypt during this period its history and during the Roman Empire as a whole.

Desert borderlands: margins of the Ptolemaic state

Jennifer Gates (Cambridge)

Kingly rule and the notion of a divine kingship are intimately associated with the political state of Egypt, both as an entity ruled by native Egyptian pharaohs and later, as a kingdom governed by the Hellenized Ptolemies. During the period of Ptolemaic rule (323-31 BCE) the kingdom of Egypt was inundated with manifestations of royal prerogative: the foundation of new cities, erection of temples in religious centres, and perhaps most famously, meticulous regulation of trade and taxation throughout the kingdom. Each of these aspects of Ptolemaic rule bolsters the impression of an interventionist state that closely monitored the lives of its citizens and was ultimately geared towards a mercantilistic extraction of economic resources.

This paper challenges such a characterization of this, the archetypal Hellenistic kingdom, through an examination of the archaeological evidence for a unique and, arguably, independent system of regional trade routes, gold mines and fortifications which developed in Egypt's Eastern Desert during the third through first centuries BCE. This marginal desert region was a vital source of gold, mineral and martial resources essential to the survival and military security of the larger Ptolemaic realm. Accordingly, the establishment and development of the desert infrastructure has largely been attributed to royal initiatives and direct oversight by local officials. The archaeological evidence, however, presents a much different scenario. Regional politics and local cultural prerogatives played a greater role in the development of these networks, demonstrating the inadequacy of an explanatory model based solely on the needs of a centralized power.

Defining local and Roman identities through funerary display on the western margins of the empire

Maureen Carroll (Sheffield)

From the late first century BC through the first three centuries AD, indigenous population groups along the

Roman frontier in Gaul and Germany found numerous ways, in life and in death, to negotiate their own positions within the empire. Burial ritual and commemorative acts served as a particularly useful arena for constructing and expressing identities that were rooted in much older local traditions or that were aligned with new and foreign Roman cultural practices introduced from the 'centre'. This paper examines a variety of archaeological evidence, including graves, texts and images on stone monuments, and grave goods and equipment ceremoniously buried with the deceased, in order to demonstrate how societies on the western margins of the Roman empire used material culture in a funerary context to define their social, political and cultural place both in the local community and in the larger entity that was the state.

Between West and East: Near Eastern Imports to Ionia in the Early Iron Age

Rachel Fentem (UCL)

The Early Iron Age poleis of Ionia were positioned on the margins of both the Aegean world and a number of Near Eastern states: Phrygia, Lydia and Persia for example. This paper examines imports from the Near East to three Ionian poleis – Emporio on Chios, Miletos and Samos. Recent anthropological theory of material culture is used to examine the patterns of consumption and reception of imported goods, and to question how and why they mattered in Ionia. Specific questions include structures of access to imported goods, and what part they played in broader discourse within these societies. Comparison is also made with imports to Crete.

Within Emporio and Miletos, the selective distribution of imports suggests that they are being used to negotiate aspects of individual and polis identity, and divisions along lines of status and affluence can also be seen. The location and assemblage of the Samian Heraion indicate its importance in terms of relations with external powers. However, interaction with the Near East begins later in Ionia than in Crete, despite the closer proximity of Ionia to these Near Eastern states, and suggests early awareness of a shared Hellenicity. Imports from the Anatolian hinterland in particular are fewer than might be expected, and the strongest affiliations are with Cyprus and Egypt. Various explanations can be suggested: geographical, political and technological.

Stately Homes: Experiences of the early polis

Matthew Fitzjohn (Liverpool)

This paper draws on concerns with the social construction of place and the creation of identity to investigate the early polis (Greek state) in southern Italy. Contrary to conventional interpretations of the association of normative architectural forms and urban planning with the formation of the polis, closer investigation of the evidence reveals a more complex development of diverse urban and domestic environments. I suggest a reinterpretation of domestic evidence not as containers of activity and static representations of the formalisation of the evolving state but rather as active constituents in people's lives, which varied according to localised conditions. The paper will focus on the experience domestic space in the creation of small-scale notions of identity and place, issues that are highly relevant to a discussion of the early Greek state.

Archaeologists, particularly those working on evolutionary timescales, are fond of producing checklists of characters that apparently 'define' the human species. Positive traits such as executive cognitive functions, language, technical mastery and innovation are regularly cited, while less pleasant characteristics are not. Archaeology as a discipline generally presents a 'progressivist' model of the past, emphasising the human achievement and gradual technical and intellectual mastery of the natural and social environment. Less palatable traits such as inequality, slavery, exploitation and violence on individual to genocidal scales are rarely problematised and integrated into our understanding of the past. From a modern historical and ethnographic perspective however, inhumanity may be taken to be fairly endemic across *Homo sapiens* groups of widely differing organisations and belief systems. Why is this so? At first glance it seems maladaptive, and one might therefore expect it to have declined over the long-term, but if anything it is growing. Why is this? Is it in some sense adaptive? If so, what function/s might it fulfil?

Recently, the philosopher Jonathan Glover² has suggested that philosophers might apply their skills to understanding the problem of inhumanity. Over the last few years the term has taken on new forms, which are present on television screens with alarming regularity. Archaeology is eminently placed to study the form, nature, and context of inhumanity in long-term perspective. It should do so.

This session aims to get the ball rolling by as wide an archaeological exploration of inhumanity as possible. Under what circumstances do certain inhumane behaviours occur? Are these really universal, or are they culturally specific? Which of them have long pedigrees and which are relatively new? Does living as large populations in urban centres stimulate inhumanity? Is it linked to social complexity? How do cosmological and religious systems control, promote and form inhumane practises? Is it of use in the perpetuation of complex systems or does it increase after their collapse? How do humans contextualise and legitimise inhumanity? How widespread is the notion of humans as property?

The definition of our own species is at stake. In the light of an archaeological discipline which emphasises technological and social advance, should we acknowledge that humans, by implication, are inhumane?

- 9.20 'Big fierce societies' and the inevitability of inhumanity *Paul Pettitt*
- 9.40 Amen Behaving Badly: Morals in Ancient Egypt *Beth Asbury*
- 10.00 The property office: an archaeology of harmful things *Stephen Mathews*
- 10.20 Bigotry, prejudice And ghettoisation: the Medieval archaeology of intolerance *Roderick Millard*
- 10.40 Tea/Coffee
- 11.00 Human sacrifice and Irish bog bodies *Tim Taylor*
- 11.20 Red right hand: the benefits of inhumanity *Stephen O'Brian*
- 11.40 The Upper Palaeolithic and the origins of human civilisation: welcome to the 'Golden Age' *Paul Pettitt*
- 12.00 Where are the witches of European prehistory? *Nick Thorpe*

THE FALL FROM GRACE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO HUMAN INHUMANITY

Paul Pettitt (University of Sheffield)

² *Humanity: a Moral History of the Twentieth Century*. London: Pimlico.

'Big fierce societies' and the inevitability of inhumanity

Paul Pettitt (University of Sheffield)

For the last few thousand years, human societies in the main exhibit high population levels, complex and hierarchical social organisation exploiting individual specialisations, food production and aggression. Complex, unverifiable cosmological belief systems underpin these large-scale human aggregations, and are, if anything, growing in importance. Analogies with other 'big fierce societies', particularly the eusocial insects, suggest that large-scale aggression is an inevitable product of organisation at such levels. Analogies with other apes suggests also that small-scale intra- and inter-group aggression provides a precursor to big aggressive states. What can we learn from all this?

Amen Behaving Badly: Morals in Ancient Egypt

Beth Asbury (Institute of Field Archaeologists)

One of the ways in which societies try to curb inhumanity is by having a system of morals. The ancient Egyptians' answer to this was a belief in 'Maat', originally an abstract concept – apparently the oldest in the world - that became a deified entity in about 2350 BC. Documentary sources show the range of behaviour that people aspired to in order to live up to Maat (and have a chance at an afterlife), but its role in religion also bolstered social inequality and gave kings special dispensation. As a pragmatic society, the Egyptians did not always live up to their ideals, however, and historical texts also shed light on how they dealt with their criminals.

The property office: an archaeology of harmful things

Stephen Mathews (University of Manchester)

This paper will recount personal experiences and observations from the 'Property Office', a common feature of most Police stations in Britain. As well as the repository of people's lost property, it houses those materials seized by the Police in the course of their investigations, during operations, and as a consequence of incidences and arrests. Amongst these often packed and chaotic shelves, sheathed in plastic and brown paper, tagged and numbered, we find the forcefully dispossessed artefacts of often inhumane acts: a blood stained knife from a serious assault, the remains of a broken bottle from a drunken brawl, the soiled underwear of a sex crime victim, the paper trails of money laundering and fraud. Far removed from society and commoditisation, these are not the sacred relics of past or contemporary societies, but may instead represent the crumbling monument of a decaying civilisation often accused of decadence and a growing immorality. From these objects police officers, forensic scientists and legal attorneys conduct archaeological excavations and reconstructions of the actions and events concerning the social life of (harmful) things.

Bigotry, prejudice And ghettoisation: the Medieval archaeology of intolerance

Roderick Millard (University of Cardiff)

There are countless examples of intolerance which have been recorded throughout history: the treatment of Catholics in Elizabethan England, Jews in Medieval Europe, or the Early Christians in Rome have all been well documented and examined by archaeologists. However, we know of these cases, and have examined them archeologically, precisely because they are documented in the historical record. It is equally possible for racial and religious

intolerance to go unremarked and unrecorded for generations, as has been the case in America during the mid twentieth century, or more recently in the former Yugoslavia. In such cases it often falls to us as archaeologists to determine the effects and the extent of such prejudice.

This paper seeks to examine the ways in which intolerance is made manifest in society, and in turn in the archaeological record. Although drawing heavily on the historical case studies mentioned above, the paper also considers examples where there is no textual evidence for intolerance (either through deliberate omission or because the textual records have not survived), and where the effects of intolerance may be seen only through the archaeological remains. In these cases it is through archaeology that such intolerance is brought to light, and it becomes necessary to review our opinions of past cultures where this has taken place.

Human sacrifice and Irish bog bodies

Tim Taylor (University of Bradford)

Recent excavations in the north of England are changing perceptions of the Mesolithic-Neolithic interface, with new evidence of substantial early sedentism. New investigation and excavation at cave sites in the southwestern Yorkshire Dales National Park suggest the possibility of violent conflict between the last hunter-gatherers and first farmers. This paper presents interim data, including processed perinatal human bones in midden deposit, that may suggest aggressive warfare-driven exo-cannibalism at c3900 Cal BC. It sets this emergent evidence for the interface period in northern Britain within a broader Eurasian primary Neolithic context and draws analogies with historical contexts of subsistence economic conflict in which genocide, abduction and terror have been facets.

Red right hand: the benefits of inhumanity

Stephen O'Brian (University of Liverpool)

Inhumanity is, for obvious reasons, seen in negative terms. However, this should not blind us to the fact that inhuman behaviour can be to the advantage of those willing to utilise it. Any attempt to understand inhumanity must take this into account. Following the old police maxim "who profits from the crime?" this paper seeks to provide a comparative analysis of the use of one particular kind of inhumanity – armed violence – and the purposes which it serves. With reference to the elites of the early Mycenaean period, and to more recent groups such as those participating in organised crime, the use of armed violence as a tool for the accumulation of wealth, power and status will be demonstrated.

The Upper Palaeolithic and the origins of human civilisation: welcome to the 'Golden Age'

Paul Pettitt (University of Sheffield)

Traditional stories of the 'emergence of civilisation' regard the Upper Palaeolithic as an economic 'Garden of Eden' in which 'Man, the Noble Savage' existed in a state of balance with nature and, it is often assumed, with 'himself'. While a number of behavioural elements characteristic of 'civilisations' are observable in the European Upper Palaeolithic such as craft specialisation, broad spectrum economies, and artificial memory systems approaching proto-writing, a number of less-palatable characteristics are too. This paper explores the nature of inhumanity among small-scale societies in the remote past, through a small number of archaeological examples.

Where are the witches of European prehistory?

Nick Thorpe (King Alfred's College, Winchester)

There has been significant interest in the possibility of locating evidence for Native American witches in the archaeological record, partly based on the copious ethnographic and historical record. However, despite the widespread recognition of the possibility of prehistoric shamanism, and the identification of specific shaman's burials, ranging from the Upper Palaeolithic at Paviland Cave (Wales) to the Bronze Age at Upton Lovell (Wiltshire), there has been less interest in investigating the bad shaman or witch. Nevertheless, there is range of evidence which should lead us to expect the presence of witches in prehistoric Europe. There are clear ethnographic accounts from the Inuit. Also in the North, Neil Price has discussed at length the role of witches in the Viking world, especially in war. Witchcraft is mentioned in many Roman historical sources and back to the Bronze Age itself in the Bronze Age Near East and the figure of Circe in Homer's *Odyssey*. Looking at the archaeological record for prehistoric Britain and Europe, we have the burial with a torc at Brackmills, Northamptonshire, and many pit burials at hillforts and bog bodies in Denmark from the Iron Age. Further back, Bronze Age mass burials in Austria and Slovakia have been interpreted as war graves, but the American evidence for mass witch burials suggests an alternative interpretation. A curse statuette from Neolithic Malta may be the oldest example of such witchcraft practices, better known from Greece and Rome.

REACHING OUT: ARCHAEOLOGY FOR ALL?

Elanor Johnson (Northumberland National Park) and Suzie Thomas (International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies, Newcastle University)

This session will explore the ways in which professional archaeologists can work together with the wider public to explore, research and protect archaeological remains. The session will consider ways in which communities and individuals can develop their interests in the past and its material remains, and ways in which such communities can be engaged in professional programmes of research and recording, working in partnership with the heritage sector.

Speakers will include outreach practitioners using archaeology as a tool for education, demonstrating the potential of archaeology in implementing the National Curriculum and lifelong learning agendas. Ways in which archaeology can be used as a medium for the delivery of wider government agendas will also be considered, addressing the use of archaeology and heritage within the arenas of social inclusion and citizenship.

This session also aims to consider the perspectives of amateur interests, such as the continuing debate over metal detecting as a hobby and the role of amateur groups in archaeological research. How can professional and amateur archaeologists work together to share information and knowledge, and how can we ensure that material remains are protected whilst individuals have the opportunity to participate in archaeology as an enjoyable pastime?

More controversial areas of archaeological outreach will be addressed, such as the work of the Portable Antiquities Scheme. There will be an opportunity to address some of the ethical and health and safety issues of involving volunteers in excavation work.

We aim to investigate what is meant by community

involvement in archaeology, who is targeted by archaeological 'outreach', and what are the external agendas at play? Public participation and community involvement is currently on the increase in British Archaeology; what are the driving forces behind this trend and what is its likely impact on archaeological research and conservation?

- 9.00 Introduction
- 9.10 Process and point of view in public archaeology
Don Henson
- 9.30 Archaeology in Alternative Education: Launch Pad Learning
Helene McNeill
- 9.50 Use of public archaeology to teach transferable skills
Abigail Hackett
- 10.10 Integrating Archaeology into the US School Curriculum
D. Sammons, E.S. Lohse & A.W. Strickland
- 10.30 Tea/Coffee
- 10.50 Putting people back in the wild? Outreach and perceptions in the Scottish Highlands
Camilla Priede
- 11.10 Giving it away: Archaeology as a non-property resource
John Carman
- 11.30 Building Bridges? Metal detecting and archaeology in England and Wales
Suzie Thomas
- 11.50 Search for the Slave Ship *Trouvadore* - Archaeology as an aid to cultural identity
Nigel Sadler
- 12.10 Local People, Local Archaeology: The Coquetdale Community Archaeology Project
Elanor Johnson
- 12.30 Discussion

Process and point of view in public archaeology

Don Henson (Council for British Archaeology)

There is great public interest in archaeology and the past. Many people engage in it as amateurs, many visit heritage sites for pleasure, many watch archaeology on television or enjoy reading about it. Even for those with little conscious engagement with archaeology, the past is part of their lives and in inescapable. Professional archaeologists have a long tradition of reaching out to the public and there are now more community archaeologists than ever before. However, little work has been to theorise why public archaeology is a good thing. This paper will be a short and incomplete attempt at doing just this.

Modern approaches to archaeology have a great deal in common with other intellectual currents of our time, including educational theory. A better understanding of how archaeological thinking fits into education and communication can help to provide a theoretical underpinning to public archaeology. It can also help to guide us in the practice of how we reach out to the public.

We need to understand why we do archaeology, and why people are interested in what we do (and in the past). We must also have a better understanding of what we mean by 'the public' and how there are multiple audiences for what we produce. This in turn must govern how we reach out to them. Archaeology is as much a state of mind as a set of practical skills. Good archaeology should inevitably involve engaging the public but will only do so if we have the right attitude to what we do and why.

Archaeology in Alternative Education: Launch Pad Learning

Helene McNeill (Spelthorne Museum)

Using progressive resources such as PAS, YAC, and others available online and through community archaeology projects, this discussion will consider the importance of promoting archaeological principles in successful home education and for developing interest in other subjects through child-led learning. Such an autonomous approach to education is very quickly becoming the most popular with home educators in the UK and throughout much of the world. In practice it allows us to use the field of archaeology as another learning tool with some very lateral and unexpected results from children of all ages. Today, with so many archaeological sites and facilities made easily accessible for educators, it is very exciting to see how learning some basics in practical archaeology will often lead to in-depth studies of connected disciplines such as history, maths, geography, philosophy, IT and writing English. Finally, it should be clear that it is not only those involved in home education who might benefit from this manner of non-linear learning. Parents and professional educators of early learners, special-ed, and regular school educated children should also find good use for the resources, practice, case studies, and philosophy considered in this session.

Use of public archaeology to teach transferable skills

Abigail Hackett (Creswell Heritage Trust)

My presentation will describe two case studies in which archaeology was used to teach wider transferable skills to members of the public who had not been involved in archaeology before.

The first case study will describe an 'archaeology with basic skills' course delivered in Rotherham, South Yorkshire in 2003. The course was advertised as archaeology with embedded basic skills, and recruited learners with difficulties with communication skills, literacy or numeracy, for a ten-session course, including classroom sessions and time spend in the field. The course was unique because it was mapped to the adult literacy curriculum; speaking and listening, writing and numeracy skills were frequently employed during the sessions.

The second case study involved a group of young people aged 10 to 15 years, from Langwith, a small isolated village in north Derbyshire who spent four days volunteering at an archaeological excavation. The archaeological trip gave the young people a chance to do something completely different; the purpose of the experience was to inspire, to broaden their horizons, to enable them to meet different types of people, including university students, and to improve their communication skills.

The presentation will raise issues around the impact of using archaeology to teach transferable skills. What are the benefits and are there any negative effects? Evaluation will also be a key issue; although both these projects were well received, and participants seemed to gain a lot, evaluation evidence is mainly anecdotal. We need to know more about the effect of such courses on understanding of archaeological processes, and impact on targeted transferable skills. Did participants gain from the programs because of the teaching and embedded skills delivered, or was the benefit from something else, such as the chance to do something different, or increased confidence. I will ask delegates where we go now with teaching of transferable skills through archaeology. Is this a route that should be pursued, and what other possibilities exist? What potential is there is tie in with other government agendas, such as social exclusion, or health and well being?

Integrating Archaeology into the US School Curriculum

D. Sammons, E.S. Lohse, A.W. Strickland, (Idaho State University)

Although archaeology has the potential to enrich student learning in the sciences, social sciences, and mathematics, it is rarely incorporated into the public school curriculum in the United States. School curricula are currently under fire from local, state, and federal authorities as the US continues to slip in world standings in education, science, and mathematics. In an attempt to address these perceived failings, federal and state officials continue to require more science and mathematics courses, often by limiting the number of required social science classes. By integrating mathematics, science, history, geography, the arts and other disciplines, archaeology may provide a means to enhance student learning in all disciplines. The entry point for an archaeology curriculum is the teachers: this paper describes one effort to help teachers in the northwest United States to integrate three types of archaeological knowledge into the classroom: (1) Culture History; (2) Archaeological Methods; and (3) Primitive Technologies. Legal and ethical aspects of archaeology were also considered as curricular topics. This approach brings archaeological research into the classroom, not only to promote understanding of the past, but also to enrich student knowledge and learning of core subjects.

Putting people back in the wild? Outreach and perceptions in the Scottish Highlands

Camilla Priede (University of Aberdeen)

This paper will consider the role that participation in archaeological outreach projects can have in altering individuals' perceptions of landscape and history.

I am currently researching whether, and to what extent the way that people interpret understand and value their surroundings is affected by a sense of history. This work is being carried out with communities in Lochtayside, Perthshire; an area considered by many to be essentially 'wild' in creation despite being a palimpsest of millennia of human activity. Preliminary data analysis is revealing striking differences between the perceptions of those who have participated in archaeological outreach projects linked to the Ben Lawers Historic Landscape Project and those who have not. In this paper I will explore the methods used to assess people's 'landscape values', discuss the nature of, and reasons behind individuals differing perceptions. I will focus on the role of 'a sense of history' has in determining perceptions with particular reference to views of the creation of present landscapes and potential future landscape change. Finally I will draw conclusions on the implications of this research for future heritage and landuse initiatives.

Giving it away: Archaeology as a non-property resource

John Carman (University of Birmingham)

'If property is theft, then cultural property is the theft of culture' (Carman 2005).

It is common to describe archaeological material as a cultural 'resource' or as cultural 'property'. A resource has use-values associated with it, and consequently use-rights allocated in it. Property – cultural or otherwise – is subject to exclusiveness of access and use. Such expectations of and ways of treating archaeological remains – which form part of a common heritage – are inappropriate, and frequently recognised as such. Apart, however, from a discourse of 'custodianship' and 'stewardship' and efforts at 'outreach', those responsible for the heritage have failed to provide

viable alternatives to treating archaeological remains as objects that are owned.

This paper – drawing on the author's recent work – outlines the alternative forms of property form available in Western thought, focussing on those usually considered as 'problematic' by students of property relations. The especially 'problematic' forms of property – communal; and open-access – will then be reconsidered in terms of their suitability for application to the heritage. It will be shown how both offer the opportunity to go beyond mere 'outreach' in our relations with the wider world in whose name we work, to offer a fully 'public' archaeology. The consequences – for the material, for archaeologists, and for communities - of adopting such relations will also be considered.

Building Bridges? Metal detecting and archaeology in England and Wales

Suzie Thomas (University of Newcastle)

On June 18th 2005 in Newcastle upon Tyne, a conference was held titled "Buried Treasure: Building Bridges". The conference was open to all, and was intended as a forum for discussion of the issues surrounding metal detecting activities in England and Wales, and the implications for archaeology. Speakers came from academic archaeology, metal detecting, and from organisations aiming to increase public involvement in archaeology, notably the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS).

Yet in the weeks prior to the conference, criticism was made by several professional archaeologists via internet discussion forums, and few professional archaeologists outside PAS actually attended the conference. This paper will look at the current agendas in Britain for increased public inclusion in archaeology, with an emphasis on the metal detecting hobby, and how much this can be seen to reflect attitudes among professional archaeologists.

While initiatives such as PAS are arguably succeeding in winning the trust of (and therefore access to archaeological data from) the public, especially metal detector users, there is still some disagreement within the professional sector over the wisdom of such engagement. Will these differing views ever be resolved? And to what extent should it matter whether there is general consensus among practitioners about how to deal with such controversial topics as metal detecting?

Search for the Slave Ship Trouvadore - Archaeology as an aid to cultural identity

Nigel Sadler (Turks and Caicos National Museum)

In March 1841 the slave ship Trouvadore wrecked off East Caicos. The cargo of 192 Africans survived the wrecking and British authorities rescued them, taking them to the Capital on Grand Turk. Emancipation had occurred in 1834 and the Africans were freed. 168 of the Africans remained in the country, carrying out a one year apprenticeship before entering the community.

They increased the population by 7% and it is estimated that all the locals today are blood tied to these survivors, giving direct roots to Africa through people never enslaved in the Turks and Caicos Islands.

The Museum has researched the story from 1993, going to 8 countries in three continents. The archival work is nearly exhausted and in 2004 the archaeological search began for physical remains of Trouvadore to provide a tangible link to the story. Archaeology will become one component in a rich tapestry of uncovering a nation's cultural heritage and the legacy from a single event.

Local People, Local Archaeology: The Coquetdale Community Archaeology Project

Elanor Johnson (Northumberland National Park)

The Coquetdale Community Archaeology project is a new initiative aiming to bring local people closer to the archaeological heritage of their own area, through a two-year programme of events, activities, and community work. Arising out of discussions between local community groups in the Upper Coquetdale area and Northumberland National Park archaeologists, the project aims to engage local people in much needed archaeological fieldwork, working on the premise that '*an understanding of the distant past can in itself be genuinely life-enhancing*'.

Through the project, residents of Upper Coquetdale are getting involved in exploring and investigating the hidden history of their homes, farms, villages and the local landscape. Activities during the first six months of the project have included a summer excavation, a programme of fieldwalking and landscape survey, guided walks, and a series of training sessions.

Using the Coquetdale Community Archaeology project as a case study, this presentation will examine the ways in which local communities can contribute to archaeological research and understanding, as well as the ways in which an involvement in archaeology can be of value to rural communities. I will address the issues involved in engaging local communities in professional programmes of research and recording, and the advantages and dangers of this course of action.

The benefits of engaging local people in archaeological research will also be considered, taking into account social, economic and regeneration issues, as well as the less tangible concept of local identities and pride of place in rural upland communities in what is a time of change. In addition, the exit strategies of community archaeology projects will be addressed; in the era of short term funding, can community archaeology programmes really make an impact on either communities or archaeology?

PEOPLE, PLACES AND POSSESSIONS II THE CHIMING OF CRACK'D BELLS: CURRENT APPROACHES TO ARTEFACT ANALYSIS IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Paul Blinkhorn (Northampton) and Chris Cumberpatch (Sheffield)

Recent innovative approaches in archaeology have focussed on empathic and experiential aspects of the discipline. The past few years have seen an emerging interest in the experience of excavation, in an empathic approach to monuments and landscapes, in memory and in performance as ways into the subject matter of the discipline. While acknowledging the interest that such approaches arouse and the potential that they have for disrupting assumptions about the nature of archaeological reasoning, we feel that an engagement with artefacts lies at the heart of the discipline which is, above all, a materialistic one, concerned with the interpretation of the material traces of human action.

This session is in some ways a continuation of a series of TAG sessions which were organized in the mid-1990s in an attempt to demonstrate that there is more to artefact studies than provenance and dating. In 1997, the session organizers edited and published a series of papers from contributors to those sessions, demonstrating the practical results of such approaches.

Almost ten years since those sessions however, little seems to have changed. Perhaps more than ever, artefact studies are seen as a marginal concern, with the dating of stratigraphic sequences seen by many as the chief outcome of the study of artefacts. Fifteen years of contract-tender archaeology has produced vast data-sets, yet data generation, rather than interpretation, seems to be the sole objective of the process. It results in a narrative which is almost solely an exercise in chronology and settlement dynamics; many analysts work independently, with those 'embedded' in contracting units becoming increasingly rare. Coupled with the fact that most private contracting units and curators pay little more than lip-service to the structure of MAP2, this is resulting in a whole class of archaeologists being completely removed from any form of contact with the source of the material they study. The consequence of this is that artefact analysts are regarded as little more than machines for producing a chronology for the field archaeologist's stratigraphic sequences, preferably at a low cost, accompanied by a few illustrations to add bulk to the final report. It is perhaps significant that most of the papers in this session are from those working in academia rather than in field archaeology. This is not due to any bias on the part of the organizers (neither of whom are academics), but is a reflection of a world where some contracting units actively advertise the fact that they 'do not waste money on research' and where consultants can jovially dismiss classes of data because the 'don't like ceramics'.

While the organizers may perhaps be accused of bias, we believe that artefact studies should be central rather than marginal to archaeological practice. The papers which form this session are intended to demonstrate the sort of results that can be achieved on the rare occasions when artefacts are placed at the heart of archaeology rather than at the margins. As with the previous sessions, there is no strict thematic approach other than that all the papers are artefact-related. The organizers hope to provide an outlet for those who are producing interesting and valid results in the various fields which are covered by the somewhat amorphous term 'artefact studies'.

This session follows on from *Redepositing prehistory: People, Places, Possessions I* (Anne Teather) and precedes *People, Places, Possessions II* (Dawn Hadley and Sally Smith), forming one element of a tripartite composite session which reflects the broad scope of artefact studies in archaeology.

9.00	Introduction
9.10	The Portable Antiquities Scam <i>Paul Barford</i>
9.30	The Blind Trust in Artefacts <i>Noriaki Sato</i>
9.50	Late Saxon pottery and identity in the southern Danelaw <i>Paul Blinkhorn</i>
10.10	A Fistful of Coins; Spatial Analyses of Coin Assemblages <i>Nick Wells</i>
10.30	Tea/Coffee
10.50	Cistercian ware: A product of its time <i>Anne Boyle</i>
11.10	Material Culture and identity change on nineteenth century Zanzibar <i>Sarah Croucher</i>
11.30	Post-medieval, early modern and recent pottery from excavations in Sheffield: A review of the evidence <i>Chris Cumberpatch</i>
11.50	An artefact without a site <i>R Cooper</i>
12.10	Doing things differently: conformity and enterprise in the 19 th dynasty garrison at Beth Shan <i>Linda Hulin</i>
12.30	Discussion <i>John Moreland</i>

CRITICAL APPROACHES TO ARTEFACTS

The Portable Antiquities Scam

Paul Barford (Warsaw, Poland)

By means of the Portable Antiquities Scheme the private exploitation of archaeological sites by artefact hunters and the personal collecting of archaeological artefacts is encouraged in the guise of "archaeological outreach" to the British public. During its seven years operation, the Scheme has largely concentrated on making contacts with the metal detecting fraternity and "recording" their finds in order to increase the size of its "database" (which it seems to regard as its main *raison d'être*). Despite its active 'propaganda of success', it must be admitted that the Scheme's achievements have fallen short of potential, both in terms of numbers of artefact hunters reached, but especially in terms of actual "archaeological outreach" to them. Liaison is superficial and fragile and - despite great effort and expenditure - in real terms seems to have achieved little. PAS has furthermore been primarily focussed on the artefactological aspects of its work rather than nurturing any form of more generally archaeological approach or encouraging discussion of heritage management issues. The artefactological focus seems also to be a major component of the 'theoretical background' of the Scheme. The operation of the PAS has merely resulted in a confirmation of the 'stamp collecting' approach within the artefact hunting fraternity, isolated from any wider archaeological or conservation concerns. Liaison however goes both ways, the focus of one of the better funded archaeological schemes in the country today is not without influence on the profession itself but in particular on the perceptions of archaeology of its broader public audience.

The Blind Trust in Artefacts

Noriaki Sato (Archaeology Programme, School of Historical and European Studies, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, La Trobe University, Victoria Australia 3086, E-Mail: nsato@students.latrobe.edu.au)

In today's archaeological discourses, artefacts are theoretically and methodologically a priori, as if they exist before archaeologists found them. Archaeologists do not know what kinds of artefacts they will find at any site, but they do know what they are looking for. This particular type of realism, which I call archaeological realism, defines the theoretical potential of artefacts and other archaeological entities in archaeological practice as something taken for granted, and this has eventually limited the further theoretical possibilities of artefacts within the discipline, leaving artefacts still reluctantly recognised by practitioners mere as data sets.

While this realist perspective has dominated the discipline since the emergence of modern archaeology, and was essential in the formation and development of archaeology as a modern academic discourse, its limitations have not yet been fully understood by practitioners. This is especially true in historical archaeology, where the traditional role of archaeology as historical narrative is now being challenged, and for the sake of its practical contribution to the 'real' world (i.e. cultural heritage management), it has tried to avoid facing limitations flowing from archaeological realism. This paper will analyse the theoretical strengths and limitations of archaeological realism, and will suggest a possible alternative theoretical framework to overcome perceived shortcomings.

CASE STUDIES AND PRACTICAL APPROACHES TO ARTEFACTS

Late Saxon pottery and identity in the southern Danelaw *Paul Blinkhorn (Northampton)*

A Fistful of Coins; Spatial Analyses of Coin Assemblages

Nick Wells (University of Wales, Cardiff)

The traditional view of coins used simply as dating tools, either at feature level or as a site assemblage, has over the last twenty years been slowly undermined. Rather than just producing long coin lists in excavation reports, the pattern of coin-loss at the site is often being studied by numismatists. Indeed, such statistical analyses of coin assemblages are now well-established and make frequent (though sometimes ill-advised) appearances in excavation reports. Disappointingly, though, in most cases it is just left at that.

This paper looks at the application of spatial analyses on the study of coin assemblages and explores how it is possible to use them to complement current statistical methodologies – not only within the area of the excavation, but also at regional and national levels.

Cistercian ware: A product of its time

Anne Boyle (North Lincolnshire Museum, Oswald Road, Scunthorpe)

Cistercian ware pottery (as primarily a late fifteenth century phenomenon) had many characteristics that made it distinct to the medieval pottery traditions that preceded it. It was part, along with other late medieval fine wares, of a shift in how pottery was manufactured, marketed and perceived. The features that made this pottery so different were in its style, decoration and, to some extent, mode of production. This paper will argue that the Cistercian ware potters, who produced small cups and tableware, skilfully and adeptly responded to market forces by adapting their potting methods to produce a highly desirable type of pottery. The influence of social and economic factors on Cistercian ware will also be examined: issues that preoccupied the late medieval mind, such as status, leisure and religion, are discernible in its decoration and forms. Essentially, Cistercian ware can be viewed as 'a product of its time' because it reflects the motivations and concerns of those who worked, played and prayed in late and post medieval Britain.

Material Culture and identity change on nineteenth century Zanzibar

Sarah Croucher (University of Manchester)

This paper presents material excavated from the nineteenth century clove plantation site of Mgoli on Zanzibar. Like other historical archaeological sites thousands of artefacts were recorded from the excavations. These include both imported mass produced goods such as ceramics and glass, and locally produced ceramics. Whilst providing useful dating information these artefacts have been central to understanding the ways in which varying plantation residents formed new and fluid identities.

Clove plantations were a new institution on Zanzibar during the nineteenth century and were spaces on which Omani colonial rulers, African slaves and the indigenous Swahili population lived and interacted. Both the exchange of and use of various artefacts was key to the way in which these different groups came to understand each other and tried to create new identities within this social setting. Only by understanding the use of everyday material culture by

these plantation residents can their social interactions be understood.

Post-medieval, early modern and recent pottery from excavations in Sheffield: A review of the evidence

Chris Cumberpatch (Freelance Archaeologist, Sheffield)

This paper will review the results of the extensive work currently in progress on sites across Sheffield resulting from the rapid redevelopment of the city centre. While evidence of medieval and post-medieval activity is sparse, a great deal of information about the city's rapid growth during the 18th and 19th centuries is being recovered, amongst which are assemblages consisting of thousands of sherds of pottery. Although it is too early to present final results from more than a handful of sites, the paper, a 'work-in-progress', will draw attention to what appear to be some distinctive and interesting aspects of the deposition of pottery and the constitution of the assemblages.

An artefact without a site

R Cooper (University of Wales, Lampeter)

The seated figurine from Souskiou has long been interpreted as a gentleman. But by looking the time period the figurine is thought to date from and by looking at figurines dated to the same time period, the Chalcolithic, I wish to offer a re-interpretation of this figurine. The prominent genitalia detailed on this statuette has led people in the past to assume that the figurine is masculine. However, when looked at in association with the archaeological record associated with the Chalcolithic of Cyprus it is difficult to see that a male figure would have been made at a time when the mother was all-important in art and presumably in cultural society.

By fitting the statue into the archaeological record I hope to extend that which we know about the people of the time and the birth and mother icons they created.

Doing things differently: conformity and enterprise in the 19th dynasty garrison at Beth Shan

Linda Hulin (University of Reading l.hulin@reading.ac.uk)

Studies of imperial relations within pre-modern archaeology have focussed upon the colonised rather than the colonists. This study shows the adjustments made by imperial officials in their way of living, as a response not only to local conditions, but also to a removal from the constraints of their home environment.

The Egyptian garrison at Beth Shan in the Jezreel valley was an important post in the imperial administration of the province, controlling the junction of important trade routes from the coast and along the Jordan Valley, lasted for over 200 years. In the 19th dynasty (13th century B.C.) it is estimated that Egyptians accounted for roughly 25% of the population at the site. With no "pure" Egyptian contexts, Beth Shan is usually considered a model for the merging of Canaanite and Egyptian cultures, particularly in the fields of ceramic and silicate technology.

However, by concentrating upon *combinations* of objects from the 19th dynasty garrison rather than the more usual analysis of objects by materials (e.g. ceramics vs metals), or by materials sub-groups (e.g. imported vs local ceramics), I show that not only did Egyptians arrange their object world differently from the local population, but also differently from their compatriots back home in Egypt.

Possible explanations for this are sought in a socio-historical analysis within a group-grid framework proposed by Mary Douglas.

21 December Afternoon

PEOPLE, PLACES AND POSSESSIONS III MATERIAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL IDENTITY IN BRITAIN C.800-1500: GENDER, POWER AND THE BODY

Dawn Hadley & Sally Smith (University of Sheffield)

The session will take the form of eight presented papers. The papers will focus on the ways in which analysis of material culture can address questions of gender, power and the body in the medieval period. Not every paper will deal with all three areas, but in their entirety, each topic will be explored from a number of angles. Four sub-themes will run through the session, each concentrating on a particular 'field' of engagement with material culture, facilitating a consideration of the ways in which different fields (both spatial and conceptual) engendered different types of identity-formation. The themes to be investigated are those of the household, the settlement (both urban and rural), religious life and funerary activity. While such discussions have been undertaken in recent years with respect to high-status environments (notably castles and monasteries) and in the context of landscape studies, such theoretically-informed approaches have been extensively applied to few other fields within medieval archaeology. The papers in the session will deal with both the Anglo-Saxon and late medieval periods and will cover a variety of social groups, including the peasantry, the nobility and both rural- and urban-dwellers. The session will be a valuable arena for the sharing of ideas relating to the way in which material culture can address issues of identity in the medieval period through a range of time periods and across social groups and material culture types. The discussion period will allow similarities and contrasts between these fields to be considered and will hopefully stimulate further research into these areas within medieval archaeology.

- 2.00** Introduction *Dawn Hadley*
2.10 Pots and Households *Duncan Brown*
2.30 Architecture, Space and Identity in the Late-Medieval Secular Cathedral Close *Amanda Richardson*
2.50 Searching High and Low: rethinking the role of status in later medieval material culture studies *Hugh Wilmott*
3.10 Middle Saxon Costume Culture: Aspects of Regionality and Social Identity *Gabor Thomas*
3.30 Tea/Coffee
3.50 Contexts of lordship: Control and resistance in the late medieval English village *Sally Smith*
4.10 The Individual and the Ordering of Sacred Space in Late Medieval Yorkshire *Anthony Masinton*
4.30 Christian death in early medieval England: humility and ostentation *Dawn Hadley*
4.50 Crossing the Divide: defining sacred and secular identities and space in late medieval England *Jonathan Finch*
5.10 Discussion

Pots and Households

Duncan Brown (Southampton Museums)

Many things distinguish one household from another, but there is little archaeological evidence for cleanliness,

hygiene, dress sense and neighbourliness. An examination of the ceramic assemblages of several different, roughly contemporary, households does however reveal more than one might expect. The issues studied here include the range of goods available to people of different social standing, the sources from which they derived their pots and what they wanted pottery for. This is the latest stage in an ongoing study that now brings together evidence from a farmstead, two town houses, a moated manor and a castle. There's more to come, but this session is a fine opportunity to offer an update. The conclusions not only resonate with our understanding of medieval society, but also highlight the value of recording pottery assemblages to a consistent standard. Theory informed by practice, and vice versa! Who could ask for more?

Architecture, Space and Identity in the Late-Medieval Secular Cathedral Close

Amanda Richardson (University of Winchester)

This paper examines the ways in which architectural space structured social identities and relations in late medieval secular cathedral closes, taking Salisbury and Chichester as case studies. Although such analyses have been undertaken in recent years, these have centred chiefly on castles, royal palaces and (less often) monasteries. Yet the workings of gender and power can be particularly well observed in non-monastic cathedral closes. These were single-sex environments which allowed greater interaction between social groups than was possible in most monasteries.

The paper therefore considers the houses of minor clergy alongside those of Deans and Bishops. It concludes that identity was demonstrated architecturally, not only in the arrangement of domestic space, but also in the types of materials from which the buildings were constructed. At Salisbury, the thirteenth-century palace's access analysis diagram may reveal a gender role exclusive to the episcopate, while the arrangement of space in the fifteenth century palace demonstrates the emergence of values shared with other male, seigneurial elites. In the same close, Sherborne House, canonry of the Abbot of Sherborne, was built of materials native to Dorset, and the social identity of the vicars choral was both reflected and shaped by the use of the courtyard plan.

Searching High and Low: rethinking the role of status in later medieval material culture studies

Hugh Wilmott (University of Sheffield)

The concept of 'status' is one extensively used by archaeologists when evaluating aspects of social, economic and political life. However, more often than not this is undertaken uncritically and entirely subjectively, with little definition of what differentiates 'high' from 'low'. This is particularly the case in later medieval material culture studies, where artefacts are largely judged qualitatively and in isolation from their archaeological environment. Attention may be paid to whether an artefact is found in a specific cultural context; a decorative brooch, for example, will often be assigned a different social status depending if it is found in a rural longhouse or an urban dwelling. Yet this is not an adequate way alone of assessing the significance of the objects in past societies.

Recent fieldwork on both rural and urban sites calls into question how archaeologists of the later medieval period define and think about status. Material culture traditionally used as 'high status' indicators, such as glazed roof tiles and painted window glass, can increasingly be seen to extend down the social scale, whilst conversely, so-call

'ordinary' artefacts such as unglazed coursewares and utilitarian tools can actually be indicators of elite activities. This paper re-examines role of status in later medieval material culture studies and evaluates whether it can be more objectively defined.

Middle Saxon Costume Culture: Aspects of Regionality and Social Identity

Gabor Thomas (University of Kent)

The great expansion in the corpus of Middle Anglo-Saxon dress accessories and costume jewellery in recent years, largely as a result of metal-detecting but also through excavation, has placed ornamental metalwork centre stage of recent debates on cultural and societal change in England between the 7th and 9th centuries AD. However, these studies have largely been framed with reference to explicitly economic factors such as the definition of so-called 'productive sites' and their role as provincial market and production centres subsidiary to the major coastal emporia or *wics*. Consequently treatment of such material is usually restricted to quantitative comparisons or distributional analyses as a means to rank sites within regions or to highlight contrasts in levels of economic activity between kingdoms. In such cases little or no consideration is given to the qualitative aspects of the dataset and what this might have to say about the social meaning of the artefacts involved. This is not simply a question of the metalwork corpus failing to be used to its full potential, for without an understanding of the social context in which metalwork was used and displayed there is a real danger that we may be imposing false economic distinctions on the archaeological record.

Acknowledging the important role which regionality and locality plays in the construction of social identity, this paper will probe a different range of explanatory frameworks aimed at addressing newly identified patterns in the production, consumption and distribution of ornamental metalwork across the landscape of Middle Saxon England. Basic analyses informed by these social perspectives will be used to develop an appreciation of regional and local differences in attitudes towards the consumption and display of ornamental metalwork and the extent to which such attitudes may have in some cases been influenced by consumer choice as opposed to the economics of supply and production.

Contexts of lordship: Control and resistance in the late medieval English village

Sally Smith (University of Sheffield)

Issues of lordly power and control in the medieval English village have traditionally been dealt with primarily by historians. The material culture of the village however, has much to tell us about ways in which power was deployed and resistance to it was achieved in this context. This paper will explore two Yorkshire villages, Wawne and Wharram Percy, to investigate the material practices through which seigneurial control was exercised both in the immediate context of the settlements themselves and in the surrounding regional areas. Evidence relating to lordly control of the landscape, of the topography of the settlements and of the physical fabric of ecclesiastical buildings will be investigated. Historical and material cultural evidence for practices of resistance to this power as revealed by an analysis of artefacts, space and architecture will also be examined. It will be stressed that lordship in the late medieval period was not a force which operated in only one way, and that we must investigate the specific context

in which it worked in order to be able to arrive at an understanding of the experience of the medieval peasantry.

The Individual and the Ordering of Sacred Space in Late Medieval Yorkshire

Anthony Masinton (University of York)

How late medieval sacred space, especially at the parish level, was used and what the experience of the individual was within that space is poorly understood. Traditionally, this gap in knowledge stems from the paucity of unambiguous written sources documenting individual experience and activity within parish churches. However, thousands of late medieval parish churches remain and, by examining them it may be possible to regain some understanding of the intended uses, users and priorities of these spaces. By identifying the primary focus of single-period parish churches which offer coherent expressions of sacred space relatively unobscured by later alterations (in this case all in Yorkshire), insights into both their intended use and the experience of their users may be gained. Employing a range of developing analytical tools which all use detailed study of the building itself as the primary point of reference, the experience of the individual may be reconstructed and analysed. Light, sound, visibility and motion, as well as restoration of now vanished furniture and decorative schemes all reveal that, in these single-period spaces, there is an intentional system of ordering individuals - both lay and clergy - and that this ordering experiences a metamorphosis from the individual to the communal.

Christian death in early medieval England: humility and ostentation

Dawn Hadley (University of Sheffield)

It is often, albeit misleadingly, suggested that the Christian Church ushered in an era of egalitarian burial in the early medieval period. This assumption is belied both the sheer diversity of burial practices encountered in excavated churchyards and also by written evidence suggesting the many and competing attitudes within the early medieval Church to Christian death. A small number of recent studies have begun to highlight the ways in which burial remained an arena of social display after the eighth century, once grave goods, which had formerly provided an important medium of display, had ceased to be deposited in graves. This paper reviews the available evidence, including grave form, the artefacts deposited in graves, churchyard topography, and above-ground monuments, and suggests that gender, health, wealth and conduct all contributed to determining, and all were to varying degrees reflected in, the nature of the burial accorded individuals in the period c.800-1300.

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE STONEHENGE LANDSCAPE

Mike Parker Pearson (University of Sheffield)

Stonehenge is a mystery for modern times but we may be closer than ever to revealing its purposes. This is a pivotal moment to review the current state of understanding and to initiate new research. Twentieth-century investigations of Stonehenge and its environs have now been published and the World Heritage Site Management Plan and Research Framework are now in place. There are also plans for a new road scheme and visitor centre.

A primary question for future research is to understand the purposes of Stonehenge in the third millennium BC, not as a

monument in isolation but as part of a greater complex of monuments within their surrounding landscape of human activities. This session explores the theory and practice of new work carried out by the Stonehenge Riverside Project. The project's inspiration came from new thinking about the materiality of stone, particularly metaphorical associations between permanence and ancestral or funerary commemoration. As a result, Stonehenge might be conceived as part of a larger ceremonial complex extending along its Avenue to the River Avon, and upstream to the henges of Durrington Walls and Woodhenge. Could this arrangement have embodied Neolithic rites of passage from death to ancestorhood, in which feasts for the dead at the timber circles upstream accompanied river disposal there of human remains, the spirits of the ancestors later passing up the processional Avenue to Stonehenge? Was there a shift in monument locations in the landscape after 3000 BC, referencing the river and its tributaries? Was there an earlier circle of bluestones to the west of Stonehenge? Were the posts in the timber circles of Durrington Walls and Woodhenge erected as monuments to the recently deceased?

The session aims to develop multiple interpretations in terms of the beliefs, cosmology, agency and practices of Neolithic people, how they experienced their world, how they undertook building projects not simply for the finished product but as activities in themselves, and how they integrated practical activities and spiritual beliefs. Papers examine the evidence at a variety of spatial scales and through various analytical perspectives from phenomenological to contextual and conventional. This is a pivotal moment in the appreciation of this landscape when new interpretations can transform public engagement with this locality and its prehistory.

2.00	The Stonehenge Riverside Project <i>Mike Parker Pearson</i>
2.20	Monuments in the earlier Neolithic landscape <i>Chris Tilley</i>
2.40	Looking from the inside out: a comparative analysis of landscape surveys in southern Britain <i>Ben Chan</i>
3.00	Geophysics: covering new ground <i>Kate Welham, Neil Linford, Andy Payne & Armin Schmidt</i>
3.20	Tea/Coffee
3.40	1984 <i>Josh Pollard</i>
4.00	Reflections on re-excavating the Southern Circle at Durrington Walls <i>Julian Thomas</i>
4.20	Odd objects – regionality in form of Neolithic chalk and flint artefacts in southern Britain <i>Anne Teather</i>
4.40	The wonder of stone <i>Colin Richards</i>
5.00	Discussion

The Stonehenge Riverside Project

Mike Parker Pearson (University of Sheffield)

Since 1998 arguments about the purpose of Stonehenge have included the possibility that it was built for the ancestors and was part of a much larger complex stretching from Durrington Walls along the River Avon. In 2003 the Stonehenge Riverside Project was started in order to gather new information which might contribute to this debate. The time was also ripe for a new fieldwork initiative in the wake of major synthetic publications on Stonehenge and its environs, within the context of theoretical and methodological advances over the last two decades. The project aims to run until 2009 and includes multiple methods

of analysis (excavation, geophysics, monument topographic survey, phenomenological landscape survey, geomorphology) at a variety of nested scales on Salisbury Plain on both sides of the River Avon. This paper reviews the results to date, specifically the relationship of Stonehenge to the timber circles at Durrington Walls and Woodhenge.

Monuments in the earlier Neolithic landscape

Chris Tilley (University College London)

In this paper I present some of the provisional results of the landscape survey of earlier Neolithic monuments undertaken as part of the Stonehenge Riverside Project. The relationship between long barrows, Cursus monuments and causewayed enclosures will be examined in relation to the significance of the river Avon, coombes, or dry valley systems, ridges and hills. It is argued that the significance of place was on the one hand structured by a set of coherent general principles, which changed through time, but that on the other hand it also had a highly improvised character in relation to the nuances of particular localities and their settings.

Looking from the inside out: a comparative analysis of landscape surveys in southern Britain

Ben Chan (ARCUS, University of Sheffield)

Recent work on Stonehenge and its landscape has emphasised the need to study the monuments as part of a monumental complex in which each locale is but a point in a network of significant places. Further emphasis has also been placed upon understanding the positions of the monuments within wider landscapes of human activities or "taskscape". Despite this, the majority of accounts have failed to grasp the extent and nature of utilitarian activities within the Stonehenge Environs and have also been limited in terms of their comparisons between the Environs and other contemporary landscapes. This paper seeks to work upon these deficiencies in our understanding through the comparative analysis of ploughsoil assemblages within the Stonehenge landscape with those from other landscapes in Southern Britain. Key methodological issues will be discussed as will the significance of the results. The analysis will show that the unusual nature of activity in the Stonehenge Environs relates to much more than its monumental component. The analysis also provides an alternative means to understand the conditions under which people came to the Stonehenge landscape. As a result and in step with other current work in the area we are coming closer than ever before to understanding the wider context of inhabitation in the Stonehenge Environs.

Geophysics: covering new ground

Kate Welham (University of Bournemouth), Neil Linford (English Heritage), Andy Payne (English Heritage) and Armin Schmidt (University of Bradford)

The Stonehenge Riverside Project has provided an important opportunity for geophysicists from different organizations to apply multiple techniques across large areas of the Stonehenge landscape. Magnetometry, resistivity and ground-penetrating radar have been used in tandem to cover various terrains and to answer specific questions about sub-surface deposits. Integration of the different methods has generally resulted in achieving better results than those obtained by any one method alone. Coring and open-area excavation have also provided opportunities to 'ground-truth' the geophysics. At this early stage of the Stonehenge Riverside Project, this paper will

deal largely with results from Durrington Walls, Woodhenge and Larkhill.

1984

Josh Pollard (University of Bristol)

In 1984 Colin Richards and Julian Thomas published a highly influential analysis of depositional activity at Durrington Walls. Within that study they presented evidence for the purposeful and patterned discard of pottery, lithics, animal bone and other materials across the site. A recognition of the symbolic content of these deposits led them to argue that they represented the material residue of ritual practice. This accorded well with certain anthropological definitions of ritual that stressed its overtly symbolic, highly formalized and repetitive content. What Richards and Thomas provided, through their formulation of 'structured deposition', was an explanatory framework for such depositional practices, and with it an analytical approach to identifying ritual and 'decoding' its symbolic structure. It was, after all, 1984, and the air was thick with the exciting possibility of creating a symbolic and structural archaeology.

Twenty years on, and with new excavations underway at Durrington Walls, it is timely to assess the legacy of their study. How has the original formulation of 'structured deposition' and its equation with ritual practice stood the test of time? More specifically, how might the results of new excavations and an interpretive shift from decoding meaning to comprehending materiality – and with it a focus on the performative context of deposition, the ontological status of objects, their biography and agency – produce a different account of Durrington Walls?

Reflections on re-excavating the Southern Circle at Durrington Walls

Julian Thomas (School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, University of Manchester)

Since its excavation in 1967, the southern timber circle within the great henge at Durrington Walls has been central to a series of arguments regarding social structure and social practice in later Neolithic Britain. Geoffrey Wainwright originally compared the structure to the 'council houses' of native North Americans, while for Euan McKie it was a roundhouse inhabited by members of a priestly class, for Colin Renfrew the co-ordinating centre of a prehistoric chiefdom, and for John Barrett an unroofed edifice resulting from a prolonged project of piecemeal construction. The material recovered from the southern circle was also fundamental to the development of the notion of structured deposition. Yet the site was excavated under rescue conditions and severe time constraints, leaving some ambiguity over aspects of the original excavation record. It follows that in returning to the southern circle after thirty-eight years there is an unusually close relationship between the fine details of stratigraphic observation and competing interpretations of the past. This contribution discusses the results of a small-scale excavation of part of the remaining portion of the southern circle during the summer of 2005, in the context of some of the arguments that have been grounded on the earlier investigation.

Odd objects – regionality in form of Neolithic chalk and flint artefacts in southern Britain

Anne Teather (University of Sheffield)

The Neolithic in Britain is in part characterized by its variety, in both material culture and monumentality, which appears to increase towards the later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. While we have similar forms seen in both architecture

and artefacts, variation from type is almost the norm which in turn has led to modern interpretations focused on mutable forms of social engagement. In this paper I will discuss how the 'odd objects' recently excavated at Durrington Walls as part of the Stonehenge Riverside Project are part of this variety in the Neolithic. Through this exploration and comparison of odd objects in parts of Southern Britain I aim to illustrate the breadth and depth to which 'non-functional' objects can enhance our interpretations of materiality and social engagement in the past.

The wonder of stone

Colin Richards (School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, University of Manchester)

It might seem that there are no more standing stones or stone circles left to be found in Britain but recent research hints that Neolithic and Bronze Age landscapes may have been covered with many more stone monuments than hitherto suspected. The materiality of stone, the practices of quarrying, moving and erecting, social perspectives on risk, and the agency of stone monuments are themes which have guided recent approaches to understanding their significance. The first person to read this wins a free drink from Colin Richards. The paper concludes with a case study from Bulford, opposite Durrington Walls, where a standing stone and an Early Bronze Age burial were discovered and excavated this summer.

THE ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF MOONSHINE

Lionel Sims (University of East London)

This session explores the role of the moon and its cycles in the evolution of human culture and the origins of social complexity. The unifying theme is the fundamental importance of the moon as a cosmological symbol and clock for earliest modern human society. With the rise of social complexity, religious authorities had no choice but to appropriate and modify this original lunar template for mobilising ritual power. All subsequent local, historic variations reveal this point of departure. Previously archaeologists have noted recurrent lunar motifs stretching back to the Palaeolithic but have lacked an explanatory framework. This symposium aims to provide one.

The first paper focuses on the archaeology of ambush-hunting among southern African hunter-gatherers. The second presents anthropological fieldwork on ritual among the Hadzabe of Tanzania. The third re-examines Lévi-Strauss's structural analysis of Amerindian mythology. The fourth paper involves Amazonian anthropological fieldwork which questions the premise of paternity certainty and assumptions about the nuclear family in human origins modelling. The fifth and sixth papers address the prominence of lunar symbolism in an early and a late Neolithic society. The session ends with an ambitious installation art project designed to illustrate the effect of the lunar cycle on the earth's geological formation, the evolution of life and world-wide cosmologies.

2.00 Introduction

2.10 To hunt by the Moon: human origins and recent African hunter-gatherers *Ian Watts*

2.30 The importance of the moon in hunter-gatherer ritual: the case of the Hadzabe of Tanzania
Elena Mouriki & Camilla Power

2.50	How the Moon got its spots: a new look at Claude Lévi-Strauss <i>Chris Knight</i>
3.10	Tea/Coffee
3.30	Cultures of Shared Fathers: The Theory and Practice of Partible Paternity in Lowland South America <i>Paul Valentine</i>
3.50	Infant Jar Burials – a ritual associated with Early Agriculture? <i>Estelle Orrelle</i>
4.10	The solarisation of the moon: decoding Stonehenge <i>Lionel Sims & John Macdonald</i>
4.30	Aluna, a tidal-powered Moon Clock to re-synchronise the planet <i>Laura Williams</i>
4.50	Discussion

To hunt by the Moon: human origins and recent African hunter-gatherers

Ian Watts (University of Cape Town)

The most productive form of hunting practiced by the Hadza in Tanzania and, until recently, some Khoisan groups in southern Africa, is 'night-stand hunting'. Typically restricted to the dry-season, this involves ambush techniques adjacent to water sources. Being nocturnal, it is also restricted to the nights leading up to and immediately following full moon. Southern African historical sources indicate that the technique was much more common than recent ethnographies suggest. The high productivity is attributable to the exploitation of predictable patterns of movement along game trails, predictable drinking habits, and proximity to the prey. The proximity means that spears can be used almost as effectively as the bow and arrow, suggesting that this would also have been a favoured strategy in the Middle Stone Age. Night-stand hunting locations are among the most redundantly used landscape features, and should, therefore, have a high archaeological visibility in savannah and grassland habitats. Lions use similar strategies at these locations, but most of their nocturnal hunting occurs when there is no moonlight. Competition with lions, and the threat they pose, is therefore much less than might be supposed. An argument will be made that lunar phase-locked hunting was of critical importance in the evolution of modern humans in the African late Middle Pleistocene and continued to be a mainstay of the dry-season economy through the Upper Pleistocene.

The importance of the moon in hunter-gatherer ritual: the case of the Hadzabe of Tanzania

Elena Mouriki and Camilla Power (University of East London)

The Hadzabe persist as big-game hunters in northern Tanzania. They have been characterised as an 'immediate return' society, lacking formal rules, institutions and hierarchy. Resistance to hierarchy and insistence on sharing remain embedded in Hadza value systems. But one concept, *epeme*, brings supernatural authority to bear on gender relations and rules of meat distribution. *Epeme* operates within the framework of the lunar cycle, the performance of *epeme* dances being restricted to nights with no moon in the sky. Techniques of dry-season hunting, ideology of women's menstrual cycles, and gathering of important bush foods like honey and berries, as well as women's initiation ritual can all be related to the lunar framework of *epeme*.

How the Moon got its spots: a new look at Claude Lévi-Strauss

Chris Knight (University of East London)

In this paper, I examine a mythic motif widespread across the Americas. I show that lunar/menstrual periodicity is not only central to the content of the myths analysed by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his *Mythologiques*: it is also their generative source.

Cultures of Shared Fathers: The Theory and Practice of Partible Paternity in Lowland South America

Paul Valentine (University of East London)

In many South American indigenous societies it is believed that if a woman has sex with more than one man they are all to a greater or lesser extent deemed the fathers of her child, depending on how many times they have had intercourse with her. What is more, a number of studies have indicated that children with more than one father have a greater chance of surviving compared to those who have not. In this paper, based on fieldwork among the Curripaco, an Arawak speaking group of the Northwest Amazon, I describe the cultures of shared fathers and ask why it is that in some Amazonian societies partible paternity brings selective advantage, while in others it does not. Further, if having more than one father is advantageous, what light does that shed on our models of human evolution?

Infant Jar Burials – a ritual associated with Early Agriculture?

Estelle Orrelle (University of East London)

The crescent moon motif appears in the material culture assemblages of the Southern Levant from the Natufian period and continued to be a feature of the cultural milieu in the periods that followed. In the later Pottery Neolithic period, where early cultivation appears to have been practiced, burials of a foetus, infants and children in pottery jars were exposed. Such burials, known ethnographically from Africa and the New World, are linked by the common feature relating correct burial location for these remains with prevention of drought and hot winds and with growth cycles of crops. Similarities between features of the archaeological assemblage and these modern jar burials may allow a similar inference to be made for the archaeological assemblage. This raises the possibility that the infants buried in the Neolithic may not have died natural deaths, but may represent a form of ritual of the kind associated with a period of early agricultural economy.

The solarisation of the moon: decoding Stonehenge

Lionel Sims (University of East London)

Recent archaeological research now views the North West European Neolithic and early Bronze Age as a protracted period of separation from an earlier elaborate and resilient set of cosmological beliefs and ritual practices of Mesolithic and possibly Palaeolithic hunters and gatherers. According to this view Neolithic monuments are seen to have been designed to control, modify and transcend the belief system which came before. Extending this same insight to recent findings in archaeoastronomy, this paper argues that the sarsen monument at Stonehenge uses a complex cosmology in which lunar and solar motifs were mimetically combined. The alignment through the central axis of Stonehenge is, drawing from North (1996), a paired alignment of identity of the Sun and the Moon, in which winter solstice sunset is conflated with the southern minor standstill moonset. On inspection, the detailed properties of this paired alignment reveal the use of juxtaposition, mimesis and reversal in key horizon properties of the Sun and the Moon. The focus of this deceptive juxtaposition symbolically brackets the setting winter Sun with dark Moon. The proposed model of Stonehenge suggests that one

dimension of its meaning was as a soli-lunar deception device. This model is consistent with both current archaeological interpretations of burial practices associated with the monument, and with recent anthropological modelling of hunter-gatherer cultural origins.

Aluna, a tidal powered Moon Clock to synchronise the planet

Laura Williams

Artist Laura Williams has designed "Aluna" - a tidal powered Moon Clock (www.alunatime.org). A monumental timepiece for the planet, a beacon for a sustainable future, Aluna uses cutting edge design and sustainable technology to reconnect people with an ancient knowledge of the Earth's natural rhythms. Already heralded as the modern-day Stonehenge, Aluna's universality is recognised by growing interest in the UK and abroad.

Driven by the tides, Laura's clock will show the Moon's wax and wane, rise and set and the ebb and flow cycles. By drawing attention to these sophisticated, fluctuating cycles and the significant line-up of Earth, Moon and Sun at new Moon and full Moon, Aluna will reintroduce the idea of sacred time and time for celebration; time for building up and time for winding down. It will reinstate an awareness and understanding of our place within the Universe, and encourage a conversation about temporality that moves away from 'saving' and 'serving' time. Aluna is about reclaiming our time and reclaiming our future, resonating together as a united planet and synchronising global change.

PHASING PLACES: COMMUNITY NARRATIVES AND THE (RE)INVENTION OF TIME

David Robinson (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge) & Kevin Lane (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge)

...already a fictitious past has supplanted in men's memories that other past, of which we know nothing certain – not even that it is false.

Jorge Luis Borges, *Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius*-Postscript 1947

Time is immutable, but always changing. Of this irony, we are certain: but time must 'take place' somewhere rather than nowhere. Places are always 'where they are', but different every time. Places are therefore immutable, but their temporalities are always changing. All communities, including the modern archaeological one, invent chronologies of the past, grounded in memories of place. However, chronologies are malleable inventions, made through the congealing of phases. These phases are supplanted projections of the past and the future, orchestrated according to the changing precepts of the community. This is a universal.

Yet, each group negotiates their memories of time locally, all-the-while part of a global community, by turns influencing and influenced by other people in their perception of time and place. The final disappearance of a prehistoric community does not end memory. As archaeologists, we seek to reinvent this memory, no matter how uncertainly, of past communities; hampered by dislocations and the changes wrought on place by taphonomic phases and the changing precepts of our community and our chronologies.

This session is a global exploration of how people imprint time-phased narratives expressing perceived ownership and power onto places, and how these reflect a community's

ambitions, ideals and anxieties. With papers from the Americas, Africa, Europe, and Asia, this session addresses:

- How communities are invented, in part, by the invention of time and it's congealing into phases through narratives of place,
- How memories of place-and-past change as places experience human and ecological change,
- The politics of appropriation of place, chronology, and memory by new communities both past and present,
- The (un)foreseen dialectical relationship between communities as agents changing places, and places as agents changing communities.

2.00	Introduction
2.10	Speed (2) <i>Mark Knight</i>
2.30	Drawing upon the Past: superimposition and the creation of chronology within indigenous California <i>David Robinson</i>
2.50	Looking for Nubia <i>David Edwards</i>
3.10	Degraded landscapes as cultural landscapes: from place to space and place again <i>Ana Ejarque & Hector Orengo</i>
3.30	Tea/Coffee
3.50	Herd to the hills: Engineering memories in the Andean past <i>Kevin Lane</i>
4.10	Knowing their time: social practice as time and event <i>Gail Higginbottom</i>
4.30	Chronologies of the Neolithic of Island Southeast Asia: Reconciling grand narratives with site histories <i>Lindsey Lloyd-Smith</i>
4.50	Living Space <i>Fraser Sturt</i>
5.10	Discussion <i>Duncan Garrow</i>

Speed (2)

Mark Knight (Cambridge Archaeological Unit)

"Time is the substance from which I am made."
Jorge Luis Borges

The very first photography was unable to chronicle the animate because of the protracted exposure times required to register even the faintest of images. The slightest movement could render a subject invisible. Consequently, the first photographs recorded an inanimate world made up of *hats and shells, of cups, plates, bowls and jugs, of knives and forks, and of tables, windowsills and bookshelves*. Empty *doorways, vacant chairs* and discarded *tools* fill these small confined spaces. In these time frames there are no people.

Even as exposure times quickened, capturing the animate was never easy and required the use of clamps and props to keep a subject motionless. Lack of light meant that everyday domestic scenes had to be staged outside, performances carried out by deadpan, lifeless bodies presenting stilted caricatures of human behaviour.

The time taken to make the first photographs served to accentuate the inanimate, and in doing so produced sharply focused images of the things people made. Indeed it can be argued that the focus of these things was made even sharper by the very absence of people.

Drawing upon the Past: superimposition and the creation of chronology within indigenous California.

David Robinson (University of Cambridge)

"Denying temporal succession, denying the self, denying the astronomical universe, are apparent desperations and secret consolations." Jorge Luis Borges

Early photographs of California rock-art chronicle the changing Anglo-American attitudes towards pictographs made by indigenous people. Shotgun blasts are punctuations in narratives made by a population putting down roots in a landscape whose past was never their own: rock-art sites were places having no place in the new myth of the American Dream. The *oral* narratives of indigenous California document their own mythic conceptualisations of the past. The past was divided into distinct phases, but it is through the colonial encounter and ongoing history that additional temporal phases are being invented. These processes of invention and the construction of chronologies can also be seen in *visual* narratives documented at places in pictographs. Paintings have their own temporalities, the layering on of pigment referencing and reformulating the past – acts occurring in “determinate time frames” that nevertheless create preconditions for future (re)actions. The images themselves are typically positioned at places where communities came together in very specific ways. The colonial encounter disrupted those communities, dislocating them from these very places. Time marches on, and the further rock-art recedes from now, the more precious this “non-renewable resource” becomes. But, ignored in the brilliance of the polychrome past, a discrete new form of painting (re)entered and was redistributed, quietly but quite literally drawing upon a past once thought, by those who lived it, a forever immutable present.

Looking for Nubia

David Edwards (University of Leicester)

“That one individual should awaken in another memories that belong to still a third is an obvious paradox.” Jorge Luis Borges

Taking archaeologies of landscapes into unfamiliar lands presents us with peculiar challenges, walking us through places and times we have never encountered before, inhabited by people, animals and spirits we do not know. Among the Nubians we are working with a ‘people’ who have inhabited our narratives since they were first identified as the ‘Other’ of the Egypt of the Pharaohs, occupying an all-too-often ‘timeless’ landscape of river, palm trees and desert. The myth of its often striking landscapes and the peculiar ‘spirit of place’ of riverine Nubia has exercised a powerful hold over the imagination of Western travellers, archaeologists, and indeed modern Nubians.

While ‘Nubians’ occupy our narratives over many millennia, as in so many parts of the world, we find that the time depth of active memory is far shallower than we might have assumed. Catastrophic events (war, disease and famine) have created often impassable barriers in the transmission of long-term memory. Such dislocations are of course part of long-term populations’ dynamics within the circumstances of an ‘African Frontier’ (Kopytoff), the local frontiers on which societies have been repeatedly constructed and reconstructed, long-lived but fluid, always ‘Nubian’, but in many ways remarkably ethnically ambiguous. And yet this social fluidity was tempered by the physical presence and other qualities of a much more permanent, although not unchanging, landscape. Over millennia, new people were entering and experiencing a landscape extraordinarily different from anything they would have encountered before, and were then making it their own.

This paper will explore contemporary and past narratives of some places within this Nubian world. Our points of departure are modern Nubian perceptions of landscape zoning, of how their world is lived inhabited, and by who.

Degraded landscapes as cultural landscapes: from place to space and place again.

Ana Ejarque (Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology) & Hector Orenge (Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology)

“There is a concept which corrupts and upsets all others. . . I refer to the infinite.” Jorge Luis Borges

El Garraf (Barcelonés, Catalonia) is the least visited natural park in Catalonia. This is largely due to its eroded mountainous landscape being conceived by potential visitors as a dry waste land. This paper aims to show through the temporal analysis of the area how human exploitation from Neolithic times to the twentieth century has transformed both the landscape and the conceptions people have about it.

The integration of different techniques towards the historical and archaeological analysis of landscapes – palynology, GIS, field survey, and archive search- will shed light on the evolution of this landscape. The final aim is the recreation of El Garraf’s conceptual value in a modern frame of appreciation.

Herd to the hills: Engineering memories in the Andean past

Kevin Lane (University of Cambridge)

“Nothing is built on stone; all is built on sand, but we must build as if the sand were stone.” Jorge Luis Borges

This paper examines how herders in the North-central Andean highlands accrued power, land and water resources during the Late Intermediate Period (A.D. 1000-1470). Although this appropriation was physical, it was also cosmological. Myths centred on fertile lakes, sacred mountains and fictive or real ancestral lineages reinforced the ascendancy of agro-pastoralist llacuaz groups over guarí mixed farmers in the landscape.

Knowing their time: social practice as time and event

Gail Higginbottom (Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust Ltd)

“This web of time -- the strands of which approach one another, bifurcate, intersect or ignore each other through the centuries -- embrace every possibility.” Jorge Luis Borges

This presentation will clearly demonstrate the possibilities of recovering past memories of ‘time-and-place’ when original communities are no longer in existence. By examining the material world of the past and its landscape connections, as well as the associated experiences of both by past peoples, we can observe and interpret possible notions of time as emergent properties of these experiences. Of particular significance is the tendency of people to place themselves in an earth-centred universe, as envisaged by Husserl’s and Davidson’s use of situatedness. Through argumentation and illustration it is possible to see how our situation or place becomes a device that aids memory, where place allows us to conceive of events or things in the context that went before so that places become part of the past and through mnemonics participate in the present. In these ways we can see a form of time that retains a certain circularity, constantly moving between points in the past, present and future. Place and its relevance is connected to and across time as it begins and ends its journeys, in these ways time is irrecoverably bound up with the spatial constitution of society where particular places hold metamorphic memories and are assigned meanings (Higginbottom and Tonner, 2005). This talk will highlight how a sense of time is reproduced through social practice.

Chronologies of the Neolithic of Island Southeast Asia: Reconciling grand narratives with site histories.

Lindsey Lloyd-Smith (University of Cambridge)

"The original is unfaithful to the translation." Jorge Luis Borges

The Neolithic of Island Southeast Asia is generally accepted as being defined by the appearance of an agricultural way of life based upon domesticated rice and pigs, supported by a material technology of polished stone tools and ceramics. The period is radiocarbon dated to between c. 5000 and 2500 BP. The vast geographical area, dotted with only a small number of archaeological sites covering 2500 years has resulted in 'Grand Narratives' being written for what is one of the most important periods of human history in the region. The dominant model proposes that Neolithic colonists spread southwards from China, first to Taiwan and then the Philippines and onwards throughout the Indo-Malaysian archipelago. As they progressed they replaced, or completely absorbed, the indigenous hunter-gatherers living on the islands at that time. This grand narrative carries with it assumptions about the worldviews of these Neolithic societies, in particular how they thought about 'time' and 'place'; how they constructed their history, first as colonising, founder populations spreading into new territories, and subsequently, how site histories evolved at individual sites. The grand narrative model also makes implicit assumptions about the worldviews of the pre-Neolithic hunter-gather societies; how they constructed their 'time' and histories, as well as how they viewed the 'place' they lived in.

How might differing worldviews and the ideas about 'time' and 'place' held by these past societies be identified in the archaeological record? This paper addresses this question by juxtaposing the large scale 'Grand Narrative' with the small scale contextual details of site histories. These issues are discussed with reference to the results of recent investigations at the Neolithic cemetery in the West Mouth of Niah Cave, Sarawak. Ultimately this paper seeks a theoretical framework, concerned with differing worldviews of 'time' and 'place', for reconciling the grand narratives of the Neolithic of Island Southeast Asia, with individual site histories of mortuary practice.

Living Space

Fraser Sturt (University of Southampton)

"Every writer creates his own precursors. His work modifies our conception of the past, as it will modify the future." Jorge Luis Borges

Archaeological chronologies and ideas of past temporalities are rarely made to mesh beyond simplistic generalisation. We slip from abstract discussion of everyday practice, to traditions lasting 500 years or more, before considering environmental change over millennia. Chronology is seen to belong to the historical past and present whilst prehistory has to make do with temporality alone. This division is divisive and stands in the way of new ways of thinking about past humanities. This paper explores ideas of chronology in the past and temporality in the present in the Fenland of East Anglia.

Discussant

Duncan Garrow (University of Oxford)

"Don't talk unless you can improve the silence."
Jorge Luis Borges

James Dixon (Pre-Construct Archaeology) & Sarah May (English Heritage) in conjunction with the 24 Hour Museum

There are many different ways to engage with archaeology and history. Academic courses, fieldwork, television, books, journals and magazines each play their part in enabling access to archaeology for the public and professionals alike and, crucially, are integral in shaping our perceptions of what we find when we encounter the remains of the past. But the most common, and often the first, form of engagement, whether for study or pleasure remains the tour.

Separate from the socio-economic phenomenon of tourism, tours are archaeological in themselves. The guide's choices of sites, routes, transport, what information is presented and how, create landscapes which illuminate contemporary understandings of the past. Landscapes are also created in the minds of tour participants as they react to, accept, oppose or differently understand, the ways in which sites and information are presented. From multi-period tours of single sites, as at the Tower of London, to multi-location tours of a single theme or phenomenon, such as a Jack-the-Ripper tour or the Hadrian's Wall walk, tours are central to our understanding of archaeological sites and landscapes and, ultimately, to what we understand the 'truth' of history to be.

The TAG Tour session 2005 aims to combine a number of tours in Sheffield, contrasting tour methods, locations and subjects. Delegates will be able to take part in an intimate tour led by a local archaeologist, a virtual tour based around the Sheffield tram system hosted by www.24hourmuseum.co.uk and available prior to the conference, a 'self-led' tour aided by GPS and a soundscape tour of the university precinct. The session will combine this performative element with a discussion-based session looking at how the Sheffield tours fit into the wider theoretical issues of the medium.

- 2.00 Archaeology, tours and performances *James Dixon*
- 2.20 'Remarkable ruins and romantic prospects': tourism, aesthetics, and antiquities during the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Northern Scotland *Siân Jones*
- 2.40 Topographies of Memory and Identity: Touring Israeli archaeological sites *Diedre Stritch*
- 3.00 Location-based guides and GPS *Elaine Massung*
- 3.20 Tea/Coffee
- 3.40 Keeping an ear to the ground: a sound tour and archaeology of the university machine *Angela Piccini & Jem Noble*
- 4.00 A Virtual Tour of Junction 3 The M32 Project, *Sefryn Penrose & Christopher Powell*
- 4.20 Archaeology and Tours: Conclusions and Discussion *Sarah May*

Archaeology, tours and performances.

James Dixon (Pre-Construct Archaeology)

The aim of this session is to consider the both the historical link between archaeology and tours and how tours create certain experiences of the past in the present. This paper will act as an introduction to the session, looking at a number of themes in the study of archaeology and tours both on their own and within the wider field of Contemporary Archaeology.

It will consider a number of ways in which different performative aspects of archaeology, history and touring can come together in peoples' experiences of each. Comparing performative tours, touring performances and tour histories, a number of links and common themes can be discerned that are hugely beneficial to the study of tours in and of archaeology.

Taking a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of archaeology and tours, it is possible to begin to consider the differences between an archaeological tour and a multi-location performance in creating the positions of guide/actor and audience/ participant. It is possible to consider too how the origins of archaeological tours are instrumental in determining how we approach the subject today and how whenever we think about archaeology and history, we are immersing ourselves in a tradition of performance, the suspension of disbelief and an ambiguity of truth reaching back many hundreds of years.

'Remarkable ruins and romantic prospects': tourism, aesthetics, and antiquities during the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Northern Scotland

Siân Jones (School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, University of Manchester)

Recent research in history, art history and cultural geography has highlighted the significance of 'the tour' in creating particular forms of engagement with the antiquities and natural history of Britain during the 18th and early 19th centuries. It has been shown that tourism was perceived as a form of 'pleasurable instruction' intimately bound up with the aesthetics of landscape and the ability of the educated, 'polite' classes to exercise taste, skill, and judgement in observing the picturesque, romantic and sublime. Antiquities were an important part of this connoisseurship, which involved a selective restructuring of the landscape in the imagination of an observer who viewed the scene from a distance, or 'prospect'.

However, whilst early tourism has been acknowledged in disciplinary histories of archaeology, there has been little attention to how it created specific ways of engaging with archaeological remains. Focusing on late 18th and early 19th century tourism in NE Scotland, particularly the publications of Reverend Charles Cordiner, I intend to examine the forms of engagement generated by early tourism and the modes of representation produced in tour literature. It will be argued that the aesthetic discourses and practices associated with tourism at this time created a sense of distance between the observer and the 'antiquities' and 'ruins' under scrutiny. This resulted in an objectification of archaeological remains, which became subject to aesthetic judgement themselves, as did their makers. Furthermore, these forms of describing and depicting antiquities were part and parcel of new ways of assessing and appropriating resources in the landscape, which were intimately associated with ideas of 'improvement' and with the reproduction of class relationships. I will conclude by considering the legacy of these forms of engagement in respect to both tourism and the discipline of archaeology today.

Topographies of Memory and Identity: Touring Israeli archaeological Sites

Diedre Stritch (Trinity College Dublin)

The 'archaeological tour' has been constructing Israel in the public imagination since the 19th century, when Cook's "Eastern Tours" helped create a new kind of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Tourism to Israel today still revolves around the organized 'touring holiday' while independent travel to and in Israel remains a minority pursuit. The focus of

pilgrimage for these tours is, as before, religious sites but includes archaeological sites pertaining to the religious or other special interests of the group. The tours take in multiple topographies of memory and identity, from the shaping and articulating of official Israeli identity to the affirmation of the visitor's Jewish or Christian identity. Furthermore, the sites selected in touring itineraries, and the nature of information provided, prove revealing not only of archaeological practice and academic interests in Israel, but of the concerns, at least at an official level, of Israeli society.

In this paper, I will examine the position of tours in the construction of the imagined community of Israel, spatially, diachronically and perhaps more importantly, in terms of modern cultural identity. In the course of these 'touring holidays' the Israeli landscape is dissected and choice elements are separated out and isolated, to be presented to the tourist for consumption. A similar process occurs in the individual tours of archaeological sites, so that a specific Jewish or Judeo-Christian past can be created for the visitor to the exclusion of the other groups and cultures who occupied this time and space. In addition, the monument or archaeological site has been presented, since colonial times, as the key destination for the visitor, and the socio-economic environment in which this monument is set has no bearing for the tourist whose aim is only to "capture" this monument on film and bring his trophy home. Of the nearly 20,000 archaeological sites in Israel, only a tiny number are represented repeatedly in tour itineraries and it is the narratives that are constructed and promoted through and at these sites that are of interest here.

These narratives will be explored through specific case studies, such as the touring itineraries of AMI Travel, the North American representative for the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI), which, in addition to eco-tours, also offers religious pilgrimage tours to Israel for both Jewish and Christian audiences, and from the individual site tours at Caesarea and the Tower of David Museum in Jerusalem.

Location-based guides and GPS

Elaine Massun (University of Bristol)

The field of archaeology uses an artefact's context to reveal information about the past. In a similar manner, location-based guides rely on the user's context, i.e., his or her location, to present site-specific information on a handheld device.

Using location-based media to assist in the explanation of archaeological sites appears to be a perfect combination of subject matter and technology. In archaeology, it is the location of the artefact that is of importance. It is from this that the archaeologist is first able to determine an object's relative age, i.e., law of superposition, and an artefact's location can help determine how a space was once used. In location-based media the Global Positioning System (GPS) or a similar wireless system is used to play an audio or image file according to the user's location within a predefined space. This has enormous potential for presenting site specific information.

Providing visitors to archaeological or heritage sites with new methods of accessing the past is vital, as learning about the history of such sites is often limited by the method used to convey information. Signs cause clutter and have a negative environmental impact on the site. Guidebooks are often out of date as soon as they are published. Audio guides must typically be played in a certain order to form a coherent narrative. Tour guides provide information only at selected places, dates, and times.

This ability to propel the narrative forward provides the user with the freedom and flexibility to follow his or her

interest, rather than a pre-established trail. Overall, the project affirms that location-based guides have enormous potential as a tool for presenting archaeology and heritage, and require additional research for this potential to be fully utilised.

A GPS led, site-specific tour will be available prior to and after the session.

Keeping an ear to the ground: a sound tour and archaeology of the university machine

Angela Piccini (University of Bristol, a.a.piccini@bristol.ac.uk) & Jem Noble (Blackout Arts, jem@blackoutarts.co.uk)

The crowd was the veil from behind which the familiar city as phantasmagoria beckoned to the flâneur. In it, the city was now landscape, now a room. And both of these went into the construction of the department store, which made use of flânerie itself in order to sell goods. The department store was the flâneur's final coup. As flâneurs, the intelligentsia came into the market place. As they thought, to observe it — but in reality it was already to find a buyer (Benjamin 1935).

Central to popular imaginations of the built environment, tours may be thought of as singular, time-based narratives that focus on the and-what-you-see-hereness of modernity's spectacular economics, with us as the heritage-buying *flâneur*. Yet, as Jonathan Crary argues, '[s]pectacle is not primarily concerned with a *looking at* images but rather with the construction of conditions that individuate, immobilize, and separate subjects, even within a world in which mobility and circulation are ubiquitous' (1999: 74). Those conditions have to do with the construction of, and intellectual fascination with, attention through the nineteenth century.

On this sound tour of Sheffield's university precinct we will engage in a different practice of attention, walking through a number of university spaces and creating our own experiential soundscapes. Acoustic ecology grew out of the Vancouver sound art scene in the late 1960s. Produced by the World Soundscape Project, works such as *Squamish Narrative* and *The Music of Horns and Whistles* explored the notion of 'soundmarks' and 'sound objects' through an understanding of the continual crafting of sound- and landscapes. At its heart, and in keeping with archaeological practice, is the multiplicity of human experience and the tension between the live sound event and its recorded artefact. Noble will record our sound tour and during the main discussion session we will use the recording as a springboard to discuss the potential role of listening practices in archaeology.

We will use the tour and following session to explore the relationship between recorded sonic artefacts and the live, tour event; to consider a sound-based archaeology of the university's built environment in late modernity; and to discuss the generative potential of an attentiveness that both marginalizes the visual and uses the 'listening subject' to highlight the communal basis of our practice.

The tour will last 20 minutes. Please meet on the Arts Tower steps at a date and time to be announced. Numbers for the tour limited to 15.

Benjamin, Walter. 1935. Paris - the Capital of the Nineteenth Century. In *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, London: NLB.

Crary, Jonathan. 1999. *Suspensions of perception: attention, spectacle, and modern culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

The M32 Project, Sefryn Penrose (Atkins Heritage), Christopher Powell (graphic designer)

Junction 3 of the M32 motorway in Bristol epitomises Augé's a-historical non-place created by the radical supermodernity of the later 20th century. However, through multi-disciplinary techniques, the M32 Project excavates the obscured place embodied in the concrete materiality of the junction. The junction is the site of weddings, the home of ghosts, the lair of muggers, the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Through histories, academic and oral, archaeological study, urban geographies and artistic interpretation, the M32 Project explores Junction 3, re-placing it in a multi-phased tour of the area's urban past and present.

Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, 1992

A Virtual Tour of Junction 3