The How & Why Of Archaeology Outreach: Case Studies & Reflexive Approaches To Public Engagement

Dean Paton *(University of Oxford)*

The Why of Outreach

Outreach is fast becoming an integral part of archaeology, and its importance is on the rise at a time where archaeologists find themselves increasingly having to justify their own existence. However, this paper discusses the role that archaeologists can play beyond traditional outreach, using the past as a means of disseminating archaeological information to the public, but also as an effective tool to tackle wider social problems and re-building fractured communities.

The How of Outreach

Using two case studies involving sessions ran for young children with learning difficulties and a landscape work-shop for teenagers from deprived areas, it will be argued that much can be achieved by thinking outside of the box in how we deliver information about the past, and how we can utilise the past both to inform and to empower. Whilst excavation will always play an important role, more accessible alternatives will be demonstrated, involving the utilisation of landscapes and standing buildings to help instil a sense of belonging and community to people living in areas that have long been centres of economic deprivation, crime and social depression.

Google Earth, Facebook, & the Peer Production of Traditional Knowledge in Canada's Arctic

Peter Dawson *(University of Calgary)* & Lisa Hodgetts *(University of Western Ontario)*

With the cooperation of Paatlermiut Elders from the community of Arviat, Nunavut, a large GIS database of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (Traditional Knowledge) has been constructed, which uses social media sites such as Facebook to provide opportunities for interactivity and user feedback. This paper explores how oral histories, place names, and traditional land use information contained in this GIS/social networking system are contributing to the peer production of traditional knowledge, where the shared outcomes of online collaboration among Inuit create content which can be used in education and community outreach projects.

Employing Objects as Interviewers: Excavated Material Culture & the Power of Mnemonics

Louise Tolson *(Newcastle University)*

It can be hard to balance the interests of research projects with programmes of community involvement. Such initiatives can be seen as time-consuming, expensive, and perhaps ultimately irrelevant to the interpretation of the archaeology. How can archaeologists bridge the perceived gap between scholarly pursuit and community involvement? I will argue that interaction between the researcher and wider communities cannot just take the form of the expert educating the non-expert.

Current research at Newcastle University is investigating whether an artefact-based approach to recording personal testimony can produce new kinds of information about nineteenth-century working class life, with a direct link to the sites we excavate. Pilot studies via the Ovenstone Oral

History Project, and intergenerational oral history workshops with the Newcastle branch of the Young Archaeologist's Club, have provided encouraging results. Our findings suggest that as archaeologists we need to develop our own *archaeological* methodology for oral history that ensures both inclusivity and relevance. The artefact-centred approach continues to develop through further testing, and next year this project will culminate with the launch of an online archive of '100 Stories'. What will make these stories unique is their link, through excavated material culture, to nineteenth-century archaeological sites.

Community Archaeology in Worcestershire: The development of 'The Hive'

Justin Hughes *(Worcestershire Historic Environment Archaeology Service)*

Worcestershire Historic Environment Archaeology Service has been working in partnership with Worcestershire County Council and the University of Worcester since 2005 when we were asked to carry out the pre-planning Archaeological Desk-Based Assessment for the PFI development and construction of a new joint county and university library and history centre (The Hive, Worcester) which will open in the summer of 2012.

Since 2008, whilst also carrying out required archaeological mitigation works, the Service has also been working in partnership with Worcestershire County Record Office (which will merge with our Service on opening), the University of Worcester and the University of Birmingham.

Subsequent, large scale community excavations on the site, archival research and oral histories celebrating the rich history and archaeology of this part of the city have been completed and the results of all these endeavours will be presented in the new building in the form of interactive displays and exhibitions, on digital audio-visual screens and on a networked multi-touch digital demonstrator table commissioned by an Economic Regional Development Funded programme.

The conference paper will explore the ways in which the partnerships have come together to produce and deliver inspiring research into the region's heritage and will include testimony to how communities can play an active part in exploring a presenting local archaeological bequest.

Engaging New Audiences & Educating Educators: Ways forward in the field of archaeological outreach

Christin Heamagi *(Hampshire & Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology)* & Gareth Owen *(Hampshire & Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology)*

For over 20 years the Hampshire and Wight trust for Maritime Archaeology (HWTMA) has been devising, developing and delivering an extensive programme of public outreach and education.

Archaeology under water or on the muddy foreshore offers additional challenges for public engagement in terms of visibility and accessibility. These challenges are overcome with an endlessly evolving innovative range of projects and resources. HWTMA's outreach toolbox includes miniature Remotely Operated Vehicles and Airlifts, an online 'virtual shipwreck dive', handling collections, digging & survey kits, themed boxes (e.g. Exploring Titanic, Under the Sea), children's story books, podcasts, workbooks, animations and even a unique, custom-built

mobile outreach facility: the HLF-funded Maritime Bus. Many of these resources are the outputs of public participation projects, where members of the public of all ages and backgrounds learn new skills, while developing an understanding of and appreciation for their maritime heritage.

The HWTMA also works within the formal education systems, delivering lessons, workshops and hiring out resources for primary, secondary school, college and university students. We have established a program where we teach teachers and educate educators by showing how archaeology can be used within and beyond the classroom.

Innovative approaches to archaeology & public engagement in South Africa: case studies presented by HeritageworX

Karin Scott *(HeritageworX)*

Misconceptions that exist regarding archaeology, both as discipline and as career, have resulted in a level of 'disenchantment' among graduates. University brochures promote archaeology as a field of study, without providing detailed information and guidance on career options after graduation. This problem is fuelled by a lack of support from universities and professionals in providing graduates with essential knowledge and support to enter employment, conduct independent research, present conference papers, publish articles, and access grant money.

Many students and graduates feel that it is implied that becoming a field archaeologist is the only option, resulting in the loss of graduates (who do not enjoy field work) to alternate careers/disciplines. This loss is fuelled by an underexposure and lack of guidance regarding career options within sub-disciplines and the heritage sector.

Having experienced many of these issues in person, and having identified the various gaps in graduate training and knowledge, the authors set out to fill these gaps through innovative means of public engagement.

This paper will focus on the ways in which the South African-born company HeritageworX aims to alleviate some of the above-mentioned challenges through inter-active learning experiences that promote the sharing of information and the accumulation of knowledge in a digestible manner without the loss of scientific/academic credibility.

Posters

Community Heritage in the 'Big Society'

Sarah Howard *(Norfolk Historic Environment Service)* & Richard Hoggett *(Norfolk Historic Environment Service)*

Community heritage already enjoys a widespread following throughout the United Kingdom, and with the trends towards localism and volunteer action engendered in recent political dialogues this is set to increase. Drawing on a series of outreach initiatives undertaken by the Norfolk Historic Environment Service, this paper presents a number of salutary lessons for those charged with the management of heritage assets who wish to gain the greatest mutual benefit from community outreach.

A reflexive approach lies at the heart of successful community engagement, with heritage managers essentially fulfilling the role of mentor and facilitator for interested parties. A delicate line needs to be trodden between being too prescriptive and too remote, and one must be prepared to offer suggestions to the community in question but also be willing to adapt any plans in response to feedback received.

Ultimately, the still widespread assumption that 'amateur' researchers and fieldworkers are incapable of producing 'professional' quality work is something which needs to be challenged and overturned. However, it is also important to acknowledge the role of 'professionals' in the provision of training and support to voluntary and community sectors; to add value to our work and dispel notions that all heritage positions could be fulfilled by voluntary workers. Given the constraints of time and money placed on many professionals, is it arguably only in the amateur sector where detailed and considered work can be undertaken. In these straightened times, we ignore the potential resource offered by the voluntary sector at our peril.

Back to the Future? Presenting archaeology at the Green Man Festival

Matt Law *(Cardiff Osteoarchaeology Research Group)* & Jacqui Mulville *(Cardiff Osteoarchaeology Research Group)*

In Summer 2011, Cardiff Osteoarchaeology Research Group were invited to set up a stall at the Green Man music festival as part of the Einsteins Garden science learning area, in the shadow of Crug Hywel hillfort. A number of activities, designed to cater for a wide range of ages, were presented, and over four days more than 2000 people visited the stall. This poster will briefly outline the activities presented, and will reflect on the challenges posed by outreach at a music festival, in particular how to hook the main festival demographic, and how to evaluate success. Session participants will also be invited to contribute to the ' Washing Line of Time', a crowd sourced timeline of human history.

The three F's in archaeology outreach; lessons learned through time travelling with Renaissance Yorkshire

Hannah Russ *(University of Sheffield)* & David Evans *(Pontefract Museum)*

Time Travellers was a Renaissance Yorkshire funded public outreach project which saw collaboration between Craven Museum & Gallery (Skipton, North Yorkshire), the Yorkshire Museum (York), Castleford Museum (West Yorkshire), the North Yorkshire County Record Office (Northallerton, North Yorkshire) and the University of Bradford (West Yorkshire).

The Time Travellers project took the three F's approach: FUN – FOOD – FINGERS!

FUN: Ensuring our work was pitched at the right level, not condescending but understandable by all. Light hearted, interesting, down to earth, comical.

FOOD: Quite obvious! We used this in two ways, 1) an offer of free biscuits/tea/coffee; 2) we focussed activities around food and food preparation.

something that participants could take home.

This poster will give examples of the trials and tribulations experienced during the course of the project, how we can improve in the future and the impact of the project in the Yorkshire community.

Session: How Can We Model Bronze Age Society in Britain?

Paul Garwood *(University of Birmingham)*, Ben Roberts *(The British Museum)*, Neil Wilkin *(University of Birmingham)*

Introduction:

Over thirty years have passed since the last in-depth, over-arching narrative of Bronze Age society in Britain and Ireland (Burgess 1980). The intervening decades have seen a vast expansion in methodologies, theories and especially data. And yet the breadth of the resulting narratives has remained resolutely thematic - centred mainly on funerary, monumental, votive or settlement practices but rarely weaving together the complex strands of chronology, material culture, landscape and geography into a clear and coherent model. In contrast to the Iron Age, there have been no broad foundations against which to evaluate new ideas and discoveries. This session is concerned with opening the task to a wider audience by calling for new models of Bronze Age society using the wealth of recent data.

Burgess, C. 1980. The Age of Stonehenge, J.M. Dent

Metal Brewtality? On Scales & Bronze Age Societies

Marc Vander Linden *(University of Leicester)*

The Three Age system remains a potent interpretative scheme in prehistory. While Neolithic communities are pictured as farmers inhabiting an ever-complex landscape, Bronze Age societies are still often perceived as dominated by male prominent individuals, heavily resorting to bronze either as an economic currency, a source of prestige, or a display of war-like identities. Albeit this generalisation is admittedly very crude, it does highlight the importance of bronze in our social narratives of the period, at the expense of other sources of information. This paper will adopt an alternative standpoint, by focusing on the various scales of existing data, and what they can tell us about the various scales within Bronze Age societies. The importance of both micro- and macro-analyses will be stressed.

Framing the Bronze Age in Britain: establishing the parameters for creating societal models

Ben Roberts *(British Museum)*

The majority of current ideas concerning the characteristics of Bronze Age society in Britain derive from 19th Century scholars, many of whom regarded their interpretations as speculative at best. The absence of resolution in ongoing Bronze Age debates gives the impression that the societal questions being asked cannot be easily answered using the available data – even when that data is rapidly expanding in quality and quantity. This paper surveys the geographical, environmental and archaeological evidence for Bronze Age Britain to propose parameters within which social and political models can be created and evaluated.

The Insensitive Landscape

Bob Johnston *(University of Sheffield)*

Anthony Harding wrote in his authoritative synthesis of European Bronze Age societies that the 'The Bronze Age "world" was, according to how you look at it, very large or very small'. This may seem self-evident, indeed prehistorians have long taken it for granted that social phenomena come in and out of focus at different analytical, and specifically spatial and temporal, scales. On the other hand, human experiences of the landscape may be said to be scale-insensitive, what the anthropologist Marilyn Strathern refers to in her essay 'Environments within: an ethnographic commentary on scale' as the 'extensibility of the environment': 'values retain their relationships…and thus their significance, across different domains of life regardless of the dimensions of an event'. This paper will review the fundamental importance of scale in models of Bronze Age society, and discuss the efficacy of these models once the ontological status of a 'scalar' perspective has been challenged.

Sad stories of the death of kings: power and order in British Bronze Age societies

Paul Garwood *(University of Birmingham)*

Interpretations of British Bronze Age societies have for two centuries oscillated between grand cultural evolutionary and/or trans-regional systemic models, and local/regional particularist accounts of material culture, peoples and practices. Most recently, a highly relativist stance has dominated – producing diverse tales of agents, senses, biographies, identities and so forth. Whilst creative and dynamic, these fragmented modes of enquiry fail to articulate relationships between different kinds of social action, and rarely account for the practices and representations that transcended the local context and the short-term. In effect, we have widely lost sight of 'society'.

This paper explores the nature of Bronze Age societies in Britain, revisiting the social models that persist in the academic background (essentially frozen in their early-1990s guise – centre-periphery relations, chiefdom systems, etc) and will consider recent conceptualizations of societal structures relevant to the period, especially in terms of social realisations of power and order. A critical issue for new social archaeologies of the Bronze Age is the role that increasingly precise chronologies will play in articulating 'structures' and practices, at both small and large social scales, and changes in these over time.

From henges to houses: thinking about Early Bronze Age society

Jonathan Last *(English Heritage)*

The 500 years or so of the Early Bronze Age in southern Britain saw a transformation of the landscape from one structured around monumental endeavours like Stonehenge to the emergence of field systems and land division - how did this happen? Over the last 30 or 40 years narratives of Early Bronze Age society have shifted from broad social models, particularly the identification of chiefdoms and territories, to the construction of individual identities and

the interpretation of ritual, exchange and routine practices. In part this reflects a distrust of evolutionary models as well as a greater recognition of the complexities of the archaeological record. Yet the abandonment of grand narrative can leave long-term social change hard to comprehend. I suggest that one route to new social models is through the exploration of variability in the different analytical categories which we construct. In this paper I wish to explore some aspects of social change in the Early Bronze Age through the sites most characteristic of the period: round barrows.

What can burial evidence tell us about Bronze Age society in northern England: a contextual approach

Sam Walsh *(University of Central Lancashire)*

Past models of Bronze Age society have been focussed on patriarchal groups which revolve around 'big men' such as chiefs, warriors and metalworkers. However, the wide scale of the social relations involved in modelling society results in the removal of individuality and agency. Starting from a lower, context specific scale and building ideas on society, based on multiple case-studies may be a viable alternative. Within Bronze Age barrow studies, interpretations have relied heavily on grave-goods rather than the remains of the people who lived at this time. An osteo-archaeological study of round barrow burials in northern England reveals a variety of burial choices. A consideration of the burial processes which occurred at these sites both prior to and after the burial shows no evidence for a rigid identity across wide areas.

E pluribus unum (ish): Integrating & comparing the metal & ceramic narratives for the late third millennium in Britain & Ireland

Peter Bray *(University of Oxford)* & Neil Wilkin *(University of Birmingham)*

In Britain and Ireland, the end of the third millennium sees significant changes in many categories of archaeological evidence. There is a wealth of data available to link the use of new ceramic forms and the introduction of metalwork to underlying social and geographical structure. Based upon artefact typologies and chronological series, Bronze Age specialists have begun to create regional frameworks for each material's use. Due to the expertise required and the difficulties of the archaeological record, interpretations of the metal and ceramic records often stand apart. This is obviously at odds with modern concerns of creating integrated chronologies, concepts of cross craftsmanship and the agency of objects, and the desire to build synthetic models of Bronze Age societies.

This paper presents a regional and period-by-period overview of the copper-alloy, ceramics and faience evidence for the late third millennium. This paper demonstrates the flow of influence between regional societies and also between materials. Its aim it to evaluate and test the traditional concepts promoted for each material against those drawn for the others. Extrapolations from individual materials about Bronze Age society often include stark debates over power, influence, wealth, identity, personal display, gender roles and memorialisation. In combination a more rounded model of Bronze Age society begins to emerge. We conclude that it is important that social models are inferred from the data upwards, without prioritising

any one material. In short it wasn't the "Bronze Age" or the "Beaker period", it was a complex time that must be interpreted without recourse to simple labels.

Bronze Age pottery & "manières de faire": underlying mechanisms of cultural diversity

Sébastien Manem *(University College London)*

European Bronze Age cultures and archaeological materials are generally studied in terms of finished artefacts. In contrast, this paper is focused on the identification and the interpretation of technical behaviours in terms of cultural and social practices from southern England and Normandie. Technical behaviours represent a link with the body and mind, and are a consequence of the socio-cultural environment in which the individual developed. They are a complex result of a transmission of technical tradition or "manière de faire" from one generation to another and may change through the process of invention within a social group or with a technical transfer from another culture. The Chaîne Opératoire concept – observing the physical modalities by which the raw material is transformed into a finished pottery – permits to define and follow a link between people inside each culture and the interactions between European cultures with another angle. Finally, the analysis of the origin and evolution of technical tradition – endogeneous or ethnogenesis – provides a look at the underlying mechanisms of cultural diversity observed in the Bronze Age and permits to see the cultures in term of historical process.

Poster

Towards a Broader picture - Regional Perspectives & Beyond: Finding a methodological pathway between local studies & large-scale models, examples from the Scandinavian Bronze Age research

Anna Sörman *(University of Stockholm)* & Anna Wessman *(University of Gothenburg)*

How can the increasing amount of archaeological data and the progressive results produced within the Bronze Age research over the past decades, be used to develop a new and updated picture of the Scandinavian Bronze Age society? We wish to give some *methodological* reflections upon this issue with the aim of counteracting what we see as the "theoretical dichotomy" between local and/or thematic perspectives and the broader concepts and traditional interpretations. The *lack of integration* between these perspectives and ambitions has resulted in research praxis where the general tendency is to have either one focus or the other. Surprisingly few studies bring up the relation between these two perspectives.

Thus, there is a need to explore how the results of local/regional or thematic patterns can contribute to the updating of broad-scale Bronze Age concepts, and how this can be emphasized methodologically. An increasing awareness of the need for a *mediating approach* is essential. With a more systematic and developed use of a bottom-up perspective stressing the relation between the micro- and macro perspective, the integration of recent perspectives in to a new, updated model of Scandinavian Bronze Age society will hopefully be enabled.

Session: Action Stations! Intellectual Speed-Dating the CentralTAG Way: Stimulation For the Little Grey Cells

Patricia Carman *(University of Birmingham)*

Introduction:

Feeling lonely? Are you the only person researching your topic in your institution? In the country? In the world? Are you in need of collegial support? Do you long for another who shares your interests?

Find friends and colleagues with this open session! No abstract, no PowerPoint, no preparation, no nasty questions! Simply come along and tell us what you research and why it matters.

For new researchers and for old hands – a place to explore ideas, and find new colleagues.

First come first served. Stand up, speak up, then shut up. Each participant will have a strict two minutes to promote their work. Afterwards make contacts – over tea, coffee or in the bar. The rest is up to you!

Session: Life after 'Death': how we do theory & what theory should do for us

Benjamin N. Vis *(University of Leeds)*

Introduction:

The 'death of theory' was proclaimed at Durham TAG 2009. This was strongly opposed to by the American perspective. However, the apparent struggle in archaeological theory remains conspicuously absent in recent debates. Needless to say, most are glad the paradigmatic hegemony of processual vs. post-processual battles are by and large over. Current theoretical conduct sees archaeologists refrain from making overarching claims. Instead, archaeologists construct or subscribe to any of a plethora of niches either ad hoc or emergent from anthologies. This archaeological practice is often associated with particularist theorising or haphazard eclecticism. Truly integrative approaches, synthesising relevant theory, occur sparsely, not even for the theoretical and methodological framework of separate research projects.

Despite the supposed 'death of theory', the TAG formula is thriving, judging by spin-offs running across the world. Does this mean archaeological theory is geographically divided? Does current conduct cause the perception that archaeological theory is dead and is such assessment accurate? In other words, how do we do theory? What do we expect from it? Indifference to or fear of discussing overarching frameworks could risk the loss of well-founded and informed interpretive rigour and it may even jeopardise archaeology's contribution as a discipline, let alone the inaccessibility caused by purposive data presentation.

This session calls on archaeologists to consider their theoretical stance and how it affects their work. It is an opportunity for generalists to offer critical overviews, as well as perspectives from other bodies of thought, such as *chaîne opératoire*, landscape, agency, materiality, (neo)evolutionism, etc. In addition we also include participants of TAG spin-offs to comment on the situation of current theoretical conduct and future expectations.

On the Buzzer: how theory gets off

Benjamin N. Vis *(University of Leeds)*

Instead of addressing discourse, the aims of archaeology and how we create knowledge, theory has reached a point where buzz words themselves are more important than what they mean. Often the words most mentioned remain undefined. Yet, many archaeologists subscribe to them, which causes 'niche archaeology' to thrive. The eclecticism desired by some seems the perfect excuse, whether intended so or not, for avoiding critical assessment of the relevance and position of our respective research for the wider discipline. Moreover eclecticism represents yet another insubstantial buzz, subscribing to current practice, rather than a liberation. Archaeological discourse curiously lacks synthesis and convergence, with arguably the exception of evolutionary approaches. Instead of supporting any all-usurping claims, this introduction to the session will highlight some observations on current archaeological theorising and point out a few suggestions for advancing archaeology's project.

How can archaeological thought be de-hyped and which integrative efforts exist in theory? Can we redirect our focus from anthologies and polemics to their consequences? Can the commonality within our discipline be identified and how does that consequentially relate to types of information and explanation, or the grounds for convergence and divergence? Can the gap between the empirical condition and ideational inference be bridged? Is it possible to change the anxiety about the relevance and authenticity of archaeological theory into an attitude that is as properly creative as it is pragmatically adaptive?

"I Thought He Was Dead": the place of theory in a mature medieval archaeology

Ben Jervis *(Independent Researcher)*

Theory is not dead, it is everywhere – our interpretive perspectives determine what we dig, how and why. It is my contention that we are experiencing a maturity, rather than a cull. This viewpoint will be explored through a study of theory in medieval archaeology, an area often seen as 'a-theoretical'. Certainly medieval archaeology has grown up fast, emerging from its over-protective parents, particularly history, in the 1980s, going through a confused adolescence and emerging in the last 20 years as a mature discipline, in which multiple theoretical perspectives have been explored and developed. Rather than being a negative, this multiplicity of approaches should be seen as a positive aspect of maturity, allowing us to hold on to what we already have, whilst equipping ourselves to ask new questions and develop new perspectives. The discussion will be closed with a case study from my research, considering how an inter-disciplinary medieval archaeology, in which archaeology is an equal partner, can lead us towards a discipline in which we go beyond reflecting historical trends, to contribute to understanding them and enriching interpretation – demonstrating how in its maturity, medieval archaeology has not killed theory, but has instead applied it in a more considered way.

The General & the Particular: examining an unfortunate by-product of contextual archaeology

Ben Edwards *(University of Liverpool, Manchester Metropolitan University)*

With the rise and dominance of post-processual archaeologies (in the widest sense) it has become increasingly unfashionable, indeed risqué, to ask 'big' questions. Post-processualism ended the processualist focus on big themes, such as the 'economy' and 'settlement', just as the processualists had, before them, derided the chronological narratives of the early twentieth century. With a few notable exceptions, broad scale interpretations are rare. Particularism rules the day – i.e. interpretations or studies that focus on a particular site, closely associated body of evidence, or theoretical orientation.

The rise of particularist doctrine, as a by-product of contextualism, has allowed us to co-exist more peaceably as archaeologists, indeed, the paranoia surrounding the 'death' of theory is probably more accurately described as the 'death of arguments over theory'. Yet particularism effectively limits our ability to say anything *useful* about the past. This paper argues for a return to an archaeology that is clear about its aims – the understanding of long-term social change – interpretation in the longue durée . Particularism is laudable as an approach to archaeological *method*, but it cannot be seen as the desired end of *interpretation*.

Epistemological Structuralism, Complexity & the Fusion of Theory in Archaeology

Charalambos Paraskeva *(University of Edinburgh)*

For the most part of its existence archaeology as a discipline, through its theorists and practitioners, has been swinging like a pendulum from epistemological empiricism to rationalism/materialism. Despite the deep and heated theoretical debates this dualism has propelled, it has recently come to a relative cul-de-sac, as claimed in the 2009 TAG "death of theory" motto, and it is now moving towards the reconciliation of the two leading and conflicting paradigms, namely Processualism and Post-Processualism. In this presentation it is proposed that the whole concept of knowledge needs to be redefined for archaeology and philosophy, under the rubric of social structuralism and a third way be paved for the former, one that combines theoretical positions of the past with current realities and advances in the mode of thinking. Added to the above premise, complex systems are examined from an epistemological point of view, as a potential ground for the generation of research strategies that allow both the convergence of archaeology and other sciences and the fusion of theoretical positions and methodological practices. Axioms give way to reflexive systems and rigidness is replaced by the concept of fuzziness. One such approach aims to redefine archaeology as a science and reinvigorate discussions on the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the discipline.

What Should We Do for Theory?: The case of disability studies in archaeology

Magdalena Matczak *(Adam Mickiewicz University)*

My deliberations are grounded in social archaeology, especial disability, a part of archaeology of the body. I would like to offer critical overviews of examining disability and general social archaeology on the basis of examining cemeteries.

I would like to show how archaeologists construct social narratives especially about disability, which theories and methods they use. In modern science we have a lot of definitions about disability which are implied to the past but the question is whether used this term in the past? Did people regard the same diseases as impairments or disability as we do? My statement is no, because disability is a modern XX-century term and using it too much imposes our modern cultural categories on past cultures.

There is also a general question how we are able to construct social theories in archaeology? What we expect from them? So far we can observe several loans from social sciences into archaeology. But maybe archaeology should give basis for development and inspiration to social sciences?

The 'Death of Theory': another example of Eurocentrism?

Beatriz Marín-Aguilera *(University of Glasgow)*

Does the proclamation of the 'death of theory' hide other theories different from the Western ones?

Although Archaeology originated in Europe, several theoretical approaches appeared in other different areas. Nevertheless, Western studies seem to ignore theories originated in non-Western countries. Is this a matter of academic imperialism?

The application of Postcolonial theory to colonial situations in Archaeology is quite familiar to scholars. However, postcolonial authors are likely to leave aside an important aspect of this theory. They almost focus on discourse and representation, forgetting that analysing colonialism also means dealing with political issues. On the contrary, South American authors and their 'Decolonising theory' do not only concern with archaeological research *in se*. They consider their work as a form of political struggle to support indigenous' rights. Therefore, their approach seems to be more critical and useful to understand contact situations such as the Phoenician and Greek's in the Western Mediterranean.

Still We Are Bound to Theorize: Japanese archaeological discursive space from the 1950s to the present

Koji Mizoguchi *(Kyushu University)*

A curious co-transformation can be observed between economy, politico-cultural trends, and archaeological discourse in Japan from the 1950s to the present.

This time period can be divided into following three phases: I) between the mid 50s and mid 70s: the period of rapid economic expansion, II) between the mid 70s and mid 90s: Japan enjoyed the status of an economic giant with the shift from industry-based to consumption-based economy, and III) from the mid 90s to the present: Japan has been suffering from chronic economic crises and confusions in the international and domestic politics. The operation of distinct 'structuring principles' can be detected in the archaeological discourses of these phases.

The paper argues that the shifting trends in the discursive space of Japanese archaeology reflect the changing faces of 'ontological anxiety' which we have had to make sense of and cope with, and proposes that what we need to do is to construct an international meta-theoretical discursive space in which we investigate how particular theories or anti-theoretical stances emerged in relation to the ontological reality of the time and discuss what can be learnt for the survival of archaeology as (hopefully) an important element of human existence.

The Future of Archaeological Theory

Kristian Kristiansen *(University of Gothenburg)*

In this presentation I shall look more closely into the conditions for theoretical change: where are we now, and which direction theory might take over the next 10-15 years.

What Theory Could Do for the Field

Robert Wiseman *(University College London)*

To an outsider coming to archaeology (communication and history-of-ideas in my case), the evolution of theory in the last fifty years is baffling. Theories have been adopted magpie-like from outside with increasing speed, and '-isms' spawned at an exponential rate – processualism, post-processualism, Critical Theory, semiotics, phenomenology... But, between polemics and proclamations of the last fifty years, as the amount of theory being 'done' has increased, it seems that the field became progressively less clear about what this theory is achieving, where it is going, or what it is for. From this perspective, the proclamation of the 'death of theory' looks less like progress and more like a plea for release. Archaeology appears to have lost sight of what the point of theory is, and what good theory might deliver.

To give a vision of what is at stake, I will give case studies from two other disciplines: one of successful theory-creation (Mendeleyev's Periodic Table of Elements in chemistry); and one unsuccessful (the continuing fragmentation within Communication Studies). From these, I will summarise several aspects of theory-making that appear to be overlooked in the field to date: a vision of a completed discipline, ability to detect and correct error, ability to explain previously intractable problems, and better direct research and practice.

Learning, In Theory

Matthew Blewett *(Independent Researcher)* & Siân Smith *(Independent Researcher)*

Is theory dead, replaced by the imposed wisdom of ideologies? Is it merely unwell, in flux, moving to a transition into a new paradigm yet to be established? Or is theory alive and kicking, inspiring debates and attempting to provide more insightful interpretations about the human past? The next generation of archaeologists may provide the answer to these questions; their first encounters with theory as University students may therefore influence the future of archaeological thought. But is theory central, marginal or absent from undergraduate / postgraduate archaeology? We will examine the position of theory within archaeological curricula through a consideration of how universities advertise their teaching of theory in course descriptions on departmental websites, and through the set texts that appear on indicative reading lists for these courses, where available.

A number of publications feature anecdotal evidence of student attitudes to, and experience of, Archaeological Theory at university (e.g. Johnson (1999), Bintliff and Pearce (2011)). This paper interrogates the anecdotes by exploring the attitudes of students towards the subject. Using a mixed methods survey, we investigate the experiences of the next generation as they discover archaeological theory, and discuss the attitudes to theory revealed by their responses.

Round Table Discussion: how we do theory AND what theory should do for us

Benjamin N. Vis *(University of Leeds)* & Martin Carver *(University of York)*

Prof. Martin Carver will facilitate a discussion in which all paper authors of the session are invited as a panel. The discussion will be open to the public. An attempt will be made to make explicit common themes and identify categorical differences in the contributions to the session. How can our current findings and opinions be used to address the double question 'how do we do theory and what should theory do for us?' and serve as a basis for advancing the archaeological discipline as a whole?

Session: Narrating the Gap between Observation & Visualisation

Catriona Cooper *(University of Southampton)* & Alice Watterson *(Glasgow School of Art)*

Introduction:

It can be argued that all archaeological research begins with the creation of the archaeological record and continues with the production of a series of narratives. This session will think about this relationship and consider the extent to which visualisation links the two. Such a link can relate explicitly to experience, through phenomenology, or mediated by illustration, survey, creative media or computer graphics. Carefully recorded at any level all archaeological observations are concerned with the sites as they stand today. We wish to explore the mechanisms for producing complimentary reconstructive narratives whether these are creative, data driven or interpretative. This session seeks to bridge this gap between the observations underlying the archaeological record and the multiple reconstructions of the past, by considering what the term 'reality' can mean in either context. The gap between observation and the narrative leaves an area of dialogue between what is considered the 'real' of the present site and the 'real' of the reconstructed past and how it is experienced. The process of interpretation produces many questions concerning how our interpretive influence affects the integrity of the captured record, the control of experience and the ways in which we model uncertainty.

Invisible monuments

Aaron Watson *(Monumental)*

Fieldwork methods and technologies are often passive and objective, enabling archaeological sites to be recorded with great accuracy. For example, survey machines create consistent maps and plans, and laser scanners capture surfaces in enormous detail. While these techniques generate new data, they only work within preordained categories. Field workers are exposed to a wide variety of multisensory experiences, but the methods they employ capture only very specific information. The world is distilled so that it can be reproduced on the printed page or is compatible with an archive or software. Ultimately, this predetermines the character of the archaeological record.

Many of the more challenging interpretations of Neolithic material culture, from phenomenology to archaeoacoustics, could not have been conceived using such methods. Instead, they have emerged from rather more prolonged and subjective multisensory engagements between people and place. Richard Bradley has described how learning to see new elements within the archaeological record is a creative process. This complements Tim Ingold's concept of dwelling, which places emphasis upon the embodied experience of landscape.

We are only just beginning to acknowledge the possibility that Neolithic sites might not be characterised solely by vision, or even a rigid distinction between nature and culture. Is it possible to create new methods and technologies that can visualise these hidden and

unexpected facets of the archaeological record? Just as antiquarians in the 17th century had to learn to see gigantic structures such as Avebury, might we yet reveal unknown forms of monument lying undetected in the modern landscape?

Transparent Evidence & Interpretation: the British Empire Exhibition of 1938

Daisy Abbott *(Digital Design Studio, Glasgow School of Art)*

3D visualisation is a powerful technique to increase understanding and experience of non-extant cultural heritage. This paper will present the aggregation, interpretation, visualisation, and presentation of evidence related to the British Empire Exhibition of 1938, an internationally significant event for the study of modernist architecture as well as British social and industrial history. Although the documentation aggregated is unusually rich and varied as it includes photographic and film evidence, floorplans, souvenirs, and living witness testimonies, it is nevertheless surprisingly scarce and incomplete just 70 years later. Good practice in creating 3D digital reconstructions (which are absolutist in nature) needs researchers to meticulously document their processes to alleviate the danger of mis-reading visualised data based on incomplete sources.

Using visualisation theory alongside elements of dramaturgical theory appropriate to the deliberately temporary nature of this exhibition, this paper will examine the points of creative interpretation inherent in the event documentation, the surviving evidence, the research and 3D visualisation process, and its presentation to different audiences. An application was developed to link research sources and documentation of interpretative process directly to an interactive 3D visualisation of the Exhibition; one solution to the challenge of making interpretative influence and uncertainty transparent.

ArcSeer: a new approach to archaeological representation

Frank Lynam *(Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)*

This paper considers the role that representational methodologies play in the dialogue between archaeological material data and narrative creation. It does this specifically in relation to the production and consumption of knowledge at the site of Priniatikos Pyrgos (www.priniatikos.net), a highly complex multi-period coastal site in East Crete. A new paradigm, known as ArcSeer (www.arcseer.com), is presented as an alternative approach to the traditional methods of recording, reading and representing the archaeological record. ArcSeer's approach exploits exciting innovations within the technological spheres of web application development, 3D visualisation and as preached by the User Experience philosophy. The site of Priniatikos Pyrgos has seen much morphological and functional change throughout its millennia of occupation and the manner in which these data are represented significantly influences the site's reading by its audience. ArcSeer is particularly interested in accommodating the multiple interpretations that fuel and derive from these representations. If we accept the basic premise that representation cannot be considered a neutral act, then a greater reflexive awareness of this fact must be accommodated by the representational devices that the discipline employs. The ArcSeer project is one such experiment along this road of enquiry.

Instants of Waiting. The Polaroid's Experience as an experience of expectation

Joana Alves Ferreira *(University of Porto)*

The polaroid project is an experimental work, comprised of around 20 original polaroids, that mediates between the different moments and specific contexts of a place: the 2009 excavation season of the prehistoric site of Castanheiro do Vento (Vila Nova de Foz Côa, Northern Portugal).

Photography has been, in general terms, interpreted as "sentimental work" or "product" (Barthes, 1982). Polaroids, in particular, point to more specific associations, which relate to the past and to the desire for its revelation, and which give the Polaroid itself a certain aura of processed nostalgia. They ascend beyond the category of the event: that begins long before the simple click. It is, therefore, with this phenomenon that we might find the theoretical justification for choosing the Polaroid as a tool: it assumes the role of "how", it transmits an element of representation, it is a process of vision; and it is directly associated with "what", it is a specific message, a sentimental value, a memory, etc.

The iconography/aesthetics associated with the image or the object of the Polaroid is related to a double impossibility: the polaroid, conceived in the analogue environment, is grounded in the basic principle of the impossibility of reproduction, which is, moreover, parallel to the impossibility of reproducing scenes and objects from the past. Thus, our aim will be to question the original mission for which the Polaroid was created i.e. to pretend to be an Instant Document, reflecting on the concept of effective representation, and on its ability to meet the observer's specific expectations.

Our project arises from the confrontation between the concept of Wait and the concept of Instant, opening up space for a fragmentation of movement and time. Polaroids involve movements and temporalities of a distinct nature/ order, that when confronted challenge the heuristic schema of narrative itself i.e. the a priori recognition of its shape. The Wait and the Instant, thus, create the possibility of an inventive work of memory that bursts against the massif of official history. The Polaroid, with its iconicity, constitutes the aesthetic response for the study of a subjective experience of the one who sees a specific place, of his/her memory, or its more complete absence.

Visualising Archaeological Data in the Context of Past Environments: On the Theoretical and Methodological Challenges of Temporal GIS

Ash Scheder Black *(University of York)*

A nascent class of applications for spatial-temporal analysis is emerging, heralding methodological opportunities for social science, and Archaeology. Data visualization itself is a powerful new communication medium that viscerally links human perception and understanding with the data structures and classification methods that were previously the purview of Computer Science. These applications are beginning to make clear that the choices we make as we classify archaeological data on its way to screen do profoundly manipulate the interpretive narrative that emerges, thus underscoring the need to develop rigorous methodologies for making good choices from the outset.

TemporalMapping is a Web-based application for visualising archaeological data in the context of a model that renders the dynamic coastlines of the Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic for the British Isles at a high, compelling resolution. As a prototype, it points the way towards the methodological challenges of data classification and hints at powerful story-telling capabilities that are native to this new family of spatial-temporal tools. The application will be demoed in the spirit of exploring these challenges, and opportunities.

Archaeological survey now! Comparing the methods and techniques for 3D data capture at two Scottish Ten project sites: St Kilda (Scotland) and Rani Ki Vav (India)

James Hepher *(Historic Scotland and CDDV)*

Historic Scotland's Scottish Ten Project is a five year collaboration with Glasgow School of Art's Digital Design Studio. The two organisations working together as The Centre for Digital Documentation and Visualisation. This paper documents the progress of the project so far.

The Scottish Ten team use 3D laser scanning to digitally document ten of the world's archaeologically significant, artistically complex, remote and threatened UNESCO inscribed World Heritage sites.

Scotland's five World Heritage sites:

- The Heart of Neolithic Orkney: A Neolithic wonderland
- St Kilda: The remote island archipelago
- The Antonine Wall: The Roman feat of engineering
- New Lanark: Robert Owen's 18th century "social utopia"
- Edinburgh's old and new town: A cornucopia of architecture

And the international sites at:

- Mount Rushmore (USA): Gutzon Borglum's sculptural masterpiece
- Rani Ki Vav (Patan, India): An 11th century step well in the Solanki style

The age, condition, geographical location climatic conditions and variation in size and shape of the sites has meant that The Scottish Ten team has had to be innovative in dealing with the many physical and practical challenges encountered. Here we will look at two of the projects in detail:

St Kilda (Scotland) and Rani Ki Vav (India)

Comparing and contrasting the methods of survey and the challenges encountered by the team. This is archaeological survey now! And the discipline encompasses all types and layouts of archaeological built heritage and all manner of technical challenges and technology. Including laser scanning, merging, meshing and 3D modeling for large areas of rural landscape together with ground based micro millimeter laser scans of stone carvings, sculpture and inscription. Combining this macro and micro scale laser scanned data and georeferencing each site sets the architecture, art and inscription into a global landscape context.

Like each Scottish Ten site, St Kilda and Rani Ki Vav have raised and answered fresh questions in how we should approach digital documentation to produce the most accurate and future proof tools for digital documentation whilst maintaining, very high standards in 3D visualization.

Learning from these experiences it is hoped that the Scottish Ten project can be a founding stone for best practice in 3D data capture of all archaeological sites from global to local.

Poster & Sound Installation

Navigating Pareidolian Coincidence; An Auditory 'Pata-archaeological Adventure Story

David J. Knight *(University of Southampton)*

The interpretative expanse that lies between archaeological observation and visualisation is posited here as a fertile zone in which different pasts are translated into narratives using likeness correlations including analogies, metaphors and pataphors. The endeavour to recognise meaningful patterns in archaeological observable data is understood here to be a first step in plotting the lineaments of reconstruction narratives buried behind visualising what has disappeared. While this initial stage is hoped to highlight past intentionality, it is also equally predicated on imparting meaning on epi-phenomenal accidents, frequent exceptions, serendipity and coincidence. It is suggested here that addressing and navigating visual and aural apophenia, pareidolia, can be a method of understanding the surreal interweaving of fact and fiction in the fabric of archaeological visualisations. Recognizing the pattern of including pareidolia into interpretations of pasts is understood here as a vital core to the new emergent art form produced by archaeological computer assisted augmented reality, where 'Pataphysical surrealities and Archaeology coordinate to create sense-alike pasts. Text and sound are presented as a series of travel-log auditory pareidolian entries from an imagined recent future foray into the zone between archaeological observation and visualisation, a creative exploratory of the 'gap' from which past-like creations derive.

Session: Negotiating Coasts & Islands: Landscape & Environmental Perspectives

Matt Law *(Cardiff University)*, David Smith *(University of Birmingham)*, Julia Best *(Cardiff University)* & Jennifer Jones *(Cardiff University)*

Introduction:

2011 marks thirty years since the publication of Brothwell & Dimbleby's *'Environmental Aspects of Coasts and Islands'*, whose contributions presented several scientific frameworks for interpreting coastal and island sites and the biological assemblages they yield. Much has changed in thirty years, not least the refinement of isotopic analyses, the availability of larger palaeoecological datasets allowing more nuanced interpretation, and an increasing desire by workers in both camps to bridge the divide between cultural and environmental archaeology. In the UK, there has been a particularly rich range of coastal and island sites investigated thanks to numerous research, volunteer, and developer-led projects. Coasts may be either central or marginal to past societies, and are ecotones that offer diverse natural resources as well as opportunities to spread goods, livestock, people and ideas. This session welcomes papers which explore recent methodological and theoretical developments in the study and interpretation of past human – environment interactions in coastal and island settings.

Seeing through the sand: prehistoric settlement & environmental change on Herm

Chris Scarre *(University of Durham)*

The small Channel Island of Herm combines several distinct habitats within its restricted compass, ranging from steep rocky coasts and rolling upland plateau in the south to a dune-fringed sandy lowland in the north. Where upland and lowland meet, a row of modest megalithic monuments (mainly tombs) constitute the island's most striking archaeological remains. Four seasons of fieldwork (2008-2011) have sought to determine the environmental history of northern Herm since the last glacial and to place the tombs within the broader context of Neolithic settlement. Through an extensive series of trenches and auger holes we have revealed the changing morphology of the prehistoric land surface that lies buried beneath the extensive deposits of aeolian sand that cover this part of the island. Much of the lowland plain, to our surprise, was once occupied by a deep marine inlet, and prehistoric communities extensively manured the land to keep marginal soils under cultivation. Other traces of settlement and cultivation (notably plough marks) indicate the tombs were built within an agricultural landscape. This has relevance for the proposal that islands were sometimes favoured places for burial by communities visiting from neighbouring mainlands. One of the most striking outcomes of the Herm project has however been the detailed environmental history of the island.

A palaeoecological approach to understanding the impact of coastal changes on past societies, Isles of Scilly, UK

Marta Perez *(University of Plymouth)*, Ralph Fyfe *(University of Plymouth)*, Roland Gehrels *(University of Plymouth)* & Dan Charman *(University of Exeter)*

Relative sea-level rise and storm intensity are key factors influencing the subsistence strategies of coastal communities throughout the Holocene. The inundation and alteration of coastal ecosystems and resources of coastal areas will have a greater impact in island communities, dues to the constraints on the extent and viability of the terrestrial resource base.

Islands are also more sensitive to the intensity of storms, particularly on the northwest Atlantic coast of Europe, where storm surges on exposed coasts produced high sea floods and movement of sands.

Possible responses of people in the past may have included abandonments and/or population displacement and intensification of use of a smaller land area. We will explore these possibilities using the Isles of Scilly as a case study. These are an archipelago of small islands located 28 miles off the South West coast of England with a rich archaeological record from the Early Bronze Age onwards.

We will present stratigraphy and results analyses from cores collected from the two main wetland areas of the Scillies on St Mary's: the Higher Moors and the Lower Moors. Terrestrial pollen records are used to detect past changes in local vegetation. Loss on ignition and particle size analysis are used to create a record of storm intensity in the islands. Chronologies for these records will be provided using optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) and radiocarbon dating. It will then be possible to look for correlation between changes in vegetation, archaeological and sea-level records.

Islands & isotopes: Using a holistic approach towards understanding Marine Resource use in the North Atlantic Island

Jennifer Jones *(Cardiff University)*

The coastal dwelling communities of the North Atlantic Islands have a long and complex relationship with the sea. Understanding this changing relationship over time is a constant challenge faced by archaeologists studying the region. The development of scientific techniques such as stable isotope analysis and lipid residue analysis have changed the way we can begin to understand marine resource use in the islands. To date human stable isotope evidence has been a focus of research, however faunal vales can be just as useful to understand foddering practises, to put the human data into context, and to generate models of background carbon and nitrogen values through time. Using zooarchaeological information alongside stable isotope data is crucial in identifying smaller scale patterns in marine food use that may not necessarily show up in the stable isotope analysis such as occasional or seasonal use of marine foods, Zooarchaeological studies are essential in recognising alternative uses of marine resources such as for artefact manufacture, or architectural construction. By using newer scientific techniques alongside more traditional zooarchaeological analysis it is possible to generate holistic models of marine resource use through time.

On the Evidence for Bronze Age Funerary Rites: Change or Continuity? Understanding Human Remains Excavated from Langstone Harbour

Edwin Pearson *(University of Exeter)*

The special wildlife conservation area of Langstone Harbour also contains a rich archaeological record which has been gradually disappearing, and is now doing so at an increasing rate. The present-day marine inlet, consisting of intertidal mudflats, channels and remaining islands has been formed by erosion of the prehistoric low-lying river basin rather than by inundation, as in the case of other estuarine archaeological sites (e.g. Wootton-Quarr, Goldcliff, Hullbridge, Blackwater Estuary, Shannon Estuary). This erosion continues today at an ever-increasing rate on North Binnes Island (Pearson 2009) and has exposed a wealth of archaeological data for time periods from the Palaeolithic to the present, most notably revealing Bronze Age funerary practice centred on prehistoric river outlets, in particular a very recent discovery of a buried human cranium. The islands have, indeed very uniquely to Britain, undergone minimal affect by anthropogenic activity since the Iron Age and for this reason represent an undisturbed transitional period of funerary rights spanning the Middle to Late Bronze Age. There has been little emphasis on Late Bronze Age practices involving human remains throughout Britain. New ground-breaking evidence at Langstone Harbour has recently shed light on Bronze Age funerary principles and ideologies in connection with other sites in Britain, in particular Stonehenge, and in-depth technological aspects of cremation processes. A difference in burial types between contexts has also exposed a specific timeframe for potential cultural shift from the Middle to Late Bronze Age. This may have implications for the dawn of the Iron Age.

Beach Detritus as a Cultural Resource in Island Societies

Matt Law (Cardiff University)

To a continental/ mainland mindset, islands can often seem marginal, although in fact they may have been at the centre of widely-connected seaborne trade routes. Despite the scope for maritime trade, material acquisition may be difficult. Island flora and fauna are usually impoverished relative to continents, particularly with respect to terrestrial species, and mineral resources may also be quite poor. In this scenario, items cast ashore by the sea can represent a valuable source of raw materials This paper briefly considers this in relation to the Outer Hebrides, Scotland in light of excavations over the past thirty years. The kinds of materials cast ashore, their original source and their uses will be discussed, as well as the implications of such chance arrivals of materials for social organization.

A Bird's eye view: Interpreting landscape and environment use through avian remains

Julia Best *(Cardiff University)*

In Brothwell & Dimbleby's *'Environmental Aspects of Coasts and Islands'* Don Brothwell, Don Bramwell & Graham Cowels discussed the relevance of bird remains for understanding coastal and island sites. Thirty years on avian archaeology has become much less marginalised and has great potential to inform upon human resource exploitation, habitat use and movements

around the landscape. This paper discusses avian material from the Outer Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland. It explores the range of habits being exploited for fowling, seasonal resource landscapes and the acquisition of birds from locations at some distance from a site. The newly analysed assemblage from Cille Pheadair on South Uist will be used as a case study to explore in greater detail the avian-human relationships present in these landscapes. Human impact on past bird populations will also be considered for species such as the great auk, while alterations in the species chosen for exploitation will be used to infer changes in the use of the resource landscape.

Can insects be used to differentiate between 'high' & 'low' salt marsh environments in the archaeological record?

David Smith *(University of Birmingham)* & Kalla Nayyar *(University of Birmingham)*

Insect faunas from Bronze and Iron Age buildings at the Goldcliff and Redwick sites on the Gwent Levels, Wales have been used to suggest how such features may have been used in the past and the environments in which they occurred. A relatively unexplored part of this is the part of the fauna that is associated with saline conditions and salt marsh. Results from this analysis suggest that it may be possible to differentiate between 'low' salt marsh and 'high' salt marsh. This may influence the daily and seasonal use of these archaeological features and suggest, along with other factors, the length of occupation of the site.

Lastly a plea will be made to stop calling submerged forests eroding out of beach deposits 'coastal woodlands'. The insect remains suggest they are not.

Session: Now You See Them, Now You Don't. Biased macro-scale site distribution maps & their influence on interpretations

Iza Romanowska *(University of Southampton)* & Jonas Danckers *(Catholic University Leuven, University of Bologna & Research Foundation Flanders, FWO)*

Introduction:

It is common knowledge that the visibility of archaeological sites is largely influenced by their structural properties (e.g. large vs. small sites, low vs. high density sites) and post-depositional processes (e.g. organic vs. inorganic material, surface sites vs. deeply stratified sites). Although archaeologists are aware of this representation problem, it can be argued that during the history of our discipline, certain periods and regions have received repeatedly more attention than others, precisely because of their exceptional archaeological visibility (e.g. surface sites, wetland sites, large sites, architecturally elaborated sites, etc.). Consequently, site distribution maps on a regional or supra-regional scale do not always simply reflect representative 'patterns of the past', but can be seriously biased by the 'research intensity of the present' or/and regional differences in preservation and the ease of detection of sites (taphonomical factors).

Again, although archaeologists are aware of this 'modern' bias in representation, the difference between well and lesser known regions and periods did and still does, often *implicitly*, influence our interpretations (e.g. a 'crisis' for a less investigated period, a 'golden era' for a well investigated period; climatic explanations for over- or underrepresentation, economic importance or a 'demographic boom' for well documented areas and phases, migrationist explanations for the 'appearance' of a well documented phase, etc.). It can thus be argued that a growing awareness of the problem of archaeological representation on the macro-scale has not always led to an equivalent change on the interpretational level.

This session wishes to address this conundrum and compare how archaeologists cope with it. For example, the implementation of the Valetta treaty resulted recently in a serious expansion of the scale and intensification of archaeological research in many European countries. The related use of a more random and often methodologically more thought-out sampling strategy smoothed out some 'historical' representation biases on the macro-scale. However, does it suffice to simply change our methodologies in order to alter the traditional interpretations based on earlier representation biases? Or are there other ways of coping with this problem? Can new distribution maps change traditional *grand narratives* based on older ones? Or are academic power structures stronger than a flood of new 'dots on a map'?

No more tears. Notes on the spatial structure of development-led archaeology

Marc Vander Linden *(University of Leicester)*

Over the past two decades, development-led archaeology has generated a quantity of data and a spatial coverage far larger than all research-driven work carried out over a century. Yet, the value of this information is often questioned for several reasons, such as quality management issues and biases in the spatial distribution of the corresponding work. Some of these limits are well-known (e.g. linear projects), but others remain to be explored (e.g. spatial correlates of

changes in legislative frameworks).

Using an extensive database covering several countries, this paper will explore the spatial structure of development-led archaeology in contrasted environments. Although distribution biases can be shown, their nature can be explained and accounted for by an intimate knowledge of the various legal systems. In this sense, traditional cautionary tales can and must be overwritten in order to stress the positive impact of development-led archaeology upon our knowledge of the past.

Where is the Lower Palaeolithic hiding? Spatial distribution of Lower Palaeolithic sites in Central & Eastern Europe or the lack of thereof

Iza Romanowska *(University of Southampton)*

The pattern of spatial distribution of Lower Palaeolithic (LP) sites east of the Rhine is peculiar. The sites are rare, they do not come in clusters, and they do not seem to be associated with ancient river terraces. This is a robust pattern that has been recognized but not addressed as a distinct research topic so far. It may represent either a real past phenomenon such as climate variability, different dispersal routes 'out of Africa' or simply reflects modern research bias. A new alternative is suggested here based on recent developments in geological mapping. It will be argued that an uninterrupted mantel of glacial derived silt (loess) sealing interglacial soil levels may be covering traces of Lower Palaeolithic human activity at significant depths throughout most of Central and Eastern Europe.

Dance of the immaterial bodies: turf, stone and lime buildings of the Western Isles

Mark Thacker *(University of Edinburgh)*

The evidential bias, which privileges monumental material survival, results in Western Isles Medieval and later rural settlements and buildings which are not well represented by plan-forms and settlement maps. In particular, the widespread pre-Improvement use of turf has left little upstanding remains and interpretations extrapolated from later surviving stone buildings of similar plan-form. Ultimately, the visible speaks for the invisible. The differential survival and use of lime, stone or turf in the Western Isles, however, has wider implications. Materials sourced from the wider landscape to animate mobile buildings and settlements in the Western Isles, evade and question modern, static, cartographically inscribed meanings and the distinctions between us and them, outside and inside, visible and invisible.

This paper will present a comparative discussion of this period in Western Isles settlement, in terms of the negotiation of hybridised identities within a networked landscape of *relationality*. The tension between implicated movement, or dance, and visual metaphors of stasis will be explored. It is argued that a social analysis of the materiality, temporality, mobility and performance of these buildings, subverts previously ahistorical interpretations based upon maps, plan-forms, structure and economy, but also brings to these buildings a relationship of greater significance.

Let's go to the Plain, there is nearly nobody! The origins of the terramare (Northern Italy) & problems of archaeological representation

Jonas Danckers *(Catholic University Leuven, University of Bologna & Research Foundation Flanders FWO)*

During the Middle and Late Bronze Age (BM - BR, ca. 1650-1150 BC), the Central Po Plain (Northern Italy), was characterised by the presence of large, regularly organised, ditched settlements. The 'rise' of these so-called *terramare* has traditionally been explained by a colonisation of the Plain by people immigrating from elsewhere (Cardarelli 2009). It can be argued however that this part of the *terramare grand narrative* has been influenced by differences in site numbers caused by variable archaeological visibility. Already in the 19th century, the overrepresentation of the pluristratigraphical *terramare* in the Plain and Bronze Age wetland sites around the North-Italian lakes allowed Pigorini to develop a nationalistic theory according to which Italy was gradually colonised from the North. Less easily observable *pre-terramaricoli* sites were often lacking still and migration constituted an ideal *'deus ex machina'* explanation for cultural change. Since the resumption of the studies in the 1980s, it is rather the 'unnatural boom in settlement density' during the BM2 that has been stressed, seen as the result of 'an influx of people from outside'.

The author intends to argue that asking the question *'Why are these BM2 sites better represented?'* is crucial for revising this theory. BM2 sites are archaeologically better visible because they were (from then on) occupied for longer time spans and often feature embankments. These phenomena can possibly be seen as the result of the introduction of irrigation techniques (resulting archaeologically in a change from low to high density sites). Addressing the representativity issue can help us, in other words, to reflect on what exactly triggered social change.

Prehistoric patterns in a present day landscape. Understanding the distribution pattern of the Bronze Age barrow in north-western Belgium

Jeroen De Reu *(Ghent University)*

The Bronze Age barrows occur in large numbers in the landscape of north-western Belgium. Although their distribution pattern is widespread, it is possible to roughly delimitate micro-areas characterized by a high density of barrows. However, other areas are characterized by a low density, typified by (a) rather isolated (group of) monuments or by a complete absence of monuments. The main questions are how these patterns can be explained and which were the parameters influencing the selection of a suitable barrow location in the landscape. However, beforehand it is important to gain insights in the influence of the prospection method, the present-day landscape and the land-use patterns on the observed distribution patterns. The aim is to detect whether a certain observed pattern corresponds with the historical reality or whether it is biased by current land-use patterns, the limitations of the survey technique or the state of research. In some areas, these patterns are a result of a bias in the database, while in other areas this corresponds with a historic reality.

Roman Wine & Oil Presses Everywhere and Almost Nowhere: Historical Fact or Archaeological Fiction?

Dimitri Van Limbergen *(Pisa University)*

Are different regional patterns of press density simply concurrent with different regional economic realities in Roman times, or are there also other mechanisms at play? For instance, press densities ranging from 0.5 to 1.7 presses/km² have been recorded in the North Syrian limestone hills for the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. Then again, at present, the average ratio presses/km² for Late Republican and Early Imperial central Adriatic Italy (Picenum et Ager Gallicus) only amounts to a mere 0.003. As a result, the latter region has long been considered economically marginal, while the former area has repeatedly been labelled as a paragon of Late Antique rural economic expansion. Surely, this Syrian-Italian quantitative discrepancy is in part related to unequal levels of regional economic growth in wine and oil production. However, it is less clear how different land regimes or different forms of rural habitation in the past have influenced the archaeological detectability of these presses. Furthermore, which proportion of all past pressing machinery we ultimately recover also depends on a 'hotch-potch' of specific environmental conditions, varying local construction materials in antiquity and regionally confined post-antique processes. The author highlights the impact of said phenomena on the possible over- or underrepresentation of presses in these two regions of the Mediterranean.

Pre-Colombian tumuli, pit-houses & caves: the case for a distributional archaeology of the southern Brazilian highlands

Phil Riris *(University of Southampton)*

In the last five decades, archaeological research on the pre-Colombian populations of southern Brazil and northern Argentina has taken on a variety of influences from French, American and Austrian scholars. Traditionally research agendas included taxonomic methods, detecting diffusionism and building normative culture-historical frameworks (Lopez Mazz 1999; Politis 2003). More recently, the effects of post-processual British landscape archaeology and the widespread adoption of geographical information systems are becoming evident in published work (e.g. Dias 2007; Saldanha 2008). While approaches to the material record have changed, the archaeological site, as a discrete space-time entity, has maintained a pre-eminent position. Consequently, it can be argued that regional frameworks for southern Brazil have been conditioned by the importance accorded to "dots on a map" highlighted in the session abstract – individual archaeological sites and their locations forming distributions amenable to analysis. Following the lead of critiques developed elsewhere (Dunnell & Dancy 1983; Ebert 1992) this paper will examine: a) how archaeologists' perception of what constitutes an analytically significant "site" influences our models of pre-contact society and b) a potential direction for future research to cover some of the middle ground lost between the site level and regional frameworks, drawing on an example from north-eastern Argentina.

To dot or not to dot? Mapping & interpreting Saharan archaeology with satellite remote sensing

Martin Sterry *(University of Leicester)*

In the last five years satellite imagery of huge swathes of North Africa and the Saharan desert has become freely or cheaply available. Consequently the number of known archaeological sites has risen at an exponential level as projects have been able to increase both their scale and intensity of investigation. Yet interpreting this flood of data by means of conventional distribution maps is problematic. In many areas the archaeological data are contiguous and complex. Settlements take a vast myriad of forms that problematise typologies whilst a range of shelters, huts and other buildings sit amongst fields, roads and irrigation systems that link these sites together. Equally, hundreds of thousands of burial cairns can be identified singly, in small, large and dispersed groups and along landscape features that stretch for more than 100km, defying simple categorisation into cemeteries. Within this palimpsest dating equally becomes contentious. Underlying these problems is the central question of: is the 'dot on the map', the 'site' still a useful concept? And if not, how do we approach the archaeology without them? This paper will seek to discuss how these issues have been confronted in recent work in the southern Fazzan, Libya.

‘Session: Official voices, minority choices’: Re-visiting interactions of ethnic communities with dominant archaeological narratives

Kalliopi Fouseki *(University College London)* & Eleni Vomvyla *(University College London)*

Introduction:

The relationship of ‘ethnic minorities’[1] with the archaeological heritage of ‘dominant’ groups has been investigated to a great extent by a variety of disciplines such as heritage studies, anthropology and cultural studies. Current research has mainly focused on unveiling ways and processes in which disenfranchised and/or oppressed ethnic groups distance themselves from or resist against ‘authorized’ archaeological discourses (Smith 2006). Yet, the multiple strands and facets of this, albeit non-holistically, treated relationship are to be explored. It is the aim of this session to re-conceptualize the interactions of ethnic communities with their *own* and the *others’* personal, regional, and national archaeological past as this is filtered through their own personal experiences. The session further seeks to investigate how this interrelationship is potentially contentious and/or reconciliatory. In more detail, the central axis of this session will be the investigation of the relationship of ‘ethnic communities’ with the archaeological past of the ‘host’ country and the ways in which this relationship is shaped and informed by one or more of the following:

- Relationship of ethnic minority groups with the official archaeological past of their country of origin
- Relationship of ethnic minority groups with the official archaeological past of the ‘host’ country
- Relationship of ethnic minority groups with the local/regional past of their migration destination
- Relationship of ethnic minority groups with the local/regional past of their country of origin

[1] In this session the term ‘ethnic minority’ refers both to ethnic minority immigrants settled in the host country, and ethnic minority groups born in the host country.

Imagining & Experiencing Greek Heritage in London

Kalliopi Fouseki *(University College London)*

According to the UK Official National Statistics it is estimated that, as of 2009, 29,000 British residents were Greek or Greek-Cypriots living mainly in London and, more specifically, in Palmers Green, Wood Green, and Green Lanes. This community is often characterized by a strong ‘national identity’ that is also fostered through the everyday use of ‘symbols’ from the past in their everyday life and activities. It is the aim of this paper to investigate the semiotics of ‘Greek cultural symbols’ taken mainly from the ‘archaeological past’ as these are projected in Greek restaurants and shops in London. Through the conduct of semi-structured interviews with shop owners and shop assistants the community’s connections with the archaeological heritage of their country of origin will be revealed. This paper builds upon previous research

conducted in the historic centre of Athens (Fouseki 2011) where it was illustrated how the use of 'banal nationalist symbols' (Billing 1995) is being eventually used as a means by the shop owners to keep in touch with their personal and local roots, culture and heritage. This paper will reinforce this argument as well as it will explore the possible intermix of 'Greek cultural identity' with the British one as this is visually reflected in the community's shops.

Billig, M. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*, London: SAGE

Fouseki, K. 2011 (in press) "Live your myth in Greece: The representation of ancient Greek myth in the historic centre of Athens, Plaka", in Efthymiadis, S. & Petrides, A. (eds) *Uses and Reception of Ancient Myths in Ancient Greek, Byzantine and Modern History, Literature and Art*, *Conference Proceedings, 28-30 January 2010*. Gutenberg.

Archaeology when archaeology is not possible. Some thoughts

Fernanda Kalazich *(University College London)*

On-going research in the Atacaman community of Peine (Atacama Desert, Chile), regarding the visions and perceptions about the past reveal that the preferences of remembrance are associated to the events and lifestyle up until the 1970s, when the traditional modes of subsistence were deeply transformed.

In this scenario, archaeology does not play any major role in the creation of narratives relevant to the community despite the great array of archaeological sites in the area, which have been studied for the past 40 years. In fact, the relationship of the community with archaeology and archaeologists is somewhat contentious, as in the Atacaman worldview ancient places and sites are sacred, home to the ancient ones, for which they should not be disturbed.

The reflections that follow are manifold, associated in its most basic level to the pertinence of practising archaeology in such contexts (at least the traditional, scientific one), the need of diversifying methods and techniques (is the object of study the past or the materiality?), and the dangers or benefits of choosing one past to remember and identify with, as seen in several cases of dominant narratives, among others, which I wish to address herein.

***'Greece & Albania are equal parts of me'* versus *'we are not Greeks, we are Albanians'*: identity conception & making meaning of heritage & the past at the crossroads of new and old homelands**

Eleni Vomvyla *(University College London)*

This paper tells the story of two Albanian families' engagements with the past and conceptualizations of heritage between their old and new habitats, Albania and Greece respectively. Perceptions of cultural identity shaped by families' personal experiences, and migration trajectories in particular, produce different narratives of re-conceiving their history and heritage, as well as interacting, relating to and/or identifying with the official past narrative of the other.

Despite their twenty-year-long presence in a Greek context, Albanian families have remained largely hidden from heritage phenomena. In the aftermath of iron curtain dismantling, marking the Albanian community's development in Greece, notions of wretchedness and backwardness have epitomised *Albanianness* in the Greek public discourse, furthering the former's exclusion from heritage discourses. In opposition to these stigmatizing constructs, this presentation draws from the speaker's ethnographic/participatory experience with two Albanian families in the public and private realms of contemporary Athens. Past-related talk, visual and material culture in families' homespaces, daily routines in the new habitat, and cross-border connections with the old homeland, offer insight to how identity formation in uprooting and re-grounding processes can lead to diverse of approaches of considering what makes families' heritage and the past (or not).

Classical Greek-American Style: heritage & identity in Astoria, New York City

Ross Wilson *(Independent Researcher)*

This paper examines the nature of the relationship between the Greek American community in the New York City suburb of Astoria and 'American' heritage. Throughout the area of Astoria, the presence of a substantial Greek American population can be witnessed within the street names, shops, churches and community centres. Indeed, immigration from Greece and Cyprus during the 1960s and 1970s resulted in the area being home to the second largest Greek community outside of Greece itself. As this community set up homes and businesses within the area, they drew upon Greek heritage and traditions, employing language, iconography and ideals to display identity and affiliation both with their homeland and their adopted country. It is the latter relationship which is the most significant as since its inception the United States has developed its own traditions of drawing upon Ancient Greek architecture, political philosophy and religion to express its ideals of 'liberty, freedom and the pursuit of happiness'. By examining the usage of both the tangible and intangible Greek heritage within Astoria as expressions of Greek, American and Greek-American identity, this paper will explore how minority communities relate to hegemonic concepts of heritage.

Session: The Ordered Facility: Considering The Built Environment of The Historical Public Institution from an Archaeological Perspective

Katherine Fennelly *(University of Manchester)* & Laura Scharding *(University College Dublin)*

Introduction:

Following changes in legislation and widespread property development in Britain and Ireland, the built heritage of the public institution has become a matter of widespread interest. As academic research is being undertaken on institutions such as prisons, hospitals and schoolhouses, for example, applied theoretical and methodological approaches are developing rapidly across a range of disciplines. Though this area of archaeological research is established in the broader field of historical archaeology, consensus has yet to be reached on archaeological approaches to this subject as it relates specifically to the remains of institutions in the British Isles.

This session aims to facilitate the presentation and active discussion of new research on institutional archaeology and interdisciplinary approaches to the institutional built environment in Britain and Ireland. In focus are papers concerned with various methodologies and archaeological approaches to the study of the built environment and physical space of the largely standing and sometimes inaccessible remains of these institutions. Also included are papers concerned with ideologies and motivations surrounding the construction of these buildings, and theoretical approaches utilised in considering them.

Workhouse Stories & Poor Law Networks: Archaeological Approaches to Institutional Buildings

Charlotte Newman *(University of Nottingham)*

The national significance of our institutional buildings is underscored by The National Trust's investment in The Workhouse at Southwell Nottinghamshire. Workhouses continue to have important, complex implications for local communities and academia plays an important role in sustaining the momentum of public interest in them. This paper will begin with an overview of the collaboration between The University of Nottingham and the National Trust, which aims to integrate academic research directly into the interpretation and visitor experience of The Workhouse. Crucially, this project works within an interdisciplinary framework, combining the expertise of historians and archaeologists to develop the story of Southwell Workhouse. This allows the opportunity to challenge public perceptions and established scholarly wisdom on the Workhouse and gives room to study individual narratives of its inhabitants and the unique relationship they shared with their lived space. By anchoring the project within a specific regional context, the paper will comment on the varied responses to poverty evident in the complex network of Poor Law provision in the nineteenth-century.

Identity & Ideology in the Built Environment of the Forts of Hadrian's Wall

Robert Matthew *(University of Manchester)*

The Roman military is traditionally seen as the aggressive face of Roman imperialism, imposing the political power of Rome through wars of expansion and the maintenance of one of the world's largest empires. Perhaps the most iconic of the archaeological remains of this institution in Britain are those of the forts and fortresses, in and around which the soldiers, their families, slaves, servants and traders lived and worked. These sites (which share a distinctive 'playing card' plan) have traditionally been interpreted along functional or broadly symbolic lines, within a narrative of Romanisation that has treated soldiers and civilians as diametrically opposed opposites. But has this approach limited our understanding of the essentially institutional nature of these sites? The archaeology of space in other parts of the Roman world – most notably in Pompeii, but also within villas and other urban contexts – has left military sites as comparatively under-theorised. This paper draws on a mixture of historical and archaeological arguments to reinterpret the institutional use of space in the forts of Hadrian's Wall as a means of 'controlling' a population often viewed by the Roman elite as potentially dangerous and culturally remote: the non-citizen auxiliary soldiers of the Roman military itself.

From the Rhine Crossing to the River Helmand: The Architecture of Military Training

Martin Brown *(University of Bristol)*

A Pembrokeshire beach is defended by Tobruk Shelters and 88mm gun positions. The Siegfried Line crosses Wiltshire downs. Watch towers surveyed the Irish border as it ran through Norfolk. Vanya remembers Sarajevo on Salisbury Plain and the Afghans trade in an East Anglian market place, ever watchful for insurgents.

All of these apparent fantasies are statements of fact and all reflect the sometimes literally concrete evidence of training by the British Army since 1940.

This paper will not concentrate on fieldworks, trenches, gun pits and temporary fortifications but will consider both the creation of new structures and the manipulation of existing buildings within the built environment of one of the most significant institutions of State – the Ministry of Defence. By examining the structures it is possible to assess a number of factors including:

- The search of authenticity in training
- The materiality of the projection of military power
- The presence of the overseas conflict in the domestic landscape
- The military experience of the soldier, who was not always a volunteer
- The renegotiation of built training features in response to new threats
- The journey from training feature to heritage asset

By seeking to understand these features the paper will also explore the significance of some of the built remains as factors within landscape characterisation, landscape management and heritage management within a dynamic training environment.

Archaeologies of Historical Political Imprisonment & Their Relevance to Wider Society

Laura McAtackney *(University College Dublin)*

It is ten years since Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas's groundbreaking volume, Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past, contemplated whether archaeology of the 'recent past' was simply an 'archaeology of us' (2001) or had the potential to be something more. Could archaeology be used to critique social realities and inform policy markers? I would suggest that archaeologies of political prisons not only provide us with the opportunity to explore material manifestations of power relations within post-conflict societies but they can add to current debates on their continued roles.

In modern, post-conflict societies prisons are important. As society moves from conflict to peace the ability of prisons to symbolise both the power and vulnerability of the state and those incarcerated means that they are the most contentious remnants of the past (Jarman, 2001: 290). Whilst there is often political pressure to either completely discard or preserve these institutions little attention is given to the complexities that such material remnants can reveal. Using Long Kesh/Maze as a case-study this paper will explore the role that archaeology can play in understanding recent conflict and their potential to inform approaches in moving towards a new future whilst not forgetting the issues of the past.

Out of Sight, Out of Mind?: Creating & Enforcing Boundaries in the Victorian Mental Asylum

Emily Starkie *(University of York)*

The institutions constructed during the Victorian era for the confinement of those suffering from mental illness loom large in our landscape, despite their recent widespread closure. At the time of construction, mental health problems carried such a stigma that it seemed appropriate to warehouse those considered 'insane' in asylums. 1808 saw the instigation of the County Asylums Act, stipulating construction of mental hospitals in each English county. These buildings were large and often intimidating complexes, designed to transmit messages and enforce routines. The inmates of these asylums were required to live a certain way, and their daily lives were tightly controlled by both the staff and by the buildings they inhabited. Through the use of archaeological analysis of individual asylum buildings, alongside the integration of theoretical and historical background research, this paper will examine the ways in which those asylums that formed the County Asylums system were used to create and enforce both physical and mental boundaries. It will look at the construction of the buildings in relation to creating physical segregation from the outside world and from other inmates, but will also consider the mental boundaries that may have been created through the rigid enforcement of this physical separation.

From Earning a Wage to Washing Away Sins: Reflecting on the Monto Magdalen Asylum

Laura Scharding *(University College Dublin)*

During the last several years there has been increased interest in Ireland's Magdalen Asylums and the issue of female institutionalisation, embodied more recently by James Smith's 2007 book, entitled Ireland's Magdalen Laundries and the Nation's Architecture of Containment. Archaeologically this rising interest was reflected in the 90s with Lu Ann De Cunzo's "Reform, Respite, Ritual: An Archaeology of Institutions; The Magdalen Society of Philadelphia, 1800-1850." De Cunzo recreated, using excavated finds and historical documentary sources, what she termed the 'material world' of the institutionalised women and related it to that experienced by those outside the Magdalen asylum walls. This was done using an interdisciplinary approach through the medium of Historical Archaeology.

This paper will reflect on the religious, architectural and archaeological significance of the asylum and what it meant to the women of Monto red-light district of Dublin. It will examine the role the asylum played in society through the application of feminist theory, spatiality theory and an interdisciplinary approach. The Magdalen Asylum embodied Ireland's views on women, their sexuality, and place in society. It is an area of archaeology long neglected that still has a reverberating effect on contemporary society today.

Natalie Uomini *(University of Liverpool)* & Steven Chance *(University of Oxford)*

Introduction:

Archaeologists have long been preoccupied with the theoretical linkage between two features of humanity: language and right-handedness. The current view is that they evolved together, but the exact nature of this relation is still unknown. In archaeological and human origins research, it remains hypothetical. Since the last 150 years many ideas about the links between language and laterality have been proposed from other disciplines. They have primarily focused on the brain, but other areas such as primatology, developmental psychology, and ethnography have recently contributed. Interestingly, hardly any of these proposals have been systematically tested with the archaeological or fossil records. Despite directly referring to human evolution, the research is often disconnected from archaeology.

This session aims to bring together, for the first time at TAG, researchers from the diverse disciplines interested in the origins and evolution of right-handedness and language. The main focus will be on the theoretical connection between these two features regarding extinct humans. Specifically, discussions will aim to resolve the data needed to support or reject the different hypothesised linking mechanisms for the co-evolution of language and right-handedness. We include papers that present data relevant to the different theories, for example on gestural communication, primate hand preference, human hand preference in anthropological or experimental settings, lateralised brain development and function, signs of mental health problems or language deficits in prehistoric populations (as related to poor lateralisation), laterality in language function and structure, and archaeological or palaeoanthropological evidence for prehistoric laterality or language.

New approach to the study of laterality in flakes

Eder Dominguez-Ballesteros *(University of the Basque Country)* & A. Arrizabalaga *(University of the Basque Country)*

The first studies to determine laterality and based on the production of lithic tools were published by Toth in 1985. He studied the position of the cortex on flakes. In his article he makes the assumption that a right-handed knapper rotates the core in a clockwise direction and a left-hander rotates anti-clockwise. Later, Pobiner (1999) proved that this condition is not universal and that there are right-handed people who rotate the core anti-clockwise and vice versa.

Subsequently, Rugg & Mullane (2001) published an article where they related the percussion angle to the orientation of the bulb of percussion. This angle depends on the hand used to hit the core. In their study, they obtained interesting results. We think that the correct way to determine the knapper's laterality should be based on the percussion angle, like Rugg & Mullane suggested in their article, and not on knapping habits. We propose a group of characteristics observed in flakes, related to the striking platform, that provide information about the laterality of the knapper. These characteristics depend on the percussion angle, directly related to the hand used by the knapper to hit the core.

Whole forelimb skeletal asymmetry among modern humans & great apes: Implications for the origins of handedness

Tom Davies *(University of Cambridge)*, Lauren Sarringhaus *(University of Michigan)*, Colin N. Shaw *(University of Cambridge)* & Jay T. Stock *(University of Cambridge)*

The correspondence between bilateral asymmetry in mechanical properties of human metacarpals and hand preference is well established from radiogrammetric studies. Archaeological analyses of human remains demonstrate that morphological asymmetry is found throughout the upper limb. Human hunter-gatherers show predominant right limb dominance in 70% of individuals. The first study of bilateral asymmetry of long-bones among chimpanzees by Sarringhaus and colleagues in 2005 noted approximately 70% of adults featured stronger metacarpals of the right hand, while a similar number had stronger left humeri, suggesting differing influences of both manipulatory and postural behaviour on the mechanics of the skeleton. This study provides the first systematic exploration of variation in bone strength throughout the limb, using three-dimensional laser scanning to quantify bone rigidity at 1% intervals of length of the clavicles, humeri, ulnae and radii of Pan troglodytes, Gorilla gorilla, Pongo pygmaeus, and Homo sapiens. Pan and Pongo show variable levels of loading with evidence for laterality, either right or left, whilst Gorilla show only minimal asymmetry. The results are interpreted in the context of characteristics of hand preference and habitual locomotion, and have implications for understanding brain lateralisation.

Asymmetry & symmetry-breaking in Acheulean hand-axes – an exploration

John Gowlett *(University of Liverpool)*

Acheulean hand-axes are conventionally thought of as symmetrical, but some authors believe they can find little evidence of deliberately imposed symmetry in bifaces. The possible complications are not worked through in most arguments – for example, a cobble blank might well have a natural symmetry, which would then transfer through to the finished object. In some cases, however, we may NOT observe symmetry, because the toolmakers are interested in making asymmetric pieces. This paper presents a preliminary analysis of metrical data about symmetry, and argues that a slight asymmetry may often have been preferred. The general state of finish of the artefact series is seen to be one significant issue – whether symmetrical or asymmetrical, better-finished hand-axe series seem to present stronger patterns. In general, symmetry or asymmetry are likely to be preferred according to functional advantages, but if these are slight, a locally preferred tradition could emerge for non-functional or stylistic reasons.

Articulatory capacity of Neanderthals, a very recent, human-like & predominantly right-handed fossil hominin

Anna Barney *(University of Southampton)*, Sandra Martelli *(University College London)*, Antoine Serrurier *(University of Southampton)* & James Steele *(University College London)*

There is archaeological and fossil anatomical evidence of population-level right-handedness in tool-use in Homo heidelbergensis, Neanderthals and anatomically modern Homo sapiens; these hominins are all relatively large-brained. There is also suggestive evidence of

speech-relevant adaptations in the same three species in hyoid bone morphology, in the shape of the thoracic spinal canal, and - for Neanderthals - in their DNA (the presence of the human form of FOXP2). Thus, we have no a priori reason to doubt that Neanderthals had at least reached the vocal protolanguage stage of language evolution. However, the level of grammatical structure of Neanderthal vocal utterances remains speculative: we do not know whether or not the required biological and/or cultural preconditions were in place for the stable cultural evolution of linguistic structure and usage as seen in human societies today. In this paper, we shall focus instead on methods for assessing fossil evidence for the evolution of the vocal tract, one factor in assessing Neanderthals' potential capacity for articulate speech.

Rapid cerebral hemodynamic modulation during cognitive tasks: Inferring neural networks from analysis of lateralisation data

Georg Meyer *(University of Liverpool)*, Natalie Uomini *(University of Liverpool)* & Sophie Wuerger *(University of Liverpool)*

We hypothesised that individual hemodynamic responses (the task specific changes in cerebral blood-flow and lateralisation, measured with transcranial Doppler ultrasound) are highly correlated in tasks that draw in similar cerebral areas, while response patterns for tasks that draw on different networks are uncorrelated.

In a first experiment we measured flood flow lateralisation patterns in three tasks: cued word generation, music synthesis and an abstract manipulation task (Tower of London, ToL). fMRI data for these tasks shows that language and music draw on very similar networks, while the TOL task uses different brain areas. We correlated individual hemodynamic response patterns for 26 participants for these tasks and show that patterns for language and music, but not for language and ToL, are highly correlated, and suggest that common underlying processing networks lead to common activation patterns.

In a second experiment we recorded hemodynamic responses during a flint knapping and a language task to test whether both tasks draw on common resources. We find that flint knapping and language are highly correlated during the initial phase of tool-use, which is consistent with theories that postulate common networks, and perhaps common evolution, of language and tool-use.

Title - To Be Confirmed

Cat Hobaiter *(University of St. Andrews)*

The Right-Hand Man: Language & Manual Laterality

Gillian Forrester *(University of Westminster)*

Investigations of human laterality suggest motor preference is not arbitrary, but rather represents an evolutionary bias stemming from the asymmetric organization of underlying neural function for skilled action. The most prominent manifestation of lateralized motor behaviour in humans is right-handedness. While human right-handedness provides a highly

reliable marker for the brain organization of left hemisphere language function, the causal evolutionary link between the two remains highly controversial. Once considered a unique hallmark of human evolution, structural neuroanatomical investigations have now revealed homologous asymmetric language regions (larger left hemisphere) in great apes, providing evidence for a common mechanism underlying communication processes in humans and apes. However, whether this translates into a handedness bias in great apes remains highly controversial. This presentation will discuss the unique characteristics of human and non-human primate handedness within an evolutionary framework and explores new manual laterality findings, celebrating the emergence of multimodal, quantitative methodologies aimed at bridging the gap between studies of brain and behaviour.

Brain microcircuits & lateralisation in chimpanzees & humans

Steven Chance *(University of Oxford)*

The cerebral cortex is not an undifferentiated, homogenous network but appears to consist of multiple, small, structural micro-circuits. The developmental and evolutionary expansion of cortical size depends on the number and spacing of these units. Detailed study reveals differences in disorders such as autism, as well as contrasts between humans and chimpanzees. These differences relate to aspects of cognition.

Brain asymmetries have been linked to language lateralisation in the auditory domain: wider connective spacing among micro-circuits in the planum temporale of the human left hemisphere is not found in other primates. In the visual domain, better literacy in humans enhances left hemisphere activation, inducing competition with brain regions otherwise involved in face processing. Subsequently, word recognition is lateralised to the left hemisphere whereas face recognition is lateralised to the right hemisphere. Here we investigate whether asymmetrical micro-circuits may contribute to this lateralisation in the visual domain, and whether similar asymmetries are found in the chimpanzee face-associated region, partly addressing Darwin's suggestion of a widespread biological basis for communication using facial expression.

Developments in MRI analysis offering new ways to measure these micro-circuits in vivo will also be discussed.

Laterality indices

Stuart J Leask *(University of Nottingham)*

The study of laterality often generates laterality indices, in attempts to simplify the bivariate construct (laterality) to a single variable. In this talk I explore how using laterality indices can be very misleading, and how even sticking with measures from each side can be problematic. The talk finishes with an example of the benefits of presenting the relationship between measures of hand skill and word-finding ability without laterality indices, from a birth cohort dataset, n~11,000.

What were the selection mechanisms for the genes for handedness & language dominance?

Chris McManus *(University College London)*

Ten per cent or so of people in Western populations are left-handed, with somewhat lower proportions in non-Western populations. Left-handers are present in all societies, with rates never seeming to rise above about 14-15%. Such stability of the handedness polymorphism must be maintained by some mechanism. If, as seems to be the case, handedness and language dominance are probably under the control of a single gene, then there must be selective advantages for the genes (or random drift would eliminate one or other from the population). Within classical population genetics, polymorphisms can be maintained by heterozygote advantage, frequency-dependent selection, or new mutation, although the latter is unlikely given the high rates of left-handedness. Heterozygote advantage seems the most likely mechanism, either alone, or perhaps with frequency-dependent selection for genotypes. A feature of genetic models of handedness (such as the McManus DC model), is that there is no net benefit of right-handed or left-handed as such, the advantages having to be at the genotypic level. The DC model also involves random processes, with potentially many phenotypes arising from a single genotype. Some phenotypes with relatively minor alterations of cortical organisation could result either in special talents or specific deficits. However, talents, such as poetry, music, craftsmanship, or whatever, typically survive and prosper only within social organisations, and hence inevitably are more beneficial at lower frequencies (and a society comprising mostly musicians but hardly anyone growing food, is unlike to survive).

Classifying handedness in spontaneous situations

David P. Carey *(Bangor University)* & Patricia E.G. Bestelmeyer *(Bangor University)*

Handedness research has been plagued by arguments about whether preference (as estimated by questionnaire) or performance is a better predictor of underlying cerebral lateralisation. Remarkably, little is known about how often and for what each hand is used in unconstrained, everyday situations. This absence makes comparisons with non-human primate handedness research difficult. We have developed a coding scheme which allows for reliable classification of hand actions using 40 action codes under 8 main categories (reaching and grasping, manipulation, gesture, self-touching, touching others, hitting, covering). Data from actors will be compared with participants in reality TV programs where choreography or excessive reshooting of scenes (which might weaken handedness estimates in the actors) could not be nuisance variables. We will compare our data with that of Marchant et al. (1995, Ethology 101) who used a different coding scheme with archived film of three hunter-gather societies. Implications for laterality research in anthropology and psychology will be discussed.

Session: Past Mobilities

Jim Leary *(English Heritage)*

Introduction:

The new mobilities paradigm has had a significant impact in the social sciences – particularly geography, sociology and anthropology (Ingold 2011; Adey 2010; Ingold & Vergunst 2008; Urry 2007; Creswell 2006), however, it has yet to have the same impact in archaeology. Despite this, mobility is fundamental to archaeology – all people move. This session aims to consider the importance of movement in the past in all its multifarious ways – from walking, canoeing and sailing, to horse riding and cart driving, and to recent mobility systems such as rail, car and air travel. It ranges from everyday mobility such as walking to get water or herding animals, to occasional mobilities such as travel to funerals or festivals, proscribed ceremonial movement, or dance; from solitary journeying to movement through bustling crowds; and from small-scale movements to large-scale migrations and diasporas. And not least it covers the hierarchies that develop as a result of differential mobility such as the difference between uninhibited movement compared to bounded or restricted movement, or the archaeology of the highly mobile (the fit, the youthful) compared to those that are less mobile (the ill, the old, the disabled, or the pregnant). The archaeological evidence for travel can take many forms: from the physical evidence of paths, roads and boats, to evidence for the movement of people, animals, and artefacts. Papers can consider any aspect that comes under the rubric of past mobility, but are encouraged to focus on the physical, experiential and embodied act of movement. This session aims to explore the relationship between archaeology and movement in order to develop a mobile archaeology and add an archaeological voice to the broader mobilities discussion.

Adey, P. (2010) *Mobility*. London, Routledge

Creswell, T. (2006) *On the move: the politics of mobility in the modern west*. London, Routledge

Ingold, T. (2011) *Being alive. Essays on movement, knowledge and description*. London, Routledge

Ingold, T. & Vergunst, J. (eds.) (2008) *Ways of walking*. Ashgate

Urry, J. (2007) *Mobilities*. London, Sage

Why Past Mobilities Matter

Jim Leary *(English Heritage)*

This paper will introduce some of the recent ideas of the new mobilities paradigm and discuss how they can be applied to archaeology. Our understanding of the world around us is shaped by the way we move through it, yet mobility is rarely studied by archaeologists, who prefer instead to discuss notions of place. Whilst place maybe reassuringly tangible, it is also fixed and bounded. Mobility on the other hand is dynamic, and this provides a more nuanced

understanding of what it is to be alive. Mobility is highly variable – it can be freedom, opportunity, an act of resistance; and it can be restricted, controlled and feared. Using a wide range of examples, this paper will discuss why mobility is and always has been diverse, socially constructed, and politically loaded, and why we should all be talking about it.

There is nothing half so much worth doing as simply messing about in boats

Robert Van de Noort *(University of Exeter)*

This paper will explore some of the fundamental differences between the concepts of dwelling in the landscape and exploring landscapes by boat. The former approach has been widely accepted as an important perspective in hunter-gatherer studies, and it has produced a range of narratives that challenge older concepts of the place of early human societies within the environments they inhabited. The latter approach is in its infancy, especially in Britain with its dearth of watercraft in the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods. However, the presence of boats dated to these periods in Denmark and the Netherland has not (yet) produced a theoretical rethink on how these people 'dwelled' in their landscapes. I hope to show that this form of past mobility offers different perspectives and opportunities, but requires also very different skills and technologies.

A Rough Guide to Toghers, Trackways, Mires and Movement

Ben Gearey *(University of Birmingham)*, Kris Krawiec *(University of Birmingham)*, Henry Chapman *(University of Birmingham)* & Nora Bermingham *(University of Birmingham)*

Trackways and other structures interpreted as reflecting functional solutions to facilitate movement across or into otherwise unstable and inaccessible wetlands tend to be regarded as forming the greater part of the wetland archaeological record. Coles and Coles (1989) concluded that there were around 1000 known trackways from wetlands in Ireland, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany dating from the Neolithic through to the first millennium AD. This paper will present a brief overview of recent archaeological work and thought on a significant set of diverse monuments which often tend to be 'lumped together' as essentially 'practical' structures, perhaps best summed up by Raftery (1996: 411) as demonstrating a: "…commonly executed, but independently conceived, method of traversing wet bogs." However, it can be argued that this conception hinders more than it helps. Whilst it is clear that a large proportion of sites were primarily intended 'just' to cross or access wetlands, many other structures may have had significantly different functions. Recent thought has, for example, suggested that the 'practical' role of various trackway structures, such as the Neolithic Sweet Track of the Somerset Levels may have been overstated (Van de Noort and O' Sullivan 2006). We will review the key aspects of this and other related debates, considering if and sites which at first glance may be interpreted as constructed to facilitate movement, may also have had other, parallel purposes and functions. In addition, we will outline how the landscape context of wetland sites can in fact include a range of very different environments, with contrasting vegetation and hydrology and subsequent implications for human perception, access and exploitation. We will consider the implications of recent

palaeohydrological/palaeoclimatic study for archaeological interpretation regarding issues such as movement onto and across peatland environments in the past.

Raftery, B. 1996. *Trackway excavations in the Mountdillion Bogs, Co. Longford, 1985-1991*. Transactions of the Irish Archaeological Wetland Unit 3. Dublin. Crannog Publications.

Van de Noort, R. and O'Sullivan, A. 2006. *Rethinking Wetland Archaeology*. Duckworth, London.

Where spirits walk: an archaeology of (dis)embodied non-corporeal movement

Joshua Pollard *(University of Southampton)*

We come to understand the spatiality of the world through our feet, and so knowledge and revelation of landscape is experiential and embodied. But this presupposes one kind of ontology, one that is embodied. If however we acknowledge, as seems reasonable, that past communities thought of worlds as dwelt in by spirits, ancestors and other non-corporeal agencies, then the possibility of disembodied experience must be entertained. Could the ethereal worlds of spirits and ancestors have an archaeological presence, and could that presence tell of mobility? Here thought is given to the potential role of earthwork and stone avenues of the later Neolithic as ancestral paths, and to the notion of parallel worlds of movement, encounter and being.

The Ritual Round

Oula Seitsonen *(University of Helsinki)*, Lee G. Broderick *(University of York)* & Jean-Luc Houle *(Western Kentucky University)*

This paper examines the issue of mobility in the context of Bronze Age Mongolia. Recent fieldwork has identified a pattern of seasonal mobility in the Khanuy Valley which shows considerable similarity to present day patterns. Supportive ethnographic work has shown that the issue of mobility is integral to perceptions of identity in the present day population in the same region, and that this mobility is expressed through daily, annual, decadal and generational cycles. The spatial relationship between domestic habitation sites in the region and large-scale monumental complexes suggest that the themes of mobility and liminality were also an intrinsic part of belief systems in the region in the Bronze Age. The theme of movement through the landscape and through the seasons is explored through the analysis of landscape archaeology, ethnoarchaeology and zooarchaeological evidence. It is suggested that understanding past mobilities in the region is crucial to our interpretation of past lifestyles and cultures.

The Memory of Movement: early medieval stone sculpture as a tool in the creation of the historic landscape

Joanne Kirton *(University of Chester)*

In this paper I wish to explore the memory of movement through the landscape, specifically the movement and erection of stone sculpture in different topographic locations. This paper uses examples from North West England to explore concepts of memory making and the

performative element of producing and raising stone monuments in the 1st millennium AD. It will contribute to discussions examining the concept that medieval landscapes relied heavily on movement to convey, reproduce and validate meaning.

Stone sculptures played a role in the creation of place through the production of memory generated by movement and the sheer physicality of transporting and raising such a monument. There may also have been a performative element involved in this procedure, generating a landscape of remembrance, altering the way people observed and moved through the local topography. The different topographic locations where sculpture is found are also telling, suggesting different levels of investment in moving these objects. The choice of location and the journey to it may reflect different social strategies whereby individuals or groups were trying to convey or communicate with different parts of society or present specific ideas associated with the locale. The paper will focus on the journey of these monuments through the landscape, mirrored by those groups and individuals associated with their conception and assembly.

Space & Mobility in Monuments of Norman Britain

Anne Sassin *(University of Nottingham)*

The importance of internal features within structures, especially sacred architecture, has been long recognized, as an internalized world which could use the control of light, structural elements, and access to certain space to affect and control human behavior. The relationship between the form of the architecture itself and the activities contained within was not set, and internal space and its use differed depending on whether a structure was ecclesiastical, secular, for a private family, or for public use, making the monuments of the medieval era (i.e. the great churches and castles) particularly useful for establishing how space was transformed within individual landscape settings. Therefore, this paper intends to address movement within structures of the Norman period specifically, assessing the effect of the presence or absence of light, the position of partitions, and the addition of distinguishing sculptural features, in order to evaluate the purpose of such manipulation and their effect on the individuals involved.

Changing Rooms – movement & the royal apartments of Windsor Castle

Brian Kerr *(English Heritage)*

Analysis of the fire-damaged buildings of Windsor Castle from 1992-1997 provided new insights into the construction and development of this complex set of buildings at the heart of the royal apartments. These were developed over several hundred years to meet the changing needs of the king, his family, and the court, on their periodic visits to the Castle. Access to the king and queen was carefully managed through movement between sets of apartments which were designed to impress through their scale and decoration. These increased in privacy and exclusivity from the point of entrance, and the depth to which a visitor could penetrate these suites of apartments would vary according to a number of factors - rank, office, familiary, gender. This paper will focus on two major building programmes, for Edward III in the 1360s and for Charles II in the 1670s-80s, and how developments in customs and practices were reflected in the ambitions of the builders.

Mobility & the skeleton: A biomechanical view

Tom Davies *(University of Cambridge)*, Emma Pomeroy *(University of Cambridge)*, Colin N. Shaw *(University of Cambridge)* & Jay T. Stock *(University of Cambridge)*

The geometry of long-bone diaphyses has been shown to respond to the strains imposed during habitual biomechanical loading. One of the most significant influences on this aspect of the skeleton is terrestrial mobility. Thus, osteological variation in the diaphysis may provide valuable insights into past behaviour. This paper considers recent research in skeletal biomechanics relating to mobility in both past and living populations, and how biomechanics can be effectively applied in a range of archaeological settings.

New research involving whole-bone biomechanical analyses of lower and upper limbs using 3D laser scanning refines our ability to infer mobility in the past. Biomechanical studies can contribute to numerous archaeological questions concerning mobility, including marine vs. terrestrial locomotion, subsistence strategies, occupational specialization, gendered labour division, diachronic change and spatial patterns. This potential will be illustrated using examples from a range of contexts including the inference of watercraft use and the impacts of agropastoralism and long distance trade in the South American Andes.

Patterns of mobility are complex and skeletal signatures are likely to reflect the most intense or frequent of activities, but nevertheless biomechanics provides a rich source of evidence of past mobility that complements archaeological, biological and ethnographic data.

The Spatial Construct of Social Relations: human interaction & modelling agency

Mu-Chun Wu *(University of Oxford)* & Gary Lock *(University of Oxford)*

The relationship between the spatial and the social has always been of major interest in spatial analysis. Recent research by social theorists has shown that not only is space a social construct, it is also a constituent of social relations. In terms of a spatial analysis in archaeology, most research has been focused on how social structure is reflected in spatial configuration, and how spatial layout supports and consolidates social order. However, the spatial construction of social relations is rarely discussed. This research argues that interpersonal relationships are not entirely based on social identities, and social relations should also be investigated, regardless of their hierarchical status, but through intimate human interaction. By applying Ingold's 'wayfaring' theory, this research models human agency from a 'meshworked' perspective, and demonstrates how social relations are influenced by agents walking around a settlement. By taking a meshwork approach, researchers can examine the agents' social relations in more detail and gain better control over their relational attributes. Furthermore, this bottom-up approach allows the examination of the allocated social relations as opposed to the delegated social identity, and benefits from understanding internal transformations.

Social & Physical Mobility in the Cretan Early Bronze Age

Kathryn Soar *(Open University/ University of Nottingham)*

It has been argued that several of the Early Minoan house tomb cemeteries of northeast and central Crete display evidence of social hierarchy, manifested by the size and elaboration of the tombs as well as the grave goods found within them, which suggests that there were two distinct social groupings within these cemeteries. This paper seeks to address the idea that this evidence for 'social mobility' within the cemetery can also be reflected through physical mobility – that the layout, orientation and movement of the human body deliberately choreographed specific kinds of performance. Through its reflexivity, movement and performance allow us to see aspects of how past societies may have seen themselves

My intention here is to investigate the concepts of space, performance, movement, and the restriction of movement, as well as the placement of tombs and funerary architecture, in order to define physical action and ritual in relation to social status, as demonstrated by a case study from the Early Minoan cemetery at Mochlos in eastern Crete.

Landscapes move too! Entanglements of shifting landscapes & embodied movements of people & animals

Matt Edgeworth *(University of Leicester)*

When people move, it is in the context of a landscape that is also shifting and changing - rivers that flow, channels that meander, floodplains that morph, fields that change shape, roads that move around, animal tracks that wander, ground that rises and falls. It is important not to regard landscape as a passive or static backdrop to people mobility. Movements of people and movements of landscapes are inextricably interconnected. This paper looks at some of the material traces of such mobile interconnections, and frames them in terms of 'entanglement' – a term meant to convey a sense of dynamic material processes ravelling and unravelling through time.

Session: The Perpetual Presence of Heritage: how history & memory shape everyday life

Manjree Khajanchi *(University of Sheffield)*, Benjamin Manktelow *(University of Sheffield)* & William Rathouse *(University of Wales, Trinity St. Davids)*

Introduction:

The interactions and subsequent transformations that transpire on personal and societal levels from the endless dialogue of who claims/owns/negotiates/teaches histories has been debated tirelessly in archaeology. The current interdisciplinary concepts that underpin how the past is transformed for contemporary purposes, and throughout history, relies upon the premise that there is no one way to deal with the ramifications of a presumed stationary 'past' perpetually altered to meet the needs of the now. This session will question how the past forms an integral part of contemporary landscapes and provide avenues for experiencing a world where new and old histories, influences and beliefs perpetually engulf the world we live in.

Chasing Immortality: embedded heritage, monumental cities, & the quest to experience history

Benjamin Manktelow *(University of Sheffield)*

From Egypt's magnificent mausoleums, to the burial mound of China's first emperor, to the founding fathers' depiction of Washington D.C., through to the creation of specific material cultural edifices, there is a quest for permanence and immortality. This approach echoes to survival and preservation concerns within contemporary heritage curricula in which history is vouchsafed for the future. We think we are being good ancestors. Such thinking brings with it the wish to experience these history(s) which are of import enough to save, and thus yield new ways to interact with material histories as we step into the future which has its own concerns. Whether we embed that material history into a contemporary site plan as has been done at the Royal Woolwich Arsenal through its repurposing as housing, or the grand scale composition of Paris by Napoleon to be a monumental city, an attitude and idea scratched onto the surface of France to exist forever and in which no new buildings are permitted to be constructed within the ring road, present-heritage becomes a ying-yang consideration in which both past-history and future-history vie for immortality in the present.

Shifting Meanings: on interpretations of the Castle of Viljandi (South Estonia)

Arvi Haak *(University of Tartu / Tartu City Museum)*

The effects of nation building of the 19th century may be seen within the archaeological discourse even in the 21st century. Competing claims on history have resulted on stress on some periods or events of multi-faceted history of a site and these have also influenced strategies of archaeological investigation. On the example of Viljandi castle in Estonia, the paper will argue that while source material is not equally available for all of the periods in question, some of the generalisations have been made on insufficient basis.

The castle of the Livonian Order in Viljandi has been a site of interest for scientists, local community and tourists since the late 19th century. The paper will single out (Baltic) German, Estonian and European perspective in studies of the Viljandi castle, as well as scientific interpretations. The main focus is set on the scientific process and communication of the results: which problems are addressed and on what ground, which results are predicted, how is investigation carried out and in which way are the results interpreted.

Collective Memory & Collective Forgetfulness: The case of Kaisariani in Athens

Athena Hadji *(Open University of Cyprus)*

Drawing from Maurice Halbwachs' classic treatise *La mémoire collective*, the proposed paper aims to discuss issues of spatial transformation and its consequences on the formation, information, transgression and sometimes distortion of collective memory.

Kaisariani is selected as a case-study for the proposed inquiry. Kaisariani, a place of rich pastures until the beginnings of the 20th century on the foothills of Mt. Hymettus, was radically transformed in 1922 with the advent of refugees from Asia Minor in the Aegean coast of Turkey. The temporary refugee camp eventually turned into a permanent settlement with a very distinctive radical political character, on the one hand, and very strong affiliations with the "lost lands" on the other. During World War II, Kaisariani figured prominently in the Resistance against the German Occupation, while in the Civil War which followed, many communists, residents of Kaisariani, were executed at various spots, some of which are still visible and commemorated today.

The great antithesis comes in the last two decades, especially after the year 2000, when a large-scale construction plan was implemented by private contractors: low-rise adobe structures were replaced by enormous apartment buildings and the indigenous population was uprooted once again and replaced by upper middle-class homeowners who had no historical ties to the region.

The paper will follow this trajectory, emphasizing how collective forgetfulness functions today and how imposed collective memory landmarks (i.e. monuments) do not achieve the expected.

Archaeology & the Montage Form: an alternative exploration of place

Claudine Young *(Aberystwyth University)*

This paper is at once archaeological, historical, philosophical and allegorical. Proposed here is an alternative exploration of space and time, using a particular place – a domestic site - as a focus and medium for discussion. Using phenomenological and autophenomenographical approaches, the paper hopes to demonstrate how place can be presented in the form of a montage. This can be created using texts, stories from occupiers of the site, maps and images which conglomerate and collaborate to form a network of plural memories, emotions, fantasies and associations which transcend linear time. It thus attempts to capture the elusive genius loci, or 'spirit of place'.

The paper is divided roughly into three parts – the first is a theoretical proposal for the use of montage in studies of place as heritage. The second section is a collection of juxtaposed 'snapshot' memories, images, researched histories, poetry and autophenomenographical accounts relating to the domestic site. The third part provides a brief theoretical commentary on the montage itself, demonstrating how philosophy and allegory can be extracted from a reading of it.

Excluded Narratives & Excluded Stakeholders at Stonehenge

William Rathouse *(University of Wales, Trinity St. Davids)*

This paper examines how the public narratives of Stonehenge presented to visitors omit elements particularly relevant to those who consider it a sacred site. Whilst archaeologically orthodox interpretations about the construction of Stonehenge are paramount in the interpretation of the site with myth and legend getting a small footnote, alternative interpretations, the religious significance of the place and recent social history of the site are almost entirely excluded from this public description.

This paper asks why these narratives should be excluded when a broader recognition of stakeholderhood is being applied in the British heritage industry. It reveals that other faith groups with shorter histories and fewer adherents than contemporary Paganism receive recognition in British society and asks whether omitting Pagan and Pagan friendly narratives is ethical or sustainable in 21st century Britain.

A History of Terror, A Memorial to Peace: exploring Hiroshima's Peace Park

Manjree Khajanchi *(Independent Researcher)*

The first atomic bomb used on humankind was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6th, 1945. The creation of Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Park in 1954, situated on the A-Bomb ruins in the city's downtown, incorporates over 60 monuments today. It has become a place of prayer, remembrance, commemoration, mourning, grief, learning and activism; while fulfilling its concurrent role of an 'enjoyable' city park. Since its formation, the Peace Park has continually changed and been under construction, both physically and otherwise, with the addition of fresh monuments ever few years and the declaration of the A-Bomb Dome as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1996.

This paper analyses the multi-modal approach used in the making of non-linear narratives within the Hiroshima Peace Park complex in present times, where remembering the tragic after-effects of the A-Bomb is situated alongside prayers for peace, survivor testimonies, the will to prevent all future nuclear wars, and daily visitor experiences and actions. The super-imposed, yet distinct pieces that sculpt this landscape as a whole, rely on the premise that Hiroshima's history is neither forgiven nor forgotten in the hopes of advocating world peace by immortalizing the lessons of evil to-be-taught to future generations.

Another Country? Educational perspectives on engagement with 'heritage'

Antony Buxton *(University of Oxford)*

This paper uses as its departure point two diverse engagements with 'heritage', the mature 'cultural tourist' and young adults in further education, both approaching broadly the same evidence from very different perspectives, and illustrating the way in which individuals and groups construct and use diverse pasts in order to give structure and meaning to their presents. By not only celebrating the diversity of these personal histories but by gaining an insight into the way in which each individual constructs cognitive schemata to interpret the past, throughout life and through emotional engagement and cultural influences, can the historical archaeologist become a collaborator in a better and more objective understanding of the way in which we engage with heritage and its role in the present? How should the past be 'taught', and how should heritage be presented? Is the past really another country, or is it, for better or worse, always inextricably enmeshed in the present?

Session: Psychoarchaeology: Theories, Methods & Practice

Kenneth Brophy *(University of Glasgow)* & Vicki Cummings *(University of Central Lancashire)*

Introduction:

All of our archaeological experiences are mediated through the modern landscape, and are set within a contemporary context. Our interpretations of the past are filtered through how sites and material culture exist now, in the present (e.g. often ruinous, partial or broken), rather than in their original forms. To some extent, phenomenological approaches have allowed such present engagements with monuments and material culture to become a form of archaeological data. Yet more often than not, phenomenological approaches are concerned with looking beyond the present (for instance filtering out the modern landscape) to get to some essence of the past. However, we would argue that we also need to reflect on the present status and context of monuments and material culture; this is the lens through which we gaze on the past. To do this, we think that it is useful to look to psychogeography for a body of theory and method that involves engagements with the contemporary landscape with an awareness of the potential pastness of the landscape. We have tentatively called this approach psychoarchaeology.

Psychoarchaeology is the study of the specific effects of archaeological sites on the emotions and behaviour of individuals and communities, and offers a means to reflect on the way that traces of the past are mediated to us through the present landscape. Psychoarchaeology is concerned with the intersection / collision between the past and the present in the form of ruins, earthworks, buildings, cropmarks, lithic scatters and sub-surface traces. These are the fusion points between past and present. As such, archaeological traces / sites could be regarded as temporal unconformities. They often occur in juxtaposition, or are surreal, inappropriate, emotional, sources of tension or misunderstood within the modern world. Our archaeological engagements are entirely mediated through encounters at these fusion points. As such, we could regard such 'sites' as wormholes, tears in time, leading back to the past. Psychoarchaeology underlies virtually everything we do, because we have an emotional response to the material we are working with and the environment that the material is in (whether it be the landscape, in a trench, a museum or in the lab).

The benefits of a psychoarchaeological approach are twofold. Firstly, it is important that we understand the conditions in which our archaeological engagements emerge, and our interpretations derive. Secondly, it is a means to understanding how people today make sense of, and treat, traces of the past that survive in the modern landscape. This session will explore the potential for developing both a theory and method for psychoarchaeology, which we believe addresses the juxtaposition of the past in the present that lies at the heart of archaeology.

The Bed & Breakfast Cursus: An Archaeological Psychogeography

Kenneth Brophy *(University of Glasgow)*

What is psychogeography? It is an attempt to use some of the ideas and practices of psychogeography within an archaeological context. For two decades now, archaeologists have (unwittingly) utilised a form of psychogeography in the shape of phenomenology, yet much of this work has been unbalanced, focusing on looking through and beyond the modern landscape to the past, and biased largely towards rural areas. Missing out the urban and the modern is problematic, as this is the context within which all of our engagements with the traces of the past occur in one way or another. The phenomenological gaze has dealt with the ruinous state of the past largely by looking beyond and through ruins to what once may have been in past landscapes. Yet we rarely look at the landscape or ruins *as they are now* – or consider what impact they have on us, and our ability to make sense of the past through them.

This is where psychoarchaeology has a role to play. I would define this as the study of the specific effects of archaeological sites on the emotions and behaviour of individuals and communities, offering a means to reflect on the way that traces of the past are mediated to us through the present landscape. In the first half of my paper I will explore what an archaeological psychogeography might look like, discussing methodologies such as structured walking, the *dérive* (unplanned journeys), community engagement and performance. In the second half of the paper I will document a series of my recent visits to places that were once marked by ritual structures, settlement activities and burial monuments in prehistory to explore how the modern experience of these places impacts on our understanding of them. Some of the key monuments and places of Scotland's Neolithic and Bronze Age are now situated in places within the landscape that have been subject to development. Housing estates sit atop prehistoric burial grounds. Roads and airfields overlie henge monuments. Cursus monuments lie beneath roads and even a bed and breakfast. What impact do such urban experiences have on our ability to make sense of the past meaning and use of these places, and why does this matter?

Worcester Orbital? Psychoarchaeology & the Urban Archaeologist's Guided Walk

Hal Dalwood *(Worcestershire County Council)*

This paper is an exploration of the guided walk as a method for psychoarchaeology: an unscripted performance that draws on archaeological knowledge, memories of archaeological projects, and personal reactions to the contemporary urban landscape.

In July 2011 I led a guided walk around Worcester, and planned to take in some key archaeological sites and significant historic buildings. The circular walk was to take two hours, but I blew my careful timetable: talking about the archaeological evidence from particular excavations prompted too many personal recollections and we only got half way round. Walking through Worcester, much of the key evidence is absent, excavated and built over by new developments. It is possible to strive for an 'objective' verbal account, but it isn't easy to separate an evocation of the past from the present urban landscape: the contrast is often shocking between the redeveloped parts of the city and groups of conserved 'heritage'

buildings. But there is also an autobiographical aspect to a guided walk, as my knowledge of certain archaeological sites is deeply interwoven with personal memories. The guided walk is an opportunity to engage with the past of the contemporary urban landscape in a new way.

Attachment Theory, Affect & Archaeology: experiencing Mrs L Weidenhofer's gift card

Steve Brown *(University of Sydney)*

Archaeologists can form powerful attachments to the objects, places and landscapes that they investigate. How are such emotional bonds constructed through experience, cognitive interpretation and memory and how are they reflected in archaeological practice?

Attachment theory in psychology was developed by John Bowlby (1969) to conceptualise the universal human need to form close affectional bonds. Although postulated in relation to infants, the theory triggered research designed to measure complexity and continuity of interpersonal attachment across the human life span. Over the last decade, possibilities for the application of attachment theory have been extended to place attachment, possession attachment and experience attachment (e.g., Kleine & Baker 2004).

The presentation comprises an auto-archaeological narrative centred on a gift card, hidden for almost 70 years, recovered from within my house in Sydney, Australia. This ordinary yet intimate object provoked a search for the woman whose name is inscribed on the card. Drawing on historical inquiry and material engagement, I reflect on the ways Mrs L Weidenhofer and I are connected and how we accommodate life together in the same house. Attachment theory is used to inform the story and reflect on the archaeologist-object encounter.

Bowlby J 1969. *Attachment and Loss. Vol. 1: Attachment*. New York: Basic Books.

Kleine SS & SM Baker 2004. An integrative review of material possession attachment*. Academy of Marketing Science Review 1*.

A Phenomenology of Landscape: the twelve inch remix

Vicki Cummings *(University of Central Lancashire)*

Our experience of the past is mediated through the present and phenomenologists such as Chris Tilley are explicit about this in the theoretical introductions to books such as *A phenomenology of landscape*. Indeed, the subjective and experiential nature of engaging with the past has long been cited one of the key tenets of a post-processual archaeology. Nevertheless, in this paper it is argued that phenomenological approaches filter out the modern landscape in order reinforce their interpretations (see, for example, Cummings and Whittle 2004).

This paper will consider the emotional components of doing phenomenological research, specifically how engagements with megaliths elicit very particular responses. These emotional responses have an enormous impact on how we subsequently interpret sites, as well as how

we present them photographically in support of our arguments. A psychoarchaeological approach allows us to be more critical of the production of knowledge, and, it will be argued, enables to gain a better understanding of non-specialist encounters with these sites.

Cummings, V. & Whittle, A. 2004. *Places of special virtue*. Oxford: Oxbow.

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

Common conceptions: Jung's archetypes of the collective unconscious & their relevance to phenomenological investigation of place and landscape

Christopher Timmins *(Cardiff University)*

Critiques of phenomenological studies have included doubts on the relevance of modern perceptions to the life experience and perceptions of past people. Whilst it must be accepted that the conscious apprehensions of place are inextricably bound to the investigator's cultural setting, Jung's theory of the collective unconscious and archetypal images provides an avenue of optimism when considering the impact that features of our surroundings have on the subconscious mind. Jung postulated that, although the subconscious is unknowable, elements of subconscious thought emerge in mythological images and themes. These themes, termed archetypes, are common to all people, past and present, and have been formed in line with neural developments throughout our evolution.

This paper discusses the contribution that Jung's theories can present to phenomenological studies and shows how these ideas were used as a basis for attempting to gain an 'archetypal appreciation' of Iron Age enclosure sites and visible features of their surroundings in Wales. A consideration of the possible mythological importance of some occupied places and other landforms contributed to a methodology and fuller understanding of the studied regions and the enclosures that were built in them.

Equivalents For The Megaliths: Constructing the experience of prehistory

Helen Wickstead *(Kingston University)* & Martyn Barber *(English Heritage)*

This paper explores the creation of abstract objects and places designed to be looked through to another time. It presents an archaeology of 'equivalents for the megaliths' – concrete bollards, sculpted earthworks, grassed-over landscapes, mostly produced during the twentieth century – which present prehistory both as a periodicity encountered in the present and as a timeless realm beyond. These modernist creations are compared with nineteenth century 'restorations' which resurrected, rather than abstracted, prehistoric megaliths. Using examples from Dartmoor and Wessex, we explore the construction of temporal frames, drawing out the affinities between temporal abstraction and twentieth century modern and conceptual art.

Session: A Return to Things Themselves

Bjørnar Olsen *(University of Tromsø)*, Þóra Pétursdóttir *(University of Tromsø)* & Christopher Witmore *(Texas Tech University)*

Introduction:

The recent growth of an archaeology of the contemporary past has coincided with the return of things in social and cultural research, where a long period of neglect has been claimed superseded by a current "turn to things". In addition to making archaeological approaches to the recent and present past more popular and viable than ever before, the return of things has already allowed us to produce other histories, and to explore alternative and neglected human pasts and presents. However, despite the enthusiasm for what things *allow*, and the claims of their return, they themselves do not seem included in the empathy and care for the marginal and othered otherwise persistently voiced in these studies. Things continue to be regarded primarily as a useful means to reach something humanly else. This reverberates with a common position in archaeology and material culture studies where things are of interest to us only insofar they involve people; relationships of significance are always between humans and things. In this session we will explore what a return to things *themselves* may imply; in other words, how things exist, act and inflict on each other, also outside the human realm. Ruins of the recent and contemporary past provide one exemplary heuristic case in this respect accentuating, through their withering and crumbling, the integrity and otherness of things. By attempting yet another (re)turn to things we would also like to scrutinize the possibility of a new ecology of practices (Stengers 2005); one that does not require the abolition of things' otherness or unfamiliarity in order to render them useful and accepts the possibility that things themselves may be the source of their own signification (Benso 2000).

Behind My Back - Abandonment, object narratives & moments of intervention

Þóra Pétursdóttir *(University of Tromsø)*

Archaeology as a discipline has long been defined by its temporal detachment from its subject matter. Archaeologists study phenomena that are final, over and gone and seldom processes that are here and now or ongoing. Abandonment, therefore, has been a central theme, while at the same time an unquestioned given, in archaeological research.

Abandonment is generally depicted as a point in time, representing the termination or withdrawal of something that was, but is no more. Abandonment, thus, is final and marks the end of a process – and not the beginning of one. The development of archaeological approaches to the recent or contemporary past challenge this conception because, although arguably common to all ruins, modern ruins visibly oppose to this static conception of abandonment.

This paper seeks to explore this challenge and the possibility of seeing abandonment not as termination but as a different phase in a site- or settlement biography – *a return to things*. With reference to a year's engagement with a modern ruin in Iceland's northwest, I will demonstrate how abandonment accentuates the integrity and otherness of things' existence, and how this

existence may challenge not only our conceptions of ruin or abandonment but also our methods of inference. How the traditional conception of abandonment may be archaeologically created, through the fact that we come, we excavate, we leave, but we rarely return.

Turning to Animals: animist ontology & living with animals in an early modern town in northern Finland

Anna-Kaisa Salmi *(University of Oulu)*

From the point of view of zooarchaeology, the return to things means also a turn to animals: animals are now increasingly seen as, not nonresponsive economical resources or metaphors of the human society, but creatures with agency and affordance of their own. In traditional Western ontology, all creatures share the same physicality, but they differ in their souls; humans have souls and animals do not. On the other hand, animism or perspectivism means an ontology where many non-human creatures have souls, but they differ in their bodily makeup, and participate in the same society with humans (Viveiros de Castro, 2004; Descola, 2009).

In this paper, I will concentrate on how people lived with animals and how animals lived with people in the small town of Tornio in the fringes of northern Europe. It has been argued that animist ontology prevailed in late medieval and early modern northern Fennoscandia, and that people in early modern Tornio cohabited the world with all kinds of non-human creatures, some of them animals (Herva & Salmi, 2010). However, urbanisation and modernisation that took place in the 18th century changed this cohabitation profoundly, a change that can be seen in the archaelogical animal bone material.

Exploring the Affective Qualities of Matter in the Post-Industrial Landscape of the Forest of Dean

Lisa Hill *(University of Oxford)*

This paper seeks to demonstrate that the materiality of the world does not stand in opposition to an 'immaterial' realm – that it is not the immaterial that produces those qualities that are assumed to animate matter. Instead, I will argue that such qualities are internal to matter itself. Drawing on the work of Giles Deleuze, I experiment with these ideas in a series of case studies that seek to highlight the emergent, processual and affective dimensions of matter in all its varying forms. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Forest of Dean was a significant industrial region, a landscape dominated by pitheads, tramroads and railways, coal mines, ironworks, and quarries. However, the twentieth century saw the radical transformation of this landscape, from industry to leisure. Focusing in particular on examples of industrial remains that have been re-appropriated and redeveloped as leisure infrastructure, I use the refrain 'movement, scale and speed', to show that these 'immaterialities' are intrinsic to matter, rather than its antithesis. I also use the 'refrain' as that which 'fabricates time', acting upon its surroundings to alter the speeds and slowness of interactions, augmenting, amplifying or eliminating (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 384).

Soft Landscapes Shape Bodies & Objects

Marjolijn Kok *(Maatschap ILAHS)*

In this paper I want to discuss how the qualities of a soft landscape affect the body and objects and how they are conceptualised. The pre-historic coastal landscape in the Western Netherlands is a soft landscape in the sense that nothing hard or enduring exists. The landscape is in a constant flux and there are no fixed points. The elements such as sand and water may be the continuous but they are not permanently fixed in time and space. The body and local objects have similar qualities in that they constantly change and do not endure for long times. Only objects from afar have different qualities such as hardness and durability. These basic qualities of all things had a profound effect on how the world was conceptualised and how bodies and objects were related and used in different practices. I will show how the qualities of things affect each other. Furthermore a soft landscape is very different from our present day world and for understanding the materiality of such a world we have to let go of our ordinary sense of the lived experience.

Smoking, Singing & Moving Stones

Tiina Äikäs *(University of Oulu)*

One important aspect in Sámi worldview has been the interaction between humans and spirits, animals, and from a western viewpoint lifeless things. The last mentioned included also the sacrificial stones called sieidi (in North Sámi). These were seen as a part of the social realm. Sieidi stones were active agents with ability to move, make sounds, and have emotions. Importantly, they did not only act in relation to humans but had a life of their own. The interactions of sieidi were multifaceted. They included contacts with animals, landscape elements and with other sieidi stones. Animals sought protection and food from sieidi stones, landscape elements covered and revealed sieidi stones, and the sieidi stones could communicate with each other in the landscape. This again could have an effect on the ritual behavior of humans.

Archaeological fieldwork at sieidi sites in Finnish Lapland and ethnographical descriptions together have shed light on the ways in which the communication between sieidi and humans, and sieidi and other 'things' took place. The role of a sieidi stone was important in ritual practices. It affected and was affected by the way humans acted. The relation between a sieidi and a human has been described as reciprocal. The example of sieidi stones, however, challenges the way relations between humans and things have been seen. It brings intersubjectivity into the communication between humans and things.

Archaeology & the Second Empiricism

Christopher Witmore *(Texas Tech University)*

A return to things themselves obliges one to return to matters fundamental to the nature of empiricism. In revisiting aspects of the ordinary empiricism – where an 'objective' truth was

seen to surpass the practices behind its formation – this paper sketches several propositions as to the shape and character of what might be called the 'second empiricism'; an empiricism that does not discriminate against relations that do not involve human actors and which does not pretend to separate what we know from how we know.

Session: The Rhetoric of Heritage

Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels *(North Dakota State University)* & Trinidad Rico *(Stanford University)*

Introduction:

This session explores the key concepts and rhetorical strategies that mobilize the past in the present. Archaeology and heritage are implicated in a wide range of social, political, and economic struggles in our contemporary world, so that increasingly the past becomes a standpoint for strategic engagement in larger issues. This session proposes to examine the rhetorical role of heritage through a range of terms that tap into broadly circulating strategic vocabularies: e.g. sustainability, rights, risk, selection, character, reparation, public heritage, intangible heritage, and cultural property.

Contributors to this session will open up and reclaim one such component of the rhetorical repertoire within the specific contexts of their work. While rhetoric has variously borne either positive or pejorative connotations since the time of Plato and Aristotle, in this session participants are encouraged to consider how rhetoric could provide a powerful tool for more just and liberatory approaches to cultural heritage.

Participatory, collaborative, and emancipatory approaches signal a shift toward more equitable, inclusive, and 'democratic' research programs. This session suggests that attention to deliberative practices complements these democratic aims. Further, democratic theorists increasingly turn to rhetoric as a counter-ballast to previous approaches, elegant but unworkable, that focused on discussion as being a venue of reasoned deliberation set in ideal situations where the most rational arguments and outcomes prevail. Rhetoric introduces the positionality and affective states – both of which are integral to heritage – of those participating in discussion and broader public debate. The unique rhetorical plays afforded by heritage also construct new possibilities and articulations of democratic practice, denaturalizing monolithic constructs of democracy while also breaking beyond purely discursive rhetoric to introduce material culture and daily practices as a complementary rhetorical 'language.'

Introduction: Heritage as Rhetoric with Optative Potential

Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels *(North Dakota State University)* & Trinidad Rico *(Asian University for Women)*

Participatory, collaborative, and emancipatory approaches signal a shift toward more equitable, inclusive, and 'democratic' research programs. We argue that attention to deliberative practices complements these democratic aims. Further, democratic theorists increasingly turn to rhetoric as a counter-ballast to previous approaches, elegant but unworkable, that focused on discussion as being a venue of reasoned deliberation set in ideal situations where the most rational arguments and outcomes prevail. Rhetoric introduces the positionality and affective states – both integral to understanding heritage – of those participating in discussion and broader public debate. We contend that the unique rhetorical plays afforded by heritage also construct new possibilities and articulations of democratic practice, denaturalizing monolithic constructs of

democracy while also breaking beyond purely discursive rhetoric to introduce material culture and daily practices as a complementary rhetorical 'language.'

Bad Language: Losing the Arguments for Cultural Resource Management in Britain

Malcolm Cooper *(The Malcolm A Cooper Consultancy)*

A rationalist view of the historic environment tends to see cultural resource management (CRM) as dependent on five key elements: (1) surviving entities, e.g. the historic environment assets; (2) databases, which locate and describe these assets; (3) legislative and policy frameworks, which define value systems to give significance and protection to those assets; (4) organisations, which are given or carry out specific roles in relation to the legislative and policy framework; and (5) experts, who populate such organisations and who, through their actions, bring together the first four elements into a dynamic and effective system of protection and management.

This type of description is non-problematic for many for whom CRM is a purely practical activity involving little or no theoretical basis. Adopt a social-constructivist perspective however and this model rapidly dissolves. 'Experts' and 'authorised heritage discourse' are under attack from within and without the sector. There is strong disagreement over which value-system should be applied, and whether the focus should be international, national, regional or local. The application of legislation and policy are culturally conditioned and far from straightforward in practice. This paper argues that an understanding of language and discourse is as crucial to successful CRM as are the five key elements identified above.

Civil Society: Civil Society in the Field of Cultural Property Protection during Armed Conflict

Sigrid Van der Auwera *(University of Antwerp)*

The concept of civil society is on the rise in the field of heritage. Appeals to civil society are made in multiple ways, from its engagement in promoting and safeguarding cultural heritage, to the rehabilitation of historic buildings as community resources, and volunteer projects uncovering local history. Moreover, current international heritage policies invoke the value of heritage for society and the need to engage civil society, e.g. in the concept of 'heritage communities' articulated in the 2005 FARO Convention of the Council of Europe. This paper frames the concept of civil society by defining its scope and outlining the use of the term, focusing specifically on the role of civil society in the protection of cultural property during armed conflict. The phenomenon of intentional cultural property destruction is framed in a rhetoric of contemporary identity-bound conflicts and the politics of nationalism, in which heritage is misused in the process of ethnic cleansing. Prevention is sought through a bottom-up approach, with communities enlisted as the heirs of cultural heritage, thereby initiating a call for civil society. While civil society is a well-established entity in the protection of cultural property during armed conflict, a critical evaluation of its meaning in practice is lacking.

Difficult Heritage: Re-functionalizing Sicily's Fascist Past

Joshua Samuels *(Stanford University)*

A number of terms have emerged over the past 15 years to describe how people deal with a problematic past, including dissonant, negative, undesirable, difficult, and ambivalent heritage. In this paper I will critically engage these terms by exploring the extent to which they are an analytical construct, divorced from the sentiment of people on the ground, and how they may even hinder the kinds of post-conflict reconstruction that they often hope to help mobilize. My case-study involves a series of villages in Sicily built from scratch in the early 1940s as part of a Fascist ruralization campaign, and I examine a recent plan to incorporate several of them into a touristic route for bicyclists and trekkers. What can we learn when what may appear to be a difficult heritage turns out to be fairly uncontentious? Is this a failure of "coming to terms with the past," or are there lessons here about how relict material can be used in productive ways, regardless of its historical baggage?

Authenticity: Rhetorics of Preservation & the Experience of the Original

Anna Karlström *(University of Queensland)*

Most scholars agree that authenticity is an important quality attached to cultural heritage. Its meaning as the origin or the authorship of remains from the past is mainly connected to form and fabric, and authenticity is often seen in opposition to fake and the artificial. Material authenticity is ascribed to objects that are true and in their original state. This concept of authenticity privileges mainly unchanged conditions and the idea that appreciation and value grow the closer we come to the original state, which also presupposes that heritage values are universal and should be preserved for the future and preferably forever. Even though the concept of authenticity has expanded within current heritage debates, and even if we agree that authenticity is not an essence of a thing (and accordingly agree that the materiality of a thing is not its essential property), the focus of the concept of authenticity is still on form and fabric and the material, and its meaning is more or less taken for granted. This paper explores authenticity on the basis of a different conceptualisation, namely authenticity through performance. From fieldwork experience in Southeast Asia, examples will illustrate how authenticity is involved in religious practice and contribute to challenging preservationist ideals that dominate within contemporary heritage discourse.

Sustainability: Primordial Conservationists, Environmental Sustainability & the Rhetoric of Pastoralist Cultural Heritage in East Africa

Paul Lane *(University of York)*

The importance of conserving East Africa's wildlife populations has been a significant narrative trope, at both regional and international scales, for over a century. More recently, conservation efforts have been linked to the concept of 'sustainability', and local communities have been persuaded to play a more active role in wildlife conservation in the region. Coincident with these changes in conservation practice, range ecologists and anthropologists began to

emphasise the 'domesticated' nature of the savannah environments that support many of the more iconic East African wildlife species, emphasising in particular the ecological mutualism that exists between pastoralist settlement and grazing patterns and the species diversity of the landscapes they occupy. Understandably, many of East Africa's pastoralist communities have been quick to identify themselves as 'indigenous' conservationists, partly to gain access to a more equitable share of the region's lucrative tourist economy, and partly to position themselves in contradistinction to the region's non-pastoralist, majority populations. This paper explores how the emergent associated rhetoric of 'sustainability' is expressed through public performances and displays of 'pastoralist heritage' in the region. It also examines some of the inherent contradictions to this rhetoric as revealed through an archaeological understanding of the human histories of these landscapes.

Resilience: The Persistence of Place in Theory & Practice

John Schofield *(University of York)*

Resilience is not the first word that comes to mind in creating a 'rhetoric of heritage', but the concept is I believe key in a world in which the management of change, and sustainability, should be prioritised over measures that merely fossilise the past, effectively removing it from the present. Places persist in a changing landscape, while character persists within the grain of the landscape itself. In this way the past will remain present as well as being more than just a collection of museum pieces celebrating particular histories. For resilient places are typically relevant places, places which have shaped subsequent actions and experience. Resilient places are also widespread. This is not really about the persistence of Stonehenge several thousand years after it was built; rather it is about the quotidian: hidden alleyways, unspectacular architecture and routes through the landscape that have remained, as markers, as traces and as the basis of peoples' memories. Such places have proved to be resilient over time. Much of our heritage survives in this way, without formal protection (or even recognition) and for the benefit of all.

Session: Roots of the Modern World: the Archaeology of Scientific Discovery

James Morris *(Museum of London Archaeology)* & Don Walker *(Museum of London Archaeology)*

Introduction:

In our modern lives we are ubiquitous users of science and technology, much of which developed from discoveries and innovations from the 18th century onwards. This is a period that saw the transition to an industrial society, intellectual advances, and revolutionary socio-economic change. Until recently historical archaeology has been ignored by the majority of the archaeological community. However, work by advocates and groups such as the Post-Medieval Society, Association for Industrial Archaeology and Contemporary and Historical Archaeology in Theory (CHAT) have shown how historical archaeology is well placed to combine the material and the social.

The aim of this session is to explore how archaeology can inform our understanding of scientific development and its consequences from AD1700 onwards. We include papers that utilise archaeological evidence and other sources in association with contemporary theory, to investigate both grand and individual narratives. One such area for investigation is the material culture of scientific investigation and development. This can range from ceramics associated with apothecaries to the dissected remains of humans and animals. Methodologically we can contemplate how we identify and analyse such assemblages, but we also need to consider the narratives associated with them, as they often allow the archaeologist the rare opportunity to investigate the actions and motives of individuals. Archaeology is well placed to investigate the grander narrative of scientific discoveries and developments. For example the work of 'polite' gentleman scientists led to advances in medicine and other fields, altering society's view of death and the human body. Also in this period the agricultural and industrial revolutions resulted in changes to the rural and urban environs, changing people's relationship with each other, animals and the environment.

The session includes papers from archaeologists, material specialists, historians and anthropologists that shed light on this important period. Although concerned with scientific and technological development we would reject that one must adopt either a 'technocentric' or a 'sociocentric' approach to the topic and would agree with Johnston's (2009) observation that we cannot study social life without a deep understanding of technical process and vice versa.

Issues for papers include;

- The material culture of scientific investigation at both the biographical and supra-biographical level
- The development of medicine and the human body as a material
- The effects of scientific discoveries on the rural and urban landscapes
- The changing relationships between humans, animals and the environment
- The social effects of scientific endeavor and discovery

Johnson, M. 2009. 'Forward: Crossing paths or sharing tracks?' In A. Horning & M. Palmer (eds.). *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks? Future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland*. Woodbridge. The Boydell press. XV-XVII

The Moon Fruit of East Lothian - The Role of Technology in Sculpting the Landscape of Aimsfield

Doug Rocks-Macqueen *(University of Edinburgh)* & Stuart Dinning *(University of Edinburgh)*

This paper will review some of the findings of the recent excavations at the Aimsfield walled garden in East Lothian. Specifically examining how the owners of the Aimsfield estate manipulated and altered the landscape to project wealth and power to the guests they entertained. A task that was completed with both the most recent technological inventions of the day and some that stretch back to antiquarian times. These recent excavations are only just beginning to shine a light on how these technologies worked in tandem to produce a display that was unmatched at that time. A displace that even till very recently was uncommon and unique in that part of the world.

Darwin Worms: How Archaeological Excavation & Examination Have Developed Darwin's Observations & Interpretations From 1837 to the Present Day

Ian Hanson *(Bournemouth University)*

Charles Darwin developed an interest in earthworm activity that he continued through his years of scientific research (Darwin, C, 1837, 1840, 1881). He noted that the bringing up of earth by worms onto the surface as casts covered objects, and the collapse of earthworm burrows undermined objects. He observed and excavated at Stonehenge and Roman Villas to develop his theories, undertaking experiments at his home at Down House in Kent to test them. His research spurred a continued interest in worm action in upper soil and archaeological deposits (Darwin, H, 1901), (Hudson, 1919), (Atkinson, 1957), (Webster, 1965), (Barker, 1987), (Yeates & Van der Meulen, 1995), (Canti, 2003). These papers often review other work and actual archaeological experimental research into the movement of objects by worms has been rather limited, for example Armour Chelu and Andrews (1994). The great importance of the context of Darwin's work has being recognised (Evans 2009), and part of this contextual understanding also comes from analysis of the history of experiment and the subsequent comparison of site formation processes at Down House (Keith 1941, Jewell 1958, Butt et al 2008). Recent excavations re-examined the material culture of Darwin's scientific investigation into earthworms: his example inspires us to pursue methods to examine and test his own work, and develop his experiments as insights to his observations and thinking, as well as to extend his findings into new narratives and contexts of meaning.

The Garden as a Laboratory: The role of domestic gardens as places of scientific exploration in the long eighteenth-century

Clare Hickman *(University of Bristol)*

Using data collected during the period of a Wellcome Trust funded travel grant in 2011, this paper will discuss how the application of garden history methodologies can shed new light upon the scientific practices of eighteenth century doctors. This approach has highlighted how Edward Jenner and John Hunter, like many other eighteenth-century medical practitioners, were conducting experimental processes in their domestic gardens. Doctors of the period, and in particular John Hunter, seem to have also been interested in aiding the development of agricultural improvements and used their personal estates to further their understanding. This particular reading has been over-shadowed by other interpretations – in the case of Edward Jenner the use of his garden temple as place of vaccination, and, for John Hunter, the use of his garden at Earl's Court as an exotic menagerie which supplied animals for his comparative anatomy research and museum collection. This paper aims to show how the gardens can also be viewed as laboratory spaces and to open up new avenues for future research.

Edward Jenner's Temple of Vaccinia - a picturesque laboratory at the end of the garden

Mark Horton *(University of Bristol)*

Edward Jenner was a country doctor in Gloucestershire, but also an extraordinary medical pioneer whose experiments with smallpox in 1796 led to the invention of vaccination. His house and garden survive largely intact from this period, and have been the subject to excavations since 2008. In 2010, we able to excavate alongside the Temple of Vaccinia and undertake detailed drawings of the structure, leading to a reassessment of its history and significance - and the discovery of results of some of Jenner's scientific activities. The paper will examine the archaeology of this scientific research and some of the materialities that survive that were associated with it - including numerous 'souvenirs' that were created and distributed to friends and admirers.

Only an imitation made by a novice: animals as scientific objects

James Morris *(Museum of London Archaeology)*

Complex relationships often exist between humans and animals, with human society reflected in people's treatment and attitudes towards animals. With the transition to an industrial society, intellectual advances and socio-economic changes, the roles and understanding of animals also changes. The 18th and 19th centuries see the increased exploitation and use of animals in physiological studies as scientific disciplines evolved from natural philosophy. These practices were often anthropocentric, as the archaeological remains from sites such as the Royal London Hospital and the Ashmolean, Oxford arrest to. This paper will examine the archaeology of animal scientific research and by elucidating the life history of these remains show the varied physical and meta-physical transformations animals underwent as they progressed from living creature to scientific object.

Resurrection: who is it good for?

Don Walker *(Museum of London Archaeology)*, Natasha Powers *(Museum of London Archaeology)* & Louise Fowler *(Museum of London Archaeology)*

The great advances in western medical science in the latter half of the 19th century were to some extent fuelled by the pioneering work of hospitals of the previous century. These respected institutions provided high levels of care and treatment, attracting charitable donations and royal patronage. The London Hospital, located in the heart of the East End, grew in tandem with the industrialisation and increasing population of one of the most impoverished areas of the capital, providing care and emergency facilities to employees of local industries amongst others.

Excavations at Royal London Hospital recovered evidence of a forgotten cemetery that provided burial for deceased patients for whom no other provision had been made. Archaeological evidence and documentary sources suggest that many of these patients were first given to the hospital medical school for anatomical study, implying a certain tolerance of 'body snatching' lay behind the cloak of respectability.

The teaching of doctors and surgeons with the aid of human dissection no doubt contributed to scientific development within the medical profession, but this came with consequences that many at the time found unpalatable. The archaeological investigation of the hospital provided evidence that both embellished and supplemented contemporary written records, providing insights into dubious practices and the thinking of those responsible for them.

Session: To the Things Themselves? Examining the Theoretical Bases of PPS5

Stephen Townend AIfA *(Entec UK)* & Ken Whittaker *(Entec UK)*

Introduction:

In a recent essay Prof Fulford (2011) renews the oft debated issue of the role for academe in the commercial archaeological sector, with reference to the analysis and interpretation of major fieldwork programmes and the synthesis of new data. Yet he overlooks a pressing need for academe to provide theoretical clarity in the formulation and implementation of planning policy.

In March of 2010, DCMS released PPS5, the replacement policy documents for the long serving PPGs15 and 16. With it were published a Practice Guide and a statement from the Government on the historic environment for England. Before that, in 2008, Conservation Principles was published which set the stage for the forthcoming policy document and guidance.

The policy documents have, in May 2011, been added to by the publication in draft of the report of the Southport Group, which seeks to set a framework for delivering the requirements of PPS5.

Where PPGs15 and 16 had been overwhelmingly pragmatic, with a focus on the independent reality of archaeological/historical objects, the new suite of documents explicitly take a line that biases the interpretation of things and places by the people that engage with them.

Conservation principles and the practice guide, in particular, are shot through with all the big ideas in archaeological theory of the last 20 years e.g. significance, value, authenticity, aesthetics, community, memory, agency, multivocality and questions of ontology.

The new policy on the historic environment for England is, apparently therefore, a broadly phenomenological approach that takes the position that things and places have no meaningful existence, beyond their interpreted context. Great! You might say; about time! You might say, but look a little closer and it quickly becomes apparent that no-one has looked a little closer.

This session aims to explore the philosophical and theoretical bases for the new suite of guidance and policy on the historic environment and to open it up for critique. We are seeking to ask questions of the assertions made in documents that set the basis for the curation of archaeology, buildings and places in England for the foreseeable future.

We consider that these big ideas are somewhat glibly and inconsistently imported into the policy and guidance and are argued for primarily by assertion. While we remain broadly positive about the direction taken with the new policy, we nonetheless have concerns that the complex philosophical positions signposted in the documentation have not been thoroughly and openly considered and are not, therefore, necessarily the best underpinning for policy.

The need to address this is urgent. There is a clear risk the opportunity afforded by policies promoting academic and public service interests, will be yet again be ‘commandeered by companies operating like giant businesses at national and international level’ (Carver 2010). The self-appointed Southport Group, by its composition and its manifesto, reflects institutional

and commercial self-interest in the interpretation and implementation of PPS5 policies, advocating barriers to entry to the commercial sector on the one hand and prescribing the manner of public involvement on the other.

This session is intended to be accompanied by a sister session at the IFA later this year which examines the application of new policy.

Carver, M. E. 2010. Editorial, *Antiquity* 84 (2010): 935–938
http://antiquity.ac.uk/Ant/084/0933/ant0840933.pdf

Fulford, M. 2011. *The impact of commercial archaeology on the UK heritage, in History for the taking?: Perspectives on material heritage, 33-54*, British Academy Policy Centre http://www.britac.ac.uk/policy/History-for-the-taking.cfm

To the Things themselves..?

Steve Townend *(Amec E & I UK Ltd)* & Ken Whittaker *(Amec E & I UK Ltd)*

This paper unashamedly revives Husserl's clarion call as its theme. Why? The recent suite of policy document and guidance on archaeology particularly and the historic environment generally indicates, on the face of it, that what's really important about Things and places of the past is their constitution through perception. We in the consultancy sector are all phenomenologists now, striving to reveal the essences of our phenomena and bracketing our preconceptions in the name of rigorous assessment; aren't we..?

If 5 >16 ... Could less be more?

Jim Hunter *(Hyder Consulting)*

The effect of PPG 16 was a proliferation of archaeological fieldwork. But as many pointed out this didn't necessarily mean better research. That wasn't PPG16's fault but the way that PPG16 was applied did lead to a lot of negative watching briefs. None of us became archaeologists to stand at the side of trenches looking at natural, did we? Nor does it do the profession any credit to spend others' money finding nothing. But it's more than all that. Can we use PPS5 to focus on what's really important about a site without the move away from objectivity risking moral and professional compromise?

Of Archaeological Interest: PPS5 & transition in cultural heritage policy

Rob Lennox *(University of York)* & Gill Chitty *(Council for British Archaeology)*

The aim of this paper will be to explore the processes of cultural heritage policy transition that have occurred since the 1990s, from defining archaeology primarily in terms of *evidential value* (PPGs 15+16) to describing it primarily in terms of *public interest* (PPS5).

It is considered that the expansion of public engagement with archaeology and the desire to develop the broader societal uses of heritage have developed amid wider political changes

relating to how we interpret our quality of life, and have been made possible by various advances in technology and media.

The paper will introduce a three-year collaborative research project between the University of York and the Council for British Archaeology which will examine these issues and explore the impact that the PPS5 value-led approach is having on opportunities for public participation and community engagement with the historic environment.

The project will question how effective government and NGOs have been at leading this transition by tracking practical outcomes for local authority development management and professional archaeologists alike.

This real-time analysis of the evolving policy area will help to develop a fuller professional understanding of the implications of PPS5 and successor policies in the National Planning Policy Framework and set it within a wider context of the value of the historic environment to society.

Clinging to Tradition? The role of the 'expert' in the context of PPS5

Stella Jackson *(University of York)*

The introduction and use of post-processual theory in cultural heritage studies has led to an understanding that heritage is a cultural construct, it's significance being ascribed to it in the present rather than being an intrinsic quality. We also now recognise that individuals, groups and communities ascribe significance to heritage sites for a variety of different, and often competing, reasons. However, despite a shift in heritage policy and guidance in England towards what would appear to be a more phenomenological approach, as is evidenced in documents such as Conservation Principles, PPS5, and the associated good practice guide and government statement; the underlying philosophical basis for conservation and protection remains firmly tied to the materiality of heritage, and 'traditional' ideas of inherent value. Even Conservation Principles, which makes reference to all the 'big ideas' in recent archaeological theory, continues to favour a materialistic, objective, assessment of heritage, prioritising the evaluation of historic fabric and the definition of its significance by experts at English Heritage over 'communication' with people and communities. This paper, therefore, will discuss this apparent reluctance in practice to acknowledge the multivocality of significance, arguing that it results from the desire of heritage professionals to retain their 'expert' status in the field of heritage protection.

Irene Garcia Rovira *(University of Manchester)* & Koji Mizoguchi *(Kyushu University)*

Introduction:

Cultural tradition, or, the reproduction of social practices within a particular society, has been analysed both within practice and evolutionary theory.

Whilst both have influenced archaeological thought, the former has brought profound challenges to the discipline, as can be seen, for instance, with the development of contextual archaeology, agency theory, or in the archaeology of inhabitation.

What these approaches have in common is an ontological understanding of tradition, which not only steps away from the modern traditional opposition, but that also helps portraying the internal dynamics of society.

Despite the usefulness of such approaches, a number of limitations are beginning to emerge.

On the one hand, little attention has been placed on examining what actually takes place within and around individuals, and between interacting group members when cultural traditions are generated.

On the other hand, scant attention has been given to the hermeneutical processes at play when transmission occurs between members of different social groups.

Traditions of Innovation: continuity & change at Forteviot, Perth & Kinross

Rebecca K. Younger *(University of Glasgow)*

The lack of attention paid to how cultural traditions are generated, has resulted in archaeologists emphasising *continuity* of tradition, at the expense of considerations of *change*. In particular, monuments have been seen as media for perpetuating social memory and the continuation of certain practices.

Whilst excavations of Neolithic monuments have indeed demonstrated their longevity in terms of continuity of place, they can also be interpreted as places of *change*, as the same site is often repeatedly reworked. For example, it is not uncommon for the sites of Neolithic henge monuments to be used at different times for deposition, burial, and timber or stone settings, as well as henge earthworks. This repeated re-imagining of monumental practices, suggests the significance of changing traditions in the past.

Using the recently-excavated henge sites at Forteviot as a case study, I suggest that by using practice theory to focus on the repetition and reworking of the 'project' of monumentality, we might understand the significance of the interplay between continuity and change. By examining how people enact change through re-imagining the ways in which monuments are constructed, can we begin to understand the outworking of monumental ideas at henge sites as a tradition of innovation?

Giddensian Stratification Model of Consciousness Revisited

Koji Mizoguchi *(Kyushu University)*

One of the core components of Giddensian structuration theory is the stratification model of consciousness, which formulates that communicative practice and its material and immaterial outcomes are mediated and mutually constituted by three levels of consciousness; discursive consciousness, practical consciousness, and unconscious (Giddens 1984). By referring to the model we are facilitated to specify as to what element/type of our engagement with the social world constitutes and reproduces it and in what way; by drawing upon the model in a controlled manner correlations between the modes of engagement, their material and immaterial media and their outcomes can be captured and analysed explicitly. However, the potential of the model has not fully been explored in concrete case studies in archaeology, and the model tends to have been mainly used as a rhetorical device. This paper attempts to propose a way to apply the model to the study of material culture by conducting a concrete case study on the phenomenon of hybridization in pottery. In doing so, the paper also attempts to connect the model to Niclas Luhmann's theory of communication systems (1994) to enhance the potential of the model.

Giddens, A. 1984. *The constitution of society: an outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity press.

Luhmann, N. 1994. *Social systems*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford university press.

Practice Theory Applied to Prehistoric Research: The case of Neolithic house 'closure' in Anatolia

Maxime Brami *(University of Liverpool)*

Practice theory has brought major changes to the study of tradition in archaeology by shifting the focus of analysis from culture traits and 'similarities' to patterns of social 'behaviour' internalized through everyday life action.

Archaeologists wishing to apply practice theory to prehistoric research face, however, several difficulties. Since archaeologists have never had direct access to ancient informants, the traditional methods of social anthropology aimed at collecting practices – participant observation for instance – are redundant. The ways in which people stood, spoke, felt and thought – to use the words of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1980: 117-121) – are never accessible to archaeologists other than through indirect evidence like representations or texts. Prehistorians must face the additional difficulty of having no written record at their disposal.

The case of Neolithic house 'closure' in Anatolia – a set of practices for house abandonment – emphasises a method to study prehistoric practices: an advanced understanding of specific archaeological contexts, which combines a wide range of material evidence with stratigraphical information. Building 80 in Çatalhöyük, which was emptied, set on fire and ritually 'buried', provides a striking example, which will be reviewed carefully. Other examples drawn from the author's own fieldwork in Turkey will add further argument to this discussion.

The Meaning in Making: an exploration of cultural traditions of artefact production

Frances Liardet *(Cardiff University)*

The reproduction of social practices has been analysed both within practice theory and, as 'cultural transmission', within evolutionary theory. Both these approaches employ the concept of knowledge as a term of analysis: cultural transmission relies on the idea of packets of information which are passed on (e.g. Shennan 2002), and practice theory uses the idea of practical (or tacit, or implicit) knowledge, as opposed to discursive (or propositional, or explicit) knowledge, to account for the persistence of social behaviours and institutions (e.g. Bourdieu 1990, 2000). However both these approaches make it difficult to explore the craft element of cultural traditions: that is to say, the skilful production of artefacts by communities over time. Here, where the interaction of gestures, tools and materials is at issue, a more fine-grained approach is necessary. By substituting two related concepts, those of dexterity and kinaesthesia, for those of knowledge and transmission, craft tradition can be reframed as the collective and diachronic experience of *coming to move* dexterously with tools and materials. In this paper I use these terms and this definition to analyse my apprenticeship in the making of core-formed glass alabastra where, by conceiving of the learning process in terms of dexterity and kinaesthesia, it became clear how this experiential process is not value-neutral but intrinsically generative of meaning.

Bourdieu, P. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bourdieu, P. 2000. *Pascalian Meditations*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Shennan, S. J. 2002. *Genes, Memes and Human History: Darwinian archaeology and cultural evolution*. London: Thames & Hudson

The Materialities of Practice: emerging agendas for a social archaeology?

Keith Ray *(Herefordshire Archaeology)*

The year was 1988. Archaeology was about to break into the mainstream of social and historical theory with a perspective on the dynamics of social relations that at last overcame some of the stale platitudes of evolutionism as then practiced. The paper that heralded this new dawn had just been published: John Barrett's 'Fields of Discourse' appeared in the street-cred left journal 'Critique of Anthropology' and set out a programme for the theorisation of materiality and social reproduction that would transform how interpretation in archaeology was practiced. We would be invited to look back in decades to come and see this as a critical moment in the growth of archaeological theory.

Nearly twenty-five years on, the 'critical moment' is seen instead as symptomatic of an era full of programmatic statements that were based upon the attempted, but failed, appropriation of the ideas of cultural philosophy and social theory. Instead, social evolutionism has continued as the overwhelmingly dominant paradigm within which 'theoretical' archaeology is practiced. Barrett's 1988 exposition was based centrally upon a melding of the ideas of Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu, and was not the only contemporary archaeological work that attempted

to build upon them. The present paper explores briefly how the development of ideas around 'materialities of practice' and their social and cultural implications continued behind and beyond the 1980s and 90s polemic, for instance influencing approaches to social agency in archaeology. Its main thrust, however, is a re-statement of the project of advancing archaeology by focusing upon the past and present active deployment of material culture in the creation, sustaining and transformation of social relations and social worlds through time.

Re-thinking Diffusion 'In Between'

Irene Garcia Rovira (University of Manchester)

The application of Bourdieu´s ´theory of practice´ (1977, 1990) and Giddens ´structuration theory´ (1979, 1984) was central for the emergence of some of the most pervasive views integrating the 'post-processual discourse'. The influence exerted by these approaches allowed the development of, for instance, 'agency theory' (e.g. Dobres & Robb 2000) and Barrett's 'archaeologies of inhabitation´ (2000, 2001). Furthermore, much interpretive activity knowledgeable of these trends began to explore archaeological contexts using theoretical insights and methods engendered within the above mentioned theoretical appraisal.

Whilst these archaeological approaches brought about alternative views which nourished interpretation, they did so by promoting the study of social dynamics within social systems through exploring ´social practice´ and by favouring the study of local contexts. In this contribution, I would like (1) to expose the aforementioned situation and (2) to call for the necessity to theorise the tranformative space which takes place during inter-cultural interaction. To do so, I argue that, we do not necessarily have to reject the insights offered by the ´structuration theories´ but that, in effect, a better understanding of the 'in-between´ can only emerge by expanding from them.

Index

Carver, Martin		60, 100
Chance, Steven	Steven.Chance@clneuro.ox.ac.uk	122, 124
Charman, Dan		107
Chapman, Henry		128
Chapnick, Aaron		78
Cheetham, Paul		58
Chitty, Gill	gillchitty@britarch.ac.uk	154
Christie, Annalisa C.	annalisa.christie@yahoo.co.uk	52
Chroustovský, Luboš		79
Clarke, Bob	rc330@exeter.ac.uk	3
Cobb, Hannah	Hannah.Cobb@manchester.ac.uk	61
Coch, Carme		9
Cockrell , Tim	prp09tfc@sheffield.ac.uk	83
Collar, Anna	AnnaCFCollar@googlemail.com	40
Collins, Christina	prp09cc@sheffield.ac.uk	5
Colls, Kevin	k.s.colls@bham.ac.uk	57
Convery, David	david_convery@yahoo.co.uk	13
Cooper, Catriona	CC1406@soton.ac.uk	101
Cooper, Malcolm	info@themalcolmacooperconsultancy.co.uk	146
Cope, Andrew	a4art@live.co.uk	16
Costa, Stefano	steko@unisi.it	69
Coward, Fiona	Fiona.Coward@fhul.ac.uk	40
Crellin, Rachel	R.J.Crellin@newcastle.ac.uk	51
Crespo Romero, Clara	ccresporomero@yahoo.es	10
Criado Castellanos, I.		11
Croxford, Ben	ben.croxford@kent.gov.uk	16
Croucher, Karina	karina.croucher@manchester.ac.uk	62
Cummings, Vicki	VCummings1@uclan.ac.uk	137, 139
Curado Morelas, J. M.		11
Cyngot, Dorota		48
Czeszewska, Agata	agataczeszewska86@wp.pl	42

D

Dalwood, Hal	hdalwood@worcestershire.gov.uk	138
Danchenko, Evgeny M.		46
Danckers, Jonas	Jonas.Danckers@arts.Kuleuven.be	110, 112
Darvill, Timothy	tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk	54
Das, Subhadra	subhadra.das@ucl.ac.uk	17
Davies, Thomas	tdavies274@gmail.com	123, 131
Davis, Adrian	PG329@tsd.ac.uk	71, 72
Dawson, Peter	pcdawson@ucalgary.ca	85
Dawson, Tom	tcd@st-andrews.ac.uk	84
De Groot, Tessa		76
Delley, Géraldine		24
De Reu, Jeroen	jeroen.DeReu@Ugent.be	112

Haselgrove, Colin		26
Harding, Anthony		26
Harrison, Karl		59
Harward, Chiz		58
Heamagi, Christin	christin.heamagi@hwtma.org.uk	86
Hedge, Robert E.	rob.hedge@gmail.com	57
Henson, Donald	DonHenson@Britarch.ac.uk	66
Hepher, James	james.hepher@scotland.gsi.gov.uk	104
Hernàndez Cardona, F. Xavier	fhernandez@ub.edu	10, 81
Herrasti, Lourdes		9
Hickman, Clare		151
Hill, Lisa		142
Hobaiter, Cat		124
Hodgetts, Lisa	lisa.hodgetts@uwo.ca	25, 85
Hoggett, Richard		87
Holland, Christopher	ch7535@bristol.ac.uk	7
Horn, Christian		77
Horton, Mark		151
Houle, Jean-Luc		129
Howard, Sarah	sarah.howard@norfolk.gov.uk	87
Hughes, Justin	Jhughes@worcestershire.gov.uk	86
Hunt, Rebecca	hunt.rebecca89@yahoo.co.uk	57
Hunter, Jim	jim.hunter@hyderconsulting.com	154

I

Immonen, Visa	visa.immonen@helseinki.fi	47
Inskip, Sarah	sai204@soton.ac.uk	32

J

Jackson, Stella	saj504@york.ac.uk	155
Jacobsson, Piotr	s0673077@sms.ed.ac.uk	47
Jervis, Ben	bpjervis@googlemail.com	95
Jiménez, Jimi		9
Johanson, Kristiina		33
Johnston, Bob	r.johnston@sheffield.ac.uk	91
Jones, Jennifer	jonesjr11@cardiff.ac.uk	106, 107
Jonuks, Tõnno		33
Joyner, Laura		36

K

Kalazich, Fernanda	m.kalazich@ucl.ac.uk	116
Kamash, Zena	Zena.Kamash@arch.ox.ac.uk	23
Karlström, Anna	a.karlstrom@uq.edu.au	148
Kerr, Brian	Brian.kerr@english-heritage.org.uk	130

Schofield, John	john.schofield@york.ac.uk	148
Schulze, Niklas	niklasschulze@yahoo.com.mx	77
Scott, Karin		87
Scullion, Natasha	natasha@ggat.org.uk	38
Seitsonen, Oula		129
Serrurier, Antoine		123
Shaw, Colin N.		123, 131
Simpson, Alaba		22
Simpson, Ian A.	i.a.simpson@stir.ac.uk	7
Smith, David	D.N.Smith@bham.ac.uk	106, 109
Smith, Pamela Jane	pjs1011@cam.ac.uk	70
Smith, Siân	sianeh@me.com	99
Soar, Kathryn	Katy.Soar@nottingham.ac.uk	132
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Southwell-Wright, William	w.a.southwell-wright@durham.ac.uk	63
Souvatzi, Stella	stellasouvatzi@hotmail.com	23, 72
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Starkie, Emily	emilystarkie@gmail.com	120
Steele, James	j.steele@ucl.ac.uk	123
Sterry, Martin	mjs66@le.ac.uk	114
Stock, Jay T.		123, 131

T

Tabaczyński, Stanislaw		48
Thacker, Mark	m.a.thacker@sms.ed.ac.uk	111
Thomas, Suzie	suziethomas@britarch.ac.uk	35, 64
Thornton, Amara	tcrnaat@ucl.ac.uk	43
Timmins, Christopher	timminscp@cf.ac.uk	140
Tolson, Louise	l.e.tolson@ncl.ac.uk	85
Townend, Stephen	Stephen.Townend@entecuk.co.uk	153, 154
Traaholt, Anne	anne.traaholt@akerhus-fk.no	84
Tuosto, Emilio		26

U

Ulguim, Priscilla Ferreira		56
Uomini, Natalie	N.Uomini@Liverpool.ac.uk	122, 124

V

Van-de Noort, Robert	R.van-de-noort@ex.ac.uk	128
Van den Berg, Kimberley	k.a.m.vanden.berg@vu.nl	41
Van der Auwera, Sigrid	sigrid.vanderauwera@ua.ac.be	146
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Van Dommelen, Peter		26
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Van Oyen, Astrid	av360@cam.ac.uk	6