



**TAG 2022**  
**Abstract Book**

**THURSDAY 15<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 2022**

**Theoretical Revolutions and Popular Apathy: How is the history of archaeology understood in the ‘real world’**

Organiser: Kulvinder Nagre (UCL)

**Funding, Societal Relevance, and the space for Communicating Critical Theory in Archaeology**

Elisabeth Niklasson (University of Aberdeen)

This contribution examines funding arrangements and the ‘return value’ of archaeology as an obstacle to communicating critical perspectives. In the minds of its benefactors, from 19<sup>th</sup> century patrons to 21<sup>st</sup> century governments, archaeology has always been considered ‘good for something’. It has been expected to delight by taking individuals on a journey of discovery, to further knowledge of humanity and its origins, and to safeguard sites for future generations. It has also been expected to legitimise claims to power and territory, to be a cohesive agent in collective identities, and to promote economic development. Such expectations are still what makes archaeology fun and fundable in the public eye. Since archaeologists began pursuing critical theory in the 1980s, the discipline has scrutinized these expectations, struggling with a mismatch between an internal ‘loss of innocence’ and enduring societal perceptions. Considering archaeology’s fraught relationship with ethnic nationalism and colonialism, many have challenged taken for granted values of archaeology and tried to replace essentialism with open-ended frameworks that embrace nuance. Yet benefactors and publics continue to be more interested in what (seemingly) offers straightforward answers, such as aDNA research. Fearing disenchantment, or because buzzwords make it challenging to articulate the value of critical perspectives, archaeologists often rely on old expectations when it comes to securing funding. Drawing examples from the EU funding sphere, as well as populist radical right politics, I argue that this can create a feedback loop where we continue to reinforce old perceptions of what archaeology is ‘good for’.

**Archaeological Theory on Display**

Duncan H. Brown (Historic England/Society for Museum Archaeology)

It may be worth considering here the role museums play in transmitting archaeological thinking, and indeed images of archaeologists. It is interesting to observe how museum displays have developed over time, in line with the progression from culture history (e.g. displays on Hawke’s Iron Age A and B) through the new archaeology to post-processualism and more inclusive representations of the past. Alongside those trends are the ways in which museum curators themselves might be viewed by the public as embodying an archaeological persona (generally beards and sandals, rather than pith helmets or whips). It may be possible, therefore, to examine how museums, the most public-facing component of the archaeological world, have reflected archaeological thought and indeed, how they can reflect public perceptions back at us archaeologists. This paper will take a journey through the development of museum displays, from the early galleries jam-packed with objects, to the more carefully designed and more interactive displays in the present. Along the way, we’ll consider how developments in

archaeological thinking and relationships between archaeological practitioners and the public have been reflected in a museum context. This might offer a broader perspective to this session, beyond the academic sphere, and thus inform a wider discussion.

### **British Imperial Archaeologies, and Popular Perceptions of the Past**

Kulvinder Nagre (UCL)

The theoretical shifts which have characterised archaeological discourse over the last century have, seemingly, not had a great effect on our image outside of the academy. The enduring ‘archaeologist’ of popular media, for example, remains the colonial antiquarian, the linen-suited, bowtied boffin, resident expert in Egyptology, Graeco-Roman civilisation, and often the ‘deeper mysteries’ of the human past. Fine. Whilst our work may be on some level in the ‘public interest’, there is little need for us to put too fine a point on the way in which the public choose to stereotype us as practitioners. Of more direct and pressing concern, is the extent to which the archaeological *narratives*, public perceptions of the past within popular discourse, are also drawn from this *milieu*. As a discipline, we have moved far beyond classics-centric, teleological narratives of exceptionalism, and have challenged the worldview that positions the ‘Great Civilisations’ of the Ancient Mediterranean as primary and primate, and the modern West as their direct and only descendants, in the process denigrating and denying the sophistication of all other world systems. Is this reflected beyond the ‘ivory tower’? In response to this question, this paper will present evidence from a series of questionnaires distributed amongst British participants from 2021-2022. The results from these ultimately demonstrate the highly regressive perceptions of the past held by a significant number of participants, and thus make a case for more robust outreach and engagement from academic archaeologists.

### **Embodying a colonizer: the contemporary practice of archaeology in Peru**

Aldo Accinelli Obando (University of Amsterdam)

The history of archaeological thought is usually portrayed as one where there has been several ‘paradigm shifts’ that have changed the focus on how to understand human cultural evolution through materiality. However, most of these ‘shifts’ still maintained a Eurocentric point of view and an approximation to materiality based on coloniality. As I will argue, these are crucial aspects that permeate archaeological practice in general and are not exclusive to any school of thought, independent of its point of origin and the moment in time when it was created. Furthermore, this colonial legacy is also present in the laws and regulations that are meant to dictate how people can relate to heritage, especially archaeological sites. Several examples of Peru will be used to illustrate how archaeologists can behave or can be perceived as contemporary equivalents of colonizers. This is exacerbated by Peruvian heritage laws and regulations that privilege the archaeologist over any other human being when it comes to what kind of relations can be established with precolonial heritage. Therefore, even though the public has a very positive perception of archaeological sites, the image of the archaeologists in Peru is not necessarily as well received because of the existing vertical modernist relation and of their monopoly over heritage management. Then, as long as this relation is maintained, the perception of a sector of the public will be the same, indifferent to the archaeological school of thought to which the archaeologist belongs to.

## **Post-colonial Roman Archaeology in Britain and public conceptions of the Roman past**

Richard Hingley (University of Durham)

This paper addresses the successes and failures of the 'post-colonial' agenda that developed in Roman archaeology in Britain during the period from the 1990s to the early 2020s and sets this alongside the way that the Roman past is portrayed and represented in the public realm (cf. Hingley 2021). It is suggested that the theoretical revolution underway in Roman studies has actively helped to feed the growing weaponization of the ancient past in neo-populist rhetoric by convincing nationalists that academic research is politically motivated. This leaves scholars and curators with a quandary, whether to use the Roman past to enthuse or to (attempt to) inform a public brought up with a firm belief in the message of 'What the Romans did for us'.

## **More nonsense from the loony left NIMBY's**

Lorna-Jane Richardson (UEA)

The growth of anti-intellectual populism, anti 'woke' media and the sharpening social and cultural divisions of post-Brexit, ultra-Conservative Britain, has increasingly influenced the role of archaeology as a place to negotiate national identity and patriotism. This paper will explore public discourse on the site of Stonehenge that can be found online through below-the-line UK national newspaper comments and the social media platform Trip Advisor. It will outline how this type of qualitative digital social research can both enlighten and disappoint when examining attitudes of the non-academic 'public' towards the field of archaeology. This paper uses a Grounded Theory approach, and will speak on the benefits of embracing such qualitative approaches to the social sciences, in order to sidestep the theoretical complexities of archaeology's past and embrace theoretical sensitivity and methodological reflexivity.

## **An archaeology of global medieval life**

Organisers: David Petts (Durham University), Abigail Moffett (University of East Anglia)  
and Shadreck Chirikure (University of Oxford)

## **Perspectives on the global middle ages**

David Petts (Durham University)

This paper sets the scene to the session – exploring the different ways in which the 'global middle ages' has been framed, particularly by archaeologists and identifying some of the key challenges to looking at the medieval period from a global perspective.

## **Move Forward, or Not: Chaîne Opératoire of Early Medieval (9th – 11th century CE) Slatin Southern Morocco**

Biyang Wang (University of Cambridge)

Having lived under the shadow of Roman for ages, after the early Arab conquest from the 7th to the early 8th century, Northern Africa started to become a part of the Arabic Caliph. Since then, Northern Africa, along with Greater Syria, Spain, and Egypt, gradually shifted from Hellenistic and Roman culture toward Islamic culture. This procedure is called Islamization,

which has been heated research in the field of Islamic archaeology and Mediterranean archaeology. Meanwhile, as the intersection of the Sahara, the archaeological sites along the edge of the desert are significant to study the interaction between the Mediterranean and the sub-Saharan world. However, this area has long been marginalized. This research is hoping to fill this void. Focusing on one of the main stops along the Southern Sahara, Tamdult, Morocco, this research is going to address the cultural conflict and local technological choice in the background of both geological and chronological change through the method of archaeometallurgy. This research aims to analyze the composition and technology of a selection slag from Tamdult, Morocco from 9th to 11th C. CE, to reconstruct the local metal-making technology in Southern Morocco, in order to study the Trans Saharan trading and knowledge exchange in the wave of Islamization through the semi-quantitative approach. This research will fill a void in the current scholarship on northern African metallurgy. It is also hoped that this study will shed further light on the influence of Islamic culture and the local reaction to Islamization.

### **Buddhist and Christian Monasticism within the ‘Global Middle Ages’: Early archaeological comparisons and recent cross-cultural perspectives from South Asia and Western Europe**

Christopher Davis (Durham University)

Although of differing belief systems, geographic regions and climatic zones, there is a rich history of comparative approaches to the archaeology of Buddhist and Christian monastic institutions within medieval Western Europe and South Asia. Initially based on architectural analogies, these comparisons have developed into discussions of the motivations and activities of monasteries within their broader landscapes. It has been recognised that in both contexts, monasteries performed various social, religious, and economic roles. Engaging with communities at local and international levels, through spiritual and educational guidance, as well as networks of production, trade, exchange and pilgrimage, it is increasingly clear that monasteries, both with and without state control, also had the influence and social capital to act as agents of colonisation for agricultural expansion.

Focussing on early Buddhist monasteries within the hinterland of Anuradhapura, the first capital city of the island of Sri Lanka, archaeological and epigraphic data has been combined to provide a landscape view of settlement developments. This evidence suggests a dynamic process of landscape consolidation, resource harnessing and the establishment of new communities driven by monastic institutions through the support of competing local elites and emerging dynastic powers. Such a process draws parallels to the active roles of Christian monasteries for conversion and the incorporation of new territories within medieval Western Europe. Such comparisons allow for an exploration of what the key characteristics of monastic institutions within the ‘Global Middle Ages’ were that led to their abilities to facilitate consolidation and control over landscapes, populations and resources.

### **Local perspectives on change and transition from an Egyptian house at the dawn of the Middle Ages**

Giorgia Marchiori (Durham University)

In light of this session’s theme addressing the perspective of materiality against that of textual evidence, this presentation will illustrate the case study of a non-elite house at the site of Kom al-Ahmer (Western Nile Delta) inhabited between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and mid-5<sup>th</sup> century CE. It will

be argued how the excavation and study of this specific case study house is an example of how it can be attempted to bridge the gap between the written evidence and the lived experience, especially in Egypt, where the over-reliance on the rich papyrological evidence, though a precious resource in deepening our understanding of everyday life, has led to an underestimation of other archaeological data. Moreover, the presentation will discuss the possibilities offered by the investigation of a case study house to approach and explore —with a more private and individual lens— the concepts of change and transition, concepts that are often linked with the study of Late Antiquity, necessary to understand the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

### **A forgotten part of 'Global Middle Ages': central and eastern Europe**

Hajnaka Herold (University of Exeter)

The intent behind the notion of 'Global Middle Ages' has generally been to broaden the scope, especially geographically, that we examine when discussing the Middle Ages. Important components of this have been a decolonising approach and widening the field of view beyond western Europe and the Mediterranean. While these are very noble aims, a broad territory, situated geographically in the very area between western Europe and the Mediterranean, has largely been left out of consideration, especially in English-speaking scholarship: we rarely see central and eastern Europe discussed in works that bear a 'Global Middle Ages' tag.

In some ways, the notion of 'Global Middle Ages' can be seen as an 'us vs them', where western Europe, which often sees the Mediterranean as its extension (likely stemming from the study of Classics being a traditionally western European pursuit), considers its relations with areas that would have been seen as 'noble savage' by researchers working hundred years ago. In this context, central and eastern Europe does not play a role, it is not relevant, we could say it is a 'non-place'. This paper argues that central and eastern Europe was strongly embedded in the medieval world and the study of the Middle Ages cannot be truly 'global' without including this broad territory. One reason for the absence of this region, especially for the earlier part of 500–1500 CE, could be the lack of consistent written sources before the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is where archaeology can play a decisive part – the archaeological record is rich and detailed, albeit less well-known in an international context.

### **Setting the tone: Responding to the impact of the Middle Ages on modern lives: The MERC Manifesto**

John Raven (Historic Environment Scotland), Steven Driscoll (University of Glasgow)

The Middle Ages has a profound impact on our modern lives. From the cities and countryside we live in to our national borders and identities, most have their routes in the middle ages. Archaeologists are therefore at the forefront of helping our societies understand the realities of these processes and challenge misunderstandings and misuse of our past, thereby helping to create better futures. MERC (the Medieval Europe Research Community) have set out a Manifesto, setting a vision for how we (archaeologists) garner our efforts, work together and contribute to a better world. Led in Scotland, this was the product of Europe-wide collaborations and consultations. It celebrates the importance of our medieval past and archaeologists' contribution to illuminating the world's communities; recognises our political, social and cultural responsibilities; advocates an inclusive approach to defining medieval Europe, not constrained by time, geographical borders or disciplinary silos, and, fundamentally, it highlights the benefits gained from working together in an open learning

environment. This paper will invite participants embrace our manifesto, explain how we achieved our aims and vision, and encourage continued participation and discussion.

### **How global? – Do long distance trade goods create a false ‘global middle ages’?**

Rowan Stanley English (Aarhus University)

The ‘global middle ages’ presents us with a bird’s eye view of the goings on and connectives in the medieval world, but how useful is our birds eye view when trying to think through how the people living ‘on the ground’ in the past perceived it. I want to tackle this problem by investigating how far does the material evidence of connection gives us as the bird’s eye viewers a warped perception on how ‘global’ was the ‘global middle ages’.

To do this, case studies of objects in graves of early medieval England will be explored from a range of scales, from individual graves to local trends and widespread patterns. Goods we recognise today as long-distance trade goods are often a prominent feature of furnished graves in early medieval England. Elephant ivory made into waist bags, cowrie shells hung as amulets and handfuls of coral beads in cremation urns all appear in 5th-7th century contexts. Whether scientifically provenanced or not; these goods required some anthropogenic action to get to the British Isles; but does this process or indeed processes represent long-distance trade and a ‘global middle ages’?

These case studies will attempt to show that in reality, people likely did not perceive the goods that we see as global as that global at all. Careful contextual re-consideration of so-called long-distance trade goods in their final contexts allows us to see that the Middle Ages may be global from a birds eye view, but often may not have been for those living it.

### **Marginal spaces and invisible people: Southern Africa in the Global Middle Ages.**

Abigail Moffett (University of East Anglia) and Shadreck Chirikure (University of Oxford)

The incorporation of new areas of study into analyses of the Medieval world encapsulated in its reframing as the ‘Global Middle Ages’ continues to expose the interconnectedness of people and ideas across the world in this period. However, the construction of the notion of the Medieval world was built on the analyses of Medieval Europe and modelled on European peoples, political structures and economies. As a result, what is included in the study of the Global Middle Ages, and what is not, remains largely determined by preconceived ideas of the Medieval world.

Frequently depicted maps of the Indian Ocean in the Global Middle Ages show only the Swahili ‘city states’ and the site of Great Zimbabwe in Eastern and southern Africa. The areas surrounding Great Zimbabwe and much of the East African interior appear blank on these maps, giving the wrong impression that this landscape was uninhabited during Medieval times. Additionally, interest in the objects, technologies and ideas that flowed between these sites and the wider Indian Ocean region is largely focused on that of relevance to scholars of medieval Eurasia, such as the exchange of gold, ivory, porcelain and cloth and the spread of Islam to East Africa.

While the inclusion of the Swahili city states and Great Zimbabwe has put southern Africa ‘on the map’, especially that of the Indian Ocean trade routes, the depiction of an empty landscape is erroneous and models of the exchanges that took place largely speculative. In this paper, we draw on our research in southern Africa to demonstrate the ways in which frameworks such as the Global Middle Ages may distort rather than illuminate regional histories and continue to

marginalise them to the edges of Eurasian centred history. We argue that while the concept of the Global Middle Ages holds potential for exposing global connections and developing a comparative methodology for regional histories, implicit assumptions and biases that shape the regions and people included in the study of the Global Middle Ages need to be further addressed.

### **“More-than” approaches in heritagescapes of the Anthropocene: The environmental ethics of heritage**

Organisers: Katherine Burlingame (University of Oslo), Þóra Pétursdóttir (University of Oslo), Sanne Bech Holmgaard (University of Oslo/NIKU),

and Alexa Spiwak (University of Oslo)

Discussant: Emma Waterton (University of York)

#### **What kind of environment do archaeologists understand?**

John Carman (University of Birmingham)

While we are all committed to meeting goals of environmental sustainability in our endeavours as archaeologists, exactly what this means depends on an understanding of how nature ‘works’. As Schwarz & Thompson (1990, 5) have outlined, there are at least four different models of how the natural environment responds to change – calling them ‘myths of nature’ they are: that nature is capricious and unpredictable; that it is perverse but tolerant; that it is benign and robust; or that it is fragile and ephemeral. Each of these in turn results in different human responses which drive policy decisions and are reflected in specific kinds of practices. This paper will apply the models of the environment proposed by Schwarz & Thompson to present the various ways in which archaeologists and heritage managers respond to environmental issues – especially climate change – and what this tells us about how the world is understood. Rather than present a model for how we *should* treat the environment, the paper takes a step back to understand what drives concerns for sustainability and what this means for archaeological and heritage practice. It raises questions about what we mean by concepts such as ‘sustainability’ which derive directly from our understanding of what is possible in our engagements with nature.

#### **Landscape archaeology in black and white**

Jonathan Last (Historic England)

The Anthropocene is a time of recognition not only of the extent of human impacts on the planet but also of the urgent need to change the relationship between people and environment. What role can archaeology play at this time of crisis? One possibility is to develop a landscape archaeology that echoes these concerns. Landscape is fundamentally an interdisciplinary concept that renders inseparable the ‘cultural’ and the ‘natural’ and thus reveals the entanglement of our environmental and social anxieties. Landscape archaeology conceived in this way does not simply mean a large-scale approach or a mode of fieldwork but an attention to the connectivities implied by the term and a will to work better together with those in other disciplines that share an interest in landscape. To do so we may have to let go of some of our



prevailing attitudes towards the ‘livelier’ parts of the landscape, and embrace approaches that allow for change rather than seeking some form of preservation - not so much an archaeology of landscape but with landscape. This paper takes as a symbol of our intersecting anxieties in unprecedented times the badger (*Meles meles*), a social creature that, much like ourselves, is interested in earthworks and routinely modifies the landscape through excavation, but is currently implicated in arguments about the spread of disease and affected by climate change. Can we move beyond narratives of ‘burrowing animal damage’ to develop an understanding of badgers as co-creators of archaeological landscapes?

### **Bewilderment: A more-than-human environmental ethic in heritage studies**

Katherine Burlingame (University of Oslo)

The concept of *rewilding* has become pervasive in environmental planning as a strategy to return nature back to its natural rhythm, increasing biodiversity, allowing ecosystems to restore themselves, and mitigating the effects of climate change as human impact is slowly reversed. Others have suggested that we also need to rewild ourselves to address the disconnection between humans and the natural world and the subsequent denial of responsibility for the impacts we have created. In this theoretical paper, I seek to challenge *rewilding* as a mechanism through which we continue to think of ‘wilderness’ as an ideal state of nature. Particularly when defined as natural heritage, wilderness areas are turned into places of control and consumption, where rewilding initiatives only entail further management and distancing between humans and ‘nature’. I therefore suggest the concept of *bewilderment* to address an alternative environmental ethic in heritage studies. As climate change has fuelled narratives of loss and disaster, bewilderment engenders feelings of enchantment, wonder, and oneness with the more-than-human world, fostering an increased level of care and responsibility toward the natural environment as well as a wider awareness and acceptance of the forces of change within natural heritage landscapes.

### **Adaptive heritage: Reuse, release and reciprocity**

Caitlyn DeSilvey (University of Exeter)

It is now clear that the accelerating effects of climate and other changes will necessitate reconsideration of the care of many at-risk heritage places and landscapes. In some contexts, it may be necessary to manage processes of loss and decline – a prospect which directly challenges core conservation principles and paradigms. The concept of ‘adaptive release’ has been developed as an alternative heritage management approach, which seeks to accommodate and attend to the dynamic transformation of a heritage asset and its associated values and significance. The presentation will explore the concept with reference to a specific case, and consider how implementation of adaptive release will require continual negotiation and collaboration with more-than-human entities. The process will need to be supported by practitioners who are skilled in recognising both emergent ecologies and latent cultural histories, and who can accept some ambiguity and uncertainty in their management practices.

### **Refrains on the common ground: Silence and environmental ethics in the Anthropocene**

Tim Flohr Sørensen (University of Copenhagen)

Through a case-based approach, this paper seeks to theorise ‘environmental ethics’ at the interface of utopian narrativity and multifarious ecologies. Focusing on *Amager Fælled*, a

highly romanticised and politically contested common, located just two kilometres from Copenhagen city centre, I will address the session organisers' call for exploring 'more-than' approaches to the Anthropocene. Coarsely summarised, conservationists currently campaign to safeguard the allegedly 'pristine' and 'untouched' 5000-year-old beach meadow at the common, whereas the City of Copenhagen plans a sustainable, urban redevelopment of a polluted landfill site, which also part of the common, adjoining the beach meadow. Moving beyond the clichéd dichotomisation of conservation versus development, I suggest that both of the two dominant narratives of the common hinge on *silences*. Outlining events on the common over the past 120 years, and the diversity of species, materialities and temporalities that precede and are lateral to narratives of the common today, I illustrate how present-day environmental visions of the common are sustainable only by way of deliberately ignoring certain ecologies or inadvertently failing to notice them. Hence, I seek to unsettle the narrative lacunae at the centre of the dominant discourses, foregrounding the un-common and the insignificant *as well as* the too common and the trivial. Therefore, I explore an approach to environmental ethics, resting on and inviting doubt and undecidability, a lack of finite knowledge, and underdetermined conceptual frameworks concerning territories, species, encounters, pasts and futures.

### **Dead Isle**

Alex Boyd (Northumbria University) and Lesley McFadyen (Birkbeck, University of London)

The Ardeer Peninsula is on the mainland of North Ayrshire, Scotland. Ardeer was an explosive manufacturing plant built by Alfred Nobel in 1873, and it developed into a town with a railway. Munitionettes worked there during both World Wars. There is also evidence for prehistoric settlement and monuments, along with historic farms, ironworks and coal pits. It is busy! Due to a complex sand dune system, and the presence and danger of the manufacturing plant (during its operation and after its abandonment), it is also a site of ecological importance with bees and wasps and beetles, butterflies and moths and birds. It is busy! All of this has been ignored, it is currently due for development by NPL Group (a privately-owned brownfield regeneration company). On the sea wall, that was built to contain the dune system, Alex has photographed a graffiti of a painting of Robert Burns (the national poet of Scotland, who was born in Ayrshire). The original was painted by Alexander Nasmyth in 1787, and it hangs in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. It is also a photograph-graffiti-painting of a past rural landscape, on a historic sea wall, in an area that has recently been designated a brownfield site. The ecotones that run through this are complex (Pétursdóttir 2022). We argue that this photograph creates a new discursive frame for matter that is being overlooked or actively ignored. And in this paper, by looking again with archaeology and photography, we bring together archaeologies of decay and ruination with a landscape that is of ecological importance and at the time of their imminent destruction. And yet, after the feminist theorist Elizabeth Grosz, we will explore 'matter as always more than itself, as containing possibilities for being otherwise...explore the direction of materiality, its orientation to the future, and the ethical force of this orientation' (2017:13).

### **Lines of rupture, lines of flight (Pegwell Bay 2022)**

Lara Band (University of the Highlands and Islands)

Pegwell Bay Hoverport in Kent, UK, opened in 1969 but closed 13 years later, unable to compete with larger, cheaper cross-channel ferries. Neighbouring the seaside resorts of Ramsgate, Broadstairs and Margate it whisked people away for newly affordable continental

holidays. Built on shale waste from nearby Chislet Colliery, it housed police during the 1984 miner's strike. It's contaminated land, cracking into the sea. It's also inextricably abundant with nature: tamarisk, sea purslane, buckthorn, birch crack through the asphalt and are settled on by Common Blue, Clouded Yellow, Meadow Brown butterflies. Winkles and cockles crowd at the concrete fringes. Turnstones creep through the rock armour, curlews herald high tide. A popular place for a visit, it's a landscape busy with families and dog walkers as well as one that's full of memories. How to even approach such a place? Seven minutes long and constructed from archive footage *Lines of Rupture, Lines of Flight* is archaeological film as method, an attempt to negotiate natureculture and call for more a/effective, more disruptive, less linear and more holistic archaeologies of place. This paper will show the film and discuss some of the context surrounding it.

### **Past as possibility: Considering the role of prehistoric archaeology in the promotion of ecological awareness**

Claire Nolan (University College Cork)

Prehistoric archaeology often conjures up pictures in the popular imagination of ancient communities living simpler, healthier lives in harmony with nature. Indeed, some public archaeology studies have found that the natural forms, deep age and land-based cultural narratives of prehistoric sites and monuments often stimulate thoughts amongst visitors around nature connection and issues of sustainability. Such impressions might be dismissed as mere nostalgia or 'paleofantasy'. However, if slightly reframed, this kind of impact may prove valuable in further defining the role that archaeology has to play in promoting climate action. Drawing on the results of qualitative research carried out in 2016 and 2017 on visitor and resident perceptions of prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire, UK, this paper looks at how these environmental insights manifest for certain people. Presenting the experiences of residents of the Stonehenge and Avebury WHS, the Vale of Pewsey, and environs, it examines the capacity of prehistoric archaeology, in particular, to promote environmental awareness. The paper suggests that rather than seeing nostalgic perceptions of prehistoric lifeways as a misrepresentation of the past, they might be recognised as a desire to create a better future for both people and planet, and thus, if informed by archaeological data, as an opportunity to encourage greater ecological awareness.

### **New heritage ethics: Beyond stewardship preservation**

Andreas Pantazatos (University of Cambridge)

Heritage Ethics has utilised environmental stewardship as its prime action-guiding principle to develop an ethical framework that renders intelligible our obligations to the past from our present standpoint. In recent years, the Critical Turn in Heritage Studies has addressed the significance of heritage beyond preservation. Central to this new development in heritage discourse is the symbiotic relationship between heritage and nature, which calls for re-evaluation of our obligations to both heritage and nature. I argue that if we are to re-evaluate our obligations to this symbiotic relationship, we need a new Heritage Ethics framework which utilises the lens of heritage to conceptualise our ethical obligations beyond the demands of stewardship preservation. To support my argument, I defend three complementary claims. First, loss and decay in heritage discourse can perform more as actors of change providing new context to negotiate our place in the world, than mere signs of destruction that lock our relationship to the world in a protection mode. Second, a significant part of this new context is attention to liminal spaces between heritage and nature.

Liminality here shifts our focus on the nuances of the heritage selection process which includes our relationship with nature beyond preservation binaries. Third, central to the heritage selection process is the transitory feature of heritage. This feature activates new understandings of our relationship with heritage and nature, informing a diverse set of obligations beyond the ethical demands of stewardship. I will conclude by testing my argument in industrial heritage sites in Europe.

### **Deposition in detail – has there been a revolution, or have we missed it?**

Organisers: Louise Søndergaard (Museum Skanderborg, Denmark) and Adrian M. Chadwick (Freelance archaeological consultant).

#### **Revelations, revolutions, but no resolutions? The past (and future?) of critical approaches to depositional patterning within archaeology**

Adrian M. Chadwick (Freelance archaeological consultant)

“A revolution is a struggle between the future and the past.” (Fidel Castro).

This introductory paper to the session will present a (very) short critical history of archaeological approaches to depositional patterning in the past 100 years or so. Influenced by the anarchist philosophies and politics of authors such as Kropotkin and Goldman, the paper will also go on to propose some potentially fertile approaches to future research and knowledge production even within the current neo-liberal commercial constraints of developer-funded or CRM archaeology and the increasingly capitalist and corporate, hierarchical and bureaucratic Higher Education sector, but also ways in which it might be possible to circumvent and undermine existing restrictions, power structures and institutions.

#### **The proxemics of the body in depositional practices**

Sabrina N. Autenrieth (University of Bordeaux)

Archaeological research on depositional practices often focuses on the distinction between wet and dry contexts, ritual or profane motives, and the distinction of object categories such as weapons or adornment (i.e., female or male objects). However, these approaches come with many issues and mostly open up more questions than answers.

This paper will introduce a different approach to categorizing objects in relation to the body and visualize how this is translated in depositional practices. The direct relation of objects to the human body is often unmentioned in archaeological research. Objects are, in most instances, categorized as tools, weapons, or adornment. However, the categorization of objects can be broken down in a more neutral and non-functionalizing way by directly connecting them to the respective part of the human body. This breakdown makes it possible to categorize objects into fewer, simpler, and less interpretative categories.

By mapping objects to their relating Body-Zones, depositional practices can be studied in a novel and more intuitive approach. This paper will explore whether the relation of objects to the human body shows new insights into depositional practices of the Early Bronze Age in the river landscape of the Rhine.

## **Revisiting ‘ritual’: seeking a usable terminology for depositional behaviour**

Jason Lundock (Full Sail University, Florida)

Throughout archaeological discourse there are many labels which are utilised to such wide and varying degrees, often lacking qualifications by the authors using them, that they become problematic phrasings at best and counter-productive at worst when applied to constructing interpretive frameworks. The term ‘ritual’ is just such a term and has been affected by every revolution in archaeological theory for the last one hundred and fifty years, making its definition rather confused in the literature. This paper will argue that despite its historically loose and often casual usage there may still be value in the term for conceptualizing archaeological deposits if we first take a deconstructionist approach to its definition and then work from there to a pragmatic application of the concept. First, we shall examine some of the history and problems of the term ‘ritual’ in archaeological and anthropological texts. Next, a minimalist definition will be proposed for the term which may be of value to our conceptualization of archaeological data and then some brief case studies from Britain, Florida and Meso-America will be put forward which shall help to illustrate how this term may still be of use in archaeological and anthropological theory.

## **Rethinking revolutions: an emotional archaeology of cached objects**

Lindsey Büster (Canterbury Christ Church University/University of York)

It is perhaps surprising that we continue to grapple with understanding such a fundamental aspect of the archaeological record as deposition. Our interpretative frameworks have mirrored the development of our discipline, from widely applicable taphonomic approaches to context-specific considerations of the materiality of specific assemblages. We have distinguished between the deliberate and the accidental, the functional and the ritual, before coming to the realisation that none of these binary systems adequately explain the evidence. Particularly problematic for prehistorians are the thousands of deposits of cached objects recovered from non-funerary contexts. We know that this material was deliberately gathered together and deliberately deposited but labelling it ‘special’ or ‘structured’ has become an end in itself: an archaeological description rather than an understanding of the lived experiences of the individuals involved. Rather than merely describing these deposits, we should seek to understand the behaviours which lie behind them. Drawing on the experiences of bereaved individuals today, and using the concept of ‘problematic stuff’, this paper will demonstrate the power of such an approach in rethinking our interpretative frameworks and in realising that the tools we need for an emotional archaeology of deposition lie much closer to home.

## **Understanding religion and urban development through depositional patterns – an example of ‘big data’ analysis from medieval Odense, Denmark**

Kirstine Haase (presenting) (UrbNet, Aarhus University/Odense City Museums) and Mikael Manøe Bjerregaard (Odense City Museums)

This paper presents a case study from Odense in Denmark where combining quantitative GIS methods with qualitative research questions has enabled the analysis of a large and diverse dataset and shed light on religion and urban development in the medieval period.

The case concerns the role of the urban environment in the introduction of Christianity in Denmark from 900 to 1250 AD. Considering the sensory experience and applying the concept

of lived religion to the archaeological record from a church, cemetery, and the surrounding city, we have shown that the urban environment played an active role in integrating Christianity into the everyday life of the citizens. The dataset included archaeological excavations (mainly commercial) and finds from the past 150 years, creating a multi-faceted, fragmented, scattered, but rich dataset. Digital tools have been pertinent in creating an overview of the archaeological data and performing analysis, thus enabling the understanding of practices and taphonomic processes behind the depositional patterns. Also, recognizing that the archaeological practices and methodology of the past 150 years have affected the dataset too.

In our view, the case shows that combining (new) digital methods and theoretical inspiration from outside archaeology with more traditional approaches such as careful contextual, depositional considerations has allowed us to obtain new insights about the past. Past societies were complex and gaining new knowledge about them requires an equally diverse approach where inspiration may come from a wide range of methods and theories – old and new, both from within and outside archaeology.

### **Quernstones – continuity and change in context and meaning in Iron Age Denmark**

Louise Søndergaard (Museum Skanderborg)

For more than four years the Museum of Skanderborg has undertaken large-scale commercial excavations resulting in a massive quantity of finds, hundreds of longhouses, and numerous pits and production features from a vast but coherent area. These results are somewhat unmanageable to get a grip on as the different buildings are often reviewed and described individually or in farm units.

A small grant made it possible to approach the material in a way that is rarely possible in commercial archaeology. A GIS-table helped to keep track on every quernstone recorded during excavation, and the task resulted in some remarkable depositional patterns of quernstones – patterns that had not been noticed during excavation, but suddenly became very evident.

The aim of this paper is to present these depositional patterns and their changes over time, and thereby shed light on an artefact that is rarely acknowledged as a find with any ritual value. The value, symbolism and meaning of querns in the past is probably impossible for us to understand, but the treatment and the subsequent deposition of the querns can definitely give us a hint.

### **Between rubbish and ritual. Studying deposition practices in Iron Age settlements from the northern Netherlands (c. 800–0 BCE)**

Karen de Vries (ADC ArcheoProjecten)

When studying later prehistoric societies, it is evident that shared practices, as well as variations, exists in the settlement record. This is also true for special deposition practices in which pottery assemblages are deliberately placed in the ground. Emphasis, however, is more often on that what is shared (the norms) than on the variations. This is regrettable, because through studying both norm and variation in material culture, it is possible to understand how people are part of larger communities, and, at the same time, express their affiliations to smaller social groups.

When studying norm and variation in special deposition practices, the challenge is two-fold. First, there is the aim to understand at what social or spatial scales choices were made. This

asks for detailed information on the context, content and treatment of pottery deposits. Second, there is the difficulty of selecting assemblages and understanding how they are part of much wider deposition practices. This, then, asks for understanding when pottery in the ground should be considered rubbish and when ritual.

In order to address these themes for the Dutch Iron Age (*c.* 800–0 BCE), a detailed analysis of pottery deposits was combined with a contextual analysis of pottery finds from development-led excavations. Based on these analyses, it can be concluded that all deposition practices were socially significant. They were shared and changes in them occurred simultaneously. Considerable changes in special deposition practices suggest that they fulfilled different needs and were performed in different social settings.

### **Presenting a complex hoard deposit – the Galloway Hoard**

Martin Goldberg (National Museums Scotland)

The Galloway Hoard is the focus of an ongoing research project at National Museums Scotland examining a complex Viking-age deposit composed of multiple parcels, with organic preservation and a variety of materials (gold, silver, copper-alloy, glass, rock crystal, minerals, leather, wood, wool, silk, linen, and animal gut). There may be different motivations behind the accumulation of certain parcels from the contemporary, and relatively common, silver bullion typical of Viking-age hoards to a range of objects that look more like a collection of relics or heirlooms.

There have been several phases of engagement with the public from an initial ‘out of the ground’ display as part of the fund-raising campaign in 2017, through a pandemic phase of digital and online engagement, an exhibition in 2021 that showcased the research and conservation undertaken between 2018–2020 and a touring exhibition through 2022 that regularly updates audiences on an AHRC-funded research project called ‘Unwrapping the Galloway Hoard’ (in partnership with the University of Glasgow). This paper will outline how, as the research and conservation are ongoing, the exhibition and public programme has had to take a different tack to any presentation of a complete or finished story and has instead attempted to bring the public into these ongoing processes, responding to their questions (which are often the same as our research questions) and showing how we might try to answer those questions.

### **Structured depositions in Iron Age Belgium: settlement deposits within a North-western European framework**

Maël Benallou (Ghent University)

Structured depositions have been a topic for discussion in archaeological research for over a century. Research concerning structured depositions in settlement contexts in Belgium is, however, lacking. To address this problem, this study aims to discern the different types of settlement depositions during the Iron Age of Belgium and their characteristics. This is achieved through a review of primary and secondary literature, including grey literature, and the creation of a database. This database forms the basis for analyses of the composition, chronology, and interpretation of each type of deposition context. A rudimentary spatial analysis and correspondence analysis for identifying patterns in placement and content follows. These findings are then compared with research results and theories in neighbouring regions to incorporate Belgium within a broader North-western European framework.

This has led to the recognition of 146 deposition contexts and the definition of multiple deposition types. The primary findings are the overall ‘purity’ of depositions, the prevalence of pottery as main find category and the lack of prestigious finds such as metalwork or decorative objects. Belgium fits within a broader North-western European framework, with obvious parallels to settlement depositions in England, France and The Netherlands. A focus on their links to each other, comprehensive study of their contents and a more detailed stratigraphical examination can lead to further insights. Only then will the potential of this complicated field of study be fully realised.

### **Landscapes of continued deposition: an analysis of depositional patterns of Roman and Anglo-Saxon lead tanks**

Maxime Ratcliffe (Durham University)

This paper focuses on work I conducted during my PhD thesis on acts of deposition for Roman and Anglo-Saxon lead tanks. My approach involves ‘landscapes of continued deposition’ – looking at how landscapes have been used across time for acts of deposition and how the burials of the lead tanks were visible within these landscapes. This involves investigating the patterns visible with the lead tanks through the contexts chosen for these depositions and their locations within their landscape, their state upon burial and any associated finds. I used this to compare acts of deposition between both sets of tanks and assess these within a broader spectrum of depositions from the Palaeolithic to medieval period to see how these features were used. I then compared the patterns visible through the lead tanks with acts of similar artefact abandonment in the areas surrounding the tanks through plotting not only the tanks into ArcGIS but also finds from the surrounding area. This entailed assessing the types of finds in these areas such as metalwork and coinage hoards, pottery assemblages settlement and cemetery patterns and seeing how the patterns visible with the tanks are reflected in the wider area. This approach allows a greater assessment of deposition activities in this area across multiple periods and the types of depositions which were occurring with a more in-depth focus on these activities.



**FRIDAY 16<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 2022**

**5000 Years of (R)evolution? Decentring Colonial Legacies around  
Transitions to Agriculture**

Organisers: Emily Mills (University of York), Penny Bickle (University of York), and  
Stephanie Piper (University of York)

**Down with the Revolution? Colonial Connotations in Researching Mesolithic-Neolithic  
Material Culture**

Stephanie Piper (University of York), Penny Bickle (University of York), and Emily Mills  
(University of York)

This paper presents the first results from a new project into the ways in which colonial attitudes have informed the main research questions asked, and modes of explanations for, the spread of farming across the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition in Europe, and how these have influenced the methodologies chosen. Through this, we question how colonial attitudes have shaped interpretations of the material culture of the Mesolithic and Neolithic, to begin to decolonise the way in which ‘things’ are researched from the initiation of a project, rather than just the interpretative outcome. The focus of this project is on three distinct types of material culture which are significant to the transitional period: ceramics, stone tools, and houses. In each case, we examine what language is used to describe and interpret technical know-how, changes in style and function, and social significance. This is then compared between “hunter-gatherers” and “farmers” to identify terms that can be used to help inform on problematic language in the future, and which highlight how colonial attitudes have informed research in the past.

**Portalis - confronting colonial legacies in the earlier prehistories of Ireland and Wales**

Samantha Brummage (University of Wales, Trinity St. David), Thomas Kador (University  
College London), Stanton Green, Claudia Green, Joseph Schuldenrein, and Martin Bates  
(University of Wales, Trinity St. David)

Colonial legacies are omnipresent in the prehistoric archaeologies of Wales and, especially, Ireland, with the narratives for both countries having been dominated by the predominant interpretations of evidence in England.

Early Holocene Ireland is frequently portrayed as a blank canvas separated from Britain by the Irish Sea and ready-made for Mesolithic would-be colonists, while Britain in turn was disconnected from continental Europe by rising sea levels early in the Holocene. Recent paleogenetic evidence points to a near-complete population change that heralded the Neolithic period and the beginnings of agriculture, thus again conjuring up notions of incoming colonist-settlers from the East.

The Welsh Mesolithic is similarly affected by these narratives, and with no comparably early dates to Eastern England, the suggestion is of colonists moving from there into Western parts of Britain. At the same time, large assemblages at Nab Head and Prestatyn, for example, have identified Early Holocene coastal communities in both North and South Wales, while a Mesolithic presence in Cardigan Bay has been largely neglected, perhaps because much of the evidence is now likely below the rising sea level.

The Portalis project explores early prehistoric connections between Southeast Ireland and West Wales, neighbouring regions, connected by the, just over 100km wide, St George's Channel. As there is a record of late Pleistocene occupation from Southwest Wales, yet none from Ireland, an almost immediate assumption appears to be that the relationship between the two regions would have primarily entailed a one-way movement, from east to west. However, we argue that this may relate much more to predominant narratives of more recent colonisations – the Vikings, the Anglo-Normans and early modern planters – than actual archaeological evidence. This is further underscored by the persistent idea that Ireland was first populated from the Northeast (i.e. the province of Ulster), which is arguably the most British part of the island (in a contemporary context). In contrast to this, the Portalis project does not seek to find the antecedents of prehistoric settlement of Southeast Ireland in Wales (via England). Instead, we see the project as an opportunity to jointly explore similarities and differences, both in material culture and settlement evidence as well as in the approaches that have dominated prehistoric research in the two regions.

In line with the overall aims of the session, with this presentation we seek to outline how decentring the prevalent colonial narratives affecting the archaeology of these regions, is an essential part of understanding early prehistoric activity both on the eastern and western shores of the Irish Sea.

### **Hunter-fisherman-pastoralist-gather fluidity against the agricultural society: Egypt and the highly urbanized rural society**

Israel Hinojosa Baliño (Durham University)

If we consider relatively recent debates on urbanism, we can notice that Childe's basic ideas are still with us. For instance, McIntosh and McIntosh's statements on European colonization for Middle Niger clustered cities indicate that in the colonial imagination from the 19th century, talking from their westernized point of view, "Africa was predominantly rural in character" and that the "walled cities and towns of the Sahel were a colossal surprise to Europeans". However, McIntosh and McIntosh talk as if this prejudice about African urban developments was eventually buried in the Western thought; but if we read the comments of the editor of the book in which they published their paper in 2003, he said that maybe they are trying to see cities where possibly there are none. In this sense, Egypt has been described as a society without cities supported by a "village economy", however, from my perspective, a more precise definition would be that Egypt is a highly urbanized rural society. In this paper, I explore the Egyptian city in the Nile Delta, and the hunter-fisherman-pastoralist-gather "fluidity of cultural dispersion" against the static and permanent agricultural society.

### **People like us: hunter-gatherers and their invention of the Neolithic**

Bill Finlayson (University of Oxford)

The Neolithic of Southwest Asia is widely still understood as the first transition from hunting and gathering to farming and, as such, as a key moment in human evolution, the basis for modern civilisation – *ex oriente lux*. As such, it continues to carry much orientalist and colonial baggage. Becoming farmers is still described in aspirational terms, with debates on centres of innovation, who was first, who successfully crossed the threshold, and who failed. The process is seen as one-way, and any diversion described as collapse. The Neolithic is measured as a check-list – a package of traits defined in the mid-20th century. At worst it involves a cognitive revolution, leaving hunter-gatherer ancestors as not fully human, often still having to pushed

into progress by *deus ex machina* such as climate change. Yet, at the same time, we now know that the process took many thousands of years, the innovators who drove it were hunter-gatherers, that there were multiple and varied regional paths taken in the early Holocene, some of which did not even involve farming, and that people showed great resilience to climate change. We also find it harder and harder to identify real break points in this long and fluid transitional process. In this paper I will explore whether our more nuanced detailed understanding is enabling the grand narrative to move beyond the colonial and orientalist framework, or whether we still allow our interpretations to be so limited.

### **Childe, Malinowski and Rivers: how ethnographic research in the Western Pacific influenced the Neolithic ‘revolution’**

Maxime Brami (University of Mainz)

The histories of archaeology and anthropology are closely intertwined. This seminar will address the historical background to Gordon Childe’s Neolithic ‘revolution’ (1936), highlighting the aspects that were influenced by Bronisław Malinowski’s functional school of anthropology on the one hand, and by William H. R. Rivers’ British school of diffusionism on the other.

Malinowski’s ethnographic study of agricultural practices among Melanesian tribes in New Guinea (1914-1920) appears to have exerted some influence on Childe, at the time when he was writing on the Neolithic. In *Man Makes Himself*, the uncapitalized adjective ‘neolithic’ refers to a stage of economic production, which can be any time anywhere, as long as food production is present and no superior mode of production is interfering. For instance, the arrival of British colonists and industrially-produced objects in Australia and New Zealand c. AD 1800, was described by Childe as disrupting local ‘neolithic’ economies. Childe’s conception of a world that was once spatially divided between food-producers and food-gatherers, who sometimes ‘occupied’ continents, such as Australia, can likewise be traced back to early 20th century anthropological literature, such as Elliot Smith’s *Human History* (1930) and Rivers’ *History of Melanesian Society* (1914).

As a keen advocate of Indian independence, who abhorred British rule in India, Childe can hardly be accused of colonialism. Yet his model of three revolutions in history – neolithic, urban and industrial – reflects concerns and attitudes that are frowned upon today. Understanding this legacy is essential if we are to continue using concepts such as the Neolithic ‘revolution’.

### **8000 years of revolution: “Complex” hunter-gatherers amidst inequality and resistance**

Tanja Schreiber (Christian-Albrechts University of Kiel)

Despite evidence of remarkable diversity in the social and political organisation among modern and past hunter-gatherer groups around the world, recent high-impact archaeological research is still fuelled by deeply flawed notions of socio-cultural evolution, persistently associating hunter-gatherer societies with egalitarianism and simplicity.

While this view is slowly changing, the organisational variability in foraging societies, including institutionalized hierarchies, labour exploitation and social inequality, is still seen as a product of colonial contact or as pre-adaptation to farming. Regions exhibiting a high diversity in hunter-gatherer social organisation, where farming never took hold, remain unnoticed by international research. Western Siberia is one of these areas, usually overlooked by contemporary scholars investigating the prehistories of “complex” hunter-gatherer societies.

Here, forager communities constructed remarkable fortification systems around their settlements, encompassing palisades, ramparts and ditches over a time period of nearly 8000 years. In a pilot study, statistical approaches (Gini index) were applied to measure the level of social inequality within these societies. The results reveal phases of high social inequality, followed by architectural adjustments in the form of denser cohabitation within the fortified settlements, suggesting a high societal resilience.

The presented study demonstrates that social complexity, including the potential for social inequalities as well as people's resistance to them, is blind to modes of subsistence, as farming never developed in Western Siberia. Future research on the transition from foraging to farming societies thus has to decouple agriculture and complex organisation once and for all.

### **Strangers at the Door: hunter-gatherers and postcolonial Ireland**

Martin Moucheron (University College Dublin) and Graeme Warren (University College Dublin)

The *invention* of the Mesolithic in Ireland is contemporary with the birth of the New State and the first decades of Ireland as an independent nation, and shares some traits with the intellectual trajectory of Gordon Childe – namely, a strong culture-historical foundation that includes a racial take on evolutionism.

But archaeology in general, and in particular the neolithisation of the island, were to play a particular political role in the development of an Irish national identity: Eamon de Valera's construction of Ireland as quintessentially rural was designed in direct opposition to urban and industrial Britain, and this translated into a focus on the Neolithic – among which specialists Ruaidhri de Valera, Eamon's own son, excavated many Neolithic megalithic monuments that were seen as the oldest and grandest evidence of a national identity *sui generis*.

We propose to discuss how post-colonialism has profoundly oriented, and still influences, academic discourses on early prehistory in Ireland, and we contend that, far from a *transition*, the Mesolithic and the early Neolithic were construed as mutually exclusive, with Mesolithic people in the role of the “insignificant Other”, a not-so-serious concept vaguely borrowed from phenomenology, or of the *marginal* inspired from Michel Foucault.

### **Terms make history. How Denkstile shape the “Neolithic”**

Kerkko Nordqvist (University of Helsinki) and Henny Piezonka (Christian-Albrechts University of Kiel)

In Eurasian Stone Age archaeology, two fundamentally different understandings prevail as to what the term “Neolithic” means. In most parts of Europe and the Near East, the main characteristic is the transition from a foraging to a producing economy. In Russia, further parts of the former Soviet Union and neighbouring regions, on the other hand, the main criterion for the beginning of the “Neolithic” is the onset of ceramic vessel production, and hence, hunter-gatherer groups with pottery make up the majority of “Neolithic” communities. Various attempts have been made to address this terminological discrepancy between “Eastern” and “Western” archaeological schools. Concentrating geographically in the intermediate area between the two poles (e.g., Poland, Finland, the Baltic States), these can be grouped into four categories: 1) Application of compromise labels such as “Sub-Neolithic”, “aquatic Neolithic”, “ceramic Mesolithic”, 2) Search for early evidence of farming to prove a “true”, agricultural Neolithic, 3) Postulation of two Neolithic processes, an agricultural and a non-agricultural, and

4) Revision of periodization terminology, generally from the Eastern towards the Western understanding of the term. Just like the two main concepts, all of these compromise attempts are epistemologically problematic as they are rooted in the specific “Denkstille” (sensu L. Fleck) of the academic schools involved, their historical backgrounds and contemporary political embeddedness. In our talk, we will show how these approaches go far beyond the problem of terminology, and how the term “Neolithic”, actually, has in this respect become an agent itself in shaping scientific agendas, influencing the formulation of research questions and designs, and pre-conditioning the answers and interpretations.

### **Hunter-gather potteries in the context of the Neolithic transition: innovators or adopters?**

Penny Bickle (University of York), Jan Petřík (Masaryk University), Karel Slavíček (Masaryk University), Katarína Adameková (Masaryk University), Libor Petr (Masaryk University), Dalia Pokutta (Masaryk University and Stockholm University), and Peter Tóth (Masaryk University)

This paper will consider the impact the narrative of farming as colonisation has had on the interpretation of the phenomenon of “so-called hunter-gatherer” pottery styles, which occur on sites associated with the earliest farming communities of central Europe. These artefacts were often seen as indicating “hunter-gatherer” involvement in the transition to farming. However, thanks to new aDNA studies, farming is now considered to have spread by migration, with an almost complete population turn over. This leaves the interpretation of these ceramic styles as belonging to hunter-gatherers as uncertain. Particularly, these pots trouble our existing rigid classification schemes, which contrast Mesolithic with Neolithic, and hunter-gatherer with farmer as binaries. The paper will thus discuss how this artefact can disrupt current narratives of the transition to farming as framed within a social evolutionary framework. In part the presentation will draw on preliminary results from the project NeoPot, that show the earliest pottery in SW Slovakia appeared in 5700-5500 BC. While this corresponds with the formative phase of the LBK in Transdanubia (Szentgyörgyvölgy-Pittyerdomb) and Lower Austria (Brunn am Gebirge), preliminary results of the ceramic technology of the earliest pottery show the use of organic temper such as grass, which means it was made by another process than the classic Neolithic pottery.

This work is supported by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic under the contract No. GA20- 19542S.

## **An Archaeology of Non-Human life**

Organisers: Nick Overton (University of Manchester) and Julian Thomas (University of Manchester)

### **Non-organic life**

Julian Thomas (University of Manchester)

There are two quite different ways in which we could understand the term ‘life’. The first is ultimately attributable to Aristotle’s distinction between those entities that are already fully actualised and those who have yet to achieve their potential. In this view, life is restricted to organisms, whose combination of a metabolism and a containing membrane facilitates their ability to employ energy to maintain, renew and reproduce themselves as autonomous entities. The second acknowledges the distinctive character of organisms, but sees life as a characteristic

of the world as a whole, the process by which that world is continuously coming into being, and diversity is endlessly created. Here, the notion of life being contained within things is less significant than the way that things are caught up in the process of life. This view posits an animate cosmos, emphasises becoming over being, and may entertain forms of panpsychism, in which consciousness is an attribute of relational processes rather than bounded entities. It also requires that we accept the idea of non-organic life. That is, the way that the vibrancy and self-organising properties of non-organic entities contribute to the life process. In this paper, I will outline these two perspectives, and consider their implications for the kind of archaeological thinking we might wish to undertake.

### **Living architecture – The case of the Iberian chalcolithic enclosures**

Ana Vale (CITCEM, University of Porto)

This presentation aims to address the multiple relationships and rhythms that emerge in (and through) architecture, understood as living architecture, and to approach the immersion of building practices in everyday life. Looking into the architectural detail of the walled enclosure of Castanheiro do Vento (Northern Portugal), it intends to analyse the different relationships between the architecture and the life of the communities and their territories as well as how the construction of the enclosure occurred mainly during its "use" or inhabitation. This approach will accentuate the details that indicate seasonal and cyclical time, which were probably celebrated, accentuated and formalised through intentional depositional practices, and to the different rhythms and duration of architecture – from the construction of stone and earth walls to the rapid deposition of things. Through this line of enquiry, how objects and things acquire different configurations during the construction and use of the space, according to the specific places and correspondences in which they are found, will be questioned. Thus, it intends to study the relationship between design and inhabitants; and to think about the flow of things, of humans, and of non-human beings, in order to approach walled enclosures as living architecture.

### **Revisiting the Prepalatial cemetery of Moni Odigitria, Crete: a re-interpretation of the existing funerary data through a combined materialistic, post-humanist, and cognitive theoretical framework**

Anastasia Chysanthi Solomou (Independent Researcher)

The funerary landscape offers the richest dataset in Crete for the Early and part of the Middle Bronze Age (Legarra Herrero, 2014). Therefore, funerary data are key in the understanding of a context comprised of scarce evidence regarding other types of sites, such as settlements. Through this prism, I re-interpret the evidence from the Moni Odigitria cemetery from a perspective which removes focus and monopoly of agency from humans, ultimately achieving a better understanding of the material culture and its entanglement with those interacting with it. The approach used draws on sensoriality, material engagement and entanglement, and the way interactions between material culture and humans work to shape all constituents, human and non, bi-directionally (Hamilakis, 2013; Malafouris, 2013; Hodder, 2012; Malafouris and Renfrew, 2010). Intentionality and agency are viewed here as part -and product- of the process of material engagement, rather than qualities pertaining to humans or things (Malafouris, 2013). The at-first materialistic approach to the architecture, the pottery and the human remains is coalesced in a discussion focusing on cognition, examining the way the material culture shaped the minds of those interacting with it. It is argued that the webs of entanglement of people, things, and the natural world at Moni Odigitria, formed multi-aesthetic, transtemporal

experiences, generating powerful embodied memories, and structuring perceptions. These memories were sensorially evoked during subsequent visits to the tombs, and re-membered, re-collected, and consolidated (Scully *et al.*, 2017; Nadel *et al.*, 2012), and it is during this time that social roles could be re-negotiated.

### **Vibrant Ivory: A New Materialist Approach to the Ivories of Hasanlu**

Natalie Boyd (University of Wales, Trinity St. David)

The Iron Age settlement of Hasanlu in north-western Iran was excavated in the mid-twentieth century, largely as a combined venture between archaeologists of the United States of America and Iran. The position of the site on the fringes of the territories of several larger Kingdoms and neighbours, coupled with a lack of written evidence relating to Hasanlu have made it difficult to unpick relationships and allegiances. More recent archaeological fieldwork in the area is attempting to increase the evidence and understanding of social and political networks in north-western Iran in the Iron Age. The military and incendiary destruction of Hasanlu c.800BC sealed in a large amount of material culture which may allow for a better understanding of the people of Hasanlu and their relationships with the world around them.

This paper considers the ivory assemblage recovered from the Hasanlu citadel and explores its vitality and vibrancy as a material and an assemblage, drawing from posthumanistic theories, in particular the New Materialisms. Exploring the thing-power of the ivories will allow us to view their influence and ability to animate and act, in turn allowing us a glimpse of the value of ivory in the ancient world and its relationship with the humans who interacted with it.

### **The Lives and Times of Dung at Çatalhöyük**

Agni Prijatelj (University of Ljubljana)

Dung endures at the core of material culture, present and past. While archaeological writing highlights various forms of human action in relation to it, dung's material vitality remains largely unaddressed. By drawing on the work of Jane Bennett and Karen Barad, I explore dung at Çatalhöyük as a vital matter, and discuss it as an ontologically multiple substance emerging from complex intra-actions between bodies, matter and places of all sorts. With dung as a companion in thinking sociality, politics and the history of dwelling in more inclusive and plural ways, I examine its distinct corporeal force at Çatalhöyük, and discuss ways in which its vitality was co-shaped and co-produced by many different social-biological-physical-chemical processes, some of which existed independently of people yet could, nonetheless, significantly affect them. By focusing on its distinct relational properties and material engagements, I examine a number of different more-than-human communities associated with dung's materiality. When examining dung in relation to time and dwelling-places, I contend that its spatial and temporal boundaries were not discrete, but porous and fluid. The matter was in a constant state of flux—a continuous process of becoming.

### **A Zooarchaeology of Life**

Nick Overton (University of Manchester)

The role of nonhuman animals in our archaeological accounts of the past are currently changing in light of a range of multispecies studies and approaches that look to de-centre humans, and explore the active role nonhumans may have played in past times and places. This paper will

present examples for Mesolithic Europe that elucidate the ways in which a multispecies approach to archaeological data provides a strong foundation for narratives that seek to examine how nonhumans shaped environments, human-nonhuman relationships, and humans lives, practices and identities. Furthermore, this paper will also argue that such ‘Zooarchaeologies of Life’ are important, not just to understand life in the past, but also as important narratives that help us reconsider our own relationship with the world around us today, in the light of growing concerns over biodiversity loss, environmental destruction and climate crises. Multispecies accounts of humans and nonhumans in the past, which resist imposing modern economic conceptions of the animal in terms of calories or raw material, are powerful tools for challenging current perceptions, and present powerful multispecies alternatives for our futures.

**“There are no two similar kinds of reindeer. You have to be with the reindeer to learn.”  
– The variety of life among ancient Sámi reindeer herders**

Anna-Kaisa Salmi, Emily Hull, Päivi Soppela, Sanna-Mari Kynkäänniemi, and Henri Wallén  
(University of Oulu)

Reindeer herding has shaped the worldview of the indigenous Sámi of Northern Fennoscandia since its onset more than a thousand years ago. In the traditional Sámi worldview, the world was understood as a relational unity that included both human and non-human, and animate and inanimate, actors. This paper examines the variety of life in the context of ancient reindeer herding. While it is obvious that the reindeer were alive for the herders, they may have been “alive” in different ways. The pastoral Sámi perceived animals relationally, being sentient, individual persons in their own, unique ways. Reindeer herders do not perceive reindeer “herds” in the same ways that other pastoral societies may understand the word, but rather as a social unit consisting of individuals who vary in individual characteristics and social roles. Age, sex, physical appearance, personality, and other social roles are acknowledged and recognized by the herders who maintain their relationships with animals in different ways within their daily herding tasks. Archaeological data, too, shows that ancient reindeer herders were in contact with different kinds of reindeer, including wild reindeer, working reindeer, and “ordinary” herd reindeer. This paper uses ethnoarchaeological and zooarchaeological perspectives to examine the variety of reindeer with whom the herders lived in the past. Through a case study from two 14th–17th century Sámi sites in northern Finland, we assess some of the characteristics of herd structure and examine how the different kinds of reindeer were alive together with humans in this time and place.

**Powerful plants in the British Mesolithic**

Barry Taylor (University of Chester)

This paper explores the liveliness of vegetal life in the past. Drawing on a series of case studies from the British Mesolithic, it argues that plants became entangled in the lives of humans through their physical properties, the particular ways in which they grew, and their ongoing interactions with other forms of life. This entanglement transformed the lives of humans, structuring the timing and character of a suite of different economic and cultural practices. What is more, humans were aware of this ‘plant-agency’, which they acknowledged through particular ways of using, treating and depositing plant-based materials.



## **(In)visible interactions between humans and wild boar (and some cattle) in the Dutch Late Mesolithic and Early Neolithic**

Nathalie Brusgaard (University of Groningen)

The Mesolithic-Neolithic transition seemingly marks a major transition in the human-nonhuman relationship. Throughout this period of pivotal change, wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) are a constant presence at sites in the Dutch wetlands. Their remains indicate continued hunting of wild boar populations despite the fundamental shift towards animal husbandry. While many studies have endeavoured to uncover the domestication process, the nature of the human-wild boar relationship throughout this period remains elusive.

This paper offers a diachronic perspective on human-wild boar interactions in the Dutch wetlands in the Late Mesolithic and Early Neolithic. It discusses the visible interactions, and contemplates the *invisible* interactions that made up the ecosystem of relationships that humans and wild boar were part of in this period of change. It juxtaposes the human-wild boar relationship, which seems to have remained fairly fluid, with the human-cattle relationship, which – based on new zooarchaeological and stable isotopic evidence – changed markedly around 4200 BC. By examining these interactions from a multispecies perspective, this paper considers how we can move from seeing nonhuman animals as passive reactors to anthropogenic change to recognising them as agents in a more-than-human past.

## **What drives domestication? An ecological perspective on the emergence of cereal agriculture in southwest Asia**

Alexander Weide (University of Oxford)

The development of farming in southwest Asia during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (ca. 12,000–8,000 cal. BP) involved profound social and economic changes, involving the emergence of plant and animal husbandry, a changing organisation of the built environment, and the advent of households as central socio-economic units. This transformation of human life has often been framed within a nature-culture dichotomy focusing on domestication, where humans control plant and animal reproductive cycles. During the last years, however, scholarship on global plant domestication developed an evolutionary-ecological approach, arguing that plant ecological strategies affect human management practices and shape human-plant interactions. This paper builds on recent weed ecological research in the Levant, showing that early sedentary communities with large-scale cereal storage did not engage in soil tillage but harvested wild cereals from habitats as little disturbed as untilled grasslands. Our findings imply that early sedentary communities in the Levant relied on the exploitation and possibly management of cereal-dominated grasslands for centuries instead of cultivating cereals in annually tilled soils. We argue that the ecological strategies of the exploited cereals provide a new perspective to understand this human economic adaptation, focusing on the ability of wild cereals to dominate annual plant communities in the absence of regular human disturbances. In this ecological perspective, human exploitation practices responded to the competitive abilities of the cereals, while the later creation of arable habitats reflects the entrenchment of this human-cereal collaboration. Wild cereals, and other crop progenitors, can therefore be seen as key agents in domestication processes instead of mere objects subjected to human management practices.

## **An archaeology of far from equilibrium systems – theoretical implications for archaeology**

Linus Girdland Flink (University of Aberdeen and Liverpool John Moores University)

Life can be considered as a far from equilibrium open system that maintains itself by consuming free energy low in entropy and by dissipating high entropy energy back into the environment (coupled with self-organisation and self-replication). While these concepts have been thoroughly explored across a range of disciplines to provide new and thought-provoking insights, they have not gained much interest in archaeology. However, Noonan (2021) recently provided a detailed overview of this topic in an archaeological context (and its link to 'energetics') and concluded that "...the prospect of archaeology talking in terms of thermodynamics creates a common language that invites other disciplines to participate in a more inclusive historical analysis". This paper will take this as a prompt and briefly outline a thermodynamic definition of life and how such approach can help break down conceptual barriers between human and non-human lifeforms. It will also consider relationships between different lifeforms (i.e., species) and their synergies resulting in emergent properties. Secondly, it will make use of this definition to provide a brief analysis of non-life and material 'things' and query their ontological relation to the thermodynamic definition of life, with the understanding that such 'things' also exists far from equilibrium.

## **A River Runs Through It: A posthuman feminist approach to change in Nineteenth century London**

Hanna Steyne (University of Manchester)

Nineteenth century London was a place of massive upheaval and change, with rising population, expansion of the built environment, and construction of massive urban infrastructure projects including overground and underground railways, roads, sewers, and the Thames Embankments. All this took place within a global context of colonisation, capitalist expansion, and industrialisation, the success of which was largely due the river that runs through London; the Thames. This paper presents PhD research that takes a posthumanist feminist approach to an investigation of the impacts of the Thames Embankment construction at Chelsea. It places the river centrally within the riverside assemblage and views the water of the Thames as a vibrant component with entangled relationships with people, things, places, ideas, and events at varied spatial and temporal scales. In acknowledging the significant role that the river plays in changes that took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it is possible to explore the wider impacts the Embankment construction had beyond those recorded in traditional, linear, male dominated narratives of engineering and sanitation success. This research explores change through time via creative writing. Stories about real people, rooted in historical and archaeological research, illuminate the lives of previously marginalised residents in nineteenth century Chelsea, including women, working class families, children, Black, queer, and neurodivergent individuals. The vibrancy of the river runs through all their stories.

## **"It pot". The influence of pottery and potteries influencers in the Protohistoric Iberian societies**

María Isabel Moreno (University of Jaén)

In "A Thousand Plateaus", Deleuze focused on the "prodigious idea of a non-organic life", especially interested in the "magic" associated with the transformation of metals. Following this idea, this paper will focus on the study of an essential and inseparable element of

protohistoric societies: pottery. Specifically, we focus on the study of Iberian potteries from the Upper Guadalquivir through different contexts, such as habitat spaces, necropolises and sanctuaries. Our approach, which starts from the experiences developed through Ceramic Sociology, Behavioural Archaeology or Actor-Network Theory, seeks to generate a methodological and theoretical strategy for the analysis of potteries beyond its form and meaning, delving into its internal dynamics and in its transforming capacity.

In this sense, it is unquestionable and completely accepted by the scientific community that these "things of the world", in the sense of Hannah Arendt, contribute to "stabilizing human life". But what happens with the vital experience of these objects? Do these objects have biographies or, instead, autobiographies? Are they just objects that provide stability to social settings or, on the contrary, do they actively influence the construction of social and cultural identities? Can they determine or even condition social changes or cultural resistance? In the absence of the people who use it, does its life cycle continue to expand? How? The study of the analysed contexts shows that Iberian pottery was an essential element of its historical development, providing organicity to Iberian societies. Much more than objects, potteries were animated artefacts that stabilized and motivated social life.

### **Minoanism as Post-humanism: Ariadne becomes Aragne**

Liana Psarologaki

This paper attempts to offer a posthuman reading of the myth of Ariadne, inscribed within a context of post-humanist feminism and a nature-culture continuum from what Nikos Kazantzakis regard a "Cretan glance"; "to regard the abyss without fear; on the contrary, to wrestle with it, play with it comfortably – that's what I call the Cretan glance... for me, Crete constitutes Synthesis" he says in a letter to Emile Hourmouzios dated 23 May 1943. This is a post-anthropocentric approach of fabulation in archaeology looking at Fernand Deligny's concept of net and network in his book *The Arachnean and Other Texts* and studying historiographies of immanence around the Minoan culture; what archaeologist Nicoletta Momigliano calls "minoism" in her seminal book *In Search of the Labyrinth*. Ariadne is presented here as the first cyborg of Anthropos becoming animal and becoming machine; an a-modern prototype of a life-death-zöe nature-culture continuum – an aragne. This is a feminist interpretation of Hills Miller noting the analogies in the stories of the Arachne and Ariadne in John Ruskin's work. Following her thread of (mitos | network), we can interrogate what Rosie Braidotti calls the predicament of the posthuman and develop virtual creations of fabulative de-territorialized topoi; immanent worlds of connectedness and imagination. The term Minoan bears no specific historiographical evidence and will be used here as archaeological fabulation of immanence: to be Minoan is to be a synthesis of queer and cannibal in a turbulent nature-culture continuum, so close to the molecular as to the divine.

### **Pigeons – From praised companions to urban outlaws**

Marjo Juola (University of Oulu)

Pigeons have a long history of co-existence with us humans. These *Columbidae* family birds have come far from the heroic messengers and assets in warfare to these despised 'flying rats' in urban environments. In this paper I will scrutinize what is the role of these controversial birds today and how their co-existence has changed over the years. With a case study of the pigeon (*Columba livia domestica*) colony that has inhabited the abandoned cultural historically significant Toppila pulp mill silo, designed by a famous Finnish architect Alvar Aalto, I will

study what kind of interspecies encounters there have been within and around the silo. The effects these birds have on the building itself and the different stakeholders of the silo can be seen as a powerplay that have been going on for years. The silo is just one example of an abandoned industrial site or urban location where pigeons have overrun the place. These birds have also made their mark on different culture heritage sites where their sudden absence can lead to disappointments and protests from tourists and bird lovers. Even if the pigeons are seen more like a nuisance nowadays, their existence can also have positive and more profound effects on us; watching and feeding them can bring us closer to the nature and help us see the reciprocal interaction between our species.

### **Perspectives from a living taiga: exploring multispecies entanglements amongst hunter-fisher-herders in boreal West Siberia**

Morgan Windle (Christian-Albrechts University of Kiel)

Indigenous cultures around the world demonstrate how humans and the environment they inhabit often cannot be disentangled from one another. This represents not only intimate immersion *into* but deep knowledge *of* the nonhuman elements they share their world with. Often coinciding is the animate and active essence inherent to these elements. In West Siberia, descendant hunter-fisher-herders are a primary example of this, co-creating entwined multispecies lifeways through symbiotic relationships with the subarctic boreal ecosystem. Examining how all members of such systems (whether it be human, nonhuman, or the nonorganic) can provide insight into (in)visible impacts of these relations on the archaeological record but also expands the narrative spectrum of potential pasts.

This is at odds with recent critiques of environmental determinism. While these criticisms offer salient points for consideration, they paradoxically contradict posthumanist perspectives and the enmeshed constellation of livelihoods we know exist today and could have existed in the past. There is not only the need for a broader lexicon to bridge this disjunct within the discipline, but also a reassessment of the dualistic perspectives of human-environmental relationships. This paper will address this discrepancy by drawing on the legacy of anthropological and archaeological research from the Circumpolar North. The spectrum of entangled single and multi-agent relations form animate worlds will be explored using a case study from West Siberia. Multispecies and eco-deterministic thinking will be interrogated with the aim to better incorporate a ‘grammar of animacy’ (Wall Kimmerer 2013; 2017) into archaeological investigation.

### **Human-*Castor* Connections in the Early and Mid-Holocene: Understanding the Mesolithic of Northern Europe through multispecies livelihoods**

Shumon T. Hussain (Aarhus University), Kamilla Lomborg (Aarhus University), and Nathalie Brusgaard (University of Gronigen)

The Eurasian beaver (*Castor fiber*) was an important member of Early and Mid-Holocene landscapes and ecosystem communities in Northern Europe. Past zooarchaeological scholarship has established the changing alimentary roles of beavers for Mesolithic forager societies and the importance of these animals for fur procurement. We here develop an integrated biocultural approach to human-beaver interactions and examine the position of humans and beavers in Mesolithic and Early Neolithic multispecies systems. We contextualize beaver landscape agency in hydroactive environments at the edge of former glaciers with human foraging and landscaping behaviour, especially fishing practices, and beaver-related

material culture documented in the archaeological record. This contextual analysis reveals previously overlooked “mediations” of human behaviour by beaver landscapes and ecological legacies. We argue that Mesolithic beaver-related material culture is a consequence of the cultural keystone status of *Castor* in Early and Mid-Holocene landscapes, indicating that post-glacial human settlement in some parts of Northern Europe was facilitated by beaver-invested ecosystems. We further suggest that long-term trajectories of human-beaver conviviality differed between northern regions. While in the Netherlands and Southern Scandinavia, human-beaver intersections witnessed major re-organizations during the Mid-Holocene, beavers retained a key role for human societies across the Baltic and Northwestern Russia throughout much of the Holocene.

### **Pastoralist Multispecies Communities and their Social Spaces - Case studies from the Zagros and the Gobi**

Sarah Pleuger (University of Edinburgh) and Robin Bendrey (University of Edinburgh)

Pastoralism today provides the livelihood of some 200–500 million human and a billion non-human animals in 75% of countries worldwide. In the past, pastoralism has often been characterised as merely an economic strategy through which societies for millennia have based their subsistence on domestic livestock herding. Particularly in western scholarship, the social aspect of pastoralism as well as its role in multispecies history as an alternative blueprint to accepted narratives of conquest and dominance of humankind over nature and defeated creatures, has been woefully neglected. However, in many past and present settings pastoralism is practiced in multispecies communities and the western academic concept of human-animal dichotomy does not apply. Herders and herded share a domestic sphere in which both are regarded as subjects with different rights and purposes. In turn, the domestic sphere, particularly in mobile multispecies communities, extends far outside domestic architecture. The surrounding landscape provides pasture, shelter and a source of life for nonhuman community members. Herders navigate the community through different seasons within this landscape in which they use both natural and culturally built landmarks for orientation, communal communication and expression of animistic belief systems. It is the alliance of multiple species that allow for them to inhabit often climatically extremely challenging environments. Drawing from different global and archaeological case studies we aim to emphasize reciprocity in these relationships as well as the non-linearity of how these pastoralist multispecies communities emerge and provide some perspectives into the entanglement of their complex sociocultural and environmental spaces.

### **Woods, trees, clearings and contemporary archaeology**

Andrew Hoan (Open University)

How do we approach the non-human in the past and in the present? Since 2012 I have been conducting a series of projects looking at this question as it applies to trees and woodlands. These have included individual trees such as the Borrowdale Yews memorialised by Wordsworth, the woodlands planted at the important mental hospital (now closed) at St. Wulstans and the now vanished woodlands (removed to create heathland) at the nature reserve of Devils Spittleful, near Kidderminster. I have just completed a survey of an ancient holly wood in the largest area of ancient woodland in England in the Forest of Dean.

I have attempted in these studies to draw out what we can of the archaeology of the history of these long lived non-human life forms. In this paper I wish to discuss how we might theorise

the archaeology of life based on the ideas of Jane Bennet, Arne Naess and the poet/philosopher Gary Snyder's ideas around the non-human and the wild. Trees are adept at creating not only their own ecology but they present obstacles and opportunities for both humans and non-humans. Ancient trees by their sheer size represent challenges and opportunities both in the past and the present and can come to structure human and non-human activities. Equally, woodland scrub can cover abandoned spaces in favourable conditions in 10-15 years, such that they are no longer part of the domestic human world and move from wastes to wilds. How these dynamic processes interact with human projects in the present has lessons for our studies of the deep past.

**The revolution will not be recognised:**  
**the phenomenology of past social change**

Organisers: Andrew Gardner (UCL) and Jake Weekes (CAT)

**Analysing the structuration of change, and treating all events as archaeologically equal, including consideration of personal improvisation, prehistoric popular cultures, and historic political economies**

Jake Weekes (Canterbury Archaeological Trust)

Let's treat "events" of the past as ALL events, not just those that "make it" into historical accounts or culturally driven archaeological narratives, ancient and modern tales that present a particular take on human events, palatable for the hegemony of historic political economies.

Outside such frames, a wider definition of culture and the past that includes all human events should be our goal, examining material traces of past events, challenging hegemonic definitions. The latter actually include many of the anthropological and other academic theories that have been applied to archaeological data, but an expanded agent/structure dialectic model encompasses and allows for a conscious reconsideration of these frames also, and invites analysis of the more complex human generation, and experience, of change in the past.

We should at least examine the relationship between actual Gemeinschaft communities and wider Gesellschaft associations, between local and even particular improvisations, and prehistoric popular cultures across regions. I suggest this is a study appropriate to both the more distant past and indeed the moment just before now, always staying alert to the insidious gloss of the historic political economy.

**Material revolutions and everyday life in the modern world**

Matthew Johnson (Northwestern University)

Much archaeological theory treats the study of long-term change and the understanding of everyday lived experience as either/or options or competing alternatives. I have been thinking about long-term change in the British Isles over the last millennium, and have become increasingly persuaded that this is a false choice. We cannot understand how and why moments of transformation had a decisive impact without asking how they were played out through everyday actions, and we cannot understand everyday lived experience without setting it within its long-term physical and cultural context.

So far, so obvious: but things get more complex when archaeologists engage with concrete moments when changes to the material world seek to engage with and to recast the nature of time and space itself. To put it another way: much of the material record of the early modern world is about the everyday consciousness of ‘revolution’ and of historical change – new things from the New World, the destruction of ancient landscapes through enclosure, the reformation of the parish church, ‘improvement’. This paper will explore how particular understandings of historical change were mediated and argued about through particular objects, buildings, and landscapes.

### **Did it just disappear!? What the details from material culture studies can tell us about social change, from the Integrated Harappan Phase to the Localized Late Harappan Period at Chanhu-daro, Sindh**

Heidi J. Miller (Middlesex Community College)

The Indus Civilization (2600-1900 BC) was a complex socio-economic phenomenon with a writing system, standardized weights and measures, multiple-mounded sites with monumental and planned structures, and by the end of the 3rd, beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, it disappears, or does it?! Currently scholars believe that the transition to a post-urban (i.e., Late Harappan) phase involved a complex accumulation of various social and economic effects, beyond the control of any individual or group. In Sindh, Pakistan, evidence for social change can be gleaned from a study of the archived records and curated artifacts from the 1934-35 excavation at the site of Chanhu-daro, by E.J.H. Mackay, wherein it appears that a small population continued on, attempting to partly recreate what had been lost. This presentation will explore multiple lines of evidence, including the built environment, changes in painted pottery style and forms, as well as material evidence from small finds, to explore social change, from the Harappan to the Late Harappan at Chanhu-daro. In the past studies have emphasized a new ceramic style and a change in the shape of stamp seals to illustrate a new culture or population. However, by evaluating multiple areas of material evidence, for relative change through time, new details emerge which illustrate the nature of social change at the beginning of the second millennium BC in the Indus Valley.

The collection of Chanhu-daro objects and records used in this study have been legally exported to their current holding institutions.

### **London’s fires as real and imagined events**

Sadie Watson (Museum of London Archaeology – MOLA)

The archaeological periodisation of London is often framed around the major fires that are known to have occurred across the city, from the Boudican rebellion of AD60/1 to the great Fire of 1666, with many other conflagrations between and since. The major Roman fires are renowned as drivers of change in an acknowledgement of their perceived impact, and we are familiar with using them as chronological divisions. Fires loom large in the consciousness of the public and are embedded in familiar narratives of destruction and recovery. Excavations of the Roman town north of the Thames often encounter fire horizons but even when we don’t these major events still form part of the chronological structure of our reporting. But what actual evidence do we have for the immediate impact of these fires, and how has our understanding of them changed in recent years? How do we account for sites where there is no evidence, and what do they say about our ongoing use of the fires as chronological markers? What can we understand about the impact of these events on the population? Was recovery

always inevitable, was it linear, and how did it differ between communities? How do more recent fires fit into this narrative? This paper will take the Roman fires as primary case studies to examine these questions, our responses to the archaeology of the fires, our assumptions over how the recoveries happened, and what we might learn about people from studying fires as major events.

### **‘For me it was Tuesday’: a concept of chronotope and multi-perspective approach in Romano-British studies**

Anton Ye. Baryshnikov (Russian State University for the Humanities)

As a historian I am ready to pack all the evidence in a well-established and long-respected chronological line. This gives a sense of intellectual comfort: the past is tamed and subdued, controlled, and easy to understand. But such sense is false and leads to dead end, and the price of the comfort is a distorted picture of reality. For example, Caesar’s landing at Kentish shore looks like a pivotal moment that changed the course of British history. This may be helpful from textbook’s perspective; this is an undisputable point for every big historical narrative. Such narratives are always full of outstanding persons, great powers, superior civilizations but lack different viewpoints and discrepant experiences. What were Caesar’s expeditions for those who lived in Kent? How were they viewed by other communities of Britain? How did people feel the events labelled as ‘crucial’ by scholars? How did they frame those events with their understandings of time and space? Once asked, such questions show the need for multi-perspective approach for research of Iron Age and Roman Britain; the answers are also required for creating more balanced and nuanced narratives of the past.

In order to reconstruct different perspectives of the same event one can look at the concept of ‘chronotope’, a tool that encompasses time, space and their interpretations in different cultures and media. First introduced by Soviet philologist Mikhail Bakhtin at the crossing of Structuralism and Marxism, it has been from time to time used in Anthropology and Medieval studies. Soviet and Russian historian, Aron Gurevich in his works on Post-Roman Germanic communities showed how fruitful could be the concept of chronotope for studies of the pre-Modern societies. Applying chronotope concept to the evidence of Iron Age and Roman Britain gives scholars an opportunity to build up a multi-perspective account. In such an account, for example, Caesar’s expeditions are experienced and interpreted in different ways by Romans and Britons; they had discrepant temporal and spatial characteristics for all sides involved. For Caesar and his peers, it was a part of bigger military campaigns at the edge of the civilized world, a factor in the ongoing struggle changing the core of Roman politikum, a set of events, actions, decisions that happened in the time span of to two consulships. For those who lived in Britain everything felt different. Awful things happened at the centre of their world, shook it, divided their lives into two parts—‘before’ and ‘after’ and shaped their vision of the past. Different experiences, different feelings of space, time and events were both shaped by different chronotypes and contributed to their evolvment.

### **Captivity, enslavement, and downward social mobility: how do we understand individual social change in Prehispanic Mesoamerica?**

Rosamund Fitzmaurice (University College London)

Captivity and enslavement, be they related or not, can be clear examples of downward social mobility, a change from one status to another. How do we detect this social movement archaeologically when preservation bias generally shifts our perspectives towards major



political, economic, and spiritual centres, and wealthy or high-status families or individuals? How do we use ethnohistorical documents, structures and objects to see non-elite figures? For decades we have tried to see past the areas where a large amount of labour is needed to create or maintain structures, and the people who have the power to harness that labour. How and where do we see these workers and labourers hidden in the evidence which tends to be found among the elite?

This presentation uses a range of case studies, including elites and commoners, to examine how individuals climb down the social ladder, losing status among their society and kin. Through ethnohistory, art, and archaeology I consider captives and labourers, their social setting, and their status within those locations. By examining these examples, we can try to better understand the general rules of society, and how and why individuals' status changed in Prehispanic Mesoamerica.

### **Recognising revolution: from excavated evidence to emotional experiences**

Lindsey Büster (Canterbury Christ Church University / University of York)

American literary critic Barbara Johnson once said: 'No-one likes change but babies in diapers'. Increasing numbers of courses and self-help books advertised as helping us to 'manage change' suggest that she is right, and that change causes much anxiety and emotional stress. And yet change is all we see in the past. It is the stuff that builds our chronologies, our typologies, our cultural periods. As the session abstract asks: do the changes that we consider important as archaeologists really correlate with the experiences of individuals in the course of their lifetimes? Archaeology is, unlike history, famously good at setting aside charismatic individuals, but have we done a disservice to the remaining 99% in rendering them, as Ruth Tringham (1991: 94) once put it, 'faceless blobs'. More specifically, have we ignored the cumulative effect of everyday emotional responses to navigating change in our top-down narratives of past societies?

With focus on a single site, Broxmouth, SE Scotland, this paper explores the lives of an essentially ordinary Late Iron Age community as it wrestled with the legacy of myriad decisions made by generations past, responded to the 'archaeological' remains of ancestors which burst into everyday life, and households grappled with the material legacies of their own mortality.

### **Bodies changing through time: representations in portable art and late prehistoric 'body worlds' of Iberia**

Ana Amor Santos (Independent Researcher)

The Prehistory of the Iberian Peninsula offers several examples of body representation in portable art, particularly from the Neolithic period onwards. To some extent, it is due to the body's representation that these objects can be regarded as forms of art, and it is also because of it that they are often under a rather circular interpretation umbrella, frequently dismissive of their potential. Furthermore, large-scale and long diachrony studies focusing on these objects are not common, which inhibits the potential of seeing how body representation changes through, and with, time.

In contrast, this presentation offers a brief view of the multiple ways in which the human body has been represented in Iberian portable objects, from the 5th to the 1st millennium BCE, showcasing the author's take on the 'body worlds' ontology created in the last decade by Dr

John Robb and Dr Oliver Harris. Drawing from our master thesis research, we aim to demonstrate how long diachronic approaches, centred around the representation of the body, and the object(s) in which it occurs, favour and allow for other/new interpretative readings of past social change.

### **Revolutionizing early medieval forts**

Organisers: Leanne Demay (University of Aberdeen), Zack Hinckley (University of Aberdeen), Gordon Noble (University of Aberdeen), James O’Driscoll (University of Aberdeen), and Gemma Cruickshanks (National Museums Scotland)

#### **Norwegian hillforts: Knowledge status and potentials**

Ingrid Ysstgaard (Norwegian University of Technology and Science)

In my talk I aim to give an overview over the present knowledge status of hillforts in Norway. Detailed knowledge of the features, dates, functions, and contexts of the almost 500 known hillforts must be described as limited, even though hillforts attract great interest in local communities. What are the reasons for this? Why do we know so much about Viking ships and graves, and so little about hillforts? New methodology, interpretative models, and theoretical approaches open new opportunities in hillfort research. What are future potentials for hillfort research in Norway, and how can it be encouraged?

#### **Hillforts, significance and semiosis: Framing the study of place- and difference-making in first millennium northern Britain**

Daniel R. Hansen (University of Chicago)

Contemporary anthropological research has shown that experiences of place are often intimately entangled with cosmology and temporality. Places are complex signs, signifying particular pasts, presents, futures, and the actors and social forms that inhabit them. Furthermore, how a place is interpreted guides further action and practice within it.

Hillforts in early medieval northern and western Britain have long been understood as “significant” places, interpreted by archaeologists as expressions of legitimacy, power, or wealth. Yet recent fieldwork has revealed complex multi-period biographies of individual forts like Tap o’ Noth, as well as an interplay of prehistoric enclosure types and early medieval revitalization of similar forms. These new data provide an opportunity investigate more thoroughly the semiotics of place within which early medieval hillforts were emmeshed.

This paper offers a framework for addressing some of the dimensions of semiosis opened up by recent archaeological findings: at what moment (or moments) is a fortification significant? For whom is it significant? In what respect? What happens to significance after several generations of encounter and modification? The concept of *origo*, borrowed from linguistic pragmatics, is introduced as a useful analytic for centering practices from which relative pasts and presents, as well as prototypically spatial relationships, are extrapolated and “mapped on” to social forms. Some implications of this framework for the study of social identity and differentiation in Pictland are discussed.

### **Finds from the Forts – Individual objects for individual people?**

Leanne Demay (University of Aberdeen)

With a focus on the artefacts from recent excavations undertaken as part of the University of Aberdeen's Comparative Kingship project, this paper will consider new approaches alongside traditional views to explore the role of material culture in creating and maintaining social identities in a rapidly evolving world. Roman Iron Age and Early Medieval objects from northeast hillforts and coastal fortifications provide the source material to explore concepts of materiality, power and personhood during a dynamic period of social and political change.

### **Echoes of Power: Combining Material Culture and GIS Mapping to Identify Regional Power Centers and Political Polities in Dál Riatic Early Medieval Atlantic Scotland**

Karena Wollesen (University of Aberdeen)

This study combines Dál Riatic material culture with modern Geographic Information System (GIS) mapping tools to explore concepts of power in early medieval Atlantic Scotland. It utilizes inter-site spatial relations to identify the power centers and political polities of the region. Power density assessment is based on site size, density of artefact distribution, and economic and social investment of sites and artefacts. Locally, this study contributes to the understanding of Dál Riatic culture in early medieval Atlantic Scotland. On a larger scale, this study enhances knowledge of power demonstration in the form of investment, as well as furthering the understanding of politogenesis and early state development throughout early medieval Scotland.

### **The Nuclear Hillfort - Central Place Theory in early medieval Scotland**

Zack Hinckley (University of Aberdeen)

Stefan Brink's (1996, 1997) use of central place theory sheds light on Viking Age Scandinavian landscapes with the mapping of clusters of different sites being found as royal complexes. This theory has been used very little in recent years in Northern Britain, especially in Scotland. Visibility and landscape models done on early medieval and possible early medieval forts in Scotland have shown connections and clusters of different early medieval sites (barrows, churches, insular art) as well as earlier prehistoric sites (Neolithic sites) around significant or royal places. Using central place theory with GIS models may help pinpoint unknown early medieval forts and other monuments. Using other theoretical GIS models such as Least Cost Pathways and Cost-Connectivity can also help understand significant routeways and waterway through Scotland to connect these places. Field visitation to these sites mixing a phenomenological approach with GIS may elucidate comparables between sites with location and visibility.

### **Reconsidering Hillforts in Late Antique Southern Britain: Fifth Years after Arthur's Britain**

Andy Seaman (Cardiff University)

Leslie Alcock's seminal book *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology AD 367-634* was amongst the first to seriously consider the phenomenon of hillfort (re)occupation in late- and post-Roman southern Britain. It was published in the middle of a 'golden age' for hillfort excavation in the 1960s and 70s, when several key sites, including Cadbury Castle and Cadbury

Congresbury were subject to major campaigns of excavation. There has been fewer large-scale excavations in recent decades, but a mounting body of evidence has cumulated through curatorial- and development-led excavation and the continued analysis of imported pottery and glass. But whilst the amount of evidence has grown and archaeological theory and method have moved on considerably, our interpretative frameworks for hillforts remain rooted in mid-twentieth century traditions. In this presentation I will examine a range of new evidence - gathered largely through development-led excavation, re-analysis and dating of archive material, and GIS-enabled landscape research - and consider how our understanding of these sites has changed in the half a century since publication of *Arthur's Britain*.

### **Making, mending and magic: metalworking on early medieval hillforts in Scotland**

Gemma Cruickshanks (National Museum Scotland)

Metalworking in early medieval Scotland has traditionally focussed on high status, decorative metalwork but evidence from recent excavations presents a more nuanced picture. A range of new assemblages comprising small scale evidence of ironworking and non-ferrous metalworking provides a new context to the well-known metalworking sites such as Dunadd in Argyll. This paper brings together the new evidence and examines themes such as everyday making and mending, and links to superstitions and beliefs.

### **Forts and monasteries in early medieval Insular Britain**

David Petts (Durham University)

In the early medieval world what kind of sites were regularly attacked, surrounded by substantial ditches or boundaries, used as a residence by elites and acted as centres for craft production? No, not hillforts, but early medieval monastic sites. Early monastic sites in Insular Britain and Ireland drew on architectural and spatial repertoire that not just alluded to ecclesiastical traditions on the Continent and Near East, but made reference to structural traditions that dominated secular elite residences closer to home. For example, the use of boundaries and graded interior space can be found in both secular power centres and religious foci across Central/ Northern Britain and Ireland in the first millennium AD. This paper unpicks some of the resonances that could be found between secular and ecclesiastical sites in this period in terms of their physical appearance, their functions (exchange; production; consumption) and wider discourses around their role in society. Hillforts and monasteries were not the same – there are certainly key differences in terms of monumentality and symbolic use of space – but they operated in dialogue with each other, and shared some common references in terms of their physical appearance. Using this discussion of hillforts and monastic sites, some broader conclusions are developed around spatiality and temporality, and the way in which early medieval settlements are framed by modern scholarship.

### **Hillforts and Costly Signalling Theory (CST)**

Stuart Munro (AOC Archaeology)

In recent years, our understanding of early medieval society in Scotland has been altered dramatically and the importance of hillforts within this world has never been more apparent. Hillforts are clear outliers in the landscape and required immense resources, labour, and planning to construct on the scale we see at many sites in early medieval Scotland. Indeed, this extends further into the day-to-day maintenance of these sites with those occupying them being

reliant upon lowland communities to sustain their presence. This would have been clear to those living at the time and would represent an incredibly conspicuous display of power.

In this way, early medieval hillforts in Scotland represent an exciting case to be viewed through the lens of Costly Signalling Theory (CST) which may provide a new and exciting way to understand their place in the early medieval world. CST has already been used to great effect in archaeological contexts (see Neiman 1997; Quinn 2015; Wright 2017) and has more specifically been applied to hillforts in Ireland previously (O'Driscoll 2017).

The clear contrast in which hillforts stand compared to the rest of early medieval society makes them the perfect candidate for CST to elucidate more of their purpose, meaning, and use. Through this we can gain a better understanding of the early medieval Scottish world.

### **Can't see the hill for the fort: Comparative approaches for fortifications and landscapes in the eastern Baltic**

Hans J. Whitefield (Academy of Sciences and Literature, Mainz)

The introduction of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) has expanded our ability to characterise archaeology, but is yet to revolutionise fortification research. Digital analysis of landscapes has increased the quantity of subjective characterisations of fortifications while remaining implicitly tied to modern ideas of militarism and conflict. This is typified by the regular use of intervisibility and viewshed studies as proxies for control and cooperation in a landscape. This eschews the development of falsifiable hypotheses and sound theoretical frameworks in favour of arguments based on convincing visualisations. In order to strengthen fortification research, as in other archaeological subfields, a theoretical approach and corresponding set of techniques are needed that allow for true hypothesis testing and do not rely on covering law models (Smith, 2015). Indices of landscape characteristics can satisfy both of these requirements.

Defensive indices represent a substantial move forward to quantifying what defines fortified sites (Martindale and Supernant, 2009), especially when coupled with GIS systems (Bocinsky, 2014); however, these indices neglect that sites typified as fortifications are multifaceted and unlikely to be purely militaristic structures. This paper focuses on a broad catalogue of fortifications dating from Prehistory, the Migration Period, and the Northern Crusades. Several GIS methods for building holistic landscape indices are presented with the aims of identifying possible site typologies and exploring the motives of past societies. The southeastern Baltic is presented as a case study on how GIS methods can be used to provide clear comparative frameworks for the study of fortification spatially and temporally.

### **The development of social hierarchies in Northern Britain: provisional evidence from Tap o' Noth hillfort**

Gordon Noble (University of Aberdeen) and James O'Driscoll (University of Aberdeen)

The ground-breaking discovery of a large, densely populated Late Roman Iron Age/early medieval settlement at Tap o' Noth has begun to revolutionise the native settlement record, highlighting a new, previously unknown settlement horizon in Northern Britain comprising massive, well organised and densely settled hillforts which may be key to our understanding of the development of social entities and kingdoms of the early medieval period. The ongoing survey and excavation of these sites and their landscapes allow us to develop more nuanced narratives regarding the social, economic and political structures that underpinned these

massive developments and contextualise their importance and function. Using Tap o' Noth as a major case study, this paper will critically discuss these narratives, working from the 'micro' scale of site based internal settlement dynamics, to the 'macro' scale landscapes of power that developed in specific regions.

### **Light at the end of the tunnel? New evidence and potential for investigating animal use at early medieval hillforts in Northern Britain**

Edouard Masson-MacLean, James O'Driscoll, Kate Britton, and Gordon Noble

Animals and domesticates more specifically, were an intrinsic component of early medieval society playing a key role economically and socio-culturally. However, faunal assemblages from early medieval sites in Northern Britain, and hillforts in particular, are scarce due to poor bone preservation and a lack of sites investigated, thus hindering our understanding of how society operated during a period which witnessed the emergence of early kingdoms. Recent excavations at early medieval sites undertaken by the Comparative Kingship Project have produced some unexpected faunal remains. This has provided a unique opportunity to investigate animal use in the region such as animal husbandry, crafts, payment of tribute, food consumption and feasting. This paper will present and contextualise new faunal data from Mither Tap, Craig Rock and Burghead located in Pictland (modern NE Scotland) and explore differences between hillforts and other site types adding to the body of knowledge on early medieval hillforts and animal use at these sites.

### **Revolutionary Innovations? Rethinking long-term technological change**

Organisers: Beatrijs de Groot (University of Edinburgh) and Maria de Falco (Durham University)

### **Make new things but keep the old: a social archaeology of innovation**

Catherine Frieman (Australian National University)

Innovation – at its basic level an anthropocentric process of change over time – looms large in the contemporary world, being bound up in the core economic, social and political relations of the capitalist world. Unsurprisingly, this fascination has inspired research into and critical of innovation and innovative practices across myriad academic fields, archaeology among them. We archaeologists have a longstanding and probably inescapable fascination with the temporality of change. From biblical and evolutionary models to scientific dating methods, change over time has been a continuing focus of our research. Even as archaeological thought has fragmented over the last several decades – with new interpretative approaches emerging almost as fast as new scientific methods – how and why new ideas emerge and spread has remained a central concern of archaeologists around the world. Despite this persistent fascination, I argue that we have rarely engaged with innovation as a social phenomenon—and even more rarely considered the social processes of non-innovation: conservatism, tradition, and resistance. In this paper, I outline a social archaeology of innovation that sees both innovation and non-innovation as emergent from the complex relationships between people, technologies and the wider world. This model gives us fertile ground to revisit old debates, pose new questions, and sidestep the old evolutionary approaches in order to envision a more complicated, more human past.

## **Reinventing the wheel**

Paul Graves-Brown (Independent Researcher)

I was at a conference in Cambridge once, when someone accused me of wanting to reinvent the wheel. In retrospect I thought that wasn't a bad idea. Just how did the wheel get invented, why did some cultures never "invent" the wheel? Drawing on Brian Winston's (1986) invaluable account of the process of invention, this paper will aim to examine the reinvention of the wheel and a few other problematic artefacts, such as the typewriter (which seems to have been "invented" more times than anything else). Plus I will aim to throw in some economics to consider how capitalism controls what gets "invented" and why; the Man in the White Suit principle (Mackendrick 1951), as it were.

## **Continuity and change in the ceramic technologies of Copper Age Campania**

Maria de Falco (Durham University)

The aim of this research is to analyse the relationship between ceramics and cultural processes taking place in Campania, and broadly in Italian Peninsula, during the Copper Age. More specifically, I draw new inferences from the ceramic production by using a holistic approach that integrates the typological and stylistic analysis, typical of Italian tradition, with a theoretically informed broader *chaîne opératoire* approach involving macroscopic observations and archaeometric analyses on a completely new dataset.

The time span between 4th and 3rd millennia BC is a peculiar time period especially in Southern Italy where for a long-time archaeological evidence was limited to funerary contexts which, despite the increasing number of discovered settlements, are still predominant. The partiality of the record led to a difficulty in interpreting cultural dynamics and interactions between different human groups characterised by a certain degree of innovation and conservatism in their ceramic production.

Recent excavations and progresses in the archaeological research highlighted an intense network of connections with the rest of Italy and broader Europe developing between the 4th and 3rd millennia BC. These 'foreign' influences, probably linked to raw material supply, impacted Campanian communities in different ways, displaying diverse degrees of permeability and local adaptation across Copper Age periods.

Through a comprehensive program of macroscopic and archaeometric analyses on four multi-phased key sites, this paper addresses continuities and discontinuities in the technological choices of Copper Age Campanian communities and possible drivers behind long term technological change.

## **Drystone: from building communally to community building**

Lusia Zaleskaya (University of Edinburgh)

Featured both on the intangible and UNESCO World Heritage Lists, drystone walling is a technological tradition of impressive temporal and geographic scale. It has been used in a diverse range of contexts - from prehistoric domestic and ritual sites and vernacular architecture to formal works of art. Many guides have been created to advise novices and professionals on mastering the craft of building sturdy and attractive walls, and there has been an increase in scholarship regarding structural and engineering aspects of drystone masonry. In discussions

of prehistoric drystone walling, structural implications and matter-of-fact descriptions still seem most prevalent in the discourse.

This paper will approach the role of drystone technology beyond structural concerns. Through examining the use of technique in prehistory, with allusions to historic vernacular and modern times, its impact on architectural, design, and aesthetic traditions and how it intertwines with community identity will be considered. An exploration of successes and failures, innovation and tradition in drystone architecture will serve as a guide to how and why it might have developed as a technique and was utilised in prehistoric architecture and beyond, to the modern days. Practical, theoretical, and social aspects of learning the craft will be briefly explored, with particular attention given to the role learning and practicing the craft might have played in fostering a sense of community and group belonging, both in prehistory and modern days.

### **Architectural revolution in Etruria? The case of technological innovation in the Early Iron Age and Orientalising period**

Paul M. Miller (WestLand Resources)

A common element in the scholarly narrative of Etruscan history portrays a transformation in architectural style and of building technology as part of the efflorescence of the Etruscan culture in the Orientalising period. According to this portrayal, structural remains at several sites across Etruria indicate that rectangular stone and terracotta-tiled buildings swiftly replaced traditional round and elliptical *capanne* of timber, wattle-and-daub, and thatch in the seventh and early sixth centuries BC. Due to an underlying tendency to assume an inherently natural trajectory of structural improvement, the Etruscan architectural transformation is generally depicted as a linear progression from prehistoric to historic building types, particularly focussed on material enhancement. This framework is inherently deterministic, where innovations derive first and foremost from the imperative of technological progress often without input from other possible influences, such as social custom or economic expediency. In this paper, I identify how a combination of theories from fields such as economics (Innovation-Decision Process), anthropology (Environment-Behaviour Relations), sociology (Theory of Practice and Structuration), and psychology (Dual-Process Theory) with diachronic comparative analysis and a *chaîne opératoire* approach may combat such a deterministic framework. Exploring the behaviours that underlaid the Etruscan architectural transformation reveals that change was neither swift nor linear but rather the subject of long-term and asynchronous innovations occurring at irregular intervals.

### **The English synthetic porcelain revolution: the impact of Worcester Porcelain 18-19<sup>th</sup> century invention and innovation on national and global fine ware production.**

Helen Loney (University of Worcester) and Andrew Hoan (Open University)

English porcelain has generally been viewed through the lens of the production of fine art pieces, produced by elite artists and craftsmen. From the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, elite manufacturers such as Worcester Royal Porcelain also mass-produced untold quantities of relatively affordable and highly collectable items for middle class trade worldwide. Using affordable synthetic porcelains in substitution for true porcelain clays, English manufacturers were able to move from the earliest soft paste recipes through hard paste until finally adopting bone china as a universal solution to the consumer desire for thin, translucent, and white fabrics for dining ware.



Fieldwalking around the city of Worcester has recovered many thousands of soft paste, hard paste and bone china wasters from the three main porcelain factories: Worcester Tonquin, Chamberlain's and Co., and Graingers. Analysis of the sherds has revealed experimentation and innovation in fabric content and manufacturing technique, whilst archival and art historical evidence provide a timeline of artistic innovation and influence. Using this material and referencing the SST/SCOTS literature, I plan to discuss how the potential mundanity of these mass-produced ceramics was offset by the high levels of prestige purchasing such materials gave to the consumer.

### **Technological stability and Innovation: how the conformist bias favors the reproduction of technical traditions**

Valentine Roux (French National Centre for Scientific Research)

Technical traditions can last for millennia as shown by archaeology. Intergenerational cultural transmission and high-fidelity copying by the learner have been considered to be the mechanisms maintaining these traditions and thus participating in cumulative cultural evolution. Transgressing technical traditions, i.e., changing ways of doing things and introducing new lineages of objects, raises questions at both the individual and the collective scale. So does the stability of technical traditions which also raises many questions at both the individual and collective scales. In this paper, we argue that, when facing a demand for new objects, in all communities, there are experts capable of developing new adaptive strategies. However, this ability does not necessarily lead to changes at the collective scale if there is no demand for new objects. To test this hypothesis, we conducted field experiments with potters in five different cultural contexts. The experiments were designed to evaluate individuals' ability to cope with new challenges, i.e., new shapes of vessels. The results highlight individual adaptive behaviour in the five communities. These adaptive capacities are expressed both in the strategies followed and the level of skill. They also reveal a technological bias linking forming strategies and finished products regardless of skill level. This bias, combined with a social bias linking technology to social identity, explains the conformist bias that favours the reproduction of traditions and thus technological stability despite individual capacities for invention. Hence periods of long technical stability corresponding to periods during which no new demand emerged.

### **Technically Correct? Understanding the Influence of Technological Reconstructions in the Creation of Global Narratives**

Nicholas P. Groat (University of Sheffield)

Technological innovation, by modern standards, is synonymous with global development. In conceptualising such a relationship, the reconstruction of technologies from a historical perspective has been extrapolated into larger dialogues on societal change and associated cultural concepts. This often leads to a reliance on comparative models by which to make sense of fragmentary archaeological remains. Consequentially, it is a modern comprehension of chemical and physical processes that is projected onto the past when reassembling technologies and their complexities. While this allows us to consider a range of plausible technological systems, an overreliance on such uncriticised reconstructions instead causes hypothetical models, preferences, and ideals to be used as the basis for how we understand the past, and thus the underpinnings of our place in the world today. This paper therefore considers how technological reconstruction as a tool at the centre of archaeological interpretation has been utilised as a line of reasoning in the formulation of our narratives of change on a global scale,

including the role of ingrained and hypothetical models of both technologies and their stadial changes. Reconstructions may as a result be technically correct, but they distort an archaeological 'reality' and continue to reinforce established ideas on the notion of technological change.

### **The archaeology of mass production: examining the role of 'disruptive' technologies**

Beatrijs de Groot (University of Edinburgh)

Mass production allows for a set of behaviours viewed as distinctly modern, relating to the mass consumption and mass discard of material goods. Mass production has been considered as a force disrupting traditional modes of production and an agent of globalization marking the age of supermodernity (González-Ruibal 2014, 1). The mass production of standardised goods, however, is not exclusive to recent contexts, as the term is broadly utilised by archaeologists to describe processes of production intensification and standardisation. In this paper, I explore the characteristics of mass production in different archaeological case studies, particularly focusing on ceramic production. I will reflect on insights from different archaeological approaches to technology, in order to critically discuss the connection between technological innovation and mass production, and examine if/how mass production is an agent for socio-cultural change in prehistory as well as the present.

### **A Revolution in the Industrial Archaeology of the Early Neolithic at Street House**

Stephen Sherlock (National Highways)

The construction of an Early Neolithic saltern at Street House could have had a revolutionary effect upon society in the UK. The discovery of the salt working site has pushed back our understanding of UK salt manufacture from c. 1,300BC, where it is known at sites such as Mucking (Essex) and Brean Down (Somerset) to 3,700-3,800 BC at Street House, near Loftus.

The manufacturing and distribution mechanisms suggested by a chaîne opératoire implies a task orientated means of production undertaking a series of transformative processes to achieve the evaporation of brine to make salt. The evidence from the excavations demonstrates this is not a small home/craft based activity. Excavations have shown there to be more than one oven/hearth working concurrently fuelled by heat from a furnace, with more than one phase of activity at this site. Other sites to the immediate north are implied from the geophysics that indicate a concentration of activity over a prolonged period.

Wider ramifications to this industry include; what is the salt used for? Who controlled access to, knowledge of the technology? the marketing and distribution of this valuable product? and why is it occurring at Street House?? All of these terms are more reminiscent of a capitalist economy than a movement/revolution from a nomadic existence to a farming society 6,000 years ago as seen by some scholars.

## **Assessing the impact of gender and feminist theory on archaeological teaching and research**

Organiser: Diane Bolger (University of Edinburgh)

### **A New Wave? Gender and the Nordic Past in Perspective**

Marianne Moen (University of Oslo) and Unn Pederson (University of Oslo)

In this paper we will present our ongoing research project, *Gendering the Nordic Past*. We will outline our motivations for initiating the project, as well as the ongoing learning curve of our work. We will also present some results that extend beyond the initial scope of the project.

*Gendering the Nordic Past* is a collaborative research project based at the University of Oslo, with the aim of evaluating, and through that revitalizing, the field of gender studies of the Nordic past. We have participants from multiple disciplines, but are firmly anchored in archaeology. Our starting objective was to map the ways in which gender and diversity is portrayed in scientific and popular dissemination focused on prehistory and early history, which came about from a wish to assess the impact that 40+ years of gender studies in Nordic Archaeology has had on dominant narratives of a gendered past.

As our project has illuminated, there is an ongoing need for explicit gender and feminist focus. This seems particularly poignant, considering the role that Norwegian archaeology played in the early days of gender archaeology. We will present some examples in this paper, both of successful integrations of gender perspectives in mainstream presentations, and examples that show there is still work to be done. *Gendering the Nordic Past* has furthermore unrolled in a time of profound change to the way we produce our knowledge. Increasing focus on decolonising our knowledge production has led to an acknowledged need to reassess how we frame present and future research. Finally, the increased interest in gender now visible amongst a broader range of researchers can be placed in context with the changing political parameters within which we work. Together, these lead us to the question of whether or not it is appropriate to talk about a new wave of gender research in archaeology, or whether or not the idea of 'waves' serve to detract from the societal pressures that influence the degree of interest in questions of gender at any given time.

### **Goddesses and Power: Have we moved beyond sex, gender and fertility?**

Monica Palermo Fernández (University of Glasgow)

This year the British Museum opened its Citi exhibition *Feminine Power: the divine to the demonic*, which it describes as 'the first major exhibition to explore female spiritual beings in world belief and mythological traditions around the world'. It is 2022 and the prospect of a first major exhibition of this kind seemed underwhelming given more than thirty years of feminist research into deconstructing normative, monolithic understandings of gender and articulating the intersectional nature of power. It has made me ponder whether and to what extent this body of research has influenced how we research women's roles and power in antiquity through the proxy of ancient goddesses, and how goddesses are portrayed as feminist role models today. Considering the male-dominated contexts in which ancient art and literature were produced alongside the 19<sup>th</sup>-century influences of many persistent ideas associated with goddesses, such as 'mother goddess' cults or 'sacred marriage' rites, how and to what extent do narratives about ancient powerful goddesses articulate the gendered socio-politics of the past? Are these 'role models' empowering today?

In this paper I take a first step into mapping and understanding the impact of feminist research on the study and representation of goddesses and power by exploring and analysing word frequencies in books (Google Books) and scientific publications (JSTOR). Using the Google N-Gram Viewer and ITHAKA's Constellate, I will explore multilingual (English, French, German) chronological trends in the names and epithets of goddesses to paint a picture about changing scientific and popular interests. I hope these results will generate further discussion around how feminist approaches can be deployed more successfully to recentre the study of ancient goddesses away from describing how their power stems from their sex and gender and towards articulating how their identities and social roles intersect with the (re-) production of social structures of power and inequalities.

### **Beyond the Binary: Funerary archaeology, gendered identity and its impact on contemporary society**

Dulcie Newbury (University of Bradford)

Archaeology can be used to critically engage with the present, inform our views of gender identities, and challenge contemporary biases, as well as enhance our understanding of the past. Today, gender inequality and discrimination impact mental health and wellbeing, with individuals in the queer community showing higher rates of mental illness, often linked to issues faced as a result of their identity. This research uses archaeological evidence to challenge interpretations of gender by eliminating predetermined ideas of identity based on binary sex, with the aim of utilising archaeology in gender debates today. The binary idea of sex and gender is not representative of identities and limits our understanding of people and identity today, and in the past.

In order to determine the influence that archaeology has in contemporary discussions, academic and public facing workshops were conducted in May-October 2022 at the University of Bradford. These required participants to work in small groups to engage with and discuss archaeological and contemporary studies focusing on sex and gender. The sessions ended with a focus group discussion, facilitated by the primary researcher. By challenging binary concepts of sex and gender in the present, the workshops enabled participants to consider evidence of diversity in the past and to gain a greater sense of history and community, which have been proven to improve mental health and wellbeing. Participants agreed that archaeology is a powerful instigator of conversation around aspects of sex, gender and identity and can be used to challenge cultural norms and highlight diversity beyond the binary, both in the past and present.

### **Why do we assume they were men? The lack of feminist theory in industrial archaeology**

Susana Pacheco (NOVA University of Lisbon)

Archaeologists should not ignore genders (and usually for contemporaneity they do not, at least for men and women). But for industrial places this is still happening, and women are often completely ignored and silenced. In most archaeological about industrial places, only an emotionless general entity, whose single purpose should be production is mentioned, or rather presented as mere numbers, with a discourse that leads us to assume those people were mainly (or exclusively) men, but it shouldn't be that way. Single individuals are barely analysed, and when they are, usually the "chosen ones" are also men.

Most archaeologists tend to only recognise women's presence in industrial places when they are confronted with certain objects, typically associated to women (although they are not

necessarily exclusive of this gender), like sanitary pads, tampons, some jewellery, bras, some clothes or shoes, or makeup, but why is that? And when these objects appear there is a tendency to assume the tasks, they performed were soft, although it wasn't necessarily true. For instance, if we look at the photographs of industrial places during the World Wars, we will verify that women can perform all sorts of tasks in factories. With this presentation I want to debate the fact that for most archaeologists, women's presence in industrial places is still ignored or undervalued, and how a feminist theoretical framework could help deconstruct these narratives and allow us to better understand an industrial place and the lives of the people who worked there.

### **Posthumanist feminist archaeology: A becoming**

Rachel J. Crellin (University of Leicester)

This paper explores the potential of posthumanist feminism in archaeology. We will consider the shape of posthumanist feminism and look at some of the key concepts it provides for re-imaginings of the world. Drawing on thinking from Rosi Braidotti and Francesca Ferrando, we will approach posthumanist feminism as a post-dualism, a post-anthropocentrism, and a post-humanism. Feminism has always been both critical theory and an activist tool. Posthumanist feminism is no different— it offers a call to action and a sharp critique of the era we find ourselves in where climate crisis, discrimination, inequality, and technology shape our worlds and relationships in powerful ways and. As a result, it is often pitched as a philosophy of now – thinking aimed at our current problems. Therefore, we will ask what this philosophy has to say to the study of the past and, crucially, what an archaeologist has to contribute to posthumanist feminism. The paper will explore both how posthumanist feminism might help us write alternative pasts and how it helps to orient our discipline towards the future.

### **The second 'sift': Feminist theory for articulating archaeological labour relations in Turkey**

Yağmur Heffron (University College London)

This paper is a critical reflection on archaeological labour relations between local and foreign archaeologists collaborating on international fieldwork projects in Turkey. It focuses on the invisible labour of native Turkish speakers who informally but regularly act as interpreters to facilitate the research and learning activities of their foreign counterparts, in addition their own full-time professional and educational commitments.

I argue that fieldwork dynamics in such cases can be compellingly articulated through the idea of the "second shift" first used by Arlie Hochschild (1989) to describe the double burden of middle-class American mothers who worked full-time jobs outside the home in addition to doing most of the housework for their families. Taking the fundamental premise of the second shift as a substantial body of informal and unrecompensed work which one particular group is expected to perform in addition to formal duties, this term can be used to address similarly problematic divisions of archaeological labour on fieldwork projects.

Whilst recognising that a great deal of archaeological fieldwork in many parts of the world relies on invisible labour, the purpose of this paper is to highlight one specific set of dynamics revolving around language and cultural knowledge as the object of extractive habits shaping professional relations in which existing inequalities are amplified as time, leisure, and opportunity gaps widen. Taking its cue from the second shift but also exploring related notions on the value of time and work, this paper explores how feminist theory can inform efforts

towards greater reflexivity in professional archaeological practice in Turkey, even where the principal ‘theme’ isn’t overtly about gender, but more broadly about inequality.

### **Gender inequities in archaeological publication: 1950 to the present**

Diane Bolger (University of Edinburgh)

Since the vast majority of archaeological publications appear in academic journals, data on authorship in these journals can help to pinpoint significant inequities in research outputs by women and men. A number of scholarly reports in recent years have documented the lower proportions of articles authored by women in archaeological journals, regardless of whether they are solo authors, ‘first’ authors in jointly authored submissions, or members of multi-authored teams. While percentages of female authors have generally increased to some extent during the last decades, the general pattern of inequity continues into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with women submitting and publishing on average one article for every two articles submitted and published by men in high-end peer-reviewed journals. In this paper I will review some of the evidence documenting this marked disparity and discuss some of the reasons proposed for why this is the case. It is argued that the lower numbers of female submissions to major archaeological journals can in large part be attributed, at least in the UK, to the smaller number of women employed as full-time members of academic staff in archaeology departments and subject areas. If ‘honorary’ positions are included in the totals, women reach near parity in many cases, but the lower status and support associated with honorary and other ‘attached’ positions pose significant obstacles for engaging in research and publication.

### **Teaching gender archaeology: Assessing the inclusion of gender theory in UK archaeological curricula**

Ethan Hamilton (University of Bradford)

Gender and feminist theories remain marginalised as subtopics when compared to wider archaeology; this can be seen in the relatively limited inclusion of gender archaeology in publishing, funding, and more notably, teaching. In university curriculums, this is presented through a distinct lack of gender and feminist-based modules in both core and optional module selections. Alongside this, diversity statistics continue to represent a heterosexual, cisgender majority. As a result, university classrooms arguably remain to be extensions of gendered power imbalances that minimise opportunities for marginalised voices to be heard.

Through the analysis of archaeological modules offered by UK universities, this paper aims to critically review the current inclusion of gender and feminist theory within archaeological curriculums. By examining available module handbooks and reading lists, as well as survey results from both students and lecturers, the extent to which gender theory is taught within archaeological courses can be established. The analysis of common narratives and case studies used in teaching gender in archaeology can be used to identify areas of poor representation within the classroom and discipline. Through this, pathways for the development of a more diverse, gender-inclusive archaeological module can be established with the aim of improving interdisciplinary discussions of gender diversity and identities in both the past and present.

## **The classroom as the site of gender revolution**

Hannah Cobb (University of Manchester) and Dr. Karina Croucher (University of Bradford)

In 2002 one of this paper's authors got roundly criticised for suggesting in their undergraduate dissertation that there could be more than two genders. In 2012 both of this paper's authors were teaching our students about gender and demonstrating why and how there are and were more than two genders. In 2022 our students are teaching *us*, broadening our minds on how their intersectional experiences impact on how they do archaeology in the present and interpret what they find in the past.

This revolution, which has seen students move from passive voices on this subject to those leading the way in radically rethinking gender (and more) in the past is only one part of an exciting activist led ground-swelling of change in the fight for equality in how we do and think about archaeology. In this paper we examine this further and consider the exciting, affirmative possibilities that this presents for how we might think, teach and research gender and more in the future.

## **Revolutions in the maritime world of the Late Bronze Age Aegean**

Organiser: Max MacDonald (University of Southampton)

### **Introduction: Maritime archaeological theory and the Late Bronze Aegean**

Max MacDonald (University of Southampton)

Despite the intrinsically maritime nature of Greece and the Aegean region, the archaeological thought relating to the Late Bronze Age civilisations of the regions has not fully engaged with theories employed by maritime and coastal archaeologists in other contexts. Archaeological bias has led to the excavation of major inland centres on the Greek mainland, but rarely to the investigation of coastal settlements. However, in the last decade there has been the beginning of a shift away from this practice, and coastal communities are slowly being included in the discussion of the maritime world of the Late Bronze Age. Much of the scholarly attention has been focused on trade and exchange, colonialism, Minoanisation, and Mycenaeanisation, but there is an opportunity to move beyond these paradigms. Many theoretical approaches have been used to understand the interconnectivity of the Aegean and the different relationships with the sea. World systems analysis and network analysis both rely heavily on the sea for theorising connectivity, and seascapes, coastscapes and islandscapes as well as maritime small worlds highlight the connections between coastal communities. Concepts within maritime archaeology have not always had the same level of impact within the field of Aegean archaeology, but approaches such as maritime cultural landscapes, maritimity, and wet ontologies can bring a fresh perspective to the discipline.

### **The Social Network; Assessing the contribution of the Phoenicians to Trans-Aegean social connections in the Late Bronze Age**

Dan Reeve-Brook (University of Southampton) and Alfie Garland (University of Bristol)

The Late Bronze Age is a pivotal moment in defining the shape of social connections that would underpin the First Millennium BCE – and in turn, influence political boundaries that last

through to the modern day. As such, this period is rich for investigation into the interconnected networks across land and sea that allowed for cultural, economic, and social revolutions. One such example of this interconnected nature is the role of the "Phoenicians" in the Late Bronze Age, acting as a bridge between the Aegean and the Near East.

The early First Millennium BCE has oft-been cited as the beginning of the so-called "Orientalising" period, a time wherein Near Eastern influence over Mediterranean artistic expression, styles, and forms becomes increasingly pronounced. However, this paper will assess the possibility of an earlier Near Eastern influence on the Aegean through trading and social networks. Through analysis of imported exotica and ceramic goods at key LBA Aegean sites, a thorough investigation of the possibility of a pre-First Millennium "Proto-Orientalising" period will be undertaken. This research proposes that the presence of luxury goods underlines the connections between Palatial centres and social status, and aims to shift the focus of understanding Palatial power away from pure material wealth and toward social network capacity.

### **Sailing the Aegean: GIS Modelling of Late Bronze Age Seafaring and Maritime Connectivity**

Cal Pols (University of Southampton)

Adapted from my undergraduate dissertation on Archaic sailing in the Black Sea, a study of Late Bronze Age marine connectivity in the Aegean will be presented here through a GIS-based methodology that uses Least-Cost Analysis (LCA) to create Least-Cost Paths (LCPs) for sail navigation. Aegean settlement sites from the period will be selected based on archaeologically known coastal settlements. This analysis will identify the positions (coastal or open-water) of routes between selected settlements in the Aegean. The change in these routes was also highlighted by using wind data for different months throughout the year. This presentation will show that GIS can offer a viable way of presenting an alternative view of maritime space which introduces environmental and human aspects alongside the geographic (Cartesian) element. This enables archaeologists to better appreciate the human component of the past when considering routes for Bronze Age sail navigation.

### **The Cow Goes Moo, the Seal Goes KFAZOP: Pseudo-Anatolian Seals and Trans-Aegean Interaction in the Late 2nd Millennium BCE**

Daniel Newgarden (Brown University)

The multilingual, multiscriptual environment of the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean world is a fertile one for the consideration of major questions of script contact and interaction. Several scripts were originally developed in the Aegean, namely Cretan hieroglyphs, Linear A and B, and the Cypro-Minoan syllabary. Still others originated in the nearby regions of Anatolia, Egypt, and the Near East, such as the various ducts of cuneiform as well as Anatolian and Egyptian hieroglyphs. These were used by a vast range of people with connections to the Aegean world, thus providing ample opportunity for these scripts and their users to interact.

This paper presents an analysis of Trans-Aegean networks and script interaction in the late 2nd millennium BCE using pseudo-Anatolian seals in Mycenaean and Western Anatolian contexts as case studies. It will assess the issues of legibility and semantic content inherent to these seals as well as their relation to increasingly prevalent seal forms in Hittite and other Anatolian contexts. Through an application of recently developed theory in the field of comparative script studies, the paper will examine these seals as evidence of Trans-Aegean interconnectivity,



spreading via networks from Anatolian imperial centers such as Hattusa across the sea to the Mycenaean world, passing through the key intermediary of Western Anatolia. Finally, it will focus on the particular and varied adaptations of foreign seal forms, uses, and symbols into local contexts, thus enriching the study of connections between the Mycenaean world and Late Bronze Age Anatolia.

### **Ships, boats and sea life: new insights into marine imagery present on Minoan seal stones from 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC Crete**

Piers Cummings (University of Southampton)

The basis for this study lies with the impressive survival of many hundreds of pictorial sealstones, which saw varying rates of usage across Bronze Age Crete. As intimate objects employed for both sphragistic and alternate purposes as talismans, valuables, or jewellery, these items offer tantalising glimpses into not only the organisation of property possession or trade, but cultic practice and self-expression. The designs exhibited in the archaeological record are broad, ranging from simple etched lines to complex abstract and figural representations that draw inspiration from the natural world. During the early 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC, the sea becomes a prominent source of creative inspiration, and imagery of identifiably distinct species are conceptualised and inscribed on minute stone canvases of increasing hardness. At a similar time, designs of ships and boats appear in fine enough detail to be interpreted, at least partially, as schematic. It is between the Middle Minoan to Late Minoan period (c. 2100-1700 BC) that multiple strata of the sea are represented on sealstones, from crustacea and molluscs on the seafloor, to flying fish skimming the surface, and indeed the human forays into this environment. This research examines what this data, divided between *marine* and *maritime* categories, can tell us about how the Minoans interacted with and envisaged the sea. Discussion is framed by considering how creativity, innovation and choice fitted into the production of these items, and also by considering the conditions that led to their conception.

### **(R)Evolution of the maritime networks: changing modes of contact between the Aegean and Cyprus during the late LBA**

Andreas Ladas (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), Dimitris Papageorgiou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), and Stratos Mavros (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)

As early as the MBA, the systematic contact of the Aegean with the wider region of the Eastern Mediterranean is confirmed, thus resulting in the development of contacts and the exchange not only of goods, but also ideas and customs. The networks of contacts intensified particularly during the LBA, both because of the achieved progress in shipbuilding and the enrichment of knowledge in the field of navigation. In the contact networks of the Aegean with the broader area of the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus plays an important role, a fact that is documented as much as with archaeological research and presence of Aegean elements, mainly in the southern and eastern coasts of Cyprus as with the creation of new seaside settlements on the island. However, it becomes noticeable that in these networks, Palaepaphos is not included, as so far research has not brought out evidence corroborating contacts of the aforementioned region with the Aegean up to the end of 13th century B.C.

The sociopolitical changes, which took place during the 12th century B.C. in the Aegean and the wider basin of the Eastern Mediterranean are also reflected in the contact networks of the regions, as they had been formed throughout the previous centuries. The present study focuses

on the case of Palaepaphos, examining the multitude of imported Aegean objects found in burials of the site, as well as the innovative architectural elements located there. Additionally, through this particular research, we aim to approach the way of organization and conduct of trade of the period, along with other communication forms and the interaction between populations of the Aegean and Cyprus.

### **Production Revolution: What can changing pottery technology tell us about connectivity over maritime spaces?**

Iro' Camici (Independent Researcher)

For a long time, the analysis of pottery has been focused on the creation of typologies of shapes and decorations, without paying attention to the production process. The study of pottery production sequences, the *chaîne opératoire*, can help to recognise socio-cultural changes. The introduction of a new technique for pottery production hints at interactions between communities with different backgrounds. By analysing the traces left by the production sequence on the surfaces of vessels it is possible to detect different *chaînes opératoires* resulting from interactions between craftspeople trained in different traditions. This methodology can benefit the study of social change over maritime spaces by revealing interactions between different areas with defined production sequences. The analysis of the *chaîne opératoire* used to produce ceramic vessels in combination with the study of the ratio of local tradition vessels and imported pots can shed new light on socio-cultural interaction in the Aegean. The study of pottery production methods offers a new perspective on connections in the maritime world of the Late Bronze Age Aegean, such as “Minoanisation” and “Mycenaeanisation”. By comparing pottery production techniques from different regions, it is possible to trace interactions and relationships between areas that could have only interacted through the sea. This presentation will outline the ways in which ceramic production methods can be detected and recorded, and outline why it should be part of standard ceramic recording practices.

### **Assessing Multicultural Material Evidence from Afro-Eurasian Maritime Sites: from the Indus to the Aegean**

Marie N. Pareja Cummings (Marshall University)

The fourth and third millennia BCE were host to the rapid expansion of Afro-Eurasian trade and exchange networks. Early studies primarily focused on maritime connections among those who lived in relation to bodies of water that are considered distinct today: the Aegean Sea, the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, and the broader Indian Ocean, for instance. Concurrently, trade relations in these regions are well accepted: between the Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East; Mesopotamia, the Near East, and Egypt; Mesopotamia, the Indus River Valley, and the regions between. Nevertheless, each of these areas is connected to the next and to those farther removed by water, whether in the form of rivers, seas, or oceans. More recent analytical studies of human remains (via strontium-isotope analysis or the study of dental calculus, among others) show that individuals not only moved between but settled in these distinct regions. This study seeks to revisit and reconsider evidence for extra-regional connections – those currently considered only indirect or down-the-line – to explore possible indications of closer and more direct relationships between these seemingly distinct cultures.

## **Rethinking rock art: Biographies of research, new theoretical explorations and multidisciplinary approaches**

Organisers: Joana Valdez-Tullett (Wessex Archaeology), Sofia-Figueiredo Persson (Iconictheory), and Andreia Silva (Independent Researcher)

### **Illuminating Art: Using Digital Techniques to Re-Evaluate the Upper Palaeolithic Cave Art of Creswell Crags (UK)**

Izzy Wisher (Durham University/Aarhus University), Lisa-Elen Meyering (Durham University), and Barbara Oosterwijk (Durham University)

There is an increasing awareness that traditional methods of recording parietal art, such as 2D images or plan drawings, are insufficient for appreciating the complexity of the art. Such methods arguably do not capture important contextual information, such as the placement of depictions within a cave or the integration of natural topographic features of cave walls within the depictions themselves. As a result, digital techniques are becoming well-established methods in the interpretation and recording of parietal rock art. They hold great potential for answering new questions about the art, illuminating deeper insights into its making, use, and experiential aspects. We utilised a suite of digital techniques to re-evaluate the unique Upper Palaeolithic cave art of Creswell Crags: the only example of Upper Palaeolithic parietal art in the UK. The art of Creswell Crags was initially discovered in 2003, but has received little academic attention since. Recent developments in digital imaging methods provided the opportunity to reveal new depictions within the site, evaluate the placement of depictions and utilisation of natural topographic features of the cave, and provide in-depth insights into aspects of the art's making. This paper presents the first results of our study, and reflects on how digital techniques can further our understandings of cave art sites beyond the insights afforded by traditional methods.

### **New ways of looking at Newgrange**

Elizabeth Shee Twohig (University College Cork) and Ken Williams (Archaeological Photographer)

During 2021 and 2022 we had the privilege of being permitted to carry out a detailed photographic survey and listing of the megalithic art both inside and outside the monument at Newgrange County Meath, with the collaboration of the Office of Public Works, the National Monuments Service and with support from the Royal Irish Academy for directed research at World Heritage sites. The carvings had been well documented by drawings taken from tracing in the 1982 Excavation Report. Our aim for this project was to use new photographic and other digital recording methods to look again at the carved stones, with particular attention being directed at the extent to which the stones were dressed before or after being put in place and also the use of close area picking and dispersed picking, the latter being very prevalent on the kerbstones, and hitherto scarcely mentioned. Study of the various stages of working on the stones has given us new insights into the choices made by the builders and artists and also into the sheer amount of work that has been put into this aspect of this remarkable monument.

## **An archaeology of the invisible? Exploring the acoustics of rock art landscapes through a multidisciplinary approach**

Neemias Santos da Rosa (University of Barcelona) and Margarita Díaz-Andreu (University of Barcelona)

For more than a century, rock art research has been carried out mostly according to image-centred Western ontologies that minimise the importance of human sensory perception. However, given that the way of being in the world of those who produced and used rock art in prehistory was presumably different from that in which scholars are positioned in the present, it is very likely that images were not the only relevant element in a decorated shelter. In this sense, considering that sound is a fundamental component of most ritual practices, acoustic effects such as resonance, reverberation and echoes may have been effective means to boost perceptual experiences involving speech, dance, and music in activities related to rock art production and consumption. Seeking to explore this possibility, the ERC Artsoundscapes Project –led by Dr Margarita Díaz-Andreu– aims to investigate the role of sound and emotion in relation to the sacred in rock art landscapes located on four continents (Europe, Africa, Asia, and America). To achieve this goal, the project team – composed of archaeologists, ethnographers, psychologists, and acoustic engineers– develop a multidisciplinary approach through six research lines: rock art, acoustical physics, psychoacoustics, neuroacoustics, ethnography and archives, and artsoundscapes ontologies. In this paper, we discuss the relevance of this innovative approach in the study of the invisible aspects of rock art landscapes and its contributions to the theoretical and methodological development of archaeology.

## **The Afterlife of Atlantic Rock Art: a contextual archaeology approach**

Joana Valdez-Tullett (Wessex Archaeology)

The prehistoric tradition of Atlantic Rock Art is known for its circular imagery but also its landscape setting. While a defining character, the lack of associated archaeological contexts hinders research and there are still many open questions, namely related to chronology. In the mid-3rd millennium BC this relationship with the landscape seemingly changes. Carved blocks were then often placed within funerary chambers, whether resulting from quarrying of decorated outcrops, or produced specifically for this purpose. Although many of these blocks were recovered by antiquarians and their archaeological contexts were not necessarily preserved, their co-presence with other types of material culture, human and animal remains, means that they hold a valuable context, which can provide information which is not available for the landscape outcrops. This talk will discuss the potential and limitations of applying a contextual archaeology approach to Atlantic Rock Art, and how this data contributes to a better understanding of this tradition in its afterlife, illustrating with examples from Scotland.

## **Rock art classifications: a game of typologies and scales**

Sofia Figueiredo Persson (Iconictheory), Magda Barbedo (Iconictheory), and Joana Valdez-Tullett (Wessex Archaeology)

Classifications and typological systems are at the core of archaeological theories and methods. Regarding rock art, different traditions have established their own classifications systems, deeply rooted in geographical and chronological contexts.

Until the 80s of the last century, the approach was centred in both stylistic and motif's typology, although the discovery of new sites as well as the landscape paradigm caused this model to

change. But regardless of where we stand as rock art investigators, we do need to classify our “materiality”, and since rock art is one of the most multivocal remains of the past, this can be really hard and defying. In this presentation we aim to compare different approaches and discuss their possibilities and limitations within the new digital and global world. While doing so we aim to raise questions such as: what classifying units should we use? Should we try to unify them? Is that even possible? We will draw examples from palaeolithic, recent prehistory, iron age and historic rock art, mostly from Portugal and Spain but also from France, Britain and Ireland and Scandinavia.

### **An animist shamanism: the world behind San Rock Art**

Sam Challis (University of Witwatersrand) and Andrew Skinner (University of South Africa)

Hunter-gatherer cosmology in southern Africa is very clearly multinatural; persons human and non-human working to behave intelligibly to each other so that relations are brokered and maintained. Until recently, however, rock art interpretations have implied a physical division between realms animal and human, spiritual and mundane. Ironically, the dominant paradigm was founded on the principle that the images did not represent everyday life. The New Animisms have offered up a palette of colours with which to paint a new picture of San rock art, one which emphasises negotiation-as-navigation, social topographies and the ontological consequences of place, position, and perspective. Instead of showcasing shamans’ power, it transpires that images were rather made to broker ‘proper’ relations between entities on a shared landscape.

### **Human Skeletons in Motion, Defleshed Animals in Action and Transformations of species in the Northern Tradition Rock Art**

Trond Lødøen (University of Bergen)

The Northern Tradition rock art of Scandinavia is well-known for its many depictions of animals and have for more than a century been argued to be related to past hunting strategies, hunting magic or alternatively that the rock art locations were understood as hunting grounds or meeting places. These explanatory frameworks seem in reality to be mirror images of consumption and utilization that characterizes modern western societies and fails to provide adequate explanations for a number of iconographical compilations in the Northern Tradition Rock Art, with depictions of human skeletons, defleshed animals, possible transformations of different species, and both human-animal and animal-animal relations that are not known in nature. The paper will both discuss and tentatively suggests that the rock art iconography and narratives provide important insight into past ideas and thought complexes and represents an underestimated value for contextual studies of the societies responsible for the rock art and also a resource for a general most needed decolonising of the Mesolithic past.

### **Narrative and Multimodal Aspects of Spear Depictions in Scandinavian Rock Art**

Peter Sköglund (Linnaeus University), Tomas Persson (Lund University), and Anna Cabak Rédei (Lund University)

Researchers have long discussed whether Scandinavian rock art reflects narratives. Their interpretations have frequently been based on inspections of rock art panels combined with knowledge from ethnographic and historical sources. Here, the authors instead departs from the concept of (visual) narrativity and draws on research in art, literature, cognitive psychology,

and semiotics. Images of spear use in the provinces of Bohuslän and Östergötland in Sweden, given their diversity and iconic as well as indexical qualities, are well-suited to such an analysis. Spear images direct attention to possible targets through the pointedness of spears, arguably corresponding to action scripts well-known to Bronze Age communities. Furthermore, the diversity of spear imagery, compared to other tools or weapons, is striking, suggesting that the pointedness of spears is an especially useful narrative device, which works both in a purely visual modality, and in a tactile one in circumstances where the images are difficult to see (the tip of the spear is often exaggerated). Many spear images may thus be regarded as mini-narratives, and perhaps mnemonic devices, intended to represent schematized action sequences, such as ways of hunting or ways of fighting. The authors suggest that concepts such as iconicity, indexical relationships, scripts, and mini-narratives could be fruitfully employed in research on Scandinavian rock art and beyond.

### **Portable iron age rock art from North Portugal: research weaknesses and possibilities**

Andreia Silva (Independent Researcher), Sofia Figueiredo Persson (Iconictheory), and Elin Figueiredo (NOVA University of Lisbon)

Unlike research focused on prehistoric rock art, Iron Age rock art studies are not yet properly developed within archaeological science. This fact is due to established schemas, in which it is understood that the major groups of rock art, such as Schematic or Atlantic rock art, disappear by the end of the Bronze Age. Therefore, until the end of the twentieth century, the number of sites with Iron Age rock art was scarce, not only due to the lack of its definition as an independent style, but also because of the lack of research. Like as in Palaeolithic or Late prehistory, Iron Age rock art uses both parietal and portable geological mediums, although the former are much better known and better studied. In this presentation we intend to discuss the repercussions and effects caused by the lack of studies in this area, as well as new research possibilities drawn from two portable art collections from Northern Portugal, with more than 600 engraved plaques, where we see geometric and abstract motifs, as well as knights and various animals composing different scenes.

### **Rock art's materiality, paint recipes performances and techno visual affordances. A short biography of a theoretical-methodological model developed in Fuego-Patagonia and its current application to Levantine rock art (Spain)**

Danae Fiore (CONICET, University of Buenos Aires) and Neemias Santos da Rosa (University of Barcelona)

Following an idealist ontology based on a Cartesian mind/body dichotomy, archaeology has often established a straightforward and univocal association between rock art and supposedly mainly-mental aspects of human experience –symbolism, worldviews, ideology, etc. In this paper we present a short biography of a theoretical-methodological framework that has effectively challenged this viewpoint and has offered an alternative perspective to the archaeology of art, based on a materialist-relational ontology. Originally developed in South America, this framework has proposed several concepts and models to research, analyse and interpret various Indigenous art forms (rock art, portable art, body art) of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego. Viewing art as a material culture product, this perspective has aimed to unravel the relational links between the economy of art (e.g. the work process underlying art production and use, involving context-related and agent-oriented labour investment and labour divisions); the technological means used along the production sequences of image/objects (i.e. the specific performances and techno-visual affordances offered by each raw material and technique); and

the cognitive aspects (e.g. knowledge, values, perceptions) involved in the production and engagement with materials, techniques, image/objects, bodies and landscapes. We apply this framework to the study of paint recipes of Levantine rock art (Spain). In this sense, through a series of systematic experiments, we tested the efficiency of 112 simple-structure and complex-structure pictorial recipes –produced with 6 types of pigments and 11 binders– regarding their ease of applicability, coverage capacity and adhesiveness. The results of this experimental research made it possible to determine the performance each pigment and binder, which served as diagnostic criteria to study an archaeological sample consisting of nine rock art sites. This allowed us to establish, for the first time, empirically supported inferences about the economy of art, the techno-visual affordances of each paint recipe and the cognitive aspects underlying the Levantine paint production process.

### **RASSA (Rock Art Scotland and South Africa): working with local communities to record and preserve rock art in South Africa**

Jon Henderson (University of Edinburgh) and Sam Challis (University of Witwatersrand)

People in rural communities, especially in post-apartheid South Africa, are seldom able to contribute to archaeological projects that are essentially investigations of their own past. There are hundreds of rock paintings and engravings in the subcontinent, many of them on traditional, communally owned land and in difficult, high mountain terrain. They are often overlooked as unimportant because they are not sufficiently valorized in the public eye. The Rock Art Scotland and South Africa (RASSA) pilot project was implemented to redress this problem. The approach taken was to stimulate effective change in the way that local community groups view and value their own heritage, how they present rock art sites to visitors and how this activity can create economic and social opportunities with a focus on how rock art sites can be safeguarded for future generations. The project set out to achieve 1) the archaeological research goal of locating rock art sites, 2) recording of sites by local groups using accessible digital photogrammetry and 3) the heritage management goal of valorising rock art, partly through income generation. These challenges were addressed by consulting with local communities and putting together a team of local Field Technicians, equipped with low-cost rock art enhancement software, and remunerating them for their time. This is what happened.

### **Community landscapes in 20000 hour old rock art**

Joel Santos (NOVA University of Lisbon), João Sequeira (CICS-NOVA, IHC, University of Minho, FCT), Tania Casimiro (CFE HTC NOVA University of Lisbon), André Texugo (UNIARQ, CEG, FCT), and Liliana Verissimo Carvalho (Independent Researcher)

When reading the call for papers of this session we came across the sentence that challenged archaeologists for the “need to bring rock art into mainstream archaeology, given its social role in past societies”. An idea bumped into our head since this was exactly the motivation we needed to present a location that corresponds to a contemporary (1960-2010) archaeological rock art site and finally be able to start a debate with our pre-historian colleagues. The “wall” as we call it, encloses a military compound, located near a residential area in Almada (Portugal). Its surface is scratched with many thousands of individual artistic manifestations made using any sharp artefact to carve names, relations, dates, or any other messages, resulting in a testimony of at least five decades of communications. It marks the landscape in a way no one can miss. Contrarily to what happens to older archaeological sites, we went looking for the people that wrote on this wall. Most of them are still alive and were eager to tell us what that wall meant for them, how it marked a generation, representing a collective identity that people

relate to location, time, age, gender, culture, music... among other stimuli. The motivations behind those artistic manifestations, the ones we will show in our presentation, were as much individual as they are collective.

## **From pencil to pixel: Revolutions in archaeological illustration and visual communication**

Organisers: Katy Whitaker (Historic England) and Hannah Kennedy (Historic England)

### **Visual (R?)evolution though reconstructive illustration**

Judith Dobie (Historic England)

An archaeological reconstruction can be seen as a visual summing-up of the archaeologists' ideas gathered from excavation. It can express sensory impressions not often found in the written report though vivid to an experience of the site, such as weather, colour, the play of light and dark. It can also humanise the story of the site, giving real, tangible insight into daily life in the past from seemingly abstract evidence.

But in addition, the actual creation of the image is important too. The illustrator is responsible for visually testing ideas, illuminating style and structure, and sometimes exposing differences of opinion amongst the contributing specialists. This talk by Judith Dobie, reconstruction artist for former The Royal Commission, English Heritage and currently Historic England, gives examples of these differences and how they inform and contribute to a more complete understanding of the archaeology.

### **Designing the Past: Narrative in the visual reconstruction of archaeology**

Kelvin Wilson (Archaeological Illustrator and Consultant)

Reconstruction art is seen as complimentary, or at least subject to the science of archaeology. Whether visualizing past societies serves the analysis of finds or public education, the assumption is that archaeological data drives the process, bringing an objective, perhaps even truthful presentation to the surface.

Yet visualizations are produced by artists trained in the subjective: if they contribute anything to archaeology, it is the art of seduction, of cajoling, and of directing.

Speaking from 30 years of experience as a commercial archaeological reconstruction artist on the international stage, I shall disclose how visualising archaeology actually works. How such images appear to be reconstructing a common past, but are actually addressing specific target audiences and media. How they use narrative concepts such as personal perspective and psychological space to get others involved, yet keep those methods to themselves.



## **Artifact Reconstruction, Archaeological Theory, and Toddler Tantrums: Centring early childhood in archaeological image production**

Rosemary Hanson (Reconsider Illustration)

The applications of artifact illustration and reconstruction in archaeology tend to facilitate a limited number of theoretical goals. They generally serve diagrammatic or practical reconstructive purposes: highlighting specific typological or use-wear elements or returning a damaged artifact to a hypothetical prior state. Though these goals are essential to archaeological practice, it is also possible to ask more of the images we produce by centring different theoretical frameworks, questions, and interests. Indeed, image production can be exploited not only to visualize the results of theoretical study, but to enrich and deepen the practice of it.

This image-led paper presents and discusses a series of object illustrations which specifically centre the archaeology of childhood, foregrounding the sensorial, emotional, and developmental experiences of the very young in the representation of archaeological material. It outlines several techniques and approaches for integrating children and childhood into archaeological image production and discusses the pitfalls and complexities of these representations. In doing so, this paper seeks to provide a practical framework for producing and assessing artifact illustrations that are nuanced, targeted, and explicitly theoretical, both within and beyond standard representational practice. This paper further seeks to demonstrate the ways in which theory can be informed by this practice of image production. Centring the experiences of early childhood in artifact representation not only provides visibility to an underrepresented demographic in archaeology, but it also opens a space in which to explore and complicate theoretical frameworks such as object use-life, perfect rationality, affectivity, and play.

## **From Intuition and Imagination to Visualisation and Illustration? Thinking through palaeoenvironmental ‘reconstruction’ in contemporary archaeology**

Henry Chapman (University of Birmingham), Michelle Farrell (Coventry University), and Ben Gearey (University College Cork)

This paper explores a very specific ‘revolution’ in archaeological visualisation, considering approaches to reconstructing the environmental context of archaeological sites and past landscapes. Specifically, we focus on methodological developments that have permitted a shift from largely narrative, imaginative and essentially intuitive interpretation of pollen diagrams to statistically robust models of past vegetation communities. Through the presentation of examples and short case studies, we explore the efficacy and potential of these models for different types of archaeological visualisation and interpretation. What are the challenges and opportunities for archaeological interpretation at different spatial and chronological scales? Can these ‘reconstructions’ be used to understand the ‘lived experience’ of people in the past? We assess the potential of these new approaches to contribute to a more robust basis for the visualisation/virtualisation of the environmental context of past human activity.

## **Archaeogenetics and reconstructions of people in prehistoric Europe**

Tom Booth (Francis Crick Institute London)

Recent politically charged reactions to facial reconstructions of Cheddar Man and the Whitehawk Woman illustrate the salience of how we depict people who lived in prehistoric

Europe. How to depict physical characteristics, particularly pigmentation (skin, eye and hair colour) of ancient people has been a recurrent question in the development of archaeological reconstructions. Until recently, in the absence of firm evidence for pigmentation characteristics in ancient individuals and populations, the default approach was to assume populations who inhabited these regions in prehistory were like those who predominantly inhabit the same regions today, and that both groups would have exhibited similar characteristics. The recent ascendance of archaeogenetics has meant that we now have some evidential basis for inferring pigmentation characteristics of ancient individuals and populations, as well as ways of directly testing assumptions of population continuity. However, the answers that archaeogenetic techniques provide are not straightforward and introduce further complications to an already fraught and contested area of archaeological reconstruction. Here, I will discuss what recent archaeogenetic results mean for the depiction of people in archaeological reconstructions of prehistoric Europe and outline the new challenges that have emerged because of these developments.

### **Visualising Disciplines: the Atlas of Archaeology – charting transformations in the evolution of a discipline**

Anthony Sinclair (University of Liverpool)

Archaeology has shared a long, fruitful relationship with geography in the creation of visual ways to understand our information. The map, and the historical atlas have become well-established and easily understood visual media in both disciplines for expressing an understanding of transformations in human behaviour across space and time. In contrast, traditional histories of disciplinary change (including archaeology and geography) take inspiration from history. They employ the form of textual narrative written following through the close reading of documents by a specialist. The historical process of transformation becomes a thread, narrating the story of interaction of people or themes or objects across time. Where visual media are present they are usually photographs of protagonists in the narrative be it person, place or object.

This paper explores the application of science mapping of bibliometric data – the indexed metadata of documents – for the construction of an historical atlas of the development of the discipline of archaeology since 1960. A series of interactive science maps will be presented to explore the relationships between themes, people, places (of study and publication) across time in an interactive manner, perhaps allowing us to escape the confines of the traditional literary narrative.

### **Models of Perfection? Archaeo-topography in a digital age**

Dave Went (Historic England)

Our ability to model and visualise archaeological landscapes and earthworks (archaeo-topography) has leapt forward in many new and exciting ways in recent years. Lidar and sophisticated photogrammetric applications produce rapid topographical models and a plethora of interesting outputs to engage viewers and researchers alike. Historic England's archaeologists have been working with such digital imagery for more than a decade, seeking ways to embrace these models within the much longer tradition of earthwork survey. This paper will discuss thoughts and actions arising from this experience as we aim ourselves in the direction of consistency and best practice.

This paper echoes and advances some of the questions arising from ‘Re-Thinking the Archaeological Map’ session at TAG 2015. How do we ensure the primacy of archaeological interpretation in a process which is increasingly one of visualisation? What is the value of ground-based observation in this new age, and if those skills still have value, how can they be maintained, taught and developed? How do we retain a clear chain of evidence to distinguish between directly observed data, those derived from aerial models and verified on the ground, and those entirely derived from secondary observation? We will also consider some of the more haptic aspects archaeological survey - those commonly viewed as subjective (and sometimes denigrated as such) - in terms of their validity and value. This touches on less tangible areas of understanding which may be gained by protracted physical interaction with a landscape or place.

### **From pencil to pixel: the Archaeological Illustration in the National Museum of Archaeology (Lisbon, Portugal)**

Joana Gonçalves (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, IAP NOVA)

Should the passage *from pencil to pixel* be understood as a mere technical evolution derived from the digital revolution of the last decades, in which a utensil and support (the pencil and paper) were replaced by others (the computer and pixels)? What happens to the knowledge already developed in terms of archaeological illustration? What will we do with all the drawings already made in paper and pencil? These drawings are in themselves objects of study that must be preserved. Drawing (no pun intended) from this idea, a project is being developed at the National Museum of Archaeology (Lisbon, Portugal), which aims not only to study its collection of archaeological drawings, dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and its technical evolution, authorships, among other aspects, but also to carry out its recording through digitization. All the information compiled, digital collection and catalogues, will be available in the Museum, expanding its digital archive, helping to better understand and disseminate the collections, as well as enabling subsequent internal and public consultation of duly systematized information, which also safeguards the originals from constant handling. Ultimately, moving *from pencil to pixel*, thus perpetuating this knowledge.

### **Uist Unearthed: visualising archaeological sites through augmented reality**

Rebecca Rennell (University of the Highlands and Islands) and Emily Gal (University of the Highlands and Islands)

Uist, in the Western Isles of Scotland boasts internationally-significant archaeological sites, exceptional preservation of remains, and diverse archaeological landscapes. Nevertheless, there are few impressive upstanding remains, fewer still with any form of on-site interpretation and limited material in local museums. This is challenging for communities and visitors wishing to engage more meaningfully in Uist’s heritage. To date, this rich archaeological resource has been under-exploited in terms of visitor experiences. Created and led by Lews Castle College UHI Archaeology staff supported by Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, the Uist Unearthed app reimagines important archaeological sites along the Hebridean Way in stunning Augmented Reality (AR), offering an exciting trail-based experience for visitors. It is the first of its kind in Scotland – presenting location-based AR experiences of archaeological sites. The mixed-media app contains detailed AR reconstructions of sites alongside bilingual information from excavations, animations, audio, and 3D artefact models. The creation and testing process highlighted the importance of balancing 'authenticity' with user experience at visitor sites. This

presentation will reflect on priorities, challenges and opportunities for presenting, communicating and interpreting archaeological sites through Augmented Reality.

### **Digital methods of communicating archaeological research: Storytelling, Immersion and Interaction**

Despoina V. Sampatakou (University of York)

Archaeologists are always keen to try new media and cutting-edge technology to present their research to the wider public. Interactivity and immersion along with archaeological storytelling are used to create games, VR experiences, and all kinds of activities to communicate archaeological research to the public and to attract more visitors in the museum and cultural institutions. However, the suitability, limitations, and results of these techniques have not been widely assessed and discussed.

This paper is a short presentation of my current research as a PhD student at the University of York, where I am looking into different media and techniques of communicating archaeological research. The aim of my study is to examine whether and to what degree an archaeologist can communicate their research to the wider public and stakeholders without employing professionals, undergoing long training, or using huge funds, as well as to explore different media that would fit this purpose.

For this reason, I have created and evaluated three different forms of archaeological storytelling: a textual narrative, an interactive narrative using Twine, and a VR experience, all based on the same story. I have conducted my experiment in three different countries: the UK, Malta, and Greece, on different audiences trying to get insights on which one of the three forms would be more suitable and effective for both archaeological use and knowledge emission.

### **On the revolutionary potential of new materialist approaches: A workshop**

Organisers: Andy Gardner (UCL), Oliver Harris (University of Leicester)

Panel:

Andrew Gardner (UCL)

Oliver Harris (University of Leicester)

Hannah Cobb (University of Manchester)

Eva Mol (University of York)

## **‘Revolutions’ in archaeological practice: co-creation and delivery of research strategies in academic and commercial archaeology**

Organisers: Andy Heald (AOC Archaeology), Jon Henderson (University of Edinburgh), and Bruce Mann (Aberdeen City, Moray and Angus Councils)

Panel: Kate Britton (University of Aberdeen), Kate Geary (CifA), Andy Heald (AOC Archaeology), Jon Henderson (University of Edinburgh), Bruce Mann (Aberdeen City, Moray and Angus Councils), and Helen Spencer (ScARF)

### **Collaboration in Action**

Rob Early (WSP UK)

The UK Government’s infrastructure development programme over the last 10 years - together with recently announced projects to be taken forward to their construction phases such as A303, HS2 phase 2 and EWR - have accelerated the development and growth of commercial archaeology. These large-scale projects provide an opportunity and impetus to review archaeological process (in the planning system) established over 30 years ago, update data collection and processing techniques, develop large scale research and delivery strategies (HERDS HS2) and question research objectives and outcomes, the range of audiences the discipline should be considering and the usefulness of the archive deliverable at the end of a project. As other commercial disciplines have their university start-ups, commercial archaeology needs good innovation and academic support developing new Big Data research priorities, innovative cost effective techniques to take to the field and modern and different approaches in the ways we sample, capture and disseminate research and information. There has never been a better time for University Archaeology departments to embrace the commercial sector through academic and commercial partnership.

### **It all starts with a question: putting research at the heart of professional standards**

Kate Geary (CifA)

In 2013, CifA (then IfA) revised its guidance on briefs, written schemes of investigation and project designs, noting that the planning and preparation stage of any project is critical to its success. The expanded guidance advised that ‘A WSI should set out the research objectives of the project. It should include where appropriate and possible explicit reference to existing research frameworks and draw upon advice from appropriate specialists from within the proposed project team to ensure that the investigation will appropriately address national, regional and local objectives. The proposed project team should be able to show relevant expertise or access to suitable expertise to assess the significance of remains with regard to research frameworks or other guidance.’

The changes were prompted by the 2011 Southport Report which called for a greater emphasis on research in planning-led archaeological investigation and set out a vision of such work as ‘a collaborative venture involving commercially funded, local authority, higher education, special interest groups and voluntary sector’.

Nearly ten years later, there has been some progress. The word ‘research’ is used openly in commercial archaeological practice, regional research frameworks are regularly referenced in WSIs and collaborative projects like the Roman Rural Settlement Project have highlighted the research potential (and limitations) of the grey literature archive. But there is still some way to go to achieve the Southport vision, particularly when it comes to the design of archaeological

work. This paper will outline the work CIfA is doing to support professional standards for research, in order to promote collaboration and maximise the value of archaeological work for all its beneficiaries: clients, the public and research communities.

### **Empowering Granton: How working collaboratively with local development designs to create ‘Community’ and ‘Communal’ space?**

Alison Douglas (Tetra Tech Inc.)

One often wonders what ‘role’ consultancy plays in the grand design of any proposed areas for development. What do we contribute? This paper seeks to explain the role of the consultant and how it is in this role, we can bridge the gap between the academic and the commercial world of Archaeology. Commercial Archaeology exists at the ‘Trowel’s Edge’. It is often thought of as the ‘Front Lines’ of Archaeology. This paper will not only dispel this myth, but also highlight the importance of the consultants role, and, how it is in that role, archaeological theory and practice are enmeshed in local development plans and design strategies and how, it is at Granton, we can look to as a ‘model’ for the kind of creative spaces that communities can contribute to.

### **Ten years on – the evolution of the Scottish Archaeological Research Framework**

Helen Spencer (ScARF, Society for Antiquaries of Scotland)

The Scottish Archaeological Research Framework (ScARF) has just celebrated ten years since it was launched as an innovative, web-based, national research framework. In the past decade, ScARF has evolved from being a primarily academically focussed and created resource to now being an essential tool for local planning and commercial archaeology in Scotland. The talk will explore how the most recent regional frameworks have been developed in a range of ways but all with more extensive and collaborative input from across the profession and are designed in particular to be more useful for the local planning, commercial and community sectors. The recent launch of a digital platform to link the online ScARF with the reporting of archaeological work in Scotland via OASIS hopes to further integrate research strategies and questions into archaeological practice.

### **Barpa Langass – Conservation through collaboration**

John Barber (AOC Archaeology)

Barpa Langass is the best-preserved example of a Neolithic chambered tomb in the Outer Hebrides and until recently, the only tomb in the region with an in-tact and accessible interior. Unfortunately, in 2011, part of the internal passageway and chamber of the monument collapsed, and structural surveys concluded that without remedial conservation works the structural integrity of the monument’s chamber will be lost.

So what next for Barpa Langass? The number of interest parties here is overwhelming – each coming from a slightly different perspective and with different priorities. The monument is hugely important to local communities who relate to its historic, aesthetic and spiritual significance as well as its value as a heritage tourism asset. Academics see unique opportunities here for addressing research gaps in our understanding of the Hebridean Neolithic. Alternatively, those with engineering backgrounds see the potential for better understanding the scientific basis of construction, engineering and architecture of this monument, as well as

being motivated by the engineering challenges around potential conservation works. The monument is also a Scheduled Ancient Monument, and therefore it is legally protected of interest at a national level and its cultural value is set at the national level and legally protected. Trying to establish a way forward has therefore been challenging. What has emerged, however, is a truly collaborative piece of work, an innovative methodological proposal and a balanced options appraisal that accounts for a wide range of viewpoints, perspectives and outcomes. In this paper we explain how a structural engineer, conservation consultant, local archaeologist and heritage community group have worked with Historic Environment Scotland to create a Conservation Management Plan for this iconic monument.

## **Developing research leadership and equitable partnerships in Independent Research Organisations**

Emma Dwyer (Museum of London Archaeology – MOLA)

The last decade or so has seen the emergence of UKRI Independent Research Organisations (IROs) as a force in grant-funded research. To be an IRO, an organisation must have an existing in-house capacity to carry out research, must demonstrate an independent capability to undertake and lead research programmes, and so can apply for and hold research council grant funding (including research and networking grants and fellowships) in the same way as universities.

IROs in the arts and humanities include Historic Environment Scotland, Historic England, the National Trust, and MOLA, as well as some national museums and archives. IRO status challenges the perceived split between developer-funded and academic sectors in archaeology, and encourages new ways to collaborate, beyond providing data and technical expertise to university-led research.

What do IROs, and their potential for embedding high-level research activity in developer-funded practice, mean for the narratives that emerge from research, and for the practice of archaeology itself? And what does it mean for the intellectual ownership of research beyond the academy, emerging research leaders, and the creation of equitable research partnerships between university academics, developer-funded archaeology, and wider communities?

## **Creating a strategy for community engagement within commercial archaeology**

Emily Johnston (University of Edinburgh)

Commercial archaeology often takes place beside local communities, affecting both urban and rural communities. In the economic-driven sector of commercial archaeology, these local communities are often neglected, being neither factored into client tenders or briefs. It is only recently that research has started to explore public benefit from developer-led archaeology, which has been driven from within the sector. Within the academic setting, there have been limited studies published on community outreach, frequently studying case studies at research sites. Literature tends to disagree on the definitions and methods for community outreach, and so, there have been limited attempts at creating a best practice or strategy for engagement.

My research proposes to use a multidisciplinary approach to creating a rigorous framework for community engagement, to be utilised within the commercial sector. By looking towards other disciplines, such as economics, education, sociology and psychology, this research will provide a theory driven framework which can be utilised within the commercial setting.

This framework aims to provide a leading example for community engagement within Scottish commercial archaeology, where outreach is predominantly practice driven. Additionally, this work aims to provide key metrics on community projects, with a database of Scottish community archaeology projects. By establishing current trends and statistics on Scottish outreach initiatives (both community-led and commercially driven) this research aims to bridge the gap between commercial and academic archaeology. It will be demonstrated that through analysis of the current state of Scottish archaeology combined with theoretical analysis of engagement techniques, a robust framework for use within the commercial sector can be created.

### **A contract archaeologist, an academic and an independent researcher walked into a bar... or a brothel**

Afonso Leão (NOVA University of Lisbon), Tânia Casimiro (NOVA University of Lisbon), and Joel Santos (NOVA University of Lisbon)

This presentation reflects how three people, one contract archaeologist, the one who actually excavated the site, one academic, who initially interpreted the relations, and one independent researcher, fundamental in creating a new approach, engaged in the study of a specific context and how all these different experiences were fundamental in writing different narratives by combining traditional with new analytical and investigative procedures. The excavation of a house in Rua do Vale, was one of the first times a late 19th/early 20th century site was meticulously excavated by an archaeological company in Lisbon identifying a reality related to gender and social inequality, acknowledging it as a prostitution-related context. The different knowledge of all the people involved allowed to study the daily lives and activities of human and non-human agents, challenging the way that contract and academic archaeology is made in Portugal: separately and with different objectives.

### **Aiming 4 Greater Engagement: Co-design, Practice and Proximity – The Archaeology Scotland Delivery Team**

Rebecca Barclay (Archaeology Scotland), Helena Gray (Archaeology Scotland), Jane Miller (Archaeology Scotland), Paul Murtagh (Archaeology Scotland), and Phil Richardson (Archaeology Scotland)

Developing practice, delivering for people and engaging with the sector are, as the session sets out, key drivers for our national and regional strategies. Archaeology Scotland is the Lead Body for Aim 4 of Scotland's Archaeology Strategy which sets out to encourage engagement with their past. Crucially it also aims to 'explore new ways of presenting and interpreting information'.

With this in mind, this paper will set out to explore how we develop our practice, co-design our projects and contribute to strategies through engagement with the work of commercial archaeologists and academic researchers. We will explore the way proximity and co-design drive the development of archaeological practice and that perhaps it is the work we do in between the commercial and research archaeology, that we do together, and is delivered through project impact from research projects, public and community archaeology aspects of the commercial units as well as dissemination of our findings that provides the space to address how we move beyond our perceived roles in the sector.

In the spirit of the lightning round format we will end on a potentially controversial note. We will argue that co-design and co-creation are mis-understood; co-design is to be human, to



come together, to share a goal and to be with each other. Proximity, not box ticking; Listening, not a light touch consultation. It is a power relation that needs to be explored and acknowledged as we develop our practice. Such acknowledgement will provide the basic framework for us to explode the underlying question this session hopes to address.

### **Bridging the gap: successful collaboration across heritage sectors**

Alison Sheridan (National Museums of Scotland – retired)

In the busy and pressured world of archaeology, there is a tendency for different sectors – field archaeologists, museum-based archaeologists, university-based archaeologists, local and national government archaeologists, freelance specialists, archaeological organisations and the many people who are not paid to pursue their passion for the past, but do it anyway – to work in silos and operate in their own networks. But improving our understanding of the past requires all of these sectors to work together, pooling their knowledge and expertise. Achieving that isn't always easy, and relations can be strained when obvious lacunae in knowledge are exposed. (Why did they dig that feature without considering x? How could that academic be unaware of site y? How many more times will it be necessary to point out that a sherd of Carinated Bowl pottery has been published upside down? Why, oh why, did person z teach primary school kiddies that Neolithic people did cave art? etc. etc.)

There are, however, some shining examples of where inter-sectoral collaboration has been achieved to great effect, and HighARF – the Highland Archaeological Research Framework – is one of these. Co-ordinated by Susan Kruse (whose 2018 MBE for services to community archaeology in the Highlands was richly deserved), this has harnessed the talents of all sectors in Scottish archaeology to get to grips with what we know, what we don't know and what we need to find out about the rich heritage of Highland Region. The resulting website will be of lasting use to all the sectors. The lessons to be learned from this will be covered in this talk, as will be the various ways in which we can all improve our communication of, and sharing of, our knowledge of Scotland's fabulous heritage.

### **Climate archaeology: temporalities and ontologies**

Organisers: Andy Hutcheson (University of East Anglia), Lorna Richardson (University of East Anglia), Joanne Clarke (University of East Anglia), Anne Haour (University of East Anglia), Jago Cooper (University of East Anglia), Simon Kaner (University of East Anglia), and George Lau (University of East Anglia)

### **The long roots of the climate crisis: an archaeological perspective on the causes of climate change**

Andy Hutcheson (University of East Anglia)

Climate change is related to industrialisation and the burning of fossil fuels. As an explanation of why the world is now heating up this both a clear conclusion based on the interpretation of massive data sets and is a compelling explanation. The impetus behind these developments, however, has greater time depth. This paper will explore some of the significant developments along the path to industrialisation and climate change. It will examine the theoretical positions currently available in archaeology for better understanding why we are where we are with the

environment. Focusing on material cognitive explanations, including entanglement, Taylor's casting of humans as a technological animal, and inspired by the work of David Graeber, I will argue that there is a significant and perhaps key change in human relations with the environment during the Afro-Eurasian Iron Age, but with roots in earlier periods, particularly the Bronze Age. This change can be characterised as commodification, altering concepts of kinship, personhood, and the idea of a self, perhaps culminating in an 'othering' of people and environments. These changes, it is suggested, are related to the growth of weights and measures and the development of cash money, especially coinage. These changes lead to the idea of profit and the long road to industrial capitalism and the petrochemical complex that we are now entangled within.

### **Archaeology of Climate Inequality**

Nathan Gubbins (University of Leicester) and Brandon Fathy (University of Leicester)

Climate crisis is the most urgent issue facing us today, but its challenges are extremely unequal for different people in different places. Archaeology has a long tradition of addressing inequality (gender, class, colonialism), but it has yet to thoroughly address climate inequality. This paper aims to demonstrate that archaeology possesses a theoretical tradition that uniquely situates us to deal with climate inequality. Archaeology can erase the human/nature dichotomy, reconceptualise history as material and more-than-human, and engage directly with the public. Drawing on ecocentrism and Timothy Morton's "hyperobjects", we present a truly global archaeology in which climate change is massively distributed in time and space. By conceptualising climate change as a "hyperobject", we can consider its materiality and measure its unequal manifestations across the planet. First, we examine electronic waste exported to Ghana and Nigeria as archaeological data, reflecting on the disparities in the location of their production, consumption and deposition. Second, we turn to the desertification of Burkina Faso to argue that the extension of the Sahara is not just caused by climate change but is itself part of the ever-expanding hyperobject. We explore how the historical material trends of the West have contributed to the climate emergency which unjustly affect low-emission countries such as Burkina Faso. We conclude that archaeological frameworks can be fruitful for understanding climate inequalities. In doing so, we flip archaeological thinking on its head by revealing an often-problematic focus on locality. Here, we show that archaeological assemblages can manifest global, as well as local, phenomena.

### **The End of Time: Some temporal perspectives on the acceleration of humanity towards a prospective end point**

Jago Cooper (University of East Anglia)

Time is the central tenet of our discipline and yet archaeologists, and philosophers more widely, have long complexified and critiqued concepts of time and temporality in understanding the life choices and long-term development of our species. In this paper, I will consider an alternative framework for human time that might be more useful and 'true' for wider public understanding of our current plight. I will argue that a radical change of perspective is required as we collectively break the finite planetary boundaries and environmental equilibriums upon which we have long relied.

## **Romancing the climate: from the Sea of Japan via Watsuji Tetsuro and Jacquetta Hawkes**

Simon Kaner (University of East Anglia)

This paper takes as its starting point two distinct perspectives. The first is *A Climate* (originally published in 1935 with an English translation in 1961) by Japanese philosopher Watsuji Tetsuro, is often regarded as one of the (problematic) foundational texts of Nihonjinron, or theories on the distinctive characteristics of Japanese people, culture and their relationship to their environment. This work has generated an extensive critical literature (see Kanz, B. 'Watsuji Tetsuro, Fudo and Climate Change', *Journal of Global Ethics* 7.2). The second is recent work exploring the Sea of Japan, the body of water that divides and connects the Japanese archipelago, the Korean peninsula and the Russian Far East, which posits the existence of a 'Japan Sea oecumene', a distinct habitable world within the world (Aikens, C.M., Zhushchikhovskaya, I. and Rhee, S.N. 2010 'Environment, ecology and interaction in Japan, Korea and the Russian Far East: the millennial history of the Japan Sea Oikumene', *Asian Perspectives* 48.2). Drawing on the outputs of recent major projects such as the Historical Climate Adaptation Project at the Research Institute for Humanity and Nature in Kyoto ([https://www.chikyu.ac.jp/nenrin/about\\_e.html](https://www.chikyu.ac.jp/nenrin/about_e.html)), work by historians such as Bruce Batten (*Climate Change in Japanese History and Prehistory*, 2009) and critical approaches such as Mark Hudson (*Landscape and the Archaic in Japanese Nationalism*, 2021), the paper will address how the concept of 'climate' is mutable and becomes what Watsuji's terms 'the agent by which human life is objectified', ending with a consideration about how some of these Japanese ideas relate to the avowedly 'absolutely unscientific' *A Land* by Jacquetta Hawkes (1951).

## **Theorising from an ontological stand: What is the use of Historical Ecology and Human Ecodynamics in the study of climate?**

Pablo Barruezo-Vaquero (Independent Researcher, associated with North Atlantic Biocultural Association – NABO)

Historical Ecology and Human Ecodynamics might be defined as quite similar archaeological schools of thought, if not the same. It can, however, be said that Historical Ecology is the study of historical human ecodynamics. Irrespectively of how we agree to define these two concepts, what remains is that both study the historical and complex interrelationships between humans and non-humans. Moreover, such an endeavour makes the case for working in transdisciplinary frameworks. This is clearly shown by the recently concluded DataARC Project (NSF#1637076): an interdisciplinary team working within a transdisciplinary framework for developing a cybertool capable of expressing in an efficient and engaging fashion the historical human ecodynamics of the North Atlantic. This project is the background upon which my paper is built. The paper starts from an ontological—hence, philosophical—stand in order to consider the nature of human and non-human entanglements. It is argued that their interrelationships possibly resemble Latourian Actor-Network-Theory and that it is neither flat nor hierarchical but rather heterarchical. From this, I discuss two central points for this paper:

- I contend that it is problematic to conceptualise 'climate' as an abstract process—i.e., separate from (but affecting) humans and non-humans. It is a compounded, networked phenomenon.
- Unlike climate sciences, archaeology is not so much about predicting as it is about enhancing our conceptualisations by critically analysing past processes.

Finally, and as a consequence, this paper will briefly posit the fundamental role of archaeology in connecting social and climate sciences.

## **Building the Dakhla Atlantic Port in Occupied Western Sahara: Exemplifying Recent Theoretical Perspectives around Climate Justice and Decolonising Heritage**

Joanne Clarke (University of East Anglia)

On Friday 30th April 2021, Morocco announced that the Société Générale des Travaux du Maroc (SGTM) and Somagec, two of Morocco's largest civil engineering contractors, had been chosen to upgrade the traditional fishing port at Dakhla on the eastern side of the peninsular that juts south from the Atlantic coast of occupied Western Sahara. A new terminal would be built on the Atlantic coast slightly north of the existing harbour. The upgrade is part of Morocco's 'Maritime Development Strategy 2030'. Dakhla Atlantic Port will handle 2.2 million tonnes of commercial cargo and 1 million tonnes of seafood a year, far outstripping the current annual fishing catch of 600,000 tonnes.

Morocco submitted Dakhla for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1998. Since then it has remained on the World Heritage Tentative List (Parc National de Dakhla, site 1183 (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1183/>) due to it being in contested territory. Not to be thwarted Morocco listed Dakhla on the less politically sensitive Ramsar Wetland Sites as Baie d'Ad-Dakhla (<https://rsis.ramsar.org/ris/1470>) in 2003.

This paper considers multiple cultural and environmental impacts that the construction of the Dakhla Atlantic port will have on the Dakhla heritage site, its surrounding region and the livelihoods of its local communities. Recent research has demonstrated that heritage has the potential to magnify concepts of climate justice and decolonisation. As Western Sahara is disputed territory annexed by Morocco in 1979 with a large population of indigenous Saharawi living in the occupied territories, the Dakhla peninsula exemplifies the climate justice-decolonisation-heritage nexus.

## **Climate Archaeology and Higher Education: An Integrated Approach**

Stephanie Piper (University of York), Marcel Bradtmöller (University of Rostock), Hannah Cobb (University of Manchester), Karina Croucher (University of Bradford), Mónica Palmero Fernández (University of Glasgow), and Katherine Patton (University of Toronto)

Climate change, sustainability, and past populations' responses to these challenges are becoming explicit within archaeological research, beyond the direct field of study of climate archaeology. However, incorporation of these issues and concepts within broader archaeological teaching and learning is currently limited.

In this paper, we demonstrate the need to have a more unified and driven approach to consolidating the relationship between archaeology and climate change in our teaching. These issues permeate all aspects of our discipline. The challenge, and thus the potential, lies in moving beyond the relevance of climate change matters from the deep and recent pasts to the present climate emergency, towards integrating a sustainability framework in our archaeological and heritage practice, and in our teaching.

Embedding a sustainability framework in our teaching means working co-creatively with students—many of whom are also already engaged in activist roles—to deliver socially engaged learning and support the diversification of the curriculum. In doing so, we can make a tangible difference to tackling the climate change emergency by equipping students with

strong leadership skills anchored in critical thinking and deep-time perspectives. Students are our future practitioners, and this approach opens new pathways to address contemporary environmental issues that are relevant to whatever roles in society they have, or may take, beyond university.

### **The future archaeology of digital cultures**

Lorna Richardson (University of East Anglia)

The impact of contemporary digital cultural practices, hardware and digital objects are rarely discussed in the field of contemporary archaeology. The study of human activity in the 21st century will require scientific studies of material culture across digital landscapes, exploration and excavation within lost and abandoned digital communities, and an understanding of complex economic and social interactions and status held within broken and ephemeral data. There are numerous hidden, horrific environmental and human costs involved in the production and use of digital devices and equipment. This work challenges archaeologists to reflect on the future digital landscape from an archaeological perspective. It will consider the complex ethical dilemmas presented by globalisation, climate change and human rights abuse and how these might appear in our future archaeological record.

### **Migration and integration: The aftermath of immigration**

Organisers: Rachel Cartwright (University of Minnesota) and Manuel Fernández-Götz (University of Edinburgh)

### **The Social Role of Hoarding over the Mesolithic-Neolithic Transition in Southern Scandinavia**

Mathias Børnevad-Ahlqvist (Copenhagen University), Clara Fischer Stephansen (Velje Museums), and Lasse Sørensen (National Museum of Denmark)

This paper presents new results on the continuity and discontinuity of hoarding over the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition of Southern Scandinavia as a means to explore the processes and mechanisms behind this period of cultural change. Using a multi-scalar approach, we put forward a new framework focusing on the important psychosocial role hoarding and ritual practices, in general, may have played within the various forms of interaction that lie behind the significant cultural transformations that occurred between c. 4500-3500 BC. We interpret our analytical results using an interdisciplinary framework built around the combination of practice theory, migration theories, communities of practice, sociology, symbolic anthropology, and cognitive science of religion. Based on the observable hoarding developments, we hypothesize that the hoarding practice seen in the Southern Scandinavian Funnel Beaker culture is a product of complex cultural transmission processes involving influences from incoming immigrating Neolithic groups and pre-existing local Mesolithic practices. Rather than considering the hoarding a simple by-product of other societal changes, we further hypothesize that these hybridized practices played a key role in negotiating interactions, societal tensions and cultural identity throughout an extended Neolithization process in Southern Scandinavia.

## **Gasping after fast moves? The first farmers in Central Europe in the last centuries of the 6th millennium BCE**

Eszter Bánffy (German Archaeological Institute)

Humans were on the move from the very beginning; cultural and biological mobilities and connectivity are but building blocks of reshaping past societies. This mobility had “side effects”: information networks, exchange, long-distance trade and, ultimately, intermarriages with locals. One of the most decisive migrations, confirmed both by material culture and bioarchaeology is the rapid spread of LBK groups along the Danube valley. This led to a patchy occupation of vast loess regions of the continent. My paper will give examples for the immediate aftermath and for some generations later: cases where separation, others where melting and the formation of new structures became dominant: very different stories in the Carpathian basin, the Danube region and north westwards. Re-structuring LBK and post-LBK formations were determined by an almost constant fluidity that shaped the upcoming 5th millennium.

## **The aftermath of immigration in the art of the Neo-Assyrian period**

Natalia Skrzypek (Independent Researcher)

The Neo-Assyrian period, which lasted from the ninth to the seventh century BC, was a time of great conquests. Scholars often characterise it as the time when the first empire in human history was established. It was then that Assyrian kings made decisions to resettle people, mainly to suppress rebellions in their subordinate territories, stretching from Egypt to present-day Iran. The issue of migration was addressed by rulers from Ashurnasirpal II to Ashurbanipal both in royal inscriptions and in art. As the rulers emphasised, not only people, but also animals and plants were deported. How did the deportations affect the creation of the court art of this period? How were they depicted? What was the purpose of depicting the deportations and the deportees? It is known from sources that displaced artisans often took part in the process of erecting the rulers' palaces, which were decorated with sculptures and paintings created by them at the king's behest. Illustrations of these activities can be seen in the many bas-reliefs decorating the walls of palaces in Assyrian political centres, which included ancient Nineveh, Kalhu and Dur-Sharrukin. Therefore, the aim of my paper will be to show what consequences migrations brought in relation to the art of the present time through the presentation and analysis of a few selected examples of texts and visual representations.

## **Exploring diet, culture, and migration: a diachronic and geographic analysis of Phoenician and Iberian interactions**

Karina Sanchez (The Ohio State University) and Alfie Garland (University of Bristol)

Over the past few decades, the archaeological and anthropological interests in foodways and diet have shifted from simple reconstruction towards a more nuanced consideration of the experiential and embodied elements of food, as well as its relationship to cultural identity and expression. This paper aims to explore the evolution of diet in Iberian coastal populaces during the First Millennium BCE, with specific regard to areas of Phoenician occupation and the role of interaction and exchange in propagating these changes. The use of dietary change as a study is intended to underline evolving cultural practice and the differing levels of adoption of external - specifically Phoenician - cultural elements. Key to understanding these cases is the context of hybridization and adaptation. The First Millennium BCE Mediterranean hosted a range of cultures constantly in contact with one another, leading to adoption and adaptation of

external cultural elements to fit into local frameworks and tastes. This process, as a part of the Globalising period in the Mediterranean, is integral to better understanding local practices within the wider framework of interaction and exchange. This study will analyse evidence diachronically and geographically to map differing levels of adoption and/or integration among Phoenician and Iberian populations.

### **Act locally, think northerly: The aftermaths of the Pomeranian culture expansion onto Polish lowland during the Early Iron Age**

Karol Dziągiewski (Jagiellonian University)

After several decades of academic discussions there is a kind of consensus now that from the beginning of the younger Early Iron Age (Hallstatt D period) a series of migratory events took place from the southern Baltic coast (Pomerania) towards the southern regions of what is today Poland and even as far as the western Ukraine. Although this process still awaits bioarchaeological confirmations (hampered by exclusive crematory burial rite), it is distinctly visible in the distribution of the so-called northern component in material remains across the middle Polish lowlands and northern parts of the southern Polish uplands. The set of traits, which were completely foreign to these areas, embraces multi-urn stone chest graves, face urns, cap like urn lids, and characteristic bronze collars (breast plates) or their pictograms on urns. Since one of the incentives for the migration of mobile Pomeranian kin groups was probably the will to improve their economic status, soon after the arrival at the newly settled areas, there appeared evidence of adapting farming strategies from the local Lusatian culture societies. However, as in historical cases of post-migration adaptations, other areas of culture (the inner domain of habitus according to Bourdieu: burial rite, attire, symbols of social or religious status) remained more resistant to change. Analysing respective material culture from middle and southern Poland, one can observe 'negotiations' with local patterns and attempts at maintaining old values, even when contact with the motherland and its material culture developments was hard or broken.

### **An Attempt at Understanding the Aftermath of the Celtic Colonization in the Banat Region, Southwestern Romania**

Andrei Georgescu (National Museum of Banat-Timișoara)

Migration, mobility and interaction between different cultural groups have been “hot topics” throughout the entire history of archaeology, anthropology or sociology. The approach method has varied from plain cultural-historical interpretations to the use of modern science in order to track the movement of population and their impact on different societies.

The so-called Celtic migrations have also been approached through various instruments of study. Covering a large geographical area, the movement of population from the 4th -3rd centuries BC in Central Europe has been unevenly investigated. While some areas were analysed from an interdisciplinary perspective, others have barely even been investigated archaeologically. Such is the case of the Banat region, which mostly consists of an area covering modern-day southwestern Romania.

From a geographical and socio-political perspective this region is extremely important since it represents a gateway between Central Europe and the Balkans and one of the possible routes of the Celts during their migration and subsequent “invasion” of the Balkan Peninsula. In this aspect the Banat region can be considered as a base for the Balkan expedition as well as a new home for the returning travellers.

Until recently, archaeological finds dated to the 4th-2nd centuries BC have been scarce. Large scale rescue excavations and new research projects have brought a new perspective into the habitat and funerary manifestations of the La Tène communities from this region. It is therefore the aim of this paper to attempt and present the way in which the new La Tène population has settled and interacted with the indigenous population from the Banat region.

### **Modelling Adaptations of Migrating peoples**

Peter S. Wells (University of Minnesota)

When people, in groups or as individuals, migrate from one place to another, the adaptations that they make to their new physical and cultural environments vary greatly depending upon a number of factors, most of which can be discerned in their material culture. Under some conditions, migrants adjust quickly to their new surroundings, under others, they can remain socially, culturally, and linguistically separate from the peoples among whom they settle. The recently developed techniques of isotope and aDNA analysis provide important new evidence pertaining to the mobility of individuals and of groups. Using ethnographic examples from North America and Europe, this paper develops a model of the factors that determine the extent to which migrants meld into the society into which they move, and the extent to which they remain separate. The model is applied to three case studies in European archaeology – the “migration” of “Angles” and “Saxons” to Britain in the early medieval period, the peoples whom Julius Caesar describes as migrating in western Europe during the final century BC, and the “Celtic”/“Gallic” migrations into Italy from the start of the 4th century BC.

### **When migration leads to economic disruption: the impact of drought on Hunnic raiding activities in the eastern Roman Empire in the fifth century CE**

Susanne Hakenbeck (University of Cambridge) and Ulf Büntgen (University of Cambridge)

The Huns are a pastoralist group that was first reported in historical sources to have appeared on the north-western shores of the Black Sea in the fourth century CE. From there they migrated to eastern Europe where, in the first half of the fifth century, they turned themselves into war bands that carried out a series of devastating raids in the eastern Roman empire. In this paper we use annually resolved climate data to attempt understand why the Huns switched from pastoralism to raiding, following their migration to eastern Europe. Drawing on concepts of “bad year economics” (Halstead and O’Shea 1989) we propose that severe drought spells in the 430s to 450s CE disrupted the economic organization of the incomers and local provincial populations, requiring both to adopt strategies to buffer against economic challenges. We argue that raiding and demands for tribute in gold may have been one strategy for coping with climatic extremes. We propose that this shift was a consequence of the Huns’ earlier migration into the frontier regions of the Roman empire and several years of climatic conditions that were unfavourable for pastoralists.

### **The long, strange journey of Viking-Age ringed pins**

Adrián Maldonado (National Museums Scotland)

Ringed pins are the calling card of the Viking Age in Britain and Ireland: small, low-value metal cloak fasteners, found in dressed burials, and frequently encountered as stray finds. They have a complex trajectory, beginning as Irish dress items in the pre-Viking period. From the middle of the ninth century, they began to be mass produced in the newly-founded trading



settlements of the Viking Age Irish Sea, particularly in Dublin. For a short period into the tenth century, they are found across the Scandinavian-speaking diaspora, as far as Iceland and L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland showing that they were worn by a new class of migrant seafarers. However, in Ireland and Scotland, ringed pins continued to be made and evolved into a variety of ringed and unringed styles long after they fell out of fashion in Scandinavia. A new assessment of the Scottish corpus of ringed pins is showing they were more prevalent here than previously suspected, in areas with little connection to 'viking' settlement. It is argued that ringed pins of the ninth to eleventh centuries had an understudied afterlife as part of the archaeology of Gaeldom in Ireland and the kingdom of Alba in modern-day Scotland.

### **In the wake of migrations: Viking Age settlement in the North Atlantic**

Rachel Cartwright (University of Minnesota)

Mobility was a key feature of the Viking Age, as attested by both written accounts and archaeology, including novel bioarchaeological analyses. Between the 8th and 11th centuries AD, Scandinavians settled in various areas of the North Atlantic, from Britain to Greenland. This paper will focus on the aftermath of migration, looking at how people integrated themselves into their new environments. How did interaction with other cultures affect the Scandinavian immigrants and their material culture? How did their identities change as they came into contact with the inhabitants of the lands in which they settled? In the case of Iceland, did the absence of any previous societies influence the way in which they formed individual and collective identities? Adaptations to new social and ecological environments can take many forms, including the modification of settlement structures, burial practices, and foodways. At the same time the maintenance of previously held cultural traditions can elucidate aspects of individual and collective identities amongst the Scandinavian settlers. This paper will explore these questions on the basis of selected case studies from Iceland and the Scottish Isles.

### **People, adaptation and material culture – An ethnoarchaeological study on immigration from Siberia**

Henny Piezonka (Christian-Albrechts University of Kiel)

The Taz Sel'kup are a mobile hunter-fisher-reindeer herder community that migrated to the northern taiga of Western Siberia in the 17th and 18th centuries AD. A multi-disciplinary approach in collaboration with the Sel'kup partners provides insights into the consequences of a migration into a new environment and the associated long-term transformations of life ways, material culture and ethnic identity, and on their archaeological footprint. The results reveal a range of processes that include adaption to new ecological necessities, interrelations with other ethnic communities, and mechanisms of cultural resilience, leading to the continuing development of a specific Northern Sel'kup culture. New multi-species strategies and cultural niche construction are related to the uptake of reindeer husbandry, involving e.g. smoke ovens against mosquitoes to bind the reindeer to the settlements. Changes in seasonal rounds and associated dwelling structures led to the originally sunken winter houses developing into lighter, ground-level forms and to an adoption of conical tents from surrounding groups. Interculturality also constitutes a major factor in the processes following immigration: Sel'kup ethnicity and ethnic self-perception are fluid categories in a dynamic spatial and temporal net of social and cultural interrelations with other Indigenous groups such as Evenks, Kets and Khanty, but also the Russian colonists.

The very limited nature of the material footprint of the observed processes, however, shows just how much caution is needed when there is only the archaeological record left for the reconstruction of past conditions and realities. In the case of the Sel'kup, due to the lack of material, emblematic identity markers, and due to the archaeological invisibility of the main field of Taz Sel'kup identity enactment – the Samoyed language – it is questionable whether the Sel'kup migration and the persistence and further development of a distinct northern Sel'kup ethnic identity could be recognised, or even suspected, on the basis of archaeological evidence alone. Instead, this community would most probably not be recognised as a distinct group, but would be archaeologically diluted in a material continuum of regional styles, hybrid items, and adaptive solutions.

### **Panama Viejo (1519-1671): Mobility and social change examined through pre and post contact ceramics**

Helen F. Thompson (University of Sheffield), Jaume Buxeda i Garrigós (University of Barcelona), Peter Day (University of Sheffield), Caroline Jackson (University of Sheffield), and Mirta Linero Baroni (Panama Viejo Project)

Panamá Viejo was established in 1519 by the Spanish on Indigenous land. The city was the first Spanish port founded on the Pacific Coast, which was crucial for the mobility of the Spaniards and subsequent colonisation of the Americas. Panamá Viejo was destroyed by English pirate Henry Morgan in 1671 and moved to Casco Viejo which became present-day Panamá City. Over 152 years, Indigenous Panamanians saw the large-scale arrival of Spanish people and the forced migration of enslaved African people to their lands. This mass mobility of people had a significant effect on the lives of the Spanish, the enslaved, and the Indigenous people who were colonised. The aftermath of Spanish migration to Panama is examined in this doctoral work through a comparative study of ceramics from the site. Ceramics from pre and post-Spanish arrival were analyzed using three main methods: macroscopic analysis, ceramic petrography, and X-ray fluorescence, to determine provenance and technology. The aftermath impacts of colonisation are measured through a social understanding of technological transformations in ceramics with the adoption or rejection of ceramics technologies providing insights into cultural environments. The results show that there was a noticeable change in Indigenous ceramics and colonial wares, and distinct African influence on pottery production as a direct result of social interactions and hierarchies in Panamá Viejo. The analysis of these ceramics offers a more nuanced understanding of the fusion and fission of cultures which occurred in Panamá Viejo in the aftermath of mass migration.

### **Productive not reductive: an archaeological exploration of different differences**

Organisers: Andy Rogers (University of Leicester), Jonny Graham (University of Leicester)

### **Distinctive but not different: situating the Manx Late Neolithic within the Logic of Difference**

Jonny Graham (University of Leicester)

For decades, Late Neolithic Britain been understood from the perspective of majoritarian regions like Wessex which have been extensively excavated and received inordinate attention. It has been argued by those opposing Wessex-centrism that the region is the standard which

everything is measured against and to a certain extent I agree: normative understandings of difference are at play in such narratives, defining one region by what it lacks that another has.

In this paper, however, I propose that over the last 70 years a Platonic ‘Idea of Late Neolithic Britain’ has developed, and this has been used to measure regions against. The outcome is the likes of Wessex or Orkney are seen as closely resembling this Idea (based on factors like Grooved Ware, stone circles, and henges) and are therefore regarded as ‘copies’. Regions such as the Isle of Man, which is seen as lacking in things from the Idea, are viewed as lesser than: simulacra. This creates a hierarchy based on their approximation to this Platonic ideal which is damaging to both narratives of the regions and the stories we are able to tell about the Late Neolithic itself.

Using the Isle of Man as a case study, I map a genealogy of this Idea through narratives of the Manx Late Neolithic since Stuart Piggott. To combat the Idea, I argue that Deleuze’s concept of differentiation offers a means of overturning the Platonism in the Late Neolithic and understanding the difference of the island beyond the kind defined by lack.

### **From negation to affirmation: differentiating radically different bodies in the colonial Caribbean**

Andy Rogers (University of Leicester)

The early colonial period has historically been neglected within archaeological scholarship of the Spanish Caribbean, and, moreover, the Caribbean itself has been neglected within developments in Indigenous archaeology and the archaeology of colonialism in the Americas. This is arguably due to “difference by lack” – this period is treated as a chunk of time lacking the rich Indigenous presence of the past, as well as the industrial-scale plantations that would come later.

This ultimately hinders our ability to learn about the earliest phases of Spanish colonialism in the Americas; the roles Indigenous and African people played in the emergent colonial world, including their resistance and adaptation; and the emergence of new ways of being and material expression. The situation has been improving over the past few decades, with studies considering a range of issues, including Indigenous aesthetics, the development of colonial identities, engagement with Christianity, and so on. Despite this, the study of the region’s Indigenous peoples – both before colonialism and during – has failed to acknowledge \_radical\_ difference in its entirety.

In this paper, I address these two concerns with difference as it pertains to the colonial Caribbean. A blended application of new materialism, ontological and decolonial theory allows us to challenge colonial, Eurocentric and anthropocentric narratives, and a way in to considering alternate ways of being. I aim to demonstrate this through a consideration of the Indigenous Taíno concept of “cemi”, examining figurines and bodily adornments through a posthumanist lens.

### **Difference Defined, but not Defining: Utilising ‘Emotional Communities’ to access varied lifeways**

Kate Morris (University of York)

Posthumanist archaeology rejects the idea that difference should be defined in terms of ‘deviance’ from normativity. Avoiding essentialist binaries works to dismantle the monolithic categories which binary thinking creates, as well as undermining the contention that there is a

‘correct’ way to be. In writing the past, however, this aim of uncoupling our understandings from monolithic categorisations can become difficult. In creating narratives which elucidate difference and variation in lifeways, we risk simply creating narrower, but still homogenised categories. The challenge therefore is to consider the multiplicity of human experience, without transforming variation into a defining identity.

The term “emotional community” refers to specific relational groups formed around particular attitudes to emotion and emotional expression, constructed around particular objects or locations. Emotional communities are non-exclusive and dynamic, with members moving continually between multiple communities. Most importantly, however, membership is based not on what a person ‘is’, but through the relational connections they make. People in the past can therefore be studied through their dynamic relationships, rather than through rigid, immutable identity classifications.

This paper applies this through the case study of late nineteenth-century shopworkers. Shopworkers often faced low pay and poor conditions, as well as being expected to ‘live-in’ with colleagues or employers. Due to this, they have often been studied in relation to their failure to fulfil middle-class domestic aspirations. This paper aims to utilise the framework of emotional communities to reconsider this differing lifeway, rather than to define shopworkers' experience of the world purely by their exclusion from the traditional middle-class.

### **Difference as ontology and becoming-longhouse in the Viking-Age Mosfell Valley**

Alex Casteel (University of California, Los Angeles)

Past archaeological studies of the Late Iron Age in Scandinavia and the wider Viking Age have fallen victim to problematic projections of humanism and anthropocentrism as motivated by Cartesian and Enlightenment thought. Socio-cultural differences were treated as negative contrasts, as rooted in modern and Western ideas about reality, despite temporal, spatial, or ethical disparities. New and critical post-humanist studies, which have not previously been undertaken in early medieval Iceland, now understand difference as a productive force that bears ontological weight and generates intra-relations prior to any representation and identity categorization. This paper presents the tenth-century longhouse excavated by the Mosfell Archaeological Project as a site to explore both this affirmative difference-in-itself and a materially ecocritical, post-humanist, and non-anthropocentric flat ontology within an Icelandic context. This research employs a transdisciplinary approach that inquires of the material and architectural becoming of this building on a more-than-human continuum between the actualized built longhouse — what was excavated, and the virtual — what has not yet been constructed or uncovered. In this preliminary introduction, the ecological potential of the Valley becomes a foundation upon which to consider embodied acts of construction and sensorial experiences (perhaps by persons portrayed in Old Norse texts like the *Landnámabók*), while preserving openness to the possibility of radically different beliefs about reality. I suggest that this historically situated reification of becoming-longhouse within the immanently unfolding Mosfell Valley may reveal more of the material and subjective living experiences of early Icelanders with less implicit predetermination.

## **When differences defy categorisation: the ambiguity of Nordic Bronze Age visual art**

Laura Ahlqvist (Aarhus University)

How do you study something that is so different from the way we as archaeologists are trained to think? Archaeology as a discipline is born out of a long history of classification and typological ordering of artefacts. Still today, archaeological studies rely heavily on correct classification, whether it pertains to assigning sex to assorted bones or associating a geographic signature with an individual. So how to go about it, when that which we study defies clear-cut categories?

The visual art of the Late Nordic Bronze Age constitutes an illustrative example. Bronze objects and rock surfaces are decorated with imagery of creatures that resemble multiple animals at once and the use of shared lines means that a motif can resemble an axe and two horseheads simultaneously. In other cases, seemingly non-figurative ornamentation displays a clear relationship with recognizable representations; at times it is unclear whether we are looking at depictions or decoration. The ambiguity of Nordic Bronze Age visual art is considered a methodological problem, loosely referred to as “stylization”, rather than a conscious effort of the people behind the art. The designs attest to their creativity, but our understanding is limited by our archaeological methods. Do we consider the aforementioned example a horse or an axe? The epistemologically complicated answer that we must accept is that it belongs in both categories. Southern Scandinavian archaeological research has long grappled with this aesthetic that falls somewhere between figurative art and decoration. This paper provides a different perspective.

## **Differences in gender/gendered difference: exploring changes in conceptions of gender and bodies across the early and middle Neolithic in the Rhineland**

Penny Bickle (University of York)

The Neolithic has been proposed as the period during which a gendered division of labour, and hence the advent of a domestic sphere, introduced the conditions in which patriarchal social organisations could flourish. Although Archaeology has worked to challenge this narrative of the origins of gender inequality, exposing it as a myth to support patriarchal institutions in the recent past and present, the overall narrative of difference leading inevitably to hierarchy and inequality has proved hard to shake off. While there are myriad issues to consider in critiquing the forms of gender equalities and inequalities in the Neolithic, one significant challenge arises in how difference was conceived of during the period; difference between bodies, tasks, mobilities, capacities and identities. In this paper, drawing on Deleuzian ideas of difference as productive, I want to propose that it is both possible and necessary to consider how Neolithic communities conceived of difference themselves. This requires great attention to the variability in within our archaeological assemblages. Drawing on diversity in funerary rites across the early and middle Neolithic in the Rhineland, I will argue that how differences between bodies, sexes and identities in life and death was conceived of, changed, providing differing emergent properties with which to negotiate social belonging in early farming societies.

## **Reading artefacts and excavating books.**

### **A relation between archaeology and literature**

Organisers: Inês Almendra Castro (NOVA University of Lisbon) and Tânia Manuel Casimiro (NOVA University of Lisbon)

#### **Textual Landscapes? On the existence of Literary Landscapes and how to archaeologically approach them**

Frederico Agosto (Independent Researcher) and Daniel Carvalho (UNIARQ, LAQU, FCT)

Rather than being a self-evident concept/entity, the existence of Landscapes has to be theorised instead of being assumed as an a priori category. To deal in Landscapes is to deal in a wide range of schools of thought and epistemologies. In one unifying concept, Landscape becomes the common ground needed to cross disciplinary areas. But does not constitute a self-evident reality or concept. Hence, an inquiry on Literary Landscapes and an archaeological approach to them needs both the conceptual bases offered by philosophy and the mechanisms of engagement given by Landscape Archaeology. Conceptually speaking, Literary Landscapes offer some difficulties in its ontological definition. Aesthetics – a fundamental component in the theorisation of Landscapes – operates through perception, thus needing a sensible presence (Gegenwart), only accessible through its appearance (Erscheinen): the aesthetical object (i.e., a unique form of perception) and perception are interdependent concepts (Seel, 2010: 15). There is also no difference between the simulated and the real in read descriptions, which further invalidates its existence as such. To counter these ideas and affirm the existence of Literary Landscapes we turn to a constellation of Deleuzian concepts in its conjoined potential: immanence, virtuality and the power of the false. This will come to show that not only do Literary Landscapes exist but that there is also a significant overlap between them and the archaeological ones, rendering the former as eligible for archaeological becoming. We will illustrate this by archaeologically deconstructing Philip K. Dick's "The Man in the High Castle" (1962).

#### **Under Construction – Written Worlds, Landscapes, Places and Other Bits and Bobs**

Inês Almendra Castro (NOVA University of Lisbon)

How does one create a world? An entire universe of people, places, things, feelings and everything else? Can these written worlds, some so close to our own and some undeniably different, be studied archaeologically? What can archaeology give literature and what can literature give archaeology? Can we study something that we cannot see, that we cannot touch, something invisible, intangible or even completely imaginary? Does it matter more to us, as archaeologists, how the world really was, or how people felt it? Does it matter more to us what is real or what was believed to be real? How can archaeology and literature work together in search of these feelings and mindscapes? And do they have any value? Does literature lose its worth in the search for the past because we cannot touch it, or because "people lie"? Does it give us more "pasts" than we ever asked for? Should we see it only as a complementary source of information or is it worth something more? In this paper, I hope to discuss these questions. Keyword: Discuss. I won't pretend to have any answer or to hold the "truth" about these issues, but I think it is necessary to debate them and look at things with a new light. As archaeologists our work will forever and permanently be "under construction", and we will never truly unravel

the past. However, we might find new ways to engage with it, and, more importantly with the present and the future. Let us open a new, written, door!

### **We cannot see the past; Perception of the Past and Archaeology in Hodgson's *The Night Land***

Rebecca Davies (Cultural Heritage Institute, The Royal Agricultural University)

William Hope Hodgson's *The Night Land* (1912) is one of the great early sf epics. It is the tale of a young man and his quest to find his beloved in a sunless world inimical to man. Though rambling and difficult of language, this obscure book has been read and reread over the 110 years since it was written, has been an inspiration to other works, and recently (2011) was rewritten in more digestible form by James Stoddard. The sun is long dead, in this tale of an extreme future and Earth is slowly dying. Mankind is confined to a massive pyramidal autarky, the eight miles tall Great Redoubt. Only the most adventurous explore beyond its confines, to the peril of both body and soul. How do the people of this society perceive both the millennia long past of their home, and their previous life in the sun? The main scientific element of the Great Redoubt are the Monstruwacans; who are they and what do they do? Why are such perilous expeditions conducted into the Night Land? Do they have genuine scholarly intent or are they merely a rite of passage? What archaeological remains of pre-Redoubtian civilisations does our Hero encounter on his journey? How does he interpret them given that he is not an archaeologist? Who are the abhumans? What does their material culture consist of? And lastly, is X, the nameless Hero, Hodgson himself?

### **"Glory is like a circle in the water": Shakespeare, words and water at the archaeological site of the 1587 Rose Playhouse**

Suzanne Marie Taylor (University of Portsmouth)

Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 1* is listed in Philip Henslowe's surviving accounts book as having premiered at the Rose Playhouse on the 3rd March, 1592. The second premiere of *Henry VI, Part 1* took place 419 years later on the 6th May, 2011, within the archaeological site of the Rose Playhouse. This paper will reflect upon my experience of embodying the role of Joan La Pucelle in *Henry VI, Part 1* in May 2011 within the body of the archaeological site of the Rose Playhouse, and how the words of Shakespeare took on new meaning while performing on site. This paper will therefore focus on Joan's words- "Glory is like a circle in the water/Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself" (1592/2000, 1.11. 133-34) and consider how Joan's glory ultimately transformed itself into the playhouse's archaeological glory with the Rose's remains outlined by an illuminated red "circle in the water". This paper will further consider how *Henry VI, Part 1* and the Rose Playhouse's materiality and biography are written in the water at the Rose site, by looking at artefacts excavated in the 1988/89 archaeological dig of the Rose; looking at Henslowe's accounts book and the Henslowe papers; contemplating the staging of the May 2011 production of *Henry VI, Part 1*, and by comparing reviews of the 1592 and 2011 productions. This paper will highlight that the archaeology of the Rose is constantly enlarging itself through a vibrant, evolving materiality and biography which is fluid in the water and reflected in Shakespeare's words.

### **Romance in pieces or How literature can borrow from archaeological methods**

Elizama Almeida (Museu da Literatura Brasileira)

If, on one hand, archeology has always used literature as a source of information, in another hand, this paper aims to put Literature and Archeology together from a methodological point of view: is it possible to apply some archaeological practices to organize a large volume of fragments of a novel? In literary studies, especially in Genetic Criticism, there is still no methodology that deals with documents of the creative process as letters, notebooks, fragments, loose sheets, and so on. It is in this gap that I propose an intersection named "Archeology of know to do": i.e., dimensions of archaeological practice to deal with manuscripts in literary archives, through technical-descriptive classification, morphology, and functional and typological integration. The relation between these areas combined an experience theoretical - namely the "Analysis of Roman Materials" seminar, at the Faculty of Archeology of the University of Coimbra - and practical other - on-site research with the manuscripts under the custody of the Instituto Moreira Salles in Rio de Janeiro. In this case, we are analyzing fragments of *A breath of life* (1978), a posthumous novel by Brazilian author Clarice Lispector, who died in 1977 and left about 700 manuscripts - actually pieces of paper with pieces of narrative. The dual approach is the seminal point of this intersection between ceramic fragments and literary fragments. With this research, we investigate how the literary-archaeological approach seems to offer a basis to better inform the context of literary writing itself.

### **Translated into ruin. Archaeo-literary layers of migration and displacement at Ephesos**

Leticia R. Rodriguez (Trinity University) and Jason R. Vivrette (University of California, Berkeley)

This paper revisits practices of displacement—textual, material, and human—that have played a central yet underexplored role in the formation of Ephesos as modern archaeological site and archaeotouristic space. The paper focuses on two key texts, one primarily archaeological and the other literary: namely, the collected field reports (1877) of English architect and archaeologist J.T. Wood, the first person to formally excavate and document Ephesos in the modern era; and the travel writings of Sabahattin Ali, a major literary figure of the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic who catalogued his many visits to Ephesos in one of his final short stories (1947). In juxtaposing these distinct yet intersecting accounts, we seek to demonstrate how these foundational writings have helped define im/mobilities within, and access to Ephesos as a site. Particular focus is given to a series of archaeo-literary interventions within these texts (e.g., stratigraphy, epigraphy, translation) that have served to highlight and/or efface specific historical, cultural, and linguistic layers of the landscape. Ultimately, we illustrate how these practices constitute an 'economy of displacement', whereby texts, objects, spaces, and (especially migrant) peoples become both entangled and (re)settled through the ruins. The paper draws on Helaine Silverman's theoretical notion of the 'ruinscape' (2016): a process in which a space acquires archaeological place-hood through professional excavation and other formal and state interventions—often at the expense of local inhabitants with alternative memories and notions of place vis-à-vis the space in question.

### **The Adventures of the Fearless Archaeologists - Crossing Walls in Portuguese Academia**

Tânia Manuel Casimiro (NOVA University of Lisbon), Joel Santos (NOVA University of Lisbon), Inês Almendra Castro (NOVA University of Lisbon)

In 1933 The Book *Aventuras de João Sem Medo* (The Adventures of Fearless John) was published in Portugal. The book was published divided into chapters in a magazine intended for little kids and bound together more than 30 years later. Its author José Gomes Ferreira was



one of the most censored authors during the dictatorship and the book is a satirical critique of Portuguese society where you can only live in peace if you allow for your head to be chopped off. Almost 90 years after it was written and 48 years after its free circulation was allowed, we go back to this book where a fearless boy decides to overcome all types of troubles with two intentions: first, we will recognize the critique and try to reconstruct the social background of this book trying to understand how theoretical archaeology developed in a country where use your head was a dangerous business and second, we will debate if the Portuguese archaeological community nowadays relates more to John and its adventures or to the society this character left behind when he crossed the wall to the other side.

SATURDAY 17<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 2022

**The Elder Trowels: What have archaeologists learnt from  
time spent in Tamriel (etc)?**

Organisers: Kevin Kay (University of Leicester), Brian Costello (University of Leicester),  
Joanna Lawrence (University of Cambridge)

**The Social Role of Metals in the Late Bronze Age Aegean: Inspiration from Adamantium and the Masque of Clavicus Vile.**

Stephanie Aulsebrook (University of Warsaw)

From the infinite appetite of *Pacman*, to the building projects in *Civilization IV* that always finish on time and within budget, the world of gaming always requires a certain suspension of disbelief. The depiction of metals and metal artefacts, as well as their role within the game world, is no different. However, the choices that contribute to the specific portrayal of metals and metalwork in a particular game can provide a useful understanding of how non-specialists perceive them, and also how they try to integrate their production and use into an imaginary realm, where magic, fate and the supernatural are accepted as components of day-to-day life. This paper highlights three ways in which Tamriel can act as a tool for thinking about the wider understanding of both metallurgy in the past and archaeometallurgy in the present, as well as the use of metals within my own area of research, the Late Bronze Age Aegean. These are: 1) abbreviation of the production process; 2) the ranking of materials as a shorthand to indicate quality and the combining of the familiar (iron, steel) with the fantastic (silver longwords, adamantium); and 3) the use of artefacts to confer enchantments to boost personal attributes, and their impact on the sense of self.

**Building Beyond Fantastic Economies: Insights into Construction in Roman Britain.**

Owen Kearn (Bournemouth University)

This presentation will be about ceramic building materials, i.e., bricks and tiles, and construction in Roman Britain. This may be a surprising inclusion in a session aimed at insights from fantasy worlds, where one might expect such archetypal themes as travel, conflict or political upheaval to rise to the fore. Nevertheless, immersion in fantasy media can produce unexpected insights into economic activity in the past. While some of these narratives appear to have largely side-lined elements of trade or commerce, for example the stories of Tolkien, I have been consistently delighted by the depth of information provided in role-playing sourcebooks. These necessarily deal with mundane aspects of life, and can include tantalising back-stories on the positions and motivations of town guilds, magistrates and aristocrats, as well as where to buy your pint in a fantasy city. These volumes inspired me to look at brick and tile production in Roman Britain in a different way. Rather than solely pursuing established and somewhat-tired approaches of distribution and provenance, I wish to pose questions that peel away the brickdust façade to the people, competition and, perhaps, corruption behind it. I will therefore examine the social actors and social networks that must have been present, though are now anonymous, in the supply and construction of some of the most impressive buildings known from Roman Britain.

## **The Elder Stools: Scatology and Society**

Ben Wills-Eve (University of Lancaster)

The fantasy world of Tamriel, and particularly its Norse-inspired Northern realm of Skyrim, is teeming with the usual mixture of people, elves, orcs and other races, along with animals, other creatures and magical entities. Given all this life, there is a distinct lack of waste products and a notable absence of poo of all kinds. Such fantasy worlds are often said to have historical and archaeological inspirations, yet what does say about our ideas of the past that Skyrim is squeaky clean despite there being no poo-removal spells of any kind?

The real-world study of excretions past focusses on scientific analyses of fossilised stools (coprolites) to reveal the diets and diseases that past populations, with some attention paid to archaeological context when this is discernible and meaningful. However, surely poo has more to tell us about the past than simply what people used to eat or which parasites they used to harbour? Perhaps the most famous archaeological coprolite, the 'Lloyds Bank Turd' now on display at Jorvik Viking Centre in York, fascinates thousands of adults and children alike every year. For a society which hides its effluent from view whenever possible, the idea that heaps of the stuff steamed in past streets is both alien and alluring in equal measure.

When confronted with the taboos of today – death, decay and disease – we need to think more about that which disgusts us. Our fantasy worlds can encourage us to dwell on all manner of weighty topics, so we really should fill them with poo.

## **The Materiality of Westeros. Archaeology of the castles of the Seven Kingdoms**

Jorge Rouco Collazo (University of Granada)

George RR Martin has created a complex fantasy universe in his literary saga *A Song of Ice and Fire* and his other works set in the same world (the *Tales of Dunk and Egg*, *Fire and Blood*, *A World of Ice and Fire*) and their adaptation to TV shows (*Game of Thrones* and the forthcoming *House of the Dragon*). This complexity and richness of written and visual data allows us – as archaeologists – to analyse the material culture of the Seven Kingdoms applying archaeological methodology.

In this paper, I will focus on the archaeological analysis of a key element in the society and landscape of Westeros: the fortresses. These buildings have a huge role in Seven Kingdoms' society. They are seats of lordly power, military strongholds, economic hubs and luxury residences for the feudal elite, among other functions. Their detailed description on books and their use as one of the main settings on the TV series give us enough information to analyse them from several perspectives. On the one hand, I will discuss their spatial distribution and their networks through spatial analysis using a GIS of Westeros. On the other hand, the own material evolution of the fortresses through centuries can be examined thanks the detailed data that we have about the main castles of the saga.

Thus, Westeros is a fantasy realm that allows us to apply Archaeology to study the materiality of an immaterial world, raising compelling questions about the theoretical and methodologic limits of Archaeology and its application.

## **Inter-reality Materiality**

Jessica Elleray (Oxford Archaeology North) and Katie Sanderson (Oxford Archaeology North)

Jess and Katie's friendship may have sparked on site in Blackpool, but it grew in the online world of Tamriel. A fictional, digital plane within which our real-world relationship has matured. We even celebrated our shared birthday in Tamriel - with real-world sweet rolls. However, the complexity of this assemblage is not immediately apparent in the associated material culture we use to facilitate our interaction; that is in the materiality of the consoles, game disks and controllers which make it possible.

Boivin remarks (2008, 181) 'the material world shapes and transforms us', but how do we begin to interpret these experiences in a different plane through an archaeological lens? How do digital and material objects, digital and material experiences interweave?

Having inspired these questions, can our time in Tamriel offer any answers? Our adventures have included many quests where specific objects draw us into other planes within Tamriel itself - through interaction or deposition. We will explore our questions by archaeologically dismantling and understanding how these interactions with in-game material culture have consequences for our avatars and impact on future play. Additionally, we explore the crossovers, where the planes within and outside Tamriel meet and blur, for example when we spend money on our in-game experience.

Our hope is that taking a step back and observing our in-game interactions and the consequences thereof can offer a fresh approach to interpreting material culture, in both the digital and the real world, as archaeological assemblages.

## **Cemetery Side Quest: Understanding the ontologies of grave reopening in Early Medieval Europe through the Elder Scrolls series.**

Brian Costello (University of Leicester)

Tombs, crypts, and all sorts of mortuary arenas are common adventuring zones for quests and gathering loot throughout the worlds of the Elder Scrolls. It is such a common occurrence that the idea of 'grave robbing' is either overlooked or is absent whilst rummaging through urns and burials of the fictional dead. Many of these quests are motivated for the retrieval of famous and powerful objects such as heirlooms which included as grave goods.

Recent studies of early medieval mortuary rituals across northwest Europe have identified a significant and notable practice involving the reopening of select graves to retrieve specific items. These disturbances have been identified in earlier excavations but were labelled as common grave robbing. Further analysis has signified specific motivations in the retrieval of socially important objects, leaving other materials behind. It is becoming clearer, that the reopening of graves and the retrieval of objects was potentially a locally accepted or understood process in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

One of the hurdles which has prevented archaeologists from realising this early on is the modern idea that graves were meant to stay closed. Taking cues from the adventures into the tombs of Tamriel, and its nonchalant grave robbing nature can provide insights of not only past grave opening processes, but also the significance of the objects chosen to recirculate within the living community. This paper discusses tomb robbing in the Elder Scrolls and reflects its 'normality' to the perception of early medieval communities in areas of Northwest Europe.

## **The Dev, the Noob, and the hidden loot: habitus and moving through virtual worlds**

Joanna Lawrence (University of Cambridge)

The art of good level design is to create an interesting space through which players move toward a challenging but achievable goal. Developers use visual and “physical” cues in virtual spaces to subtly guide (or misguide) the player through the pathways they want them to take, using techniques such as lighting, sounds, and path width which reflect an understanding of how real-world bodies experience space. However, extensive observations of players with varying levels of gaming experience exploring Tamriel challenges the idea that this phenomenological experience of game spaces is universal. This paper illustrates how individual *habitus* affects the way in which a player approaches virtual environments with examples from The Elder Scrolls series gameplay, and discusses how archaeologists, like level designers, can learn from these interactions when considering diversity and the structuring of space.

## **“Make mine Marvel!” Political ontologies and the archaeology of Marvel superheroes**

José Carvajal López (University of Leicester)

Superheroes are associated to the realm of (children’s) comic books in the sphere of popular culture, but they are also real as modern myths. It has been noted that superheroes have real effects in the world. An already classic study of Umberto Eco disentangled the complex field of ideas and beliefs surrounding the stories of Superman, showing the capacity of these narratives to represent the aspirations of popular classes. Philosophers and scholars have studied the personalities and characteristics of different heroes and antiheroes. But so far no theoretical approach has been taken to analyse the ontological politics between the fantasy worlds inhabited by superheroes and our own.

In this paper I propose to focus on the Marvel Multiverse (created in 1961) to analyse changes in its materiality across six decades. The intention is not to produce a merely descriptive account, or to discuss the changing ways in which scriptwriters, artists and editors presented their stories. What I pursue is to understand how the virtual materiality of the stories becomes actual in unexpected ways, very much like myths, religious narratives and literature do. How do Spider-Man’s web-shooters or Thor’s Mjölnir change our world? How do superheroes’ bodies and powers shape our own virtuality, and reach an actuality through us?

This analysis of ontological politics of superheroes is useful to evaluate the ways in which historical societies engage with virtual materialities and actualise them in their own ontologies.

## **On the Image of Thought: Horizon Zero Dawn, Deleuzian philosophy and theory as an apparatus of capture**

Oliver Harris (University of Leicester)

In a piece of guidance first published in 1980, Deleuze and Guattari (2004, 178) provide their strategic advice on how to best explore open world computer games:

*Lodge yourself on a stratum, experiment with the opportunities it offers, find an advantageous place on it, find potential movements of deterritorialisation, possible lines of flight, experience them, produce flow conjunctions here and there, try out continuums of intensities segment by segment, have a small plot of new land at all times.*

In this paper I explore my experience as a wannabe Deleuzian playing and dwelling with heroine Aloy in the game Horizon Zero Dawn in 2021. Specifically, I examine how such a world creates a specific third space for exploring and thinking through theory when we are apparently ‘relaxing’ – that is a stratum on which to lodge yourself and experiment. As a wannabe Deleuzian, playing Horizon Zero Dawn offered a proliferation of easy examples of Deleuze (and Guattari’s) complex philosophy: machines that are assemblages rich in relations of exteriority, multiple syntheses of times, the omnipresent threat of the state, the productive drive of pre-subjective desire, the potential liberation or destruction of the Body without Organs and so much more. The question I pose here, is whether I understood Horizon Zero Dawn through the lens of Deleuze, or did my understanding of Deleuze change through playing the game? Does theory act as an apparatus of capture, that creates a dogmatic image of thought, or can it, through encounter with unexpected worlds, help us to create new concepts and assemble past worlds in new ways?

### **“The kingdom of Hyrule is a vast and storied land”: Repetition, difference and reiterative virtual geographies in the Legend of Zelda**

Mikel Herrán (University of Leicester)

Nintendo videogame series “The Legend of Zelda” has existed for over four decades with almost 20 iterations across different platforms. Despite changes in structure, dimensions and presentation, there have been several constants within the series, but perhaps one of the most iconic is the land where the adventure itself is set: the kingdom of Hyrule.

In each game, the player experiences an episode of the history of the land, all set coherently in different moments of the timeline(s). Constant throwbacks and recurring regions situate the player undeniably in the same kingdom. However in each utterance, the millenary land is also constantly changed. New races appear or disappear, old regions get expanded or diminished, ancient cultures suddenly appear... The land is often filled with in-game references to previous games (that have not necessarily ‘happened’ yet in the timeline), and in the real world, vast discussions of the lore of the game among its fans attempt to create coherent narratives and theories out of its internal contradictions.

In the present paper I would like to discuss how the continuous reimagining of a single land has created multiple folds in the relation of place and time. Changes are mapped in the land at their different rates and intensities, creating multiple apparent contradictions. Yet the reiterative geography of Hyrule highlights how meanings are created in relation to the physical environment, and how the ever-changing nature of attachment to place challenges coherent narratives.

### **Fantasy Worlds / Fantastic Labs**

Laurence Ferland (Université Laval)

Fantasy worlds encountered in books and games are primarily escapes from reality, though they are also laboratories in which creators explore aspects of the world they know in pushing boundaries, tweaking power dynamics, enhancing environments, materializing ideas and concepts as well as simplifying complex situations in giving protagonists clear goals to achieve. Another world where the characteristics listed above agree with is a multiverse many contemporary humans inhabit: the Internet. When online, dynamics change, filters and barriers fall, and codes of conduct transform according to the corner of the Internet where a particular universe unfolds may it be a forum, a game or a full blown metaverse environment. Access to

a parallel and immaterial universe however real and having ties as well as repercussions in the material world is a fantastic opportunity for the exploration of archaeological questions and hypotheses about interactions with immaterial universe in the past. Discussions about the material remnants of these interactions are found at every corner of archaeological literature. Ethnographies and ethnoarchaeology have been wonderful tools for approaching this aspect of archaeology and this paper wonders if the contemporary experience of multiple immaterial worlds could be another laboratory to better understand the relationship people in the past maintained with the immaterial in their own world(s).

**There is no past, and it is always with us. The conceptualized past as a fantasy product and source of contemporary “character generation”.**

Lars Morten Fuglevik (Museum of Cultural History Oslo)

When Arena was released back in 1994, it was a cutting-edge gaming experience. It felt quite real and life-like (not so much now). When one plays a videogame, though, it is obvious that it is an illusion (or digital model) and not real life – or is it? One still identifies with the generated character on a certain level throughout the gaming session. The character development is contingent on a schematic accumulation of experience gained through certain exercises, emulating the processes of organic life. The question is if it is possible to set a final demarcation line between real life, and illusory (or digital) experiences as perceived through our multisensory human apparatus.

I arguably gained two insights from my time in Tamriel: 1) any contemporaneous conceptualization of the world and the past is a model, and 2) no past or present society or individual may be explained properly through such models. Developments in quantum physics have challenged our understanding of consciousness, time and space. Resonating more with the message of ancient non-dualistic philosophies than modern common sense, phenomena and agency are now to be understood as entangled, co-dependent and fleeting – almost illusory. This implies a dissolution of the dualistic, mechanical notions of Descartes and Newton. Similar fresh perspectives on existence also have also been explored in archaeology through assemblage theory and new materialism. In my paper, I discuss how the archaeological past might be also considered an illusion best suited for entertainment purposes only.

**Archaeology, Heritage and Social Activism**

Organiser: Chiara Bonacchi (University of Edinburgh)

**Revolutions through uncertainty: Social activism at the Scottish Crannog Centre.**

Linnea Wallen (Queen Margaret University), Rich Holden (The Scottish Crannog Centre), and Mike Benson (The Scottish Crannog Centre)

This paper discusses how heritage research and practice underpin and mobilise activist initiatives at the Scottish Crannog Centre (SCC) – an iron age archaeological museum with ‘social justice at its heart’. Reflecting on interviews with staff, apprentices and volunteers, ethnographic observations, and case studies alongside first-hand experiences by members of the SCC team, we will consider the notion of ‘revolutions’ in terms of the museum’s practical engagement with pre-history and its ethos as a social and activist space. The visitor experience

at the SCC is built on direct interaction with the museum team as the visitors move through the site, presenting ample opportunities for critical questions to be raised and discussed about the relationship between the past, present and future. These critical discussions are underpinned by the team's acknowledgement of uncertainty and its role in identifying and questioning how we can 'use' the past to understand key social issues shaping society and identities today. Furthermore, such critical engagement and encounters are made possible through the museum's socially engaged and activist approaches for sustainable community engagement practice that account for, embrace and encourage both pre-historic and present-day uncertainty in creating an environment for success. In all, we will provide illustrations of revolutions in both theory and practice, museum management and visitor engagement and argue for the productive use of uncertainty in conceptualising what social change can look like and how it can be achieved on an individual, institutional and societal level.

### **The role of food and foodways in the pursuit of an inclusive, diverse, and social activist museum**

Sofie Scheen Jahnsen (University of Oslo)

In an age of accelerated globalization, museums are under growing pressure to stay relevant to fast-changing societies. In Scandinavia, demographic changes have prompted a search for more inclusive strategies, and museums are presented as arenas for fostering inclusive identities, combating prejudice, promoting tolerance and facilitating understanding. However, studies have shown that despite specific measures taken to include and appear attractive for a more diverse audience, Scandinavian museums still seem irrelevant and alienating for many, and not least for many minoritized groups. Therefore, there is an acute necessity for studies that can throw light on how museums generate strategies for expanding participation in cultural heritage, and – maybe more importantly – how these strategies are perceived by the audiences they hope to attract. This paper will present ideas and planned fieldwork of a newly begun PhD project with the aim of examining how Scandinavian museums, through the presentation and sharing of food and foodways, strive to become more inclusive, diverse and open spaces. The project will use qualitative research methods to study food related events and dissemination practices at museums located in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, with a special focus on museum audiences and the communities that museums hope to include. This paper will explore preliminary thoughts on the role food and foodways can play as a social activist strategy, asking: how can food function as a tool in order to generate community engagement, active participation and the co-creation of heritage? And, what limitations might exist within such endeavors?

### **Development-led Archaeology: How can Social Activism feature in a commercially-driven system?**

Kate Faccia (MOLA) and Sadie Watson (MOLA)

The majority of archaeology in the UK occurs through respective planning systems, with development-led projects now responsible for up to £280m of investment in local economies per year. Community and public engagement are becoming more common and research such as ours (looking at social value through archaeology) are encouraging the creation of value for communities from development-led work (Watson 2022). Realistically, some of the clients who might fund this work may have worrisome or problematic track records, or affiliations with practices that we may deem unethical, discriminatory, climate-destroying or otherwise unjust. This is an international issue (cf Parga Dans and González 2020) but is not widely



discussed in the UK, where, although the museum sector faces criticism over continuing sponsorship by companies causing climate change (Culture Unstained 2022), archaeologists have been slow to recognise similar challenges. Our professional body assumes we work ethically in the public interest (CifA 2022) but projects can be at odds with public or personal opinion. This paper will examine if there are ways that we as archaeologists can square this dilemma, by following the money, the politics and the procurement structures that enable and fund social activist work in the development sector. We will discuss the potential of a degrowth approach (Flexner 2020) within our sector, reflect on personal examples of such dilemmas, outline the theoretical framing to the proposals we have made to clients and assess where a pragmatic view within the commercial sector situates us as individuals.

### **Applied archaeology: Actively engaging in process archaeology**

Stefanie Langaa (Museum Southeast Denmark/University of Copenhagen)

Social activism in archaeology is not only about verbalizing ongoing matters such as racism, climate change, religion etc, although these are all important and highly relevant subjects. Social activism can also relate to more theoretical questions. In my research, I aim to discuss what makes archaeology relevant to Danish society focusing on development-led archaeology.

During the previous decade, rapid urban development has placed exceeding pressure on Danish development-led archaeology, which has resulted in a mechanisation of our practice. We are being confronted with questions regarding our contribution to Danish society as opposed to the financial expenses entailed by archaeological excavations. At Køge Nord, an area on Zealand currently undergoing large-scale urban transformation, I argue how the *process* of archaeology might in fact be what makes archaeology valuable to society. I will discuss how actively engaging in theoretical approaches such as process archaeology and applied methods through citizen science studies, might help to conceptualize the societal significance of archaeology.

### **Social Heritage: Community spaces and memory work at a community dig.**

Jade Baurley (Cardiff University), Charlotte McCarthy (CAER), and Rosie Freeman (Community Curator)

What are the benefits, risks and opportunities of a community-based archaeological dig for social wellbeing, engagement and empowerment? Using qualitative data generated from the excavation in Cardiff over four weeks in the summer 2022 and its associated geophysical survey in March 2022, this paper will examine the impact of soft-learning opportunities for participating adults. This case study suggests the importance of space, place, people and time as vital for the success of heritage engagement with the goal of social activism. All four aspects should be examined simultaneously and equally as we consider the combination of these elements as fundamental for successful outcomes. The community dig in question attracted individuals at multiple engagement levels and this data was generated using ethnography, photographs and interviews. Engaging with up to 1400 individuals from the local area—including university students, volunteers, school visits and drop-in sessions—this dig had a two-fold effect: the archaeological discovery of materials provided new historical understandings of the area, but this excavation provided the space to hone in on the local heritage and community narratives. It is within these experiences of community understandings of heritage that we may examine and explain the impact as well as the importance of such engagements. Furthermore, we can reflect on the vital importance of including local narratives within

historical interpretation whilst suggesting organisational principles for designing and delivering impactful community archaeological events.

### **The forgotten heritage - Evangelical cemeteries in Kramsk Commune in the light of community archeology**

Zuzanna Kafel (University of Adam Mickiewicz) and Julia Kozera (University of Adam Mickiewicz)

The aim of this paper is to present preliminary results of the research on four Evangelical cemeteries located in the area of Kramsk Commune in Greater Poland, Poland. These cemeteries are remains of the former border between the two partitions, which were inhabited by the Evangelic Community. These facilities have been forgotten and excluded from use as a result of the two World Wars and subsequent movements of populations. In 2021, the authorities of Kramsk Commune asked the Archaeological Faculty of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan to examine the cemeteries and then prepare an appropriate plan of preservation. Due to the very poor preservation of state of graves within cemeteries and scarce documentation in the archives, it has become necessary to obtain information from the local community. For this reason, in addition to non-invasive research and library queries, we also conducted interviews with the inhabitants of Kramsk. They were not only meant to provide us answers to specific questions about the sites, but also to check the status of these cemeteries in the memory of community population living in their vicinity. The results helped us to better understand the background history of cemeteries and their importance for the local community. When presenting the results of our work, we will focus on the aspect of local heritage, also discussing the importance of community archaeology in contemporary archaeological research.

### **Rewilding versus Repeopling: How the Past has been used to polarise debate in Northern Scotland and how it might be used to build common futures**

Claire Boardman (University of York)

Although not as recent a phenomenon as portrayed by the UK media, nor as generally sensational as the small scale and highly managed reintroduction of ‘lost species’ such as wolves and bison, the radical conservation approach of ‘Rewilding’ is nonetheless become a focal point for debates around net zero just transition, land ownership, and nationhood.

In the north of Scotland, an increasingly polarised and entrenched, ‘David and Goliath’ battle continues between large scale landowners implementing long term rewilding initiatives and local activist groups advocating for and pursuing community-led land ownership and/or stewardship. Each calling on one or more ‘Pasts’: from the Palaeolithic to the Highland Clearances, to more recent events such as Brexit and Independence, to support their position. While ironically, using similar emotive language such as the restoration of ‘cultural landscapes’ and ‘cultural identities’.

This preliminary work takes as its starting point selected, relevant Twitter conversations followed during 2021 and 2022. Reflecting on these and recent literature, it first explores the current situation: who is laying claim to these pasts, in what ways and to what effect, and whose voices, past and present, are excluded. From here attention is turned to, as one commentator expressed, the “middle ground not being considered” that is, the multiple ways in which life has or could have been successfully and sustainably supported in this place. Finally, initial thoughts as to where this knowledge might be found today are presented along with how it

might be activated to bridge the current divisions and open up conversations leading to common futures.

### **Growth, dignity, and housing. An archaeological vision of contemporary occupation of caves.**

Susana Pacheco (NOVA University of Lisbon), Joel Santos (NOVA University of Lisbon), Tania Casimiro (NOVA University of Lisbon), and João Sequeira (University of Minho/IHC/FCT)

In the last few years, Portuguese tourism has grown significantly, with a special implementation in Lisboa, leading to an increasing housing problem with the number of homeless people in the capital reaching levels like Portugal has not seen in decades. Nevertheless, in the region of Lisboa, this is old news. There are records of people living in caves since at least the 1920s, especially around Monsanto (although not exclusively), following the economic crisis that Portugal faced at the time.

Nowadays society is inclined to think that homeless people are also jobless, being accused of vagrancy too, that simply do not want to work for a living. However, in the 1940s several working-class members lived inside these caves. Are we not facing a similar phenomenon nowadays, especially when some of these caves, near Lisboa, were called home until the late 2000s? As archaeologists we agree that we should also have an activist role in our society, deconstructing these ideas that significantly contribute to an increasing biased vision of those who struggle to live.

We did an archaeological survey of these - not so long ago called home by someone – caves, relating and connecting them in terms of urban location and access to basic infrastructures, during the 20th century. Archaeological research on this heritage can help bring the housing problems back to the Portuguese political agendas, in a moment in which they are more relevant than ever. Plus, we can bring new evidence, that will help challenge social divisions.

### **E is for Eurocentrism: Positioning the English history classroom and curriculum as key battlegrounds for activist intervention**

Kulvinder Nagre (UCL)

The historical content taught to children in schools has always been a deeply political issue. Since the first mandatory primary schools of the late-nineteenth century, English syllabi and curricula have been designed to foster a sense of national cohesion, superiority, and historical primary, thus undermining the national fringe, the regional rival, and the global Other. For governments at either end of the political spectrum, the history curriculum often represents an ideological theatre, a place to represent the ‘new’ spirit of the nation. But through the to and fro of party-political rhetoric, how much of the curriculum is still rooted in imperial hubris, how much classroom practice in Eurocentric narratives of exceptionalism? This paper seeks to address these questions, using questionnaire data gathered from English schoolchildren throughout 2022, and an analysis of textbooks and lesson content. I ultimately position English historical content as a continuation of colonial-era narratives of global totality, teleology, and superiority, based on ‘bad’, outdated history, archaeology, and heritage. Calls to ‘decolonise the curriculum’ are thus posited as a rallying cry for heritage activist-researchers, whose expertise would serve to bolster and accelerate existing interventions.

## **Empower or Oppress? Racialised Bioarchaeology and the Media**

Ellie Chambers (University of Chester)

In recent years as the social web has expanded and news sites are constantly seeking provocative content, archaeology has become the subject of much media attention. We have seen particular social harm caused by bioarchaeological studies related to characteristics that fall within a modern understanding of race, with individuals rejecting research and using the highly publicised work to deepen hateful beliefs regarding both global majority people and immigration policies. Research that has the potential to empower by dispelling racist origin myths of a ‘white Britain’ is instead used to oppress marginalised groups and fuel anti-expert sentiments. As archaeologists work towards decolonisation and anti-racist practices, it is important to consider how such research is publicised and aim to control the dissemination in a way that helps civil rights’ activist agendas rather than harming them. Building on my doctoral research, I will explore the relationship between archaeology and the press with regards to studies that could support racial justice activism, while also critically evaluating the role of the racialised science that archaeology is increasingly producing. As archaeology is an overwhelmingly white discipline in the UK, I will consider how white archaeologists need to become better accomplices and discuss how this positionality impacts the science that is being produced and its subsequent dissemination. Social activism is not limited to external matters, but is needed within the bounds of archaeology in order to promote the radical change that will feed into public discussions around heritage, race, and identity.

## **The UnArchaeology Conference –**

### **A Grassroots bottom-up approach to online engagement**

Tristan Boyle (Podcast Network)

Covid lockdowns saw a rise in digital platforms and provided the opportunity to engage with novel means of heritage outreach and participation. The UnArchaeology Conference grew out of the idea of exploring the potential of utilising technology to overcome frequent accessibility challenges faced by individuals in traditional academic settings. Further to its desire to showcase digital platforms and inspire changes for academic conferences, UnArchaeology provides a space to challenge current archaeological practice. The theme of the conference in 2021 was split into two panels, the ‘Fragmentation of Archaeology’ and secondly ‘DIY or Mutual Aid Archaeology’. Both topics were chosen to encourage self-reflection within the profession but also to look forward to practical solutions to the difficulties that a modern world presents when researching, studying and presenting the past. It was vital that the conference was inclusive with researchers from marginalised groups as well as being accessible for all participants. The conference topics focused on presenting activist discourse to a wider public audience. These values were integral to the creation, organisation and delivery of the conference. In addition to a panel discussion, each session had a “live document” open to the public to add their thoughts and ideas while the discussion was going on. These technologies were developed and implement to encourage a social change in the way the public and practitioners relate to archaeology and heritage.

## **Poetic Champions Compose: Archaeology and Poetry**

Organisers: Benjamin Gearey (University College Cork), Hilary Morgan Leathem (University of Exeter/Queen's University Belfast), Penelope Foreman (British Museum), Jodie Hannis (University of Leicester), Adam Gearey (Birckbeck College, University of London), and Mark Haughton (Aarhus University).

### **'A curse upon the men who tried to steal our bog' Annemarie Ní Churreáin**

Rosie Everett (Northumbria University) and Benjamin Gearey (University College Cork)

In this paper, we reflect upon the background and circumstances that led to the composition of a poem: 'A curse upon the men who tried to steal our bog' by ANC. This arose from a JPICH funded project 'WetFutures' (Ireland), and related intra-disciplinary discussions concerning Irish peatlands, heritage, archaeology, literature and artistic representation. There will be a reading of the poem, a discussion of the collaborative process and reflection on the value and purpose of trans-disciplinary conversations in the context of the creation of new poetry.

### **'Seize Upon the Object': John Banville and the Poetics of Archaeology**

Peter Stewart (University of Aberdeen)

The poetic prose of Booker-prize winning author John Banville has often been examined in the context of the academic discipline of history. The past is a constant theme in Banville's work, whether he is recreating it in historical novels like *Doctor Copernicus* or *Birchwood*, depicting the struggles of a professional historian in *The Newton Letter*, or crafting images such as 'the past beats inside me like a second heart,' his famous sentence from *The Sea*. Banville himself has quipped that novelists may be the 'unacknowledged historians of the world.'

However, I argue that the discipline of archaeology is also a useful lens through which to view Banville's work. I believe there are several components of Banville's philosophy which support this. His belief that poetry is found more frequently in prose than in verse, and that 'the surface is where the real depth is,' emphasises the importance of image and material description in his work. The influence of Beckett on Banville's writings shapes his distrust of narrative conventions, reinforcing his emphasis on concrete description. The effect is that, like the archaeologist, Banville's characters examine a decontextualised past through observation of the material world, with language as a vital yet flawed tool in this process.

Banville's advice to writers is that they 'seize upon the object, and the words will follow.' I conclude by exploring ways in which this advice could be employed by archaeologists, with reference to Banville's work and writings on archaeological poetics

### **Exploring the poetic works of Nina Layard in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century**

Robert William Subhashini (King's College London)

This paper seeks to consider the ways in which the late nineteenth and early twentieth century poet, archaeologist and scientist, Nina Frances Layard reckons with the archaeological imagination (2012) in her poetic interrogations. Building on Virginia Zimmerman's theory that 'unlike archaeological work itself, poetics of archaeology are able to display both the connections and fractures between the archaeological past and their own contemporary world,'

my discussions aim to show how Layard's poetic verses enable contemporary Victorian readers to confront the distant past through metaphors and narrative structures that disrupt a linear way of engaging with the past. Here, I argue that Layard's poetic verses widen the meaning of archaeological context as we get a broader sense of the cultural, social and political knowledge attached to these materials.

### **'Poetry and Archaeology' *The Soil Remembers***

Danielle Bissonnette (University of Edinburgh)

Poetry is one of the oldest forms of human literature, from the Enuma Elish, the works of Homer and Catullus, to the Kwakwaka'wakw myths compiled by Franz Boas. Poetry developed in numerous populations far removed from each other all over the world, suggesting that perhaps it either developed independently among populations as far flung as Coastal Salish tribes of Puget Sound, the Ashaninka tribesmen in the Amazon rainforest and the classical Greek and Egyptian orators, or that some ancient proto-poetic form of communication may have existed in the earliest human diasporas.

Rhyme and meter were used by ancient bards, storytellers and history keepers like the stratigraphic layers in the soil to discern what came before and what came after major events in their oral history long before the written word became the main form of knowledge transmission. Aboriginal peoples of Australia have used song and poetry to navigate across vast landscapes just as fishermen in Newfoundland have used rhymes to remind themselves of natural features for navigation of dangerous North Atlantic waters off the Canadian coast.

The study of such poetry is in and of itself a form of archaeology with its relative dating by births, deaths, battles and historical events woven together in a tapestry of ideas and values that don't preserve in the soil. The following two poems were written with that in mind, how the soil preserves some aspects of history and the lives of people, but doesn't preserve less tangible things than material culture.

Shards of Sand was written at Burning Man 2012 in Blackrock Desert, Nevada, The United States of America. Burning Man is a major music and arts festival that occurs nearly every year (except for the pandemic years of 2020 and 2021). It is a "Leave No Trace" event, which means that despite its size of nearly 5 square miles and a population of 75,000 people, very little material culture remains after the event ends. The event itself moves yearly to different parts of the dry lakebed on which it is held and acts much in the way a pilgrimage site does, except that it is mobile. At the end of the event, the structures are gone, the art is removed, waste is removed by truckloads and the people leave—there is no permanent, year-round human presence at the site. For months after the event, restoration crews painstakingly remove even the smallest artifacts of human occupation during the event, and when they are through there is nothing to suggest that for two weeks out of the year that site hosted the third largest city-by-population in the entire state of Nevada. Shards of Sand is an exploration of what it means to be human in terms of the humans that came before, of what it means to be anonymous in the face of kings, emperors and gods whose works are eroded over time until they cease to exist or are indecipherable, rendering even the most powerful to eventual anonymity. Shards of Sand explores the tangible and the intangible artifacts of human culture through the lens of human gatherings and the transmission of non-physical culture through shared creativity from the very first humans to the most recent.

The Soil Remembers was originally written while sitting in Greyfriars Kirkyard in Edinburgh after the 2021 field school in Dorstone, The United Kingdom and is an exploration of what archaeology reveal about past lives as described from material culture, exploring themes of

death as an act of nourishment enriching the soil and archaeology enriching the understanding of local history. This poem also explores themes of infamy transitioning anonymity and the inverse of power from the life state to the death state, as the dead lack agency over their own disposition and the transition of garbage to treasure in terms of what discarded materials can reveal about previous periods in time. Finally it explores themes of destruction and renewal in the form of wealth acquisition from the dead through grave robbing and in bodily decomposition nourishing food plants relied upon by the local population for sustenance.

### **The Landscape Poetics of Barrows**

Jonathan Last (Historic England)

Prehistoric barrows have a doubly affective quality, linked to the common presence of human remains and the material properties of the monuments that connect them to their landscapes. Yet the language archaeologists use to describe them often remains objective and technical, leading to a disconnect between our experience of excavating or surveying them and the reporting of that process. Considering the ways that poets have engaged with barrows and their contents can help us reflect on that language, potentially opening up other ways of writing about life, death, materiality and landscape in prehistory, as well as making stronger connections with present-day places and concerns. This presentation will draw particularly on works by Peter Riley and Roy Fisher.

### **Poetics and Burial: Archaeological Longing for Meaning**

Mark Haughton (Aarhus University)

The conversation between archaeology and poetry is ongoing – each providing inspiration and metaphor for the other. As archaeologists, we are drawn to the image of reading the past – as if a hidden meaning to the archaeological record lies just out of reach. Ultimately, though, we are often frustrated – meaning can't be read from the archaeological record as it can from a poem. Instead, I use this paper to think about the poetics of burial – that is, how past burials come to have meaning for us in the present. I reflect on the similarities between the poetic voice and the imagined voice of the burial (or, more accurately, the shadowy figures doing the burying). This a productive space to occupy – we can learn from the poetic voice and from the spirit of literary analysis – but archaeological burials are also something of an unknowable space, dense with allusions and meanings beyond our grasp. Ultimately, I argue that archaeological poetics offers us a position that opens archaeology out; rather than authoritative narratives, the poetics of burial is an invitation to embrace ambiguity and even confusion as a productive core in our analyses.

### **'Every burial is a statement, and the great ship burial a veritable poem': Poetry as temporal-spatial excavation at Sutton Hoo**

Fran Allfrey (University of York)

This paper analyses intersections of poetry and the landscape and artefacts of Sutton Hoo, to demonstrate the imaginative and emotive strategies used by writers to rethink meanings of the 'Anglo-Saxon' and connections between past, present, and future. Part one addresses the short poems 'Sutton Hoo Ship Burial' by Grace Schulman (1980); Seamus Heaney's praise-poem read at the National Trust Sutton Hoo opening ceremony (2002); and 'Little Egypt' (1999) by Pauline Stainer. These works are forms of affective excavation into the lives of past peoples.

With varied strategies and effects, each writer imagines varied pasts, presents, and futures for Sutton Hoo, inviting interrogation into the role of official institutions and individuals in shaping archaeological narrative. Part two addresses ‘On Vanishing Land’ (2013), an audio poem-essay by Mark Fisher and Justin Barton. The work responds to and reimagines the deep time evoked by the excavation of Sutton Hoo, and encourages reflection on chronologies beyond human understanding, gesturing towards ways of thinking about the world which make connections across time and space that are in tension with exclusionary ethno-nationalist logics. I tentatively suggest how medieval literary critics and archaeologists might engage with Indigenous Studies ontologies and epistemologies to interrogate and develop further the expansive and inclusive interpretive strategies evoked across these texts. I propose especial attention to the gendered dynamics of these creative engagements, tracing how queer, feminine, and feminist poetics of Sutton Hoo emerge in contrast with the masculinised, bellicose Anglo-Saxonism which emerges in much scholarship, pop culture, and heritage spaces.

### **‘Dispatch from a Ruin in Mitla, Town of Souls’: Poetry and the (Un)Knowability of the Past**

Hilary Morgan Leathem (University of Exeter)

This ‘paper’ embraces hybridity, taking the poetry reading as an arena for fielding queries into the twinned themes of history and materiality and how the two articulate with emotion, informing our relationships with humans and nonhumans. Landscapes and objects sediment multiple times and, subsequently, emotions into one place. We are always in necessary communion with our physical surroundings – the materiality of time – and the ways landscapes, objects, places, and things condense multiple pasts (and their own narratives) whilst mediating, sustaining, and severing relations. The silences that erupt in our work, the absences that become present, and the tensions between the seen and the unseen or rather the simultaneous knowability and unknowability of our past – these are what generate our ghosts. Haunting also emerges both from the archaeological and poetic acts of reassembling and reconstituting memory as well as how to live in the wake of imagined futures yet to arrive. These poems, such as ‘Oracle’, and ‘Dispatch from a Ruin in Mitla, Town of Souls’, draw on a fluid interpretation of temporality and engage with ghosts and nonhumans to speculate on meaning, power, and the relationship between yearning and foreclosure. So, too, they explore what it means to *know* (the spiritual or social ‘price’ of knowledge and excavating the past) and what it means to *refuse to know* (suppression, burial, and erasure). Embedded within this is the probing of the dialectical relationship between the desire to remember and urge to forget. It is said that poetry derives its meaning from fragments, much like archaeology. When poetry is viewed through the prism of archaeological knowledge, it becomes an affectively resonant mode of reassembly. With its incantatory properties, poetry about archaeology generates space for exploring ontological and epistemic boundaries, but also, quite significantly, allows us to ask what motivates or haunts the archaeologist.

### **Poetic Interpretations – Approaching an Anonymous Wreck**

Katariina Vuori (Independent Researcher)

My research focuses on a 17th century wreck discovered from Northern Finland in August 2019. This barge type clinker built cargo vessel is an anonymous passenger from the past: nameless and paperless. The wreck was discovered from downtown Oulu and due to post-depositional processes the excavation could be carried out in land archaeology method. The wreck was removed and selected pieces are under preservation. In addition to more traditional



archaeological and interdisciplinary approaches I use a structured poetry method to study the meanings and interpretations people (researchers and public of all ages) attach to the wreck. Authentic pieces of the wreck are present in the "From wreck to poetry" -workshops. By this activity I want to increase the accessibility of cultural heritage and give the public a chance to interpret the cultural heritage and communicate with the past in their own words.

### **Poetry in “Movy” motion: Embodied inquiry in the poetical narrative of WW1 submarine chaser- “Movy” M.L.286.**

Samantha Taylor (University of Portsmouth)

This paper will reflect upon my practice research project- Still Life “Movy”, my one-woman ethnodrama for which I am researcher, curator and performer. Still Life “Movy” is my fortyfive minutes’ performance piece comprised of multiple narratives, conjuring a vibrant, holistic, and collective engagement with the archaeological remains of WW1 submarine chaser- “Movy” M.L.286, and with the vessel’s complex biography. This paper will impart how I employed the qualitative research methods of auto-ethnography, semi-structured interviews, and embodied inquiry to aid in the creation of “Still Life “Movy”, which I performed in the archaeological remains of M.L.286 on the 13th July, 2022. This paper will discuss the multiple narratives utilised for this practice research project, and will highlight in particular the poetical narratives which I embodied in the body of M.L.286. This paper will therefore present the poetry of Sub-Lieutenant Rupert Brooke, R.N.V.R; Lieutenant Gordon S. Maxwell, R.N.V.R.; Lieutenant Eric P. Dawson, R.N.V.R.; Alfred, Lord Tennyson; John Keats; and T.S. Eliot, and share the examples of their works that contributed to M.L.286’s story in Still Life “Movy”. This paper will reveal how my practice research project has demonstrated that the archaeological narrative of M.L.286 is not a narrative of a full scale dig, costly conservation, and becoming a distant untouchable object in a museum, but rather, M.L.286’s archaeology- like poetry, is a lived and moving experience of past and present and future with an everlasting animated preservation in the landscape of body, heart, and memory.

### **Heritage-making in and after conflict**

Organisers: Luisa Nienhaus (UCL) and Gabriel Moshenska (UCL)

#### **Conflict heritagescapes and claims to identity**

John and Patricia Carman (Bloody Meadows Project, Birmingham)

If heritage is about any one thing, it is about the creation and maintenance of identities. While conflict is more likely to disrupt notions of identity by the destruction it wreaks, its memorialisation after the event seeks to restore lost identities – but not necessarily the same ones. This paper will present an approach to understanding war memorialisation as a process of forging and reforging identities through heritage-making. A major clue to this process lies in when memorialisation takes place and how it relates to the contemporary politics of the period in which it takes place. Such an approach emphasises that no war memorial of any kind should be interpreted at face value but rather be made subject to critical examination. Drawing upon contrasting examples of war commemoration from France, the USA and the Czech

Republic, it will be shown how commemoration allows myths of identity to be imposed or created, disrupted or challenged, and how such created myths reflect the needs of those memorialising the conflict rather than those most affected by it.

### **Post-Conflict Commemoration and Heritage: The Napoleonic Wars and Contemporary Society**

Luisa Nienhaus (UCL)

Two hundred years on and the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) and their legacy remain a contested topic. It is widely accepted that the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermaths were instrumental in the developments towards contemporary Europe. These developments were accompanied by a plethora of ways in which the Napoleonic Wars and individual battles, such as the Battle of Waterloo (1815), have been commemorated, ranging from the creation of memorials and monuments to museums, tourism, and re-enactments.

In a time of major, if not fundamental, changes within Europe's political landscape, this paper addresses issues surrounding the commemoration and memorialisation of the Napoleonic Wars and their links to national and European identities. Drawing on visitor surveys conducted at different sites associated with the Napoleonic Wars allows for a comparative analysis of visitors' attitudes and perceptions within the presented samples. Preliminary results indicate varied and distinctive attitudes among the samples drawn from populations at the different sites. These distinctions are not only found between the sites but also between different nationalities. This paper highlights some of the contrasting visitor responses and offers explanations for the differences in perception.

### **Post conflict heritage: Public policies and the standardisation of plaques and memorials in the city of São Paulo, Brazil**

Márcia Lika Hattori (Incipit – CSIC)

This paper explores public policies and the standardisation of plaques and memorials, part of the contested landscapes related to state violence in the city of São Paulo, Brazil. These plaques have been claimed by social movements to visualise subjects, collectives, places and events. Actions have been taken due to pressure from these groups, and public policies have developed, especially in the 1990s and in 2010, associated with greater public debate on the subject, for example through the discovery of mass graves and investigations that resulted from them, and the many truth commissions operating in the country since 2010. Drawing on critical heritage studies, I question the creation of plaques and monuments as reparation and pedagogical action and attempt to understand how this obeys certain rationalities, intentionalities and logics of remembrance based on a standardised way of approaching repressive periods developed in different parts of the world. The results demonstrate that the materiality that constitutes the landscapes of repression and resistance is often barely visible and, for the most part, sited in places with a very low circulation of people, such as university campuses. With restricted access, these sites reinforce the representation of the victim as a middle-class university student, a deeply restricted perspective that has already been questioned by social movements and research related to the topic. In other words, despite public policies and efforts by civil society and family groups to create plaques and monuments, the places where they are installed and the visibility they have in the city, reinforces the view of a dictatorship that affected a specific group and not society as a whole.

## **Children of the Great Wrath (1713–21) and the war in Ukraine: Memorization and acknowledgement**

Sara Lipkin (University of Oulu)

The Great Wrath was the time of Russian persecution in Finland (1700–1721). Then tens of thousands of people were tortured, killed, or were taken to Russia as slaves. Russophobia that lasted until the early 19th century was born. Even though these events are a crucial part of Finnish history and had a decades long influence on how common people perceived themselves and their hard experiences, the events and their importance have not been extensively taught in Finnish schools. Reasons for this are evidently deeply rooted in the national politics and historical traditions of teaching. Nevertheless, arts, and oral history have carried on the stories of the war. One important story is Zacharias Topelius' tale for children "The birch and the star" that is based on his grandfather's childhood experiences in Russia and escape trip back to his home. Many war event sites are important to local people and a few memorials have been erected very soon after Finland's independence in 1917. The war in Ukraine has unravelled old wounds also in Finland, particularly those of the WW2. After the start of the war in Ukraine, my Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology paper tweet on "Children of the Great Wrath" from May 2021 has received unexpected attention. In this paper I will consider how the Great Wrath has been acknowledged and memorialized both before and after the war in Ukraine and how the knowledge of historical events has been perceived in the light of ongoing war activities.

## **Conflict, Cultural heritage and (Re)Construction: Expression of (be)Longing in the aftermath of Charar-e-Sharief Conflagration, Kashmir**

Sabine Ameer (University of Birmingham/Caucasus Through Time Network)

This paper examines how cultural heritage—through its deliberate destruction and post-conflict reconstruction—generates concomitant trajectories to risk, resistance and resilience. In doing so, it focuses on a syncretic heritage site, Charar-e-Sharief—the revered mausoleum of patron-saint of Kashmir, Sheikh Noor-ud-din—situated in Charar town, Budgam District. The mausoleum is not only a significant landmark in Kashmir but the town of Charar derived its 'sacred' materiality from the installation of the medieval tomb. However, amid the burning upheaval in Kashmir when the separatist insurgency was in its active phase, the tomb was torched along with the entire town during a counterinsurgency operation in 1995. Although the precinct was razed to rubble and the reconstruction of the gutted mausoleum along with the holy town took nearly five years, the devotees would still flock to the holy town both to express their dismay at the destruction and to seek blessings from the immortal remains of the saint buried beneath the ruins. Situated against this backdrop, the case of Charar-e-Sharief Conflagration elucidates the expression of (be)longing among local Kashmiris in the aftermath of the 'Charar Conflagration' and the contrary connotations of trust-mistrust, cohesion-division and belonging-alienation it (re)created. The analysis is informed by archival research of historic newspaper articles (ProQuest database), personal memoirs and first hand accounts. Revolving around the concept of shared loss of memories, cultural identities and sense of belonging and the shared grievances it generated irrespective of the social-political differences and religious animosities in the valley, it addresses the role of conflict in (re)making the heritage. The work posits that in spite of the absence of the material layer, the immateriality of the heritage precinct—the immortal remains of the saint—underpinned a new perspective in the heritage (re)making in Kashmir.

## **Archaeology as Post-War Propaganda in British Mandate Palestine**

Chloe Emmott (University of Greenwich)

Archaeology and heritage were priorities of the British after their victory in Palestine over the Ottoman Empire in World War One. Archaeology was used as propaganda and as a way to cement the ideals of the post war Mandatory system, a system which embedded archaeology in heritage into legislation. As early as 1918, when Palestine was an Occupied Enemy Territory, the British made concerted efforts to legislate archaeology, heritage and antiquities. They enforced a very British and western view of heritage upon Palestine, asserting what was considered heritage and what and how it should be protected. This custodianship of heritage was portrayed as a 'sacred duty' entrusted to Britain via the Mandatory system of the League of Nations, and was crucial to the development of the mandatory system as a 'new'; form of colonialism. Yet this vision of Palestine and Palestine's past was one which largely ignored the Palestinians. It was also one which deliberately belittled and erased traces of the Ottoman empire, and in particular their prowess in archaeology and development of antiquities laws on which the British ones were based. I will examine how this use of heritage as a political tool was used to cement the ideology of the mandate and to impose a British view of Palestine, and crucially, how this was portrayed to the British at home as part of post-war propaganda in the press.

## **Towards a humanistic heritage of air raid protection**

Gabriel Moshenska, (UCL)

Air raid shelters – structures to protect people from aerial attack – have framed the experience of violent conflict for hundreds of millions of people over more than a century, from before the First World War through to contemporary conflicts including those in Ukraine, Syria, and Palestine/Israel. Today, shelters and associated sites and artefacts are increasingly being valued as heritage assets worldwide, but are most often – understandably – categorised alongside military heritage. This paper argues that emerging social archaeological and critical heritage approaches to air raid shelters should incorporate a wider range of interpretive perspectives. It outlines three potential strands in particular, based around the themes of (1) emotion and 'hot interpretation'; (2) 'absence' and its often troubled representations; and (3) internationalism and a focus on the shared experiences of civilians in all wars. In bringing together these themes, this paper aims to steer the heritage discourses around civilian air raid protection towards a more affective approach that seeks to reanimate air raid shelter heritage in the interests and service of civilian victims of war in all places and all periods up to the present.

## **Emergency: Memorialisation and commemoration of the Mau Mau Uprising**

Hannah McLean (University of Glasgow)

Following the end of the Mau Mau Uprising (1952-1960), the responsibility for management of sites associated with the conflict fell under Kenya's state heritage body, National Museums of Kenya (NMK). NMK has overseen the memorialisation of sites such as cave systems used as hideouts by Mau Mau fighters and several mass graves for those executed by the colonial government. Only a handful of the over one hundred detention camps (known as the 'Pipeline') used to detain Mau Mau suspects are left standing, some repurposed as schools. In this process of transformation, confinement cells have been repurposed as dormitories and storage rooms, and barbed wire and brick kilns have been left abandoned as waste. These sites remain largely unrecognised by NMK, at least officially.

In 2018, the Museum of British Colonialism (MBC) was established by a group of four women, three Kenyan and one British, to share resources that highlight lived experiences of British colonialism, with a particular focus on the Pipeline. Without a bricks and mortar building or a physical collection, MBC disseminates its open access research through oral history interviews, interactive digital maps, 3D digital models of detention camps, and temporary exhibitions and events. This paper will consider the roles of state heritage bodies and grassroots community organisations in the memorialisation, commemoration, and interpretation of Mau Mau sites. It will explore the production of heritage within a complex and contentious contemporary context, and ask: How, if at all, should the memorialisation of these camps be approached?

### **Heritage Re-Making, Forced Migration and Community Engagement - The Case of Aleppo, Syria**

Nour A. Munawar (Brown University) and James Symonds (University of Amsterdam)

The war in Syria, and the rise of non-state radical actors placed a spotlight on the scale and intensity of destruction of cultural heritage sites in Syria. The Ancient City of Aleppo, a World Heritage Site was particularly hard hit by the conflict and when the city was re-unified in late 2016, several national and international organisations started to plan its post war reconstruction. However, despite the fact that the war in Syria is now approaching its end, the prospects of finding a sustainable route for heritage reconstruction in Aleppo are far from good. This paper sets out to critique the top-down governmental approach to the reconstruction of Syria's cultural heritage. By drawing upon empirical data collected from a survey conducted with people from Syria and Iraq, this paper argues that if cultural heritage assets are to provide a unifying force for reconciliation, reintegration of displaced people, and future social cohesion then such an approach should be opposed and replaced by a bottom-up approach which gives voice to and builds consensus among all members of Syrian society.

### **Archaeological osmosis: giving voice to those who put up with us**

Organisers: Joel Santos (NOVA University of Lisbon) and Tânia Casimiro (NOVA University of Lisbon)

### **Feeling fieldwork with family**

Tiina Äikäs (University of Oulu) and Sanna Lipkin (University of Oulu) (giving voice to four kids)

In the past 20 years, we have conducted fieldwork at places ranging from Iron Age sites in Italy to historical sawmill sites in Northern Finland. We have actively involved our friends, parents, and children to accompany us to the field and take part in fieldwork. Our children are now at the age of 7 and 9 for Tiina and 9 and 15 for Sanna, and they have been with us on the field even as babies. The involvement of our family and friends has varied from helping with documentation and digging to hanging out at the field site. For this paper we ask them to describe the feelings they had during and after the fieldwork. These feelings and emotions might include attitudes towards archaeology as well as to us practicing archaeology. The feelings are revealed by reflective writings, small interviews, drawings, and Lego works. Different types of fieldwork, whether they took place in the cemetery or rainy forest, have also evoked various thoughts and discussions. In this presentation we will aim to consider the

feelings and emotions visible in the artistic and reflective products of our close-ones in order to understand archaeology and being an archaeologist in the context of close relationship ties and emotions.

### **Is my daughter still an archaeologist?**

Susana Pacheco (giving voice to Ana Santos) (NOVA University of Lisbon)

My daughter is an archaeologist. When she went to college, I always imagined her digging the Men that inhabited our planet before us, finding temples and other remnants of those magnificent civilizations. But later, when she started her masters, she told me she preferred to study factories and engines. Those things are not underground, it is not possible to dig them, so how is that archaeology? How does someone practices archaeology with something that is not buried? Now she doesn't dig anymore and wants to study people that are still alive. Does it mean she is not an archaeologist anymore?

### **Disposable cameras, immortal memories: Children's view of expeditions in the far North**

Oula Seitsonen (giving voice to Sohvi, Elsa, and Elvin Seitsonen) (Lakehead University/University of Oulu)

In this paper we jointly present school children's visual perceptions of taking part in their parents archaeological expeditions in Northern Finland, through photographs taken by them with disposable cameras, that are a curious novelty for them. Sohvi, Elsa and Elvi have taken part in fieldwork from an early age, youngest one from less than half year old. We will present their images from different expeditions and combine those with their experiences of archaeological work and way of life. Their imagery mirrors for instance how they see their parents' line of work, the life and travel during exoeditions, and their understanding archaeology and past in general.

### **Mommy writes papers with pots**

Tânia Casimiro (giving voice to Maria Rita Gouveia) (NOVA University of Lisbon)

I am Maria Rita, I am 12 years old, and I know exactly, or I think I know exactly, what an archaeologist does. I have been to excavations, field surveys, and archaeological archives. It is funny that most of the time mom is sitting in front of her computer surrounded by broken pots. I have seen some of the books she wrote, and I have collected some broken sherds in the floor so she can continue writing things. As I told you. I know exactly what an archaeologist does.

### **A few of our favourite things: Badgers, Bicycles, Running, Princesses, Fluffies, Fairies, and archaeological ceramics.**

Hanna Steyne (giving voice to Hayden and Ruth) (University of Manchester)

This short paper presents archaeology from the perspectives of a 9 and a 4-year-old that live with a maritime/post-medieval archaeologist. I hope to share some of their thoughts on what archaeology is, what (they think) I do, and some of their favourite bits of rubbish/archaeological ceramics currently cluttering up the garden.

### **It isn't a weekend if there isn't an Etruscan in it**

Joel Santos (giving voice to Rui Santos and Jael Santos) (NOVA University of Lisbon)

Weekends with dad are all about going around. We prepare our things to go, normally without knowing our destination. It is a kind of tradition. To go, no matter where since our only goal is to be with dad! We have a big map of central Italy marked with all the places that we have visited. It's all coloured. We visit all kind of places. However, there's one thing in common about these places: the Etruscans. As far away as Marzabotto to the North or Cuma to the south, we not only visited important sites like Cerveteri, Tarquínia, Clusium but isolated tombs lost in the Middle of nowhere. Yes, the Etruscans are always there.

Dad never forgets, but if for some strange reason there is no Etruscan site nearby, we are the ones who insist on finding a place...and we always do. It isn't a weekend if there isn't any Etruscan in it.

### **How to get a megalith on paper**

Sarah Bockmeyer (giving voice to a 4-year-old boy and a 7 year old girl) (Christian-Albrechts University of Kiel)

We usually draw cars and houses because that is what we see the most. We remember once my mommy (4 year old) and my aunt (7 year old) took us to see a big group of stones she called a megalith and we did a couple of drawings. She was very impressed so we must be really good at it.

### **I am married with an archaeologist.**

Gustav Wollentz (giving voice to Jessica Bustamante) (Nordic Centre of Heritage Learning and Creativity)

I am myself a graphic designer and I guess it was a bit odd -in a way- at the beginning of the relationship to introduce my “boyfriend” as an archaeologist to my family and friends.

Of course, don't get me wrong it did sound “cool” to say it and see the reaction of surprise on people. Sure, the image of Indiana Jones is the one that majority of them had in mind, and the first that faded away as soon as he started to explain what he actually worked with (involving a lot of theory and complex heritage concepts).

Now after some years of marriage I am sure not only my family and friends, but also me, prefer to ignore the part of the difficult theory and keep imagine that he works finding fantastic finds inside pyramids around the world. And even when now I know and “kind of” understand what he does as an archaeologist, it is still too complicated to put in simple words every single time I have been asked about my husband's work.

Thanks to being with him I opened my eyes to see that archaeology is huge and that there is a lot of different areas to study and explore within it. I had no idea of how “crazy” that world could be!

He made me be surrounded by his colleagues that then -not against my will- became close friends. So, you can imagine that topics of abstract theoretical questions, academic articles and archaeological concepts and discussions were the bread and the butter during most of our friend meetings, making me feel a little bit “out of space”. If there was someone who could explain in “normal words” what they were speaking about, I was lucky, which for me happened most

of the time. But I can feel for all of those who had to stay, sit and hear them talking in “codex”. Been there done that!

I have to say that it is fun. Being the wife of an archaeologist makes things a bit more interesting in general. A walk in the woods became a walk for exploration: stopping if there is a flintstone, pick it up and see the edges, put it in his pocket and by the end of the day having a full bag of weird stones that makes me have to push him to throw back there!

The funny thing is the fact that he always claims that I (me!) love those experiences, he really loves to say that loud and clear followed with my poker face with friends and family. I guess I have no choice! In fact I do like it, so he is right. The best of being with an archaeologist is - then to me- to travel, explore, learn and meeting interesting people. Even when it does involve some “broken record” speeches.

### **You are proud when your son is into whores**

Afonso Leão (giving voice to Ana Gonçalves) (NOVA University of Lisbon)

My son is an archaeologist. I was never quite aware of what he enjoyed in being an archaeologist, but my idea was that he would become a medievalist. All those hours playing Dungeons and Dragons should have given him some motivation. But no... he decided to become a contemporary archaeologist and study women’s subaltern roles through sex jobs. Nothing made me more proud.

## **Revolutions in the archaeology of early urbanism:**

### **Conceptual and methodological innovations**

Organisers: Manuel Fernández-Götz (University of Edinburgh) and

Søren Sindbæk (Aarhus University)

### **Sustainability, Complexity and Urbanism: Exploring long term trends in settlement persistence in Southwest Asia**

Dan Lawrence (Durham University), Michelle de Gruchy (United Nations Satellite Centre), and Abdulameer Al-Hamdani (Durham University)

Southwest Asia saw the emergence of large settlements in the Early Holocene, and the world’s first urban communities ca. 6,000 years ago, with cities a feature of the region ever since. These developed in diverse environmental settings, including the dry farming plains of Northern Mesopotamia, the irrigated alluvium of Southern Mesopotamia and the more variegated landscapes of the Levant. This long history of occupation provides a rich dataset from which to examine urban sustainability through time. In this paper we argue that settlement persistence, i.e. the duration of occupation, can be used as a proxy for sustainability. This means that comparing persistence with other parameters allows us to identify sustainability-enhancing urban practices. We explore the possibilities of this approach using a dataset of several hundred urban sites spanning the entire region and dating from the earliest large sites over 10,000 years ago to the Classical period (2,000 BP). We find that that settlements with the highest levels of persistence were not associated with high agricultural productivity regions, and in fact the longest lived are located in the most marginal environments, likely at critical points in transport



networks. We also find that persistence is enhanced in landscapes which do not require large-scale capital investment or specific forms of economic and social organisation to maintain agricultural productivity, and that sustainability is inversely correlated with social complexity. Our results show that analysing persistence can be a useful approach for generating both new archaeological interpretations and archaeological contributions to present urban challenges.

## **Political organisation at the earliest low-density, egalitarian cites in Eurasia:**

### **A Trypillia megasite narrative**

Bisserka Gaydarska (Manchester Metropolitan University) and John Chapman (Durham University)

Perhaps the only three widely-agreed ‘facts’ about the Cucuteni-Trypillia group is its size (250,000 km<sup>2</sup>), duration (two millennia: 4800 – 2800 cal BC) and the size of its largest settlements – the Trypillia mega-sites (or TMS) (up to 320ha). But the links between these inter-related facts has never been discussed. Here, we build upon our research at the Ukrainian TMS of Nebelivka to discuss not only the notion of low-density urbanism but also the political organisation which enabled the TMS as a phenomenon to survive for over six centuries. Our over-arching model of Trypillia political economy is developed from the insights published in David Graeber and David Wengrow’s (2021) book “The dawn of everything”. We start by relating the term ‘cultural schismogenesis’ to the size and longevity of the Cucuteni – Trypillia group by re-conceptualising the “Big Other” as an extended moral community. We place in the TMS context Graeber and Wengrow’s discussion of the three freedoms – mobility, disobedience and imagined worlds – as well as their three forms of domination – military, esoteric knowledge and charismatic leadership. The combination of the presence of these freedoms and the absence of these forms of domination enables the development of egalitarian relations on a hitherto unimagined scale.

## **Urban citizen before cities in Chalcolithic Europe? The case of Trypillia mega-sites.**

Marco Nebbia (UCL)

Eastern Europe doesn’t generally come to mind when discussing early urbanism, and yet in recent years a surge in research projects and publications can shed a new light on the so-called ‘Trypillia mega-sites’. These are large (up to 320 ha) settlements that emerged in modern Ukraine during the 4th millennium BC. The largest (known) settlements in Chalcolithic Europe triggered a heated debate on their potential urban nature, which has been now widely discussed through a number of definitions such as: ‘mega-sites’, ‘overgrown villages’, ‘settlement giants’, ‘proto-cities’, and even ‘early cities’. One of the key aspects of Trypillia mega-sites is that no social hierarchy has materialised, archaeologically, and apparently wasn’t needed to make these sites functioning for over 8 centuries. This paper will discuss the many aspects that make Ukrainian mega-sites of interests for the early urbanism debate, with particular attention to the wider Trypillia settlement system and to the social processes that might have occurred in the initial phases of one of them (Nebelivka). Through the lens of spatial analysis and social theory there is scope for thinking that urban-like identities might have developed before a ‘Childean urban form’, in Chalcolithic Ukraine.

## **Archaeobotanical insights into agrarian urbanism and ‘collapse’ in prehistory.**

Tom Maltas (University of Vienna)

Agriculture has long played a central role within narratives of prehistoric urbanisation and societal ‘collapse’. Despite this, evidence for the nature of farming systems in urbanising and de-urbanising settlements is limited. Recent developments in archaeobotanical analysis are beginning to rectify this through direct evidence for crop growing conditions, with implications for the intensity and scale of arable farming and the organisation of rural labour. These insights are particularly important considering the ubiquity of ‘agrarian urbanism’ in the past, in which the social and economic dynamics of urbanising societies were rooted in agrarian lifeways. Focussing on the citadels of later Early Bronze Age western Anatolia, I show how archaeobotanical analysis can thus shed new light on the nature of urbanisation and urban settlements. I suggest that the emergence and economic systems of Bronze Age citadels lay in agro-economic developments originating in the Chalcolithic. Additionally, I suggest that failures in agricultural resilience during a period of rapid climate change contributed to the widespread collapse of citadels. This has powerful implications for contemporary concerns surrounding the ability of modern agricultural systems to withstand climate change.

## **Trade without citadels? Investigating space-time compression the Bronze Age cities of the Indus and Mesopotamia**

Toby Wilkinson (Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology), Nancy Highcock (British Museum), Adam S. Green (University of York), and Darryl Wilkinson (Dartmouth College)

Archaeologists have often shaped evidence from the world’s first cities to fit their particular theories concerning urban development and institutions. Childe’s views on the role of long-distance exchange in his theory of urban revolution is a case in point. However, though he placed primacy on the rise of elites and their supposed control of agrarian surpluses, he also sought to fit the evidence for trade produced by the major urban excavations of his day in which the first cities “already included industrial materials,” making them “dependent for vital materials on long distance trade as no neolithic village ever was” (Childe, 1950:16). Today, mounting research on the first cities not only challenges Childe’s narrative about the inevitable rise of elites in the Bronze Age, but the last 40 years of new evidence for long and medium-distance trade has also generated new perspectives on its role in Bronze Age space-time compression. In this paper, we seek to account for the ways in which trade and its associated technologies impacted urban communities by comparing emerging datasets from the Indus civilisation and Mesopotamia. What role did traded materials actually play in the Bronze Age economies of the world’s first cities? Who benefited from long-distance exchange, and what effects did those benefits have on social relations? Who was left behind? And to what extent were the changes created by the agency of elites or of the invisible hands of markets, “culture” and environment? At stake in resolving these mechanisms is our ability both to make sense of the past, and to prepare for political possibilities for the future.

## **Re-understanding Iron Age urbanism: How our views have been revolutionised since the turn of the millennium**

Manuel Fernández-Götz (University of Edinburgh)

Research into urbanism in the European Iron Age has experienced a veritable ‘revolution’ over the last two decades, both in terms of data and theoretical-methodological approaches. The development of some large-scale fieldwork projects as well as the publication of extensive

monographs on key sites has considerably expanded the corpus of available evidence, leading us to rethink some previously held interpretations. This is particularly the case for the so-called Fürstentum of the Late Hallstatt period in Central Europe, but also applies to the Late Iron Age – for example through the growing acknowledgment of open agglomerations – and for other regions such as Iberia or Britain. Methodologically, the increasing application of bioarchaeological analyses or the use of advanced remote sensing methods are enabling us to ask new questions and providing fascinating insights into aspects such as diet, mobility, or the spatial arrangement of settlements in relation to their environs. Theoretically, a growing number of Iron Age scholars are engaging in wider discussions on comparative urbanism and exploring the usefulness of concepts such as ‘low-density urbanism’. This paper will present an overview of some of the main developments since the turn of the millennium, focusing on the main advances as well as highlighting open questions and areas for future development.

### **Early Urbanism in Northern Italy: Theoretical and Social Revolutions**

Lorenzo Zamboni (University of Milan)

Since a few years ago, early urbanism in northern Italy remained an underrated phenomenon, confined to antiquate cultural-historical mechanisms of colonisation and acculturation from supposed more advanced Mediterranean civilisations. Several fieldworks and polythetic studies have recently revealed solid evidence for early and perhaps independent nucleation processes in the regions south of the Alps. Beyond unidirectional developments, this led to a substantial broadening of our comprehension of site agglomerations in the study area, including possible cases of instability, ephemerality, low-density population, and seasonality.

Yet, previous archaeological studies have placed excessive emphasis on the elites and the exchange of prestige goods, overemphasising the role of coercive authorities who alone promoted and ruled the urbanisation process. A simplistic equation between urbanism and pyramidal social hierarchy could be disentangled in a comparative perspective, by looking at collective forms of cooperation, egalitarianism, and alternative strategies of wealth-sharing.

### **The proto-urban hillfort of Pungrt above Ig: from 10 hectares to 10 microns**

Agni Prijatelj (University of Ljubljana), Luka Gruškovnjak (University of Ljubljana), Petra Vojaković (University of Ljubljana), and Matija Črešnar (University of Ljubljana)

Pungrt above Ig is the first Slovenian Iron Age hillfort with a documented proto-urban design. With 8,500 m<sup>2</sup> of the settlement’s interior uncovered, it is also the most extensively excavated hillfort in Slovenia. During the development-led rescue excavation in 2020 and 2021, a systematic geoarchaeological sampling programme was undertaken at the site: some 300 intact micromorphology blocks and 1,800 bulk samples from various floor sequences, open area surfaces and accumulated residues were collected across the best-preserved areas of the settlement. In this ongoing research project, they have been examined at the micro-contextual level using integrated high resolution approaches, including micromorphology, micro-refuse and geochemical analyses, and Bayesian modelling of an extensive set of radiocarbon dates.

Here, we discuss the distinct strengths and limitations of soil micromorphology and micro-refuse analysis in addressing the issues of the structured use of space, ecological relations, and various discard and sanitation practices at the (proto-)urban settlements. To illustrate the two methods’ potential, we compare and contrast preliminary data from the two Late Hallstatt buildings at Pungrt. With the micromorphological and micro-refuse data complementing each other, our initial results provide information on various architectural choices and household

organisation, as well as insights into technological knowledge, social practices, human-animal relations, and multiple temporalities associated with the buildings' life cycles. As such, they also demonstrate the distinct advantages of integrated microarchaeological approaches in reconstructions of complex (proto-)urban spaces.

### **Boom Town Britain: the case for an urban-like settlement horizon at the north-western edge of the Roman Empire**

James O'Driscoll and Gordon Noble

The study of early urbanism has been slow to develop in more peripheral regions such as Ireland or northern/western Britain, where large-scale population centres are not thought to have existed until the late first millennium AD. The large hillforts of these regions are thought to represent Late Bronze Age monuments and their dense internal settlements a result of multi-period occupation. However, our on-going remote sensing surveys and excavations at the massive, densely populated hillfort of Tap o' Noth in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, has begun to dramatically challenge this assumption, marking the site as the largest known native settlement of Late Roman Iron Age/early medieval (c. AD 200–600 AD) period of these regions. This is a period traditionally seen as a 'Dark Age', where physical or textual evidence for domestic settlement is difficult to identify, making the discovery of a complex, urban-like community of exceptional importance. Excitingly, Tap o' Noth is not an isolated example, with a number of other morphologically comparable hillforts hinting at a previously unidentified settlement horizon that could be key to our understanding of the development of the social entities and kingdoms of the early medieval period of northern/western Britain and Ireland. This paper will outline and discuss the potential rise and fall of this previously unknown urban-like settlement horizon and question if these sites fit into broader narratives of early urbanism in north-western Europe.

### **Urban Emergence Beyond the Top-Down/Bottom-Up Dichotomy: Vibrant Ipswich, c.600-900**

Brandon Fathy (University of Leicester)

As arguably Britain's oldest continuously inhabited town, the early medieval story of Ipswich is a very important one, as it played a key role in England's "urban revolution". However, the causes and foundations of England's earliest towns have long vexed archaeologists. This paper aims to surpass two obstacles that have so far confounded medieval urban historians: the false dichotomy between top-down and bottom-up, and the questioning of foundation instead of emergence.

For this paper, I draw on a body of archival data from excavations in Ipswich. I have stratigraphically and spatially analysed data from over 30 excavations across the urban core with nine broad chronological phases. To interpret my data and tell a rich urban history, I draw upon the New Materialism and Assemblage Theory of Jane Bennett and Manuel DeLanda to incorporate nonhuman agency and nonlinear causality. I focus here on the creation of thoroughfares and gravel roads to show that these were the manifestations of competing human agents (kings vs commoners), but also the result of the interaction with materials themselves: ditches, fences, grass, and slag. Some roads emerged spontaneously beside ditches, while others appeared only through the demolition of obstructing buildings. As a result, I am able to frame Ipswich's early history as a series of nonlinear and oblique discourses between a diverse

case of agents. I conclude that by divesting the agency of urban origins to as many agents as possible, we can land at a more rewarding, and more interesting, narrative of urban emergence.

### **Aspects of a Maya Urban Network in Northwest Belize**

Patricia Neuhoff-Malorzo (University of Texas at Austin/SWCA)

Analysis of ancient Maya cities and settlements has turned in the past decade from conceptualizations which focused on house or lineage to studies of urbanization. Looking at the major centres, their associated neighbourhoods, and outlying hinterland settlements, it is now more accurate to think of some of these areas as urban networks, linked locations that share ideas, and goods, and across which labour forces or people move readily. It is in this sense that the Maya centre of La Milpa in Northwest Belize easily becomes the hub and its hinterland settlements form the greater urban network. The most recent data sets and analysis comparing three of La Milpa's surrounding hinterland settlements indicate similar features including the conceptions of space, settlement layout, and organization and structuring of both activity areas and social organization related demarcations. These settlements can be considered the regional areas surrounding the urban node, built practically in the landscape, each modifying as needed to suit the desires of the specific settlement population. Settlements are connected to the node through shared traditions, social dynamics, and organization with links of goods, ideas, people and culture.

### **The revolutionary strength of weak ties**

Søren M. Sindbæk (Aarhus University)

The archaeological exploration of urban societies in the past grew in response to modern sociology and its concern with industrial cities and the mass society state. This motivated cardinal texts like Wirth's 'Urban way of life' and Childe's 'Urban Revolution', together with dozens of trait lists that attempted to detail the social functions and evolutionary vectors of early cities. Today, these texts seem marred by their obsession to craft a progressive pattern from broader human experience to peculiar twentieth-century abominations. In 1973 the sociologist Mark Granovetter published a strikingly original thesis on the 'strength of weak ties', today a founding text in the study of social networks. Yet few have noticed that this concept was born in direct critique of Wirth's view of urbanism, and till today archaeology has failed to take notice of one of sociology's key concepts. This paper argues that a new focus on 'weak ties' points us back on track to the principle significance of past urbanism, and explains why some shambolic iron-age centres appear more urban than much larger court capitals or temple cities.

## **Open Session**

Session chair: Kirsty Lilley (University of Edinburgh)

### **The paradox of absence. Memory and post-conflict resilience in the Iberian societies of the Upper Guadalquivir**

Carolina Castuera Bravo (University of Jaén), María Isabel Moreno (University of Jaén), and Carmen Rueda (University of Jaén)

In recent years, Conflict Archaeology has experienced a theoretical and methodological renewal with the aim of analyse new aspects that traditional Archaeology had undervalued until now. During more than a decade of field experience, we have focused our research on the study of the causes, development and consequences of the Second Punic War in the Upper Guadalquivir (Spain). In this paper, we propose a profound reflection on the narratives and agencies involved in the different processes of social transformation that took place between the end of the 3rd century and the 1st century BC in this territory.

We start from a fundamental premise: the Second Punic War is one of the great armed conflicts of Antiquity, a large-scale traumatic event that substantially and irrevocably altered the historical development of many societies throughout the Mediterranean. In this context, and for the Iberian societies of the Upper Guadalquivir, we witnessed a complex and painful process marked by the loss, destruction and transformation of the social structures that had supported Iberian identity for centuries. New dynamics then opened up seeking to respond what sociologists call cultural trauma and other colleagues call ontological insecurity. In the postconflict period, we attend to different response strategies based on resilience, reformulation and resignification from part of the local Iberian communities, seeking to create a framework for survival and cultural memory, as a formula for silent resistance to the Roman conqueror and as a mean to (re)memorise and (re)construct shared memories and common narratives held back by war.

### **Looking beyond the known: Dealing with data incompleteness in pottery studies in the Late Medieval and Postmedieval Period**

Sonia Medina Gordo (University of Barcelona), Esther Travé Allepuz (University of Barcelona), and Joan Vicens i Tarré (University of Girona)

There is a considerable amount of vestiges for the study of pottery and pottery-producing processes in the Late Medieval and postmedieval period. These are of different origin and nature: written, archaeological, ethnographic, and iconographic, among some others. While this is a great advantage for pottery studies, data incompleteness is always a fact in archaeological approaches, as the picture we obtain from data is a partial and fragmented one. In view of such a panorama, some authors have begun to point out how the imperfection in our datasets are affecting our capacity to generate, construct and obtain new knowledge. A knowledge gain, indeed, in which the different facets of missing and vague information might well be determinant.

Recently, an ongoing research project allowed us to delve into the greyware pottery production in the Gavarres area. One of the main constraints is to establish the relationship between known productions identified from the archaeological examination of pottery sherds with the information provided by written sources about potters and workshops. While the earliest mentions to pottery production in the area dates back from the 14th Century, some archaeological contexts provide materials from the 12-13th Centuries AD. One of the main uncertainties arises from the connection between known technological practices and the vestiges found in archaeological contexts. This lack of information led us to explore the epistemological and ontological requirements of information systems in order to bridge the gaps between vestiges and to obtain an integrated construction of the past.

## **Vini-Vinci-Mori: Graves as the final aftermath of human mobility**

Andreia Graça (NOVA University of Lisbon)

The 20th century was a troubled period, a consequence of the various armed conflicts in the Western world and the consequently politic, social, and economic crises. This resulted in the forced migration of many people. There are countless questions left unanswered after the mobility process, with the arrival and settlement of these people, but also with their death.

The main focus of this paper is the archaeological study of the funerary monuments of migrants between 1900 and 1960 who left their countries of origin, relocating in Lisbon (Portugal), discussing if through these materialities it is possible to identify social, cultural and even economic structures and relations. When did they settled in the country? How was their life and personal relations after migration? The different characteristics of migrants' funerary monuments will be highlighted, regarding their architecture and iconography, and how it reflects ideology, aesthetics, and beliefs, for example. If there are similarities identified, will it be possible to find some common ground related to their nationality, origin, and identity?

The purpose is also to develop a more humanized and personal study, complementing the analysis of the tombs with information about the people, using the cemetery registers, as well as iconography present in some of the monuments.

## **Should sanctity win out over progress? A reflection upon the vision of archaeology in the world of Warhammer 40,000**

Piotr Dyżła (Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań)

The primary purpose of archaeology as a science is to learn about humans in the past through the lens of preserved fragments of material culture. For most of our society at the time, these are just the remains of long-gone civilisations with which we feel a greater or lesser bond. But what if these remains were the testimony to the long-gone glory of mankind, and the only chance for its further development, or rather to emerge from a state of stagnation? Moreover, despite having the opportunity to broaden its horizons, is this not being done? Finally, should the reasons, mainly stemming from non-scientific motives, hinder a development that could improve people's lives? I would like to try to answer these questions in my speech. At the same time, I would like to reflect on the idea of how objects from ancient times can affect the way people function and think if they have no other alternatives for development. The example I would like to discuss will be the archaeological discoveries of citizens of the Impirium of Man in the fictional future world of Warhammer 40,000. The source material will be based on novels, codes and computer games that have been written over the years.

## **Colonial pasts and presents in Southwest Asia**

Session organisers: Kristen Hopper (Durham University) and Bill Finlayson (Oxford university)

### **Knowledge production in the archaeology of SW Asia: A case study from BANEA**

Kristen Hopper (Durham University), Christoph Bachhuber (University of Oxford), Avantika Clark (Palestine Exploration Fund), Elifgul Dogan (University of Cambridge), Glynnis Maynard (University of Cambridge), Latif Oksuz (Durham University), and Ailbhe Turley (University of Glasgow)

In 2021, a subcommittee of the British Association of Near Eastern Archaeology (BANEAE) was formed to look at issues of equality, diversity and inclusivity within the organisation. This paper will reflect on this experience and consider what it means to ‘decolonise’ an organisation like BANEAE. We will also look at data on the last c. 30 years of the organisation’s conferences to critically evaluate trends in knowledge production (Who is presenting research? Who is publishing research?) and ultimately consider who has, and is, setting the research agenda for our field in the UK, and how this reflects colonial legacies.

### **Decolonising Lycia and Trmmlī?**

Cathie Draycott (Durham University)

Since 2019 concerns about the interaction of academic areas including Classics and Archaeology with society and their role in social justice, have been increasing. The decolonising movement intersects and overlaps with this. These movements go beyond the post-colonial approaches already adopted by many scholars, to address not only our understanding and interpretations of the past, and the impact of that on the present, but our practices of research gathering, our scholarly interactions and behaviour, and the demographic composition of the academy. There are tricky questions to be addressed here, only some of which are: what do people mean by ‘decolonisation’? What are the tensions between concepts of ‘academic excellence’ and ‘academic inclusivity’? Can archaeological projects, especially those operated by scholars foreign to countries they are working in, be ‘non-colonial’ or ‘decolonising’? This paper addresses some of these questions with respect to the case-study of the region of Turkey commonly called ‘Lycia’ – a Greek toponym for a place populated by people who called themselves Trmmlī. It will address how these non-Greek-speaking Mediterranean people have been conceptualised, how archaeology has been practiced and it invites discussion about what ‘decolonisation’ might look like in Lycian studies, and consequences for the study of other ancient cultures of the Mediterranean, Anatolia and the Near East.

### **The Digital Revolution and the Ontological Politics of Archaeological Heritage**

Aris Anagnostopoulos (University of Oxford) and Christoph Bachhuber (University of Oxford)

The Digital Revolution in archaeology has mostly stood outside the discourses and practices of postcoloniality/decoloniality. One of the reasons has been an inability to recognise digital methodologies as an extractive endeavour in colonial contexts. In this paper we examine the methodological, epistemological and ethical implications of a new mode of digital visualism in archaeology, which includes the use of remote sensing technologies, for example in the MENA region. We take as a starting point that remote imagery not only constructs a particular discursive frame vis a vis archaeological landscapes and archaeological heritage. The interplay between advanced technology, expert practices, scientific discourse, and digital visualisations also grants the imagery its own ontological status as an archaeological landscape at risk, where the risks are acted and re-enacted in situated digital-visual practices, and are thus brought into being through these practices. As such we distinguish one digital reality which turns archaeological landscapes into calculable, perceivable, and governable risks, from other realities including those of people who inhabit the same landscapes where risks are imperceptible, unknowable, or irrelevant, but nevertheless exacerbated by the lived, human experience of the landscape. The dissonance between the two realities raises questions around the use of remote sensing as a surveillance technology in archaeology. The dissonance requires a revaluation of the use of digital imaging technology in inhabited archaeological landscapes,



coupled with the exploration of innovative digital methodologies that aim to reconcile local and global/western modalities of archaeological heritage.

### **Understanding the ‘Neo-Colonial’ and the ‘Controversial’ in the Digital Re-Making of the Palmyra Arch of Triumph, Syria.**

Sabine Ameer (University of Birmingham)

The deliberate destruction of six world heritage sites including ancient ruins of Palmyra (along with plethora of sites of local repute) in Syria by the ISIS sent shockwaves not only within Syrian communities but it shook the entire international community who labelled this desecration as “war crime”. The extensive (social)media coverage accentuated the focus to the Syrian Civil War, desecrated world heritage and the ISIS. The international community was urged for intervention citing the universal value of the desecrated world heritage. As a corollary, the Institute of Digital Archaeology (IDA) was roped in to make replicas of Palmyra Arch of Triumph—one of the destroyed ancient monuments—via 3D-imaging and printing technology. The replicas were exhibited in London, New York and Dubai, sending wider message of solidarity. However, this digital re-making sparked a series of controversies over its ethical considerations around reconstruction, implications for local communities and its overall consequences for the conflict. This paper therefore addresses the politics of reconstruction in the digital re-making of the ‘Triumphal Arch’ by delineating the dichotomy of physical-digital, local-universal and inclusion-exclusion it (re)created. It does so by exploring answers to some of the questions as to why digital re-making of the Palmyra Arch in the west? Whose heritage and values to be preserved, reconstructed and restored? Who has the access to this digital heritage? Who gets to decide what remnants of heritage are worth preserving and who preserves it? I argue that this digital re-making was not only politically motivated, but it’s been deeply neo-colonial and imperialist in its approach. The work relies on analysis of newspaper articles and social media posts—twitter, Instagram and Facebook to understand the basis for the ‘neo-colonial’ and ‘controversial’ in this digital re-making.

### **Colonialism on screen: revisiting archaeological film archives from the British Mandate**

Vesna Lukic (Middlesex University), Thomas Kador (University College London), Aidan Delaney (Middlesex University), and Amara Thornton (Institute of Classical Studies)

The British Mandate period in Palestine and Transjordan (1918-48) saw a significant focus by western archaeologists on the biblical archaeology of the ‘Holy Land’, with a large number of excavation programmes aiming to unearth places linked to both the old and new testaments. One such location is Tell ed-Duweir – located in modern day Israel – where the Wellcome-Marston funded expedition (1932-38), led by James Lesley Starkey (1895-1838), aimed to unearth the biblical city of Lachish. The seven seasons of excavation led to a substantial range of discoveries (both structural and artefactual) with most of the artefacts being divided between the British Museum and Rockefeller Archaeological Museum (Jerusalem). Our practice research project works with the colonial legacy of this expedition though the cinematic lens, in an attempt to unearth alternative histories that this body of evidence bears witness to. The starting point for the project is a set of films, shot on two different formats, documenting the excavations themselves and the contemporary living conditions both on and off site. These films are being curated at the UCL Institute of Archaeology and have been digitised as part of the Filming Antiquity project, led by Amara Thornton (<https://www.filmingantiquity.com/>). The first of them is the professionally made 16mm ‘Lachish – City of Judah’ by photographer Ralph Richmond Brown (1904-1975), which documents work on site and the key discoveries.

It was regularly screened to public audiences in the UK, alongside the exhibition of finds from the excavation. The second, represents the private footage recorded by expedition member Gerald Lankester Harding (1901–1979) on 9.5mm Pathé Baby format. His films are not so much official records of the excavations, but more of a personal take on everyday life, on the fringes of the programme, for both the local (Palestinian) labourers and the non-local (mostly British) archaeologists. His footage highlights the difficult and frequently dangerous conditions under which the labourers (including children) worked and lived, but it also shows a more empathetic perspective through his personal engagement with the people who surrounded him on these expeditions. In combination, the films allow us to repopulate the archaeological work at Tell ed-Duweir with the people who worked on the site and whose voices – with the exception of those of a small number of white, British archaeologists – are largely absent from the narrative. However, both sets of film footage are silent, with no surviving sound recordings (if they ever existed) from the programme, which represents both a critical and creative challenge for us. Our practice research project focuses on creating a sound-track for the films that allows us to reposition the work at Tell ed-Duweir within a decolonial context. One major element of this is to identify and trace as many of the local labourers that worked on the site as possible. This is extremely challenging, as the populations of the nearby Palestinian villages to Tell ed-Duweir – where the local labourers were largely hired from – have been displaced during the Nakba of 1948. Our project seeks to carefully and sensitively collaborate with all the stakeholders represented in the films and their descendant communities in order to critically revisit the value of this heritage and the role of screen archives that document colonial exploits – such as the Lachish excavations – more generally.

### **Unsustainable Heritages: The Construction and Exploitation of Iraq's Past**

Mónica Palmero Fernández (University of Glasgow and RASHID International)

Through the colonial lens of 'Mesopotamia', the territory and pre-Islamic history of Iraq are commonly heralded as the 'Cradle of Western Civilization'; a disembodied entity belonging more to the globalised collective imaginary than the peoples of Iraq. Scholars have analysed in depth how the region's geopolitical history has shaped both research and popular accounts about Iraq's past and helped establish its cultural currency in a globalised world. What has not yet been explored in detail is how the political and archaeological legacies of the 19th and 20th centuries position Iraq today at the epicentre of a global market for the past that is in tension with emerging social agendas to tackle climate change and foster sustainable development. There is an urgent need to centre on solutions that balance the pressures of development and protecting Iraq's rich cultural heritage in sustainable and ethical ways. The question of how to frame archaeology and heritage within the sustainability agenda raises specific challenges in countries like Iraq where structures and processes dating back to colonial times continue to shape how international teams operate and how foreign research interests continue to shape narratives about the past.

In this paper, I will begin to contextualise the interrelations between the socio-political history of archaeological fieldwork and research in Iraq and the contemporary global sustainability agenda by asking: *In what ways and to what extent have the 19th and 20th legacies of archaeological research in Iraq contributed and continue to contribute to unsustainable heritage practices today? What can we do about it?*

## **Continuous colonization of cultural heritage in Iraq**

Jaafar Jotheri (University of Al-Qadisiyah, Iraq)

From the 1980s until now, Iraq has faced, and continues to face, strict and consecutive security, political and economic crises. The impact of these four decades of chaos and instability (due to several wars, armed conflicts, and sharp financial sensations) has weakened and undermined every sector in Iraq, including heritage. Isolated and unequipped universities, low-skilled archaeologists, unrehabilitated museums and dis-functioning heritage offices are the result. Consequentially, Iraq has become unable to manage its vast and rich heritage. Thousands of archaeological sites face threats capable of causing irreversible damages, and their smuggled artefacts have overflowed the local and international black market. In contrast, most international projects operating in Iraq were/are focused on their research interests rather than on areas of critical need for which Iraqi cultural heritage managers need support. The main goals of these international projects are extracting knowledge, and training their staff and students, while supporting them in improving their careers. Despite a growing number of these large and often academically prestigious projects, the heritage sector in Iraq is declining. International projects are not required to budget for essential Iraqi needs such as postgraduate scholarships, practical training, rehabilitation of museums, restoration of sites, equipment for the heritage offices, publishing the results in Arabic and engaging with the local community. Moreover, exploitative practices, and, discriminatory, and sometimes abusive behaviours continue to heavily impact and devalue the contributions of local archaeologists, workers and guardians of cultural heritage sites in Iraq. This talk will review these issues and suggest radical changes needed to reshape these relationships going forward.

## **Archaeology and Colonialism: Managing Diversity in the Conservation of Archaeological Ruins in Jordan, the Case of Petra World Heritage Site**

Shatha Mubaideen, (Council for British Research in the Levant, Amman)

Jordan is situated in a strategic area that has witnessed the birth of great civilizations and has diverse types of archaeological structures. Each site has its uniqueness in terms of history, scale, material, building technique, cause of deterioration, conservation history, context, public interest, tourism potentials, social and economic values etc. This variance contributes to enriching the cultural diversity in the country but requires flexible yet well-structured conservation tools and guidelines to guarantee the overall consistency between conservation projects in the country. To protect these sites, conservation projects are carried out under the supervision of the Department of Antiquities (DoA) by international and local missions. Each mission applies its conservation ideology and techniques, which leads to no overall consistency between conservation projects in the country. Moreover, there has been too much experimentation at archaeological sites in the past, which in turn exposes these sites to the unprecedented risk of losing their authenticity due to the inadequate repair and retrofitting measures in some projects. Internationally, the evolvement of conservation theories has formed conservation practice in the Middle East. This research aims to discuss archaeological conservation projects as a colonial dialogue in Petra World Heritage Site. Various international conservation missions have worked on protecting the free-standing structures in Petra. These projects would uphold the purpose of this research and enable us to analyse and understand the enforcement tools and methodology applied by international conservation missions on-site, as conservation practice is based on the theoretical consciousness of conservation around the world. The research discusses archaeological conservation and colonial dialogue, how these

two concepts can be interpreted in the case of Petra WHS, and what is else required for carrying out the sustainable implementation of archaeological conservation projects in a coherent way.

### **Changing the narrative: the impact of Sela for Training and Protection of Heritage in the decolonization archaeology in Jordan**

Maria Elena Ronza (Sela Training)

In Jordan, and generally in Southwest Asia, the passage from colonial archaeological exploitation to the contemporary rhetoric of development projects aiming at transforming cultural heritage into a product (mostly through mass tourism) has been shaped largely by the predominance of foreign institutions, practices and cultural assumptions, which represent a transformation and yet a perpetuation of the colonial relations based on the existence of a vulnerable other. Even if development projects call for job creation, capacity building and community engagement, they are nested in the larger patronage system of the aid industry which fuels a culture of welfarism in which the condition of vulnerability of the other constitutes the foundation of the new aid-driven order. The establishment of Sela for Training and Protection of Heritage, a non-for-profit company, aimed at introducing a local vehicle for capacity building and cultural resources management in Jordan. This paper aims at presenting how Sela attempted and succeeded to enter and build its reputation in an economic and scientific sector that had been dominated almost exclusively by governmental institutions, foreign-led archaeological missions and foreign research institutes for over a century. Indeed, the mere existence of a company like Sela poses serious challenges to an established system that tends to marginalize and exclude host communities from the management of their own heritage.

### **Stuck in our ways? Colonial archaeology in SW Asia since Said**

Bill Finlayson (University of Oxford)

This paper will draw on the main themes of the session and present a starting point for further discussion.

### **Absence: perspectives from archaeology and heritage**

Session organisers: Gabriel Moshenska (UCL) and

Jonathan Gardner (University of Edinburgh)

### **Session Introduction. Absence: perspectives from archaeology and heritage**

Gabriel Moshenska (UCL) and Jonathan Gardner (University of Edinburgh)

To open the session, we outline some key themes related to absence in archaeology and heritage and briefly present examples from our own work in this field. We then outline how we intend this session to lay the groundwork for a more focused conversation about absence and absences across these two fields.

## **The lost object: archaeology, absence and desire**

Franco Nicolis (Ufficio Beni Archeologici)

In the 1950s André Malraux defined the Nike of Samothrace, who was missing its head, as a "*masterpiece of destiny*". Absence is the land of the Soul (Marina Cvetaeva) and of the desire. Desire is a feeling evoked by absence, desire for an unlost time, that is placed between a "*no more*" and a "*still here*". Archaeology can be considered the discipline of absence, because it searches for what once was but is no longer there, it seeks the absent in the still present matter: each absence is recognizable only through evidence that declares it, and all archaeological evidence is evidence that declares an absence: absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, but every evidence is evidence of an absence. What interests archaeology is to exhume absence, to rediscover what has disappeared from that object, to evoke the absent witness and listen to his words. Objects are words, absence of words is silence, suspension of speech, of any utterance. Every object that comes out of the past becomes a contemporary object, it is no longer what it once was. Archaeology, like psychoanalysis, is, in essence, an experience of absence, to which psychoanalysts usually give a cause: the lost object. "*Absence gives content to the object and assures the distance a thought. Literally: it cannot be resolved in the past. So the distant is what brings us closer and the absent – rather than the absence – is a figure of the return*" (Pierre Férida, L'absence).

## **Digging into absences in the end of the world. A collaborative approach between archaeologists and Indigenous Peoples of Tierra del Fuego (Southern South America)**

Danae Fiore (University of Buenos Aires), Ana Butto (University of Buenos Aires), Francisco Zangrando (University of Buenos Aires), Victor Gabriel Vargas Filgueira (Comunidad Indígena Yagan Paiakoala de Tierra del Fuego), Margarita Maldonado (Pueblo Selk'nam), Jose Luis Vasquez Chogue (Corporación Selk'nam Chile), and Patricio German Pantoja Asencio (Pueblo Selk'nam)

In this paper we address the notion of absence in archaeology as a multidimensional concept, which is relational and critical at an epistemological level while deeply challenging at a methodological level. Our case study focuses on the archaeologies of two Indigenous societies from Tierra del Fuego –the Selk'nam and the Yagan– and their Ancestors, whose presence in the archipelago dates back to more than 10.000 years BP. They developed two distinct and long-lasting modes of life: hunter-gatherer with pedestrian mobility (Selk'nam) and hunter-gatherer fisher with canoe mobility (Yagan). Both societies suffered tremendous hardship from the 16th century onwards, via the arrival and final installation of Western agents in their lands and seas, including: the dispossession of their ancestral territories; decimation of their people; forced relocations; reduction to servitude; interruption of their traditional engagement with nature; deep transformation of their cultures. Thus, three kinds of absences, operating simultaneously but at different scales, are identified in this paper: material decay, information biases and interrupted lives. We propose here a joint approach to these absences by a collaboration of archaeologists and members of Fuegian Indigenous Peoples in order to analyse and reflect on: a) the role of archaeology as a key discipline to evidence the Fuegian's deep-time pre-existence to the formation of the current states of Chile and Argentina; b) the involvement of archaeology in the deconstruction of the "extinction" discourse associated to these Indigenous Peoples; c) a multiple-source combination method (1-archaeological, ethnographic and contemporary material culture artefacts/data; 2-historical-ethnographic texts; 3-ethnographic photographs; 4-Ancestral and contemporary knowledges, memories, practices and experiences of Fuegian Indigenous Peoples) as a systematic, situated and engaged way to

address presence/absence as relational opposites. We explore the diachronic continuities and transformations of specific material culture examples throughout deep-time, contact period and present times, shedding light on numerous implications for their ancient and current producers/users/wearers.

### **Repopulating cleared landscapes; fighting absence in the archaeology of highland landscapes**

Edward Stewart (University of Glasgow)

Popular conceptions of the Scottish highland landscape are dominated either by notions of wild and empty sublimity, or of the ruinous effect of human activity on the natural landscape – ‘living in a world of wounds’ as Aldo Leopold put this. Both of these schools of landscape values are being mobilised by those who see these landscapes as prime for rewilding, peatland restoration and reforestation in the wake of the current climate crisis, often at the expense of local community interests.

These views of the landscape have also impacted the narratives which have been used by archaeologists to represent these landscapes, in particular in relation to activities such as shieling practice – a form of transhumance once common across Scottish upland landscapes relating to the seasonal movement of cattle to upland grazing pastures. This has produced a popular narrative of the shieling ground as an isolated and liminal space, removed from the social constraints of the township, which was continually re-affirmed by landscape surveys which seemed designed to produce such a result.

This emptying of the highland landscape has been argued by some to be another act of ‘clearance’ removing people from what were once seasonally busy landscapes. This research has aimed to repopulate such landscapes archaeologically, through integrating new archaeological data with existing evidence, to recognise some of the variety of activities and interactions which have been rendered absent from these landscapes.

### **Hidden in plain sight: local narratives, authorised discourses, and a First World War seaplane base**

Laura Hodsdon (Falmouth University)

On a picturesque section of the South West Coast Path between Newlyn and Mousehole in Cornwall, UK, the footpath runs closely along the shoreline. Amongst the large rocks and shingle can also be seen concrete and metal debris, though innocuously rock-like and obscured entirely at high tide. These are the few material remains of Newlyn Royal Naval Air Service seaplane base, established in 1917 and decommissioned in 1919. No information boards flag their presence, they are not mentioned in guidebooks, and many locals are unaware of their existence: despite their presence in plain sight they are absent from the storyscape. Yet they might easily have become another heritage narrative: for example, of Newlyn’s part in the First World War, or of early military aviation. This narrative absence has also ensured the remains are invisible in the planning for a proposed marina development, with clear implications for their preservation. Drawing on work from heritage studies (Smith 2006, Chronis 2005) and cultural geography (e.g. Edensor 2005, de Silvey 2017), I consider the remains in the context of the imaginative geography surrounding this particular cultural landscape. Focusing on the discourses and associated practices that govern what ‘counts’ as worthy of memorialisation, I describe local narratives on one hand, and authorised narratives on the other, and suggest that these influence and direct which stories are told, and which are valued. Lost in the gap between

normative and localised narratives of a cultural landscape, there is no place for the airbase's story: with direct ramifications for its continued presence (or not).

### **Reconstructing absent architecture: Memory-of-space, Memory-as-space**

Emma Shacat (Lund University)

Recent theoretical discourses in museum and archive studies have increasingly explored the possibility that the archive and historical memory can function outside of hegemonic, and even physical, structures. The archive today finds itself beyond the boundaries of the archive, for example within digital spaces. Theoretical understandings of the archive can therefore be reconsidered in terms of *space*--both within and without. This paper will engage in a theoretical discussion of what the archive is, and can be, in terms of space. In order to do so, I will analyse two contemporary artworks that attempt *to reconstruct and/or document absent-architectural spaces*. The two artworks discussed include the multimedia work *The flesh is yours the bones are ours* (2015) by Iraqi-American artist Michael Rakowitz, and the recurring digital-performance artwork by Swedish artist Lap See Lam, titled *Phantom Banquet* (2019-2022). In both artworks, fragments—both material and immaterial—have been gathered by the artists in order to reconstruct architecture or architectural elements that are now absent—due to violence, change or time. Expanding the theoretical and spatial dimensions of the archive, the artworks render speculation, fiction, forgetting, and absence as historical artefacts in their own right. The paper aims to pose broader questions that can be discussed in the context of the session, such as: What artistic challenges and possibilities arise out of the unique conditions of absence? What kinds of structures and spaces, both material and immaterial, house memories of the historical past? How are we to approach the preservation and archiving of architecture and space?

### **Metabolic relations: archaeologies of movement as archaeologies of absence**

Kevin Kay (University of Leicester)

Grand narratives of past mobility are often founded upon a relentless search for new *presences* in the archaeological record: we know people were on the move when genes, technologies or practices appear for the first time in new areas. The way such narratives diminish the agency of 'recipient' populations and distract from mobility away from 'frontiers' has been noted for several decades. I want to draw attention instead to the ways puzzling *absences* from the archaeological record can prompt other ways of thinking about movement in the past. With the help of Annemarie Mol's concept of metabolic relations—a relational theory oriented around the politics of need and consumption—I briefly explore puzzling absences along the Neolithic 'frontiers' of Turkey. These absences provoke thought about the transformative political impulses at the smallest scale in Neolithic communities: moments when people *left places behind, neglected things around them, and relied on others to fulfil needs*. Thinking mobility from absence within intimate spaces helps to support richer, bottom-up ideas about how and why past people moved.

### **Filling the Void: Tracing Post-Conflict Exhumations in Britain, 1919-1969**

Tim Grady (University of Chester) and Layla Renshaw (Kingston University)

Military cemeteries give the impression of unchanging permanence. Yet, this picture conceals more than it reveals. In Britain, thousands of dead were on the move for decades after the World

Wars ended. The Americans exhumed 2,500 bodies in the 1920s. Forty years later, West Germany moved 5,000 bodies to the new German Military Cemetery on Cannock Chase. Thousands of Europeans, Indians and Australians were also moved from dispersed cemeteries across Britain, to be concentrated in large-scale military cemeteries, or repatriated overseas. These journeys have almost entirely vanished, with very few traces in the landscape, public memory, or academic scholarship.

The removal of war dead from local cemeteries masks the widespread encounter with military death and burial experienced by civilians in Britain, despite not being a conventional theatre of conflict. The policy of concentration in large, monumental cemeteries, designed to secure the memory of the dead, has erased the material traces of their original burials. It has broken bonds of care between British communities and the international dead, eroding a more cosmopolitan understanding of the World Wars. 'Filling the Void' is a project that addresses the archival and material absences by collaborating with citizen scholars and community members from the National Network of Cemetery Friends, inviting volunteers to enter their knowledge of empty graves into an open online database. The database will be brought into dialogue with the exhumation records held in the Commonwealth War Graves Commission archive. Following Yael Navaro's (2020) call to work in the 'interstices' of mass violence, the project seeks new ways to theorize the material and mnemonic traces of these emptied graves throughout Britain.

### **The affordances of absence: Human presence at 'abandoned' industrial sites**

Tuuli Matila (University of Oulu), Tiina Äikäs (University of Oulu), and Oula Seitsonen (University of Oulu)

The absence of people or any signs of usage are a dominant feature of the Instagram photos of old industrial sites we examine in this paper. These photos convey destruction, decay, and post-apocalyptic feelings related to the sites. Our data consists of some 600 photos with the hashtag '#hylättytehdas' (meaning an abandoned factory in Finnish) as well as interviews with the property owners and people interacting with these sites in different ways, e.g., urban explorers, airsoft players, and urban survivalists. The absence at these old industrial sites enables novel ways of interacting with the buildings. They also involve a new kind of heritage (re)making in a digital format when people visit the sites and post on social media. There are nevertheless complex ethical implications on seeing and depicting old industrial sites as abandoned, including the wishes of the property owners on how to use the sites. In this paper, we present the question how the absence of human presence enables and disables the use and heritage (re)making of these sites, and the ethics of these activities.

### **Slow violence and cultural resistance through heritage making**

Veysel Apaydin (UCL)

This paper explores and analyses slow violence through dam constructions and the ways the landscape and natural environment is used as a resource for heritage making. Slow violence is a concept that refers to gradual and harmful action on the environment and its impact on ecology and communities. While dam constructions lead to direct absence by flooding the landscape it also creates displacement and forced migration that gradually lead to absence of heritage as communities are no longer able to use the landscape as a resource for heritage making. This talk explores the use of neoliberal policies to make a profit from and to erase heritage resources under the authoritarian approach in Turkey. In this talk, I focus on two dam constructions and those affected communities, Botan valley with local Kurdish communities



and Munzur valley with local Alevi communities in southeast and east Turkey. I illustrate why and how the landscape and the natural environment play a substantial role, as a resource, for the minority communities' sense of belonging and identity constructions, non-human participants of these valleys, and what happens in the absence of these resources. I further discuss how communities resist authoritarian approaches through heritage making. In this paper, I will discuss embedded discourses of dam constructions that lead to heritage and ecological absence, under the idea of 'economic development', which are to show the power of the nation-state to the minority groups who are considered to be a threat to national unity.

### **Absent stories: The dog, the factory, and the guard**

João Luís Sequeira (University of Minho)

Many decommissioned factories are abandoned in Portugal. Manifold motives lead to their closing, mostly due to deindustrialisation processes. Few of them become musealized, recognized as archaeological sites, but most of them just wait for new resolutions, with an uncertain future. Most of them have a guard, often he has a dog. The guard's figure is often displaced. Most of the time he gets no credit for his role in the factory study through an archaeological approach. As a post-agent of the factory, the guard is dragged out of the story, of the discussion, of the network. The same for his dog, who is the only authority against intruders, the alarm of an incident, or the only company of the guard. Some of these post-agents never saw the factory working, some of them are remnants of the factory crew, both having a close relationship with the place. Based on two different case studies located in the great Lisbon, a gunpowder factory founded in the 19th century and an explosives factory built in the mid-20th century, this paper aims to discuss the unrecognized role of these human and non-human agents. This discussion will be based on the study of material evidence, such as the house where the guard stays, eats, and even sleeps, but also in the graves of deceased animals, and the personal memories and testimonies of former and actual guards.

### **Forgotten prehistoric landscapes – revisiting overlooked places of the Hebrides and challenging concepts of remoteness**

Rebecca Rennell (University of the Highlands and Islands) and Emily Gal (University of the Highlands and Islands)

Our research investigates prehistoric activity on the 'remote', and largely forgotten, Roisinis peninsular on the east-coast of the small island of Benbecula in Scotland's Outer Hebrides. The area is of unique archaeological and palaeoenvironmental research value. Investigations in the 1960s/70s revealed complex Bronze Age activity (Crawford, 1977; Shepherd & Tuckwell, 1977). Ongoing erosion continues to uncover prehistoric material. Roisinis is characterized by windblown, calcareous sands (machair) - typically a west-coast Atlantic environmental phenomena. Despite research potential there has been little academic interest over the last fifty years – this place and others like it have been largely forgotten and neglected in the dominate archaeological narrative. The site's perceived 'remoteness' and related fieldwork challenges have been barriers to further research. Since the 1990s, archaeological research across the Hebrides has been defined by a west-coast research bias. Prioritization of west-coast archaeology has rendered the Hebrides' east-coast poorly understood and woefully under-explored. Our research seeks to redress this imbalance and challenge concept of 'remoteness'. The assumption is often that islands are by their very nature 'remote'. We challenge this and at the same time explore how remoteness varies across island landscapes and environments.

Furthermore, we consider how forgotten places can become ‘remote’ through research bias, research constraints and research methods.

## **Revisiting the fragmentation revolution**

Helen Chittock (Museum of London Archaeology) and

Matthew Knight (National Museums Scotland)

Discussants: John Chapman (Durham University) and Bisserka Gaydarska (Manchester Metropolitan University)

### **Session Introduction: Revisiting the fragmentation revolution**

Helen Chittock (Museum of London Archaeology) and Matthew Knight (National Museums Scotland)

Fragments are commonly encountered in the archaeological record. Historically, broken things have been considered scrap or rubbish resulting from accidental processes. However, during recent decades archaeologists have come to recognise acts of deliberate fragmentation, and fragments themselves, as performing a range of important roles in the past. A key moment in the study of this topic came with John Chapman’s *Fragmentation in Archaeology*, published in 2000, in which he argued that particular fragments were charged with relational meaning, serving to connect people, things and places. Since the publication of this work, Chapman’s ideas have been applied to diverse archaeological materials and augmented in a variety of ways, and much further work has examined the technologies and functions of fragmentation in archaeology. In this introductory paper we will reflect on the body of work stemming from *Fragmentation in Archaeology* and explore other trajectories in studies of fragmentation practices.

### **Fractions of life in Funnel Beaker Pottery – Tempering as Fragmentation Studies**

Sarah Bockmeyer (Christian-Albrechts University of Kiel)

Pottery tempering has often been neglected, especially when looking at the richly decorated pottery from the Funnel Beaker Culture (4100 – 2800 BC). During the recently finished Priority Programme 1400 “Early Monumentalisation and social Differentiation” funded by the German Research Foundation, the determination of pottery tempering agents and clay sources from sites throughout the area of the Funnel Beaker Culture from Denmark to Westfalia and the Netherlands to Poland was also included.

Tempering – as such – is often a form of fragmentation, but is it possible to identify other reasons than properties or porosity for choosing a tempering agent? Using grog, bone or flint for example could be traced back to old vessels, human or animal bones and flint tools or debris from creating them. The meaning behind it could potentially reveal more about societal life and what/who was important in any archaeological group.

It can also show continuities where change is perceived in other aspects of material culture, i.e., the tempering agents between the Mesolithic Ertebølle-Ellerbek and the earliest Neolithic Funnel Beaker Culture in northern Germany and southern Denmark remain the same within the pottery, though other aspects changed (subsistence, housing, etc.).

The meaning behind pottery tempering has not often been acknowledged but what else can be detected and what developments in pottery tempering can reveal will be looked further into as well as possible interpretations behind the selection of tempering materials.

### **Killing pots and burying arrowheads: Fragmentation practices in the Southeast of the Iberian Peninsula during the Chalcolithic**

Guillermo Díaz de Liaño (MOLA)

The potential of concepts such as fragmentation and enchainment has been ignored when explaining the material record of late prehistoric societies in the Southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, despite abundant evidence suggesting the existence of fragmentation practices.

There is clear evidence of the intentional fragmentation of objects in funerary contexts, but fragmentation and enchainment hold the potential to go even further in the analysis of assemblages that have traditionally been explained away under the label of grave goods. The ideas contained in John Chapman's *'Fragmentation in Archaeology'* offer us the possibility of approaching not only the way objects were conceptualised, but also how they played a key role in the construction of personhood and the display of mourning and grievance. By using an approach based on the concepts of fragmentation and enchainment, this paper will explore how some of the things deposited in the tombs could have been conceptualised in a wide range of ways besides being just objects. For instance, they could have been thought to be parts of people, but also constituting subjective entities or even non-human persons that composed the rich ontological regime of beings that existed in the societies of the Southeast.

### **New insights into fragmentation within the hoards of Bronze Age and Iron Age Wales and the Marches**

Andrew Reynolds (University of Reading)

The deposition of damaged, destroyed, or fragmented objects such as axes, swords and tools are consistently encountered in Bronze Age contexts across Europe (Bradley 1998; Fontijn 2002 and 2020; and Knight 2018). It is now widely recognised that the treatment of fragmented artefacts within hoards, as well as how and where they were deposited, offers archaeologists key insights into the links between people, places and objects (Chapman 2000). A key aspect of my hoard research project is concerned with the relationship between complete objects and fragmented objects. In line with Chapman (2000), a primary premise of the project can be concisely stated: deliberate object fragmentation was commonplace in the past, with widespread re-use of the ensuing fragments in an extended life 'after the break'. It has been the contention of much research that deliberate fragmentation is a fundamental feature of not only later prehistory within Britain and Ireland (Knight 2019) but also of communities living in many other times/places. The evidence for deliberate fragmentation is increasing each year, both at the level of inter-site data and intra-site data often through PAS, such that the social practice needs to be investigated in line with Chapman (2000). This research paper investigates fragmentation within the old museum hoards of the Bronze age and Iron Age hoards in Wales and the Marches such as Myddfai (1985), Guilsfield (1826) and Broadward (1867).

My doctoral research into these two hundred hoards suggests that fragmented objects are indeed an archaeological feature that is widespread within the region, fragmentation is a key element of the act of deposition, a shared practice or a perhaps a 'brand' (Fontijn and Roymans 2019). Some of my recent research at the National Museum, Cardiff has suggested there is also some interesting evidence of fragmentation in the LBA/EIA Llyn Fawr hoard. These selective

and reflective actions are in line with research by (Kolb 1984) and Boud (2000) which notes that deliberate and repeated acts may produce high emotions and cause divergence or convergence of ideas and patterns. Traditionally the focus has been on why these objects were destroyed. This has been considered to have been carried out for one of two reasons: functional destruction, such as recycling, or sacrificial destruction (Needham 2001). A number of these regional Late Bronze Age and Iron Age depositions of fragmentary material, such as Nant Y Cafn (1875), are typically referred to as ‘scrap’ hoards (Bradley 2013; Wiseman 2018). However, the high number of regional slight differences or nuances within deliberately broken artefacts, such as the Vale of Glamorgan cluster of socketed axes hoards and the Vale of Clwyd gold hoards, suggests a complex repetitive, reflective and selective pattern of hoard deposition. As suggested by Chapman (2000), my doctoral research seems to suggest the practice of object fragmentation was seemingly commonplace and embedded in the hoards of Bronze Age and Iron Age Wales and Marches.

### **Breaking, making, dismantling and reassembling: Fragmentation in Middle-Late Iron Age Britain**

Helen Chittock (MOLA)

This paper considers the varied forms of fragmentation encountered in Middle-Late Iron Age archaeological assemblages from Britain (*c.* 400BC-AD100), examining the range of phenomena that the word ‘fragmentation’ can describe. It will focus on a specific fragmentation practice identified within the assemblage of decorated metal objects often known as Early Celtic Art, which encompasses items of weaponry, personal ornament and horse gear, for example. Recent investigations have suggested that some composite Early Celtic Art objects were assembled from components of dismantled objects, sometimes as parts of wider processes of repair and modification. This practice created complex composite objects made from components with varied origins and histories. By placing Middle-Late Iron Age fragmentation practices into their broader later prehistoric context, the paper will then look at how new technologies of fragmentation developed along with new types of object, considering the similarities and differences between fragmentation and dismantling and discussing the creative processes they entailed.

### **Decoration and Fragmentation: patterns of deliberate damage amongst Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon lead tanks**

Maxime Ratcliffe (Durham University)

Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon lead tanks are highly distinctive constructions owing to their large size and detailed decoration. Although their function has been the subject of constant debate, they are excellent examples of composite artefacts. That is visible through their mixture of a possible practical role as well as being highly decorative display items. Metal detecting and excavations have uncovered these objects across a diverse range of contexts. Those range from wells and rivers to pits and ditches as well as buildings, with excavations uncovering some in their vicinity. Alongside the variation in environments, some intriguing patterns emerge concerning the state of the tanks upon retrieval. For example, although deliberate damage is evident for both sets of vessels, the types of damage provide some crucial insight into the potential value of these artefacts. Far more of the Roman examples are deliberately damaged than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts. However, both sets have similar methods of destruction. Fragmentation is visible across both periods although once again it is far commoner with the Roman tanks than the later Anglo-Saxon ones. The types of fragmentation

occurring alongside the variety of contexts that this was visible within have created some remarkable similarities and contrasts. This paper would investigate the close link between the types of fragmentation and the types of contexts they have been found in to demonstrate the value of these artefacts to their respective communities.

### **Exploring literal and conceptual fragmentation through medieval material culture**

Alice Blackwell (National Museums Scotland)

This paper will explore meaning-rich fragmentation in a medieval context and suggest that relevant theoretical frameworks may be enriched by thinking about different kinds of deconstruction. The breaking and remaking of Christian reliquaries provide one opportunity – viewing things like the Monymusk reliquary not as one object but as many separate components enables phasing to be detected, phasing that in some instances both crystallises and elaborates earlier versions of the object. The enchainment here is between multiples versions of the same object, along with the personal and institutional histories associated with them that are less easy to access. The multivalency of early Christian imagery also provides an alternative perspective on fragmentation. Much as hybridity/entanglement might either be physical (in changes to an object that demonstrate new meaning) or social (wherein an unchanged object is given new meaning through its changed conception or use), so might fragmentation be literal or conceptual. The unravelling of layered motifs requires a mental deconstruction of image and provides opportunities for multiple, simultaneous reconstructions within the mind.

### **Revolutions in Prehistoric Houses and Households**

Olivia Britter (University of Southampton)

#### **The In-between Spaces: Did Household Space Reach Beyond the Walls of the Roundhouse in Later Prehistoric Britain**

Olivia Britter (University of Southampton)

This paper is based on part of my ongoing PhD research looking at the Upper Thames Valley during the Long First Millennium BC and aims to explore the idea that external spaces were dynamic and significant parts of the prehistoric household that changed and developed over time. It is possible that these external spaces could be considered as part of the household when studying functional space and have a great deal to contribute to our knowledge of prehistoric households and how they utilized the space outside structures.

In looking at the use of these external spaces and how the use of these changed, we may be able to attempt to understand the communality of households, how they interacted and how their bounds may be expanded beyond the walls of roundhouses. In adapting what we view as part of the household's physical space, we may be able to open areas of study that can broaden and expand our understanding of how households functioned, interacted, and developed over time. By looking at how some external spaces are potentially shared between households, and others made more exclusive, we may begin to expand not only the physical limits of what we view as the household but also the social limitations.

## **Round-households: will the house floor assemblages of the Must Farm pile-dwelling settlement revolutionise how we think about house and household in the Late Bronze Age?**

Mark Knight (Cambridge Archaeological Unit)

This presentation looks at the character of construction and the distribution of things in five contemporary, side-by-side Late Bronze Age structures (four round and one square) and asks: can we identify single households? And, if so, what was the relationship between a household and an individual architectural unit?

The exceptional and comprehensive preservational circumstances of the Must Farm pile-dwelling settlement enables us to explore house construction, occupation and abandonment in ways never before attainable. At Must Farm, it has been possible to construct authentic, time-limited household inventories and relate them to specific houses as well as specific tasks. In turn, and in keeping with the theme of this session, the sheer quantity and quality of things implores us to think again about the true scale of production and consumption in later Bronze Age Britain, and with this, the role of the house in the 9th century BC.

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## **Getting a full house: How settlement data can unify disparate datasets**

Edward Caswell

This paper aims to provide one case study demonstrating how households in prehistory can form the locus for integrating archaeological evidence of numerous forms.

It does so by presenting results from my PhD thesis. This studied 7000 potential Bronze Age settlement sites across Britain (of which 1488 were excavated and 316 were radiocarbon dated). The analyses of this study were primarily aimed at providing a baseline study of Bronze Age settlements sites by assessing these sites'; form, chronology, location and the activities within and around them. However, it was found that this dataset was able to integrate and contextualise numerous existing studies of contemporary burials, technology, demographic and environmental change. By doing so the thesis was able to present a radical new model for understanding settlement and societal dynamics during the Bronze Age that is closely connected to the rise and fall of metal production and trade in Britain.

This paper will share the author's experience of this research, its challenges and successes, to suggest that not only were Bronze Age households 'central to the constitution of the Bronze Age social world' (Brück & Fokkens 2013 p.98) but that they should be central to our understanding of the archaeological record of the Bronze Age in Britain.

## **Where's the chief? Household autonomy and matriarchal authority in 'Ubaid Mesopotamia**

Eponine Wong (Oxford University)

Scholarship on the 'Ubaid period in Mesopotamia, which chronologically occupies the transition between the Neolithic and Urban Revolutions identified by Childe, has been heavily influenced by neo- and social evolutionary theories. Existing interpretations have argued for political centralisation and emergent hierarchies in this period, to demonstrate increasing 'complexity' in the lead-up to 'the birth of civilisation'. As proponents of these arguments themselves point out, however, there is a lack of fit between such a conceptualisation of the 'Ubaid and its archaeological record, suggesting that the period has been interpreted this way largely due to the broader tendency in archaeology towards teleological reasoning, with the 'Ubaid understood primarily through its potential as the precursor to the 'state' in Mesopotamia.

By investigating the distribution of decision-making power between and within households of this period, this paper seeks to challenge current scholarship on 'Ubaid socio-political organisation. It is argued that, contrary to assertions that the 'Ubaid saw the centralisation of political power under 'chiefly' households, each individual household was an autonomous economic, social, and political unit, exercising decision-making power over its own affairs. Furthermore, it is argued that decision-making power within households was vested in women, again challenging the notion that individualised, top-down authority, which is frequently implicitly associated with men, emerged in the 'Ubaid. By questioning the existence of 'chiefly' and patriarchal authority in 'Ubaid Mesopotamia, this paper hopes to raise questions regarding the emergence of patriarchy and the 'state' in 'the cradle of civilisation'

## **Households on the hoof: mobile domestic communities in Danish prehistory**

Mark Haughton (Aarhus University)

It is too easy for the 'household' to be normative and banal. So much of European prehistory is populated by the nuclear family under one roof, perhaps extending to grandparents and a grouchy uncle. Of course, we know that prehistoric life must have allowed, and sometimes even called for, radically different social arrangements. In this paper, I ask whether disrupting the term 'household' could help expand our recognition of socially important communities in the past. What other social configurations appear if we refuse to foreground the house, a married heterosexual couple, and their dependents?

Instead of starting from domestic architecture, here I explore the concept of household from the outside in, starting with the multispecies assemblage that is the herd in motion. Rather than a periphery economic concern, herds of cattle and sheep are central to the organisation and daily and seasonal routines of pastoral and agricultural communities. Thus, this paper follows herds through and around the prehistoric heathlands of Jutland, Denmark—taking in the grazing and burning practices involved in the landscape's persistence, and the humans, animals and plants that make up these mobile communities. Different social configurations and rhythms of life emerge through three windows on prehistory: the Neolithic Single Grave Culture, the Early Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. Through each period, I consider how relations with (and absences from) houses assemble multispecies communities and produce 'households' of radically different composition, shape and form from the mythical nuclear family.

## **The Permanent Revolution of Houses and its Social Reverberations in Neopalatial Crete: Let Domestic Rituals Speak!**

Anastasia M. Vergaki (IIHSA)

The present study was conducted by implementing a contextual re-examination, under a bottom-up perspective, on the archaeological data from three neo-palatial settlements, located in the Gulf of Mirabello, east Crete. In particular, the sites of Pseira, Mochlos and Gournia have been selected, which form an imaginable triangle and should have exchanged a variety of cultural influences, while at the same time are located in a distance from the main “palatial centers” of Crete. However, different stages of social development and integration may be observed in each one of them, through the reconsideration of ritual spaces and ritual actions in houses. Domestic rituals should be seen as agents of social messages, who echo a complex web of relationships within a community, comprising the social milieu during the Late Bronze Age. Gournia includes a so-called palatial building, Mochlos a probable administrative building, whilst specific houses on Pseira seem to compete each other for economic and consequently social hegemony. By having a deep dialectical and theoretical background we could reach at a substantiated suggestion concerning domestic rituals and their repercussions in the social organization of Crete. Through the discernment of specific patterns of rituals, it will be argued that houses were constantly competing each other for exerting social influence and achieving socio-political sovereignty in a settlement, overthrowing older dominant houses. This finding may oblige us even to reconsider the role and character of the “palaces”.

## **Rethinking houses and households: Capote and the society of the Celtic Beturia**

Lucía Ruano Posada (Complutense University of Madrid), Pablo Paniego Díaz (Institute of Archaeology of Merida – CSIC), and Luis Berrocal-Rangel (Autónoma University of Madrid)

The domestic space is designed not only for functional reasons for the human group, but also for social and cultural reasons. The aim of this contribution is to discuss the Late Iron Age domestic architecture of the Southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, taking as a starting point one of the most important archaeological sites of the period: Castrejón de Capote, Badajoz. Between 1985 and 1996, archaeologists partially excavated this site, unearthing more than thirty houses that have hardly been investigated or published. After studying grey literature and old excavation reports, we present the results of our constructional, typological and spatial analyses of these structures, that have allowed us to propose spatial narratives and organisational models for the different phases of occupation of the site. Comparing the results with the data we have from other nearby settlements –Villasviejas del Tamuja, El Raso and La Coraja, for the prehistoric period, and Los Castillejos, Nertóbriga, Fornacis and Mesas de Castelinho, for the early Roman phase–, we seek to better comprehend the social dynamics surrounding houses and household of the Celtic Beturia. With this study of the Iron Age dwellings, our aim is to provide social content to the spaces we analyse, reviewing the archaeological record to discover the nature of the human groups that designed, built, inhabited, reformed and abandoned the domestic structures.

## **Seasonal households and coloniality – perspectives from Iceland and Greenland**

Lísabet Guðmundsdóttir (Institute of Archaeology, Iceland) and Kirstine Møller, (Memorial University of Newfoundland and Illisimatusarfi)

Greenland and Iceland are located in the North Atlantic, where the climate is harsh, with short summers and long cold winters. The most common and easily accessible building material was



turf, usually harvested from wetlands. Turf is a highly versatile building material with good insulation properties, which was thoroughly needed during the cold winter months. While Inuit were mobile hunters, dependent on seasonal animal migration patterns, Icelanders lived both in permanent and seasonal dwellings. The main research focus has been on farm sites, even though Icelanders relied significantly on various marine resources. To acquire them Icelanders lived in seasonal dwellings just like Inuit.

For Inuit, colonisation meant a change in the seasonal lifestyle over time. The changes to the house and household had tremendous implications for the Inuit society. Here, the research focus has often been on the shift in society from an administrative point of view. However, the change in living situation needs more attention. The households and houses hold a wealth of information regarding the continuity and change in Inuit cultural practices during the colonial period.

Although building traditions varied between Inuit and the Norse, there are several similarities. In this talk, we focus on coastal seasonal turf dwellings and the North Atlantic people who did not have a “permanent” household. We explore how or if these households differ from permanent ones. Through our interpretation and examination of recently excavated sites in NW Iceland and W Greenland, we emphasise that household research indeed can revolutionise our understanding of social and cultural practices in the past.

## **Beyond migration: How can biomolecular data help us interpret past social worlds?**

Organisers: Ian Armit (University of York), Lindsey Büster (University of York/Canterbury Christ Church University), Claire-Elise Fischer (University of York), and Chris Fowler (Newcastle University)

### **Fragments of a soul: confronting the siren song of the biomolecular in inferring the individual.**

Lucy Koster (University of Aberdeen), Linus Girdland Flink (University of Aberdeen/Liverpool John Moores University), and Kate Britton (University of Aberdeen/Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology)

Biomolecular approaches such as aDNA and stable isotope analyses offer archaeologists the opportunity to investigate the lives of past people. These data offer precise snapshots of particular aspects of the lives of individuals, such as lifetime mobility and biological kinship with others in burial populations. However, this information on its own is neither a complete picture of the life of the individual, nor does it necessarily correspond with other evidence about their life and the lives of others in the burial population. This is particularly an issue when destructive analyses are given primacy over other forms of information, such as archaeological and osteobiographical evidence which can be used to contextualise biomolecular data and provide a more detailed overview of the lives of individuals. This presentation will discuss the need to construct a framework in which to interpret biomolecular data, to avoid over-simplification and generalisation of data, which leads to criticised issues with grand narrative biomolecular studies. This will include stressing the need to integrate other forms of evidence into interpretation of biomolecular data, and to avoid making generalisations on the individual or the population based on these data alone.

## **Making kin in the Neolithic: biomolecular and social relations at the Linearbandkeramik cemetery of Nitra (Slovakia)**

Penny Bickle (University of York) and Daniela Hofmann (University of Bergen)

The early Neolithic Linearbandkeramik (LBK; c.5500-5000 cal BC) culture was almost certainly spread by migration, which has often been characterised as the expansion of pioneering patrilineal lineages. Biomolecular data over the large scale supported these models, with greater mobility for females interpreted as arising in marriage patterns and a very small contribution to the population from the indigenous communities seen in aDNA data. These “big picture” studies have worked to provide rather static conceptions of LBK kin-groups through time and across different geographies. They have also become a rather passive and implicit backdrop to smaller-scale studies. In this paper, we use genome-wide aDNA sequencing from the LBK cemetery of Nitra (Slovakia) to explore themes of social and biological relatedness and how it may have been conceived of and formed during this period. We will assess the aDNA results in light of other biomolecular data and grave good assemblages to explore how funerary rites may have contributed to alternative senses of belonging in a community which was dynamic and mobile through time.

## **Investigating Neolithic social structures on the basis of unprecedentedly large family trees from the site Gurgy ‘les Noisats’ in France**

Maïté Rivollat (Ghent University/Durham University/Bordeaux University/Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History), Harald Ringbauer (MPI-SHH), Adam Ben Rohrlach (MPI-SHH/University of Adelaide), Ainash Childebayeva (MPI-SHH); Rodrigo Barquera (MPI-SHH); András Szöcs (University of Tübingen), Heidi Colleran (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology), Mélie Le Roy (Bournemouth University), Léonie Rey (Bordeaux University), Gwenaëlle Goude (Aix-Marseille University), Vincent Balter (Laboratoire of Geology of Lyon), Johannes Krause (MPI-SHH), Stéphane Rottier (Bordeaux University), Marie-France Deguilloux (Bordeaux University), and Wolfgang Haak (MPI-SHH)

The elucidation of kinship structure in past societies has been at the centre of intra-group studies in archaeology and anthropology. However, the reconstruction of genetic relatedness in archaeological contexts has rarely been feasible. With the optimization of ancient DNA methods, it is now possible to obtain genome-wide data for multiple individuals from a single site, allowing for the reconstruction of biological relationships and shed light onto the demographic structure and social organization of prehistoric societies.

Here, we present new genome-wide data from the French Middle Neolithic site of Gurgy ‘les Noisats’. On the basis of extensive sampling and the use of the 1240k SNP capture array, we obtained data from 94 out of 128 individuals. Using a multi-proxy approach and following established and novel methods to determine biological relatedness, we were able to reconstruct two large pedigrees: one connecting 63 individuals over seven generations, and another with 10 individuals over four generations. Genealogies were further reinforced by mitochondrial, Y-chromosomal, and HLA classes I and II haplotypes, as well as shared IBD-blocks confirming 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> degree relationships. From our combined data, we inferred a patrilineal and patrilineal system, and the practice of female exogamy. The absence of genetic affinities between non-local females and the overall length of runs of homozygosity in the group suggested a wider regional network. Strontium analyses confirmed the non-local origin of adult females, but also revealed non-local signatures in the first-generation founders of the site. Using age-at-death

osteological estimates from the first and last generations of the pedigrees, we narrowed the chronological range of the site use.

These unprecedentedly large genealogies provide insights that go beyond the immediate genetic relatedness and allow us to study the group structure, its size, funerary and settlement practices in a much broader social and economic context.

### **Sex, gender, biological relatedness and kinship in Early Neolithic Britain: a view from Hazleton North**

Chris Fowler (Newcastle University) and Vicki Cummings (University of Central Lancashire)

Since identity is relational and multi-dimensional, any aspect of identity can only really be understood in relation to others. If we want to understand gender in Neolithic Britain, therefore, we need to set it alongside other aspects of identity, such as kinship. The application of new biomolecular approaches to the evidence left by Neolithic mortuary practices offers an unprecedented opportunity to draw inferences about gender and kinship in relation to age-at-death, biological sex, and biological relatedness. In this contribution we argue that in order to appreciate how gender and kinship operated in a past community we need to compare past patterns in mortuary practice with present categories of biological sex and age. This provides one way to appreciate the range of diversity in past practices and identities. We use the extraordinarily detailed genetic, osteological and archaeology data from Hazleton North to illustrate how biomolecular data can underpin a relational approach to Neolithic gender which allows us to move beyond broad statements (e.g. that gender was highly contextual, or that patriliney was dominant) and get to grips with a range of possibilities for understanding the gendered life courses of people who lived and died c. 5700 years ago. We will focus particularly on three women who became mothers, grandmothers and important ancestors within a patriline, and the significance of their recognition as ancestors for understanding gender relations and kinship in the community that built and used the tomb.

### **Insights on age in Early Neolithic Britain from isotopic analysis of dental remains.**

Brett Ostrum (Durham University), Eleanor Harrison (Newcastle University), Darren Gröcke (Durham University), Chris Scarre (Durham University), and Janet Montgomery (Durham University)

Isotopic studies of human remains from Neolithic Britain have primarily focused on investigating mobility patterns and reconstructing dietary practices, including whether or not communities were residentially mobile, the dietary importance of animal protein, and the role of marine resources in subsistence strategies. A number of these studies have been conducted on dental remains, which are unique in that they can provide information relating to early childhood through to young adulthood depending on the specific teeth analysed, as tooth enamel and primary dentine do not remodel once formed. Despite this temporal quality of dental tissues and the increasing use of isotopic methods to reconstruct individual life histories covering many years, the potential of isotopic data from dental remains to reveal information related to age more broadly has been relatively underdiscussed for Neolithic Britain.

Here, we will consider how such time-specific isotopic data from dental remains might provide insight into age and social relations in Early Neolithic communities in Britain. Are there sociocultural aspects of childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood that may be isotopically visible in dental remains? What can such information tell us about social relations within communities? How can isotope analysis be integrated with theoretical approaches to advance

our understanding of age in Early Neolithic Britain? This paper will discuss these questions using a number of sites as case studies.

### **Rethinking the relationship between age and identity: do we need to re-evaluate what it meant to be a nonadult in the past?**

Danny Shaw (University of York)

A comparative analysis of Sr and O stable isotopes from individuals from the Neolithic of Britain, circa 4000 to 2500 *cal* BC, has revealed many interesting factors regarding different demographic groups. One of the most intriguing however is the high levels of nonadult individuals, defined here as persons aged 0 to 18 years old, who demonstrate Sr and O levels that are divergent to the biospheres in which they were laid to rest. This could suggest that the youngest members of British Neolithic society may have been highly mobile and movement around the landscape was a common occurrence. This paper aims to examine these new insights into nonadult mobility in Neolithic Britain, recommend what they might mean, and how they can further our understandings of British Neolithic society.

It will then propose that a rethink is needed into how nonadults are viewed and understood archaeologically. Nonadult individuals are often neglected within archaeological interpretations and are frequently perceived through a modern western lens. The relationship between the physiological age of an individual and their social identity is extremely variable geographically and temporally and this is a factor that needs to be considered. It needs to be recognised that the modern western view of nonadults being dependent on and raised by their parents and lacking individual autonomy is not a universal one. By embracing alternative notions of how nonadults interact within the social and cultural spheres it is proposed that interpretations surrounding the role of nonadults in the past can be much better understood.

### **Investigating aspects of Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age social worlds in Britain as captured by ancient genetic ancestries.**

Tom Booth (Francis Crick Institute)

Analysis of genome-wide information from ancient humans allows us to capture genetic ancestries of individuals, and by extension a population of their genetic ancestors, representing hundreds to thousands of people, the remains of many of whom probably have not survived into the archaeological record. Although this information can be affected by archaeological bias, it can give us a glimpse of genetic structures in past populations, which in turn may provide insight into past social structures that affected patterns of biological reproduction. Here, I will discuss genetic ancestries amongst individuals and populations who inhabited Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Britain (c.2450-1700 BC) and what these results might suggest about their social worlds. Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Britain comprised a complex 'melting pot' of groups descended from local populations and migrants from varied parts of continental Europe. While social barriers between groups were always permeable, certain migrant-descended communities tended to have children amongst themselves for several centuries before integrating more fully with groups descended from populations who inhabited those areas in the preceding Neolithic. Some individuals within these migrant-descended groups formed part of kinship networks extending to dispersed regions of continental Europe. Recent indications of regional sex-biased patterns of genetic admixture show that, contrary to simplistic outdated narratives of violent conquest, substantial ancestry shifts in this period could have been largely mediated by socio-political processes.

## **The curious ancestry of Bronze Age Orkney**

Martin B. Richards (University of Huddersfield)

Despite its peripheral location to the north of Scotland, the Orkney archipelago was an influential cultural centre within megalithic Atlantic Neolithic. However, its Bronze Age is much less well known, but often regarded as a time of stagnation and insularity; archaeologists have often assumed that the islands became a backwater, with little contact with the rest of the world. However, genome-wide analysis of Bronze Age individuals from the Links of Noltland, in northwest Orkney, shows that they had experienced a period of intense immigration from the British mainland. Similar to the experience of Britain during the Beaker period, they display ancestry signatures from continental Europe, some of which can be traced back to the Pontic-Caspian steppe. Nevertheless, there was also a striking difference from the rest of Britain and Europe: most of the Bronze Age male lineages did not trace back to the Black Sea region, but to the local Orcadian Neolithic. This indicates that the newcomers were mainly women, perpetuating a system of patrilocality and exogamy that likely arose during the megalithic period. This in turn suggests that local men retained control of their marriage networks well into the Bronze Age, although there are signs that their grip had dwindled by the Iron Age.

## **Exploring kinship through ancient DNA: a view from the Iron Age cemetery of Wetwang Slack, East Yorkshire**

Ian Armit (University of York), Lindsey Büster (University of York/Canterbury Christ Church University), Claire-Elise Fischer (University of York), Inigo Olalde, (University of the Basque Country), Tom Booth (Francis Crick Institute), and David Reich (Harvard Medical School)

Recent advances in aDNA research have revolutionised our understanding of the demography of prehistoric Europe, revealing the scale and impact of large-scale population movement. Increasingly, however, the power of these new techniques is being turned towards subtler questions, in particular the role of biological relatedness in structuring social relations in past societies. The COMMIOS Project (Communities and Connectivities: Iron Age Britons and their Continental Neighbours) has to date sampled around 1200 individuals for genome-wide aDNA analysis, most dating to the period 1200 BC to AD 100. The resulting dataset allows us to examine the demography of Iron Age societies at a number of scales, from the broad patterning of funerary treatments of biologically male and female individuals, to more detailed analysis of biological relatedness among individual cemetery populations. A key focus of this work is the site of Wetwang Slack, East Yorkshire, the largest known Iron Age cemetery in Britain. While several previous aDNA and isotope studies in Britain and Continental Europe, principally dealing with Neolithic and Bronze Age communities, have suggested a prevalence of patrilineal descent and female exogamy, our initial results offer a contrasting picture. Preliminary analysis of around 90 individuals from Wetwang Slack demonstrates a high degree of biological relatedness among females (and much less among males), suggesting that social relations within this community were quite differently structured. In this paper we examine the implications of this emergent patterning for our understanding of British Iron Age societies.

## **Examining the past via Identity-By-Descent (IBD) – theoretical considerations and implications for archaeology**

Linus Girdland Flink (University of Aberdeen/Liverpool John Moores University)

This paper will outline the concept of Identity-By-Descent (IBD) and its potential for providing new ways to examine the past, considering both theoretical and practical perspectives. IBD

methods identify shared genomic segments inherited from a common genetic ancestor like those shared by siblings and cousins, but also far more distant relatives whose shared common ancestors can be traced many generations back in time. IBD consequently reveals insight to the 'life history' of individual genomes in a manner that reach beyond the exploratory power of more abstract, allele frequency-based methods like PCA and ADMIXTURE.

I will provide examples from the literature on how IBD and related concepts (such as Runs of Homozygosity) applied to ancient genomes can provide powerful insights to social dimensions of the past, such biological kinship, parental relatedness, patrilineal vs matrilineal descent systems, but also shared common ancestors beyond immediate archaeological and cultural boundaries. To exemplify the latter, I will summarise key findings from a recent study on Pictish and Anglo-Saxon genomes (~400-600 CE) (Morez et al., 2022 *in review*), which reveal complex patterns of IBD sharing across time and space. I will conclude by discussing how these methods allow us to approach the past in a more non-reductive manner, emphasising individuals and their complex histories alongside those of populations.

### **Local-level approaches to understanding social kinship and biological relatedness among the Classic Maya polities of the Belize River Valley**

John P. Walden (Harvard University), Christina G. Warinner (Harvard University), Douglas J. Kennett (University of California Santa Barbara), Julie A. Hoggarth (Baylor University), Kirsten Green Mink (Idaho State University), Victoria S.R. Izzo (Texas A&M University), Claire E. Ebert (University of Pittsburgh) Rafael A. Guerra (Galen University), Johannes Krause (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology), and Jaime J. Awe (Northern Arizona University)

New genetic approaches offer enormous potential to move beyond studies of broad scale migration and population structure to understand far more localized kinship practices. We present an ongoing research project targeted at understanding localized Classic Maya (AD 300-900) kinship structures in the Belize River Valley. The decipherment of Classic Maya hieroglyphic texts is shedding light on a number of prominent dynasties that engaged in patron-client relations and marriage alliances with the rulers of numerous smaller polities. Currently, however, we can only epigraphically reconstruct a few partial royal genealogies and several strategies of marriage alliance. Over the last century, 464 burials have been excavated from four Belize River Valley polities. These remains come from royal mortuary temples and palaces at the polity capitals, smaller intermediate elite mortuary temples in the hinterlands, and commoner households spread across these polities. A vast wealth of contextual data, including mortuary practices, grave good inventories, osteological features, and archaeometric data (radiocarbon, dietary and mobility isotopes), allows social kinship relationships to be reconstructed for many of these burials. Genome wide aDNA analysis of 300 of these individuals will allow us to move from the epigraphically documented kinship networks of the top 1% of Maya society to understand kinship practices among the remaining 99%. This societal scale analysis will identify how competing elite regimes and commoner populations were interlinked through webs of social and biological relationships. The project has the potential to radically change how archaeologists working with complex societies reconstruct networks of interaction between political agents with vastly different levels of power and authority.

## **Biographies of transhumance: exploring the impact of short-term circular mobility on lifeways in South Eastern Europe**

Christianne Fernée (University of Bristol), Elena Sandoval (University of Bristol), Kostantinos Trimmis (University of Bristol), and Alice Holland (University of Bristol)

Transhumance is a form of pastoralism that involves the seasonal migration of livestock between different ecological zones. These seasonal movements have formed important aspects of many subsistence systems across the globe for thousands of years. Today, although it has been in sharp decline since the nineteenth century, transhumance continues to be practiced across the globe. Consequently, understanding this practice is simultaneously important due to its central role in the lives of individuals in the past and its precarity today.

Traditionally transhumance practices have been recorded ethnographically. Archaeological studies have, however, been limited and have focused upon identifying the movement rather than its impact. Scientific advances in bioarchaeology and adjacent fields have enabled the creation of a detailed timeline for single individuals, in terms of mobility and its effects. This can help bring to light the rhythms and social relations of mobility directly from human remains.

This paper explores the impact of transhumance mobility on the lifeways of the Vlachs of Samarina, Greece, over the past 200 years. It will present an integrative methodological approach to study the social and biological impact of transhumance mobility. Biomolecular, biomechanical, and traditional bioarchaeological analyses of skeletal material will be brought together with ethnoarchaeology. This approach will give an unprecedented insight into the impact of transhumance mobility on individual and group level and recommendations will be made for future research.

## **Revolutionising the Iron Age:**

### **Gender perspectives in archaeological interpretation**

Session organisers: Raquel Licerias-Garrido (Complutense University of Madrid) and Juan Jesús Padilla-Fernández (University of Salamanca)

## **Unlocking the secrets of cremated human remains from Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Austria**

Lukas Waltenberger (Austrian Archaeological Institute, Austrian Academy of Sciences) and Katharina Rebay-Salisbury (Austrian Archaeological Institute, Austrian Academy of Sciences)

In eastern Central Europe, late Bronze Age burial practices encompass large cremation burials with hundreds of urn burials. Early Iron Age cemeteries first only differ in terms of including iron objects; subsequently, burial practices change to deposition in larger wooden chambers under burial mounds that include multiple burials, including inhumations. Recently, the scientific methods of isotope analysis and osteological sexing advanced, which increased the information that can be extracted from cremated human remains.

We analysed 690 urn burials from the necropoleis Franzhausen-Kokoron, Inzersdorf, Statzendorf, and Getzersdorf the Lower Austrian Traisen valley spanning from the beginning of the Urnfield phenomenon in the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (1300-600 BC). Methods included strontium isotope analysis of 450 human bone samples and comparative

environmental samples to identify local and non-local individuals, 100 C14 dates of cremated remains and unburnt meat offerings, osteological age and sex assessment, as well as tooth cementum annulation. TCA allowed age-at-death calculations when no diagnostic elements for age estimations in adults were present. Compared to the gender, age and status analysis based on grave goods, the data obtained in this project significantly advances our knowledge of ritual practices, gendered mobility and social relations during the Late Bronze Age in Austria.

Preliminary results indicate different patterns of gendered migration at different sites and in different chronological periods. Non-local individuals at the early Urnfield Culture cemetery of Inzersdorf are primarily sub-adult and female, whereas male mobility increased at the late Urnfield Culture cemetery of Franzhausen-Kokoron. Our case studies at the dawn of the Iron Age provide insights into how identity categories intersect with aspects of mobility.

### **Are grave goods any good? A combined post-processual and post-humanist approach to the limitations of using grave goods to infer biological sex and gender**

Anastasia Chysanthi Solomou

The development of gender and feminist theory within the past decades has brought the complex and culturally determined nature of biological sex and gender to the fore (Butler 2004; Lorber 1996). This has driven archaeologists to reconsider the way in which past identities are interpreted in archaeological research (Jordan 2016; Harrell 2014; Arnold 2012; Costin 1996). Nonetheless, within the funerary arena, binary, heteronormative interpretive frameworks remain abundant in the literature (Ghisleni et al. 2016), largely drawing from the engendering of grave offerings (Weglian 2001). This paper discusses the limitations surrounding the inference of biological sex and gender through grave offerings. I approach this question by implementing three theoretical frameworks: a) theories of identity and b) performativity, and c) a materialistic approach, allowing a multi-faceted exploration of the nature of grave goods in relation to biological sex and gender through means that are widely familiar within the realm of theoretical archaeology. I argue that grave offerings are socially constructed polysemic enactive signs (Malafouris 2013; Hodder 2012), which afford the display of intentionally manipulated identities (Harris and Cipolla 2017). This renders their signification often illegible to individuals who are not culturally inducted, including modern researchers. Furthermore, they are situated within funerary contexts, where social roles were suspended and renegotiated and which do not passively reflect the societal organisation, including potential sex or gender divisions (Parker Pearson 1999). By acknowledging these limitations, we can further limit the essentialist transferring of notions of our present-day western culture to temporally and often spatially distant societies.

### **The emergence of new gender dynamics in Central Mediterranean: a comparative view from western Sicily and Basilicata**

Meritxell Ferrer (Universitat Pompeu Fabra) and Giulia Saltini Semerari (University of Michigan)

At the end of the 2nd Millennium BC local populations from western Sicily and Basilicata started a process of deep transformation which dramatically changed the economic, political, and territorial organization of both regions. From the 8th century BC this process was further catalyzed by the gradual installation of groups of Aegean and/or Levantine immigrants on their coasts, and the subsequent establishment of complex processes of culture contact.



While these transformations have been traditionally read only from the perspective of the newcomers, in the last decade these processes have begun to be analysed from the indigenous perspective, restoring the voice of these people in the development of their new social and political dynamics. However, it should be noted that most of these Mediterranean indigenous narratives still maintain an androcentric perspective, in which adult elite men are presented as the only active actors and gender dynamics are poorly considered.

To confront these narratives, the aim of this contribution is to analyse and compare changes in gender roles within communal ritual spaces of two different Mediterranean areas -western Sicily and Basilicata- during this long-term process of transformation, as well as to evidence the active participation of certain women in the construction of a sense of community. In doing so, we show how gender -one of the main axes which people lives is structured- was deeply interwoven with the development of new social and political dynamics that affected these two Mediterranean areas.

### **Reinterpreting Domestic and Maintenance Activities: Alimentation Practices and Gender Identity in the Iberian Culture of the Central Area of Contestania**

Alba Abad España (University of Alicante)

Contrasting to traditional or historical-cultural studies, the archaeological study of sociocultural patterns of practices, under the rubric of the Archaeology of Everyday life, allow us to investigate the creation of identities and specific gender roles. This framework includes domestic and maintenance activities, understood as tasks carried out fundamentally by women. These practices are, essentially, food preparation, craftworks -mainly textile- and caring the members of the family and community. Motherhood and the socialization of children play an essential role, since through recurrent activities they perpetuate the cultural roles established. Despite their importance, the study of these dynamics and their spatiality have been neglected, mainly due to the androcentric basis of traditional research. However, this proposal offers a good example of how gender and feminism Archaeology can change and amplify the understanding of Iron Age.

In this framework, the aim of this paper is the archaeological study of the culinary and alimentation practices of the Iberian Iron Age groups of the Eastern Iberia. Through the study of three well known urban settlements: El Puig d'Alcoi, La Serreta and El Cabeço de Mariola (Alicante Province, Spain), I analyse culinary practices and food preparation in a broad chronological framework between the 5th and 1st centuries BC. The palaeobiological data, culinary pottery and workspaces are studied to discern variations of gender, temporality, identity, ideology and power.

### **The reflection of social organisation through the necropolis: women with power in the funerary spaces of the south-eastern Iberian Peninsula (8th – 3rd BC)**

Raquel San Quirico García (University of Alicante)

The aim of this contribution is to propose new interpretations on the role of women in the communities of the Iberian Iron Age in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula. A model of social organisation with women as an essential axis in the structures of power is based on the study of several necropolises located in this area. These necropolises cover a wide chronological framework that shows the evolution of this society over the centuries.

Thanks to anthropological studies of the bone remains of the tombs, we know of the high presence of women in the necropolis in the central centuries of the first millennium BC. Many of them are also found in prominent places, inaugurating burial spaces that will give order to the necropolis and where new tombs will later be buried. Likewise, the grave goods that accompany them reveal a high social status, often related to productive activities, such as textiles, which were of great importance in the economic structure of these communities.

These aspects have led to some authors (Vives-Ferrándiz, Grau, Comino) to propose a model of social organisation based on bilateral descent and on heterarchical structures in which power is shared by various competing groups. Following these theoretical proposals, I am going to deeper into the archaeological interpretation of some of the most important necropolis of the area. The application of this socio-political schemes would also contribute to balance the androcentric view of Iberian society that has long been held and incongruously, given the archaeological evidence.

### **Reviewing gender discourses in Portuguese Iron Age Archaeology since the 70s of the 20th century until present time**

Sílvia Maciel (University of Minho) and Rebeca Blanco-Rotea (University of Minho)

The development of Portuguese Iron age Archaeology was entangled with a few important factors, such as the diversity of the Portuguese territory, translated into different forms of occupation of it and, consequently, different landscapes, and the diachronic historical evolution on the territory. This led to a diverse number of archaeological contexts and interpretations, having in common the usage of textual sources, such as Strabo that refers to gender roles in these communities and also the patriarchal and androcentric discourses practiced in Portuguese archaeology since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In this context, there were few but important women who focused on the study of the Iron Age in Portugal, a scenario that has changed in the last two decades, with the growing interest of women researchers in the study of this topic and, most recently, the focus in Gender Archaeology.

Thus, with this paper we aim to present the analysis of two distinctive aspects within the historiography of Portuguese Iron Age Archaeology, namely the percentage of men and women working in this specific time period through the last four decades, evaluating the weight of each role on the practice of archaeology and, at the same time, we will review the gender discourses that were practiced by these researchers in archaeological interpretation, in order to analyse their evolution and identify current trends. This analysis is much needed in order to revolutionise the way by which the Iron Age communities were and still are perceived, allowing an overall perspective of gender roles.

### **Narratives of the forgotten: a gender approach to the Iberian North Meseta in the Iron Age**

Raquel Liceras-Garrido (Complutense University of Madrid)

Feminist and Gender Archaeology has been revolutionising discourses in Archaeology since the 1970s. Its fundamental principles call not only for the equal access of researchers to archaeological practice independently of their gender but also for creating egalitarian narratives that embrace gender diversity in the past.

There are periods and regions in which Feminist and Gender Archaeology has had a broader impact and has contributed to the creation of knowledge about sectors of the population traditionally considered secondary, such as women, no binary genders, or children. Until recently, one of the regions that had remained unaffected by these new narratives was the Northern Iberian Meseta occupied by populations traditionally known as the ‘*Celtiberians*’ in the Iron Age. These peoples were characterised by violence, shown in the landscape, iconography, artefacts, or the narratives depicted by Greco-Roman authors, amongst others. The material evidence has contributed to producing discourses about these communities focused (almost exclusively) on young male warriors, forgetting the rest of the population.

This presentation discusses the textual and material evidence that speaks about other gender identities, especially women, and different age groups, such as children and the elders in the Iberian North Meseta during the Iron Age.

### **Pottery technology as a key tool to explore gender issues in the Iron Age**

Juan Jesús Padilla-Fernández (University of Salamanca)

Pottery is commonly the most abundant material element in the Iron Age archaeological record. For this reason, it has been preferably used to build typological relationships and establish relative chrono-cultural phases. However, thanks to the increasing interest in creating social discourses in Archaeology, pottery assemblages has begun to be understood as material containers of information, directly connected to the people who produce and later consume them.

Under this new archaeological perspective, pottery become a basic tool to connect with past communities and open alternative ways to understand their social and identity complexity. Researchers may then be able to understand from the present and on an equal basis the idiosyncrasy of the Iron Age human groups.

The aim of this paper is to show how technology is useful for creating action protocols to make potteries speak about the role played by gender identities more than two thousand years ago. In this sense, the anthropological concept of *Chaîne Opératoire* is a key tool to fulfil this task. Above all, technique is here understood as a practice that is negotiated and formalized in a specific social context. According to this view, the actions and gestures used in each technology depend both on the available resources and on the prevailing technological traditions. It is through these practices that social attributes, group identities, and value judgments about what is considered appropriate, or not, are formulated and transmitted.