TAG 90 LAMPETER

17th-20th December 1990, Saint David's University College, Lampeter, Dyfed.

Abstracts and Lampeter Survival Guide
Saint David's University College: Campus Plan.
THEORETICAL ARCHAEOLOGY GROUP
1990 CONFERENCE, LAMPETER
PROGRAMME OF EVENTS

Monday Afternoon

The reception desk will be open from 1400 onwards.

Historical Archaeology Seminar
(DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY)
1530 onwards.

Feminist Archaeology Women’s Meeting
(POOH’S CORNER, STUDENTS UNION BUILDING)
1700 onwards. Refreshments available.

Tuesday Morning Sessions

All Quiet on the Western Front? Towards an Historical Sociology of German Archaeology - Henrich Harke (Reading).
(ARTS HALL)
0900-0920 Ulrich Veit: Kossinna and Childre.
0920-0940 Henning Haßman: Archaeology and the Nazis.
0940-0950 Questions.
0950-1010 Sabine Wolfram: The Kossinna syndrome: the role of theory in post-war German archaeology.
1010-1030 Eva-Maria Mertens & Sibylle Kästner: Women in German archaeology.
1030-1040 Questions.
1040-1110 Coffee.
1110-1130 Ulrike Sommer: The teaching of archaeology in Germany.
1130-1150 Christian Hirte: Archaeology and the German public.
1150-1210 Angelika Träger: Politics and ideology in East German archaeology.
1210 Questions and discussion.

(GEOGRAPHY TEACHING LABORATORY)
0930-0950 Kathleen M. Allen: Geographic Information systems and modelling the past.
0950-1010 Eleazer D. Hunt: Upgrading site-catchment analysis with the use of geographic information systems (GIS): Investigating the settlement patterns of horticulturalists.
1010-1020 Questions.
1020-1050 Coffee.
1050-1110 Ezra B.W. Zebrow: Cognition and process: the archaeological implications of GIS.
1110-1130 Clive Ruggles: A fair exchange: the mutual benefits of archaeological theory building within GIS.
1130 Questions and discussion.

Classical Archaeology - Ray Laurence (Newcastle Classics Department).
(CANTERBURY 4)
Chair: Barry C. Burnham.
0920-0940 Sue Alcock: Old tombs for new times.
0940-1000 Janet DeLaine: On the limitations of architectural typologies.
1000-1020 Ray Laurence: Investigating the urban environment: the archaeology of streets.
1020-1030 Questions.
1030-1100 Coffee.
1100-1120 Greg Woolf: Fear of flying and the ancient economy.
1120-1140 John Bintliff: Farm, village and city in the rise and fall of Classical Greece.
1140-1200 Mark Gillings: Computerising the classical landscape.
1200 Questions and discussion.
Tuesday Afternoon Sessions

(ARTS HALL)
1400-1420 Christopher Tilley: Introduction: Making histories.
1420-1440 Suzanne Kuechler: Object transmission and the production of social memory.
1500-1520 Michael Rowlands: Making the present, revealing the past - the force of traditions in African national identities.
1520-1540 Timothy Yates: The politics of representation.
1540-1550 Questions.
1550-1620 Tea.
1620-1640 Christopher Tilley: Traditions of deviancy: history and the construction of the subject in the welfare state.
1640-1700 Elizabeth Tonkin: Whose text? Questions of interpretation and social reproduction by active subjects.
1700-1720 Michael Rowlands: Concluding remarks.
1720 Questions and discussion.

Production, Consumption and Identity in Historical Archaeology - Matthew Johnson and David Austin (Lampeter).
(GEOGRAPHY TEACHING LABORATORY)
1400-1410 Matthew Johnson: Introduction.
1410-1430 James Deetz: Mass dumping and the emergence of national identity.
1820-1850.
1450-1510 Randall McGuire: Making and re-making class.
1510-1530 Roy Larick: Gender, social age, and personal adornment in northern Kenya.
1530-1540 Questions.
1540-1610 Tea.
1610-1630 Roberta Gilchrist: Constructing medieval gender identities: estate, community and self.
1710-1730 Martin Hall: Fish and the fisherman: art, text and archaeology.
1730 Questions and discussion.

Archaeology in Ireland 1980: Reading the Irish Landscape - Marek Zvelebil, Michael Gibbons, Stanton Green (Sheffield).
(CANTERBURY 4)
1400-1420 Marek Zvelebil: The concept of landscape: a challenge for archaeology.
1420-1440 Mark G. Macklin: Prehistoric landscape change in Ireland: a geomorphological and palaeoecological perspective.
1440-1500 Stanton W. Green: Landscape theory and geographic information systems.
1520-1530 Questions.
1530-1550 Tea.
1550-1610 Michael Gibbons & Tom Condit: An upland prehistoric landscape in the Darty mountain range.
1610-1630 Matthew Stout: Cluster analysis of ringforts in the southwest midlands.
1630-1650 Terence Reeves-Smith: Demesne landscapes.
1650-1710 John Feehan: The landscape of Tir na N-Og: The role of imaginative perspective in environmental archaeology.
1710-1730 Seamus Caulfield: To be announced.
1730 Questions and discussion.

Wednesday Morning Sessions

Feminist Theory and Gender Studies - Susie West (Norfolk Arch. Unit).
(ARTS HALL)
Commences 0930: workshop structure.
Architecture and Order - Colin Richards and Mike Parker-Pearson (Glasgow / Sheffield).
(GEOGRAPHY TEACHING LABORATORY)
0930-0950 Colin Richards: The sign of five: action and order in Balinese life.
0950-1010 Mike Parker-Pearson: Food, fertility and front doors in the British Iron Age.
1010-1030 Paul Lane: The temporal structuring of settlement among the Dogon: an ethnoarchaeological study.
1030-1040 Questions.
1040-1110 Coffee.
1110-1130 Ian Hodder: The Neolithic house in Europe.
1130-1150 Pam Graves: Space, speech and Image as media of religious and social perception.
1150-1210 Todd Whitelaw: 'Of no fixed abode': the functional, social and symbolic organisation of space in hunter-gatherer communities.
1210 Questions and discussion.

The Social Role of the Urban Archaeologist - Hal Dalwood and Charles Mundy (Hereford and Worcester C.C.).
(CANTEFBRURY 4)
Chair: Charles Mundy.
Discussant: Dominic Perrin.
0930-0950 Charles Mundy: Archaeology - It's not what you do, it's the way that you do it.
0950-1010 Nigel Baker: In search of a context: archaeology and town planning.
1010-1020 Questions.
1020-1050 Coffee.
1050-1110 John Punter: Urban development, urban design, and archaeology.
1110-1130 Peter Milner: Archaeology through art.
1130-1150 Donald Hyslop: Oral history and archaeology.
1150 Questions and discussion.

Wednesday Afternoon Sessions

(ARTS HALL)
1410-1430 Ian Hodder: Emotional responses and archaeology.
1430-1450 Jeremy Meredith: Aesthetics in archaeology.
1450-1510 Ian Bapty: The agony and the ecstasy: the emotions of writing the past.
1510-1520 Simon Kaner: Video presentation.
1520-1540 Bill Sillar: Understanding humour in archaeology.
1540-1610 Tea.
1610 Onwards Team Presentation/Debate - John Carman & David Uzzell: To shock or not to shock? With critical comment from Ian Hodder and Mike Shanks.

Constructing landscape/Constructing the subject - Julian Thomas & Chris Philo (Lampeter).
(GEOGRAPHY TEACHING LABORATORY)
1400-1420 Chris Philo and Julian Thomas: Space, landscape and the subject in geography and archaeology.
1420-1440 Mike Heffernan: Geography and archaeology: the historical connections between two disciplines.
1440-1500 Barbara Bender: Ways into landscape.
1500-1520 Peter Bishop: Constable: symbolism, psychology, self, landscape.
1520-1530 Questions.
1530-1600 Tea.
1600-1620 Christopher Tilley: Constructing a ritual landscape.
1620-1640 Susan Ford: Gender, culture and the suburban garden.
1640-1700 John Barrett: The archaeology of place.
1700-1720 Nigel Thrift: Where are we now? After postmodemism.
1720 Questions and discussion.
Museums and Archaeological Interpretation - Alison Sheridan (N. Mus. Scotland).
(CANTERBURY 4)
1400-1415 Alison Sheridan: Introduction.
1415-1445 Victoria Plière: At the cutting edge.
1445-1450 Questions.
1450-1520 Caroline Wickham-Jones: Squat grunting savages? Museums and archaeology.
1520-1525 Questions.
1525-1555 Tea.
1625-1630 Questions.
1630-1700 Neil Curtis: An objective subject or subjective object: finding a role for archaeology in museums.
1700 Questions and discussion.

Thursday Morning Sessions

Science strikes back: After Detailed Analysis... - James Rackham (London).
((ARTS HALL)
0930-0950 James Rackham: Introduction: who has no philosophical basis?.
0950-1010 Andrew Jones: Environmental Archaeological research in 1990.
1010-1030 Phil Bethel and Carl Heron: Is there a philosophy for archaeological science?
1030-1040 Questions.
1040-1110 Coffee.
1110-1130 Simon Butler: Post-Processual Palynology.
1130-1150 Terry O'Connor: On babies and bathwater: in defense of environmental science.
1150 Questions and discussion.

Theoretical Approaches to Prehistoric Landscapes (TAG Organising Committee).
(GEOGRAPHY TEACHING LABORATORY)
0930-0950 Richard Bradley: Turning the world: rock carvings and the archaeology of death.
0950-1010 Martin Kuna: Structuring of prehistoric landscape.
1010-1020 Questions.
1020-1050 Coffee.
1110-1130 Evzen Neustupny: Settlement areas and prehistoric farmers in Central Europe.
1130-1150 Muiris O'Sullivan: The interpretation of a prehistoric art tradition.
1150 Questions and discussion.

Island Archaeology - Mark Patton (Jersey Museums Service) & Keri Brown (UMIST).
(CANTERBURY 4)
0940-1000 Mark Patton: From biogeography to sociogeography: approaches to island archaeology.
1000-1020 Manolis Melas: Island archaeology in context.
1020-1030 Questions.
1030-1100 Coffee.
1100-1120 Caroline Malone: Processes of early colonisation in the central Mediterranean.
1120-1140 Simon Stoddart: Contrasting political strategies in the islands of the central Mediterranean.
1140-1200 Steve Held: Islands in space: quantification and simulation in theoretical island archaeology.
1200 Questions and discussion.

Thursday Afternoon Sessions

Landscape Archaeology as a Social Issue - David Austin & Matthew Johnson (Lampeter)
(ARTS HALL)
1400-1420 David Austin: Landscape archaeology as a social issue.
1420-1440 Martin Gojda: Future approaches in Czech early medieval landscape study.
1440-1500 Matthew Johnson: Understanding enclosure.
1500-1510 Questions.
SESSION AND PAPER ABSTRACTS

ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT?
TOWARDS AN HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY OF GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Heinrich Härke (Reading)

The German archaeological tradition occupies a crucial, but also ambiguous position in the development of European archaeology. Before the 1930s, German archaeologists made significant contributions to archaeological theory and method. By way of contrast, post-war West German archaeology is usually regarded, by British and American prehistorians, as being technically excellent, but totally devoid of theory. East German archaeology, on the other hand, has often been thought, by western archaeologists, to be dominated by a politically imposed and enforced Marxist theory. Whilst these perceptions are partly the result of a lack of communication with German colleagues and a lack of understanding of their perspectives and scholarly traditions, they are close enough to the truth to require critical attention. Such a discussion is made all the more necessary by the political changes of the last 18 months. The unification of Germany poses urgent questions concerning the future development of German archaeology, and how this future may be influenced by its varied past.

This session intends to explore the roots of the present situation: the exploitation of archaeology for political purposes in the Third Reich (associated with the name of Kossinna) and in East Germany (based on the dogma of historical materialism). It aims to trace the institutionalisation of the theoretical void in West German archaeology after 1945 and the role university courses played in it to outline the lack of a German
reaction to the 'new archaeology'; and to discuss recent developments and perspectives, including public attitudes towards archaeology and gender questions in German archaeology.

Kossinna and Childe

Ulrich Veit

The paper will attempt to illustrate the background of German archaeology at the time when Childe started his work in the field of prehistoric archaeology. Of major importance in this context was the so-called Siedlungsarchäologische Methode developed by the German prehistorian Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931). Apart from having an immense influence on the development of German, and indeed European, archaeology, it can be argued that it formed the basis of Childe's famous definition of an 'archaeological culture' (1929). Rejecting Kossinna's nationalistic and racist abuses of his paradigm, Childe adopted this concept for British archaeology where it played a major role for a long time.

Archaeology and the Nazis

Henning Hassmann

During the Third Reich, archaeology gained unprecedented support and publicity, but this was coupled with the systematic abuse of archaeology for ideological and political ends. Results of prehistoric research supplied pseudo-scientific justifications for the Nazi politics of conquest and terror. Leading archaeologists, organized in Himmler's "Ahnenverwe" (science branch of the SS) and in the 'Amt Rosenberg' (the Party propaganda and education bureau), influenced cultural and educational policy. During the war, German archaeologists (some of them in the role of high-ranking SS officers) collaborated in cultural looting in occupied countries.

Due to the continued post-war influence of many archaeologists implicated in Nazi activities, the role of archaeology in the Third Reich became a taboo subject. It is suggested that this failure to confront the recent past has contributed substantially to the theoretical void after 1945. Only recently have first attempts been made to shed light on these 'Dark Ages' of German archaeology.

The Kossinna syndrome: the role of theory in post-war German archaeology

Sabine Wolfram

West German archaeology has lacked a theoretical debate since 1945, not to speak of the absence of theory from archaeology courses at West German universities. Furthermore, the German reaction to the theoretical debate in Anglo-American archaeology (whether 'new' or not) has generally been negative. This paper will attempt to explain this with regard to the role of archaeology under the Nazi regime.

Politics and Ideology in East German archaeology

Angelika Träger

Forty years of archaeology in the GDR have resulted in, mostly centralized, organisational structures for research, rescue and teaching, and have produced some very productive research projects and some impressive results in the protection and excavation of monuments. However, they have also created a number of problems. The emphasis of most research has been on the recording of data and on their 'historical' interpretation, with insufficient discussion of the results. Also, research has often been limited geographically to GDR territory, not least because of the limited possibilities for travel, communication and research abroad (except for a privileged few). Because of the political and ideological conditions, modern historical terms and concepts were projected back into the archaeological past, and archaeology was used to demonstrate a law-like development of human society over thousands of years. The superficial and unreferenced use of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin is leading now, in changing political circumstances, to a backlash against all Marxist approaches, and even to an unjustified, wholesale rejection of archaeological work and research carried out
over the past 40 years.

The teaching of archaeology in Germany

Ulrike Sommer

By way of introduction, this paper will sketch the history of the archaeology departments at West German universities as far as this is necessary to understand the development of the subject, and the way it is taught today. This will be followed by a brief glance at the administrative structure of universities and departments, and the consequences for students. The main emphasis of the paper will be on the way archaeology is taught in Germany, comparing and contrasting it with the British situation. West German university teachers have put the overriding emphasis on the 'sound knowledge' of 'facts' and finds, and there is an almost complete lack of problem-oriented studies and of archaeological theory. This point will be illustrated by an analysis of the topics of lecture courses and seminar series at West German universities since the 1970s, and by a look at the subjects of doctoral theses over the same period.

Women in German archaeology

Eva-Maria Mertens and Sigrun Karlisch

This paper will deal with two aspects: the situation of women as archaeologists, and archaeological research on gender questions. The discussion of women in archaeology will centre on the situation of female students, teachers and employees in West German university departments, with a brief look at women's role in museums and archaeological units. This will be followed by a survey of previous and current archaeological research on gender questions and women in the past. It will be concluded that what little has been done by German archaeologists on such questions, was strongly influenced by Anglo-American ideas and approaches.

Archaeology and the German public

Christian Hirth

This paper will address a number of questions related to this topic. How important do German archaeologists consider public interest in their subject to be? What do they do to put archaeology across, and what institutions are involved? Do they go public in the interests of legitimation (and, thus, funding), or do they have ulterior motives? Do archaeologists react to changes in public attitudes, and how is that reflected in the presentation of archaeology? Is the low level of public involvement in archaeology (amateur societies, volunteers in fieldwork, etc.) and the scarcity of popular books written by archaeologists a consequence of archaeologists' attitudes, or does it reflect a lack of public interest? The questions raised and discussed here touch on the more fundamental issue of how German archaeologists perceive their own subject, and what aims they pursue in it (and with it). It is suggested that more vigorous and, indeed, professional public activities by archaeologists would benefit not just the public, but ultimately also German archaeology itself.

USING GIS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY BUILDING

K.M. Allen (Tulane University) and E.D. Hunt (University of Washington)

Archaeology as a field of scientific study has benefited, both methodologically and theoretically, from the borrowing of ideas developed in other disciplines. As a scientific endeavour archaeology continues to develop into a mature discipline. This symposium presents the application of newly created spatial concepts, known as Geographic Information Systems (GIS), to archaeology. This symposium is not intended to be a basic introduction to GIS and its potential for archaeology. Rather, it moves beyond a simple presentation of GIS and presents the results of mature research projects that address theoretical and methodological concerns.

The theme of the symposium is the integration of archaeological data in spatial and temporal models. This includes both aspects of how we perceive and interpret archaeological data as well as how we incorporate
this strictly archaeological data within the broader environmental and geographical context. GIS provides the unparalleled opportunity to amass, manage and view huge quantities of data that relate to a variety of theoretical issues. It is the organisers' contention that the application of GIS to archaeology has unlimited potential at all levels of archaeological investigation.

The symposium is structured into three areas: data perception, theory and method. The theme of space/time interpretation is embedded in and integral to the research design in each of the sections and each of the papers. GIS provides new ways to view and perceive data, resulting in the development of 'higher level hypotheses'. Is the use of GIS more compatible with particular philosophical viewpoints, or can it cut across philosophical boundaries? Theoretically, time/space models that go beyond simple chronological, regional or spatial levels can be developed and tested. Is there a limitation on the kinds of models that can be developed? The application of GIS not only creates a new methodology for data analysis and accuracy, but requires that methodologies of archaeological investigation be rethought across all arenas from the most focussed analysis of individual artifacts to the broadest regional research models. How do we integrate these methodologies into a unified system?

The use of GIS provides the opportunity for a holistic approach to the gathering, analysis and interpretation of data. With this approach in hand, archaeological theory building will progress beyond its current levels. The papers in the symposium address these issues in a variety of ways and from the context of particular research problems.

Geographic Information systems and modelling the past

Kathleen M.S. Allen (Tulane University)

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are a recent entrant into the arena of archaeological theory and methodology. While GIS has seen immediate application in the predictive modelling of site locations, its potential for other kinds of investigations has been less explored. This paper outlines the utility of geographic information systems for alternate forms of archaeological modelling of the past. It focusses on how the different approaches entailed in this use of GIS allow for a reformulation of the kinds of questions one may ask. In particular, the visual perception of patterning that is made possible by GIS and the rapid recoding and analysis that is facilitated adds new insight into past processes and events. Several specific studies are discussed including modelling of trade networks and settlement systems in the eastern Great Lakes region of North America.

Upgrading site-catchment analyses with the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS): Investigating the settlement patterns of horticulturalists

Eleazer D. Hunt (University of Washington)

For decades, archaeologists have wrestled with the problem of interpreting the relationship between the archaeological site and the associated physiography. How can we relate an archaeological site to the surrounding environment? Or of equal importance, how did the inhabitants utilize the 'space' surrounding their residence locale - the site?

To begin to answer these questions, an organizational framework has been developed to identify the elements of the environment and impose a boundary. The analytical tool that does this is site-catchment. The concept of site-catchment or catchment analysis in general - is "primarily intended to focus attention upon the area [surrounding a site] and to study the economic potential of the local environment of a site" (Dennell, 1980).

In carrying out site-catchment studies, one of the limitations is the structure and management of the identified variables. The data that is generated can be overwhelming. To control for this, many site-catchment studies have reduced the variables into nominal or ordinal scales; simplifying for the sake of controlling the vast quantity of data and ease of data management.

This paper presents a methodology, based on GIS, for conducting site-catchment that allows the researcher to represent the physiographic characteristics in their 'natural scale' and to provide a system of data management. In so doing, I argue that catchment analysis can be conducted with greater accuracy and with more avenues for analysis. To demonstrate this point, an example of a GIS site-catchment is presented.
utilizing a series of horticultural village sites.


Cognition and process: the archaeological Implications of GIS

Ezra B.W. Zubrow

This paper examines the philosophical underpinnings of Geographic Information Systems. The implications of these theoretical and methodological structures for the major archaeological schools are shown with examples. Temporal and spatial databases are not theoretically or methodologically neutral.

A fair exchange: the mutual benefits of archaeological theory building within GIS

Clive Ruggles (University of Leicester)

Spatial and temporal modelling is needed in order to structure data within a GIS. The GIS then aids their manipulation and visualisation. A coherent theory of spatial and temporal relationships is necessary in order to ensure the mutual compatibility of data structured within different systems. A group of experts in 1983 concluded that the lack of a coherent spatial theory 'hinders the use of automated GIS at every point'. Yet in recent years the goal of formulating such a theory has, if anything, become more distant as the full complexity of the problem has emerged. Issues such as the relationship between geometrical and topological properties, generalisation 'fuzziness' (a term that actually covers several distinct and important issues), and how to incorporate the temporal dimension, have all become active research areas within GIS. Even general approaches to spatial and temporal modelling can be very different indeed.

This paper begins by attempting to identify a number of premises and principles that should consistently underlie spatial and temporal modelling. One of the most basic of these is the principle of hierarchical abstraction. At the highest level are abstractions of complex objects with spatial and temporal attributes within some universe. At the lowest level are simple and fundamental geometrical and temporal objects. It is then argued that there is a certain level in the hierarchy above which it is not reasonable or possible to define standards because modelling at this level is an integral part of theory development in a particular application area.

In being concerned with objects in the physical and human environment and their interrelationships, and in its integral concern with the spatial and especially the temporal attributes of these objects, archaeology provides arguably one of the richest application areas possible for high-level abstract modelling within GIS. Furthermore, the interaction between theory development in archaeology (i.e. modelling of high-level concepts with spatial and temporal attributes) and in GIS (modelling of low-level ones) is two way. Not only can and should techniques of data modelling originating in computer science and mathematics be incorporated as powerful tools in high-level model building; it is also the case that their attempted description (implementation) in terms of corresponding low-level concepts will considerably aid research attempting to clarify and standardise concepts at the low level.

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THE APPLICATION OF THEORY IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Ray Laurence (Department of Classics, Newcastle)

The fact that there is a session devoted to Classical Archaeology in TAG, suggests that archaeologists working upon the Classical period are perceived as studying either something different or are studying it in a different way from that of the rest of archaeology. Such a perception is often backed up by assertions that Classical Archaeology lacks theory and instead relies heavily upon literary sources. Although such a view might have had some validity in the past, now increasingly theory is being used by Classical archaeologists.

This session presents a series of papers that apply theoretical constructs to archaeological evidence from the Classical period. It is hoped that this session may demonstrate that theory can be and is used by
archaeologists studying the Classical period.

Old tombs for new times

Sue Alcock (Reading)

An archaeological pattern of cult activity at Bronze Age tombs can be detected in Greece during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods (roughly the 4th-1st centuries BC). It is argued that the pressures of political and institutional change within the Greek city engendered the practice. The significance of these 'old tombs' in 'new times' will be explored.

On the limitations of architectural typologies

Janet DeLaine (St. John's College, Oxford)

This paper arises from the author's recent study of Roman bath buildings in the western provinces, as a reaction against a common tendency to treat the classification of Roman buildings into types based on plan as a full and sufficient interpretation of them. Firstly, the nature of typologies and their relevance or inappropriateness to architecture will be examined, secondly, the importance of factors such as scale, function, context, construction, and decoration, usually excluded from typological assessments, will be discussed. Emphasis will be placed on understanding Roman buildings as three-dimensional human environments rather than as abstract two-dimensional forms. The sociologies of buildings will be seen to be far more relevant than their typologies.

Investigating the urban environment: the archaeology of streets

Ray Laurence (Newcastle)

This paper offers a new methodology for the analysis of the urban environment of Roman cities. It focusses upon the street as the unit of analysis in particular the attributes of the street that can be used to differentiate between streets in the Roman city. This is established through an examination of: (i) doorway types; (ii) the frequency of doorways; (iii) the frequency of street messages; and (iv) the role of street intersections. The paper concentrates upon the example of Pompeii to establish the spatial patterning of the city, and compares the results from Pompeii with other sites to highlight the variation in spatial patterning between cities.

Fear of flying and the ancient economy

Greg Woolf (Cambridge)

Romanists are not that good at explaining the industrial revolution, nor do they know much about other pre-Industrial economies. As a result, debate about the nature of the ancient economy is conceptually impoverished, revolving around a small set of theoretical constructs - the consumer city, embeddedness, exploitation - and a series of entrenched debates - Jones versus Rostovtzeff, Finley versus Carandini, Hopkins versus Finley. Many of these constructs and debates originated in attempts to distinguish the ancient from the modern (or from its precursor, the medieval) in a European historical framework. But by appreciating both the variation possible among pre-industrial economies and the complexity of the recent rise of the west, it is possible to liberate debate and to experiment imaginatively with alternative ancient Mediterranean economies. Archaeological research is better suited to falsifying these models than to providing a data-base for their elaboration. One such model is presented, positing relationships between the rise of the classical city system, long distance trade, monetarisation and agricultural expansion and falsification is invited.

Farm, village and city in the rise and fall of classical Greece

John Bintliff (Durham)

This paper will evaluate the potential of a range of geographical techniques for comprehending the dynamics of settlement pattern evolution over 1000 years of late prehistory and classical history in south-central Greece, with particular emphasis on the interaction of different levels of settlement as evidenced by field archaeology and historic sources.
Computing the classical landscape

Mark Gillings (Durham)

The data obtained by field survey projects have already provided us with many important insights into the nature and function of many aspects of the classical landscape. Through the application of total survey strategies linked to computer based data presentation techniques, we are only now beginning to realise the true potential of the archaeological landscape as a whole.

CULTURAL IDENTITY, THE PAST, AND HISTORICAL TRADITION

Michael Rowlands (UCL) and Christopher Tilley (SDUC)

This session is concerned with the manner in which people actively select from and use the past to create social, ethnic (or other) identities in the present. In our own society we see this taking place in e.g. debates about the role and place of the family, in museum presentations, discussions of nationalism and the production of 'mythic' national histories, in more minor discourses such as the creation of disciplinary histories in academia. In non-Western small-scale societies the role of 'historic' mythology, genealogies, oral histories, ritual speech and oratory, and memory are of key importance in establishing identity and in political struggles. The session will examine the formation of concepts of individual, social and ethnic identity in relation to cultural traditions and the manner in which critical examination of these may be made.

Specifically the key themes covered will be:

(1) Conceptualisations of the self and the body through reference to history and memory in identity formation.

(2) The constitution of historical tradition and the manner in which groups in Western and non-Western societies use it.

Introduction: Making histories

Christopher Tilley (SDUC)

Object transmission and the production of social memory: rethinking the significance of material culture from an anthropological perspective

Suzanne Kuechler (UCL)

The focus will be on the ways in which different forms of circulation of objects takes place and their relation to different conceptions of social memory. The context will be Melanesia and the general concern will be the relevance of object and memory for the study of society and culture.

Making the present, revealing the past - the force of traditions in African national identities

Mike Rowlands (UCL)

The paper addresses how myths of origin and genealogies of chiefship are related to material culture in the construction of localised identities. Cameroon will be taken as one setting where a fractured colonial history has encouraged a denial of the past and identification by modernising elites with global modernity in order to create a sense of national unity. The circulation and consumption of objects are integral to the opposition between the local and the global in modern politics.
The politics of representation

Tim Yates (Cambridge)

This paper maintains that one of the essential values of archaeology lies in its potential to disclose systems of representation (and thus experience) which differ radically from our own. The aim of analysis is not only to produce knowledge about past societies, but to produce knowledge about the contingency of the present and the systems - or 'regimes' - of signs which hold it in place. The present exercises its control over the past at many levels, both conscious and unconscious. These cross-cut the form and content of the interpretations offered. Control can thus be said to operate at two levels: the level of context/meaning, and the level of form/order. Within post-processual archaeology there has been much concern with the former, but control is equally active on the form of meaning - that is, solely at the level of representation. Control is exercised not only by legislating for certain relationships between signs, but by denying some forms of identity representation by signs. The paper discusses the potential for writing an archaeology critical of its contemporary context through reference to homosexuality and the Bronze Age rock carvings of Bohuslän, Sweden.

Traditions and deviancy: history and the construction of the subject in the welfare state

Chris Tilley (SUDC)

In this paper conceptions of deviancy are examined in sociohistorical perspective tracing the pattern of health care and discipline provided for those persons labelled as deviant in the modern welfare state. The analysis is concerned with the manner in which social identity is constructed through the formation of a 'tradition of deviancy' which has no conscious founders, authors, promoters but nevertheless develops and expands. It is argued that the constitution of the modern western subject can be best understood by looking at those individuals most 'subjected' to the power of the state through being labelled as deviant. Without the development of traditions of deviancy creating alter-egos in the contemporary welfare state ideas about social action and identity would be radically different. A specific case - that of the work of Temperance Boards in Sweden and changing material definitions, relating to particular historical circumstances, of what it means to be defined or to define yourself as an alcoholic - is used to illustrate the argument.

Whose texts? Questions of Interpretation and social reproduction by active subjects

Elizabeth Tonkin (University of Birmingham)

Memory helps to make us human social beings. It is not wholly private or personal and in action is hard to distinguish from cognitive ability. We use its coded representations of social action so as to know how to behave. In this sense, there are no societies without history and social reproduction is made possible by the exercise of memory.

Every individual, then, is a profoundly social being but also a necessarily active subject, having to choose from available models of action and of text which, by virtue of being in language, include a necessary choice of view. Histories - verbal representations of past events - offer guides to the future and claims about social identity. The social pasts they represent, produced by active subjects, will differ structurally according to the different social conditions of their production. Social change in turn contributes to changes in what is recalled and how, as do the demands of genre, form, through which recall has to be expressed. Material objects identified as significant (i.e. as having significance for particular social relationships) may act like genre to 'anchor' texts, but their apparent stability of significance may be illusory.

Concluding remarks

Mike Rowlands (UCL)
PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION AND IDENTITY IN
HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Matthew Johnson and David Austin (Lampeter)

One of the central insights of recent years is that material culture is actively constituted. In other words, objects are more than simply a passive reflection of either cultural adaptation or of cultural norms. Objects help in turn to create and enforce social categories. Pots are made by people, but the social practices in which those pots play a part recreate and change the relations between those people. This insight is particularly important in the later medieval and early modern periods. The ‘origins of capitalism’ involve a shift in the nature of material things, the meanings they signify and the identities they create.

In this session we want to explore this point by looking at contexts where strong, detailed contextual evidence can be brought to bear on the creation of identity through material culture in the past. We want to stress that this can happen in diverse ways and at several different levels that will vary according to context. Danny Miller has recently suggested that modernity involves creation of self-identity through consumption rather than production and this thesis should be critically assessed through studies of the way objects are used in the past as well as their production. The implication is that the process of creating identity is as contextually embedded as the particular form of identity produced. Different levels of identity produced will range from that of the self, through that of the household and community, to that of the region and nation: it will also vary along other scales and planes such as that of a craft tradition.

The papers in this session explore these issues in a variety of contexts within historical archaeology of the Old and New Worlds, from the Middle Ages to the present.

Constructing medieval gender Identities: estate, community and self

Roberta Gilchrist (University of East Anglia)

Gender identity is the private experience of gender role, in which an individual expresses social expectations through behaviour, dress, actions and material culture. This paper approaches the social creation of masculinity and feminity through the identity of settlements for male and female religious. Context is examined through the social meaning invested in landscapes, and the economic parameters set for settlements in their production and consumption. The institutional identity of the community and settlement is analysed in relation to the construction of self - with particular regard to the corporate gender identities of men and women in corresponding secular estates.

Funeral monuments and social Identity in Post-Medieval England

John Finch (University of East Anglia)

An examination of the development of church monuments in Norfolk will be used as a case study in the application of ‘post-processual’, and in particular ‘contextual’, approaches to the study of post-medieval material culture. Using a sample strictly delineated in time and space, I will argue that studies of material culture must be securely tied to a wide range of social and economic data, and will discuss the advantages which can be gained from using the more recent methodologies and theoretical approaches developed by local and regional historians for the study of local communities.

I will suggest that funerary monuments act in a multitude of contexts, simultaneously, and cannot be interpreted in simplistic, single terms: as, for example, instruments of ‘legitimation’. When examined in the context of detailed documentary sources, they can be seen within a ‘textured web of meaning’, and must be interpreted in multiple terms. Their meaning content could be influenced as much by patterns of relationships within individual families, as by patterns of power within communities, or by relationships within a wider, a national, peer group. The artefacts can thus be interpreted in terms of the concept of social status and identity: but in a complex, multi-faceted, multi-levelled way.

Most importantly, perhaps, these artefacts can be used for a critique of ideas about ‘context’. I will suggest that ideas of context which use a hierarchical vocabulary of ‘levels’ are prone to the same shortcomings as static essentialist or reductionist approaches. Funerary monuments illustrate how contexts need to be conceived as multiple, co-existent, dialectic, and diachronic. The determinants of their
form range from the creation of national and group identity to the architectural space of the individual church.

Only by combining a study of the artefacts with detailed examination of their entire social and economic context can real advances in the understanding of material culture be achieved.

Garden, class and social identity in eighteenth-century England

Tom Williamson (University of East Anglia)

The study of garden design in eighteenth-century England can throw considerable light on the role of material culture as an active element in social organisation. But it also raises important questions about the nature of context, and about the concept of 'legitimation'.

I will concentrate on the transition of the enclosed, geometric gardens of the seventeenth century to the 'natural' landscape parks of the eighteenth. Such landscapes developed alongside the triumph of agrarian capitalism. The landscape park served to make the contemporary social order appear natural, unchanging and inevitable.

But this kind of argument obscures the full complexity of what is going on in the landscape. Such arguments fail to explain fully the actual form, the style, of the landscape park. Why was this particular arrangement of grass, water and trees considered 'natural' by contemporaries? Concepts of nature are problematic and socially determined, and there were no truly 'natural' landscapes in the early modern period. The landscape park was largely based on one particular form of semi-natural landscape - the deer parks. It was a landscape of inherited, if reinterpreted, meaning.

But more importantly, I will argue that the landscape park was not 'caused' by any single thing: it did not 'represent' or 'reflect' a particular set of social relations. Rather it was structured by a whole range of factors, and its form determined by inherited codes and meanings, some of extreme antiquity. I will suggest that the growth of gentry wealth and power, and the spatial consolidation of their estates, created a canvas: their lifestyle could now be projected out onto an environment entirely under their control.

But the park also allowed a segregation of this lifestyle from that of others, and from the economic realities which sustained it. Parks were invariably much larger than earlier enclosed gardens. But they could be constructed, and maintained, at very little expense, one factor in the enthusiasm for a 'natural' appearance, which made maximum use of features existing in the landscape.

But equally importantly, parks also served to negotiate relationships within the ranks of the landed classes. Their adoption removed earlier stylistic differences between the gardens owned by people at different levels of the landed hierarchy. Parks expressed the common culture that defined membership of the landed elite. They emerged at a time when the nature of that elite was changing, under threat, and being redefined. Parks were thus about definition, the location of an individual within a group, but the way in which they did this was complicated, in a complex and changing society.

Mass dumping and the emergence of national identity

James Deetz (Berkeley)

Refuse deposits characterized by vast quantities of household goods and building materials occur at a number of locations along the eastern seaboard of the United States. All of these deposits can be dated to a very narrow time range in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Similar deposits were not created in either earlier or later times. They indicate wholesale discard of household goods accompanied by remodeling. The timing of this disposal suggests some connection with religious and secular movements, including the emergence of a distinctive separate American culture in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. An identical deposit was excavated in the summer of 1990 in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa, dating to the late 1860s or early 1870s. While only this single instance is known from South Africa thus far, its close similarity to the American deposits is highly suggestive, and may reflect a similar relationship to the emergence of a post-frontier, distinctive South African culture. Thus in both places the wholesale replacement of the older material world with a new and somewhat different one might be seen as a statement of separation from the parent English culture.
The Landscape of power: transformations of the English frontier in South Africa 1820-1860

Margot Winer (Berkeley)

Through historical archaeology the analysis of both indigenous and colonial material culture has become an important tool in the reinterpretation of the complexities and contradictions of South African history. This paper concerns changing British worldview in the process of British and indigenous confrontation on an uneasy held frontier. Although it focuses on only one aspect of the colonial process, this research is an integral part of the larger questions concerning British-Xhosa interaction and culture change. Early nineteenth century British colonial settlement on the eastern Cape frontier left a rich legacy of material culture. An examination of transformations of both the modified landscape and vernacular architecture reveals the ways in which settlers conceived of, ordered, and were affected by, their material world. British culture was transformed on the eastern Cape frontier: rather than re-creating the British forms with which they were familiar, settlers combined elements of the current Georgian order with the archaic forms of the preceding century, producing a cultural world which both reflected, and shaped, their new agrarian identity in the hostile environment of the frontier.

Cape Town in the early nineteenth century

Martin Hall (University of Cape Town)

Cape Town in the early nineteenth century was a city of contrasts, as is revealed in the archaeological record. A small merchant middle class dominated a far larger underclass, consisting of fishermen, washermen, labourers, porters and the like. Many of these were former slaves, freed with emancipation in 1838. However, the merchant class had a vested interest in attracting cosmopolitan investment to Cape Town, and systematically attempted to disguise class divisions in their town. Past artistic interpretations of Cape Town form an important part of this process of disguise. By assessing the archaeological record of early nineteenth century Cape Town against the graphic imagery of the city, we can reveal how ideology worked and harnessed material culture.

Making and re-making class in the landscape of Broome County NY, 1860 to 1940

Randall H. McGuire (SUNY, Binghamton)

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed a major restructuring of the nature and ideology of class relationships in the United States. At the beginning of the century the working class served the machines of industry and were of value to capitalism primarily for their labour. By the middle of the century they had become, in addition, major consumers of industrial output. This change both required and created a new relationship between owners and workers and a new ideology of class in the United States. This paper examines how two major capitalists in Broome county, one working at the end of the 19th century and the other in the beginning of the 20th century, attempted to make and re-make the cultural landscape of the area. Each sought to create a cultural landscape that would reflect and instil the ideology of class relations that favoured their interests. The working class people of Broome county were not simply duped by these efforts. Rather, they used and modified the landscape to advance their own interests and sense of identity.

Moctezuma to monumental margaritas: archaeological mediations of the conquest and constructions of Mexican identity, within and without

Justin R. Hyland (Berkeley)

Archaeology and archaeological representations have played, and continue to play, a pivotal role in the construction and maintenance of a Mexican national identity. The changing domestic and international perceptions of the pre-Columbian past in Mexico are traced from the turn of the century to the present. In the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution, facing the ideological as well as material task of incorporating Mexico's oppressed Indian and Mestizo peasantry into the new nation, the revolutionary government established the Secretariat of Public Education as the primary instrument of the state in the production and promulgation of a glorified Indian past. In essence, this move was an attempt to reconcile the ambivalence of the conquest four hundred years prior. Under the Secretariat, the forerunner of the present National
Institute of Anthropology and History sponsored both archaeological fieldwork and museography. The pre-Columbian and Indian heritage also found symbolic expression in the didactic social realist art of the Mexican muralists commissioned by the Secretariat. While still more or less successfully serving this internal function of forging a Mexican identity, more recently, in the context of first world/third world economic relations, Mexico's archaeological heritage has been increasingly commodified for the foreign exchange brought by tourism.

Gender, social age, and personal adornment in northern Kenya

Roy Larick (The Bement School, Deerfield MA, USA)

For most contemporary archaeology of prehistoric foraging and horticultural societies, material symbols (or utilitarian materials of high symbolic content) receive much less attention than seemingly pure utilitarian artefacts. Nevertheless, as complex aspects of social life, such as the constitution of gender and social age, emerge as archaeological goals for all periods, material symbols must come to focus more archaeological investigations and symbolic value must be sought in more types of material culture. I present the theory and method for an ethnographic case study that connects material symbols to the constitution of gender and social age through the medium of personal adornment. The symbols and their material underpinnings identify the close but indirect relationship between social prestige (the individualized goal of personal adornment) and base relationships of economic and political power. While the connection between material symbols and social process is complicated, many aspects generate the recognized archaeological keys of patterned materials or material patterns.

For Lokop (Samburu) cattle herders of northern Kenya, material symbols of personal adornment help to constitute gender and social age within common, face-to-face exchanges. The adornment of 'warriors' and 'bead girls' (social age analogues and gender mirror images of Lokop society) directly and graphically reflects the process. The material symbols of adornment help to reconcile the more surficial expressions of gender and social age with the more embedded base relations of economic and political power (negotiated across Lokop social institutions for age grading, patrilineal inheritance, and domestic production). Thus while warriors and bead girls are generally subordinated to older men and women in economics and politics, their social prestige (enhanced through personal adornment) helps them to achieve behavioural latitude in economic and political transactions. The form, content, and structure of Lokop personal adornment both reflect and develop the tension in constituting roles and transactions among numerous social factors.

Of methodological importance for the archaeology of social constitution, the crafting or production of adornment reflects rather directly the base relations of economic and political power as played out through conventions of gender and social age. Critical variables include the geographic/geological origins of raw materials and the mobility and movement of specific sub-components. The flow of raw materials reiterates the asymmetrical socio-political relationships between males and females that underlie the more egalitarian surface symbols. The flow of finished products recapitulates the economic interdigitation of patrilineals, also propelled through conventions of gender and social age. Thus the production of material symbols (as reflected in raw material and component structure) is as important in social constitution as their iconic form and content. Well-developed methods for investigating production and exchange may, therefore, apply within the archaeology of social constitution.

The work of Martin Hall and Margot Winer has been given support by UDUSA (Union of Democratic Universities in South Africa).

ARCHAEOLOGY IN IRELAND 1990: READING THE IRISH LANDSCAPE

Marek Zvelebil, Michael Gibbons, Stanton W. Green

This symposium critically appraises the landscape approach and its applications in Irish archaeology. The session begins with an examination of theory and method in landscape archaeology. Included in this is a discussion of distributional survey, geographic information systems, geoarchaeology, spatial sampling, and problems of interpretation. These theoretical themes are then examined within the context of case studies in Irish archaeology concerned with the recreation of the ancient landscape. Discussion concludes with a critical examination of landscape archaeology from the point of view of theory and practice, along with a summation of what we have learned from it about the prehistory and early history of Ireland.
The concept of landscape: a challenge for archaeology

Marek Zvelebil

This contribution with focus on three major trajectories in landscape archaeology: conceptualisation, space and time. Although many geographers, historians and archaeologists have been trying to define and interpret landscape, there is no general agreement about the meaning and the significance of the concept. The meaning of landscape is contingent on the time framework and the spatial scale adopted by the investigator.

This does not usually correspond to the reference scale of a social group or a society which may be the focus of study. Often, changes in the landscape occurring prior or after the time span reflected by the investigator are not fully examined. At the same time archaeologists are as a rule often unable to conceptualise landscapes in the way people in past societies did. As a consequence, an archaeologist faces problems of methodology and interpretation.

Drawing on the work of Bally Lough archaeological project in Ireland, the paper will address the different ways in which landscape can be perceived and conceptualised on the basis of archaeological fieldwork, palaeoenvironmental evidence and ethno-historical sources. The aim will be to illustrate the problems involved in moving from reconstruction to interpretation, and in assessing the significance of changes observed in landscape development for understanding social and economic change in past societies.

Prehistoric landscape change in Ireland: a geomorphological and palaeoenvironmental perspective

Mark G. Macklin

Geomorphological and pollen-based approaches to the reconstruction of prehistoric landscapes in Ireland are reviewed with particular emphasis on three research themes:

1. Dating and reconstructing episodes of human-induced landscape change.
2. Assessing the impact of prehistoric and early historic cultures on vegetation, river basin hydrology, sediment yields and valley floor sedimentation.
3. The significance of taphonomic processes in the patterning lithic scatters.

These themes are illustrated and explored using examples from research in the Waterford area, south-east Ireland, carried out in conjunction with the Bally Lough archaeological project. The river basin emerges as an appropriate spatial unit for collaborative research between archaeologists and palaeoenvironmentalists, and future applications of this approach are advocated in other well developed alluvium-covered archaeological landscapes in Ireland.

Landscape theory and geographic Information systems

Stanton W. Green

H.J. Fleure proposes that "Geography, history and anthrology are a trilogy to be broken only with a severe loss of truth". Evans further specifies a trilogy for regional studies to include habitat (physical environment), heritage (social and cultural inheritance from prehistory) and history (written records). The two seminar propositions lead to the view that anthrology, geography and history should 'interpenetrate' rather than 'amalgamate' (Evans). Interestingly, Evans saw this approach as running counter to the passion for enumeration of landscape theory in conjunction with the development of his methodology forming a powerful combination for regional integrative (interpenetrating) studies.

This paper discusses the benefits of joining the conceptual framework of landscapes with the methodological facilities of GIS. Several primary points are made. First, GIS is more than a computer technique for plotting spatial information. It is a means of creatively describing and analysing spatial data in ways previously not possible. Second, such a GIS methodology must be attached to a conceptual framework
to form a basis for landscape interpretation. Landscape theory as derived from Fleure, Evans, Sauer, Mitchell and others provides such a basis. Finally, such a landscape approach has exciting potential for interpreting the array of cultural behaviours of interest to archaeologists including social organisation, economy, land use, settlement.

A siteless survey of the Irish landscape: method and applications

Geraldine Stout

The Sites and Monuments Record Office, Dublin was established in March 1985 to compile a rapid office based survey of 16 counties representing over 50% of the Irish landscape, as effectively and thoroughly as possible. A total of 12 counties have been completed and work on counties Mayo and Tipperary is ongoing. The approach taken is systematic and objective. The record is compiled by integrating information from documentary, cartographic and aerial photographic sources, each supplementing the other to produce as comprehensive a record as is possible in a remote survey.

This work has provided a unique opportunity to view the Irish landscape on a macroscale. It is essentially providing a context and a firmer foundation for undertaking regional analysis of settlement patterns. Distribution patterns are emerging in such an overview, some augmenting previously held observations, others changing the picture of settlement dramatically. General statements can be made on the extent to which the distribution patterns have been affected by external factors such as site destruction caused by landscape change or biases due to intensive fieldwork. This database is a baseline for all future landscape studies.

An upland prehistoric landscape in the Dartry mountain range

Michael Gibbons and Tom Condit

The complex is located on an elevated peat covered limestone plateau (Ben Bulben) that rises to a height of 2,000 feet. The undulating plateau offers little in the way of shelter from the elements. Limestone and bogland provide an extraordinary and unusual combination of karstic and peatland topography. Ongoing vertical aerial survey augmented by a field survey and placename studies has uncovered an incredibly rich relict landscape of great diversity on this apparently inhospitable terrain. Of particular importance are a range of settlement features including a number of large stone enclosures found in association with very extensive pre-bog field boundaries. In addition five groups of houses, one of which has more than twenty individual houses, have been located. The very fine megalithic tombs discovered challenge the long accepted fivefold classification of the Irish series. The complex which covers an area of over 800 hectares has great implications for our understanding of prehistoric utilisation of the uplands as well as for our understanding of the less well preserved material surviving as isolated monuments in the lowlands. The presence of a well ordered and apparently sophisticated prehistoric settlement on the plateau raises once again the contentious issue of what constitutes marginality in a prehistoric environment. Of considerable interest are the possible reasons for the apparently sudden abandonment of this plateau (and its subsequent envelopment in peat). Future archaeological, environmental and climatic studies may provide the answers to why this prehistoric landscape was destabilised to the extent that its inhabitants forsake their fields, their houses and their tombs.

Cluster analysis of ringforts in the southwest midlands

Matthew Stout

The basic morphological similarity of ringforts in Ireland has made it impossible to suggest a classification reflecting the various strata of Early Christian society. A recent paper has rejected a simple size ranking approach and pointed towards the importance of exogenous indicators of a ringfort's status (Warren 1988). Working along similar lines, I have attempted a statistical classification of ringforts in the baronies of Ilkern, Co. Tipperary, and Clonlisk, Co. Offaly (Stout M. 1989). This was possible due to the availability of pre-existing surveys (Stout G. 1984; Stout G. forthcoming) and the assistance of Dr. Alexander, formerly of Trinity College, Dublin. One of the statistical packages used in this analysis, Clustan, identifies clusters, or clouds of points representing, in this case, individual ringforts, with every variable influencing the position of each point (Wishart 1970). Fourteen continuous variables relating to morphology, location and distribution were measured for each ringfort. The results of this procedure were five distinctive clusters, or classes of ringforts. On the basis of a variety of statistical measures relating to each cluster and an analysis of the
individual cluster distributions the following attributes relating to individual groups were observed; Cluster 1 was made up of widely separate (959 m), low-lying (101 m) platform ringforts. Cluster 2 ringforts had impressive defences but small interiors (28.60 m). Cluster 3 was the largest group (38% of all sites) and represented ‘typical’ ringforts, these were rarely found in close proximity to Cluster 2 sites. Cluster 4 consisted of ringforts with very large overall diameters (67.63 m), located near territorial boundaries, and include the three sites in the study area which had internal features. Finally, Cluster 5 ringforts had the smallest mean overall diameter (39.64 m) and the highest mean altitude (212 m), they occurred in groups spatially associated with Cluster 2 sites. In a summary of these results a hypothetical model of Early Christian settlement was constructed attributing the clusters to the different grades of society as set out in the law tracts. I hope to publish these results in the near future.


Demesne landscapes

Terence Reeves-Smyth

Both the term and concept of ‘demesne’ survived in Ireland from the medieval period to the early twentieth century, when the Irish estate system was finally dismantled. Although always dependent upon the surrounding estate, the demesne functioned as an independent high ranking territorial unit with a wide and consistent range of distinctive economic and domestic activities. The varied archaeological remains associated with these activities, for example deer parks, fishponds, gardens or mills, have a wide occurrence in the Irish landscape, but have received little serious attention to date. In highlighting this material, attention will focus upon both temporal and spatial dimensions of demesne development. Particularly important is the process of landscape ornamentation, initially the formal and later the informal styles, which affected the size and layout of the demesne, whilst retaining its principal characteristics. The consensus of dater derived from demesne research can provide material to erect schematic models of settlement hierarchy for medieval and post-medieval contexts.

The landscape of Tir na N-óg: the role of the Imaginative perspective in environmental archaeology

John Feehan

The broadening of the archaeological horizon beyond an essential but narrow concern with typology and chronology has given to archaeology the sort of depth of vision which the advent of ecology gave to the life sciences in the early part of this century. Apart from its mind-blowing impact on its own practitioners, the enlarged perspective has given to archaeology in Ireland a new power to reach into the popular mind in a way which has seldom been possible before. This birth of a new archaeology is taking place at a time when advances in education are producing a public which is more eager and receptive than at any earlier time to the excitement of archaeology - whatever that may be, although the central core of what exactly we should be concerned to communicate to the non-professional audience has received much less attention than the detail which revolves around it. It may be claimed that the archaeological education of the broader community is not the concern of the professional archaeologist, but it can be argued that it is in fact the most radical and urgent task facing archaeology today. The new archaeology has opened up exciting possibilities not only on the educational front, but has given a new relevance to the role of archaeology in landscape heritage conservation, and in the development and broadening of environmental awareness.
Eating and Drinking in Lampeter.
These developments are explored, and some related and unrelated practical initiatives are outlined and assessed.

FEMINIST THEORY AND GENDER STUDIES

Susie West (Norfolk Archaeological Unit)

"One of the tasks of women's history is to call into question accepted schemes of periodisation. To take the emancipation of women as a vantage point is to discover that events that further the historical development of men, liberating them from natural, social or ideological constraints, have quite different, even opposite effects upon women. The Renaissance is a good case in point..." (Joan Kelly-Gadol, 1985, "Did Women have a Renaissance?", in Kelly, Women, History and Theory: the collected essays of Joan Kelly, University of Chicago).

Dip into the above collection of essays and read about the Renaissance as it is never taught in schools. This text throws up many ideas around notions of relative experience between genders through time, and the basis of periodisation. Then consider the implications of feminist questions about periodisation for archaeology. Montefiore's Three Age system is usually taken as the beginning of modern archaeological theory. Periodisation has been refined and expanded: we suggest this has always been done in ways that never question an assumed identity of experience between the sexes. Now try this one: women's experience of the later Bronze Age was necessarily different from men's. (Clue: concepts of sex roles change through time.) Is a technological base for periodisation now of less help or indeed a hindrance to feminist discussion?

This year's session should break the mould of reading papers at audiences, and build on 1989's enthusiasm for collaborative discussion. The opening theme will be that of the Joan Kelly quote, which last year's session participants have been invited to read. From this, we can consider the problems of defining the relation of feminist theory to archaeological methodology, and the relative value of different feminist approaches.

Speakers will present brief suggestions (c. 10 minutes) of new ways into topics using an inclusive feminism of sex, class, age and ethnicity. This brevity will allow ample time for stimulating floor discussions, so well demonstrated in 1989, hence the 'workshop' format.

This session is going to function as a means of networking for personal contacts and for information sources: reading lists will be available. It is not intended to be a primary forum for the presentation of new research, but to discuss the groundwork of means and motives for such work.

ARCHITECTURE AND ORDER

Michael Parker-Pearson (Sheffield) and Colin Richards (Glasgow)

This session follows up a similar one from last year, which focussed on the symbolic use of space and architecture. Archaeologists often still employ a simple opposition to distinguish between the symbolic and the practical (though surely not those who go to TAG!). Houses and social space are frequently topics for argument over what is 'functional' in contrast to what is 'symbolic'; the more functionally-minded would consider the 'symbolic' to consist of those aspects for which no 'practical' explanation can be found. The session aims to resolve this misconception by looking at the ways in which social space is constructed as reality rather than a fulfilment of 'human needs' for shelter, heating and activity differentiation.

Buildings are loci of routinized activities which, in British culture, sometimes border on the compulsive. Some of us will know of cases of obsessive cleaning (both of the body and the home), of the perceived dirt and pollution caused by human presence, and of the threatening nature of 'liminal' spaces such as thresholds. This recent phenomenon indicates something of the power that buildings may exert over the human psyche, a fact noted by many anthropologists working in other parts of the world. As someone said: 'first we build the buildings and then they build us'.

Buildings provide a sense of place and order, carefully divided spatially and temporally for social activities, rituals and intimacies. They may work as cosmological referents (the house or temple as 'axis mundi'), as homologies of the wider social world and as markers to place and tradition. The house may
symbolize the reproductive unit, kin relationships and a broader social structure, as well as forming a calendrical and conceptual model of reality. From our study of buildings, we can begin to build up links with other spheres and scales of activity - food and cooking, the agricultural cycle, the 'houses' of the dead, the built environment and the cultural landscape.

In this session, speakers will look at archaeological and ethnographic examples of the symbolic formulation of architecture, ranging from the European Neolithic to Dogon architecture in West Africa.

The Neolithic house in Europe

Ian Hodder (Cambridge)

The aim of this paper is to argue that the meaning of space in Neolithic European houses cannot be understood except in reference to spatial meanings in 'other' contexts, especially tombs. Whereas I have in the past argued that Neolithic tombs 'mean' houses, I want in the paper both to further substantiate that claim with new evidence from Poland and Orkney for example, but also to look the other way round at how this burial context 'acts back' on the way that domestic space is defined and given meaning. I will also discuss how these meanings are transformed through time in the European Neolithic.

Food, front doors and fertility in the British Iron Age

Mike Parker-Pearson

The settlement archaeology of the 1st millennium BC has made great advances in recovering building plans and inferring construction techniques. We may no longer call roundhouses 'huts' yet their symbolic significance (in their form, positioning and orientation) has often been overlooked or misinterpreted. The deposition of refuse within settlements has been considered largely as rubbish disposal and less in terms of the regenerative qualities of middening. The animal bones and plant remains from these 'rubbish deposits' have been presented in excavation reports under the misleading titles of 'economy' or 'environment' when we would do better to consider their analysis in terms of human diet and food symbolism.

Concern with high status goods (weaponry, imports etc.), and economic differentiation, along with our separation of matters 'ritual' from the domestic and practical realm have blunted our appreciation of the potential importance of food, its preparation, consumption and disposal, as ceremonial activities staged within the social 'arena' of the settlement. We can begin to construct a social history of food and drink for some regions in southern Britain during the 1st millennium, which brings together our studies of houses, settlements, refuse, pottery, animal bones, plant remains, other artefacts and their distributions. We may also shed light on the changing central values of these societies, with implications for the subsequent period of Roman occupation. Whilst this revised interpretation may ostensibly mirror popular obsessions with organic farming, food fads and mystical alignments, it should help us to re-evaluate our perspective, dominated by conceptions of technology and economy, for explaining the archaeological evidence for that period.

The temporal structuring of settlement among the Dogon: an ethnoarchaeological study

Paul Lane

This paper is based on the results of recent fieldwork among the Dogon of Mali. Its aims are to illustrate how the organisation of space and architecture contribute to the reproduction and transformation of Dogon society. The basic theme to be discussed will be the regular restructuring of space in response to the developmental cycle of the domestic group. This, it will be argued, carries with it scope for change, and hence poses a threat to the existing structure of settlement. So as to contain this threat, specific symbols, including ones which draw on the durability and form of architecture, are mobilised by the dominant ideology. One consequence of this is the selective preservation of key structures, while others are allowed to decay. In the concluding section of the paper the recursive effects of these conservation practices, and their implications for an understanding of the archaeology of Dogon settlement will be elaborated.
The sign of five: action and order in Balinese life
Colin Richards (University of Glasgow)

For a Balinese, life is a highly structured and ritualistic existence. The living compound is one area where cosmological principles of order directly intervene in daily routines, being divided into nine areas, some of which are physically demarcated, others not. In this paper the spatial and temporal definition of different areas within the house, compound, and temple will be examined in terms of the movement and activities of people. The extension of the principles of order manifest in the house and temple to other contexts of daily life will also be examined.

‘Of no fixed abode’: the functional, social and symbolic organisation of space in hunter-gatherer communities.
T.M. Whitelaw (Cambridge)

This paper aims to eliminate two dichotomies which have emerged in recent archaeological and ethnoarchaeological investigations of the use of space. The first concerns a contrast between the functional organisation of space among hunter-gatherer societies, exemplified by work on ‘site structure’ by Binford and others, and the symbolic organisation of household and community space among sedentary society, following an established line of anthropological inquiry, currently stressed by contextual archaeologists and ethnoarchaeologists.

While reflecting a consistent bias in recent anthropological and ethnoarchaeological fieldwork, which has stressed ecological and functional perspectives on foraging societies, sufficient evidence exists to indicate that the spatial environment created and perceived by members of foraging societies is as richly imbued with symbolic and social meaning as that of members of more sedentary societies. Taking a cross-cultural perspective, this paper will explore some of the differences in the social and symbolic organisation of space between mobile and sedentary communities, which may be the result of different degrees of residential stability.

The second contrast, exacerbated by the artificial divide noted above, is the explicit counterposition of functional vs symbolic perspectives on the organisation of space in communities in recent archaeological and ethnoarchaeological studies. It is argued that this polarisation reflects a bias in different investigative strategies, rather than any real distinction ‘on the ground’ - functional, social and symbolic concerns are relevant at all scales of spatial organisation, and a full understanding of community spatial organisation must incorporate and integrate all three perspectives. This is not to argue that all can, at present, be addressed with equal ease through the archaeological record; strategies for pursuing such an integrated approach will be illustrated with ethnnoarchaeological data from mobile foraging groups.

Space, speech and image as media of religious and social perception
Pam Graves

The primary requirement for the physical arrangements in a medieval parish church would be that they house the community and facilitate the repeated performance of the Mass, the central rite in the medieval Christian liturgy. It is obvious, however, from looking at what survives, that a great deal of the medieval fabric was erected and divided internally under local secular patronage. The action of the Mass may be the primary template for our understanding of the arrangements, but the practices and emphasis of the Mass did not stay unchanged throughout the middle ages, and it was not the only activity, religious or secular, to take place routinely in the church. The creation and reproduction of the Christian subject was inseparable from those of diverse local and distant authorities.

One of the greatest dislocations in the spatial arrangements of churches in the later middle ages was the change from open, relatively uncluttered naves, to the introduction of benches or pews. This paper will focus on the extent to which open space was used and compare it to more sedentary worship. The paper will look at how both visual and verbal sources were mobilised to sustain theological and authoritative meanings. It will ask how perceptions were formed and changed under these conditions. Can an analysis of space and social practice in these contexts be sensitive to changes in Christian subjectivities, or challenges
to religious authority?

The work in this paper will focus on individual case studies although the questions asked are more general. The work is based on the premise that space acts as a medium through which society and different kinds of knowledge are recursively reproduced.

THE SOCIAL ROLE OF THE URBAN ARCHAEOLOGIST

Charles Mundy and Hal Dalwood

In recent years urban archaeologists in Britain have come into contact with other professionals who look on archaeology as a source of data, but whose ideas and aims are unfamiliar. In particular, historical geographers have developed new theoretical frameworks in the study of urban morphology that have exciting implications for all urban archaeologists.

Large-scale urban redevelopment schemes have involved urban archaeologists with those responsible for change to the form and function of the urban fabric (local authority planning departments, development companies, and architects) as well as those charged with relating the current urban fabric to its historic context (educators, designers, and artists) - all of whom may look to archaeology for information, inspiration, and legitimacy.

In the context of the recent and on-going debate about the 'heritage industry', and the nature of the relationship between the archaeologist and her/his culture, we believe that this session will develop some new frameworks for debate, as well as expose the role of the archaeologist in modern society. The session includes scholars and practitioners from a range of disciplines including: urban archaeology, historical geography, social history, and environmental art and design.

Session chair: Charles Mundy

Archaeology - It's not what you do, it's the way that you do it

Charles Mundy (Hereford and Worcester County Council Archaeology Section)

In search of a context: archaeology and town planning

Nigel Baker (Birmingham University)

Urban development, urban design, and archaeology

John Punter (Reading University)

Archaeology through art

Peter Milner (Environmental Arts Trust)

Oral history and archaeology

Donald Hyslop (Southampton City Museum)

Discussant: Dominic Perring (English Heritage)

EMOTION IN ARCHAEOLOGY

John Carman (Cambridge) and Jeremy Meredith (Cambridge)

Archaeologists are not by nature cold-blooded beings and yet they tend to avoid engaging with emotion in their work. It is generally assumed to be difficult to identify past emotion and emotional responses in the archaeological record; certainly few have tried. At the same time, an emphasis on 'scientific' archaeology has denied archaeologists the opportunity to consider their own aesthetic and emotional responses to their material and how this affects their work. This day-long session aims to provide a framework within which such
matters can be discussed, using a deliberately broad notion of what the term emotion covers.

We recognise three inter-related themes which may be of value in considering this issue. A number of subject areas cross-cut these themes providing a grid of ideas and fields in and around which discussion may take place. On this basis, we plan to arrange the session around the following questions:

Emotion versus Rationality
- Are human beings ever either purely rational or emotional in their behaviour? What are the factors which lead to decision-making on a rational or emotional basis?
- What is the role of 'intuition' in archaeology? What is intuition - and is it emotional in basis or a form of rationality?
- The problem of aesthetics: speaking rationally about beauty. Aesthetic judgements: rational or emotional? The ascription of value.
- Archaeology: a thanatophbic neurosis?

The Recognition of Emotion (in the past)
- Can we identify ancient concepts of beauty? Is art a purely modern concept? Are we at all justified in talking of ancient 'art'? Is it possible to identify the origins of the performance arts - theatre, dance - in the record? Does a threshold-floor indicate theatrical performances? Do musical instruments mean music as an art - or merely organised sound-making?
- Can we identify grief in the archaeological record? What about panic (as at Pompeii)? Are certain emotions universal? How do we know?
- Can we recognise ancient humour in the archaeological record? Is it funny? (If not, how do we know it is humour?)

The Generation of Emotion (today)
- Can we separate our emotional response to archaeological material from our academic approaches to it? Do we choose our material on the basis of its aesthetic appeal? Aesthetics in museum displays.
- 'Museums of outrage' - is it permissible/necessary/desirable to produce displays specifically designed to generate a sense of outrage in the viewer? How do we cope with issues such as the Nazi Holocaust, slavery, political oppression? Does the passage of time render all human acts to the category 'data'?
- Presentation skills. Does archaeology need 'quality' writing? Conferences as theatre. 'Science' as detachment: must we hold our feelings in check all the time?

The session will be organised around relatively few formal papers to allow maximum time for plenary discussion. A number of different means of presentation will be tried: 'team' presentation, with each of two discussion-leaders adopting a different position with regard to a particular issue; poetry-reading (a blatantly emotional response to the archaeological heritage); drama. We aim to produce an exciting, intellectually-stimulating arena in which free-flowing discussion will lead to the generation of new ideas and approaches.

A possible role for intuitive understanding in archaeology

John Caman

From the outset, archaeology as a discipline has been concerned ultimately with the people of the past. As Mortimer Wheeler put it: "We aren't just digging up things; we are digging up people". Accordingly, archaeology remains a humanistic area of study and it is this quality which constitutes much of its appeal. This appeal - whatever we may say - is essentially an emotional one.

We are all even more emotionally involved with our modern lives. We make judgements concerning what is happening to us and those around us on the basis of that personal emotional involvement in our daily lives. The mechanism for making such judgements has been studied by psychologists and is called 'intuition'. The interesting thing about intuition is that its capacity for making correct assessments of any social situation is a high one and is based upon a knowledge and understanding of other people.

This paper will explore the nature of intuition as a phenomenon and the hidden role it presently plays in our understanding and interpretation of the archaeological record. The aim will be to engender discussion concerning the possibility of a more refined role for this valuable tool in making sense of the material culture.

27
of the past.

In the eye of the beholder: beauty and aesthetics in archaeology

Jeremy Meredith

Archaeology has been reluctant to consider aesthetics in the past because of its non-quantifiable, emotional character. However considerations of what is attractive, what constitutes beauty and what is tasteful affect all aspects of our lives at the individual, emotional level within a wider, social context. This is reflected in our attitudes to archaeological theory, methodology, publication and museum presentation.

I hope critically to examine the ways that our society, and archaeologists in particular, use and discuss aesthetics. This will be compared with concepts of beauty, attraction and value suggested by an ethnoarchaeological example from Tanzania. I will ask whether we can talk of aesthetics outside a modern western context, and if so can we go beyond broad cross-cultural generalisation.

I will suggest that only after a critical examination of the role of personal, emotive responses in the shared value system of our own culture can we start to recognise such responses in other societies, including those in the past.

Untitled

Simon Kaner

This film demonstrates the use of avant-garde video editing techniques to illustrate archaeology in and around the city of Cambridge. Intercutting between objects, people and landscape panoramas, visual images are used to emphasise the totality of the archaeological experience and point up the enormity of human impact on the environment. Archaeology is shown to be essentially aesthetic in nature and a phenomenon to which we respond with our whole selves - our senses, our reason, our emotions.

Towards an understanding of humour and archaeology

Bill Stilr

A capacity for comedy may well be something that is common to all humanity. Laughter is an involuntary action, a respiratory convulsion excited by certain ideas, thoughts or events. But this physical reaction is cognitive in as much as we have to understand the social situation before we are 'tickled' into laughter.

Humour is used to create and define human groups. Archaeologists have their own 'in-jokes' and humour is also directed at archaeologists by those outside the discipline. Frequently, such group definition requires the 'sending-up' of other groups by mimicry or the adoption of some symbolic metaphor for them. Is it possible that what archaeologists have seen as the diffusion of religious symbols or art styles may in fact represent their rejection rather than their acceptance?

Emotional responses and archaeology

Ian Hodder

This contribution will aim to do three things:

Review and discuss the literature on the 'anthropology of emotion'.

Give some examples of personal emotional responses in both excavation and theory: my involvement in 'post-processual' archaeology is almost entirely based on emotion. There is also a link between emotion and creativity which may usefully be explored.

To air the notion that in a society which is emotionally absorbed with cleanliness, human and animal rights and so on, we will soon stop excavating human burials - not just American Indians but 'Beaker people' too!
CONSTRUCTING LANDSCAPE/CONSTRUCTING THE SUBJECT

Chris Philo and Julian Thomas (SDUC)

In view of the emergence of parallel interests within the disciplines of archaeology and human geography - parallels which have become apparent to us through discussions between our two departments in Lampeter - we have convened an interdisciplinary session which will address two central themes:

(1) The construction and representation of landscape

The way in which past and present landscapes have been moulded, interpreted in various ways by human subjects in those landscapes, and then reinterpreted for other audiences and for other purposes. The very idea of 'landscape' is obviously thrown into question here, as too is the notion of precisely how landscapes are experienced, appropriated and 'read'.

(2) The constitution of the subject in time and space

The way in which the organisation of human activities in time and space is intimately bound up with the 'making' and the 'disciplining' of human beings as subjects. This set of concepts has recently been stressed in both human geography and archaeology (using materials derived from time-geography, Giddens and Foucault, amongst other sources), and perhaps the potential now exists for a dialogue.

Obviously, we do not expect participants to be deeply familiar with developments in the 'other' discipline, and so to a point we are looking for a 'reporting back' of current lines of enquiry - relating to the two above themes - being pursued by the speakers. We hope that this will lead to a productive discussion. In particular, we will be interested to consider whether archaeology is still merely drawing upon geography, as it took place in the era of 'spatial science' and location analysis, or whether archaeologists are now thinking distinctively about certain issues, such as the constitution of the 'self', and in a manner that geographers could usefully engage with.

Space, landscape and the subject in geography and archaeology

Chris Philo and Julian Thomas (SDUC)

In this introductory paper, the possibilities of a dialogue between social archaeology and human geography are considered. In the era following the rejection of 'spatial science', both disciplines have developed an interest in the landscape and the human subject as culturally and socially constructed. Here we intend to draw attention to both the present potential and some past precedents for a convergence of interest.

Geography and archaeology: the historical connections between two disciplines

Mike Heffernan (Department of Geography, Loughborough University)

This paper examines the ideological basis of archaeological, historical and geographical research in different parts of the Mediterranean during the nineteenth century, with particular reference to government-sponsored French scholarship in this region. The paper seeks to demonstrate how the landscapes and histories of the ancient Mediterranean world were interpreted in the light of the political debates which raged within France during the nineteenth century.

Ways into landscape

Barbara Bender (Department of Anthropology, UCL)

This paper will assess the contribution to an understanding of the concept of landscape made by such early luminaries as W.G. Hoskins.
Constable (Symbolism, psychology, self, landscape)

Peter Bishop (Nottingham University)

Notions of the signifier and the signified pervade postmodern theorising in disciplines as diverse as geography and psychology. By examining various readings of 'Constable country', this paper addresses issues arising from such a distinction. The imaginal landscape of Constable country is shown to consist of a number of levels: from the literal regional terrain to that embodied within Constable's work itself; from regions imaginatively fashioned by either ideological criticism or affirmation of Constable's paintings, to a place that loosely pervades popular culture. It is shown that each of these 'Constable countries' present images both of landscape and of the subject. In particular the paper attempts to assess the significance of poiesis, of plurality and fragmentation, of nostalgia and aesthetics, in contemporary cultural analysis.

Constructing a ritual landscape

Christopher Tilley (SDUC)

This paper discusses the megalithic monuments of Västergötland, central southern Sweden and relates their constructional form, orientation, positioning, and patterns of artefact deposition to features of the landscape. It is argued that these tombs both constructed and served to naturalize a ritual space essential for societal reproduction through duplicating a specific set of features found in the environment such as the form of the natural topography and rock types. The monuments formed part of a process involving a double transformation - that of the natural into the cultural and vice versa. This was also duplicated in the form and nature of burial practices and artefact deposition at the sites. This constituted a fundamental part of the way in which the populations using the monuments made sense of their social world and their relationship to the cosmos.

Gender, space and the idea of the suburb 1800-1870

Susan Ford (Bolton Institute)

This paper focusses on the iconography of the nineteenth century suburb examining the individual components of house and garden as well as the overall urban scene. The suburban landscape provided a fresh landscape - an unencumbered space free from the tainting influence of the city - onto which the bourgeoisie could inscribe their values. The design and configuration of this landscape represented and reinforced values of gender, class and family. The form and layout of suburbia is primarily accessed through the work of John Claudius Loudon - the principal arbiter of suburban tastes of this period - and also through the writings of his wife, Jane Webb Loudon, who is perhaps better known for her popularisation of botany for ladies. The iconographic and biographical approach has been adopted as a pragmatic solution to researching the intensely private world of the suburban home. The designs of suburban homes and gardens, even those unrealised, present a substantial body of information about a world hidden as much by its inhabitant's rigid adherence to Victorian social convention as by the exotic shrubs of their villa gardens.

The archaeology of place

John Barrett (Glasgow University)

This paper will contrast the concept of 'place' as being a region of time-space constituted through the engagements of social practice, with the archaeological concept of the 'site' as representing the totality of a locale. It will be argued that places are only ever partially known to the agents who occupy them; they are explored, revealed and hidden through time. Sites, on the other hand, appear available to the archaeologist at a single moment through the perusal of a plan. These differences are fundamental, they describe different kinds of engagement by which a locale is given meaning and is understood by either the occupant or the archaeologist. Failure to understand this difference has resulted in archaeologists laying emphasis upon 'planning' to explain the creation of various forms of spatial order instead of attempting to understand that creativity emerging from the regionalised practices of human agency.
Where are we now? After postmodernism

Nigel Thrift (Bristol University)

This paper will attempt to summarize what is left of social theory after postmodernism. I will concentrate on a number of issues, including our understanding of the nature of theory, our understanding of language and text, the nature of reflexivity, the problem of spectacularisation, and the problem of historicism. I will refer to why these issues have touched both geography and archaeology.

MUSEUMS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Alison Sheridan (National Museum of Scotland)

Much - many would feel far too much - has been said in recent years on the commercialisation of Britain’s past and the burgeoning of museums and H‘*‘ centres. Older-established museums, the butt of much vilification, are faced with the challenge of responding to these trends, whilst retaining their integrity as multi-purpose institutions.

Amidst the welter of current museological debate is the issue of how archaeological material is presented to the public: in other words, how (and whether, and by whom) the past is interpreted and portrayed for public consumption.

An important sub-theme in this issue is the question of whether museum displays do or should reflect changes in archaeologists’ interpretations of the past. Does academic archaeology have anything to offer museums?

Each paper in this session offers a stimulating contribution to this debate. TAG participants are invited to add their own views.

At the cutting edge

Victoria Pirie

Squat grunting savages? Museums and archaeology

Caroline Wickham-Jones

This paper will raise some issues concerning museums and prehistoric archaeology. The title is drawn from the Symbols of Power exhibition, a temporary exhibition held in the (then) National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1985. The exhibition provided a stimulating interpretation of one aspect of stone age archaeology for the public. The paper has arisen as a result of a study of the permanent displays of stone age archaeology in seven Scottish museums, made for the Masters Degree in Heritage Management at Birmingham University.

Museums are important in archaeology because they are one of the main ways in which people learn about the past. Museums today are changing greatly. Gone are the cabinets of curiosities, and the didactic educational institutions of the past. Displays now provide interpretation. Interpretation is very different from presentation, and the definition of interpretation will be examined, as will its place in a museum.

As archaeologists we should all be concerned with the messages that museums are conveying. Some of the messages that were found in Scottish museums will be discussed, and the paper will also look at the possibilities of incorporating current issues of theoretical archaeology into museum displays.

No answers will be offered.

Title

Eva Bredsdorff
An objective subject or subjective object: finding a role for archaeology in museums

Neil Curtis

Marischal College has just opened a new gallery which deals with the character of North East Scotland.

It it an archaeology gallery? Are museums now part of academic archaeology? What relationship has academic archaeology to museums?

SCIENCE STRIKES BACK
AFTER DETAILED ANALYSIS ...

James Rackham (Museum of London)

'Science fiction: Scientism and Technism in Archaeology' at TAG 1989 in Newcastle 'apparently' launched an attack on the scientific approach to archaeology, archaeological science and archaeological scientists. Much of the discussion was aimed at the environmental wing of the subject and essentially the empirical approach and environmental determinism were criticised as illustrating a fundamental lack of awareness of current 'mainstream' archaeological and social theory. The word scientism was used to describe the current approach, to use John Barrett's definition "... this characterises the tendency to accept the validity of knowledge claims merely because they arise out of the application of conventional scientific techniques". The papers in this session present some responses, though not necessarily retaliatory. They adopt both empirical and theoretical approaches offering scope for discussion. They may suggest that 'scientism' is the product of the archaeological users of 'scientific' results rather than the 'scientists' themselves.

Introduction - who has no theoretical basis

James Rackham (Museum of London)

Many of the criticisms made at last year's TAG session on scientific archaeology were valid. To use a phrase coined by Terry O'Connor, environmental material is 'data looking for a model' (damn! that sounds empirical). My paper will query the perceived role of the scientist in archaeology, and the point at which the use of scientific theories give way to archaeological and social theory. Interpretation at any level is fallible, scientific or otherwise.

Environmental archaeological research in the 1990s

A.K.G. Jones (York Archaeological Trust)

It is time to take stock of the considerable amount of research that has been undertaken in environmental archaeology, the changes taking place within the archaeological community and archaeological practice. Factors to be taken into account include:

(i) The large and rapidly growing number of published accounts of animal and plant remains from excavations.

(ii) Increasing cost of storage, analysis and publications.

(iii) The enormous taphonomic loss that has affected most assemblages of biological remains. In many cases we are only able to study a minute and very biased sample of animal and plant remains that once abounded on sites.

(iv) The inability of many environmental investigations to answer the questions posed by archaeologists.

It is becoming clear that an approach based on the premise that animal and plant remains must be studied if they are recovered is anachronistic if not nonsensical.

A new framework must be built, based on carefully thought out research priorities, but taking care not to rule out serendipity.
Perhaps the following guidelines might be a useful starting point:

(i) Rapid assessment of sites and deposits in situ and immediately after excavation by independent experienced research staff.

(ii) Acknowledgement that much of the material excavated is of poor quality and at best confirms published accounts of similar material. Such material should be assessed and archived with a minimum of effort and expense.

(iii) Drawing up, and carrying out, disposal policies for excavated material.

(iv) Publication by FAX, EMAIL, XEROX rather than printed for much data and many reports - with emphasis on popular media, TV, radio, video, booklets.

Is there a philosophy for archaeological science?

Phil Bethell (Liverpool) and Carl Heron (Bradford)

Archaeological science, increasingly called science-based archaeology, usually refers to the application of the physio-chemical and biological sciences to archaeological problems. It should not imply that archaeology itself if anything other than a science in its own right.

Increased funding and a higher profile have steered archaeological science into a central position within the discipline. On the one hand this led to an IFA plenary session on archaeological science in 1990. On the other, one TAG session in 1989 (Science Fiction: Scientism, Technism and Archaeology) went on the offensive with a series of telling critiques of the assumptions of much of science-based archaeology (Fleming and Johnson 1990, Antiquity 64, 303-6).

Productive dialogue between archaeologists and laboratory scientists is usually excused by a lack of understanding of complex scientific data, although one commentator has humorously but significantly reversed this statement ('Hard Archaeology: Too hard for scientists?'). If there is no conceptual framework for the application of scientific techniques to archaeology, then archaeological science is simply a glorification of The Method. In the positive sense, archaeologists can contribute to the refinement of scientific applications. Negatively, we can indulge in modern myths and promote polarisation.

Post-processual palynology

Simon Butler (Sheffield)

The speaker, as a working palynologist, examines the implications of postprocessualism for pollen analysis. As an environmental technique pollen analysis is firmly established within so-called 'processual' approaches to the past. It has an empirically based and largely positivist philosophy from which largely mechanistic and functional explanations are derived. Integration of the pollen evidence with the archaeological record usually takes the form of ecological-economic models behind which lie evolutionary and adaptive perspectives. Postprocessualism deals more with humanistic interpretations, with the role of society and human agency in creating the archaeological record, and with the subjective nature of human experience. In short, processualism and postprocessualism stress different philosophies and methodologies. Postprocessualism has relevance to palynologists because pollen analysis investigates the relationships between humans and their physical environment and such relationships contain social, meaningful and subjective aspects as much as economic, functional and objective ones. The central concern of postprocessual palynology is the problem of defining perceived as opposed to real environments of the past, and examination of how people interact with their environments in social and cognitive terms as much as in economic and functional terms. Palynologists and other environmental archaeologists traditionally find such concerns impracticable to investigate and impossible to evaluate, whilst at the same time recognising their importance to more comprehensive, less mechanistic explanations. Could some progress be made, however, through some theoretical and methodological reorientations that allow us to ask new questions and develop different interpretive skills?
On babies and bathwater: In defence of environmental archaeology

Terry O'Connor (Bradford)

Science-based archaeology has been criticised for failing to accommodate new theoretical perspectives. In particular, it has been argued that it perpetuates a normative view of society, and a materialistic, hypothetico-deductive methodology. As archaeological theory has moved towards idealism, so scientific methods, and environmental archaeology in particular, seem to have less and less to contribute. By way of antithesis, it can be argued that insufficient consideration has been given to the concept of archaeology as a community ecology. The pursuit of the individual behind the symbolic act or artefact has divorced ideas from brains, brains which are contained within bodies, which in turn require food and other resources in order to continue to generate ideas, acts and material culture. At best, archaeology has been approached as single-species population ecology, and is thus anthropocentric, whereas the examination of human activities in the context of multi-species communities can encompass symbolic or predatory interactions between people and other organisms. This need not be a deterministic model, as theoretical ecology accommodates the vagaries of individual action as well as the attributes of populations. Nor need it imply acceptance of evolutionary concepts of adaptive behaviour - many ecologists specifically reject the concept of behavioural or somatic adaptation. In rejecting science-based archaeology in general, and environmental archaeology in particular, archaeology is neglecting the fact that its primary concern is people, that people are organisms, and that no organism functions independently of its biotic and abiotic environment.

APPROACHES TO PREHISTORIC LANDSCAPE

TAG Organising Committee

Turning the world: rock carvings and the archaeology of death

Richard Bradley (Reading)

Most discussions of northern British rock art have used the burial record as a source of chronological information. Not all these accounts agree, but there is an increasing consensus that many of the carved slabs incorporated in burial cists had already been used elsewhere: some of the motifs were already weathered, whilst others were truncated in preparing the cist slab. This has been used to argue for a Neolithic origin for such carvings in Britain and Ireland.

This paper builds on some of those observations, without adopting an over-precise chronology for the art itself. It considers three issues: (i) the siting of particular motifs on natural rock surfaces in the prehistoric landscape, and the features underlying variations in the complexity of those designs; (ii) the selection of particular motifs from the wider repertoire of rock art and their incorporation in the burial record of different areas; and (iii) the distinctive ways in which fragments of already carved rock were deployed in a secondary context in Early Bronze Age funerary monuments.

The open air art was usually located at important viewpoints looking out across the surrounding landscape, but most of the carvings were reversed on their incorporation in the burial record: kerbstones were sometimes decorated on the hidden surface; isolated cup-marked stones were placed face downwards in the body of the cairn; and the carvings were placed inside the cist. In effect, motifs - and even carved rocks - which had originally commanded wide tracts of the prehistoric landscape were turned inwards towards the corpse when they were reused in the burial record. The ritual inversion of rock carvings has interesting implications for our understanding of field monuments in northern Britain.

Structuring of prehistoric landscape

Martin Kuna (Prague)

Until recently Czechoslovak prehistory paid an exclusive attention to typological and chronological analyses of artefacts. Basic typological units, archaeological cultures, phases, etc. were usually explained as entities endowed with ethnic or social meaning. Logically, this methodology stressed both the concept and the practical importance of 'sites' (as high-density concentrations or artefacts) and largely neglected questions like the non-artefactual record, off-site scatters or registration of negative archaeological evidence.
In the same way, the questions of inner non-chronological structure of archaeological phenomena appeared as secondary.

Several interdependent factors have led to changes in this traditional approach to prehistory. The large scale rescue projects in northwest Bohemian open coal mines uncovered not only individual sites but large sections of complete settlement patterns. The accumulation of finds in many parts of the country has justified the conception of general continuity of prehistoric agricultural communities, gradually displacing theories of prehistoric migrations and moving the central points of archaeological interest towards economic and social questions. Prehistoric sites are no more seen as isolated dots on a blank sheet of paper but only as the most visible parts of the landscape continuum. Instead of exploring individual sites archaeologists should try to identify prehistoric settlement patterns and to explain their changes. Several concepts concerning the spatial structure of the prehistoric settled landscape can be already formulated: households (household clusters), community areas (settlement areas, Siedlungsareale) and living zones (microregions). It could be shown that patterning of this kind belongs to the regular picture of the prehistoric landscape. The inclusion of such categories enables us to cross the abstract frames of archaeological phases or cultures and to model past populations along real time and space scales.

Settlement areas of prehistoric farmers in Central Europe

Evzen Neustupný (Prague)

The traditional approach to the problem of prehistoric settlement structure consisted of the inductive piecing together of the archaeological evidence (mostly graves, remnants of dwellings and fortified sites). An alternative procedure is to create a theoretical model of prehistoric communities, to deduce their needs from the model, and to look for the possible archaeological reflections of the needs. The latter strategy, leading to the definition of new concepts, may result in the discovery of new prehistoric settlement patterns and their better understanding.

The pendulum swings: changing theories of lithic implement distribution

Stephen Briggs (R.C.H.M. Wales, Aberystwyth)

During the nineteenth century it was generally believed that prehistoric man used whatever was to hand, in the way of stone, for implement making. Contemporary attitudes to large-scale commerce and manufacture affected perceptions of prehistoric behaviour, and theories of implement making changed to accommodate a self-image of industrial and entrepreneurial man. The rise of professional archaeology, university 'science' and 'scientific technique' were utilised to strengthen that image to the degree that earlier theories and the very reasons for their existence were forgotten in what was to become a 'one-answer state'.

THEORETICAL ISSUES IN ISLAND ARCHAEOLOGY

Keri A. Brown (UMIST) and Mark Patton (Jersey Museums Service)

The theoretical aspects of island archaeology were first discussed in two papers by John Evans (1973, 1977), in which islands were identified as 'laboratories of culture process'. The emphasis in the first paper was essentially methodological, whilst the second paper was a general overview of island archaeology in the Mediterranean. More recent studies (cf. Cherry 1981, Terrell 1986) have focussed on processes of island colonisation, borrowing heavily from MacArthur & Wilson's (1967) Theory of Island Biogeography. There remain, however, a number of issues which have received little consideration in the theoretical literature such as, for example, the effect of insularity on the social dynamics of prehistoric and ancient communities, and the significance of inter-island and island/mainland interaction. These questions have been more systematically addressed in the ethnographic literature: see, for example, Malinowski's Argonauts of the Western Pacific, and the subsequent debate (cf. Weiner 1976, Leach & Leach eds. 1993) on the social and political significance of island exchange in Melanesia. Such questions are highly relevant to more general issues in theoretical archaeology, such as the relationship between the natural environment and social dynamics. The papers in this session will address different themes in island archaeology, using a variety of theoretical approaches, in an attempt to broaden the debate.
From biogeography to sociogeography: approaches to Island archaeology

Mark Patton

Recent approaches to island archaeology have borrowed heavily from the Theory of Island Biogeography of MacArthur & Wilson (1967), which was essentially concerned with the colonisation of islands by animals and plants, and with the survival and development of island species. MacArthur & Wilson suggest that two main variables, island size and distance from the mainland, can be used to predict the likelihood of dispersal or movement between islands.

The application of the Island Biogeography model in archaeological studies (cf. Terrell 1986) has been extremely valuable, in focussing attention on the question of insularity, and its influence on the development of ancient societies. In most cases, however, such applications have failed to consider the important differences between the development of Island populations of animals and plants on the one hand, and of human populations on the other. The colonisation of islands by animals and plants is usually accidental, whereas colonisation by humans may be deliberate. Once installed in an insular environment, animal and plant species generally develop in isolation, whereas human groups may have boats, and may be linked to mainland communities and groups on other islands in complex networks of interaction, involving both cultural and genetic interchange. Geographical factors such as island size and distance from mainland will obviously be important in relation to human communities, as with animals and plants, but social factors must also be considered. Failure to take account of such factors has resulted in the ecological reductionism and determinism which dominates much of the recent literature on Island archaeology.

This paper will attempt to establish the basis for an approach to Island Sociogeography, focussing on the social manipulation of the geographical fact of insularity and on the effect of insularity on the development of social institutions. Particular emphasis will be placed on the social and political significance of inter-island and island/mainland interaction systems, and on the development of such systems through time. Many of these themes will be taken up in other papers in the session.

Processes of colonisation in the central Mediterranean

Caroline Malone (Bristol)

The paper will explore in detail the contrasting processes of the colonisation of the islands of the southern central Mediterranean: the Lipari islands, Sicily, Malta, Lampedusa and Pantelleria. The starting point will be the important papers by John Cherry which study the biogeographical context of the Mediterranean as a whole. This present paper will attempt to take the analysis further by examining the micro-processes visible in the changing settlement patterns and land use of the Neolithic in the islands concerned. Evidence from recent survey on the island of Gozo (Malta) will be employed where relevant. A further dimension will be to analyse the significance of Island/mainland interaction.

Contrasting political strategies in the Islands of the central Mediterranean

Simon Stoddart (Bristol)

The paper will tackle the cycles of social complexity that occur in the later development of the islands considered by Caroline Malone. Biogeographical factors will be studied initially, but the paper will concentrate on how political strategies took different forms in different island contexts. Considerable attention will be paid to the developments of the Bronze Age when the long term cycles of Eastern Sicily can be contrasted with the politically fragmented record of the Lipari islands. The result of recent fieldwork in Malta will be employed to elucidate one of the most striking changes in ideological structure of the central Mediterranean: the disappearance of the Maltese temples. A prominent theme will be the varying effect of insularity on the social dynamics of the communities concerned.

Islands In Space: quantification and simulation in theoretical island archaeology

S.O. Held

Applications of quantitative and simulative methods in Island studies are designed to solve problems governed by four processes and two attributes that are quintessential features of island life: dispersal, survival,
adaptation, extinction, isolation, and limitation. Like the formal research programme of island archaeology itself, these applications can be said to fall into two broad categories: external and internal. The first includes analyses of relative data at the interinsular and transinsular level, whereas the second involves absolute data pertaining to intra-insular parameters and processes. External applications deal with sets of variables whose values are relative to vectors of measurement among islands and between islands and continents. The most basic of these is the quantification of distances and target widths as a means of objectively rating the accessibility/remoteness of islands and of approximating a probabilistic prediction of prehistoric contacts. On the regional scale, distributions of islands and archipelagoes can be quantified for use in computer simulations of the direction, success, and failure of overwater dispersal by human groups, as well as in the reconstruction of interaction networks employing proximal-point analysis. By contrast, internal applications seek to quantify variables that are absolute insofar as they are determined solely by conditions found on a particular island. Within this second category, it is useful to discriminate between techniques expressly developed for (or at least sensitive to) problems of human island communities, and procedures formulated for non-insular or non-human contexts. The former aim to detect phenomena that are products of cultural factors and the island effect, e.g. the survivorship of founder populations given certain conditions of marriage and incest rules. The latter involve the systematic locational analysis of geography, which may be applied to islands as well as to mainland yet makes no explicit reference to insularity, and methods of ecological island biogeography. The emphasis of biogeography on animal and plant distributions means that specific statistical analyses may have to be modified before they can be applied to human colonists, even though many of the general concepts supported by these methods invite cultural analogies. Regardless of the approach used, the overarching purpose of quantification and simulation in both categories is to build formal models for recognizing, explaining, and predicting regional as well as global patterns of colonization and cultural evolution on islands.

Prehistoric Exploitation of an Island environment: the Izu Islands, Japan.

Mark J. Hudson (Tokyo)

The Izu Islands stretch south into the Pacific from Tokyo, forming part of the Izu-Marianas volcanic arc, which begins with Mount Fuji and ends in Micronesia. Although many excavations have been undertaken in the Izu Islands, particularly over the past 10 years, there has been little attempt in the Japanese literature to investigate theoretical problems associated with island settlement. Similarities between the material culture of the islands and the mainland has been noted as demonstrating cultural contacts, but the nature and context of such interaction has not been analysed in any detail.

In this paper I want to consider the question of why the Izu Islands were exploited by prehistoric people. There are a number of possible approaches to this problem:

1. **Temporal (long term):** Obsidian from one of the islands (Kozushima) is found at Palaeolithic sites on the mainland as early as c. 28,000 BP, and thus we know that the islands were visited during the Palaeolithic as well as the Jomon (c. 10,000-300 BC), Yayoi (c. 300 BC-500 AD) and Kofun (c. 300-700 AD) periods. It seems extremely unlikely, however, that just one model can be used to explain the exploitation of the islands across this long span of time. At least five long-term exploitative phases may be recognised, and will be discussed in the paper.

2. **Temporal (short term):** An important question is whether the islands were occupied year-round or on a seasonal basis. Although few seasonality techniques have yet been applied, the available archaeological evidence together with ecological and demographic considerations suggest that seasonal visits by prehistoric groups may have been the most common pattern.

3. **Ecological approach:** An ecological perspective on the islands can give us clues as to the type of lifestyle they may have supported in prehistory. A basic division can be made between the ecology of foraging (Palaeolithic-Jomon) and agricultural (Yayoi-Kofun) systems.

4. **Settlement patterns:** Although the Jomon people are usually characterised as being very sedentary, the fact that the islands were visited on a regular, perhaps seasonal, basis means that certain groups were undertaking residential settlement shifts. A full analysis of such patterns will be important for understanding the exploitation of the Islands.

5. **Obsidian exchange:** As obsidian was the major non-food resource of the islands, the context of resource procurement deserves considerable attention.
(6) Ritual exploitation: A number of ritual sites are know in the Izu Islands dating from various periods. It is not known, however, whether these sites are a cause or effect of island settlement.

Island archaeology in context

Manolis Melas (King's College, London)

As in every aspect of archaeological theory, in order to understand island archaeology successfully, a historical, particularist and contextual approach to the evidence is fundamental. This allows us to tackle both the variability and the specificity of the relevant data and of the behaviour of different island societies.

Because similar pressures are exerted upon them, islands make up a more or less coherent human environment. This need not imply similar and coherent processes of evolution in different island settings. While pressures inherent to island reality, such as geography, environment and subsistence, may vary, in essence and effect, from island to island (the sea, e.g. can be beneficial and disadvantageous at the same time, and may be used both as a means of communication and defence), other pressures, as well as opportunities, may derive from culturally constructed factors. These include particular socio-economic, political-ideological and historical conditions. Those conditions are normally peculiar to different islands, and their differential occurrence may divide them between the two opposite poles of such notions as innovation and conservatism, or centre and periphery.

Thus, whereas island social hierarchy may often be the result of external trade and wealth accumulation, socio-political stability follows the lack of these factors, usually generated by social and environmental constraints associated with risks inherent in island habitation.

However, innovation and complexity cannot be studied in isolation from tradition and institutional simplicity. Island societies are context-dependent dynamic entities, and any attempts to characterize them as inherently conservative or progressive are bound to be oversimplifications and grossly stereotypical. Within the context of one given island there are times when the force of tradition overcomes the usefulness of an innovation, and vice versa.

Likewise, the relationships between islands or between islands and mainland areas vary from time to time, as different interaction models apply, depending on prevailing circumstances. The notion of core and periphery, for instance, may often be appropriate, with such hypotheses as island conquest, colonization or acculturation providing explanation for change. In other situations, peer polity interaction models may prove to be more useful.

LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY AS A SOCIAL ISSUE

David Austin and Matthew Johnson (SDUC)

Settlements and landscapes have often been described in the archaeological literature in a normative manner, as sterile ideograms. The ideograms exist as static territorial entities, such as parish, estate or region, bounded and entire as unitary communities or cultures. Although this has been challenged, there is consequently still a tendency to perceive the landscape archaeologist as the maker of maps of the past.

Landscapes were, however, component elements of social action which can be traced in their structures, their disjunctures, their difference. Humanity existed within socially constructed landscapes to the limit of their visible horizons and beyond, but not in a passive way: people could sustain, as now, a complex variety of landscapes, each a different facet of their existence. They could exist also in different communities at the same time. What then was the nature of the subject in space? And in what ways was the community bounded and unbounded? To answer questions like this, issues and problems must be explored about the social nature of landscape.

Landscape archaeology as social issue

David Austin (SDUC)

In recent years an important and growing movement in British archaeology has been the shift towards
studies of landscapes of the past. This arose out of strong traditions of topography in the British literature, a strong force in an English cultural view of the past, but the modern sentiment had two strong strands to it: (i) the urge to find the links between and the contexts for sites which were the subject of excavation; and (ii) the feeling that out there in the landscapes beyond the settlement sites existed the true continuities and discontinuities of life, out among the arable fields and pastures. Of course, there was also a surge in ‘appropriate data’, from aerial photography and increased sophistication in field survey techniques. The result has been a growing body of ‘synthetic’ and ‘holistic’ accounts of territorial units, especially in historic periods where such units can be ‘validated’, which result in landscape reconstruction - Ordnance Survey maps of past countrysides. These maps are however ironically passive flatnesses. They provide a means of finding a location for settlement sites where the real social action takes place and is articulated by archaeologists. If people are put into this landscape they are as victims of person/land relationships, systems-based and functional codes of behaviour in wood, field or meadow.

There is a danger that landscapes in this tradition are ideograms of reality unoccupied by human beings. We might be best to remember that landscapes in the Enlightenment were ‘places seen’ often at distance as from a prospect or gazebo. We see, we paint, we reconstruct from our vantage point, but often without seeing the people. But they are there, and we must make ourselves aware of them through theorising and presenting ourselves with real problematics. These can be linked, for example, to our own problems with rurality. Individual right versus common interest is a recurrent tension in which the material environment has been constantly engaged. Rural conservation is sustained by a thick web of nostalgic mythology about our peasant roots and innate farming sensibilities: archaeology has much to say for and against this. The idea of unified and homogeneous regional cultures embedded in past landscapes also becomes a rich area for descriptive and analytical topography doing its best to sustain and legitimate: again this is an over-simplified story. The list is endless, but by addressing them we engage past landscapes in modern ones engaged in social issues.

Future approaches in Czech early medieval landscape study

Martin Gojda (Institute of Archaeology, Prague)

The unfavourable impact of industrial and building activity on the landscape and still more destructive agricultural technologies which have been introduced in Bohemia since the 1950s, and which have accelerated lately, inevitably change our view of the overall strategy of archaeological research and planning. Apart from stressing the necessity of extensive planned rescue archaeology we tend to prefer such strategy which is focussed on few sample regions, each having a limited number of micro-regions and settlement areas, the total investigation, foot-survey, field-walking, small-scale excavations and rescue activity of which could lead to the creation of the settlement pattern models serving as a base for further study and final synthesis of the prehistoric and early historic process in Bohemia.

The hitherto performed early medieval regional studies can be divided into few phases and also into groups according to the methods and categories used in them, either by archaeologists or by historians. Special political conditions in post-war Czechoslovakia made it almost impossible to use, for instance, aerial photography as a basic component of landscape study. With the changing situation we shall try to involve this sort of information about the landscape past to our research, although, owing to the high degree of destruction of the landscape in Bohemia, especially the soil, the overall assumption to the results possibly achieved by this method is rather sceptic.

Brief survey of what has been achieved in early medieval settlement patterns study in Bohemia and how new projects should be focussed will be given in this report.

*The Justice of old*: against the teleological disfigurement of central medieval England and Wales

Justin Barrett and John Brett

In a recent publication, it has been suggested that archaeologists are in a position to provide a past for those individuals who are ‘denied a history’ by the bias inherent in the documentary evidence of the medieval periods (Hodges 1989). We suggest that, in terms of the central Middle Ages, British archaeology has so far failed to provide such a history. Instead the discipline continues to play an illustrative role for historians, concentrating on normative studies of material culture and descriptions of the monumental architecture of the ruling classes. Such studies, we propose, should move away from the functional and descriptive and relate material culture to the social and ideological, utilizing the work of prehistorians and social scientists. Medieval
historians have, in the past, placed an emphasis on reading this period entirely in terms of 1066; and have viewed the peasant classes through the written offerings of élites, with the bias which this incurs. By and large they have produced merely political/economic histories for this period, missing the complex nature of political structures in preliterate societies. Archaeological evidence, however, coupled with aspects of the disciplines' theoretical framework, will allow students to construct a social history of the Middle Ages.

We therefore call for a social archaeo-historical approach to the study of medieval Britain (a demand first made by a conference at Cambridge in 1980 (Hilton 1983), yet only realised by workers studying the early medieval). We also move that archaeology has a role to provide a past for those who cannot relate to history in terms of families who 'came over with the Conqueror'.

In the remainder of the paper we will argue that a social archaeo-history can approach the period of change (and continuity) in England and Wales during the 10th-12th centuries A.D. To further our understanding of how the replacement of one élite group by another affected the social structure, we will briefly consider a number of neglected topics:

(1) A re-examination of the socio-economic conditions of the peasantry
(2) Interpreting material culture in an 'historical' period
(3) Language as a benchmark of social change.

Summing-up: The potential for examining the relationships between culture, ideology and economics in an era which has both documentary evidence and a large archaeological data base.

Studies of the structure of the medieval settlement in Bohemia

Jan Klášte (Institute of Archaeology, Prague)

The study of structural changes of the settlement process of the 13th century is, for many years, one of the prominent parts of the Czech medieval archaeology programme. In a similar way as to other European regions, the emergence of nucleated villages in the Czech countryside completed the archaic evolution and set bases of future long-term development; at the same time the progress in medieval urbanization and occurrence of advanced forms of the lords' seats are apparent. Specific problems come from the peripheral situation of Bohemia. Relatively late changes in the settlement pattern could utilize the experiences of more advanced countries. Archaeology plays a high role in the search for identifying these patterns which, for instance, indicate a new perspective on the problem of the so-called German colonization in central Europe. The changes of the 13th century also in Bohemia are presented as one of the most important chapters of the European integration.

Understanding enclosure

Matthew H. Johnson (SDUC)

The late and post-medieval enclosure of the landscape is a topic much dwelt upon by archaeologists, historians and geographers, usually with more detailed erudition than broader illumination. This paper suggests that we have failed to understand landscape changes dealt with under this umbrella term in a very basic way. Research in this period, of all theoretical stripes, has perpetuated conceptual divisions such as human/environment, cultural/physical and domestic/agrarian. But in this period we are studying how those divisions came into being after very different antecedent classifications. Enclosure as a process is entwined with the cultural creation of landscape, not its management.

Early modern conceptions of the landscape are examined, and their relation to social relations on the one hand and physical ordering of space on the other is traced. The conclusion of the paper outlines what we do not understand about enclosure in its social/historical setting.

The secular cathedral community

Richard Morris (CBA and Department of Archaeology, York)
TRADITION

J.D. Hill (Cambridge), Mary Ann Owoc (Sheffield)

Tradition - anything transmitted or handed down from past to present, has been chosen as a key topic by the participants who feel that it provides a fundamental way of approaching both the nature of cultural reproduction in the past and our position as participants in an archaeological community in the present, writing this past. As such, a consideration of tradition necessarily involves a study of continuity and change in the way actors use material culture and language in the reproduction and production of their social world, how relationships of power and authority figure in this process, and how being part of a western intellectual tradition affects the way in which we perceive the world.

Tradition is explored in the session through a number of themes. First, the complex relationships between tradition, knowledge, space, and self will be considered through an analysis of how traditions of spatial structuring in sepulchral architecture of the Breton Neolithic are reproduced and transformed in the playing out of power relations. Here, tradition is seen as produced through a re-reading of the past in the present - seen as 'lived through' in actors' experience and interpretation of structured space, and isolated in a study of the transformation of ritual space through time.

Second, tradition and variability in the non-literate ritual of Iron Age Wessex pits is explored via an anthropological discussion of the variability and transmission of ritual through time. The emphasis lies in exploring the relationship between culture and ritual tradition perceived as an overall common idea on the one hand, and the variability of the archaeological record on the other. In addition, the archaeological traditions of studying pits and their contents will be addressed.

Third, the way in which the concept of tradition has been considered within history and philosophy will be the starting point for an analysis of tradition which rejects the Enlightenment contrast between tradition/prejudice and freedom/reason. Instead it will be argued that the transmission and continuity of past practices into a present has much to do with an active reaffirmation of the past and must be understood in terms of the relationship between authority, power and knowledge. This process is explored through a consideration of the structural/ritual continuity and variability within Bronze Age funerary architecture seen as a ritual tradition, over time.

Finally, the western, European tradition of the past, particularly the professionalized past of archaeology and the museum will be analysed through a juxtaposition of the traditions of the past from other societies. By reintroducing an anthropological mode of analysis the discipline of archaeology's beliefs, logical structures, and organizational principles can be readdressed in light of other traditional pasts. Four themes will be addressed, namely, the social and political significance of the past, the 'depth' of history in both physical and metaphysical stratigraphy, the principal of excavation as central to extracting knowledge of the past, and possession of culture in terms of objects.

Programme schedule

Introduction

Andrew Fleming

Menhirs and mounds: tradition and reinterpretation in the Breton Neolithic

Trevor Krk (Sheffield)

Why weren't all Iron Age ritual deposits the same? - Variability in ritual traditions.

J.D. Hill (Cambridge)

Tradition, authority and knowledge: constructional continuity and change in Bronze Age funerary architecture

Mary Ann Owoc (Sheffield)
An archaeology of tradition
Shaun Hides (Leicester)

Discussion
Closing comments by Andrew Fleming

GENERAL SESSION
TAG Organising Committee

Social theory and the long term
Chris Gosden (La Trobe University)

Meaningfully constituted action was seen as the key characteristic of social forms by those such as Dilthey and Weber, who contrasted an analysis of social meaning with mechanical explanations of the natural world. Later, meaning as manifest and created through language became central to many approaches to society throughout the twentieth century, such existentialism, structuralism and post-structuralist thought. In this paper I argue that as prehistoric archaeology often has minimum temporal units of a number of centuries' notions of what constitutes human meanings in the long term need to be re-examined, if indeed meaning is to be central to our analysis of society. An example from the Pacific is used to illustrate the general argument.

Post-processualism - "We know what it is but we don't know where it comes from"
Doug Hawes (York)

Despite post-processualism's Foucauldian insistence that discourses and their production should be situated in specific historical circumstances, little attempt has been made to trace the roots of post-processualism itself in this manner. The result is that post-processualism, champion of the self-critical and the reflexive, has come to be seen by its own practitioners as situated outside of history; not as a historically specific set of discourses, but as the logical culmination of enlightened thought.

This paper attempts to show how 'left-wing' or 'critical' post-structuralism arose primarily as a response to changes in the level of class struggle in the mid 1970s. Central to the argument is the inability of the (then) revolutionary left to come to terms with these changes. This failure produced a political vacuum on the left, a vacuum which, in the context of a generalised political shift rightwards, was filled by a philosophy which excorised 'revolution' and 'class' from the vocabulary of the radical. This is the tradition in which post-processualism stands.

Classical Marxism, casually dismissed as 'essentialist' by many of today's radicals, remains the only theory which can provide a coherent and historical explanation for the very existence of post-processualism, and which can, in doing so, expose the intellectual barrenness of the latter.

'Grain grinding, women and surplus production' - a Near Eastern example
Katherine I. Wright (Yale University)

The origins of stratified society have been discussed from perspectives of irrigation, land tenure, ideology, and trade (e.g. Adams 1966). Much discussion concerns the causes behind intensification and production of surplus by village households. One of the key social processes may have been 'getting more people to work, or getting people to work more' (Flannery 1972). Sahlins (1974) proposed that 'big men' (sic) may intensify production in their own households by adding labourers - perhaps through polygyny - in order to produce enough surplus to force reciprocity through 'generosity'. Goody (1976, 33) suggested that in more intensive (plough) cultivation, there is a 'male predominance in agricultural activities' - in contrast to hoe-cultivation systems, in which women play a greater role in agricultural production.

Interestingly, the very concept of 'primary production' of food tends to be limited to the 'field' activities involved in agriculture - irrigation, tillage, harvesting. Milling of cultivated grains in village societies is treated
as part of ‘domestic consumption’ and therefore peripheral to ‘agricultural activities’. The significance of milling tools (querns, mortars) also remains unexplored in archaeological studies of early agrarian societies. Is this because such artifacts are considered to represent ‘female’ and ‘domestic’ activities - and therefore marginal to ‘production’? (cf. Hodder 1983; Conkey and Spector 1984).

The common assumption that domestic grinding tools reflect female activities is based on analogy with a widespread pattern in grain-farming societies (e.g. Flannery and Winter 1976). Additional evidence for this pattern is found in early Mesopotamian cuneiform documents. However, burial data from the pre-Neolithic Near East do not support the association of grinding tools and women. What happened in the interim?

In the Neolithic Near East, the earliest grain crops could not be consumed in bulk without pounding or grinding (Hillman 1984). Thus, these activities should be considered part of production. A model for the origins of surplus production at the household level is presented, with reference to labour requirements of grain agriculture in villages predating urbanization. It is suggested that in the Near East women were the workhorses of increasing dependence on grain agriculture, and that this was exacerbated when village households began to produce surpluses for urban elites. Implications for the history of women in early stratified society are discussed.

Between the lines: conservation, excavation or exploration?

Mark Pluciennik (Sheffield)

The relationship - or lack of it - between the Green movement and archaeology has recently become a new focus of interest.

Archaeology believes itself particularly under-privileged in terms of finance and media interest. In fact, archaeologists have benefited from the growing interest in conservation. The public is undoubtedly more aware archaeologically.

Such opinion can be mobilised, but archaeology is fighting with a two-edged sword. A large part of archaeology has a common vested interest with private and public development: namely, destruction.

Secondly, archaeologists can display the 'results' of their work. Reconstruction of human artefacts is much more practicable than attempting to replicate a habitat. It is also saleable.

Within capitalist economies, the insistence on money as the arbiter of value has led to condemnation of this 'heritage industry' as partial, ideological and static. But it means that much of the past has been brought into the arena of public judgement, even if many are not happy with the currency of evaluation. If the past is in the public domain, rather than the preserve of academic or local authority caucuses, then this also presents new opportunities for subverting perceptions and opinions.

How far should archaeologists promote conservation rather than exploration of the past? Does archaeology have to become 'Deep Green' and refuse to collaborate in destructive practices? Should we continue to take the money and run? Or can we come to terms with archaeological practice, which is only partly about conservation? Who should decide where the emphasis lies?

These are moral and political questions, and are not necessarily going to be addressed or answered only by archaeologists.

Cultural bias and Islamic archaeology

Andrew Petersen (London Institute of Archaeology)

Islamic archaeology is a relatively new discipline, even in relation to archaeology as a whole its position is vague and ill defined. There is a tension between the traditional European approach based on ideas of 'Orientalism' (cf. Edward Said) and a more recent approach based on ideas of nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. Thus on the one hand it is closely associated with the study of Islamic art (a subject dealing with the appreciation of valuable works of art) whilst on the other hand it is concerned with the development of cultural identity (i.e. Saudi Arabia where archaeology has been used to develop a national heritage in an area of cultural diversity). The purpose of this paper is to explore the effect of cultural factors in the practice
and study of the archaeology of Islamic societies.

Cultural factors affect archaeology in two ways, firstly in the approach to excavation and survey. This could include practical questions such as whether graves be dug up, attitudes towards the preservation of mosques and the importance of pre-Islamic antiquities (i.e. from the period referred to as Jannilya or age of ignorance). The other way in which cultural factors affect archaeology is in the interpretation of results and their incorporation into public knowledge/consiousness. This paper will concentrate on this more theoretical aspect of cultural bias.

In the past archaeologists have generally had either a static, fixed view of Islamic culture or one based on a theory of inevitable decline. More recently European/American archaeologists working in Islamic countries have been forced to take a more positive attitude to the Islamic phases of a site. At this stage, however, the approach is mostly characterised by questions of ceramic typology and architectural development rather than any attempt to provide a more general model of Muslim society (oddly it is Islamic art that has provided the impetus in terms of theoretical definitions of Islamic culture/society). Muslim/Arab archaeologists, on the other hand, working in their own countries have begun to use archaeology as a way of defining or re-enforcing their cultural identity. In some countries (i.e. Saudi Arabia) the emphasis is on Islamic antiquities whilst in others e.g. Iraq there is an equal emphasis on pre-Islamic culture as a way of strengthening national identity (reflecting current political ideals).

Theoretical buildings in Essex

Geoffrey Carter (Essex Archaeological Unit)

The L.I.A. site Orsett ‘Cock’ and the L.B.A. site at Springfield Lyons were both defended enclosures which produced large numbers of postholes and other structural evidence, very little of which is susceptible to analysis by means of citing parallels. However, if some basic assumptions about the nature of building carpentry in these periods are made, it is possible to define, in three dimensions, a wide variety of buildings, including previously unrecognised types. Having defined the buildings, their spatial relationships with each other, and with their enclosure, becomes evident. In addition, by analysis of the geometry and setting out processes of the buildings, in particular the roundhouses, it is possible to demonstrate the use of the same measuring system on both sites, and at Orsett ‘Cock’ a common approach to the laying out of buildings and enclosures.

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Safety

During TAG 90 we would be grateful if participants observed SDUC safety regulations and procedures. Please obey fire bells and notices, and respond to the requests of porters and other officials.