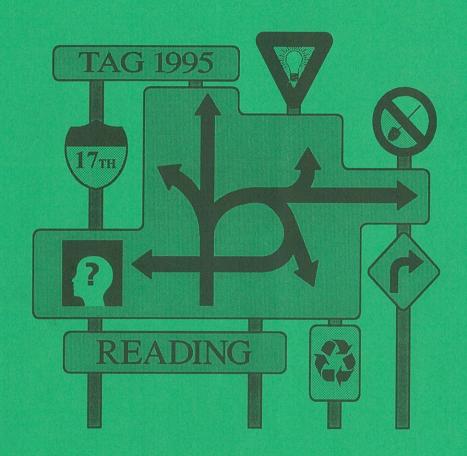
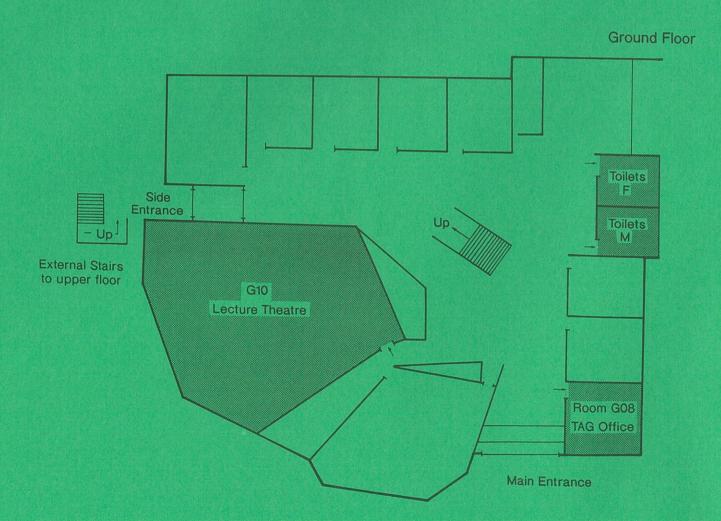
# THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the THEORETICAL ARCHAEOLOGY GROUP



University of Reading 18th - 21st December 1995

PROGRAMME AND ABSTRACTS

# Room 101 Room 102 Room 104 (Oxbow Books) External Stairs First Floor Palmer Building



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#### **PROGRAMME**

#### **Monday 18th December**

10.30 - 19.00	Registration in Room G08, Palmer Building
14.00 - 18.00	Plenary Address: The Inter-Disciplinary Nature of Archaeology
15.30 - 16.15	Tea and coffee available in Cedar Room
18.00 - 19.30	Workshop hosted by the Department of Archaeology, University of Reading in Room 27, Faculty of Letters (Funding and Priorities in Archaeological
10.45 10.00	Research)
18.45 - 19.30	Dinner and bar in Bridges and Childs Halls of Residence
19.30 - 12.00	Bars open in the Students Union

#### **Tuesday 19th December**

08.00 - 08.45	Breakfast in Bridges and Childs Halls of Residence
09.00 - 13.00	Conference sessions in the Palmer Building
10.30 - 11.15	Tea and coffee available in Cedar Room
12.45 - 13.30	Lunch and bar in Bridges and Childs Halls of Residence
14.00 - 18.00	Conference sessions in the Palmer Building
15.30 - 16.15	Tea and coffee available in Cedar Room
18.00 - 19.00	Routledge / Department of Archaeology, University of Reading wine
	reception in the Palmer Building
18.45 - 19.30	Dinner and bar in Bridges and Childs Halls of Residence
19.30 - 01.30	Band and bars in the Students Union
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#### Wednesday 20th December

08.00 - 08.45 09.00 - 13.00 10.30 - 11.15	Breakfast in Bridges and Childs Halls of Residence Conference sessions in the Palmer Building Tag and coffee available in Coden Barry
12.45 - 13.30	Tea and coffee available in Cedar Room Lunch and bar in Bridges and Childs Halls of Residence
14.00 - 18.00	Conference sessions in the Palmer Building
15.30 - 16.15	Tea and coffee available in Cedar Room
18.00 - 19.30	Video presentation in Room G10, Palmer Building (Representing the Past: The Archaeology of Film)
18.45 - 19.30 19.30 - 02.00	Dinner and bar in Bridges and Childs Halls of Residence TAG Disco and bars in the Students Union

#### Thursday 21st December

	Breakfast in Bridges and Childs Halls of Residence Conference sessions in the Palmer Building
10.30 - 11.15	Tea and coffee available in Cedar Room

#### **CONFERENCE SESSIONS**

#### Monday 18th December Afternoon

Room G10 / Room 109 (video link)

14.00 - 17.55

#### The Plenary Address: The Inter-Disciplinary Nature of Archaeology

Session Organiser: TAG. Committee (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

14.00 - 14.05	Jan Harding Introduction
14.05 - 14.55	Robert Boyd (Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los
	Angeles, US) The Nature of Culture
14.55 - 15.45	Alfred Gell (Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics
	and Political Science, UK) Strange objects: current anthropological theory
	and the problem of the object
15.45 - 16.15	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
16.15 - 17.05	Tony Brown (Department of Geography, University of Exeter, UK)
	Geography and archaeology: enabling theory in a contested environment
17.05 - 17.55	Julian Thomas (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton,
	UK) Nomadic theories: archaeology and philosophy

Room 27 (Faculty of Letters)

18.00 - 19.30

#### Workshop hosted by the Department of Archaeology, University of Reading Funding and Priorities in Archaeological Research

Workshop Organiser: David Gale (Natural Environment Research Council, UK) Chair: Martin Jones / Discussants: Paul Mellars and Michael Heyworth

In view of the internal reorganisation of some of the archaeological funding bodies over the last few years and the demise of the Forum for Coordination in Archaeology it is indeed timely to look afresh at the funding opportunities and agendas in archaeology. The second purpose of the workshop is to discuss ways of identifying research priorities within the context of archaeological sciences now that science-based archaeology has a strategic body to develop special research programmes for consideration by NERC under the thematic funding mode.

#### Tuesday 19th December Morning

Room G10

09.00 - 13.00

#### The Archaeology of Creative Thought

Session Organiser: Steven Mithen (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair: Steven Mithen / Discussant: to be arranged

09.00 - 09.15	Steven Mithen. Introduction
09.15 - 09.25	Margaret Boden. The creative mind
09.25 - 09.50	Ian Hodder. Plus ça change
09.50 - 10.15	Richard Byrne. Creative thinking in monkeys and apes
10.15 - 10.40	Clive Gamble. Neanderthal creativity
10.40 - 11.10	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
11.10 - 11.35	Steven Mithen. Creativity and the origins of art
11.35 - 12.00	Robert Layton. Creative thinking in traditional Australian society
12.00 - 12.25	Richard Bradley. The Good Stones: architecture, imagination and the
	Neolithic world
12.25 - 12. 40	Colin Renfrew. Chevalier d'honneur: assessing the mental map in the
	European Iron Age answell and of the second
12.40 - 13.00	Discussion page 4.4 By a masses
	and the control of the case for a section of the control of the co

**Room 109** 

09.00-13.00

#### Human Use and Abuse of Finite Resources: Co-operative Dilemmas and Over-Exploitation (1)

Session Organiser: James Steele (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK)

Chair: James Steele / to be announced

09.00 - 09.10 09.10 - 09.30	James Steele. Symposium introduction Simon Cox and Tim Sluckin. Effect of group size and memory on optimal
09.30 - 10.00 10.00 - 10.20	strategies in co-operating groups playing the Prisoner's Dilemma Game Robert Boyd. Group size, norms, and the evolution of co-operation Kate Gregory and James Steele. Collective action dilemmas and cultural
10.20 - 10.45 <b>10.45 - 11.15</b>	theory: from formal models to the ethnographic record  Stephen Shennan. Prestige goods and resource exploitation in prehistory  Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
11.15 - 11.45	Andrew Fleming. The changing commons: the case of Swaledale (North Yorskhire)
11.45 - 12.10	Dale Serjeantson. The great auk and the gannet: management and mismanagement of a wild food resource
12.10 - 12.35 12.35 - 13.00	Pippa Smith. Sustainable fishing: fact or fantasy?  James McGlade. Hierarchical dynamics and nonequilibrium landscapes: some implications for understanding environmental resource management

#### Room 102 09.00 - 12.50

#### The Organisation of Archaeology

Session Organiser: John Carman (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK)

Chair and Discussant: John Carman

09.00 - 09.30	John Carman. The political economy of archaeology: organising a 'useful' resource
09.30 - 09.50	Antony Firth. Archaeological power containers: city, county, country, continent
09.50 - 10.10	Koji Mizoguchi. The reproduction of Japanese archaeological discourse: a structurationist critique
10.10 - 10.30	Stephanie Moser. Archaeology and its disciplinary culture: the institutional dynamics of community formation
10.30 - 11.00	Tea/coffee (Cedar Room)
11.00 - 11.20	Susan Thomas. Archaeological writing and the expression of disciplinary organisation
11.20 - 11.40	Diura Thoden van Velzen. Beyond the bounds of professional archaeology: tomb robbers, amateurs and collectors in Italy
11.40 - 12.00	Sarah Colley. Cultural policy, cultural heritage and the organisation of Australian archaeology
12.00 - 12.20	Malcolm Cooper. Do traditional perspectives on archaeological organisations actually help us to do good archaeology?
12.20 - 12.50	Discussion

#### Room 101 09.00 - 12.30

## Old Pots, New Perspectives: New Approaches to the Study of Prehistoric Ceramics

Session Organisers: Ann Woodward and J.D. Hill (on behalf of the Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group)

Chair and Discussants: Ann Woodward and J.D. Hill

09.00 - 09.20	Ann Woodward. Pots for drinking; pots for thinking
09.20 - 09.40	Ros Cleal. British prehistoric ceramics - a long view
09.40 - 10.00	Robin Boast. Pots as categories; the case of British beakers
10.00 - 10.20	Alistair Barclay. Cremains of the clay: refired pottery and ritual in
	prehistory
10.20 - 10.40	Discussion
10.40 - 11.10	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
11.10 - 11.30	Elaine Morris. Salt production ceramics: a model for understanding
	resource exploitation and technological change
11.30 - 11.50	Adam Gwilt. Sacralised cultural contact and innovation at a border?: the
	context for the deposition of decorated bowls within a late Iron Age
	enclosure in Northamptonshire
11.50 - 12.10	J.D. Hill. From Middle Iron Age to Late Iron Age pottery (or not) in south-
	east England; was it just about the introduction of the potters wheel?
12.10 - 12.30	Discussion

#### Tuesday 19th December Afternoon

Room G10 14.00 - 17.35

#### **Rethinking Social Territory in Prehistory**

Session Organiser: Jan Harding (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair: Jan Harding / Discussant: Tim Ingold

14.00 - 14.10	Jan Harding. Introduction
14.10 - 14.30	Keith Ray. Lineage and the land
14.30 - 14.50	Chris Gosden. Centres of gravity: multiple territories in West New Britain, Papua New Guinea
14.50 - 15.10	Jan Harding. Pathways to new realms: cursus monuments and symbolic territories
15.10 - 15.30	<i>Paul Garwood.</i> Territories of the mind: cosmography and the territorialisation of social identities in the British Bronze Age
15.30 - 15.45	Discussion
15.45 - 16.15	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
16.15 - 16.35	Barbara Bender, Sue Hamilton and Christopher Tilley. Leskernick: the spirit of the place
16.35 - 16.55	Mike Parker Pearson. Time, territory and tradition: reconstructing prehistoric territories in South Uist, Outer Hebrides
16.55 - 17.15	Nigel Spencer. A duality of possession and identity: Greeks and Anatolians in Lesbos during the Early Iron Age and Archaic Periods
17.15 - 17.35	Discussion

#### Room 109 14.00-17.30

#### Human Use and Abuse of Finite Resources: Co-operative Dilemmas and Over-Exploitation (2)

Session Organiser: James Steele (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK)

#### Chair: Dale Serjeantson / Clive Gamble

14.00 - 14.30	Clive Gamble and James Steele. The global dispersals of modern humans: ecological impacts and the extinctions record
14.30 - 14.45	Cathy Batt and Mark Pollard. Beyond the tree line: radiocarbon calibration in the late Pleistocene and early Holocene
14.45 - 15.15	Steven Mithen. Ecosystem dynamics, mammoth hunting and human foragers
15.15 - 15.30	Discussion
15.30 - 16.00	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
16.00 - 16.20	Steven Cousins and James McGlade. Ecological objects or ecological concepts? - a new approach to the study of human modification of ecosystems
16.20 - 16.40	Kate Clark. Over-exploitation, breeding stresses and maladaptive genetic traits in domesticates

16.40 - 17.00 17.00 - 17.30	Jonathon Adams. Discussion	The past as a key to the future
17.00 - 17.50	D1000001011	

#### Room 102 14.00 - 17.20

#### **Disabling Archaeology**

Session Organiser: Nyree Finlay (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Tom Shakespeare.

14.00 - 14.30 14.30 - 14.50	Morag Cross. Accessing the inaccessible- disability and archaeology Theya Molleson. The archaeological evidence for attitudes to disability in the past
14.50 - 15.10	Chris Knüsel. Orthopaedic disability: some hard evidence
15.10 - 15.30	Discussion
15.30 - 16.00	Tea/coffee break
16.00 - 16.20	Kevin Taylor. A Neolithic paradox?
16.20 - 16.40	Charlotte Roberts. Disability in the skeletal record: assumptions,
	problems and some examples
16.40 - 17.00	Julian Richards and Claire Wickham. Out of sight - out of mind?
	Archaeology and the blind
17.00 - 17.20	Discussion

#### Room 101 14.00 - 18.00

#### **General Perspectives in Theoretical Archaeology**

Session Organiser: TAG. Committee (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

#### Chair and discussant: Heinrich Härke

14.00 - 14.20 14.20 - 14.40	Bjorn Andersson. Archaeology as communication Farid Rahemtulla. Variability, analogy, and scales of interpretation in archaeology
14.40 - 15.00	Yannis Hamilakis. Deconstructing subsistence: towards an archaeology of eating and drinking.
15.00 - 15.20	Louise Hitchcock. Of bar stools and beehives: an interpretive dialog about a Minoan store room
15.20 - 15.35	Discussion
15.35 - 16.05	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
16.05 - 16.25	Fiona Campbell and Jonna Hansson. Archaeology as sacred space. Archaeology for its own ends or for directed ends?
16.25 - 16.45	Pavel Dolukhanov. Where lies the divide?
16.45 - 17.05	Daniel Mouer. Digging sites and telling stories: history, narrative and the culture problem
17.05 - 17.25	Louise Hitchcock. Virtual Discourse: Arthur Evans and the Reconstructions of the Minoan Palace at Knossos.
17.25 - 17.45	Lynn Meskell. Writing the body: institutions, discourses and corporeality
17.45 - 18.00	Discussion

#### Wednesday 20th December Morning

Room G10 09.00 - 12.50

#### The Cultural Politics of the Body: the Uses and Abuses of Biology

Session Organiser: Mary Baker and Susan Pitt (Departments of Archaeology /

History, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK)

Chair and Discussant: J.D. Hill

09.00 - 09.20 Paul Graves-Brown. Natural born killers? The politics of sociobiological paul Graves Prown.	
09.20 - 09.40 Tim Ingold. Against evolutionary psychology	
09.40 - 10.00 Mary Baker. Gender and sex, cultural or natural?	
10.00 - 10.20 Yvonne Marshall. Of sex and reproduction	
10.20 - 10.40 Discussion	
10.40 - 11.10 Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)	
11.10 - 11.30 Susan Pitt. The cultural construction of birth: or why childbirth isn't	
natural	
11.30 - 11.50 Tim Walley. Archaeology and sociobiology: what place emotions?	
11.50 - 12.10 Jonathon Sawday. Fighting in the field of nature: the politics of the u	iteriis
in early modern science and culture	
12.10 - 12.30 James Bradley and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart. Body narratives: readi	ng
the 'bleeding' obvious?	~~&
12.30 - 12.50 Discussion	

#### **Room 109**

09.00 - 12.10

#### Off the Record: Critical Approaches to Current Archaeological Practice

Session Organiser: Olivia Lelong (Department of Archaeology, University of

Glasgow, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Jenny Moore

09.00 - 09.20 09.20 - 09.40	Michael Shanks. Technical progress and political futures  Demetra Papaconstantinou. Intrasite spatial variability: evaluating the record and redefining the objectives
09.40 - 10.00	The production of the conference of the conferen
	Tony Pollard. Still digging: the work and play of archaeology
10.00 - 10.20	Discussion
10.20 - 10.50	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
10.50 - 11.10	Jane Downes and Colin Richards. Toward a thicker report
11.10 - 11.30	Olivia Lelong. Picking up the pieces: a reconsideration of artefact studies
11.30 - 11.50	Loby Daywork Landing and Decess in reconsideration of affected studies
	John Barrett. Is an integrated excavation record and report possible?
11.50 - 12.10	Discussion

#### 09.00-12.30 **Room 102**

#### "Who's Minding the Stores?" The Role of Storage in the Development of **Sociocultural Complexity**

Session Organiser: Rick Schulting (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair: Rick Schulting / Discussant: Marek Zvelebil

09.00 - 09.20 09.20 - 09.40	Introduction <i>Rick Schulting.</i> Storage and ownership in the archaeological record of
09.20 - 09.40	hunter-gatherers
09.40 - 10.00	Liliana Janik. Questioning the link between storage, private ownership and complexity in early prehistoric northern Europe
10.00 - 10.20	Simon Kaner. Storage and complexity in Jomon Japan
10.20 - 10.40	Thomas Strasser. Storage and state formation: another Aegean perspective
10.40 - 11.10	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
11.10 - 11.30	Andy Jones. Bowled over: social change, storage and the Unstan
	Ware/Grooved Ware transition in the Orcadian Neolithic
11.30 - 11.50	Bill Sillar. Discrete pits and prestigious storehouses in the Andes
11.50 - 12.10	Richard Bradley. A granary in Galicia
12.10 - 12.30	Discussion

#### **Room 101** 09.00 - 12.30

#### Northern Exposure: Interpretative Devolution and the Iron Age of the British **Isles**

Session Organiser: Bill Bevan (Peak District National Park, UK) Chair: Colin Haselgrove / Discussant: Chris Gosden

09.00 - 09.20	Jane Webster. Here be dragons!: Roman attitudes to northern Britain
09.20 - 09.40	Chris Cumberpatch and Graham Robbins. South Yorkshire and Wessex
09.40 - 10.00	Steve Willis. Unpacking 'regional identity': culture and community in
	the Iron Age of north-eastern England
10.00 - 10.20	Eoin Grogan. The Iron Age in Ireland? Funny you should ask
10.20 - 10.40	Discussion
10.40 - 11.10	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
11.10 - 11.30	Angela Piccini. The Iron Age and landscapes of heritage in modern Wales
11 20 11 50	
11.30 - 11.50	Richard Hingley. Ancestors and identity in the Iron Age of Atlantic Scotland
11.50 - 12.10	
11.30 - 12.10	Mike Parker-Pearson. Food, sex and death: kinship and social stucture in the east Yorkshire Iron Age
12.10 - 12.30	Discussion

#### Wednesday 20th December Afternoon

Room G10 14.00 - 17.10

#### The Architectural Psyche

Session Organiser: Nicola Bestley (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK)

Chair and Discussant: to be arranged

14.00 - 14.20	Nicola Bestley. Architecture and Being: the construction of human space and identity
14.20 - 14.40	Julian Thomas. Monuments, materiality and modernity
	with the same in t
14.40 - 15.00	Jeremy Dronfield. The stone universe: cosmos and architecture in later
	Neolithic Ireland
15.00 - 15.20	Discussion
	***************************************
15.20 - 15.50	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
15.50 - 16.10	Colin Richards. Water as natural architecture
16.10 - 16.30	Sarah Scott. The transformation of domestic and ritual space in Roman
	Britain
16.30 - 16.50	Mathew Johnson. Architecture and identity in Renaissance England
	The state of the s
16.50 - 17.10	Discussion

#### Room 109

14.00 - 17.10

#### The Ethics of Historical Representation

Session Organiser: Robert Eaglestone (Department of English, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Robert Eaglestone

14.00 - 14.20 14.20 - 14.40 14.40 - 15.00	Mary Baker. Body politics Susan Pitt. Feminism, logocentrism and the discipline of history Robert Eaglestone. The (un)narratable: ethics and the construction of historical narratives
15.00 - 15.20	Discussion
15.20 - 15.50	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
15.50 - 16.10	Michael Tierney. The World Archaeological Congress 1994 and the politics of the past
16.10 - 16.30	Patrick Finney. Ethics and historical relativism: the challenge of holocaust denial
16.30 - 16.50	Tom Webster. The word of god and the religious past
16.50 - 17.10	Discussion

#### Room 102 14.00 - 17.30

#### **General Perspectives in Art**

Session Organiser: TAG. Committee (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Robert Layton

14.00 - 14.20 14.20 - 14.40 14.40 - 15.00	Eva-Marie Göransson. In the space between object and art Camilla Power and Ian Watts. Sexual deception and the origins of art George Nash. The performance of Saharan rock artinfluences and structuration
15.00 - 15.20	Caroline Malone and Simon Stoddart. The origins of art in an island society
15.20 - 15.40	Discussion
15.40 - 16.10	Tea/coffee break (Cedar room)
16.10 - 16.30	Jens Ipsen. The role of pictographs in the cultural complexity of eastern Finland
16.30 - 16.50	Andy Jones. Sticks, stones and broken bones: natural symbols in the Orcadian Neolithic
16.50 - 17.10	George Nash. Wet, dry: high and dry: a re-evaluation of the rock painting site at Tumhehed, Torslanda, Goteborg
17.10 - 17.30	Discussion

#### Room 101 14.00 - 17.50

#### From "Complexity" to "Complex Society": Mediterranean Europe before Rome

Session Organiser: Bob Chapman, Catriona Gibson, Sturt Manning and Sarah Monks (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK) Chair and Discussants: Bob Chapman, Catriona Gibson, Sturt Manning and Sarah Monks

14.00 - 14.20	Bob Chapman and Sarah Monks. Complexity in the Mediterranean past: definitional problems for comparative analysis
14.20 - 14.40	Sturt Manning. Perspectives on complexity and change: the more things change the more they stay the same
14.40 - 15.00	Vicente Lull. What do we mean by 'state': A Spanish perspective
15.00 - 15.20	Bernard Knapp. Comparative space, maritime place
15.20 - 15.40	Discussion
15.40 - 16.10	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
16.10 - 16.30	Francis De Mita. Trading in and trading up: mapping shifting power
•	configurations in the Late Bronze Age of the east Mediterranean
16.30 - 16.50	Catriona Gibson. "Hot in the city tonight". The emergence of complexity in south-west Iberia in the first millennium BC
16.50 - 17.10	Georgia Nakou. 'The cutting edge': metallurgy and society in the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Aegean
17.10 - 17.30	Vasiliki Kassianidou. The organisation of copper production in LBA Cyprus; thoughts from a metallurgical perspective.
17.30 - 17.50	Discussion
17.30 - 17.30	Discussion

#### Room G10 18.00 - 19.30

#### Representing the Past: The Archaeology of Film

A Video Presentation by Joern Jacobs (Department of Archaeology, University of Rostock, Germany) and Cornelius Holtorf (Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK)

The presentation consists of a brief introduction into the topic of "Archaeology and Film", followed by approximately 20 short clips (3-5 minutes each) from movies and documentaries on archaeological topics, from the first human beings to the early Medieval age (with English subtitles and commentary).

# Thursday 21st December Morning

Room G10

09.00 - 13.00

#### Archaeology in Ireland and the Construction of National Identities

Session Organiser: Maggie Ronayne (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK)

Chair: Maggie Ronayne / Discussant: Mike Rowlands

of identity in
cicist archaeology: the
nth century
ethnic conflict in
nns: diversity and
writing the Neolithic
e bog": landscape
ic/Neolithic transition

#### **Room 109**

10.00 - 13.00

#### Past and Present: Modern Material Culture

Session Organiser: Paul Graves-Brown (Department of Psychology, University of Southampton, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Paul Graves-Brown

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10.00 - 10.20	Paul Graves-Brown. Mysterious objects
10.20 - 10.40	<i>Órla Cronin</i> . Mirrors and prisms: the functions of photographs in family life
10.40 - 11.00	Thomas Dowson. From the rocks to T-shirts: power and the popular consumption of rock art imagery
11.00 - 11.20	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)
11.20 - 11.40	Neil Jarman. Styles of belonging-displays of intent
11.40 - 12.00	Beth Preston. How things change. Form, function, and change of function
12.00 - 12.20	John Schofield. TAG and anti-heritage: perceptions of Punk, Pop and the Pistols
12.20 - 12.40	James Steele. Skill, motivational state, and the sociology of the emotions: a comparative perspective
12.40 - 13.00	Discussion

#### **Room 102**

09.00 - 12.10

#### Life

Session Organiser: Duncan Brown (Southampton, UK) and Keith Matthews (Chester Archaeology Service, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Duncan Brown and Keith Matthews

	09.00 - 09.20	Julie Bond. Food	
- (	09.20 - 09.40	Jo Sofaer. Children	
(	09.40 - 10.00	Duncan Brown and Alan Chalmers.	Light
	10.00 - 10.20	Discussion	
	10.20 - 10.50	Tea/coffee break (Cedar Room)	
	10.50 - 11.10	Keith Matthews. Icons	
	11.10 - 11.30	Paul Blinkhorn. Drugs	
	11.30 - 11.50	Mike Morris. Entropy	
	11.50 - 12.10	Discussion	

#### PAPER ABSTRACTS

#### The Archaeology of Creative Thought

Session Organiser: Steven Mithen (Department of Archaeology, University of

Reading, UK)

Chair: Steven Mithen / Discussant: to be arranged

It is easy to think of humans as the most creative of species. Although we have at least 30 years of detailed observations of our closest living relative, the chimpanzee, behavioural innovation appears extremely rare. In contrast we live in a rapidly changing cultural world for which an inherent creativity within the human mind is frequently invoked as a causal factor. This capacity for creative thinking is frequently traced in archaeological text books back to either the very first stone tools 2.5 million years ago, or to the start of the Upper Palaeolithic, 40,000 years ago. During the later prehistoric and historic periods archaeologists appear to be dealing with the products of a peculiarly creative mind. It is perhaps odd, therefore, that in spite of the development of cognitive archaeology in various guises during the last decade there has been limited discussion of creative thought. What is it, if indeed it something different from other ways of thinking? Do chimpanzees have creative minds? Did Neanderthals? Do we need to understand the nature of creative thought to explain the patterns in the archaeological record? Can archaeologists contribute to understanding the nature of creativity?

This conference session aims to address such questions. The invited participants include leading archaeologists, a primatologist, anthropologist and a cognitive scientist. They have all been invited to address the issue of creative thought with regard to their own area of expertise. The session will begin with Professor Margaret Boden, author of *The Creative Mind*, summarising her ideas concerning the nature of creativity, some of which will be drawn upon by the speakers who follow.

The creative mind Margaret Boden, School of Cognitive and Computing Science, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK

Human creativity is of two types. One involves novel associations between familiar ideas (e.g. poetic imagery, or analogies in literature and science). The other involves the exploration and (sometimes) transformation of conceptual spaces. A conceptual space is a systematic way of thinking, a set of mental "rules" or constraints which enables people to generate relevant ideas, some of which they will not have had before. If the space is transformed by changing the constraints, ideas can arise which could not have arisen before. If these definitions are interpreted with respect to novelty in the mind of a given individual, we have an example of P-creativity (psychological creativity). H-creativity (H for historical) is a special case of P-creativity, wherein the idea is novel not only for that individual but also -- so far as we know -- with respect to all previous thought. Ideas from artificial intelligence (Al) can help us understand how creativity is possible, by helping to clarify, test, and develop theories about how "intuition" works. Some AI-programs can make novel associations and/or analogies, by exploring paths within a network of widely varying concepts. Others can model, and explore, specific conceptual spaces (e.g. a chemical theory, or the work of a particular architect or jazzmusician). A few can transform their own spaces by altering constraints (sometimes evolving them over many generations). Most computer-novel ideas (so far) are merely P-creative, but a few are H-creative too. AI-models can also augment our creativity, for example by producing novel ideas (some of which the person could not have produced) for human evaluation, adoption, and development.

Plus ca change...... Ian Hodder, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK
How can archaeology contribute to an understanding of creativity? Perhaps most obviously by demonstrating over the long term the effects of the creative process. In fact, the long chains of typological seriation tell of a reluctance to innovate, as does the gradualism of major transformations in social and economic forms. Even recent major transformations (such as, in the technological field, the car, or in the arts~ cubism) can be seen as tinkering using associational processes in problem solving situations. Boden's 'impossibilist' creativity may be either very rare, ideologically constructed (as in 'new' archaeology or 'post' processual archaeology) or simply a version of the associational process. We are too perhaps infused with an essentialist desire to see humans as (mystically) creative. All social life has a creative component - but the process is close to the process of understanding. Certainly one can argue for a distinction between understanding and creativity. But various aspects of human behaviour (from the averting of eye contact during speech to the gradualism of the archaeological record) imply that cognitive capacities are heavily focused on the former. There is a much greater need to receive and make sense of information than there is to give it out. And when information is 'created' it is often largely a resorting. Solutions admired as the most 'creative' are often

those that fit most neatly into existing information. 'Making sense of things' is a creative process, and intelligence includes finding new solutions. But the human mind is largely geared to a thoroughly conservative associational process of interpretive understanding.

Creative thinking in monkeys and apes Richard Byrne, Scottish Primate Research Group, School of Psychology, University of St. Andrews, UK

Until very recent years, the idea that animals - even primates might engage in any sort of thinking was regarded as radical, or more likely sentimental nonsense. Two forces have changed this bleak assessment: the gradual acceptance of mechanistic theories of thought processes (Newell, Shaw and Simon, 1958) have lessened the mystique of human 'thought' for many cognitive psychologists; and in ethology there has been a growing realization that testing predictions derived from taking an 'intentional stance' (Dennett, 1983), or a belief that animals think (Griffin, 1984), can lead to surprising confirmations. Since we rely entirely on behaviour to detect thinking in animals, it must have behavioural consequences different from those predicted by normal learning/memory models; 'creative' thought, in Boden's (1994) sense of P-creativity, is actually more likely than 'mundane' thought to have such consequences. If we accept a fairly modest, 'value added' definition of creativity - any evidence that an individual is doing something that it was not genetically programmed to do, nor could have explicitly learnt to do - then there are a number of lines of evidence for animal thinking, especially among primates. This talk will review this evidence arguing that the crucial ability is probably found in all great apes but no monkeys and therefore most likely to have evolved in the common ancestor of modern great apes and humans, long before language

## Neanderthal creativity Clive Gamble, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

The Neanderthals have rarely been presented as creative agents. Neither have they been allowed many social skills. They have instead been portrayed as mainly responsive to the forces of ecology and geology. In this paper I will examine what it means to regard them as creative. I will argue that creativity is a meaningless concept unless it is related to social context. Since Neanderthal society has never been adequately addressed, I will examine the creativity it encapsulated through an investigation of how individuals produced society by negotiating their intimate, effective and extended networks. These involved the differential use of affective, material and symbolic resources and consequently both enabled and constrained their creativity.

## Creativity and the origins of art Steven Mithen, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK

One of the defining features of human creativity is the production of objects and types of behaviour that we call art. The first evidence for this appears between 40-30,000 years ago in Europe and Australia and constitutes one of the cultural innovations that define the transition to the Upper Palaeolithic. The very first art objects are highly technically accomplished and expressive – there is no evidence for a gradual evolution of the capacity to produce art. Moreover, it is unclear how a capacity to produce art, or many of the other distinctive behaviours of modern humans, could have evolved. As the evolutionary psychologist Steven Pinker has stated: how could evolution "have produced a brain capable of intricate specialized achievements like mathematics, science, and art, given the total absence of selective pressures for such abstract abilities at any point in history". In exploring the origin of art I draw upon Margaret Boden's ideas about the exploration and transformation of conceptual spaces. It is argued that the suite of cognitive processes required to make art were indeed present in the human mind ever since *H. erectus* appeared but that up until 40,000 year ago they were separate from each other in different cognitive domains. Only with a cognitive transformation that began 100,000 years and resulted in the mapping onto each other of multiple cognitive domains could the processes combine to result in the capacity for art.

## Creative thought in traditional Australian society Robert Layton, Department of Anthropology, University of Durham, UK

There are two ways of investigating creative thought in the traditional indigenous cultures of Australia. One is to study creativity in contemporary communities, the other to look for archaeological evidence of change in the past expressions of culture.

The conceptual space of traditional culture is bounded by the 'creation period' [often referred to in popular writings as The Dreamtime]. During the creation period, indeterminate possibilities become0rdetermined through the actions of heroic beings who leave their mark upon the landscape and the structure of society. Choices were made between death and regeneration, social obligations were upheld or denied, with perpetual consequences. How are novel structures created within this encompassing space? Each telling of a legend and each performance of a ceremony necessitate creative decisions by the narrator or the managers of the performance. The ambiguity inherent in, for example, attitudes to the dead can be resolved in more than one way, depending on how immediate experiences are likened to prototypical events.

The impact of colonisation subjected indigenous communities to wholly new experiences. The way sense was made of these experiences reveals indigenous creativity taken to its limits. New religious cults appear to have been introduced which reinforced traditional claims to land ownership. Old rock paintings or engravings were reconstrued

within the parameters of the new cults. The opportunity to sell paintings on a market created by the colonists provoked a substantial restructuring of what was regarded as possible and acceptable in artistic production.

Aboriginal communities recognise that both normal processes of maturation and death, demographic accidents which deplete or enlarge groups, and the more overbearing pressures of colonial settlement necessitate repeated renegotiation of people's social identity. The ancestral framework within which these negotiations are conducted is considered to be unchanging. While social identity is acknowledged to be an arena for indigenous political contestation the ancestral framework is not, even though any individual's claims to knowledge of the ancestral order are subject to political assessment.

Archaeology demonstrates that the Aboriginal occupation of Australia has lasted for over 40,000 years. During this immense period changes have occurred in art, material culture and spatial organisation. I will investigate whether any conclusions drawn from the study of creativity during an infinitesimally small segment of that time depth, since British colonisation, can throw light on longer-term change.

## The good stones: architecture, imagination and the Neolithic world Richard Bradley, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK

Although the Neolithic period is usually defined by the origins of agriculture, there are other ways of characterising it. One of the novel features of Neolithic society is its predilection for erecting large non-domestic buildings. Although these may not have been intended to mark the landscape permanently, their scale and structural stability helped to inculcate a new sense of time and place. Some of those monuments symbolised a distinctive conception of the natural world and represented it in three-dimensional form. In doing so the builders needed to match the sophistication of their abstract ideas to the physical constraints imposed by the materials that they were using, often for the first time. It is this interplay between cosmology and engineering that made monument building a creative process. The paper will illustrate these points through an study of the megalithic cemetery at Balnuaran of Clava in Scotland.

## Chevalier d'honneur: assessing the mental map in the European Iron Age Colin Renfrew, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, UK

In analysing human cognitive processes, the notion of the mental map is a useful one. Its role may be inferred when behaviour, oriented towards long-term planning, is observed. While Merlin Donald contrasts 'mythic' and 'theoretic' thought, the latter with external symbolic storage, he may not sufficiently emphasise the way the world can be ordered by artefacts used symbolically. These can only be comprehended when understood as figuring upon the mental maps of individuals within a society.

Burials of high status individuals, with a rich deployment of symbolic artefacts, may be regarded as a projection of conceptual maps of the social order. The 'innovations' of the wagon, chariot, and chevalier resonate in a cognised social space where special artefacts constitute the principal features of the mental map. Their continuing existence in the real world ensures the perpetuation of the cognised social relationships.

#### Human Use and Abuse of Finite Resources: Co-operative Dilemmas and Over-Exploitation (1)

Session Organiser: James Steele (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK)

Chair: James Steele / to be announced

The theme of this symposium is humans as resource managers - but as managers whose strategies may, deliberately or not, lead to over-exploitation of a resource to the point of exhaustion or extinction. The first sub-theme is social dilemmas: the paradoxes of co-operation which can lead people to make decisions with less-than-optimal long term outcomes. Secondly, case studies of human resource management illustrate debate on 'the tragedy of the commons and explore the role of humans as ecological agents. After lunch, a special session on megafaunal extinctions is followed by the fourth and final sub-theme: new ways of theorising the relationship between human social agency and environmental impact.

## Effect of group size and memory on optimal strategies in co-operating groups playing the Prisoner's Dilemma Game Simon Cox and Tim Sluckin, University of Southampton, UK

Intense co-operation is often held to be a defining trait of proto-human social systems. Large group sizes may well have been another defining characteristic. Simulations of the evolution of co-operation in large groups suggest that this combination may be problematic.

The Prisoner's Dilemma is a popular paradigm for the study of co-operative behaviour between two agents. Co-operation is the best solution for both players in the long run, but in the short run it is better for a player to defect. Nevertheless, the details of optimal long-run strategies have turned out to be difficult to understand.

The model exhibits a number of features reminiscent of group behaviour, the most interesting of which is that as group size increases, players with longer memories are favoured. A positive correlation between group size and brain size in primates has been noted by Dunbar, who has suggested that hominids evolved their big brains to enable them to maintain social relationships in large groups. This model may support such a hypothesis.

## Group size, norms, and the evolution of co-operation Robert Boyd, Department of Anthropology, UCLA, US

On solutions to repeated n-person Prisoner's Dilemmas and the role of selection at a higher level in explaining cooperative outcomes. With comments on the relationship between the n-person Prisoners Dilemma and commons problems.

# Collective action dilemmas and cultural theory: from formal models to the ethnographic record Kate Gregory and James Steele, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

In the social sciences, 'collective action has come to mean social co-operation in situations where individual self-interest may make such co-operation problematic. A number of experimental designs have been developed to explore peoples behaviour in such social dilemmas, including the Prisoners Dilemma, the Commons Dilemma, and the Public Goods Dilemma. We review these designs, and the typical real-world situations which they are supposed to approximate. We also identify sources of cultural variation which may affect peoples behaviour in such dilemmas, including the relationship of individuals to the social group (which may affect the propensity to co-operate within a group). Finally, we discuss the possible effects of world-view on risk-perception, time preferences and discount rates.

## Prestige goods and resource exploitation in prehistory Stephen Shennan, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

Collective action dilemmas account for many processes of over-exploitation. However, other mechanisms for the exercise of preferences can lead to similar results.

In a recent series of papers Low has argued that there are major differences between males and females in their patterns of resource exploitation, arising ultimately from their different reproductive interests. Such differences go far beyond the familiar distinction that males tend to be the big game hunters in foraging societies, and relate to the general importance of inter-male competition for resources, ultimately for reproductive gain. In specific times and places particular resources become the focus of such competition; in other words, they become prestige goods. It is likely to be characteristic of such resources that there will be a tendency to over-exploit them. There is no incentive for cooperation in the use of such resources; quite the contrary. To the extent that one man's gain is another's loss, there is a double benefit to the former.

The paper will examine some of the implications of Low's ideas for archaeological studies of prestige goods and their use.

## The changing commons: the case of Swaledale (North Yorkshire) Andrew Fleming, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

In recent discussions about the commons, ideas about 'the tragedy of the commons and their 'inefficiency have been set in opposition to the concept of the well-managed commons, both generally and in relation to the demise of the late medieval commons in England. But the commons are not all the same, nor should they be considered as being without history. They may be envisaged along an axis of variation with relatively relaxed, co-operative commons at one end and much more competitive systems, potentially on the verge of breakdown, at the other, with a 'regulated form in the middle of the continuum. These may be seen as morphological variants, or as stages in a typology, if one is prepared to treat increasing competition/population pressure as a given (which it probably is, in the late medieval English context). In Swaledale, it is possible to demonstrate the survival of traces of the earlier phases of this hypothetical sequence, although the situation is complicated by 'ethnic questions: in what sense is the commons tradition characteristically English, or Norse, as well as being describable in terms of abstract theory?

## The great auk and the gannet: management and mismanagement of a wild food resource Dale Serjeantson, University of Southampton, UK

Two large seabirds, the great auk, *Alca impennis*, and the solan goose or gannet, *Sula bassana*, which were among the species captured for food by the early farming communities of the north west Atlantic seaboard, responded in different ways to human predation.

Archaeological finds suggest that both were once widespread, but declined following the spread of humans to the areas where they were breeding. The great auk failed to survive the impact of human predation, while the gannet succeeded. Two factors contributed. The first is the different behaviour of the two species: the great auk, unlike the gannet, was flightless, and laid a single egg only, while the gannet will lay more than one. The second is the partial control which came to be exercised over access to the breeding sites of the gannet. The ownership of the restricted number of breeding sites is recorded in historical times, and the evidence suggests this developed during the first millennium A.D. It maintained the gannet population at a viable level, while no such mechanism developed in time to save the great auk from extinction.

Sustainable fishing: fact or fantasy? Pippa Smith, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

Environmental change is often invoked to explain the depletion of fish resources. Sea temperature and salinity changes were both thought to have been, in part, responsible for the commercial extinction of the Newfoundland and Labrador cod but a recent paper (Hutchings and Myers 1994) suggests that the collapse of northern cod can be attributed solely to over-exploitation. Environmentally deterministic explanation avoids the need to attribute blame to human activities. The attitudes toward over-fishing both in the present and in the past are examined. The caricature of the Romantic Fishing Myth (the proto-green noble savages in tune with their environment) and the Unromantic Fishing Myth (environmentally unsound groups who fish until the cost/benefit balance tips the wrong way) are looked at. Is environmental determinism used as a tool of explanation in order to excuse human over-exploitation, both today and in the past?

Hierarchical dynamics and nonequilibrium landscapes: some implications for understanding environmental resource management James McGlade, Cranfield University/ McDonald Institute, University of Cambridge, UK

In order to gain analytical insight into the processes that produce environmental degradation we need to develop a more complete understanding of the temporal and spatial dynamics of human-induced disturbance.

From an evolutionary perspective, human modification of the landscape through cropping, pastoral regimes, irrigation methods etc. establishes a symbiotic dynamic, which although capable of increasing the productive capacity of the system in the short term, nevertheless may successively reduce the resilience of the system to perturbation. This reduction in 'option space increases the fragility of the system and consequently the probability of collapse or transformation.

Understanding such dynamical regimes requires a knowledge of the role played by scalar hierarchical levels of interaction. While progress has been made in understanding the function of hierarchical mechanisms with respect to ecological systems, this research rarely accounts for human agency as an intrinsic structuring element, it being seen rather as an external impact on the ecological system.

This problematic forms the basis of recent research into the long-term structuring of the semi-arid environments of south-east Spain. This paper presents an approach to investigating the coevolutionary dynamics underpinning the historical development of social natural systems in this region, and examines the qualitative states to which socionatural systems can be driven as a consequence of purely *endogenous* processes. It may, thus, be possible to encounter generic properties which are resident in all complex socionatural systems - irrespective of their specific cultural and social contexts.

#### The Organisation of Archaeology

Session Organiser: John Carman (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK)

Chair and Discussant: John Carman

"...archaeology the institution may represent neither profession nor discipline... but simultaneously the creation of and assisting at the creation of contemporary society " (Cooper et al. Managing Archaeology, 1995)

This is not a session about how to set up a field unit, a local authority archaeology department or the internal workings of English Heritage. It will, however, be of interest to those who do these things and who work in such organisations. It is a session about the nature of contemporary archaeology, archaeology as a contemporary practice and archaeology as something created by but also instrumental in the creation of contemporary society. It is therefore of interest to all archaeologists.

A specific organisation (noun) is to be distinguished from organisation (verb) in general. An organisation is "a social system which is able to 'bracket time-space', and which does so via the reflexive monitoring of system reproduction and the articulation of discursive 'history''. Modern organisations are characterised by "the intensification

of... information collection and retrieval", "their association with specifically designed locales" (such as University campuses and Fortress House—as well as sites and monuments) and "the relation between locales and the timing and spacing of activities" (timetabling) (Giddens 1987). Contemporary archaeology displays—one way or another—all of these traits.

This session will build on these ideas by exploring various aspects of archaeological practice as exemplary of organisations which 'bracket iime-space'. Throughout, the interaction of the object of archaeology—very literally 'the stuff' of the discipline—with practice, the transformative effect of practice on 'the stuff', and how this contributes towards "system reproduction and the articulation of discursive 'history" will be evident. Contributions will also demonstrate the range and diversity of research projects into the organisation that is contemporary archaeology. The open discussion which will end the session is regarded by all involved as equally important as any or all of the individual papers.

## The political economy of archaeology: organising a 'useful' resource John Carman, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK

The evaluation of archaeological remains has become a universal practice—whether to ascribe a measure of 'scientific significance', 'national importance' or some other (usually legally-required) measurable value to components of the archaeological heritage. Despite the claims of many of its practitioners, however, what is not at all clear is what evaluation is all about.

This paper will attempt to understand this complex administrative process by approaching it from the perspective of locating archaeology among the 'human sciences', what this means in terms of the 'political economy' of archaeology, and how this affects the material which is the object of the evaluation exercise. The argument to be made here is an extension and development of ideas previously expressed elsewhere concerning the kinds of values given to archaeological remains, how those values are given and where they derive from and what this means for archaeology, and which will be briefly reviewed. The paper will in particular draw on concepts and ideas contained in the works of Michel Foucault and Jean Baudrillard which contribute to an understanding of how archaeology is at once the child of and simultaneously assists in the creation of the contemporary world.

Archaeological power containers: city, county, country, continent Antony Firth, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

"Certain types of locale form 'power containers'—circumscribed arenas for the generation of administrative power" (Giddens: The Nation State and Violence, p. 13)

"... we should recognise that one of the features of the modern state—and of modern organisations in general—is the systematic study and utilization of [ancient] materials relevant to their own reproduction" (A. Giddens: The Nation State and Violence, p.181)

Why, in the absence of coercion or deception, do people continue to support faceless organisations that rarely do them any favours? I suggest, following Giddens' account of selfidentity, that the reason lies in the construction of identity through 'biographical narratives', where the narratives of individuals and of organisations are mutually constitutive; trust arises because people recognise themselves in the organisations that they support. Importantly, the construction of such biographical narratives—by individuals and organisations alike—has a spatial / material dimension as well as a temporal dimension, hence the pivotal role of archaeology.

My contention is that archaeologists are implicated in the construction of locales that legitimate imbalances of power and meaning. Furthermore, the production of locales corresponds to the form of organisation in which archaeologists are engaged: city archaeologists construct cities, county archaeologists construct counties, English archaeologists construct England, and European archaeologists construct Europe. However, these archaeological power containers are not nested together in a stable hierarchy—their construction involves recursive negotiation of power, trust and meaning. I hope to show how archaeologists can engage critically in the structuring of relations between individuals and organisations in two ways: first by offering contestable histories of places in archaeological treatises and planning policies alike; second, by intervening physically in the everyday surroundings of citizens, constituents, nationals and neighbours.

## The reproduction of Japanese archaeological discourse: a structurationist critique Koji Mizoguchi, University of Kyushu, Japan

This paper attempts to illustrate the way in which Japanese archaeology as a unique discourse is constituted and reproduced. This discourse has its own 'dominant locales' where the disciplinary norms and authority are signified and legitimated in an intensive manner. These dominant locales, namely the excavation site, the laboratory, the venue of oral presentation, and so forth, are also the locations where 'rituals' of disciplinary rites of passage take place: learning and teaching how to line-draw, ho to ink-in, how to identify and dig features, how to identify patterns, and so forth are examples. It will be argued that the production of data on the one hand and the extreme elaboration of the organisation of archaeological institutions on the other ironically make those locales very closed and prevent lively debate and theoretical developments. It will be suggested that the creation of a concrete frame of arguments de-constructing the self-reproduction of those locales is badly needed.

## Archaeology and its disciplinary culture: the institutional dynamics of community formation Stephanie Moser, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

The institutional arrangements of archaeology have played a central role in shaping how the discipline is defined. In a study of the organisation of Australian archaeology I have explored the role that various institutions have played in creating a professional identity for the discipline. I argue that one of the crucial elements that facilitates the growth of, and binds the discipline together, is the creation of an organisational culture. Furthermore, it is argued that this culture is sustained by the institutional infrastructure set up by the archaeological community.

#### Archaeological writing and the expression of disciplinary organisation Susan Thomas,

Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK

Archaeological information is communicated primarily by means of written texts. Thus the textual medium intervenes in the process of knowledge production, primarily in the presentation of an authorisation of interpretation within the disciplinary structure or organisation. This paper uses analysis of archaeological writing in order to characterise aspects of archaeology s disciplinary organisation.

Previous studies of archaeological writing have tended to approach the study from the perspective of a particular theoretical school and have concentrated on a few selected texts. They are concerned primarily with advocating certain models of archaeological practice and organisation and assume that archaeological writing conforms to perceived norms of existing practice. This paper approaches the question from the other direction.

The conclusions presented here are based upon analysis of a substantial sample of texts dealing with substantive Neolithic and Bronze Age archaeology in Britain. Rather than proceeding from theoretical agenda to a notion of archaeological writing, it is suggested that notions of archaeology's disciplinary practice and organisation should be derived from analysis of substantive practice as expressed in tangible form in archaeological writing.

## Beyond the boundaries of professional archaeology: tomb robbers, amateurs and collectors in Italy Diura Thoden van Velzen, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK

Archaeology, in the broad sense of the activity of excavation and / or the study of past residues, involves a wide range of social groups. Beside the professional archaeologists, amateur groups, art collectors and tomb robbers are influential in the creation of contemporary archaeology. This paper will explore the interactions between these social subdivisions in A case study from Tuscany.

The professional archaeologists working in this area often regard the distinction between academic and other forms of archaeology as an extremely rigid one and think of themselves as operating independently. A closer look, however, reveals that, although the rhetoric of the different sub-systems is one of oppositions, their actions and rationale display considerable similarity and mutual influence.

I will explore the motivations of the various groups by focusing on themes such as rationality, object- or context-related approaches and a concern with identity. Targets, I will suggest, are often defined in response to those of other groups and the paper will explore the potential impact that altering these relations could have on current perceptions of the past of this region.

#### Cultural policy, cultural heritage and the organisation of Australian archaeology

Sarah Colley, University of Sydney, Australia

What is 'Australian archaeology' in 1995? Historically, 'archaeology' in Australia has been practised within a variety of academic and non-academic contexts. Obvious examples are:

- (1) various types of 'Prehistory', 'Historical Archaeology', 'Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology' practised within academic departments in Universities;
- (2) 'Archaeological Resource Management' practised within the context of government institutions in direct response to policy e.g. on environmental protection, culture, Aboriginal issues;
- (3) 'Community-based Archaeology' which has arisen in direct response to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander concerns about the study and interpretation of their own cultural heritage through archaeology.

The definitions, boundaries and inter-relationships of these various sub-fields of Australian archaeology are unclear and often contested. My paper will examine these issues by attempting a (brief) historical overview of the development of some Australian archaeologies (and closely related disciplines). I will then discuss some of the factors I feel are responsible for recent changes in the mode and context of practice some of these Australian archaeologies (such as postmodernism, postcolonialism, and changing government policy related to indigenous Australians and other issues).

## Do traditional perspectives on archaeological organisations actually help us to do good archaeology? Malcolm Cooper, English Heritage, UK

There is a traditionally held view that the design of an effective organisation results naturally from a definition of its roles and functions against a background of Thatcherite concepts of freemarket economics. The current archaeological debate—if indeed there is one—tends to concentrate therefore on the definition and validity of such economic models as opposed to going behind these to question whether current conceptions of 'organisation' are in fact helpful. It will be argued here that these conceptions, frequently based upon rational or scientific management models, in many cases do

not offer the most useful methods for characterising our discipline and its structures, nor in influencing their direction of change for the better.

This paper will therefore explore current conceptions of 'organisation' in archaeology. In proposing alternative perspectives with which to define or view organisation, its purpose is to expose to critical analysis some of the underlying assumptions which are commonly held and to demonstrate how these underlying and unquestioned concepts affect the discipline of archaeology as a whole, the relationship of archaeological organisations to the outside world, and the resultant internal structures, roles and relationships within our organisations. It is argued that without such an explicit analysis, our ability to develop as a discipline is likely to be severely restricted.

## Old Pots, New Perspectives: New Approaches to the Study of Prehistoric Ceramics

Session Organisers: Ann Woodward and J.D. Hill (on behalf of the Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group)

Chair and Discussants: Ann Woodward and J.D. Hill

Pottery is one of the most ubiquitous finds from archaeological excavations and surveys. Perhaps because it is so plentiful, the non-pot specialist may often overlook the considerable potential that pottery and other ceramics offer in opening up new lines of enquiry into the past. The papers in this sessions illuminate some of these new lines of enquiry, both generating new theoretical perspectives and applying existing ones, through the study of ceramics from the Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age of Britain. While all the papers concentrate on British later prehistoric material, we hope that the general questions and broader issues raised are not solely concerns for the British prehistorian.

The session has been organised on behalf of the *Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group*. This group brings together specialists working on all aspects of prehistoric pottery and other ceramics through its regular meetings. The group seeks to promote good practice in the study of prehistoric ceramics and to encourage new research through its publications and dealings with other bodies.

## Pots for drinking; pots for thinking Ann Woodward, Department of Archaeology, University of Birmingham, UK

Analysis of prehistoric pottery in Britain has tended to concentrate on decoration, form and fabric at the expense of more general factors such as size. Recent studies have indicated that vessel size can be measured by using rim diameter data from existing ceramic archives. The basic size parameter can be employed not only to investigate the function of different container types, but also to elucidate their possible symbolic and mental significance.

British prehistoric ceramics - a long view Ros Cleal, Alexander Keiller Museum, Avebury, UK
This paper considers changes in two aspects of British prehistoric ceramics over a long time period and the nature of changes in society which may be associated with developments in these areas. The first aspect is the use of non-plastics in pottery fabrics, and the second is surface colour. These are normally regarded from a technological point of view within the discrete time periods into which prehistoric ceramics are usually divided for study - 'earlier prehistoric' and 'later prehistoric' being the broadest. This is to ignore, however, the potential for much useful information about practices which were not governed solely by technological considerations and which may offer some insight into prehistoric societies over the long term.

## Pots as categories; the case of British beakers Robin Boast, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, UK

British beakers have been intensively studied for over 120 years in an attempt to classify their enormous variety. So far, all attempts have failed. This paper argues that the problem is not so much with the beakers themselves, nor with, as is the usual alibi, the 'lack of data', but with the classifications that beakers are meant to embody.

## Cremains of the clay: refired pottery and ritual in prehistory Alistair Barclay, Oxford Archaeological Unit, Oxford, UK

The occurrence of refired pottery in prehistory, in particular during the early Bronze Age, seldom attracts comment in the archaeological literature. Some Food Vessels, Collared Urns, accessory vessels along with a range of artefacts (e.g. flint and bronze work) appear to have been burnt on cremation pyres. Some vessels were no doubt completely destroyed during this process, whilst others either whole or fragmentary were retrieved and buried with or without cremated bone. The paper will attempt to identify patterns of selectivity, such as the choice of vessel, and in so doing will demonstrate that greater variability in the funerary record exists than has been previously recognised.

Salt production ceramics: a model for understanding resource exploitation and technological change Elaine Morris, Independent Ceramic Consultant, Southampton, UK

Briquetage, that all-encompassing term used to describe the range of ceramic forms made to win salt from either seawater or inland brine, also consists of a great variety of fabric types. Is there any rhyme or reason to that diversity? This model will propose a set of criteria which may have influenced the later prehistoric and early Romano-British salt makers' choices of clays and temper. These criteria are based on a combination of locally available, or absent, geological resources and technological requirements as a result of changes in the heating systems used to dry the salt itself.

## Sacralised cultural contact and innovation at a border?: the context for the deposition of decorated bowls within a late Iron Age enclosure in Northamptonshire Adam Gwilt,

Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, UK

This paper will examine the concentrated deposition of first century BC La Tene decorated globular bowls within a particular and unusual boundary enclosure at Weekley, Northamptonshire. An argument will be developed that the use and deposition of this pottery was situated within a religious and cultural milieu, at a major land boundary between two developing social group 'territories' (or spheres of influence). The significance of the presence of Glastonbury Ware pottery from the south west of Britain, in direct contextual association with the local decorated bowls, will be elucidated.

# From Middle Iron Age to Late Iron Age pottery (or not) in south-east England; was it just about the introduction of the potters wheel? J.D. Hill, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

Changes in the forms, styles and repertoires of pottery are fundamental in allowing pottery to be used as a chronological indicator. A good example of such a change is the adoption of Late Iron Age wheel made pottery in parts of southern England in the first centuries BC/AD. This paper will look at the adoption of these new pottery forms, and the failure to adopt them in many areas, suggesting a simple technological explanation is inadequate. Rather, I will suggest that forms, styles and repertoires of prehistoric pottery need to be placed in the context of the social practices they were used in, and the social discourses those practices sustained or challenged.

#### **Rethinking Social Territory in Prehistory**

Session Organiser: Jan Harding (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair: Jan Harding / Discussant: Tim Ingold

The concept of 'territory', or the social demarcation of the landscape, has become highly ambiguous since the demise of the prehistoric 'culture' or 'ethnic group'. The difficulties associated with a term which is so clearly linked with the modern history of the western world has led to a general lack of confidence in the concept. It has consequently assumed an extremely limited role in recent accounts, employed to either define zones of economic exploitation or to refer to areas which are controlled by large-scale socio-political units or early states. In this sense, the concept of territory has only been discussed alongside an agenda which draws upon ethnocentric principles such as economic functionalism and centralised power and resource procurement. This has, not suprisingly, only served to emphasize misgivings about its value for an appreciation of the small-scale societies which constitute such an important part of the prehistoric past.

There is therefore a general reluctance by prehistorians to examine the wider link between the concept of territory and the strategies employed by small-scale societies to create and maintain modes of identity. It can be argued, however, that this is unfortunate since it seemingly creates a prehistory which denies that social practice can structure group interaction and communication over expanses of space and time. The session will examine this problem and the possibility that the concept can be reconstituted by a shift from the assumption that a 'territory' implies the direct political control of a discrete expanse of landscape. It will discuss the proposition that while the geographically-defined areas in which small-scale communities operate might not possess a socially meaningful boundary, a degree of social 'belonging' and even perhaps ownership is illustrated by a series of rhetorical strategies (eg. ancestral myths) which are enacted by groups. These strategies constitute a language of acts and signs which are the foundation for an awareness of affinity and difference, and which are inevitably embedded across the landscape.

## **Lineage and the land** Keith Ray, Deptartment of Geographical Sciences, University of Plymouth, UK

Prehistorians have in recent years placed less emphasis on territory as a key factor in the life of the communities whose remains they study. This is no doubt part of a welcome trend in archaeology away from reductionist explanations for past human activity and its outcomes. However, it remains highly likely that 'territories' (defined here as places across and between which traditional rights- and rites- were practised and practicable by particular communities) were of

major import to the people concerned. An archaeology of practice will locate 'lineage' as central to the exercise of such territorially expressed tradition, and I shall outline both the rationale for and the consequences of such location.

It has been suggested that choreographies of monuments and landscape features played a part in territorial organisation, but just how this was articulated remains ill-defined. In a brief excursion that touches on prehistoric Cornwall and Orkney, and historic southeast Nigeria, I shall question how traditions of access and control as well as perceived continuities of lineage identity and interest were implicated in contemporary traditions of material production and exchange; and I shall explore how these practices together may have served to frame and to transform the way in which prehistoric communities interacted with one another.

## Centres of gravity: multiple territories in West New Britain, Papua New Guinea Chris Gosden, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, UK

Particular concepts of territory hold implicit within them the definition of groups and how individuals operate within these groups. All too often groups and individuals are defined using western concepts of personhood. Drawing on recent discussions on Papua New Guinea I shall argue that individuals in the western sense are impossible to define in this case and that it is more helpful to talk of 'dividuals' (rather than individuals) enmeshed in social and material relations in a manner quite foreign to us. Crucial to these definitions are the continuing attachments between people and things, which in turn create lasting attachments to people. This process of enchainment creates groups through practice rather than operating with pre-ordained groups. Each person has a multiple set of affiliations of ritual, kinship and exchange which they can take up and drop at different times of their lives. Relations of ritual, kinship and exchange have undergone marked transformations through the process of colonialism which has changed the spatial aspect of social relations. Territory, although not totally meaningless, is not a simple concept in the present and has changed dramatically over the last few hundred years. I will use the results of my recent research in Papua New Guinea to look at changing spatial and social relations and the implications these have for a notion of territory.

## Pathways to new realms: cursus monuments and symbolic territories Jan Harding, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK

Recent discussions have stressed the sensual experience associated with movement along the interior of cursus monuments. It has been argued that these culturally demarcated corridors would stimulate the walker's awareness of specific places which are to be found both inside and outside the monument. However, an essential part of the significance attached to these sites must have also been their affect upon everyday experience in the landscape which surrounds these formal pathways. Despite their episodic construction, and the relatively small size of the earthworks, it is possible to envisage the perimeters as associated, at particular moments in their history, with various social prohibitions which structured the flow of people and information across the wider landscape. This paper will explore this assumption in relation to a number of case studies, and argue that these monuments should be considered as part of a more general social trajectory whereby group power and history was increasingly embedded in the landscape during the early Neolithic. These cursuses might therefore symbolise the creation of more formalised patterns of spatial perception and separation which were linked to mythical land ownership or more exclusive social territories.

## Territories of the mind: cosmography and the territorialisation of social identities in the British Bronze Age Paul Garwood, Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford, UK

Conceptions of 'territory' have been excluded from recent interpretations of the socio-spatial structuring of cultural practices in the British Neolithic and Bronze Age. Although the idea has previously been used to account for the spatial distribution of artefacts and monuments- in terms of economic organisation (eg. Fleming's model of pastoralist exploitation zones centred on ritual territories) and in relation to political organisation (eg. Renfrew's model of territorial chiefdoms in relation to Wessex)- it is argued that the idea of territories as exclusive, unitary, permanent spatial expressions of economic or political systems is neither straightforward or self-evident.

It is suggested that territorialism- as the conscious identification of bounded landscape areas belonging exclusively to particular social groups in opposition to others, legitimated with reference to coherent cognitive schemes that describe the classification and organisation of social groups in space, and constitutive of social identities of fundamental importance to social organisation- did not exist in Britain prior to the late Bronze Age. Territorial constructs of this kind, it is argued, emerged as a result of particular conjunctures of cultural practices and explication in the course of the Early Bronze Age: not as direct expressions of economic or political classification, but as representative of order amongst distinct social groups that were mapped out in ritual practice. The cosmographies thus created while defining fixed spatial relationships between social groups, were not concerned with increasingly salient social practices in economic and political domains which found expression in alternative fields of discourse. It is this contingent, historical conjuncture of cultural rationale which may account for the territorialism of social identities in the Later Bronze Age.

## Leskernick: The spirit of the place Barbara Bender, Sue Hamilton & Chris Tilley, Department of Anthropology, University College London, UK

Leskernick is a small rock-strewn hill on Bodmin Moor. There is a stone row and circles- probably Late Neolithic- on the col below the hill; two small Early/Middle Bronze Age settlements on the slopes of the hill; and a quoit stone and cairn on the summit. Based on a small excavation at the terminal of the stone row, and a preliminary survey of the

settlement, we believe we can begin to discern a prehistoric world in which every movement in and around the settlement, and out beyond the settlement was embued with ritual. In their engagement with the stones there was a cosmological reiteration that worked to and fro between the most intimate house interior, the compounds and enclosures, out across the landscape and up to the punctuated skyline of the tors. Everyday, feast-day and ceremony bled into each other. We think that the two settlements are not contemporary and that, through time, the two communities engaged in rather different ways with their world of stone and with a past inscribed in memory and monument. We hope, as our work continues, to understand more about the interaction between nested identities and a nested landscape.

Time, territory and tradition: reconstructing prehistoric territories in South Uist, Outer Hebrides Mike Parker Pearson, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield, UK

It used to be fashionable in archaeological circles to wonder whether social and political territories from prehistoric, Roman and Saxon times might be fossilized in recent historical and current landscapes. Concepts of central places, multiple estates, continuity of place and landscape stratigraphy have all been used to explore continuities (and changes) in territorial organization. With recent interest in the invention of tradition, the constant negotiation/renegotiation of access to land and the creation/recreation of continuity, there has been a move to understanding the complexities of structuration in the short term, away from the long-term structures that archaeology should be good at finding. Time and tradition are central elements in the way that territory is maintained, increased and annexed. This study looks at the curious case of South Uist where today's townships (parishes) may have an unusual antiquity despite some of the most dramatic discontinuities in recorded history.

A duality of possession and identity: Greeks and Anatolians in Lesbos during the Early Iron Age and Archaic Periods Nigel Spencer, Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford, UK The present paper will approach the problem of territorial possession and 'belonging' in the context of early Iron Age Greece, examining the interaction between originally distinct social groups at the fringes of the Aegean world, merged through an act of colonisation.

In the island of Lesbos in the northeast Aegean, groups of Aiolian Greeks colonised the island from the Greek mainland during the early Iron Age (ca. 1000-700 BC), but found on their arrival a strong, pre-exisiting native culture which exhibited strong links to Anatolia. During the centuries which followed their arrival, however, the Greeks seem to have been in a dilemma which affected their perception of their own origins and cultural affiliations. On the one hand, as a newly-arrived group, there was a need to emphasise their own distinct territorial claims and express their own sense of 'belonging' and 'history' in the place. This aim was accomplished in different ways, such as by the use of hero-cult in one settlement, whilst the early literary sources from another site indicate that the Greeks created their own descent myths which grew up in parallel to another more clearly 'Anatolian' set.

Yet despite this apparent desire to be culturally distinct and essentially 'Greek' in this far-flung island on the edge of Anatolia, there is the conundrum that as the Archaic period began (from ca. 700 Bc onwards), the literary sources indicate that the members of the island's aristocracy attempted to emphasise their links to the East in the battle for social supremacy with the lower orders. The fabulously wealthy civilisations of Anatolia (such as Phrygia) offered a mystique and appeal to the Greeks, and the upper echelons of society made strenuos attempts to emphasise their privileged 'Oriental' links in as conspicuous and permanent ways as possible. It is in this context that the material remains from the Greek settlements in the island of the Archaic period, which included nearly exclusive use of the Anatolian 'grey ware' pottery, the worship of Eastern gods, and the use of Eastern architectural styles, must be interpreted. In doing so, it will become clear that the question of territory, possession and belonging is never simple and that within a site or ethnic group, different social sub-groups may wish to re-interpret their own 'belonging' and identity as the occasion demands for specific, and more ephemeral, socio-political ends.

#### Human Use and Abuse of Finite Resources: Co-operative Dilemmas and Over-Exploitation (2)

Session Organiser: James Steele (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK)

Chair: Dale Serjeantson / Clive Gamble

The global dispersals of modern humans: ecological impacts and the extinctions record Clive Gamble and James Steele, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK Through the Holocene, modern humans have expanded their range to include virtually all the habitable land-surface of the world. In many locations this range expansion has had a characteristic signature - the extinctions of many large animal species following human colonization. This signature has become an important case-focus when debating the 'ecologically noble savage hypothesis.

We demonstrate that Paleolithic lithic transport data indicates that hominid dispersals were linked to a carnivore ranging strategy, although their social intelligence was characteristically 'primate. We review the late Glacial and Holocene extinctions evidence, with special reference to the dispersal of humans through the Americas during the early Paleoindian period. Global human dispersals, dietary and ranging strategies, and (perhaps) megafaunal extinctions appear to have close causal links.

Beyond the tree line: radiocarbon calibration in the late Pleistocene and early Holocene

Cathy Batt and Mark Pollard, Department of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, UK Studies of the relationship between human expansion and megafaunal extinctions almost invariably rely on radiocarbon dates to provide a chronological framework. Whilst it is well known that radiocarbon dates require calibration, it is often anticipated that the only effect of calibration would be to push the dates a little further back in absolute time. With the advent of radiocarbon calibration data, albeit preliminary and controversial, from Late Pleistocene coral and varved lake sediments, it is now possible to begin to extend the procedure of calibration back before the early Holocene high precision dendro-calibration. This paper will present initial research into the effects of calibration on the dates for the earliest occupation of North America and the chronology of Late Pleistocene extinctions and will discuss the current limitations of radiocarbon dating in answering the questions that are being asked.

## Ecosystem dynamics, mammoth hunting and human foragers Steven Mithen, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK

One of the major problems faced by archaeologists is the poor chronological resolution of their data sets when compared with the very rapid changes in the structure of ecological communities that are observed within the modern world. Moreover, recent data from ice cores are now demonstrating substantial climatic changes during the Pleistocene that lasted for no more than a few decades, but which cannot be identified in the archaeological traces of past behaviour. The exploitation of mammoths provides a good case study for exploring these problems because they are likely to have been very sensitive to past climatic changes, while there would have been a time lapse between current climatic conditions and the consequences for their population numbers (due to their slow reproductive rate). Because of these factors, human hunters/scavengers of mammoths will have been in a state of high uncertainty regarding their exploitation.

## Ecological objects or ecological concepts?- a new approach to the study of human modification of ecosystems Steven Cousins and James McGlade, Cranfield University, UK

In recent years, much debate and discussion has focused on the utility of the food web as an analytical entity; focal problems have been the essentially arbitrary nature of the concept, the potential spatial and temporal variation in species interactions, and the difficulties in empirical verification. As a contribution to this debate, this paper introduces as the preferred ecological object - the ecotrophic module (ETM) - defined as the food web of the area occupied by the top predator and social group. Since this ecosystem object is countable and has a characteristic spatial scale, it is therefore possible to evaluate the effects of particular perturbations induced by human action, including the loss of an ETM or its downgrading to a smaller scale.

It is shown how hunter-gatherers and societies with settled agriculture have reduced the energy available to top predators. With the evolution of human social organization, we see the emergence of trade as a fundamental shift, effecting the transformation of ETMs from their embeddedness within the biosphere to their location within the econosphere. The agent of transformation is seen to be the emergence of trade/exchange mechanisms. Trade causes energy and material flows between ETMs and aggregates this flow with human settlement patterns to the global scale, with the onset of urbanism. Thus, the number and size of top predators declines as human appropriation of the products of photosynthesis increases.

It is argued that top predator abundance may provide a synoptic measure of global human impact, as well as contributing to the debate on environmental impact analysis and sustainability.

## Over-exploitation, breeding stresses and maladaptive genetic traits in domesticates Kate Clark, University of Southampton, UK

By any definition, the development of a phenotype by another species for purposes which do not enhance the survival of the new phenotype is an irreversible exploitation. Equally, but perhaps less obviously, the subordination of the domestic species is mirrored in the reciprocal dependency of the human group whose ability to regulate protein conversion leads to social organization contingent upon a regular and infallible source of supply. Such mutual dependency, initiated and driven as it is by exploitation and not symbiosis, sustains equilibrium by a constant series of adjustments each of which is effectively the encouragement of a maladaptation in *either* species. This paper discusses some of the archaeological and contemporary evidence for this mutual infliction of disadvantageous characteristics.

#### The past as a key to the future Jonathan Adams, Université de Marseilles, France

On reconstructing past patterns of global vegetation cover, and the prehistory and history of human impact. Relevance of this to predicting future outcomes of present trends in resource depletion, with particular reference to variation in terrestrial plant-based carbon storage and the global warming effect.

#### Disabling Archaeology

Session Organiser: Nyree Finlay (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair: Nyree Finlay / Discussant: Tom Shakesphere

The subject of disability is one that remains largely neglected within archaeological discourse. At one level, there is the question of disabled access to information, sites and monuments. Academic interests such as the identification of disability in the archaeological record have prompted little discussion of the contemporary relevance of diverse attitudes and perspectives of difference. Theoretical discussions of material culture and the body always privilege an able bodied perspective. This session seeks to examine the construction of disabled narratives within archaeology from the identification of pathological indicators through various forms of representation.

#### Accessing the inaccessible - disability and archaeology Morag Cross, Glasgow, UK

This paper serves as a general introduction to the medical and social models of disability, able-bodied attitudes and the wider meanings of access besides the stereotypical one of wheelchair access. This includes issues of access to transport, housing, education and employment. In archaeology, issues raised include disabled people as both practitioners and "consumers" of archaeology. There are the implications of the Disability Discrimination Bill regarding physical access to sites, museums and historic buildings. New museums are making efforts to make premises and information accessible, but this issue has hardly been addressed in an archaeological context.

#### The archaeological evidence for attitudes to disability in the past Theya Molleson,

Deptartment of Palaeontology, Natural History Museum, UK

Burial practices may reveal attitudes to congenital abnormalities and to acquired disabilities., In burial assemblages it is quite exceptional to encounter abnormalities (e.g. cleft palate) that would have been recognised at birth. Some such disabilities that would have become evident later (e.g. congenital deafness), together with acquired deformities, have received special burial; however not all with evidence of disablement were so treated.

#### Orthopaedic disability: some hard evidence Chris Knüsel, Department of Archaeological Science University of Bradford, UK

Limb-disabling injuries are known from human remains from the Middle Palaeolithic onwards. Many of these are found in mature adults who survived some years after having sustained their injuries. This association has often occasioned comment about the compassion of the social group in which the disabled individual lived. In order to better document that such emotive responses/ethical concepts were present in past human societies, it is necessary to address the archaeological context and attendant funerary behaviour evident. This paper will review the pathological conditions and bone adaptation of three disabled medieval individuals and address the question of how they may have been regarded by their contemporaries through the comparison of their funerary contexts.

A Neolithic Paradox? Kevin Taylor, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, UK If we re-neolithicise our thinking of the Cotswold-Severn group of chambered tombs, how then should we interpret the presence of their occupants? Pathological evidence may help animate this issue.

#### Disability in the skeletal record: assumptions, problems and some examples

Charlotte Roberts, Department of Archaeological Science, University of Bradford, UK

The whole question of what disability is, both in a modern and more ancient context, is a question which needs to be addressed. Our concepts of disability may be very different to what people in the past considered as disability; likewise, a society in which all members need to be active and contributing may endure or ignore what we today would see as a condition confining us to bed rest. This paper will consider how we may start to consider disability in the skeletal record and what may be the problems with interpretation (and our underlying assumptions of what is disability). Specific case studies will highlight where direct intervention has been used in past human groups to help what appears to be a disabling condition.

Out of sight - out of mind? Archaeology and the blind Julian Richards, English Heritage/ University of Bristol, UK and Claire Wickham, Disabilities Unit, Department for Continuing Studies. University of Bristol, UK

This contribution is based on experience gained by the (sighted) tutor and course organiser in teaching many aspects of archaeology to groups of blind and partially sighted students.

As archaeologists we tend to take our sight for granted, both in the 'doing' of archaeology and its presentation. Slides, graphic panels, and a sense of space and dimension are all important aspects of conveying the past. Only occasionally are they augmented by smell, sound and touch, explanatory aides that can also enhance the appreciation of the sighted.

#### General Perspectives in Theoretical Archaeology

Session Organiser: TAG. Committee (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair and discussant: Heinrich Härke

#### Archaeology as communication Bjorn Andersson, Department of Theory of Science and Research, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

It is suggested that both processual and postprocessual archaeology might be trapped in a totalisation of its own discourse. It is argued, that archaeology has a potential to transcend this potential totalisation with a communicative approach. An alternative is to apply an interpretative and theoretical framework which acknowledges that contradicting theories and methods don't need to exclude each other. All theories and methods are confined, they speak from their own point of view, they have their own perspectives and approaches. Consequently, there can not be just one theory or one method, with a claim to absolute monopoly on knowledge and truth. Instead, it is in the communication between rival and contradictive theories and methods that one can develop fruitful interpretations of the past, and of the discourse of archaeology itself. To reach this communication, rival perspectives must be liberated from their totalitarian frameworks, acknowledge and give space to opposite interpretative frameworks and their truth-claims. It is argued that the communicative approach lead to a transcendence of the dichotomy rationalism/relativism without the need of being trapped in either rationalism or relativism.

#### Variability, analogy, and scales of interpretation in archaeology Farid Rahemtulla,

Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Canada

This paper focuses on scales of interpretation in archaeology. An argument is made in which interpretation is seen as being structured in a complex hierarchical fashion. At all interpretive levels analogy plays a key role, the goal being to discern causality for specified patterns. The basic premise is that "higher" levels of interpretation involve greater amounts of variability through increasing numbers of possible causal factors, and are therefore more difficult to negotiate. Moreover human behaviour can be accomodated within this scheme, without necessarily having a deterministic tone.

When examined within this framework, "processual" and "post-processual" applications in archaeological interpretation are not as disparate as some have argued. In some ways the differences between these schools of thought can be related to scale of interpretation, with each school focusing on a different part of the interpretive spectrum. At the same time, there are implications with regard to limitations in archaeological interpretation.

#### Deconstructing Subsistence: towards an archaeology of eating and drinking

Yannis Hamilakis, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield, UK Dominant approaches in ecological archaeology have focused mainly on procurement/production overshadowing consumption. Food consumption is usually mentioned under the terms of "feeding strategies" (Jochim 1981: 64) or "paleonutrition" (Wing and Brown 1979), indicating a passive and homogeneous treatment of all foods and of all eating and drinking occasions. It is argued that ecological archaeology should overcome the dominant discourse of subsistence and develop an archaeology of eating and drinking, going well beyond the familiar debates on anthropology such as the food taboos issue, as well as the binary structuralist oppositions. Ethnographic accounts and some recent archaeological studies have revealed the active role of eating and drinking in constructing, negotiating, challenging and deconstructing social roles, and establishing, legitimising and abolishing institutions. Moreover, food consumption as part of the unified concept of consumption can and should be connected to other forms of consumption such as that of eating and drinking vessels, for example. Methodologies for identifying specific consumption events such as feasting ceremonies and drinking parties should be also developed.

A specific case study from Bronze Age Crete is presented in order to illustrate some of the above points. The development of palatial institutions in Crete has been considered an outcome of agricultural changes and, more specifically, of the systematic exploitation of tree-crops such as vines and olives. It is shown that a consumptionoriented approach can reveal a connection of a different kind: feasting and drinking ceremonies (where wine seemed to have played a central role) was a crucial strategy employed by the already established competing elites of the palaces and the second-order centres and formed part of a wider process of consumption intensification. The implications of this phenomenon are briefly discussed.

#### Of bar stools and beehives: an interpretive dialog about a Minoan store room

Louise Hitchcock, Department of Art History, UCLA, USA

Object and Context

With gypsum paving and painted plaster walls, "Magazine" 33 is the most elaborately appointed storeroom in the Minoan Palace at Phaistos. The contents of the room included storage jars, a collecting jar set into the floor; and a terracotta cylinder closed at one end, open at the other, and with 2 cut-outs (handles?) on the side. The excavators interpreted this last object as a stool which could be used in order to reach the mouth of the storage jars, and that the openings on the side enabled individuals to drag it from place to place.

Doubt and Dialog

I have no particular reason to doubt the excavators' interpretation of this object, yet I experienced doubt regarding how they could sound so certain about the function of such an uncommon object. Feeling unable to come up with a better alternative, I sought out other opinions through a series of exchanges on the AegeaNet which resulted in a discussion as to whether the object was a stool or a bee hive. Ian Hodder (Theory and Pracitice 1992) has commented on how the framework of interpretation, what he calls the hermeneutic spiral, continues around different data sets that fit into, and modify interpretation. He points out that the hermeneutic experience is one of fullness. This paper intends to draw out some of this fullness by taking a brief digression along this spiral by pursuing the context of scholarly interaction focused around the discussion of a particular object, its meaning in the past and its translation in, and into the present.

My purpose in doing this is to examine what I would like to call "interpretive conduct", that is, the personal factors constituted by experience that often tend to become submerged, suppressed, and absented in production of what is considered to be 'proper' archaeological discourse, that is, in the formal writing of archaeology. This paper will provide an example of how these factors affect the way we 'do' archaeology and will enable the audience to consider the process of producing that discourse (cf. Olsen in Tilley, Reading Material Culture 1990).

The point that I wish to make is that the meaning of an object is dispersed - not just spatially, but also temporally - in both the past and the present; and that there is a complex relationship between subjects and objects which is bound up with subjects in the creation of what Lacan calls subjecthood in which emotions are not really kept separate from critical faculties. This paper emphasises that there is much to be learned about the cultures we study and the interpretive process from the detailed re-consideration of subjects and objects in their context.

#### Archaeology as sacred space. Archaeology for its own ends or for directed ends?

Fiona Campbell and Jonna Hansson, Department of Archaeology, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Autonomy is a social construction. Autonomy of the academic world, which includes the discipline of archaeology, has been constructed in a societal context. Our autonomy is something we take for granted but it is also contingent. In this paper we will present some issues which have effected the academic disciplines autonomy, focusing on the Cold War Era, the introduction of the Science Study Programmes, New Archaeology and the more recent 'interpretative' interlocutors in the problem-solving games of the archaeologists. When the quest for value-free knowledge is no longer a viable argument, how do we account for archaeology and justify our need for autonomy, in a society which is becoming increasingly sceptical to the knowledge produced by the academic communities.

**Where lies the divide?** Pavel Dolukhanov, Department of Archaeology, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

The concept of 'archaeological culture' (AC) remains one of the sensitive indicators, which enables one to define, what is common and what is different in the theoretical archaeology of Eastern vs. Western Europe. It had been noted that this concept originally emerged in the mid-19th century, both in Germany and Russia, under the influence of 'romantic nationalist doctrines'. In Russia the concept was strongly developed in the early 20th century by Gorodtsov, who saw ACs primarily as classificatory units, and Spitsyn, who tended to identify them with past ethnicities.

When the Marxist historical materialism became the leading philosophy in the Soviet archaeology in the 1920s, the concept of cultural development was totally rejected. In the 1930s, the Soviet archaeologists put forward a stadial concept, which viewed Prehistory as a sequence of 'socio-economic' formations and leaving no room for ethnic-related cultural units.

The stadial concept was gradually abandoned in the 1969s-1970s. At the same time one could witness a tacit rehabilitation of the concept of AC, which to this day remains the basic conceptual unit in the East European archaeological school. In consistence with the pre-revolutionary tradition, the AC is being regarded both as a classificatory unit and an ethnic system.

The ethno-cultural paradigm which is usually associated with Kossina, has an equally lengthy tradition in the western archaeology. V. Gordon Child who entered the European scene after the First World War has accepted many of Kossina's ethno-cultural concepts. Basically similar views in relation to the AC were held by David Clarke, Wobst and Sacket.

The essentially different approach was advocated by the processual or 'new archaeology ' with its basically functional deterministic approach. This attitude increasingly questioned the validity of the AC either as an analytical instrument or an ethnic, linguistic or social reality. The concept of AC has practically no role to play in the post-processual archaeology, primarily concerned with 'relationships between individual and social norm' (Hodder).

Summing up one may suggest that the ethno-cultural paradigm which accepts the AC as a basic conceptual unit, has its roots in the 'romantic' bourgeois nationalism of the mid-19th century. A different approach adopted by both processual and post-processual archaeology, may be traced down to the Soviet Marxist archaeology of the 1920s.

Digging sites and telling stories: history, narrative, and the culture problem Daniel Mouer, Archaeological Research Center, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, USA

In the past decade or so, culture, the central organizing principal of North American anthropology, has been appropriated, often in unrecognizable forms, by students of history, literature, the arts, and philosophy. Journalists and teachers have carried the notion beyond the academy where it has become a keystone of public discourse and a key player in the politics of identity. Concurrently, the great holistic idea has undergone critical scrutiny by ethnographers and archaeologists, and it may sometimes seem that culture has been relegated to the theoretical trash heap along with other "totalizing" and "essentialist" constructs. This essay explores contradictions embodied in a dualist account of culture, and historical attempts by anthropology to resolve them. Rather than destroying it, the intervention of interdisciplinary and colloquial use of the culture concept offer the possibility of reconfiguration. Narrative, as a theory of culture and a practice of social analysis, transcends the contradictions, places archaeology squarely in the public conversation, and makes our profession fun again.

## Virtual discourse: Arthur Evans and the reconstructions of the Minoan palace at Knossos Louise Hitchcock, Department of Art History, UCLA, USA

Today, the so-called "Palace of Minos" at Knossos, is the site of not one but many palaces: Minoan, Mycenaean, and British; or 'Other', Greek, and Modern; designed, destroyed, and reinvented. It has been said that Minoan civilisation was created in the 20th century by Sir Arthur Evans who left us with just one Knossos: a concrete futuristic vision of a timeless legendary past constructed in a Victorian present.

This paper represents an initial effort at exploring what Umberto Eco calls the "conjunction of archaeology and falsification" at the modern and ancient sites of Knossos. In the discourse of Aegean material culture, Evans' reconstructions can be treated as falling into several overlapping categories which include a nostalgia for the past 'as it was', apologia in defense of the reconstructions, and attempts to authenticate a 'genuine' Minoan past. These categories are critically examined along with the phenomenological effect that the reconstructions have in the present as the locus of what Jacques Derrida calls 'Virtual Discourse'.

## Writing the Body: institutions, discourses and corporeality Lynn Meskell, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK

One recent trend in archaeology and particularly engendered archaeology, directly borrowed from post-structuralist philosophy, sociology and anthropology is to elevate The Body as a theoretical space. The Body has become the site of mapped and inscribed social relations, specifically displays and negotiations of power and gender dynamics. This continuance of the Western pre-occupation with exteriority has been amply critiqued and theorised in the social sciences, yet appears to have been adopted wholesale by archaeologists with little cognisance of their intellectual inheritance and its implications.

The paper takes as its point of departure recent discussions in sociology, anthropology, Queer theory, feminist studies and archaeology on the contextual constitution of sex and gender, with its surrounding debates. It also considers recent critique in the social sciences of Cartesian dualism and the more extreme formulations of social constructionism. The paper then addresses a Foucauldian archaeology with its primary focus upon power, at the expense of the embodied individual and agency. It explores the adoption, and implications, of the Body as a phenomenon in archaeology and, more specifically, as one central project for an engendered archaeology. To conclude, it offers one tentative option for divesting the discipline of rigid categorisations and prioritising specific discourses of difference, through the identification of constructions of self or identity.

#### The Cultural Politics of the Body: the Uses and Abuses of Biology

Session Organiser: Mary Baker and Susan Pitt (Departments of Archaeology/ History, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK) Chair and Discussant: J.D. Hill

The session will be interdisciplinary, in an attempt to provide a broad-based critique of sociobiology. When sociobiology first raised its ugly head in the 1970s it was met with powerful counter-arguments which convincingly demonstrated that genetics cannot, and should not, be seen as the determining base for all human behaviour. Yet, at that time, the argument was seen very much in terms of a dichotomous distinction between nature and culture. This

seems to have allowed the two sides of the debate to develop rather separately. On the 'cultural' side this has entailed the breaking down of the dichotomy as 'nature' is increasingly seen as culturally mediated. On the other side, according to a leader article in the **Times Higher Education Supplement** on 7th April 1995, 'Many biologists have toned down their claims. Their ideas have become more sophisticated. They want to offer their biological wares to the social science community again and they also seem to want debate.' More sophisticated they may be, but it seems to us that they remain politically dangerous. The aim of the session is to meet that challenge for debate. Some of the papers will address the political implications of sociobiology directly, while others will present alternative approaches to the 'biological' which may be seen as more productive.

## Natural Born Killers? The Politics of Sociobiology Paul Graves-Brown, Department of Psychology, University of Southampton, UK

Recently, an Anglican bishop argued for compassionate understanding of adultery, on the basis that humans are genetically programmed to be promiscuous. Richard Dawkins recently published a new book. In 1993 the London School of Economics held a major conference on sociobiology, *Evolution and the Human Sciences* ...

Genes are big business, and after the original sociobiology debate in the early 1980s, genetic determinism did not go away. This is probably because such arguments offer a convenient, simplistic explanation of animal and human behaviour, and one which has overt political uses - it is probably significant that the LSE conference was sponsored by the Home Office - genetic causes for incest, rape and other crimes have an appeal to the political right, absolving governments from responsibility for social deprivation and its consequences.

But this does not mean we should, as many did in the early 1980s, simply deny the importance of human biology; people *are* after all organic beings who are born, grow, reproduce and die. This paper will argue that the recent resurgence of sociobiological thinking demonstrates the failure of critics to take the debate to their opponents. Biology, as Tim Ingold has argued, is too important to be left to the biologists, and any criticism of sociobiology should take this into account by seriously engaging with biological theories.

## **Against evolutionary psychology** Tim Ingold, Department of Anthropology, University of Manchester, UK

Evolutionary psychology aims to connect the biological study of human evolution with the anthropological study of culture and social life through a focus on universal design features of the human mind. These features, it is supposed, evolved through variation under natural selection, as adaptations to the requirements of hunting and gathering in Pleistocene environments. Appealing to the authority of Darwin, evolutionary psychologists have combined the information-processing language of cognitive science with an uncompromisingly mechanistic biology to yield a view of mind as a network of functionally specialised computational systems, each dedicated to the production of solutions to particular adaptive problems.

In this paper it is argued that the project of evolutionary psychology (EP) is intellectually incoherent and that its claims are scientifically bogus. First, EP revives an essentialist concept of psychic unity which both generalises a specifically Western account of human nature and divorces the mind from its bearings in the lived-in world. Secondly, in viewing human behaviour as the output of pre-constituted problem-solving mechanisms, EP is wedded to an inadequate understanding of agency and intentionality. Thirdly, while purporting to have dispensed with the archaic subject/object dualism of Western thought, EP actually displaces it onto the dichotomy between the scientist and the hunter-gatherer, as the respective embodiments of reason and human nature. Fourthly, EP's claim to disclose the evolved architecture of the human mind is blind to the fact that minds take on their formal properties within processes of development in particular environments.

Far from being an eccentric offshoot of modern science, however, evolutionary psychology is firmly situated in the mainstream as the logical culmination of a growing convergence between the two paradigms of cognitivism (in psychology) and neo-Darwinism (in biology). In this sense, EP was a mistake waiting to happen. To expose its inherent flaws is also to lay bare the fallacies that lie at the heart of both cognitivism and neo-Darwinism, and that reside in their common epistemological assumptions. This, in turn, may point to a better way forward.

## Gender and sex, cultural or natural? Mary Baker, Department of Archaeology/History, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

Sociobiology is once again high profile - we watch programs on television and we read of these ideas in the popular press and in more serious publications like **T.H.E.S.** and **The Guardian**: the ideas are popular and insidious. Those of us who work with interpretations of social relations through theoretical frameworks which aim to re-appropriate the feminine are working with ideas about sex, the body, and gender. Our attempts to say something different about gender relations are handicapped by presuppositions informed by biological essentialism. Our complex and enriching approaches of difference are fettered by such simplistic and fixed embedded knowledge

The nature/culture opposition has become a classificatory notion which by its binary nature constrains the concepts themselves to simple categories. This simultaneously allows the terms to mean everything and nothing. Its place in a dichotomous system allows the term 'nature', for example, to be understood as an essence, and at the same time to effortlessly be at the head of a chain of presuppositions informed by culturally specific value judgements. This has allowed lazy and shallow interpretations and has created many precedents in the archaeological record which are constraints on the research of those of us who want to develop concepts of difference and multiplicity.

## Of sex and reproduction Yvonne Marshall, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

The fervor with which anthropologists and archaeologists have taken up the idea of gender as socially constructed has resulted in the abandonment of sex to biology. There it has suffered the excesses of sociobiologists and other functionalist theorists who equate sex with reproduction. In this paper two fundamental problems with human sexuality which arise from this reduction, female orgasm and non-reproductive sexual relations, are examined in the light of recent observations of Bonobo (Pigmy Chimpanzee) sexual behaviour. Following from this discussion it is argued that sexuality and desire are fundamentally non-purposeful. If we are to understand the role they may have played in human history we must rehabilitate sex from biology, put it back with gender, and open new lines of inquiry on sexuality and social relations in past human communities.

## The cultural construction of birth: or why childbirth isn't natural Susan Pitt, Department of History, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

According to Edward Wilson, 'sociobiology is defined as the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behaviour' (Wilson 1975, 4). Of all human behaviours, childbirth is in many ways seen as the most 'biological'. The ability to reproduce successfully is, after all, fundamental to the survival of any species in evolutionary terms. Furthermore, common sense tells us that 'only women can have babies'. Childbirth, then, is seen as central not only to the survival of the species, but is used to define women's role in that process. In this paper I will challenge the assumptions underlying this essentially circular argument. As long as the ability to give birth is seen as the defining feature of what it is to be a woman, then of course it will be true that only women can have babies. In order to break out of this circle it is necessary to understand that childbirth is not natural, and that to define it as such is to constrain it within the restrictive dichotomy of nature/culture. There is a physicality to birth, but this should not be understood to equate to the biological conception of the body. Instead I will use the ideas of Judith Butler to present a view of the physicality of birth which places human agency in a central position, rather than attributing a spurious agency to the 'selfish gene'.

## **Archaeology and sociobiology: what place emotions?** Tim Walley, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

The origins of human beings is a topic that is of interest to archaeologists and sociobiologists alike, particularly when it comes to explaining the beginnings of what is traditionally termed 'cultural behaviour'. The various facets of this subject have been debated and pulled in many directions since Darwin published his *Origin of Species* some 150 years ago. However, despite the numerous meanderings that such deliberations have taken there has been one fairly constant theme throughout - namely that discussion, or should that be arguments, concerning theories pertaining to the origins of human behaviour as we know it, have always raised heated and emotional reactions of some kind or another. This was certainly the case in Darwin's time and was still the case at TAG last year, in a session intended to explore the origins of language, gender and culture. The dominant view of emotions in these debates appears to be that exchanging views in as dispassionate and unemotional a manner as possible is how science advances. In this paper I shall explore what place, if any, emotions should have in understanding human behaviour and why emotions are considered by most participants to be anathema to the debate.

# Fighting in the field of nature: the Politics of the uterus in early modern science and culture Jonathan Sawday, Department of English, University of Southampton, UK To be submitted.

## Body narratives: reading the 'bleeding' obvious? James Bradley and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, University of Glasgow, UK

The nineteenth-century convict records of transportees to Australia contain many physical descriptions: tantalising word-portraits of convicts' bodies, cataloguing the 'abnormalities' subsequently used to identify them during their sentence. Startling descriptions of tattoos exist among the more prosaic details. The nascent British working class was, it appears, heavily tattooed.

Why do people get tattooed? What does the act of tattooing mean? How does it relate to social practice? These are good questions; but ask historians or most social scientists and an unsatisfactory answer will be given. For the majority tattoos are beyond the boundaries of disciplinary discourse. Virtually no historiography exists, while sociology, despite the recent problematization of the body, proves a frustrating field of engagement. Of all the disciplines, anthropology is the most forthcoming, but the focus on tattoos produced within pre-capitalist societies and their relationship to social practice and cosmological beliefs is unhelpful.

'Body Narratives' will detail how we have taken faltering steps to break the silence. In the process we will explore how culture becomes embedded in the body creating body narratives.

#### Off the Record: Critical Approaches to Current Archaeological Practice

Session Organiser: Olivia Lelong (Department of Archaeology, University of

Glasgow, UK)
Chair and Discussant: Jenny Moore

**Technical progress and political futures** Michael Shanks, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

The paper proposes that archaeology should be taken for what it is - a mode of cultural production (of the past). Holding such a position, rooted in a Marxian critique of alienated labor, challenges the separation of reasoning and execution, theory and practice which characterizes much contemporary archaeology.

The relation between theory and practice has been a special focus of post-processual/interpretive archaeology. The debates engendered by this focus have firmly situated archaeology in the present as a cultural and political practice. Many, however, still do not know how to work with these ideas. It is argued that a resolution to this dilemma lies in thinking of archaeology as technology. This resolution does not provide a methodology or a cookbook for the practice of archaeology, as indeed the core of the argument is that attempts at such standardization lie at the heart of the alienation of archaeology. Nor is the reality of the past challenged if the active and constructive character of archaeological practice is accepted. Rather, in the unified practice of hand, heart, and mind, foregrounded are the creativity of archaeologists and their responsibilities to account for the knowledges they construct to those for whom they work upon the past. In this unified practice of past, archaeologist, "client" public, and contemporary society, it is argued that technical progress is central to political progress in the discipline. Such is the argument for an archaeological poetics, illustrated here through some working practices in archaeology.

Intrasite spatial variability: evaluating the record and redefining the objectives Demetra Papaconstantinou, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK

Spatial information in the archaeological record is usually approached either through quantitative techniques or ethnoarchaeology. Both, however, have failed to address problems relating to the nature of the archaeological record itself. Recent attempts to move from strictly methodological considerations towards a more holistic and insightful understanding of the past have led most recently to proposals for the development of an intrarchaeological database and comparative method (Yoffee and Sherratt 1993). This paper argues that the evaluation of the record and the assessment of old objectives are necessary components of a critical archaeology. By using examples from Neolithic sites in the East Mediterranean, it seeks to understand the real limits of the archaeological record in attempting a more holistic approach, and its potential for the creation of an intra-archaeological database.

## **Still digging: the work and play of archaeology** Tony Pollard, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, UK

'... my memory of detail is very vivid and oddly enough never more so than in respect to digging or anything connected with labour on land. I do not pretend to account for it but think it likely that trench experiences -- still as vivid in my memory as ever -- reflect their vividness through any similar work, one thing recalling the other -through association of ideas. Thus if I dig I recall Flanders. If I recall Flanders I recall incidents connected with digging I have done for you."

So wrote Keith MacKewan in 1934 to his former employer, the antiquarian and archaeologist H. Henderson Bishop, answering a request that he help write up a shell midden site on the island of Risga he had excavated on Bishop's behalf. The site was never written up. Recently I returned to the site to carry out further work in an attempt to rectify this failing -- digging earth previously dug by MacKewan. That experience and the quotation above provided the starting point for a paper which will consider the role af metaphor, memory and the imagination in archaeological fieldwork.

## **Toward a thicker report** Jane Downes and Colin Richards, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, UK

Over recent years there has been a more substantial and noticeable split in archaeology between theory and practice. One aspect of this cleavage, within the area of fieldwork, is a general confusion as to how the 'data' should be presented and published. In this paper we would like to confront these issues, firstly in terms of bringing archaeological fieldwork into line with other areas of the social sciences and seeing its practice as being more akin to archaeological ethnography, and secondly examining the way in which an account of this fieldwork can be written lucidly and in a much more imaginative fashion yet still maintaining the detail of a site report.

## Picking up the pieces: a reconsideration of artefact studies Olivia Lelong, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, UK

The roles material culture plays in people's lives bear little resemblance to the ways it is represented and interpreted in archaeological reports. Artefacts pass through stages of manufacture, use, sometimes reuse, loss or discard and perhaps

redeposition; their meanings for those in contact with them can be complex, multilayered and fluid, changing with different contexts of contact. We first encounter artefacts in contexts which give clues to these biographies, but then abstract them, carefully preserving their contextual links in the textual record. From this point, throughout the post-excavation process to their publication in reports, their meanings are progressively closed down and frozen, and those contextual links typically all but ignored. This paper will examine how we relate to artefacts from the past and present, what questions are rarely asked of artefacts and their contexts of discovery, and how reports might better address the multiple meanings of material culture, with reference to an Iron Age site in central France.

## Is an integrated excavation record and report possible? John Barrett, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield, UK

This paper will examine the mechanisms by which material residues are disaggregated through the practice of excavation and reportage. The processes of disaggregation include adherence to the stratigraphic record, the recording of spatial relationships, and the specialist study of particular categories of material. All these distinctions are regarded as valid in practice because they are real material distinctions (i.e. different stratigraphic contexts or types of material appear self evident and may therefore be studied in relative solation).

It will then be argued that, viewed from the position of historically situated human practices, the absolute value of these material distinctions is challenged. (History is partly about discovering that a potsherd is not always a potsherd.) To be able to think and work in ways which explore history rather than flaunt our own specialisations and professionalism or which constantly pay homage to the objectivity of the archaeological record will be a big demand.

## "Who's Minding the Stores?" The Role of Storage in the Development of Sociocultural Complexity

Session Organiser: Rick Schulting (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair: Rick Schulting / Discussant: Marek Zvelebil

There has been considerable debate in the recent literature concerning the role that storage of imporant resources, and particularly staple foodstuffs, plays in the development and maintenance of socio-cultural and socio-political complexity. Some argue that the potential and practice of storage actively promotes the development of an unequal access to basic resources. Others suggest that, while there may be a connection, the role of storage is only a passive one. Still others argue that the two phenonema are largely unrelated. The issue is an important one, since features that have commonly been assumed to have served a storage function are present on many archaeological sites. The associated ideological aspects of storage is one area that remains largely unexplored. Developing a theory and methodology for the fullest possible interpretation of these features, then, has the potential to shed light on a number of social processes.

The papers in this session present a range of viewpoints on the role of storage. They all seek to move beyond viewing storage in simple subsistence terms, placing it within a larger social context.

## Storage and ownership in the archaeological record of hunter-gatherers Rick Schulting, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK

The inference of ownership of resources from the archaeological record is not a simple or straightforward enterprise. Despite the difficulties involved, I believe that the potential for this type of investigation is great and remains largely untapped. Storage among hunter-gatherers has been discussed in a number of recent publications, but the emphasis has been on ethnographic accounts, with the contribution of archaeology secondary at most. It is argued here that one of the most fruitful approaches to the question of ownership in the archaeological record currently available involves an investigation of differential storage capacities at the intra- and inter-community level. A number of case studies are discussed, with the primary focus being the identification of ownership of fishing stations in the Interior Plateau of British Columbia, Canada. The implications of this finding are discussed in relation to developing socioeconomic inequality.

## Questioning the link between storage, private ownership and complexity in early prehistoric Northern Europe Liliana Janik, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK

This paper will address the relationship between theory and material culture in terms of the existence of private ownership and sociocultural complexity in prehistoric Northern Europe, and will question the assumed connection between storage and complexity.

In attempting to understand prehistoric communities, archaeologists have tended to draw on anthropological theories in a rather uncritical fashion. As a result a priori theoretical assumptions have often been imposed on past

communities. In this way archaeologists have looked for evidence of storage assuming that storage is an expression of private ownership, which in turn is seen as an expression of sociocultural complexity.

The assumptions that underlie these linkages will be challenged through a confrontation with archaeological data from Northern Europe. Prehistoric communities from two different contexts will be discussed: the first have economies based on food procurement while the second are based on food production.

## Storage and complexity in Jomon Japan Simon Kaner, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK

Storage facilities are present on sites from the earliest Holocene in the Japanese archipelago. Over the succeeding ten millenia a series of elaborate storage technologies was developed by the foraging communities of the Jomon period. A variety of materials, from nuts to obsidian, were stored for a variety of purposes, including processing, providing food for lean seasons, and for exchange.

This paper will argue that in order to understand the role of storage in the developmental trajectories of Jomon communities, changes in the placing of storage facilities through time must be documented and interpreted. The placing of such facilities within settlements must be seen in the context of the development of the general spatial structure of such sites and in association with other elements of settlement structure.

## Storage and state formation: another Aegean perspective Thomas Strasser, Department of Classical Archaeology, Indiana University, US

The relationship of food storage and state formation has a long history in the archaeological literature. The idea that storage has a causative role in emerging complexity has gained resonance with many scholars. It has become dogma for some. That idea frequently receives support from the identification of supposed storage facilities in the excavations of major architectural structures. Archaeologists often interpret underground pits and doorless rooms as storage spaces when other explanations elude them. This essay maintains that many of those assignations are indiscriminate, and that the connection of food storage to state formation is exaggerated. The Social Storage Theory, and its explanation for the rise of states, is a result of that overestimation. The architectural evidence in support of the Social Storage Theory in the Aegean is meager. Consequently, the causative factors for the emergence of states in the Aegean milieu may have little to do with food storage.

An evaluation of the architectural and ceramic evidence for food storage during the period immediately preceding the first states in the Aegean (i.e., the Early Bronze Age) demonstrates how counter-intuitive the data are to the Social Storage Theory. Moreover, the evidence for granaries in some of the first states (i.e., the Middle Bronze Age Minoan Palaces on Crete) has been misinterpreted. These conclusions strongly diminish the likelihood that the first Aegean states stored and redistributed significant amounts of grain.

## Bowled over: Social change, storage and the Unstan ware/Grooved ware transition in the Orcadian Neolithic Andy Jones, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, UK

The mid-3rd millennium has traditionally been perceived as a period of social change. Unstan ware and Grooved ware ceramics have, in Orkney, typically been used as cultural indicators of such change.

Rather, I would regard ceramics as actively employed in mediating a complex set of social relations. Thus the use of ceramics in social relations surrounding the production, storage and consumption of food is obviously of central importance.

I will examine the use of stored foodstuffs from the earlier to later Neolithic and the way in which stored foods were employed in specific social strategies. This paper will, then, examine the notion of social storage and the mode by which ceramics are used within networks of exchange and obligation. The implications of this for a broader understanding of some of the wider processes occurring in this period will be explored.

## Discrete pits and prestigious storehouses in the Andes Bill Sillar, Department of Archaeology, University of Lampeter, UK

This paper will briefly consider different storage methods used in the Andes and their changing significance from the time of the Tiwanaku/Huari 'empire' through the Inca empire to the present day. Three themes will be addressed: the archaeological recoverability of different storage methods, the difference between domestic storage strategies and how storage was used by the state, and a possible link between changes in burial practices and storage methods.

A granary in Galicia Richard Bradley, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK
The raised granaries or 'horreos' of modern Galicia are often claimed as parallels for square post-built structures in
Bronze Age and Iron Age settlements in north-west Europe. These prehistoric buildings are interpreted almost
exclusively as evidence of food production. Using one of the Galician granaries as an example, this paper explores
some of the elements that can be overlooked when archaeologists consider such buildings in terms of their groundplan
alone. It considers the extent of regional and stylistic variation among the Galician horreos, their role as status symbols
and emblems of local identity and their siting in the local topography. It also explores their distinctive symbolism in
relation to churches and cemeteries. Their meanings have not remained stable and with increased social mobility in

recent years abandoned horreos have been dismantled and re-erected in new locations. Finally, the paper discusses the use of these buildings as a symbol of Galician identity in relation to the outside world.

## Northern Exposure: Interpretative Devolution and the Iron Age of the British Isles

Session Organiser: Bill Bevan (Peak District National Park, UK) Chair: Colin Haselgrove / Discussant: Chris Gosden

Our understanding of the Iron Age in the British Isles has tended to focus on Wessex and the Thames Valley. A number of inter-related factors, apart from a liking for moustachioed Belgians in plaid trousers, lie behind this: a lack of Roman understanding of northern Britain, the history of antiquarian and archaeological investigation, the wealth of observable field monuments and excavated 'museum treasures' from southern England, and modern socio-political centrism towards the south. This has often been at the expense of interpreting social structures elsewhere in the British Isles and led to an extrapolation of convenience from our understanding of southern England. The varied emphases placed on different regions in Barry Cunliffe's 1991 edition of 'Iron Age communities in Britain' shows a continuing acceptance of this trend in some quarters. The investigation of other regions is, however, showing that the Iron Age of the British Isles is neither homogeneous nor simply analogous to Wessex and the Thames Valley. This session will aim to deconstruct the conceptual dominance of southern Britain in our thinking about the Iron Age, without wishing to downplay its regional importance, by highlighting some of the conceptual reasons for this dominance and presenting recent interpretations from various regions of the British Isles.

## Here be dragons!: Roman attitudes to northern Britain Jane Webster, Department of Archaeology, University of Leicester, UK

In Julius Caesar's opinion, the most civilised people in later Iron Age Britain lived in Kent, and even they painted themselves blue. For Caesar as for other Classical writers, civilised ways deteriorated rapidly as one looked from south to north, and the Irish ate their dead relatives! But Caesar's knowledge of 'Britain' was limited to the south-east; the rest was terra incognita. He also wrote within a conceptual framework which ensured that he would view northern Britain as a barbarian hinterland. Has our own view of the later Iron Age in Britain ever really broken free of this conceptual mould?

Why do we still regard later Iron Age northern Britain a backwater beyond the periphery (Cunliffe, 1995)? Why does Michael Fish always mention northern Scotland last on the weather forecast? The answers have much to do, it is suggested here, with 'Classical' education, and western concepts of the Other.

## South Yorkshire and Wessex Chris Cumberpatch, Archaeological Consultant, Sheffield, UK / Graham Robbins, Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield, UK

Following the general themes of this session, the first part of this paper will attempt to undermine the hegemony of Wessex in British Iron Age studies. The opposition Wessex: North of Britain is founded on an outdated contrast between the undeniable archaeological richness of the first region, in comparison to a perceived paucity of evidence in the latter. We attempt a deconstruction of this opposition by showing that this supposed distinguishing feature of the first term is actually at the heart of its other. This is conducted through synthesising the evidence for the Iron Age in South Yorkshire.

Secondly, we may ask why the dominance of Wessex has been so long-lasting. The blame must fall on the current implementation of commercial principles in field archaeology which has knee-capped any production of a cohesive and critical interpretation, or even synthesis, of the South Yorkshire material. The consequences of such a flawed approach to rescue archaeology are considerable.

## Unpacking 'regional identity': culture and community in the Iron Age of north-eastern England Steve Willis, Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, UK

The north-east of England has witnessed sustained, if unintensive and generally undramatic, Iron Age (and Roman Iron Age) research for nearly half a century. Our knowledge of it has been quietly but gradually expanding. This paper presents some results of recent practical and conceptual work on this period in this part of the British Isles. Aspects of its material culture record and settlement organization are considered and compared to Iron Age patterns from elsewhere in Britain. In doing so, an assessment is made of the degree to which practices in the Iron Age of this area mirrored or diverged from norms and trajectories identified elsewhere. The paper concludes with a critique of `the regional perspective' in the epistemology of British Iron Age studies.

#### The Iron Age in Ireland? Funny you should ask Eoin Grogan, Discovery Programme, Dublin, Ireland

Work on this period in Ireland has been pervaded by a profound sense of gloom in the apparent absence of evidence, other than some prestige metalwork, and this has resulted in a negative and pessimistic context for research. The diachronic perception of landscape archaeology combining the assessment of long term trends in the evidence with an evaluation of the locational and depositional data for the known material has provided the information to set forward an integrated model of developments between 100BC and 400AD.

All the major elements in the archaeological record, settlement patterns, burial tradition, economic and social behaviour, show a strong degree of continuity throughout later prehistory. Within this pattern there is a significant degree of regional variation. Continuity is evident at local and regional scales and suggests, in general, a trend of development generated by the internal dynamic of Irish society. There are, however, three stages during which the record indicates rapid and significant change. Around 1000BC social organisation appears to have altered and may be characterised by the conscious creation of regional political identities. These provinces were still active around 150BC when a period of monumental public building commenced at sites identified in early history as the centres of protohistoric authority. These large-scale sites provide a focus for competitive ceremonies, perhaps helping to maintain political and social balance within and between rival regions. During the early third century AD increased contact with Roman Britain provides a further stimulus for change, evidenced in agricultural strategies, burial customs and settlement sites, which leads to the emergence of the provincial kingdoms of the early historic period.

## The Iron Age and landscapes of heritage in modern Wales Angela Piccini, Department of Geography, University of Swansea, UK

The Iron Age and associated commodified Celtic cultural package are foregrounded in constructions of heritage and landscape in Wales. Welsh place-names most obviously signal the social relations which structure the lived environment. For example, Beddgelert (Gwynedd) means 'the grave of Gelert', the faithful hound of an early medieval Welsh prince. In fact, the grave was erected and the longer story tied to place during the nineteenth century to capitalise on increasing tourism in North Wales. With the growth of the heritage industry in the latter part of the twentieth century the construction and re-construction of specific images of the past in museums and heritage 'experiences' affect how we understand place and community, adding further layers of meaning. The new Celtica centre in Machynlleth, Castell Henllys Iron Age hillfort in Pembrokeshire and the 'celtic' village at the Museum of Welsh Life, St. Fagans all construct different Iron Ages. In doing so they structure and articulate Place. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of material culture - Witham and Battersea style shields propped up against the walls of a Moel y Gaer roundhouse sitting next to one from Conderton - reproduces images of a seamless Celtic Iron Age. Thus not only have Iron Age studies been dominated by an academic bias towards the South and south-east England, but I would argue that this in turn has reified the influence of contemporary south-east English based monoculture in Wales. With the increasing economic pressures placed on museum curators and heritage centre managers to attract more visitors it becomes all too easy to abandon intellectual rigour in favour of entertaining formulae.

## Ancestors and identity in the Iron Age of Atlantic Scotland Richard Hingley, Historic Scotland, Edinburgh, UK

There is evidence in Scotland during the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age for the re-use of Neolithic and early Bronze Age monuments for a variety of reasons. However, over Atlantic Scotland there are examples of a more distinctive style of re-use - the use of Neolithic chamber cairns, sometimes involving their conversion into houses.

The chambered cairns were monumental constructions, many of which probably survived almost intact. To an observer during the later prehistoric period they would have appeared impressive, but dark, subterranean and gloomy. The human remains and past cultural relics on the floors of these tombs, if they were visible or disturbed, would have drawn attention to their ancient construction and links with the dead. In a social context in which monumental burial monuments were not constructed, these might be interpreted as houses for the dead.

The Atlantic Scottish evidence suggests some re-use of chamber tombs at this time without any substantial modification. Pottery and other finds may indicate offerings or occupation. However, in some cases, perhaps after an initial phase of re-use without modification, substantial changes were made. Round houses were built into and onto chambered cairns on several sites. Past texts discuss much of this re-use in terms of `squatting', an assumption that fits the idea of the Atlantic Scottish Iron Age as primitive, marginal and backward.

This account will adopt an alternative perspective based on the premise that these Iron Age people were deliberately re-interpreting monumental aspects of their past as part of active strategies related to the projection of contemporary identity. It will be argued that Iron Age people by re-building the houses of the dead as those of the living may have been actively projecting the image and lineage of the domestic in the context of the `wild'/non-domesticated. This is one side of a process by which the house became projected as a central social symbol, although what social distinctions and divisions this masked also require to be addressed.

Also, as part of this process, the broad tradition of Scottish later prehistoric domestic architecture may have drawn on the model of the Neolithic tomb as one source of inspiration.

#### Food, sex and death: kinship and social structure in the East Yorkshire Iron Age

Mike Parker-Pearson, Department of Archaeology, Sheffield, UK

East Yorkshire is probably the most important region in the British Isles for studying the Iron Age since it is only here that a full range of funerary and settlement evidence for most of the period seems to survive. Too little work has been done on settlements but the evidence from burials is rich and enigmatic. Once we ditch conventional methods of determining status and ranking from grave goods and attempt instead to read placing, grave form, gender and orientation, we begin to recover some of the complexities of the material. Not only do many of the burials encode a structuralist logic but they also allow us to make the kinds of inferences about social grouping and kinship that have rarely been considered to be archaeologically graspable. By moving between our spatial scales and by integrating our methods, both archaeologically and osteologically, we begin to get a germ of an idea of what it was actually like to live in what is now Yorkshire 2500 years ago (and believe me, you wouldn't want to).

#### The Architectural Psyche

Session Organiser: Nicola Bestley (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK)

Chair and Discussant: to be arranged

Heidegger once wrote: 'Man's relations to locations, and through locations to spaces, exists in his dwelling. Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build' (1971). This session aims to take this hypothesis and assess the role of architecture in later prehistoric Britain and beyond, considering monuments and settlements, sacred and profane arenas, in a bid to understand 'the architectural psyche'.

What is it that inspired the building of so many differing architectural forms from the Neolithic onwards? What do these buildings 'mean' or represent? How and why did these buildings become so significant and dominant in the landscape? Can the architectural psyche reveal the human self and the view of one's place in the world?

More than this, this session aims also to understand how we as archaeologists in the present use architecture as a focus for our understanding and interpretation of the past. It is intended that the papers presented will deal with these kinds of questions, but from within differing periods of prehistory and history so as to not only demonstrate how architecture and its significance may have changed through time, but also how we as archaeologists may use and 'think through' architecture and architectural theory differently, depending on the record of the periods in which we specialise.

Papers are expected to cover such topics as: the importance of substances in building and experience; the human 'being' expressed through architectural form; technologies of building: the changing nature of architectural construction and its consequence; the significance of space and time in the building process and how this influences experience and understanding of place, space and self; the architectural statement: how domestic and ritual structures reflect society and influence how we think about past cultures; interaction within the landscape: the relationship between natural and cultural resources in the construction of architectural forms.

## Architecture and Being: the construction of human space and identity Nicola Bestley, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK

This paper will consider the rationale behind the building and manipulation of architecture and architectural space, with reference in particular to ritual arenas in Neolithic Britain. It will be argued that the construction of any kind of architectural form is not only an 'artistic' expression, but is also a fundamental part of human Being-in-the-world, and as such represents the inherent need for external forms of memory, the creation of place, and the establishment of loci for the negotiation of social relationships that are necessary for human existence. It will be suggested that architecture can be 'thought through' as a means of understanding the world, the cosmos, and more importantly, one's place within it. The human body itself is emphasised as a prime point of departure in engaging with the universe, mentally, spiritually, and physically, not only in the past but also in the present, and will be suggested to therefore have an intimate relationship with the architectural psyche.

## Monuments, materiality and modernity Julian Thomas, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

Since the Enlightenment, the perceived opposition between Culture and Nature has promoted a perception of the material world as a storehouse of 'resources' which can be transformed into artefacts by human labour. Understood from the standpoint of modernity, monumental architecture is the outcome of an event of construction, whose singularity and finality allows persons or happenings to be commemorated. It is only too easy to impose such a view on the prehistoric past. As an alternative, I will suggest that in some cases the material substance of built structures may have been understood as remaining a part of the earth. Rather than representing finished products scattered across the landscape, the continued reworking of these sites suggests that they were a means by which communities established and maintained relationships with their material world.

#### The stone universe: cosmos and architecture in later Neolithic Ireland Jeremy Dronfield,

Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK

This paper considers the role of shamanic cosmology in later Neolithic passage tomb architecture. Megalithic architecture – its size, morphology, construction processes and geographical location – has all too often been interpreted as expressing relations of socio-political power. Here, that interpretation is explicitly rejected in favour of socio-religious and, above all, cosmological factors.

## Water as natural architecture Colin Richards, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, UK

It has long been noticed that 'watery places' provided contexts of deposition during the Neolithic peeriod, although attention tends to be placed on the significance of such activity during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Even when such practices are acknowledged for the Neolithic the 'elemental' nature of water is lost in discussions of the material culture which is deposited into it. In this paper I will argue that water represents a fundamental element in understandings of the Neolithic world, and that through its symbolic potency provides both a natural architecture in the landscape and in the constitution of henge monuments.

## The transformation of domestic and ritual space in Roman Britain Sarah Scott, School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester, UK

This paper will consider some of the relationships between domestic and ritual space in later Roman Britain. There are some interesting similarities between certain aspects of religious and domestic architecture in this period, and a number of ambiguous sites exist. A detailed examination of these sites proves an insight into the definition of power and identity in fourth century Britain. Villas and religious structures were media through which social relations were defined and negotiated. In studying developments in the fourth century it is possible to gain new insight into the nature of social relations in the fifth century.

## Architecture and identity in Renaissance England Matthew Johnson, Department of Archaeologu, University of Durham, UK

Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, rebuilt Thornbury Castle between 1511 and 1521. Its corner towers, crenels, and machicolations all refer to a tradition of military prowess and medieval splendour. The later 16th century remodelling of Kenilworth Castle by the Earl of Leicester included a gatehouse in this tradition, but also comprised new formal gardens and a set of rooms for Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1575. Both rebuildings were powerful and complex statements of identity by their aristocratic owners. Both used sophisticated techniques of allusion and symbolism to assert a view of themselves. Yet the two buildings were worlds apart. Instead of vague allusion to the 'impact of the Renaissance', we need to understand English Renaissance palaces in terms of 'self-fashioning', the architectural and intellectual construction of new identities in changing times.

#### The Ethics of Historical Representation

Session Organiser: Robert Eaglestone (Department of English, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Robert Eaglestone

Body politics Mary Baker, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK Gender is a term much used in academia these days; in archaeology we have had a rash of books which proclaim 'gender' as the way forward for archaeological interpretation, and lecture courses all over the country have been changed to include the term. But with these developments has come a complaisance. We now know that 'gender' is more complex than 'sex', gender is cultural and socially constructed, and sex is natural and fixed.

In this paper I will argue that this definition is not enough to change the way we think about women and men. Sex has been fixed in masculinist dichotomous opposition. In order to create a politico-ethical theory and practice we must confound the system of thought which allows the female to have and empty, castrated morphology. We must not use the concept of gender to aim towards equality but must appropriate the feminine in a gender politics which disallows the central symbolic phallus as the defining point of power and status.

The concept of gender cannot be separated a simple way from body politics and to do this is to sanction masculinist ideologies.

## Feminism, logocentrism and the discipline of history Susan Pitt, Department of History, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

In this paper I would like to address the issue of embodiment in the discipline of history. 'The Body' has become an important focus of attention in recent years, partly because of the expansion of the sub-discipline of the history of

medicine but also because of the cross fertilisation from other disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, sociology and art history. If taken seriously, it seems to me that this concern with the body challenges some of the most important taken-for-granteds of the discipline. If we are to understand modes of embodiment in the past, we must not only search for new forms of evidence but must find new ways to conceptualise the body and its relationship to discursive practices. It is one thing to recognise the body as a text and quite another to acknowledge its physicality. There is a materiality to the body which has the potential to disrupt normative dualistic understandings of body and mind. It is for this reason that the issue of embodiment is an ethical one, for it suggests the possibility of a 'feminine imaginary' which lies beyond logocentric discourse.

## The (un)narratable other: ethics and the construction of historical narratives Robert Eaglestone, Department of English, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

Hayden White asked if we could ever write narratives without moralising: J. Hillis Miller asked if we could ever moralise without narratives. Narrative is at the core of a number of contemporary accounts of ethics: it is apparent that narrative and the question of ethical obligation are tightly bound up with each other. It is because of these links that questions of narrative and ethics are of central relevance to historical inquiry.

It is now relatively unproblematic to suggest that 'history' exists only as a narrative construct. An issue that has not been addressed is the question of how the narrative format of writing history or archaeology reflects on its underlying ethical commitment. The very construction of historical narrative, as analogous to the absent past, carries with it a number of ethical presuppositions. In what ways does the actual textual act of crafting a 'narrative' change the ethical commitments of history or archaeology?

This paper will seek to explore this question by examining how a number of thinkers on ethics and history understand the interaction between historical narratives and ethics. It will concentrate on the question of in whose name are these narratives constructed, and what effect the narrative format has on ethical obligations. The four main areas of examination are: Ricoeur's claim that a historical narrative is analogous to the absent past and written in the name of the absent, dead others of the past; Foucault's ambition to uncover power relations in the past as a historian of the present, for the present; Levinas' opposition to the whole process of writing historical narrative, in which he suggests, "the unnarratable other loses his face in narration"; post-structuralist (and) feminist claims to oppose the writing of narratives in general, and a search for another form of writing.

#### The World Archaeological Congress 1994 and the politics of the past Michael Tierney,

Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

This paper seeks to examine the relationship between nationalism and divergent trends in archaeological thought and practice. Taking the 1994 World Archaeological Congress as an paradigmatic moment of the world archaeological community, this paper will discuss the significance of both recent poststructuralist developments and older marxist and critical traditions in relation to the way in which archaeological thought shapes and mirrors debates over national identity.

## Ethics and historical relativism: the challenge of holocaust denial Patrick Finney: Department of History, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

In debates about the nature of historical truth, Holocaust Denial is habitually employed by defenders of traditional understandings as a trump card against problems of relativist views. If the past really is "up for grabs", their argument runs, then we have no theoretical or ethical position from which to oppose those who mendaciously assert that the Shoah never happened. Is it possible, however, to reconcile an ethical revulsion against fascism with a relativist conception of historical truth in order to combat Holocaust denial?

We need not accept Holocaust denial as just another, valid, historical interpretation. Academic disciplines - including history function as interpretative communities, regulating the construction of truths through sets of practices and conventions, and the work of Holocaust deniers - despite pseudo-scholarly trappings - does not conform to the accepted conventions of history. Thus, in a disciplinary context, it is possible to rule their arguments out of court instantly - a strategy infinitely preferable to engaging with them on their own detailed grounds of source criticism etc., which risks lending their arguments legitimacy and credibility and which will prove fruitless, as conspiracy theorists cannot be dissuaded by 'rational' argument.

But how can we combat Holocaust denial in the world beyond the academy? Here, the conception of historical interpretations as inevitably ideological - as never existing simply "for themselves" is crucial. Deniers are important for what they intend in the present rather than for what they imply about the past: Holocaust denial is such a big lie that it is unsustainable without a supporting apparatus of antisemitism and fascism. Denial is central to a contemporary fascist political project. Worrying about the validity or otherwise of their interpretations risks missing the point, and we should attend to the motives of the deniers rather than their actions, to the root cause of the problem and not the symptoms. Whilst this injunction begs the question of how to ground an antifascist political project in the absence of totalising metanarratives, the relativist view permits a clearer conception of the problem than traditional understandings of the nature of history allow.

The word of god and the religious past Tom Webster, Department of History, University of East Anglia, UK

In normal circumstances, the main ethical lesson given to students of early modern religious history is forbearance. In relation to the extremist protestants of Northern Ireland, however, there are rather graver issues to be involved. Given the parades to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne and the Apprentice Boys' March in Londonderry, a representation of the past carries profound political implications. We need to find a source of ethical requirements that will carry equal authority for historians and for these radical protestants. None of the modern philosophers who appeal to us will be useful as they are likely to be dismissed. None of the immediate models for the protestants will bear any interest for us. The one philosopher who would be taken seriously by both sides, it seems to me, is Augustine of Hippo.

Augustine writes at length on the subject of time, a matter of great interest, for example, for Paul Ricoeur, and the very matter of his Confessions has been reflected on intensely by Jacques Derrida. The relationship between the thorough absence of the past (and future) and the very marginal presence of the present focuses our attention on representations of the past in the present. In this context, it proves valuable to turn to the demands Augustine makes on ethical stances. His notion of the working of caritas is rather more than a plea for 'niceness'. It takes on board division and bitterness in the lives of Christians and requires the expression of love to all. There is little expectation that we will suppress hatred or disapproval: we can recognise that we have groups which we regard to consist of enemies. Nonetheless, we must still turn to them with caritas, with a sense of love that will serve as a better approach for the sake of our spiritual life. Here is, it seems to me, a potential for a common ground in discussions between convinced protestants, convinced post-structuralists and a potential which may direct us to a more peaceable situation without making pleas for a utopian passivity.

#### **General Perspectives in Art**

Session Organiser: TAG. Committee (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Robert Layton

In the space between object and art Eva-Marie Göransson, Department of Archaeology, University of Stockholm. Sweden

What happens when an object- archaeological or other- becomes a "piece of art"? What happens in the space between these two categories, what happens in....us?

Art is in this paper seen as a quality that is given the object and not as something that lies inherent in it by origin. This quality is foremost emotional, but it functions in political structures in society- the structures being both a cause of the very emotion and effects of it. At the other hand it is obvious that for the artist the concept of art is of vital importance for what eventually pops out of her hands, the conscious intention unconsidered.

The by tradition overloaded term "art" is looked upon from two directions: the archaeologists, and the artists. Being both an archaeologist and an artist I find it interesting to draw these two directions and occupations (!) towards each other in order to see what then will happen.

## Sexual deception and the origins of art Camilla Power and Ian Watts, Department of Anthropology, University College London, UK

Neo-Darwinism or 'selfish-gene' theory is now widely accepted as the only methodology to apply in the investigation of animal social behaviour. No exception can be made without special pleading for pre-cultural Pleistocene hominids. Selfish-gene theory focuses on costs to individuals as constraints on behaviour. Symbolic culture presents a special problem from the standpoint of selfish genes, since it involves very costly behaviour. Language is energetically cheap, but given its key feature of displaced reference, it incurs costs of reliance on uncorroborated information. Ritual is highly energetically costly in performance, and it is characteristic of hunter-gatherer ritual that valuable time and energy is expended on fantasy worlds and beings. What evolutionary processes gave rise to such behaviour? Why was it in the short-term fitness interest of any individual to engage in fantasies, and why did other individuals benefit from sharing in those fantasies? It is suggested that reproductive stress on late archaic *Homo sapiens* females motivated proto-ritual behaviour. Female coalitions used cosmetics to manipulate their sexual signals for the purpose of exploiting male muscle power. Symbolic culture emerged as a set of deceptive sexual signals- consisting of dance and body paint in combination- which established the first collective representations. The model readily accounts for the presence of red ochre and haematite crayons among the earliest symbolic artefacts from the southern African Middle Stone Age.

## The performance of Saharan rock art....influences and structuration George Nash, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

When deconstructing art (like the voyeur) into an elusive window whereby people and not artefacts are paramount the art is the exclusive link between what is aesthetics and what is reality; 'art' becomes a personal statement. However, the archaeological literature would lead the reader to believe otherwise. Here the art becomes 'obvious' and 'pretty'; above all, art becomes the anti-artefact. In order to incorporate art and design within archaeology, one must embrace

the ideologies of ritual, symbolism and socio-political materiality. In this paper, I wish to expand on these ideas using the rock paintings of the Saharan rock art region (Algeria). I wish to incorporate the idea of performance study and rock paintings to establish a humanistic discourse.

The origins of art in an island society Caroline Malone and Simon Stoddart, Department of Classics and Archaeology, University of Bristol, UK

The first two millennia after the human colonisation of the Maltese islands produced no art of importance. The Maltese islands were little different from the contemporary Neolithic society in the southern central Mediterranean.

From c. 3600 BC, and reaching a climax in the third millennium, Maltese art developed on a scale that transcends the small scale of the Maltese islands and the achievements of the larger scale societies of mainland Italy and other near neighbours in the central Mediterranean.

The paper will examine the conditions of ritual complexity which motivated the prehistoric populations to exceptional levels of creativity. The availability of art recovered in context from both old and new fieldwork allows a more detailed understanding of the origins of art as part of a broader social and ideological transformation.

## The role of pictographs in the cultural complexity of eastern Finland Jens Ipsen, Albertslund, Denmark

Following a discussion of the concept 'cultural complexity', the cultural patchwork of Eastern Finnish later Neolithic and Early Metal Age is outlined. This phase can be described as 'culturally complex'. The role of the pictographs and the shamanistic rituals in the 'cultural complexity' of Eastern Finnish prehistory is discussed.

## Sticks, stones and broken bones: natural symbols in the Orcadian Neolithic Andy Jones, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, UK

The relation between Late Neolithic Passage grave art and similar forms of representation on contemporary Grooved ware has long been considered a problem.

This paper aims to consider Late Neolithic art according to the specific social practices surrounding its production, use and experience in the Orcadian Neolithic.

The relation of "artistic" representation to changing perceptions of the natural throughout the Neolithic will also be considered, thus allowing the art to be seen as both historically specific, but also part of a historical process which involved the appropriation of the natural within the cultural.

## Wet, dry; high and dry: a re-evaluation of the rock painting site at Tumlehed, Torslanda, Goteborg George Nash, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

The rock painting site of Tumlehed in Torslanda Parish, outside Goteborg has, over the past decade received much attention. The panel itself has been de-constructed and re-evaluated according to what can be seen under certain atmospheric conditions. The landscape surrounding the site, too, has received much comment. However, an interpretation for an ideology involving site location and the phenomenology of landscape, plus the relationship with the art, has not. In this paper, I want to discuss the panel as a narrative, a series of contextual statements that will establish an alternative account for site location. In addition, I will be exploring the ideology and intricacies of contemporary and traditional performance, focusing on the language of metaphor, rhetoric and contradiction.

#### From "Complexity" to "Complex Society": Mediterranean Europe before Rome

Session Organiser: Bob Chapman, Catriona Gibson, Sturt Manning and Sarah Monks (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK) Chair and Discussants: Bob Chapman, Catriona Gibson, Sturt Manning and Sarah

Monks

The Bronze Age of the Mediterranean marks the appearance of so-called complex societies in most areas, and the development of social inequality/stratification, elites, states etc. A plethora of literature stemming from Renfrew's *The Emergence of Civilisation* (1972) and Gilman's 1981 paper in *Current Anthropology* discuss such topics in a Mediterranean context. These studies all employ words like "complex", "inequality", "stratification", "elite", and so on, but they are usually taken as givens, and not defined. Further, the same sets of descriptive, words are used all over the Mediterranean and at different times. However there is no pan-Mediterranean, diachronic, social typology: thus while there is undoubtedly pattern and process, there is also difference and divergence.

All societies are complex. However such complexity varies greatly. The aim of this symposium is to explore the nature of complexity in societal terms, and to try to facilitate regional and interregional contrasts and comparisons among the Mediterranean societies and their trajectories towards complexity. In particular, we wish to explore the processes of change between "emergent" social complexity and "developed" complex society in various areas of the

Mediterranean. We wish to consider both the overall temporal and typological paterns/rhythms, but also the specific quantified data in each area.

In the Mediterranean, the development of complex society has long been associated with diffusion. Elsewhere in the world debate sees local factors such as control of production, demographic growth, and external factors such as interregional exchange and contact, all incorporated into an overall social profile, or model. But in the Mediteranean, the local and the external have often been separated and treated as distinct. Only recently has this approach change. A specific theme of the symposium will therefore be the consideration of the above issues, set in the context of current debates on "world systems theory", "prestige goods economies", and the role and importance of "distance" and the "exotic". We wish to explore how far changes in one area of a society interrelate with other areas, or how far changes in one area may be "de-coupled". We wish to concentrate on the concept of change, rather than on forms of taxonomic or static analysis where there is a backwards projection of either the ethnographic present, or modern ideology.

## Complexity in the Mediterranean past: definitional problems for comparative analysis Bob Chapman and Sarah Monks, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK

The opportunities for comparative analysis of "complexity" in pre-Roman societies in the Mediterranean have increased almost beyond recognition in the last three decades. The extension of regional archaeology, through excavation and field survey, has produced many local sequences of change which have to be added to, and compared with, those known in "core" areas since the end of the last century. But comparative analysis presupposes that we know what we are comparing. In this paper we try to document the often ambiguous ways in which terms such as "complexity" are used by archaeologists in the Mediterranean, and how insufficient attention is given to the ways in which social variables may be given material expression in the archaeological record.

## Perspectives on complexity and change: the more things change, the more they stay the same Sturt Manning, Department of Classics, University of Reading, UK

Archaeologists commonly write about 'development', 'emergence', 'collapse'. 'destructions': indeed, in the Mediterranean field, the entire archaeological record often seems to consist of these momentous and calamitous 'destructions'. In the old days, new peoples and civilisations were seen to arrive with or after such 'destructions': the Indo-Europeans following the EB destructions in Greece, or Anatolian immigrants following the end of the Chalcolithic in Cyprus, the Dorians following the end of the Late Bronze Age in Greece, and so on. The 'event-historical' model. These days, the continuities of culture tend to be (overly) stressed. But all in all what we see in the archaeological record is a structure of human history in which sets of apparent periods of one 'type' of existence (growth, plateau, decline/end) are followed by another one. One might argue that within the successive sets the societies may either be more advanced in various ways- a step like evolutionary model, with similar processes, but at different technological levels- or alternatively, that more or less similar processes follow each other. But across *la longue* durée a structure of cycles is evident. It is argued that this observed structure consists of two elements: first, that the taphonomic processes of archaeology and chronology create various horizons and periodicities; and second, that human behaviour and interaction, the dialectic between individual agent and social group, inside and outside, leads to a cycling or oscillating process of evolution (of punctuated equilibria).

## What do we mean by "state"? Vicente Lull, Department of the History of Precapitalist Societies and Social Anthropology, University of Barcelona, Spain

The first European states which are seen in the archaeological record in Crete and mainland Greece were the culmination of a social and economic development which began c.2500 BC in Crete and c.2000 BC in Greece. In no other part of Bronze Age Europe is the word 'state' used to describe past societies. However there are characteristics of the Aegean states which are also noted in the archaeological record of other areas: these characteristics include institutionalised social inequality, systems of territorial control, mechanisms of coercion, economic centralisation, and the imposition of productive systems with full-time specialisation. One area where they have been studied is the Argaric Bronze Age of south-east Spain. In this paper issues of social terminology, and the meaning of 'state' will be discussed in relation to this archaeological example from the west Mediterranean.

## Comparative Space, Maritime Place Bernard Knapp, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, UK

Compared with ethnographic and archaeological fieldwork and research conducted over the past century in island Melanesia and Polynesia, Mediterranean archaeologists have a limited perspective on modes of transport, concepts of maritime space, and the role of distance and the exotic in maritime travel and trade. Maritime space incorporates a wide radius of human action, and the maritime seascape involves a major social component: the waterfront, for example, lays wide open to outside impulses, whilst in Medieval times islands often enjoyed magical sanctions or special jurisdiction. Maritime centres and transit points are places where merchants and farmers met mariners and sea traders, and where economic and ideological traditions could mingle or clash. Although the "imagined islands" of comparative space in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean are often portrayed as inhabited by voyagers who sailed easily navigable waters, their vessels propelled by the prevailing northwesterly winds towards the magical civilisations of western Asia and Egypt, in fact the Mediterranean coastline is amongst the world's more active tectonically (in terms of subsidence and uplift), and factors such as sea currents, wind directions, and seasonal patterns further constrained the mariner's choice

of undertaking open-sea voyages, or following the dominant coastal currents (south to north, east to west) and affected the very existence of smaller, independent regimes of maritime activity vs the pre-eminence of state dominated or entrpreneurial merchants transporting bulk products and prestige goods between major territorial and island polities. Taking the island of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age as a case study, this paper considers several limiting and enabling assumptions about the mobility of individuals, commodities, ships, and even communities throughout the Mediterranean maritime seascape. Bronze Age maritime traders and raiders used their knowledge, experiences and modes of communication as key sources of social power, as invisible commodities that motivated and transformed Mediteranean maritime space.

# Trading in and Trading up: mapping shifting power configurations in the Late Bronze Age of the East Mediterranean Francis A. De Mita Jr., Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, US

To date, models of interregional exchange in the LBA East Mediterranean have been flawed for two reasons. Firstly, they are descriptive rather than explanatory, and secondly they concern only the external aspects of this process, and do not consider the internal dynamics within the constituent polities and the changing levels of social complexity evident. Attempts to model dynamic trade relations between non-peer maritime polities in Southeast Asia, recent investigations in copper-rich Oman, together with proposed models of internal Cypriot social organisation, suggest a valuable alternative to traditional "top-down" models of trade as an *a priori* condition to the emergence of complex societies. Critical application of these models, with particular focus on the distribution of imported material across Late Bronze Age Cyprus and Crete, provides new insight into varying degrees of integration of east Mediterranean polities in shifting interregional exchange networks.

## "Hot in the City Tonight": the emergence of complexity in Central and South-West Iberia Catriona Gibson, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK

One of the major issues of investigation in central and south-west Iberia in the first millennium BC is the emergence of a highly organised differentiated settlement pattern. This evolution of denser and more sophisticated centres of production has been envisaged as representing "proto-urban" or "urban" centres as a direct outcome of the interaction between native and foreign populations through the Atlantic Bronze Age system and the Phoenician colonisation in southern Iberia. This paper attempts a re-assessment of the development of society in this area, demanding a proper investigation of the trajectories which may have led to such an evolution. Often neglected are fundamental variables that may have stimulated, constained or contributed to the onset of complex society, and the temporal and geographical scales on which this patterns and process took place. The limited data available will be interrogated to question what is meant by a complex society in this area, and through what definitions we can apply such a term.

## Political technologies: the use and abuse of metal in the Bronze Age Georgia Nakou, Institute of Oxford, UK

Previous studies of the adoption of metallurgy in the Aegean region have linked its appearance with the emergence of "complexity", usually defined in terms of evidence for craft specialisation, exchange and social inequality, all of which are seen as peculiarly "Bronze Age" phenomena. Another characteristic of these explanatory schemes is their tendency to become universal, eventually embracing all of the Mediterranean, but rarely finding an exact fit on a regional level.

In the light of recent evidence which questions the restriction of "complexity" as defined above to the Bronze Age, and a re-examination of the pattern of the adoption of metallurgy in the Aegean, this paper will address the need to look more closely at the details of context, before suggesting a more flexible model for dealing with this topic.

## The organisation of copper production in LBA Cyprus: thoughts from a metallurgical perspective Vasiliki Kassianidou, Department of Archaeology, University of Cyprus

Late Bronze Age Cyprus is generally considered a major copper producing centre and one of the main suppliers of this metal for the states of the Eastern Mediterranean. This statement can be supported by archaeological evidence, such as texts and artifacts (mainly copper ox-hide ingots) from a variety of LBA sites outside Cyprus and by the fact that the island is extremely rich in copper and the environmental conditions are such that intense exploitation of these resources could be sustained over thousands of years.

What, however, is the archaeological evidence from the Cypriot LBA sties and what does it tell us about the organisation of this, presumably, large-scale industry. In our effort to reconstruct the puzzle, we still lack two important pieces of evidence. A Bronze Age primary smelting site has yet to be discovered and Bronze Age texts from Cyprus are limited and remain undeciphered.

Nevertheless, data from on-going excavations and new archaeo-metallurgical and provenience studies help to fill some of the gaps and contribute to a better understanding of this important aspect of LBA Cypriot society. This paper will present and discuss the latest analytical data and their implications. Furthermore, it will critically review the various models which have been proposed for the organisation of copper production.

#### Archaeology in Ireland and the Construction of National Identities

Session Organiser: Maggie Ronayne (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK)

Chair: Maggie Ronayne / Discussant: Mike Rowlands

The contemporary social and political context of archaeology in Ireland has rarely been examined, nor its theoretical basis acknowledged explicitly. Instead, many archaeologists in both Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic have engaged with empiricism, culture history and positivism in the production of ëvalue-free narratives. Such interpretations have perpetuated particular constructions of identity on the island and will continue to do so for as long as they remain unchallenged. They contribute to national history directly, through archaeological practice itself and indirectly, through the political use of versions of the past by other groups. Many of the papers offered here are a critique of such dominant practices and suggest other directions for research. The session includes discussion on the changing nature of national identities within the Republic, Northern Ireland and between both of these and Britain. Various topics address politics and theory within the discipline in Ireland, landscape archaeology and identity and the treatment of different monuments, periods of time and 'culture groups' both within archaeological interpretation and outside of it. The views presented in the papers which follow are not necessarily complimentary but the aim of the session is to provide a focus for discussion and debate.

## Gender, nation and the politics of identity in archaeology in Ireland Maggie Ronayne, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

While it is important to consider the political use of versions of the past by others, it is clear that archaeologists, through their own work, are already involved in constructions of identity. I will argue that if we wish to speak on the uses to which versions of the past are put, we should seek to examine the discourses which structure our own work, instead of setting ourselves up as the guardians of some disciplinary truth. To do this we need to theorise aspects of identity explicitly within these islands. In this regard, I will look at national identities and archaeology in terms of the gendered subjects they imply and the spatial/ temporal categories which are constructed from them. I am particularly interested in the ways in which feminist theory may be used to explore the set of relationships between archaeology, identity and nationalism and whether, using that body of theory, it might be possible to write stories about the past which are not national narratives.

## Bourgeois nationalism and empiricist archaeology: the case of Ireland Michael Tierney, Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter, UK

This paper will show the relationship between the particular form of nationalism found in the Republic of Ireland in the twentieth century and the nature of the discipline of archaeology at this time. The deeply embedded 'cult of the fact' is found throughout Irish intellectual life and can be seen, in part, as a cultural and political artifact of English colonialism and of that phase of the postcolonial experience when the newly liberated ape their oppressors. I'll be arguing that this situation was not inevitable but arose out of the particular form that the partially successful Irish revolution took in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In showing Irish archaeology to be empiricist and in showing empiricism to be the 'cultural logic' of a reactionary bourgeois politics, the possibility of other archaeologies and other polities which lie in the socialist impulse can become apparent.

## Irish antiquarians in the nineteenth century Dorcas Boreland, Department of Archaeology, Queen's University of Belfast, UK

This paper will examine the attitudes of the nineteenth century antiquarians in Ireland (north and south) by looking at their work and writings. It will ascertain, as far as is possible, their political affiliations whether nationalist or Pro-British. It will then look in detail at the work of Southern antiquarians who would be considered to be of a nationalist persuasion, George Petrie, Sir William Wilde, O'Curry, O'Donovan and others. The work of the Northern antiquarians, most of whom incline to be pro-British, such as Bell, Bewick, Grainger and Macadam will also be closely looked at. The work and writings of both groups will be compared and contrasted. An assessment will then be made as to what extent their sense of national identity appears to have affected their work, but particularly their conclusions with regard to the prehistory of Ireland.

To be announced John Tierney, Department of Archaeology, University College, Cork, Ireland To be submitted.

# Material culture and ethnic conflict in Northern Ireland Diarmait Mac Giolla Chriost, School of History, Welsh History and Archaeology, Trinity College, Carmarthen, UK / Institute of Earth Studies, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, UK

The paper works from the premise that the conflict in Northern Ireland is an ethnic conflict, the two main protagonists in the province being an Irish ethnie and a British ethnie. In the paper the author explores the manner in which the two ethnie, and the British ethnie in particular, exploit the physical, cultural landscape in order to authenticate and communicate their ideological position. A structural examination of one feature of the landscape in particular, the early seventeenth century town walls of the city of Londonderry, opens up avenues for describing and explaining the relationship between the British ethnie, the past and the present in Ireland. A number of other themes are central to this process including the development of Irish ethnic identity under the influence of the late nineteenth century cultural revival in Ireland, concepts of Celticity and varieties of Irish nationalism. The paper concludes by casting a brief look at some examples of monuments which are being manipulated in order to encourage pluralist relationships between the two main ethnic groups and the past in Northern Ireland.

## Archaeologists and early christians: diversity and uniformity Jerry O' Sullivan, AOC Scotland Ltd, Edinburgh, UK

In Ireland, the Early Christian/early Medieval period is ascribed a special significance. It is celebrated, both in popular and in intellectual culture, as a pre-colonial Golden Age and a well-spring of national identity. One expression of this is that the archaeological record of the period is viewed as insular, uniform and conservative, with long-standing continuities and few discernible regional, chronological or social boundaries. This paper will ask whether the current archaeological record sustains this view or whether there is scope, after all, for a more diverse range of enquiries.

## From a distance there is harmony.....writing the Neolithic Gabriel Cooney, Department of Archaeology, University College, Dublin, Ireland

Current writing by many British archaeologists on the Neolithic period in Ireland and Britain often assume that a similar interpretation/story can be proferred for both islands. At the same time the view of many aspects of the Neolithic detailed by the writings of Irish archaeologists suggests that there are major differences between the two islands. For example a striking aspect of the Neolithic in some regions of Ireland is the evidence for field boundaries and sedentary settlement and yet in Britain the current dominant model suggests that mobility was a key element in the development of the Neolithic lifestyle. It is argued here that critical elements in exploring the reasons for these differing views are the recognition of differences between the two islands and the importance or regionality and locality in the archaeology of both Britain and Ireland. Patrick Kavanagh wrote that 'local is universal'. In Ireland however the emphasis has been on presenting a national, island-wide image of the past while in Britain there appear to be some lingering colonial perceptions (the British Isles syndrome) allied to the application of core-periphery ideas which seem to owe more to present day politics than prehistoric realities. These factors and our own growing loss of place may influence our ability to recognise the importance of belonging and place in the Neolithic 'other'.

## "Nothing but the heavens and the bog": landscape archaeology and issues of identity Stephen Johnston, Department of Archaeology, University College, Dublin, Ireland

A key element in the construction of identity is the relationship between people and the landscapes they inhabit. The approach traditionally taken to the study of the Irish landscape in Archaeology could be seen to contrast strongly with the type of understanding held by many who dwell within that landscape. The dominance of field survey has focussed attention on extant monuments, classifying them through comparison and generalisation. This differs from the specific locally-based folkloric knowledge with which many monuments are imbued. The monuments are, instead, incorporated into a national historical narrrative. Further, the attention paid to individual sites in terms of legislation and archaeologically -based tourism serves to create the impression that the monuments themselves constitute the landscape of the past, dissociated from their complex geographical context. In contrast, landscapes can be seen to be understood by their inhabitants, not solely as a set of meaningful points, but also in areal terms, a patchwork of ownership and land-use, with long term familial and community identities mapped onto spaces as well as individual locations. Such trends might be seen as acting to transform a set of locally situated identities, based on interpretations of a uniquely textured landscape, into a single synthetic identity based on an homogenous 'island story'. This paper explores changing approaches to landscape in Irish archaeology and related disciplines and how the application of these differing perspectives has implications for aspects of local and national identities.

## Parallel national identities and the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition Julian Thomas, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

It is fitting that the present session should investigate the influence of nationalism on the development of Irish archaeology. However, in the present context it would be only too easy for English archaeologists to conclude that nationalism represented a source of bias peculiar to the Irish context, from which we ourselves remain immune. In contrast, I will argue that national identity forms an aspect of the background of prejudicial assumptions which informs most of the archaeology written in the modern west. In both Ireland and England, narratives of national identity are implicit in interpretations of the change from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic. While archaeologists in Ireland have

gone out of their way to emphasise the indigenous character of their Mesolithic, and have contrasted this with an incoming Neolithic population, across the water a different imperative has served to present the opening of the Neolithic as the foundation of a timeless English landscape. In this contribution, I will explore the historical origins of these parallel prehistories.

#### Past and Present: Modern Material Culture

Session Organiser: Paul Graves-Brown (Department of Psychology, University of Southampton, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Paul Graves-Brown

Material culture surrounds us in our work and leisure. Artefacts shape our assumptions as to what the world is and how it works. The modern, not to say post-modern, world readily incorporates the material culture of the past into its vocabulary. However, modern material culture is a neglected topic within the discourse of archaeology, despite its potential as an issue through which the discipline could have an impact on the critique of contemporary life. Indeed, whilst archaeology struggles to make itself relevant, through issues borrowed from contemporary anthropology, archaeologists neglect the domain of cultural studies. A domain in which their expertise is of direct value.

Perhaps this situation is the result of an ambiguity about the purpose of archaeology. Is it simply concerned with the study of the past, or is its primary focus on the understanding of material culture? Indeed is archaeology's involvement with material culture an ontological accident? Do we need a distinct discipline of material culture studies not tied to the dubious lessons of the past? With a variety of perspectives drawn from archaeology, psychology and philosophy, this session will argue that greater attention to the lessons of modern material culture studies can inform broader debates in archaeology and forge more productive interdisciplinary connections.

#### Mysterious objects Paul Graves-Brown, Department of Psychology, University of Southampton, IIK

Museums are full of objects whose purpose is a mystery. It might appear that, in the absence of documentary evidence, they would remain so. However, it is not the case that artefacts are, in their own right meaningless, or that they do not have functions which are proper to them. This paper looks at how we apprehend the meaning of objects and asks what we mean by their proper function. Are artefacts indeed neutral until they are co-opted to our particular purposes, or do they constrain us to use them in particular ways and in which case, how is this so? In a world where the tendency toward technological determinism is so great, how are we to counter this fatalistic account without rendering the material world into a superficial stage set?

## Mirrors and prisms: the functions of photographs in family life Orla Cronin, Department of Psychology, University of Southampton, UK

Of all the arts, photography is the one which seems most accessible to the "ordinary person", both in terms of its practice and in terms of the consumption of its products. However, "accessibility" need not and does not imply "transparency". This paper will discuss prevalent theories of visual communication, drawing on data which demonstrate the conventions which govern our interpretation of family photographs. It will examine the process of taking family photographs, from the choice of appropriate occasions through to the storage and uses of "snapshots". It will also take one particular topic of family photography - the family itself - and examine the codes which govern the representation of the family in its own photographs.

I will argue that photographs serve a multitude of functions in family life - the most important of these being to manipulate subjective experiences of time, and to maintain family cohesion and continuity. I will show how the narrative context of photographic meaning, and the careful representation of key role relationships ("Mother", "Father", "Child", etc.) helps photographs fulfil these functions.

Despite its prevalence in everyday life, photography has been neglected by the social sciences, and by psychology in particular, both as a research topic and as a research tool. I will briefly consider the reasons for this, and consider what general implications for future research can be drawn from the study of family photography.

#### From the rocks to T-Shirts: power and the popular consumption of rock art imagery

Thomas Dowson, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

Rock art has provided a source of primary images for artists for sometime now. These images have been used in the production of one-off art works to mass produced objects such as T-shirts. Often this has been done with little or even no regard for the power of the image: be it the power for original producers and consumers, or the power the reproduction has in informing contemporary consumers. Whether we like it or not, the use of apparently neutral images on simple objects, such as clothing or canvasses, is an unequivocally political minefield. And, one that has no universal solutions. In this paper I examine the use of rock art imagery in Southern Africa, by archaeologists and artists. Far from wishing to be prescriptive or an adjudicator on such issues, I wish to open up more wide ranging discussion on the

contemporary re-production and consumption of rock art imagery in an attempt to capitalise on the powers of those images.

## **Styles of belonging - displays of intent** Neil Jarman, Department of Social Anthropology, Oueen's University Belfast, UK

This paper considers the way that support for loyalist paramilitary groups and their ideals is displayed and extended through the material culture of the marching bands of Belfast.

The Northern Irish band tradition draws on similar roots to those in Britain where organisations such as the Boys Brigade and the Salvation Army have long paraded to military rhythms. But over the past twenty years this practice has developed into a vibrant part of popular culture and political expression in Ulster. Each weekend from Easter to October competitions are held in towns and villages across the north. On each occasion up to 50 flute and drum bands will compete for a range of trophies as they display their musical skills and their marching discipline. They are known locally as Blood and Thunder bands a term which emphasises the percussive power of the drum crews and the sectarian nature of the musical sentiments.

As well as the music the bands have also developed a distinctive sartorial style which is used to display their political allegiances. Their uniforms draw on a diversity of influences which range from the late 18th century to First World War fatigues to contemporary Paramilitary garb. Striving for authenticity there is the ever present temptation to go too far, in the competition to stay ahead of the other bands the pressure is on to incorporate more elaborate details and to replace the uniforms more often. Costs have escalated as the bands have become a more important facet of working class male culture. It can now cost over £12,000 to kit out the top bands.

Studies of fashion and style in contemporary western cultures have tended to emphasise the individuation of style, of dress as a process of identification with cultural heroes, or style as rebellion, as marks of distinction from parental or peer norms, but rarely has style been considered as a central part of an expression of a political ideology. This paper considers how the uniforms and the accompanying regalia have become central to the public identity of loyalist bands. It shows how the myriad references to the Ulster Protestant determination remain British are being reused to redefine what that identity means. The displays represent the materialisation of a political faith, they are a visual display of 200 years of martial tradition which is today paraded regularly on the streets of Ulster to affirm the intention to defend the faith come what may.

## How things change. Form, function, and change of function Beth Preston, Department of Philosophy, University of Georgia, USA

Function is underdetermined by form. This is a source of continual frustration for archaeologists, paleobiologists and others confronted with a rich variety of forms, the function of which may forever remain in the realm of sheer speculation. But the looseness of fit between form and function is also an inexhaustible source of productive creativity, since forms designed or evolved for one function are permanently available for co-optation for some other function entirely. This process of co-optation is especially significant and widespread in the realm of culture—modern material culture is, to some significant extent, the cooped material culture of bygone ages. So it would be nice to have an account of the functional lability which makes this process possible. Such an account must begin with a theory of function which renders change of function perspicuous. Starting from some current philosophical notions of function, I propose a theory consisting of two distinct but correlated notions of function which does this. Specifically, I provide a conceptual framework within which the various species of functional change may be described, classified and understood. Of course, this confirms rather than alleviating the intellectually frustrating looseness of fit between form and function. But perhaps some solace may be drawn from the concomitant confirmation that this bothersome phenomenon, far from being a defect, is actually one of the mainsprings of cultural and biological evolution.

## Tag and anti-heritage: perceptions of Punk, Pop and the 'Pistols A.J. Schofield, English Heritage, UK

There is something rather unnerving for those of us who were involved, to see events and episodes of our past being gradually incorporated into what we commonly refer to as heritage. It happened recently both with the miners and the war veterans, and the growing acceptability within both the professional and public domain, of coal mines and of wartime relics and remains, even Cold War remains (such as the National Trust's decision to manage Orfordness), as part of the heritage, as archaeology even. In a similar vein, the recent 'Street style' exhibition at the V&A gave subculture a degree of credibility as heritage, while for several years (and most notably by Dick Hebdige) it has been the subject of academic attention. Punk was considered in some detail by Hebdige and is a topical example, being the subject of a derailed (and recently televised) account by Jon Savage, and the component of various degree courses. Recently there have also been various anniversary celebrations and retrospectives given a heritage slant: the 25th anniversary's of Woodstock, and the last of the Isle of Wight festivals for example. But those of us who were on the periphery of punk, or who attended Woodstock or the Isle of Wight festival, those of us who visited football grounds and were a part of 'terrace culture' prior to the implementation of the Taylor report, even those of us (those of you, I mean) who were active in the first ten years of the Ibiza rave scene, are we seriously to be considered a part of all that; or is this a case of heritage fever, of the world gone mad? Or are we witnessing the emergence of something better described as the counter- or anti/-heritage - a heritage with which the participants on the whole do not or will not identify?

For what its worth, I do regard all of the above as components of our cultural heritage, and I think all are worthy of serious academic attention. I also believe all of the above should not be the preserve of sociologists, and those interested in media and cultural studies, youth culture and pop for pop's sake; there is also an academic value for those of us with an interest in the past. Modern youth culture (sub-culture, counter-culture, whatever) and its material remains (fashion or street style and music mainly) provide lessons about ourselves which will inform about our past: such as how swiftly we respond or adapt to change in our political, social and economic circumstances, and how variable and how expressive and creative that response can be. Why, for example, did The Beatles stop' singing love songs when they did, and move to a wider subject range? Why did punk happen when it did and why did it take that form? How does our social (or anti-social) behaviour correlate with the subcultures with which we identify? What, if anything, can be gleaned from pop lyrics? Clearly song is under used in terms of what it tells us about the past; yet the potential is realised: as they say, if you want to know about the sixties, listen to The Beatles. Using a few specific and well-documented examples, including The Beatles, punk, pop festivals and time permitting - the Cold War, I will explain how such aspects of modern material culture can inform about the past, and why their presentation as heritage has rather suddenly come about (but cf. Ian Hodder's brief study of punk in The Present Past). That they are considered heritage should now give them a credibility which will enhance the justification for serious investigation within the context of mainstream archaeological endeavouror is this a case of, "never mind the relevance - here's the bol@!\*X?

## Skill, motivational state, and the sociology of the emotions: a comparative perspective James Steele, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, UK

It is increasingly clear that the fine motor skills evidenced in Palaeolithic tool manufacture are giving us information about the characteristic 'style' of emotion regulation which characterised some hominid and early modem human foraging societies. The study of emotions and emotion management has become increasingly common in the social sciences: Wouters (1992:230) attributes this heightened interest to the parallel development of a "social process of intensified status competition within increasingly dense networks of interdependency" in Western societies. In this paper, I ask whether emerging styles of emotion management in post-industrial society are linked to an increasing valuation of the practise of fine motor skills in leisure activities, and hypothesise a possible role for such activities in tonic regulation of motivational state - and thus in producing a distinctive interpersonal 'emotional style'.

#### References

Wouters, C. (1992) 'On status competition and emotion management -- the study of emotions as a new field.' Theory Culture and Society 9: 229--252.

#### Life

Session Organiser: Duncan Brown (Southampton, UK) and Keith Matthews (Chester Archaeology Service, UK)

Chair and Discussant: Duncan Brown and Keith Matthews

Archaeology is the study of human activity. Archaeologists often find themselves studying the by-products of human existence; structures, waste, objects, bones. These things represent evidence around which we can tell the story of human endeavour; of culture, industry and economics. Archaeologists therefore find themselves on the outside, looking in, and they make their interpretations on a broad scale, looking for patterns in a panorama they themselves have constructed. Amidst our interest in these wider themes the notion of the individual is often lost.

In this session we wish to focus on some of the issues which affected living people, and which affect us now, although we scarcely acknowledge the fact. Most people were, and are, more concerned with feeding, with reproduction, with comfort, even with fun, than with thinking deeply about their cultural identity or the language of socio-economics. The titles of the six papers presented here speak for themselves and for the session as a whole. Archaeological evidence from different chronological and geographic locations will be considered. It is fundamentals which we are addressing here, and they all have that in commom. Food is vital for human survival. Children are central in any society and crucial to the survival of the human species. Light enhances the quality of life. Icons and drugs represent the human need for physical and emotional interaction. Entropy encompasses the overpowering dread of decay. We acknowledge that there is an awful lot missing; for instance violence, crime, effluent, sanitation, medicine. We could not include everything in a half-day session and we have therefore chosen to concentrate on a few themes. Our purpose is to encourage a consideration of the essentials of existence; the things that we, and our ancestors, think most about. If we lose sight of the things that are important to every human being then our discipline will suffer. This is not a time when archaeology can afford to be marginalised.

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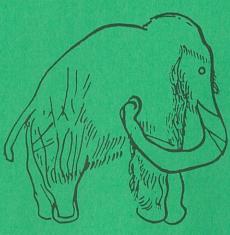
#### Art of the Mammoth Hunters: The Finds from Avdeevo

by Mariana Gvozdover edited for publication by Paul Bahn.

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