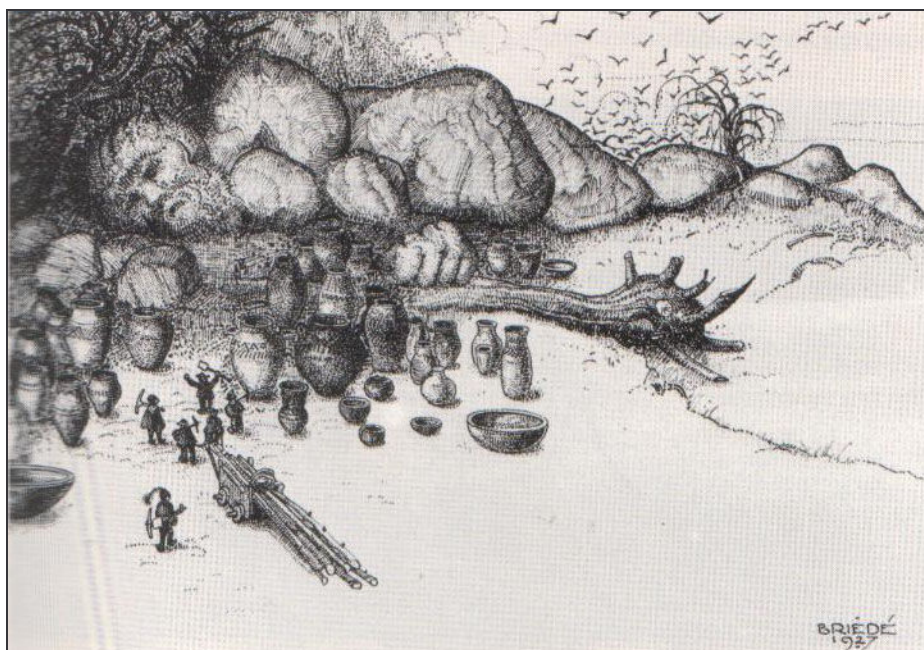


Sacral Landscapes: Narratives of the Megalith in North Western Europe

Jeff Sanders



Ph.D. Thesis
The University of Edinburgh
January 2007

Statement of Originality

I declare that this thesis is my own work

Jeff Sanders
January 2007

Acknowledgements

A number of people have been of invaluable help during the writing of this thesis. I would firstly like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Magda Midgley, for guidance and inspiration. My family also deserve special mention for their support, encouragement and understanding. Devon McHugh proof read the entire thesis and improved the clarity (and grammar) immeasurably. I am also grateful for the stream of tea, books, sympathy and ideas from my office mates Megan Jones, Vasiliki Koutrafouris and Erin Osborne-Martin. Thanks must also go to my flatmates, past and present, and friends, for making Edinburgh such an enjoyable place to study in.

Contents

List of illustrations	1
Abstract	3
Part I	
Chapter 1: Introduction	
1.1 Introduction	5
1.2 Caspar David Friedrich and the Romantic Movement	7
1.3 Cross in the Mountains	10
1.4 Meaningful Landscapes	16
Chapter 2: Aims and Objectives	
2.1 Thesis Statement	26
2.2 Reasons for Choice of Area	28
2.3 Archaeology as Archaeology	30
2.4 Archaeology as Anthropology	36
2.5 Archaeology as History	40
2.6 The Nature of Archaeology	43
2.7 Induction versus Deduction	46
2.8 The Structuralist Legacy	47
2.9 Ethnographic Parallels	49
2.10 Models within Archaeology	52
Chapter 3: Assumptions and Constants	
3.1 Introduction	56
3.2 Assumptions	57
3.2.1 Time	57
3.2.2 Uniformitarianism	68
3.2.3 The Archaeological Record	70
3.2.4 Universals	72
3.3 Constants	73
3.3.1 Absolute Dating	73
3.3.2 Causation	73
3.3.3 The Material Record	74
3.3.4 Change	75

Chapter 4: Terminology		
4.1	Introduction	77
4.2	Implications of Terminology	78
4.3	Culture	80
4.4	Type	82
4.5	The Sacral	84
4.6	Regionality	85
4.7	Personhood	87
4.7	Style	89
Chapter 5: <i>Annaliste</i> and Social Theory		
5.1	The <i>Annaliste</i> tradition	93
5.1.1	Choice of Approach	93
5.1.2	Introduction	95
5.1.3	<i>Annaliste</i> Influence within Archaeology	95
5.1.4	Benefits	97
5.1.5	Disadvantages	100
5.1.6	Discussion	102
5.2	Sociological approach	104
5.2.1	Introduction	104
5.2.2	Selected Influence of Social Theory	106
5.2.3	Bourdieu	107
5.2.4	The Generative Model	117
5.2.5	Discussion	120
5.3	Conclusion	121
5.3.1	Summary	121
Part II		
Chapter 6: Choice of Area		
6.1	Introduction	128
6.2	Archaeological Types	133
6.3	Barriers and Possibilities	134
6.4	Culture and Nature	141
6.5	Kilmartin Valley	145
6.6	Drenthe Plateau	160
6.7	Morbihan	171
6.9	Chronological Schemes	186

Chapter 7: Past Approaches Analysed		
7.1	Introduction	217
7.2	Histories of Research: Greenwell and Lukis	219
7.3	Paradigms	226
7.4	Underlying Themes	240
7.5	Recurring Themes	246
Chapter 8: Application of Approach		
8.1	Introduction	257
8.2	Generative Modelling	259
8.3	La Longue Durée, Conjonctures and Événements	291
8.4	Mentalité	299
8.5	Archaeological aesthetics	306
Chapter 9: Conclusions and Future Work		
9.1	Introduction	310
9.2	Problems and Solutions	311
9.3	Identifying <i>Mentalité</i>	313
9.5	Conclusions	314
9.6	Future Work	317
Bibliography		320

List of illustrations

Figure 1.1: <i>Cross in the Mountains</i>	23
Figure 1.2: <i>Winter Landscape with Church</i>	23
Figure 1.3: <i>Chasseur in the Forest</i>	24
Figure 1.4: <i>Cloister Cemetery in the Snow</i>	24
Figure 1.5: <i>Cromlech in the Snow</i>	25
Figure 2.1: Structural similarity between anthropology and archaeology	55
Figure 2.2: Relationship between different levels of archaeological activity	55
Figure 5.1: Braudel's model of time applied to structures available to prehistory	125
Figure 5.2: Relationship of Structure to Practice	126
Figure 5.3: Bourdieu's Generative Model	126
Figure 5.4: Generative Model as Applied to Hodder's concepts of <i>Domus</i> and <i>Agrios</i> .	126
Figure 6.1: Map of the three areas discussed	194
Figure 6.2: Map of the Kilmartin area	195
Figure 6.3: Distribution of chambered cairns and early monuments	196
Figure 6.4: Plan of Temple Wood stone circles	197
Figure 6.5: Distribution of standing stones	198
Figure 6.6: Distribution of Bronze Age cairns and 'linear cemetery'	199
Figure 6.7: Distribution of cist burials and inserted cists	200
Figure 6.8: Distribution of stone decoration	201
Figure 6.9: Selected artefacts discovered in Kilmartin	202
Figure 6.10: Distribution of surviving human and animal bone	203
Figure 6.11: Map of the Netherlands and sites mentioned in the text	204
Figure 6.12: Distribution of <i>Hunebedden</i>	205
Figure 6.13: Plan of <i>hunebed</i> D43 Schimmeres	206
Figure 6.14: Plan of <i>hunebedden</i> D6e Tynaarlo and G1 Noordlaren	207
Figure 6.15: Distribution of <i>terres tumulaires</i> and <i>tumulus carnaécéens</i>	208
Figure 6.16: Distribution and inventory of known passage graves	209
Figure 6.17: Distribution of a) earlier and b) later passage graves	210
Figure 6.18: Plan of Petit Mont	211
Figure 6.19: Distribution of the principal a) individual and small groups of menhirs and b) stone circles, cromlechs and alignments	212
Figure 6.20: Passage grave motifs	213
Figure 6.21: Chronology of activity at Kilmartin valley	214
Figure 6.22: Chronology of activity at the Drenthe Plateau	215
Figure 6.23: Chronology of activity at Southern Morbihan	216

Figure 7.1: Timeline of events and publications in lives of Greenwell and Lukis	253
Figure 7.2: Important factors contributing to creation and acceptance of Thomsen's scheme	254
Figure 7.3: Timeline of important events contemporary to Greenwell and Lukis	255
Figure 7.4: Key elements affecting archaeological work during the mid to late 19th century	256
Figure 8.1: General application of generative model	261
Figure 8.2: Generative model of 'house of the dead' principle	263
Figure 8.3: Generative model of 'the rise of the individual' principle	269
Figure 8.4: Generative model of the 'noble savage' principle	274
Figure 8.5: Generative model of the 'relationship between timber and stone' principle	278
Figure 8.6: Generative model of the 'sacral movement' principle	281
Figure 8.7: Generative model of the 'sexual metaphor' principle	283
Figure 8.8: Generative model of the 'agricultural metaphor' principle	285
Figure 8.9: Generative model of the 'culture and nature' principle	287
Figure 8.10: Generative model of the 'applied motifs' principle	288
Figure 8.11: Generative model of the 'prehistoric knowledge production' principle	290

Abstract

The construction of archaeological narrative is influenced by a number of factors. Some come from within disciplinary boundaries, whilst others are traced from the wider influences of social, cultural or academic contexts. This thesis examines three areas identified as Neolithic ‘landscapes’, all of which have been the subject of archaeological investigation since the 19th century. The history of research of these areas allows an evaluation of how these disparate influences interact. In this way, the three landscapes act as an arena in which to explore aspects of the archaeological approach itself.

This leads to a critical examination of the interpretative tools available to the archaeologist. How concepts such as ‘landscape’ are formed and affect discourse is explored. Wider themes of demarcation, typology and the underlying assumptions of research are investigated in relation to the interpretation of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of North Western Europe. The large span of time that these periods encompass allows exploration of change from the short to very long term, although this is not always utilised within archaeological accounts. The treatment of time is therefore considered in conjunction with explanations of change in prehistory.

A powerful approach to time is suggested by combining aspects of the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Fernand Braudel and the potential for this is evaluated against the archaeological record of the three areas. How the assumptions of the archaeological approach are acted out within the historiography of each area highlights a number of recurring metaphors that are used to interpret the material record. These promote a portrayal of Neolithic life that combines with the range of influences from the history of archaeology itself to promote an idea of the prehistoric *mentalité*. A very durable and underlying type that constantly resurfaces in these accounts is the idea of the ‘sacral landscape’, which is the central topic of this thesis.

Part I

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

At first glance, an archaeological analysis of landscape seems far removed from the work of the German painter Casper David Friedrich (1774-1840). His most celebrated piece, the *Tetschener Altar* or *Cross in the Mountains* is around two hundred years old and is thus far removed from modern archaeology. However, Friedrich worked in a period during which the main strands of archaeology were being formed. Through Friedrich's paintings we can trace the important social, political and intellectual themes that had an impact upon the early practitioners of archaeology and in turn shaped the epistemological basis for their, and our, archaeological record. Working as a part of the Romantic Movement, Friedrich's paintings encapsulated a new relationship with landscape. Spirituality and religion, in this instance non-conformist, are intimately connected with landscape features in Friedrich's work. Local ruins, decay and 'Gothic' subjects are selected over traditional Classical compositions, reflecting a growing nationalistic awareness of the potential of indigenous heritage, felt particularly acutely in Friedrich's native Germany. During his lifetime, the advent of the industrial revolution and the subsequent rise of the middle classes formed a critical influence both on Friedrich's fortunes and the development of archaeology, a subject later to be wholly enveloped by the growth and goals of the bourgeoisie (Trigger, 1997, 117). Demand for the paintings of local tours, which Friedrich produced for a suitable price, provided a direct link with this new audience. The 'Age of Revolution', from 1789 to 1848, as it is termed by Hobsbawm (1977), including both the French and American revolutions, created an uncertain political climate, heavily influenced by post-Enlightenment libertarian ideals. The conservative effects of Romanticism, as it is reflected in art and literature, can be seen as a counter-balancing force. Nostalgia and the decay of past glory were Romantic themes emphasised in opposition to the fast-paced change and 'progress' of Enlightenment ideals. Over time this conservative influence filtered into archaeology itself as a reflection and result of the now prosperous and established middle classes making an effort to maintain their social gains. Additionally,

technological breakthroughs, advances in the geological and social sciences and the rise of evolutionary theory were also active factors in the creation of a modern archaeology at this time. This complex weave of events and influences upon a nascent archaeology is perhaps too dense to unpick in totality in this thesis (or indeed several). However, Friedrich's work and biography offer a window into these events and a useful narrative through which key concepts within the archaeological approach employed in this thesis can be introduced.

Caspar David Friedrich belonged to a period in which antiquarian approaches to material remains were dominant and a Christianised past monopolised the earliest history. The concept of 'prehistory' was not yet properly formed and the term itself not coined until 1851. Archaeology was still decades away from developing into a form that would be recognisable today. However, Friedrich's landscapes address issues that have important bearing upon modern archaeological interpretations, many of which can be traced within antiquarian discourse. Of these issues, the developing idea of 'landscape' itself is of primary importance. Friedrich's work illuminates some of the ways in which landscape can be envisioned and experienced, an integral and troublesome concept for archaeologists, and one especially highlighted by the current popularity of 'landscape archaeology' (Ashmore & Knapp, 1999). A variety of theoretical approaches toward archaeological information have developed within this context, attempting to answer the question of how landscapes contain meaning and how this can be reproduced. Similarly, this is a critical consideration when exploring Friedrich's work and the roots of this modern debate can be traced back to Friedrich's time and beyond. William Stukeley, in the first half of the 18th century, presented Stonehenge and Avebury as sites to be meaningfully experienced (Haycock, 1999, 71) and this tradition was continued by W.C. Lukis (1875b, iv) in the later 19th century and is found in modern phenomenological approaches (Tilley, 1994). Friedrich subverted the conventions of his discipline in order to enable his landscape paintings to carry meanings that had traditionally been enclosed within the symbolism of religious art. A new conceptual role for landscape, particularly in relation to religion, was developed and a new, active quality in the landscape was stressed accordingly. Antiquarian and archaeological accounts from the 18th and 19th centuries also began to explore the important and actively meaningful part that landscape had played for the people of the past, a preoccupation that endures in modern archaeology.

Both Friedrich's work, and the historical context in which he lived, provide a useful base from which to begin a discussion of his importance within modern landscape archaeology. Friedrich often interacted with the German antiquarian community, which centred on the famous pastor Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten (1758-1818) and the island of Rügen, and utilised a changing attitude to, and an engagement with, the past. Due to his contact with this circle, Friedrich was affected by many of the same influences that determined the course of the early history of archaeology. Elements of these influences are apparent in his work and biography. In turn, Friedrich's work influenced current conceptions of landscape and national identity and his paintings are used in a variety of media, from magazine and book covers to posters (Hofmann, 2000, 9) to address these concepts in modern times. A parallel can also be drawn between attitudes towards, and analyses of, Friedrich's paintings and those to prehistoric monuments. An extension of the art historical approach to archaeological interpretation asks the question of whether it is possible to recover the prehistoric 'aesthetics' from the material record in the same way as it is from Friedrich's paintings. In turn, this highlights the archaeological 'aesthetics' at work in one form or another throughout the development of archaeology, a topic that will be returned to later (see **chapter 8**). Before examining Friedrich's work and how it introduces key concepts of archaeological concern when investigating landscape, the historical context in which they were constructed will be examined. This chapter focuses upon the antiquarian tradition in Germany, while **chapter 7** will focus more specifically upon the British antiquarian tradition. As a result of this examination, the relative similarities between the two communities and the influence which they exerted on each other, becomes apparent.

1.2 Caspar David Friedrich and the Romantic Movement

In 1774 Caspar David Friedrich was born in Griefswald, Germany, close to the Baltic Sea. His father was a successful chandler, which in part may have enabled him to study at the academy of art in Copenhagen from 1794-8 before moving to Dresden. Dresden at this time was the literary heart of German Romanticism, and it was during this time that Friedrich met many of the important writers, poets and artists associated with the movement, including Philipp Otto Runge, Novalis, Ludwig Tieck and in

1805, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In 1816 Friedrich entered the Dresden Academy and was appointed an assistant professor in 1824, a post he held until his death in 1840. Friedrich became closely associated with Romanticism from his early contact with Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten, a pastor and romantic poet in the Ossian tradition (Vaughan, 1980, 43), who acted as a patron to local artists and encouraged others to buy their works. Kosegarten introduced Friedrich to an influential circle of those interested in antiquities and promoted his work. Kosegarten also acquainted him with the island of Rügen and the artistic and financial potential that could be developed from renderings of sites of antiquarian interest. Though the influence on Friedrich of Romantic ideals are often hard to detach from more general Enlightenment themes, there are areas of considerable divergence. Within Friedrich's work this is most clearly illustrated by the sacral depiction of landscape, conveying spiritual and thus phenomenological experience.

Friedrich is closely associated with the Romantic Movement in Germany, from which several key themes emerge that would also influence archaeology in Britain. Firstly, a gradually developing relationship with the natural landscape is intimated by Friedrich's attempts to replace more traditional images in order to "find a pictorial language that would convey the new communion with nature" (Mitchell, 1982, 414). A new taste in attitudes toward the landscape is here hinted at, and in turn this taste would mould feelings toward both the past itself and toward the physical remains of the past located in the environment. A changing aesthetic taste is traceable throughout much of the art of this time, especially in the appearance of mountains and ruined buildings in Romantic painting and in the increased use of neo-Gothic, as opposed to Classical, architecture. Prehistoric monuments are also portrayed in Friedrich's art symbolising a nature-philosophy or mysticism that parallels the popularity of the idea of the 'Noble Savage'. Prehistory is often seen as a more innocent time from which modern society has degenerated, and this view is even reflected in modern archaeological accounts. Along with this new approach came new audiences, reached by popular artistic styles such as the *Vedute*¹, aspects of which Friedrich developed in his own works. The emergence of ruined buildings, or even

¹ German *Vedute* consisted of small-scale depictions of beautiful sites in natural surroundings, derived from the picturesque tradition of Romanticism, easily reproduced and popular with the general public (Mitchell, 1982).

natural rock formations considered in similar fashion (Mitchell, 1982, 418), as a suitable theme for artistic composition reflected a shift in attitude towards the past. Decay was seen as a melancholic inspiration and a connection between material culture and the processes of nature. Prehistoric monuments, especially within a landscape context, fitted well into this emerging aesthetic.

Changes in the publishing industry also helped shape the image of the past in the 18th and 19th centuries. The popularity of illustrated tours of antiquarian monuments in Britain provided an impetus for the German market (Reusch, 1999, 95). Similarly, the rise in numbers of antiquarian journals in general both fuelled and was fuelled by an increased public demand that was specifically middle class, and provided an expanding market for antiquarian and artistic works. Illustrations in such volumes were often sepia ink drawings which could be quickly reproduced in aquatint and as such were small in scale (Mitchell, 1982, 414). Sepia drawings were undertaken with easily portable materials and provided the reader with an almost photographic ‘sensation of immediacy’ when viewing the material (Reusch, 1999, 98). This brought archaeological monuments directly to the reading public and portrayed them in a picturesque style. Friedrich was quick to recognise the commercial potential of such images, and created many drawings, especially of Rügen. Additionally, Friedrich incorporated popular picturesque elements into his other work, making it more accessible to a wider audience. At the same time that he was influenced by the guiding principles of *Vedute* and Romanticism generally, Friedrich also maintained an architecturally-sound standard in his drawings and paintings, which reflects a contemporary demand by the antiquarian market for accurate renderings of sites in order to further its emphasis on preservation through recording (Reusch, 1999, 100).

While it is undeniable that any work of art created within society will be shaped by the assumptions and principles of that society, the power of artistic creation lies in the ability of that work to shape its society in turn. Antiquarian illustrations contributed considerably to this, and the new audiences attracted by the prints both created and demanded a certain set of aesthetics even as they were affected by visual principles introduced by the illustrations themselves. Prehistoric material is considered in the same way (Hodder, 1994, 14), as artefacts and monuments created

by society and actively influencing later traditions of production. This is traced particularly clearly at a landscape level, where prehistoric monuments endure through generations, affecting the distribution of later monuments and subsequent activity on individual sites (e.g. Bradley, 2003b, 230). Similarly, Friedrich's paintings have also endured and it is to his most famous composition that the next section turns in order to build upon the themes explored in brief above.

1.3 Cross in the Mountains

When approaching a painting with the methodology and techniques of the art historian, the history of the work and an aesthetic consideration of the composition in relation to an established canon are of central concern. The archaeological record as it is conceived as a landscape is investigated in analogous terms. Archaeological writers address the symbolic nature of their subject and explore how the landscape conforms to the 'archaeological aesthetic' i.e., what is considered worth investigating, excavating and writing about (see **chapter 8**). This 'taste' for certain types of archaeological evidence changes over time, though a concern with monumentality has endured throughout the subject's history (Carver, 1998). In Neolithic sacral landscapes this generally involves a combination of a number of elements, including mortuary monuments with communal burial under large mounds, impressive settings of standing stones, collective ritual and deposition at tomb facades or within enclosures, the carving of symbols on stones and eventually the apparent rise of a prehistoric concept of 'the individual'. How well archaeologists spin a story to clothe these material 'realities', is the standard by which their work is judged. Too much deviation from the standard norms attracts criticism either until new material is uncovered or new approaches build up enough momentum to effect a change in the archaeological aesthetic. The initial critical dislike of *Cross in the Mountains* also serves as a reminder that social processes do not develop as smoothly as apparently complete prehistoric monuments might suggest. Individuals and groups argue, mistakes and disagreements lead to continual alteration and only over time can certain monuments become accepted as expressions of shared norms or images of the prehistoric community.

Cross in the Mountains (see **figure 1.1**) was created at the beginning of the 19th century, from 1807 to 1808, a very specific and historically attested period. It may have been originally created as a gift for the king of Sweden and the painting was almost certainly completed before the altar was commissioned by Count Von Thun-Hohenstein for his private collection (Mitchell, 1982, 421). This level of substantiated historical material illustrates the gap between the sources of art history and those of prehistory, though the methodology by which *Cross in the Mountains* is examined and explained can be used as a guide for the way in which we interpret prehistoric evidence. Thus the reconstruction of the artist's original intent finds parallels in attempts to understand prehistoric people's motivations, often on a community scale, which have been termed 'cognitive' within archaeology. The analogy of the methods of art historians, operating within a completely different and conceptually distanced era to archaeologists' attempts to understand past landscapes, is a meaningful one. Unlike the prevalent use of ethnographic examples within prehistory, such a consideration is purely a heuristic exercise. The analogy could not be directly substituted as an explanation for the archaeological record. The clearly identifiable break between the interpretation of landscape by a Romantic painter, and the prehistoric material remains through which we attempt to reconstruct landscape is sufficiently apparent to avoid simple substitution of one scheme for the other. In this way, art historical analysis of landscape painting highlights something of the archaeological approach. The idea of landscape as primarily visually or ideationally constructed (e.g. Daniels & Cosgrove, 1988) has been heavily criticized (Ingold, 1993, 154), although through landscape painting it has helped form the modern idea of 'landscape'. In turn, this modern concept has to be deconstructed and understood, before we can attempt to engage with how prehistoric people interacted with, and conceived of, their landscape. A useful parallel therefore exists between the analysis of painting and archaeological interpretation.

A number of important themes are raised in examining *Cross in the Mountains* that are relevant to the study of landscape in prehistory. This is best illustrated by looking at how 'landscape' was regarded during the later 18th century. Landscape during this period was viewed as providing a background to a human story, at its most active serving to educate morally through the beauty of nature (Mitchell, 1982, 423), but always in relation to something cultural or 'human' in the foreground. Friedrich

diverged from these conventions, focusing on the details of nature and directing the feelings of the sublime regarding nature that he created symbolically using landscape features. This depth of symbolism had traditionally belonged to religious art, mainly portrayed through depictions of Christian history (Koerner, 1990). In *Cross in the Mountains*, religion and landscape are reunited. Landscape is portrayed as having a sacral element, an important consideration for prehistory, where landscape itself may have provided the canvas upon which ‘sacral’ ideas were acted out (Tilley, 1994, Cooney, 2000). Friedrich used landscape features as metaphors for religious symbolism. In *Cross in the Mountains* the sun represents God (a traditional symbolic connection), the fact that the sun is hidden from view, only visible through the last rays of daytime, is indicative of God as removed from human sight (Koerner, 1990, 143). Such an interpretation can operate on a number of levels. The invisible nature of God, as represented in the painting, could be taken as a human inability to see the Divine. Another interpretation might consider God to be too ‘other’ or too powerful to be apprehended by human sight or alternatively, his invisibility might be seen as a sign of all-pervasion, his dwelling in all things. It could also represent a human failing, an inability to see the truth. The explanation that the representation symbolises the loss of access to the Divine through the structure of the church has also been suggested as an interpretation of Friedrich’s painting (Koerner, 1990). Thus, use of this interpretation suggests an acceptance of a theory that the implied intention of the artist is to use his painting as a critique of Catholic institutionalism. This would not be an obvious alternative if the historical context of Friedrich as a 19th century German Protestant was not known. What is clear is that the range of potential interpretations, as well as the likelihood of multiple or ‘nested’ meanings, indicates a very complex social narrative. A comparison with art history highlights the poverty of the archaeological record and in turn the problems this lack of material poses when attempting a suitably thick and complex reading of the material. It also serves to emphasise the potential of symbolism, whilst also acting as a reminder of the potential for individual signs within such a code to contain multiple meanings. Friedrich recognised this ambiguity and saw it as an important characteristic of his paintings: he intended that the viewer should experience and be stimulated by his compositions in ways he did not originally conceive (Hofmann, 2000, 239). This finds a parallel with the idealised form of the excavation report, whereby the interpretation and

presentation of objective detail is considered to be separated enough to allow re-evaluation by other archaeologists.

Cross in the Mountains is a powerful composition due in part to the usage of Christ on the cross within a 'natural' landscape. The impact derives from using a well-known image in an unconventional way. In this way the painting is a reversal of expectation, something both instantly recognised and intentionally altered. This is made more dramatic by the fact that the image is so recognisable. Tilley provides an archaeological parallel to this concept in discussing the Dorset cursus in Cranborne Chase (1994, 180). A long mound is situated at a certain point along the cursus. Such monuments are very common in Cranborne Chase and reveal homogeneity in orientation and outward appearance. This specific long mound is constructed in a similar way to the others, but is completely inverted in orientation (Tilley, 1994, 180). The impact upon seeing the reversal of such a well recognised and established form has similarities to the impact of juxtaposition of the Christ figure in *Cross in the Mountains*. Similarly, the monument of Barnenez in Finistère combines passage graves within a long mound, thus linking two types of monuments modern observers have come to view as representing two competing traditions (see **chapter 6**). An array of other landscape features in *Cross in the Mountains* are used as recognisable metaphors for religious symbolism, from the traditional (the rock representing immovable faith), to the more oblique (the conifers representing hope). As the above examples indicate, Friedrich's landscapes were laden with meaning. In order to fully appreciate the painting and its landscape significance one must explore the varying aspects underpinning Friedrich's work. In modern society, the way we view, understand and respond to Friedrich's paintings is based partly on visceral knowledge and partly on the dissemination of information about his work, primarily through textual sources. Thus most people would recognise the motif of Christ on the cross and link religious expectations with the surrounding landscape. In this way the painting taps into the collective consciousness, the reservoir of symbols that are drawn upon and recognised by the individual within the group. The more oblique connections (such as the conifers representing hope), would require specific instruction in order for the connection to be made, and their impact hinges upon this link. In prehistory, knowledge would have been passed on in very different ways, with

likely more stress on oral learning. However, the complex interplay of symbolism and learning would likely have been similarly as complex in prehistory, as it is today.

These ideas find parallels in theories concerning a range of Neolithic monuments. Many of these tend to provide explanations of monuments in terms of a more modern conception of religion, either as an embryonic prototype for contemporary belief or as tools for conversion of indigenous hunter-gatherers. The monuments themselves represent an easily recognisable element in a community's consciousness, in the same way as does the figure of Christ on the cross. Thus the monuments, or what they represent, would be a highly familiar aspect of collective consciousness that could be drawn upon. Monuments are often highly visible, members of a community may have been involved in stages of monument construction, alteration or maintenance, and they are durable. It is likely that a past society would have an inclination as to what such monuments represented, however vague. However, the characteristics of learning and of 'knowledge' within Neolithic societies are not unproblematic. The specific social standing and expertise that allowed access to the inner areas of a monument such as a passage grave, or allowed participation in certain rites could be restricted. This is clearly demonstrated in the design of many Neolithic monuments, in which control of access and movement between areas is strict and likely heavily ritualised. A sense of mystery inherent in the sacred, another characteristic that would have been easily recognised by the 19th century Romantics, is thereby created. Mystification of knowledge offers the opportunity for its restriction and thus has potential for manipulation in social relations. It is also important to note the potential for the monuments themselves as educational tools in teaching social codes to the surrounding community. The act of building itself may have inculcated a range of norms involving social position or kinship relations. Thereafter, repeated acts at monuments, such as a variety of rituals, periods of construction, feasting, artefact production, deposition, astronomical observation or even the maintenance of open areas would serve to reinforce tradition. Rare or sporadic events would act to fix a particular moment's connection with a monument, thus attributing a historical association. This could involve rites of passage, burial or unusual ritual occurrences, many of which may have been unpleasant or evocative of extreme emotion, further helping to 'fix' a set of

associations with the monument site. The control of physical movement between areas during all of these types of occasions, whether excluding, encompassing or funnelling would also send out social messages to be learned and become implicitly understood by the prehistoric participants. It is worth noting the potential for manipulation offered by such Neolithic monuments and the variety of ways in which this may have been used, both in the prehistoric and recent past (see **chapter 7**). This potential for ambiguity and multiple meaning is reflected in the histories of modification and use at prehistoric monuments during the Neolithic and finds a parallel with the specific history of *Cross in the Mountains*. The alteration of the piece by the addition of the frame, which transformed it in effect into an altar and linked with a separate tradition of painting is mirrored by changes in prehistoric monuments. The ‘frame’ for these sites is often altered by the addition or enlargement of the façade, a change in meaning indicated by the change in appearance and activity in front of many monuments. Similar alterations in how a monument is framed are indicated by changes in the type of building material, often only traceable through the relationship between stone and timber, or the less examined relationship between stone and earth constructions.

The impact of *Cross in the Mountains* in the 19th century provides a good example of how the conventions that influence a piece of work can in turn be affected by them. The reintroduction of a specifically sacral element into landscape painting in turn reintroduced the same idea of a sacred natural world to physical landscapes. This had particular resonance for ruinous or ‘rude’ landscapes, where the aesthetics of decay and ruin provided a welcome home for Romantic speculation. Digging beneath the surface of the painted forms of landscape to the potential meaning underneath is encouraged by the methods of the art historian, especially when the object of analysis is as symbolically-laden as *Cross in the Mountains*. As such, archaeologists can find considerable encouragement for their own attempts at reconstructing meaning, even if from a very different starting point.

1.4 Meaningful Landscapes

Ambiguity was an important aspect of Friedrich's paintings and in many ways of Romantic painting in general. It was during this period that art history emerged as an academic discipline and in-depth approaches to the range of meaning and the history of composition, as well as the technical accomplishments of the painting, began to be examined from a critical standpoint. Interpretation of symbolism was therefore in many respects removed from the control of the individual painter and given instead to the viewer, whose interpretation was often directed by the work of art critics. This provided the potential for a variety of competing or compatible interpretations and demanded a way of evaluating the differences between them. In terms of the archaeological record, this type of process allowed an object to be constantly re-appropriated and aligned to differing ideologies. Thus a series of nested meanings can be attributed to any particular element in a conceptual scheme. This can be considered in relation to the potential meaning represented by objects otherwise considered as 'mundane' (Barringer & Flynn, 1998). For example the teapot is both a functional item while at the same time can be taken to represent elements of colonial symbolism. In the case of monuments such as megaliths, their enduring and visible nature makes them particularly appropriate to re-use long after their 'original purpose' has become redundant. This is most starkly illustrated by the Christian appropriation of megalithic monuments in Morbihan. It is also more subtly indicated in prehistory by the re-use of decorated menhirs in passage graves or the insertion of beaker assemblages.

Friedrich's other works are useful in highlighting a number of important aspects that remind the modern archaeologist of a different way of perceiving a landscape. The power of the natural world is emphasised in his *Winter Landscape with Church* (Koerner, 1990, 22; see **figure 1.2**), completed in 1811. In this example the motif of the crucifixion is again depicted, though whereas usually it is deployed as the subject of a composition, the image is clearly dwarfed by the natural surroundings. This subversion of expectation is exploited in a way that is similar to Tilley's example of the cursus as mentioned above, and is a theme in many of Friedrich's paintings. The 'natural' landscape in this composition is closely linked to Friedrich's depiction of the church by the echo of the shape of the conifer (Koerner, 1990, 26), again

forging a link between natural places and religious observance. It also serves to form a link between the architecture of the church and the detail of the tress, linking culture to nature and stressing the importance of wooded areas as a conceptual resource. Friedrich's landscapes also stress the existence of the individual, but juxtapose this with the enormity of the landscape as in *Chasseur in the Forest* (Koerner, 1990, 152; see **figure 1.3**). While the viewpoint is human, deference is always paid to the power and terrible beauty that belongs to the wilderness. The vastness and imposing aspect of the forest in relation to the individual is stressed and the feelings of awe and dread this conjures are associated with the sublime, another Romantic theme. The sublime is this experience of a combination of fear and pleasure when confronted with the wild, powerful or immense and is connected to our attitudes towards nature (Brady, 2003, 35-39). The painting is also a useful reminder of the problems associated with movement through an unfamiliar wooded landscape, specifically both the mental and physical 'barrier' which it can represent. Due to the influence of the idea of the 'noble savage', which portrays prehistoric man as 'at one' with his environment (see **chapters 7 & 8**), this view of the woodland landscape as a barrier is sometimes ignored. Movement across such 'sublime' landscapes and the feelings of awe it generates is a Romantic theme, specifically a development of post-Enlightenment society, which is often forgotten in accounts dealing with the movement of people in prehistory. That change in the technology and ease of travel affects how humans view their environment was attested in Friedrich's own time and shaped how people in Europe viewed their own prehistoric monuments during the 19th century (see **chapter 7**). Friedrich continually introduces a human perspective and viewpoint into his work, by providing human figures contemplating the landscape, highlighting the importance of individual consciousness within the ideologies of Romanticism. By physically placing the individual within his paintings, Friedrich's work serves as an important reminder that people actually inhabited the landscapes that we describe. Any places described as 'sacred' had to have been experienced as such by actual people, the significance of which can be lost within monument typology.

The importance of monuments as special places within the landscape can be linked to natural landforms, either as complementary to them or positioned in contrast. Neolithic sites were frequently located in open areas, indicated by evidence of cultivation underneath monuments (e.g. Haggarty, 1991), which emphasises the

importance of open spaces created and maintained by the communities that built them. Attention to such monument aesthetics can provide clues as to the preoccupations of the society that built and modified them. Friedrich also blends man-made structures into his landscapes, often in some form of benevolent ruin that indulges Romantic notions of the sublime while still enabling spiritual veneration. *Cloister Cemetery in the Snow* (Koerner, 1990, 133; see **figure 1.4**) completed in 1819 is an example of this juxtaposition. Here we have an ancient building that has fallen into ruinous disrepair, but still maintains some form of sacral importance. Many of Friedrich's paintings deal with the effects of the passage of time, variously focusing on the seasons, the individual or architecture. This idea of decay is not considered to be negative (as it would be construed in today's environment of progress and preservation), but as something aesthetically desirable and evocative. Prehistoric monuments may also have been built without regard to their long-term preservation, the construction itself having been seen as the meaningful act with a 'natural' decay affording a fitting closure. Cornelius Holtorf has described this process as 'ruin-value' (2000) and there are ethnographic examples of monuments being abandoned to natural processes soon after construction (e.g. Bloch, 1997). It is also interesting to note the presence in *Cloister Cemetery in the Snow* of two quite different religious rites. The painting depicts both the cathedral, associated with collective worship, and the cemetery, concerned with burial. The association of these two rites, also found in some modern churches, are further linked by the occasional interment within a cathedral, an indication of considerable prestige. These ideas of sites with several different but related purposes find a parallel in much of the archaeological evidence. Sites such as Temple Wood combine a range of different sacral characteristics. This occurs over a period of time, however and the long-term development of this form of combination will be discussed later (see **chapter 6**). *Cloister Cemetery in the Snow* also blurs the distinction between the figures proceeding to the building and the tombstones in the foreground (Koerner, 1990). This serves to provide a conceptual link between the dead and the living within a physical space in which this relationship is examined, specifically in relation to movement and linearity. In prehistoric monuments such a relationship is suggested by repeated access to monuments also used for burial, or resembling sites used for burial. The procession also symbolises the transition from life to death, a recurring theme in Friedrich's works related to his preoccupation with the passage of time and decay.

Referring to similar themes in the work of Friedrich's contemporary Luke Clennell (1781-1840), Reusch views his illustrations that are used in antiquarian books as aspiring "to imbue antiquarian documentation with the mystical symbolism of the rites of death, the passage from the mundane to the metaphysical realm" (1999, 104). This is an important consideration for archaeological accounts that may appear dry even when dealing with such symbolically-rich data (see **chapter 4**).

Prehistoric monuments themselves are also depicted by Friedrich, such as in *Cromlech in the Snow* completed in 1807 (Koerner, 1990, 33; see **figure 1.5**). This is reflective of a new taste for ancient monuments and the range of aesthetic and political values that they can represent. Prehistoric monuments were often painted for antiquarian tours, though there is no record of Friedrich doing so. In a similar way to the presentation of archaeology itself in works like Lukis' guidebook (Lukis, 1875b, see **chapter 7**), this type of depiction provided a guide for travelling through and experiencing the landscape. The cromlech is depicted in a naturalistic manner, following the hill's contour, and seems almost to be an extension of nature. Friedrich constantly connects the man-made with nature, especially with nature as a source of inspiration, particularly in his frequent ties between gothic architecture and the thick German forests. The divide between culture and nature is further blurred by the depictions of ruins as discussed earlier.

Cross in the Mountains also reminds the modern scholar of the possibility of differing attitudes to concepts subconsciously taken as being homogeneous in modern society. The ascribed sacral character of the landscape and attributed meaning of actual geographical features are one important facet of this reminder. This idea of a 'sacral' nature will be explored later (see **chapter 4**) and it is important to note how aspects of landscape can hold important meaning without this being obvious to the modern observer. An instructive example is provided by the Aboriginal attitude to landscape, with apparently unobtrusive natural features holding a whole range of symbolic and historical meaning (Layton, 1997). In the specificity of Neolithic life, areas which are simply 'open' could have held a range of significance (Brown, 2000), especially within a heavily wooded environment. Similarly, the specific historical association with ongoing labour to create space and the continual effort to maintain it would also inculcate an appreciation of its importance, as noted earlier. Also

important is the fact that natural features may be considered to be part of the ‘human’ landscape even if no actual physical work has been expended on them. This link with the past created through labour on an area with historical or mythological significance may also help explain the continual scope megalithic monuments offer for reworking, both physically and conceptually. Engaging with a material record with a history of significance has an important part to play in affirming an individual’s position within society. The ‘collective consciousness’ of the importance of an area, no matter how unimposing it may have seemed in the past or present, thus becomes integral to archaeological analysis. Friedrich’s landscape paintings act as a form of ethnographic parallel, offering a range of ways of thinking without transplanting interpretation from one cultural context onto another. They act as reminders of the importance of considering different world views where the relationship between nature and society is not simply one of dominance and submission, and where nature is not divested of its potential sacral or aesthetic characteristics.

Caspar David Friedrich’s work acts as a general introduction to the concern of this thesis by approaching a central and highly problematic concept within archaeology, that of ‘landscape’ (Ingold, 1993, Bender, 1993, Ashmore & Knapp, 1999, Hirsch & O’Hanlon, 1997, Rossignol & Wandsnider, 1992). Friedrich’s work helps us understand our modern conception of landscape and our tendency to privilege the visual aspect (Thomas, 1993, 22). It also hints at what the modern conception can lose by reminding us how pregnant with meaning the landscape can be. In terms of Friedrich’s paintings, (and Western art in general), this meaning is very symbolic (Koerner, 1990). For prehistoric people, meaning was likely situated in practice, and is best explored archaeologically in relation to this (e.g. Barrett, 1994, Dobres, 2000 Ingold, 2000, chapter 3). Conventions of landscape painting over two hundred years ago have helped shape the attitude toward landscape in Western Europe today. However, other attitudes do exist, and have been investigated from an archaeological point of view. This has led to ‘landscape’ being approached from a variety of positions, from geographical (e.g. Clarke, 1977, Renfrew, 1976) and economic approaches (e.g. Clark, 1952), to accounts that deal with how landscape was experienced (Tilley, 1994). In turn, this has led to a number of characterisations of landscape and what the study of each can reveal, whether as passive backdrop, active medium or constraining environment. ‘Landscape’ will be a central theme

running throughout this thesis, and I hope to explore its history and development throughout the following chapters. Techniques used for the study of information at a variety of landscape scales are becoming steadily more developed and it is important that the concepts underlying their application are investigated and evaluated. Similarly, it is also important to note that the construction of narrative around supposed scientific ‘fact’ is heavily biased by contemporary media and audience pressure (Manson, 2004, 602-603). Thus the principles of archaeology and the foundations upon which it is built must be examined first (see **chapters 2 & 3**). In the post-colonial era we are beginning to discover how a Western idea of ‘landscape’ differs from that of other societies. This can result in deleterious consequences, as witnessed in Aboriginal land claims (Nash, 2002). If this difference can be highlighted in the present, the relationship with the past should be subject to similar examination and reevaluation.

It is therefore worth remembering that this problematic concept of ‘landscape’ is still deeply subjective and is not a neutral backdrop upon which humans simply deposit their material culture. Similarly, aesthetic concerns regarding the concept of ‘landscape’ interplay with archaeological attitudes, or rather, archaeologists see landscapes slightly differently from other groups. Attitudes to changes in landscape reflect changes in archaeological attitudes which in turn can be related to wider social interests in a mutual circle of influence. A ‘sacral landscape’ can exist for the individual on a number of scales and in a number of ways. The Australian aboriginal experience of landscape can be used as a reminder of the layers of meaning that modern analysis may be missing. Meaningful practice in the past must be translated into terms that are understandable today. In doing this something of the original intent is lost, but by examining the techniques and terminology by which the translation is effected it is hoped that this loss is kept to a minimum. Bourdieu highlights the importance of understanding the sacral and ritualistic aspects of the observer’s own society before investigating these aspects within another community (Bourdieu, 1999). Thus investigating Friedrich’s work contributes to greater understanding of the sets of schemes that inform landscape reconstruction for modern Europe. The archaeological portrayal of the activities of prehistoric communities presents an idealised version that omits the meaning of these actions, i.e. arbitrary correlations are

described but are not linked to the context in which they developed. Thus, this is not a 'thick' description, a concept with which is what archaeologists struggle with, partly due to the nature of their source material and partly due to a lack of consideration of the underlying theoretical assumptions about what it is that archaeology can do. It is clear that 'landscape' is not a neutral term and should not be allowed to sink into the unquestioned subconscious. The archaeological records of three past 'landscapes' have been selected as an arena in which to explore some of these themes, and it is to this that the next chapter turns.



Figure 1.1: Caspar David Friedrich, *Cross in the Mountains*, 1808, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (Koerner, 1990)



Figure 1.2: Caspar David Friedrich, *Winter Landscape with Church*, 1811, Museum für Kunst and Kulturgeschichte (Vaughan, 1980, 88)



Figure 1.3: Caspar David Friedrich, *The Chasseur in the Forest*, 1813-14, Private collection (Vaughan, 1980, 92)



Figure 1.4: Caspar David Friedrich *Cloister Cemetery in the Snow*, 1817-19, Destroyed 1945, formerly in National Gallery, Berlin (Koerner, 1990, 133)



Figure 1.5: Caspar David Friedrich *Cromlech in the Snow*, 1807,
Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (Koerner, 1990, 33)

Chapter 2: Aims and Objectives

2.1 Thesis Statement

The aim of this thesis is to explore the interpretations of the archaeological record at a landscape level, with specific reference to an historical methodology. A viable interpretive approach for this analysis is one that can account for both change and stability at differing temporal and spatial scales. The underlying currents affecting past approaches, particularly the developing relationship between the theoretical spheres of archaeology and neighbouring disciplines, are explored in order to highlight influences often seen as implicit. The historical aspect of these relationships is important as archaeological theory is constantly influenced and informed to a greater or lesser extent by developments in other subjects. Models and analogies are imported from outside archaeology in an effort to understand the social workings of prehistoric communities. This is not unproblematic, and both past and contemporary approaches to archaeological interpretation are reviewed in the context of a theoretical sphere that is currently ill-defined. This lack of definition in theoretical terms will be addressed by examination of the underlying assumptions of archaeological interpretation and the constants which provide the basic platform for archaeological analysis. Attitudes towards time in archaeological explanation are regarded as an especially important focus for research.

A theoretical backdrop to these considerations is provided by consideration of the historical approach put forward by the *Annaliste* 'school' of French structural history and whether or not aspects of such an approach can be applied to archaeological interpretation. In light of the potential limitations of an *Annaliste*-informed approach, the impact of social theory upon archaeological interpretation will be addressed with a view to reinforcing the theoretical gaps created when applying an approach primarily developed within history to a prehistoric time-scale. The work of one author in particular, Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1999), is important, both for how it can be utilised to improve an interpretive approach within archaeology and also for

how it can be used to help understand the influences and classificatory schemes that affect modern interpretations of the past.

In order to develop these approaches, a number of areas previously identified as archaeological ‘landscapes’ will be explored with particular attention paid to the history of research in each area and the potential the material record offers for reconstruction of the social ‘story’. The three main areas under consideration all fall roughly within Atlantic Europe: Kilmartin Valley in Scotland, the Drenthe plateau in the Netherlands and the Golfe du Morbihan in France. All have previously been investigated in accordance with different paradigms of scholarly and not so scholarly research. Examination of these traditions of thought and the archaeological accounts that they produce emphasises the importance of the historiography of archaeology. Comparison with more recent accounts serves to highlight both contrasts and continuities within archaeological analysis and the external factors that condition them. This includes evaluation of how the archaeological remains are identified as such and in particular how they are identified as ‘landscapes’. Central concepts, particularly that of ‘landscape’ itself, are not neutral classifications, and an exploration of their definition and use is critical to understanding archaeological attitudes to the past. This is considered by examination of the concept of ‘landscape’ through both antiquarian and 20th century viewpoints and has been highlighted by the work of the landscape painter Caspar David Friedrich (see **chapter 1**).

The large span of time available to archaeology allows exploration of change from the short to very long term. However, this powerful concept has not been fully utilised within archaeology and it is to history (specifically French structural history) that attention will initially be dedicated in order to develop a working approach to the *longue durée*. How these different levels of time relate to each other also involves consideration of work within social theory, again of the work of Pierre Bourdieu in particular. Investigating how people lived and created their social world through material culture (and how we reconstruct their social world through artefacts) is the main business of archaeology. As such it involves linking materials through a variety of landscape scales by reconstructing the landscape itself. Coupled with the opportunity to chart change within the material record over time, this provides a powerful tool with which to explore past society. Bringing together both a critical

consideration of, alongside an interpretive approach to, the archaeological record involves a number of themes, briefly outlined above and of central concern to this thesis. It is hoped that critical examination of these themes will allow greater integration of the two main strengths of archaeological analysis: time depth and materiality. These will be combined to evaluate the dominant interpretations of a series of critically defined and historically studied landscapes.

2.2 Reasons for Choice of Area

In any paper purporting to emphasise greater reflexivity it would be hypocritical to omit personal detail and reasons (as far as they are self-apparent) for the present study. Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1986) was the initial starting point for an interest in both historical methodology and the specifically human characterisation of the environment. How such an approach was applied and criticised, both within archaeological and historical works, provided a frame of reference for theoretical and archaeological concerns. The topic of 'landscape' continually arose within these accounts and became both a central concern and problem. A number of areas were examined in relation to these concepts. All of these areas contained a number of monuments believed to belong to the Neolithic and Early Bronze ages, reflecting an earlier personal interest in this period. Kilmartin Valley was initially selected as a good example of an area that had been treated as an 'archaeological landscape' for a long period of time, with a long recorded history of archaeological examination and interpretation. Early investigation and excavation had been documented from the second half of the 19th century within Kilmartin (e.g. Greenwell, 1866, 1877, Mapleton, 1866, 1870, 1881). One of the antiquarians who visited the excavated sites, W.C. Lukis (1817-1892), also worked in a number of other European areas, including Drenthe and Brittany, which provided an interesting link between the three areas. Similarities within the material record of these areas combined with the histories of research began to have the attraction of viewing the Western Atlantic seaboard as a potentially unifying geographical factor, similar to the way that the Mediterranean acted as a broad unifying theme to Braudel's early work. The Golfe du Morbihan contains a similar richness of prehistoric sites along with a long history of investigation (Lukis, 1868, 1875a, 1875b, De Closmadeuc, & De Closmadeuc, 1866, De Closmadeuc, 1867, Le Rouzic, 1910,

Le Roux, 1985, Giot & al, 1998, L'Helgouac'h, 1965). Modern work on the region also includes lively debate as to the origin of the various megalithic traditions, as well as considering Brittany within an Irish Sea tradition that also incorporates Kilmartin (Cassen, 2000, Boujot & Cassen, 1993, Patton, 1993, Scarre, 1992, 2002a, Scarre et al, 2003, Sheridan, 2000, 2003a, 2003b). Drenthe in the Netherlands was selected as a final comparison to the other two 'landscapes'. Drenthe also benefits from a long history of research (Giffen, 1925, 1927, Klok, 1979, Brongers, 1976, Brindley, 1986a, 1986b) though it was the work of Bakker (1979b, 1991, 1992) and his treatment of the TRB megalithic monuments that resulted in the selection of Drenthe as a suitable comparative case study. The types of sites present in abundance often exhibit a 'monumental' aspect, tending to focus the attentions of the modern researcher as it would have done people in prehistory. The application of ethnographic parallels and social models in an attempt to interpret and explore the enigmatic nature of these monuments is particularly crucial. As a result of this form of interpretation, the type of analogies and models used and the ways in which they are deployed reflects the contemporary theoretical preoccupations of those involved with the construction of meaning. To chart the development of these theoretical trends is thus to chart the development of wider trends running through archaeology generally.

Coupled with investigating particular archaeological areas, the theoretical underpinnings of archaeological interpretation in general therefore became a central topic for research. Initially, approaches that came from the post-processual milieu were highly attractive, especially those that dealt specifically with approaches to landscape (e.g. Tilley, 1994, Nash, 1997). However, after deeper research, the sheer volume and variety of different approaches became overwhelming. Investigating one particular area soon lead into other subjects, including sociology, philosophy, anthropology and history and the diverse range of theoretical schools contained within the boundaries of these subjects. There was however, no overall *theme* in which to relate all the disparate strands of theoretical activity. Therefore, the central concerns of archaeology - materiality and time depth - became the main focus when considering theoretical work, and authors who concerned themselves particularly with these issues were specifically selected (e.g. Bailey, 1987, Barrett, 1994, Bradley, 1991, 2002a, Bintliff, 1991a, Gell, 1992, Gosden, 1994, Ingold, 1993, Knapp, 1992,

Leeuw & McGlade, 1997, Lucas, 2005, McGlade, 1999, Murray, 1999, Rossignol & Wandsnider, 1992).

Finally, the investigation of the individual as an ‘active agent’ or ‘knowing actor’ has been claimed as a post-processual concern and a victory over dehumanising and ‘scientific’ approaches to the past, exemplified in the recent work on ‘agency’ within archaeology (e.g. Dobres, 2000, Dobres & Robb, 2000a, Johnson, 1989, Barrett, 1994, 2001). This serves to explicitly examine how we conceive of the human ‘agent’ in the past (Robb, 2005, 3), and results in a ‘bottom-up’ approach concerning everyday activity relating to the material conditions of social life (e.g. Barrett, 1994). This in turn highlights how structures both enable and constrain human activity, whilst in turn being reproduced through that activity (Giddens, 1984, Barrett, 2001). Problems arise in how this activity on the personal, small-scale relates to much wider structures (Dobres & Robb, 2000b, 6, McGlade, 1999, 147, Barrett, 2001, 148). The fact that agency theory is a modern construct also questions whether or not we reproduce aspects of the present in our depictions of the past (Dobres & Robb, 2000b, 13, Gero, 2000), forcing consideration of how we approach how prehistoric people conceptualised their own condition. This debate is outwith the bounds of the current discussion, although the history of archaeological interpretation over the last hundred and fifty years is not. This provides rich evidence of both contrast and continuity in the development of archaeology, though is not suggestive of the uninterrupted progression described by textbooks and heavily criticised by Kuhn in relation to the sciences (1996). Where archaeological continuities do occur, they are less securely based in the written dimension of archaeology than in the practical. However, the employment of analogy stands out as a central plank of interpretation (Chippindale, 1989, Chang, 1967), and thus the changing characteristics of its employment became a central theme to be investigated. As such, the final strand of research interest is focused upon archaeologists themselves and their relationship to their own subject.

2.3 Archaeology as Archaeology

Clarke’s famous assertion that “Archaeology is archaeology is archaeology” (1968, 13) highlights the need for a subject in relative infancy to establish itself in the face of larger and older siblings. This does not mask the fact that archaeology is

permeated with influences from other subjects, of which anthropology and history are dealt with below. These influences, exerted from the beginnings of the history of archaeology, are worthy of exploration and do not necessarily suggest the weakness of archaeology as a discipline. However, before examining the relationship with other subjects, the unique characteristics of archaeology will be briefly explored. Hopefully this will reflect archaeology's 'coming of age' and allow interdisciplinary borrowings to appear as a transaction between equals. This is important in the context of this thesis as several such 'borrowings' are made across disciplinary borders, from history in particular. A number of characteristics can differentiate a subject such as archaeology from neighbouring disciplines, amongst which goals, sources and methods are especially illustrative. Before discussion of this however it is worthwhile to revisit archaeology's early history in order to better understand its relationship with elder brethren.

Archaeology as a modern discipline in Europe can be traced back to the Enlightenment, and is related to a desire to apply the scientific principles developed in the 17th century to the study of the humanities. This led to the formalisation of the 'sciences of man', out of which archaeology eventually emerged. A number of other important trends were at work from the late 18th century up until the early 20th century, not least the new-found obsession with classifications of recently identified man-made artefacts (Syson, 2003), which paved the way for the first typologies. Attitudes to the past itself were also changing, and the material record thereof began to assume new political, aesthetic and scientific values. A trend toward official recognition and preservation of the monuments of the past increased throughout this period (Hunter, 1981) and the first museum collection ordered along evolutionary principles was put in place in the first half of the 19th century (Graslund, 1987, see **chapter 7**). Appreciation of the past itself was also entwined with the popular reproduction of prints of ancient monuments (Reusch, 1999) and improved transportation that allowed easier, and more comfortable access to the countryside (Piggott, 1976). Politically, the rise of nationalism led to a greater appreciation of 'indigenous' achievement found within modern political boundaries (Trigger, 1995). The development of anthropology and a variety of ethnographic data from the new worlds provided a wide range of models and analogies to be applied by imaginative writers (Piggott, 1989). More than any other subject, the breakthroughs in geology

provided archaeology with the conceptual basis of time-depth (Daniel, 1971), whilst the newly articulated evolutionary theory provided the first full paradigmatic programme for interpretation (Trigger, 2000). Allied with a gradual improvement in excavation techniques to match those of surveying, all of these factors contributed to the transition from approaches now described as ‘antiquarian’ to archaeology ‘proper’. In step with the spirit of the times, a number of antiquarian-archaeologists worked within this sphere of influences and particularly stressed the importance of the inductive process of fact collection (Kinnes, 1985, 10). This did not prevent considerable speculation as to the nature of prehistoric sites however, with a variety of analogies, based upon influences as diverse as garden planning (Haycock, 1999) to nature philosophy (Mitchell, 1982, 419), used in interpretation. The reasons why the attitudes to the past changed, and the history of how it was described and interpreted by both antiquarians and archaeologists are addressed later (see **chapter 7**). For now it is worth discussing contemporary archaeology.

Archaeology as it is today is difficult to describe as a coherent entity. The practice of ‘doing’ archaeology varies considerably amongst people who would describe themselves as archaeologists. Such practitioners include research staff, private contractors and government officials, and includes a strong tradition of amateur interest. Field work, synthesis and interpretation can be segregated as sub-disciplines in themselves and the extent to which they are governed by the ‘guiding principles’ of archaeology seems hard to measure. A useful way of considering how these different aspects of archaeological practice relate is to compare them with another discipline with similar subject matter and a fieldwork element. A parallel can thus be drawn with anthropology and the relationship within the discipline of ethnography to ethnology to anthropology (Gosden, 1999, 3, Levi-Strauss, 1972), which is mirrored by the relationship between excavation, synthesis and interpretation within archaeology (see **figure 2.1**). Traditionally, as archaeology moves from excavation through synthesis to interpretation it is seen as becoming increasingly speculative, theoretical and unscientific. This is the result of a linear conception of the relationship between these different elements as opposed to consideration of the way they inter-relate. The concept of excavation as an objective exercise has also been suitably deconstructed (Shanks & Tilley, 1987). The idea of levels of archaeological theory has been much discussed. Hawkes and his ‘Ladder of inference’ is a good

point of departure, moving from the safe and secure knowledge of subsistence and settlement to the increasingly esoteric and insecure speculations on belief and religion. This is reinforced by economic archaeologists such as Bailey (1981, 1983, 1987) and Embree (1992), suggesting limits to archaeological interpretation. However, the criteria for limitations are not self-evident, and a range of other scholars have set different boundaries. Such a pessimistic view was rejected by advocates of the ‘New Archaeology’, though their interests were often perched on the lower rungs of the ladder.

Excavation itself tends to retain a distinctly archaeological character, and is often the image of what an archaeologist ‘does’ in the eyes of the public. The importance attributed to excavation from the beginnings of archaeology and the long developmental process it has subsequently undergone reinforces this particularly archaeological identification. Interpretation tends to utilise theoretical approaches from a range of other subjects and as such it is less recognisable as distinctly ‘archaeological’. An early concern with collection of facts and an apparently demonstrable progression of improving techniques arms field archaeology with a confident identity. Interpretation, by contrast, is the arena in which critical soul-searching has been the norm for several decades and as such a less coherent identity is projected. Similarly, due to the prevalence of theory derived from other subjects, a starting point from within archaeology suffers from a lack of confidence inherent when trespassing across disciplinary boundaries. A simplified picture of the complex relationship between field archaeology and interpretation is provided in **figure 2.2**. Methodology, and the goals that inform it, are here positioned as occupying the long-term, slowly changing aspect of archaeological work, remaining relatively unaltered in the face of rapid development elsewhere (Chippindale, 1989). Field archaeology represents the practice of archaeology guided by the principles of methodology though necessarily changing in the face of constantly new situations. In-between these two lies interpretation, changing according to the cyclical dominance of prevailing theoretical attitudes².

² This is a parody of Braudel’s model of time (discussed in **chapter 5**)

Archaeology as a university subject is also divided up by period, area or technical specialisation, in the same way as other social sciences. In the context of the current thesis however, the differentiation between ‘archaeology’ and ‘prehistory’ becomes an important, and problematic, one (Daniel, 1971). Prehistory is often closely aligned with anthropology as, through necessity, it is solely dependant on material culture. As such it is seen as a junior partner to both archaeology and anthropology, with a correspondence to ethnography or ethnology. Due to the information gaps in the nature of the prehistoric record, interpretation becomes more starkly defined and identified as speculation applied to the material record. This is not to say that the theories and models used to explain behaviour in prehistory do not become implicit and self-evident. The role of ‘ancestors’ in recent accounts of the Neolithic for example (Whitley, 2002) are in danger of sinking down into the archaeological subconscious. In ideal terms, however, the recognition of the substantial break between the prehistoric *them* and the modern *us*, should allow the recognition of the artificial constructs that we apply to the evidence. Due to this, the history of work in prehistory is especially informative about the concerns, aims and goals of archaeologists and can provide a useful barometer of changes in archaeological thinking.

If disciplines can be characterised by their goals, sources and methods, archaeology is itself an amalgam of a variety of other subjects. However, this amalgam is distinct and historically unique and has developed into a subject in its own right. The sources of archaeology are the easiest to define. The concentration on material remains supplies a link with anthropology (Binford, 1962, Clarke, 1968, Trigger, 1970), though the difference in time-depth of prehistory provides a firm break. Excavation records, around which synthesis and interpretation are constructed, can also be viewed as a historical source. The goals of archaeology would be difficult to provide consensus upon, although on a very general level they relate to the goals of all the ‘sciences of man’ and thus betray their Enlightenment roots (Syson, 2003). Therefore, there is the potential of archaeological goals being subsumed under the broad tent of anthropology. A shared desire to uncover knowledge about the human condition, although through different sets of source material, is perhaps a suitable point of departure, though archaeology is more than simply a source study (Klejn, 2001, 32-41). The methods of archaeology are traditionally the most self-confidently

‘archaeological’, though this does not mean that they are either theory-neutral or that they are not greatly influenced by developments in other subjects. Archaeology may seem fragmented through the division between excavation and synthesis, prehistory and archaeology and the other specialist branches demarcated by period, area or technique (e.g. Hodder, 1999, 10-11). Historiography of archaeology provides a bridge between these apparently separated strands of archaeology by relating them in meaningful narrative and offering an explanatory framework (Trigger, 2003, chapter 1).

Before turning to a discussion of the relationship between archaeology and its two most influential sister disciplines, anthropology and history, it is worth briefly exploring archaeology’s relation to the natural sciences (the integral contribution from geology is covered in **chapter 7**). Since the Enlightenment, a desire to apply scientific models to explain human behaviour has resulted in attempts to create a theoretical structure from archaeology by analogy with the scientific disciplines. Similarly, the ‘goal’ of social sciences to become science ‘proper’ has led to attempts to portray archaeology in as scientific a light as possible, most clearly seen in the 1960s and 70s (Wylie, 2002, 2). This has led to using scientific processes as analogy for social development (e.g. Trigger, 1990), or a type of ‘social physics’ (Baert, 1998, chapter 8). This has been expanded to include analogies from biology, particularly evolutionary theory, and more recently, genetics. The idea of cultural ‘memes’ for example, adapted from genetics (Dawkins, 1986), has been applied within archaeology (e.g. Lake, 1998). Such ideas have come under strong critical attack (Wylie, 2002, 16) and it remains to be seen whether or not a suitable explanatory analogy can be derived from the natural sciences. The timeless nature of the sciences, embodied in the search for the constant or absolute covering law (Gaffney, 1986), differs markedly from the historical, contingent and above all, human, nature of archaeology.

On a methodological level, the use of scientific techniques in general, such as radiocarbon dating or phosphate analysis, is less controversial. In relation to the ‘hard sciences’ Aspinall (1986, 130-131) lists the presence of scientific techniques in five main areas of archaeology; “Geophysical prospection, dating methods, analyses of materials, mathematical treatment, studies of the ancient environment.” The

application of isotopic analysis is a more recent example of the importance of scientific techniques to archaeology (e.g. Schulting & Richards, 2001, 2002). It is to these areas, which in themselves have caused considerable conceptual change within archaeology, that science is most securely applied, rather than as a source of analogy for social change. More recently, archaeology's relationship with other, more senior subjects has come full circle – the archaeological process itself providing a metaphor for the production of knowledge in other subjects (Foucault, 2002).

2.4 Archaeology as Anthropology

Both archaeology and anthropology are relatively young disciplines, tracing their modern roots to the 18th century, though it is not until the 19th century that the disciplines as they are recognised today take shape. In Europe (and in particular, Britain) the relationship between the two subjects has been fluid, with both subjects viewed as interchangeable in the late 19th century (Gosden, 1999, xi, Lubbock, 1865, Tylor, 1871, Morgan, 1877). A similarly close relationship is also identified in America during the New Archaeology (Shennan, 1989, 831, Binford, 1962, 224, 1972a, Willey & Phillips, 1958)³. This coincides with both subjects working within a broad, and optimistic, evolutionary paradigm. At other times, and in particular in Britain, the relationship can be characterised as more circumspect;

“Archaeology and anthropology can be seen as two sets of cultures, which are not unitary but like a confederation of tribes, which can agree temporarily at least on what constitutes right forms of action and procedure and have enough language in common to communicate” (Gosden, 1999, 35).

Many archaeological theorists, from Binford (1962) to Childe (1946), see archaeology as necessarily linked with anthropology, though the nature of the relationship remains ambiguous.

Archaeology can be situated within the extensive boundaries of anthropology as a discipline concerning “the study of all aspects of human life, past and present” (Gosden, 1999, 2). Such broad definitions, however, tend to encompass all the humanities, if not all subjects. Comparison of the actual structure of the two

³ Not always the case though (see Gosden, 1999, 54).

disciplines can be informative of how their relationship is viewed, as well as illustrating how components within the respective disciplines (such as prehistory), relate (see **figure 2.1**). The fieldwork element of anthropology is represented by ethnography and the work produced by ethnographers is presented in a similar way to that produced by excavators. In archaeology, fieldwork encounters are paralleled by excavation and survey (Sinclair, 2000, 479) with the resultant implication for that encounter to be misrepresented in narrative. Collation, comparison, regionalisation and synthesis of this material are then the subject of ethnology, which finds a broad parallel with prehistory, or archaeology itself. However, the explicitly theoretical exploration of past society differs from that of study of the present, though both disciplines have theoreticians who use the work of ethnographers, ethnologists, excavators and prehistorians as an arena in which to test out their ideas. In terms of interpretation and theoretical analysis both subjects can appear close, with considerable inter-disciplinary borrowings and periods of similar goals, such as the emphasis on searching for general laws and cultural regularities, particularly explicit during the 'New Archaeology.' They can also diverge considerably in the range of theoretical positions considered in relation to their varying types of sources.

A structural similarity between the two subjects, and a perceived theoretical deference to anthropology, immediately suggests a convergence between the disciplines. Such apparent conformity does not take into account serious differences in the nature of the phenomena both subjects tackle, and these differences will be explored below. However, it is first worth examining the influences that archaeology has profitably taken from anthropology. Several key concepts and approaches have been imported into archaeology over the course of its waxing and waning relationship with anthropology. The theoretical closeness of the New Archaeology and the evolutionary paradigm remain high watermarks in the alignment of the goals of both subjects (e.g. Binford, 1962, Willey & Phillips, 1958, Trigger, 2003, 295). At other times, particularly within culture-historical approaches, theoretical concerns are less in evidence and conceptual tools, often misrecognised as originally archaeological, are the more deeply influential. In the case of physical or biological anthropology, actual goals and techniques appear almost identical, though this has always been a particular area of overlap (Gosden 1999). The anthropologist's relationship with the subject is more immediate in terms of active participation with living people, and as

such, has been more thoroughly explored (e.g. Layton, 1997, 187). Through this realisation, much theoretical work, such as post-colonial theory, has filtered down to archaeology (e.g. Gosden, 2001). Apart from observer-object relations and the ethical questions several key concepts have been imported from anthropology. The idea of the material record as being a text full of meaning that can in some way be 'read' is inherited from anthropology (Hicks, 2003, 316), and is closely connected to the idea of material culture and landscape as being actively constitutive. The provision of ethnographic works provided a range of material which both the early, and modern, archaeologist raided to provide suitable inspiration and models (e.g. Wylie, 2002, 138), from the use of axes, to the formation of societies (Piggott, 1989). The comparative method itself as employed in archaeology is primarily based upon anthropological work (David & Kramer, 2001, 1-2). The initial characterisation of prehistoric axes as man-made (as opposed to naturally occurring) owes a considerable debt to ethnography (Klindt-Jensen, 1976), and there are many more examples. Experimentation within archaeology is also greatly informed by the material processes documented by anthropologists. Anthropologists do not need middle range theory in that they have firsthand access to the activities that lead to the creation, manipulation and deposition of material culture, though ethnology provides the basis for its application in archaeology. A crucial point of convergence in this respect is the idea of 'ritual', with the form of analogy and the theoretical framework developed primarily within anthropology (Bell, 1992).

However, archaeology and anthropology are different disciplines, and although close at certain times they have also diverged at others. Edmund Leach (1973) views social anthropology as having very different aims from that of archaeology, based on the different nature of their sources. A reconciling dialogue between the two subjects is mentioned by Leach, but is not heartfelt and is suggested more to 'curb the wilder speculative guesses of the other' (Leach, 1973, 771). This is paralleled by Alison Wylie's view of the material record as providing the parameters by which competing interpretations can be developed or rejected through a dialectical process (1982, 44, 2002, 167). Anthropological work tends to focus more on kin-based relations than archaeological accounts, which tend to produce models for the social-political organisation. Bloch considers that social structure can be explicitly recovered from the ritual sphere but is harder to reconstruct from everyday evidence

(1977, 286). Thus, the nature of the evidence available to the two subjects influences the types of reconstruction that they set out to attempt, with much of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Europe dominated by ‘ritual’ data (with all the circularity this definition implies). Interestingly, kin-based systems are considered as a meeting place between the everyday and ritual (Bloch, 1977, 287). As such it is unfortunate that more anthropological investigation into systems of kinship have not percolated into archaeological thinking. Anthropology and its subsets of ethnology and ethnography deal with material culture and the study of aspects of society, such as forms of ritual and initiation, alien to Western academic tradition. As such, anthropological evidence is widely employed as a bridging theory. However, although more critical consideration has been given to the application of ethnographic work (e.g. David & Kramer, 2001) implicit or “suppressed” analogies (Wylie, 2002, 164) still recur. A good example of this is the ‘Big Man’ model of social organisation in Papua New Guinea that has influenced much archaeological work (e.g. Renfrew, 1975, Sahlins & Service, 1960). This form of social organisation has subsequently been demonstrated as arising as a result of contact with the West (Golson, 1982).

Differences also manifest themselves in theoretical content, an example provided by the respective treatments of time between the two subjects. Bradley (1991) and Bloch (1977) agree on a separation between an everyday individual time and a ritual time (see **chapter 3**). Bradley, the archaeologist, focuses on ritual time, the material record of which is often enduring and best explained over long periods of time, whilst Bloch, the anthropologist, concentrates on individual time, directly observable by the ethnographer’s methods. Although not irreconcilable, theoretical focus and development clearly varies directly with the differing source material of ritual, a concept central to analysis from both disciplinary directions. The presentation and content of work also differs between both disciplines, from fieldwork to theory. Until recently, archaeological accounts have been viewed as self-consciously scientific and sterile, with less attention paid to the author and the relationship with the object of analysis (Hodder, 1989a, Lucas, 2001, 204-5).

Although there are a number of differences between the disciplines, a few of which are touched upon above, two main themes serve to underpin the relationship

between the two subjects. Ingold identifies these common themes as landscape and temporality:

“Time and landscape, I believe, are the essential unifying themes of archaeology and social/cultural anthropology...The specific contribution of archaeology lies in its ability to demonstrate the essential *temporality* of the landscape regarded as no mere backdrop to human history, but as forever coming into being in and through the activities of the people who live in it” (Ingold, 1992, 694).

Ingold’s consideration of time: (“Under ‘time’ I include the conjunction of processes in the very long term with more immediate, medium and short-term changes”) is a clear parallel with Braudel’s model of time, and Ingold also notes: “That the craft of the social or cultural anthropologist bears a relation of affinity if not identity to that of the historian is, of course, widely accepted” (Ingold, 1992, 694). Thus a strong link is posited between archaeology and anthropology as well as with history. The *temporality* of the landscape as being constantly created and redefined through the activities of people provides an opportunity to integrate Bourdieu’s work (and social theory generally) into a historical account (see **chapter 5**). As a result of this, Ingold views landscape as “the crystallisation of a historical process” (1992, 694) thus combining explicitly historical and anthropological approaches through a sense of time and landscape. These ‘processes’ affect both past activity and the reproduction of such knowledge in the present. It is therefore to history that archaeology must turn in order to understand the production of archaeological narratives, elements of which have both radically changed and survived relatively unaltered through the history of archaeological interpretation.

2.5 Archaeology as History

Regarding archaeology as history, or specifically as a subset of history, is a more common tradition within European archaeology than within American archaeology (Lewthwaite, 1986, 53). Archaeology in general is often associated with history, whilst prehistory is considered an aspect of anthropology. Within the European tradition however, there is strong opposition to such a union: “History and archaeology are different disciplines and their fusion is harmful for both” (Klejn, 1993, 347). There is also little consensus as to the point at which dialogue between

the two subjects is most useful. Once past the very general goals that link most arts and humanities, there appears little similarity between the respective practice of archaeology and history (for Braudel this is one of the most 'immediate' tasks of history "to relate to the painful problems of our times and to maintain contact with the youthful but imperialistic human sciences" (Braudel, 1986, 22)). When integration is suggested, the process of this relationship remains ill-defined and archaeology is relegated to providing supporting evidence to illuminate history, in a similar relationship to that which ethnography has with ethnology. From an archaeological perspective, history is often seen as being theoretically weak (Arnold, 1986, 36). Archaeological sources are commonly taken to be the material residue of past activity, recovered and thus in part reconstituted by scientific means. Historical sources are narratives of past human intention and thus are analysed accordingly. There appears little similarity between the two subjects in terms of what practitioners actually 'do'.

The divide between history and archaeology is not so great however that a meaningful and beneficial relationship cannot be maintained. C.J. Arnold's paper "Archaeology and History: The Shades of Confrontation and Cooperation" (1986) calls for greater cooperation between history and archaeology. He begins by examining why there is such a divide, in the first instance owing to the fact that history is a much older discipline (Arnold, 1986, 32). Similarly, he sees divisions being set up by attitudes within the subjects, again related particularly to the sources studied: "the deep-rooted belief that written records are distinct from other artefacts" (Arnold, 1986, 33). However, both subjects are more than simply source criticism and the theoretical base that informs them is more porous than rigidly defined. The sources themselves, and the problems that they pose to historian and archaeologist alike are not so different. All 'artefacts', including written sources, can be subject to the same sorts of human and environmental processes (Schiffer, 1996), and an analogy between the treatment and preparation of historical sources is often drawn with archaeological data. Similarly, all sources provide both voluntary and involuntary information on past human behaviour (Arnold, 1986, 33). John Morelund has suggested that instead of viewing texts or artefacts as separate categories of evidence existing in the present, we should consider how they had meaning in the past (2001, 78). Archaeological practice also produces historical narratives. Due to their age and the particular sets of influences in which they were produced, early

excavation reports are historical sources in themselves. Thus, the social context of the early excavators must be considered when assessing the work that they produce. This deploys a set of critical tools that can in turn be applied to more modern archaeological work, including both theoretical works alongside supposedly objective excavation reports and syntheses. Due to the destructive nature of excavation, the ultimate ‘source’ of the subject is preserved on paper. Inadvertently, this lends itself to the structural and symbolic analyses popular primarily since the 1980s. The record as it survives on paper is a translation of what the excavator, or synthesiser, thought worthy of inclusion, presumably that which is in some way meaningful or that which can be combined in a meaningful way. In this process an ‘archaeological aesthetic’ can be identified (see **chapter 8**) as operating, selecting what is worthy for inclusion within archaeological investigation and narrative. In this way, the meaningfulness of what would have been an active material record is turned into a record of different form and meaning. Within this complex process, the relationship of the archaeologist to the prevailing set of conventions that determine what he includes and excludes can best be explored through a historiography of archaeology.

The difference between material and textual sources was the first dividing line between antiquarian study and history (Momigliano, 1950). Although the sources are different, a strict division between archaeology and history is harmful, and historical concerns have an essential part to play within archaeology. This has been identified in the production of excavation reports, where the final presentation of ‘factual information’ little resembles the actual process of recovering and reconstructing archaeological information (Hodder, 1989a). The nature of excavation, including the debate, dissension and the adaptation, that affect the decision-making process in the field are covered up by ‘objective’ conclusions, and the reasons behind them are omitted (Hodder, 1989a, 271-272). Recent attempts to redress this have focused upon the interpretive aspect of fieldwork (Hodder, 1999, chapter 5). Similarly, the presentation of excavation reports is not judged by the standards of style to which historical writing is subjected, and thus coherency and narrative are abridged (Pluciennik, 1999). In conclusion, the relationship between archaeology and history is not as crucial as the recognition of the importance of the history of archaeology as a topic of study worthy in its own right. As such it brings to bear many of the critical

observations of history, but specifically applies them to the way in which archaeological interpretations are shaped by their historical contingency.

2.6 The Nature of archaeology

Arnold links all three subjects by giving them the same underlying theme; “Archaeology and history, by whatever means they are defined, are concerned with the past dimension of anthropology” (1986, 32). This also serves as a reminder, both of the usefulness of anthropological ideas and of their limits in re-creating past-activity. Participant observation is impossible for archaeology, and thus while anthropological ideas are useful in providing ideas to bridge the inevitable gaps in the archaeological record, they have to be converted for use in a different disciplinary context. Similarly, any subject must take a critical interest into the processes by which the sources it uses are examined. Within history and anthropology this is done in different ways, and while archaeology will have its own criteria, the rigours of source criticism in other subjects are important to follow when importing models, concepts and ideas.

The changing importance of co-operation between archaeology and the disciplines of history and anthropology is also briefly charted by Hicks (2003, 315), beginning with Clarke’s famous paper “Archaeology: The Loss of Innocence” (1973). The connection between the three subjects is quickly translated by Hicks into the issue of landscape archaeology in relation to both historical and anthropological approaches. Hicks is critical of modern approaches to landscape study; “the practice of landscape archaeology has been reduced, at best, to the reinterpretation of existing archaeological data” (2003, 319). The ‘at worst’ for Hicks is phenomenology. This is slightly contradictory, as his own approach is concerned with “extending the recognition of the active role of material culture in social life...to landscapes” (Hicks, 2003, 319). In this approach Hicks is clearly influenced by the work of Braudel and has assumed a processualist stance, which he himself acknowledges. Thus any approach to landscape must focus on ‘material engagement’ and develop a suitable methodology to cope with this engagement (Hicks, 2003, 319). For Hicks, this can be accomplished by three main themes; a diverse field methodology, “the integration of research conducted at a series of geographical scales, producing an archive which fits

together like a series of Russian dolls”, and “Providing an account of the long-term development of a landscape, rather than single-period studies” (Hicks, 2003, 319). This approach is developed specifically within the sphere of historical archaeology, although there is little critical discussion of the implications of Braudel’s work.

The actual practice of archaeology is as diverse as the different types and specialities that are involved in such a varied subject. Although similar in outlook and method to other subjects, as discussed above, the specific nature of archaeology is worth exploring. How the goals particular to archaeology, as distinct from other humanities, are approached through archaeological practice is therefore a pertinent topic of discussion. For Gosden, by “concentrating on other forms of life and thought, both archaeology and anthropology can help to unpick our own” (1999, 11). The sources of archaeology that make the subject unique are interrogated with the hope of understanding something more of the human condition. Are they *interrogated* however, as this implies that the material record ‘speaks’ for itself, even though under heavy duress. Speaking from within an anthropological context, Bourdieu (1999, 6) ‘extracts the meaning’ from an observed event rather than attempting an interpretation. In terms of later discussions of Kuhn (1996) and Bourdieu (1999) it is clear that a meaningful object in a past society has a different value attributed to it in the present. Thus, in order to understand the role an object played in the past, the historical context has to be understood alongside recognition of the difference between this past context and the present one⁴. Reconciling the different aims and objectives between periods is closest to the work of translation. Translation is not an exact substitution, and thus a transformative process is at work (Sinclair, 2000, 476), often one filtered through the work of earlier generations of archaeologists. For all three of the areas covered within this thesis, this act of translation involves another historical context, that of the early excavators. Thus historical work involves the translation of a translation, at which point the work of Kuhn (1996) is used to provide a suitable model to account for this (see **chapter 7**).

The particular strengths of archaeology, the potential to examine change over the long term and the role of material culture within human society have only

⁴ The basis of the ‘contextual archaeology’ advocated by Hodder (1986)

relatively recently been explicitly examined (e.g. Bailey, 1987, Barrett, 1994, Bradley, 1991, 2002a, Bintliff, 1991a, Gosden, 1994, Lucas, 2005, Dobres, 2000, Dobres & Robb, 2000a, Barrett, 1994). However, on the most basic level, the scale of analysis (or what to include and exclude in an archaeological narrative), provides a fundamental problem. This is a problem faced in one form or another by most subjects, though the choice of a suitable scale of analysis has particular resonance for archaeology. Physically, the distribution of sites and artefacts are divided up into suitable areas of research either by discussion of archaeological ‘types’, or by the concept of ‘landscape’. Both concepts are modern constructs, though a necessary first step in creating an object to be studied. The problem of scale of analysis is also reflected in archaeological writing, specifically in the constant choice between general and specific description.

From a cursory glance of the historiography of archaeology, it is apparent that there is a strong imaginative aspect present from excavation through to interpretation. Unfortunately, this imaginative aspect is not consistently present throughout the variety of types of texts that archaeologists create to account for this process. The basic building block of archaeological production, the excavation report or survey, compares poorly in certain aspects when placed against the similar fundamentals of history and anthropology. The relationship between the observer and the observed, so explicit within anthropology, is largely missing as is consideration of bias that is present in historical analyses. The rich description and evaluation of the actual archaeological process, including examination of the reasons for choices taken in the field, has until relatively recently (e.g. Hodder, 1999, Lucas, 2001, 204-5) been marginalised in favour of more consistent and ‘scientific’ mode of writing (see **chapter 4**). A balance must be struck between thick narrative and the provision of standardised information. On a broader level of archaeological writing involving synthesis, the presentation of archaeological research involves a process whereby the researcher produces a narrative text to account in some way, and render coherent, the phenomena selected by him. Thus, the process is constrained and shaped by the evidence, though the evidence itself is selected by the researcher. A complex and active relationship between researcher and object is therefore created. Elaboration of this relationship is one of the main achievements of work characterised as ‘post-processual’ within archaeology. In order for this complex relationship to avoid

becoming an insurmountable obstacle, the metaphor of the archaeological record as a text is often applied. Such a metaphor is very useful to archaeology, but only insofar as it is recognised as a heuristic device. The nature of the ‘dialogue’ archaeologists have with their source material is very much couched in contemporary relationships rather than those that occurred in the past. The nature of the questions we ask of the archaeological record, to stretch the ‘dialogue’ metaphor further, are therefore of prime importance and it is to this topic that the next section turns.

2.7 Induction versus Deduction

In terms of archaeological research methods, induction versus deduction is something of a false dichotomy. For Bailey, the archaeological record has to be “interrogated with suitably framed hypotheses” (1981, 112). Otherwise, it is possible to fall into the trap of accumulating archaeological data in the hope that a large body of evidence will present itself in some form of intelligible order (Chippindale, 1989, 77). This was a preoccupation within antiquarian research, and reflects the lack of a developed disciplinary paradigm (see **chapter 8**). Similarly, the methods of the New Archaeology resulted in an approach whereby “data are, via observations, recorded, and an hypothesis may be deduced: a prediction made from such an hypothesis is testable by more observations. Hence from observations, we may deduce generalised, universal laws” (Gaffney, 1986, 89). Gaffney continues by criticising such approaches as being overly simplistic and unsuitable for the examination of society. Conversely, the logical foundation of deriving a generalising principle from a series of inductive statements is also suspect.

In a similar vein, any problem-based approach that starts from a general deductive principle must have a history of research to inform that principle. This provides a good example of the importance of the historiography of archaeology. On a very general level, past approaches to archaeological information-gathering are framed around curiosity towards the past. However, this has rarely been translated into a specific and explicit research strategy. Thus inductive and deductive reasoning within archaeology is a constant dialectic as opposed to a strict opposition. The destructive nature of archaeological investigation is pertinent, in that resource

gathering is mostly a unique event, and thus cannot be repeated, although this is only in terms of excavation and not survey (Bradley, 2003b). As such, formulation of a problem-oriented approach is crucial in allowing as much information to be retrieved from an excavation as possible. It also has to be acknowledged that formulation of such an approach is firmly rooted in a contemporary social milieu, and thus affected by prevailing social conditions and influences. The potential for the wholly unexpected within archaeological research⁵ also affects the orientation of approach, an inductive phenomena thus shaping a deductive interpretation.

In real terms, any archaeological approach cannot be wholly inductive or deductive. Bakker's (1982, 1991, 1992) approach to the interpretation of TRB megaliths, for example, is at first glance an inductive process, mapping the distribution of monuments of a certain type and discerning patterns in their placement. However, the idea of monuments as following prehistoric routeways, later echoed in the positioning of Medieval roads, is a deductive principle applied to the evidence (Bakker, 1991). In this way, the inductive-versus-deductive dichotomy is simply one of many dichotomies present in how archaeological data is analysed and interpreted, and is a question of degree rather than a strict choice. In terms of the theoretical influences that affect both the ordering of deductive principles and the content of archaeological narratives, the applicable nature of structuralism, reflected in series of dichotomies, has resulted in its considerable influence over recent archaeology. Effectively, this can be viewed as an expansion of the linguistic metaphor to the study of the archaeological record. This is part of a more general trend of the rising prestige associated with social theory, a phenomenon to which archaeology has been subjected relatively late. As such, the structuralist strand is worth exploring in a little more detail.

2.8 Structuralist legacy

Leach (1973) comfortably predicted the impact of structuralism upon archaeology, though he also predicted how late it would arrive in comparison to other

⁵ See for example the changing 'interrogation' of Balbridie after radiocarbon dating (Fairweather & Ralston, 1993).

subjects. Due to this, a strong tradition of structuralist critique was inherited along with the set of ideas itself. As a whole, structuralism's inadequacies for contemporary archaeological theory have been pointed out, though certain aspects of the structuralist approach survive and can be highly useful. One of the most frequently used aspects is the tendency to split phenomena into dualisms. In the relatively impoverished sphere of archaeological evidence this can be a powerful, and above all applicable, tool. Hodder's development of the ideas of *domus* and *agrios* is a well-known example of this (1990, see **chapters 5 & 8**). The complexity of social explanation appears overly simplified when subjected to such schemes, however, and it is well noted that social entities and relations are first and foremost highly complex (Bourdieu, 1999). Division into two opposing schemes can lack social nuance. Such an approach can also create dichotomies and distance, including the relation between observer and observed. It is, however, well suited to dealing with the broad strokes of interpretation, which resonates with the nature of the evidence available in archaeology. A number of dichotomies also provide important metaphors for understanding archaeological data, making the culture/nature divide in particular subject to archaeological analysis (Hodder, 1990, see **chapter 6**).

The dialectical approach, the process by which dichotomies relate to each other, and passed down to archaeology predominantly from Marxism (Saitta, 1989), is one way to attempt to transcend the problems posed by separating the world into a series of dualities. Division into dualities is a useful intellectual tool for the archaeologist to make sense of sometimes enigmatic, incomplete and voluminous evidence. However, it must be remembered that such division is not necessarily (or likely) reflective of the behaviour that initially created the material record. Similarly, a relation of simple opposition does not allow for the provision of a more nuanced social story. A number of important dialectics are addressed through archaeology, a good example being that between the individual and society. A more fundamental dialectic is the relationship between the observer and the observed. This is not primarily in terms of the observer's own interpretative stance, but concerns how they interpret the evidence, i.e. how they apply their interpretative stance to archaeological material (Bourdieu, 1999, 34). In the context of the history of archaeology this will be explored in **chapter 7**. It is worth noting that the processes of archaeological thought, as well as practice, are hidden behind, or even misrepresented by, written narratives.

As such, the various theoretical labels (functionalist, evolutionary, structuralist, etc), attributed to work may mask the intellectual process of interpreting archaeological evidence.

A structuralist theme runs throughout much theoretical work in archaeology, as it has in sociology, anthropology and history. A route can be traced from the linguistics of Saussure through to the concept of the material-record-as-text (see **chapter 3**), and finally to the effect on contemporary social theorists, whether in opposition or agreement (Tilley, 1989). The work of Lévi-Strauss within anthropology and Braudel and the *Annalistes* within history have strongly influenced French academic traditions (Burke, 1990, Baert, 1998, chapter 1). Lévi-Strauss' work (1972) in structural anthropology is a particularly pertinent link to the next section. Working from a structuralist perspective, Lévi-Strauss provided an underlying universal departure point in the human mind. Through the study of the way that this universalising principle manifested itself through myth, Lévi-Strauss justified the comparison of different cultures (1972). The use of the comparative method, crucial to archaeology (Gosden, 1999, Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina, 1998a, Tilley, 1996, Moser, 2001), is considered in the next section.

2.9 Ethnographic parallels

Ethnographic examples have provided the study of prehistory with many of the ideas through which early societies have been conceptualised and explained. As Chris Gosden highlights: "Prehistory was constructed through extended analogies with people living in the present" (1999, 2). The comparative method has been, and is, essential to the study of archaeology. However, the early application of ethnographic models has also led to their subconscious acceptance as actual models of past life, especially in prehistoric Europe. This results in a variety of analogies, many likely unsuitable, being regarded as viable social models for areas of prehistoric Europe. Subsequently, the applicability of some of these models for a pre-colonial situation, such as the 'Big Man' model in Papua New Guinea mentioned previously, has been questioned (Golson, 1982). The influence of crude evolutionism within archaeology has also been discredited, though the suspicion remains that the selection and application of ethnographic research is largely the matter of individual preference

(Wylie, 2002, 138). Explanation for the success of specific ethnographic analogies may be found in how ‘reasonable’ a parallel seems⁶. Interpretations of megalithic art for example, owe much to analogical reasoning from the 19th century, and therefore, due the length of time in which they have been in place, the terminology used and the outline of discussion are already pre-determined (Cassen, 2000b). A number of alternatives could be applied, none of which necessarily have to be observed ethnographic practices, though begin with the disadvantage of not having been in place first. The criteria for judging how ‘reasonable’ a parallel may be is therefore essential and is discussed in the next section. How applicable ethnographic parallels are in general is briefly considered below.

Leach (1973) is a particularly vociferous critic of archaeology’s use of ethnographic parallels, though in the decades since he wrote his critique much has improved (e.g. David & Kramer, 2001). It must first be noted that the use of some form of comparative method is fundamental, both in archaeology and in human nature generally. People relate new phenomena to schemes of perception that are familiar to themselves, this process within a scientific community is set out by Kuhn (1996). Within archaeology, the role of analogy is seen as a defining one, integral to any archaeological approach (Chang, 1967). Thus, the reasons for the choice of model and the way it is explained are in themselves worthy of consideration (Chippindale, 1989, see **chapter 8**). On a practical level, the choice of suitable parallels is dependant on individual evaluation of what fits the evidence best. This is highly subjective, though is closely linked to the expectation of the archaeological community and the normative influence it exerts on the individual. Thus the existing set of conventions within the archaeological field favour the use of parallels that fit in with ‘normal’ archaeological discourse and in this way they appear to appeal to ‘common sense’. Common sense in this case is just that: a shared set of values within an enclosed community (in this instance the archaeological community), that pre-judges individual work. For example, the previously implicit projection of modern ideas of the ‘individual’ onto prehistory, has recently been questioned (e.g. Brück, 2004, Fowler, 2004, Jones, 2005b).

⁶ The characteristic ‘reasonableness’ may owe itself to the fact that the model has been in place for so long

‘Common sense’ also often appeals to economic criteria, particularly in terms of rational choice (Baert, 1998, chapter 7) or environmental adaptation (e.g. Binford, 1972a). It is also manifested in terms of the process of ‘doing’ archaeology itself, specifically how the relationship between theory and data is conceived (Lucas, 2001, 10). The existence of shared, common sense values fit in well with generalising accounts that serve to provide some form of synthesis of a number of sites. Structuralist accounts, for example, are therefore preconditioned to apply ethnographic parallels directly to the evidence, even as an explanatory substitute for the social organisation⁷. However, direct substitution can work on a number of levels, all the way down to techniques of tool manufacture. Economic concerns, especially along themes of man-hour calculations, the division between work and leisure time, and conceptions of self, have highlighted the uniqueness of modern Western traditions, and illustrate the conceptual break between *then* and *now*. As a result of this, critical focus shifts to the reasons why certain parallels are selected over others and the implications of this in the history of archaeological interpretation. The incomplete nature of archaeological evidence demands that the gaps are bridged in some way, though the use of ethnographic evidence to do this is best conceptualised as an heuristic tool, rather than a range of social and cultural models that can be directly substituted. Selection of suitable parallels must reaffirm the distance between them and the past. The example previously used of Friedrich’s paintings highlights such a critical break and is used as a parallel with the archaeological approach, rather than with prehistoric ‘reality’. The paintings themselves serve as a reminder of the range of meaning with which landscape can be invested. Tim Ingold explores this in relation to the painting *The Harvesters* by Pieter Bruegel (Ingold, 1993, 165-171), relating the image of landscape to the experience of being within the landscape. However, this example could also become an implicit approach, especially as traditions of viewing paintings have helped construct a particularly modern way of conceptualising them (e.g. Daniels, S. & Cosgrove, D. 1988, Ingold, 1993, Gosden, 1999, 153). In turn, it is also important to address the ways in which we apply certain models and not others.

⁷ In this fashion they closely resemble structures of the *habitus* as outlined by Bourdieu (1999, see **chapter 5**)

2.10 Models within archaeology

The term ‘model’ in an archaeological context is a confusing concept and is often conflated with the terms ‘theory’, ‘hypothesis’ or ‘law’. Clarke defines archaeological ‘models’ as:

“hypotheses which simplify complex observations whilst offering a largely accurate predictive framework structuring these observations – usefully separating ‘noise’ from information. Which aspects are noise and which count as information are solely dependant upon the frame of reference of the model.” (Clarke, 1978, 31).

This definition is used by Gaffney as a departure point to describe how models can be used as:

“cognitive, visualising devices, as organisational or classificatory devices, as explanatory devices, or as constructional devices in the search for or extension of existing theory” (Gaffney, 1986, 91).

Thus, the use of models is primarily methodological in providing a tool to expand upon ideas and concepts relating to theoretical activity (Embree, 1992). Model-building as a process can embody the dialectical interrogation of evidence. From a very general position a refined argument can be derived, and from a complex situation more simple truths are uncovered. Models themselves are most useful simply because they represent a work in progress that can be altered, discarded or extended in imaginative attempts to interpret past human behaviour. Models are not simply a technique or neutral objective description, they are heuristic and therefore also shape the evidence that they represent. Models can be imported from other subjects to explain past behaviour, a good example found in ethnographic analogies of social and trade relations being applied to prehistoric Europe as mentioned above. Models of enquiry can also be imported, thus shaping the type of questions asked about the archaeological evidence. Thus a deductive-nomothetic model has been imported to archaeology from the sciences, presuming the existence of universal laws of human behaviour and considering those laws as discoverable through archaeological research. This is done through asking questions of the material generated by the principles informing the deductive approach. This resembles an intellectual

‘paradigm’ as put forward by Kuhn (1996, see **chapter 7**), whose own work is an exercise in model-building.

It is worth reiterating the dangers of such approaches. Firstly, the model can dominate meaning by becoming ‘self-evident’ or unquestioned as highlighted by Bourdieu:

“To slip from *regularity* i.e. from what recurs with a certain statistically measurable frequency and from the formula which describes it, to a consciously laid down and consciously respected *ruling* (*règlement*), or to unconscious *regulating* by a mysterious cerebral or social mechanism, are the two commonest ways of sliding from the model of reality to the reality of the model” (1999, 39).

Similarly, terminology that is often assumed *a priori* has to be theorised. Otherwise, archaeological evidence can be cut to fit into pre-established models. This has been highlighted within explanations of the European Neolithic (Sørensen, 2001, 101, Lewthwaite, 1987, 36) and can result in circular proofs. The use of models necessarily simplifies and generalises the evidence in order to better understand the processes at work behind a given social phenomena. This also allows comparison between different models that otherwise might seem incompatible. As such, many models fail to account for anything resembling the full and specific range of human activity. This thesis attempts to redress this balance through consideration of Bourdieu’s generative model (see **chapter 5**).

The predictive (or retrodictive) nature of modelling allows for a degree of testing the ‘accuracy’ of the model. There is no consensus about how best to test the applicability of a model, though from the philosophy of science three main strands are identified by Gaffney (1986). He highlights a probabilistic method whereby the likelihood “of an event being true in the light of experience” is estimated, a falsificationist school requiring criteria of falsification and the final strand that sees rejection of a theory as “a matter of faith rather than logic” (1986, 89)⁸. All of these approaches can be criticised as being overly simplistic and unsuitable for examination of complex entities such as societies, having been specifically developed within the

⁸ These competing ‘schools’ of thought are associated with Hempel, Popper and Kuhn respectively

history of science. There are also problems of application of these procedures, as the probabilistic or falsificationist methods are framed in mathematical terms difficult to apply to the study of human communities.

The application of models, which are essential for archaeological explanation, requires critical consideration. The criteria of suitability of application of a model, whether on the level of analogy or an actual model of approach, are rarely set out explicitly. More questions have to be asked about the past application of models, including what choices are made, by whom, and to what criteria when assessing how applicable an analogy or model of thought is. The history of archaeology can provide the answers to these questions, making explicit Gaffney's third type of theory test based on a matter of faith. This is closely bound up with Kuhn's ideas of paradigms and is addressed later (see **chapters 7**). The modern idea of 'landscape' itself acts like a model in shaping expectation as to the makeup of the archaeological evidence as it is described and interpreted. Certain characteristics are expected of a 'prehistoric landscape' and specifically a 'sacral' one, without which the term is not applied. Exploration of alternative views as models for imagining and experiencing landscape help to give perspective and escape a purely modern model of landscape. The choices made in this regard and the reasons behind them also offer considerable information on contemporary archaeological attitudes as to what constitutes a suitable analogy. Gaffney views the use of models as a 'building block' of the discipline (1986, 92), and although their applicability is ripe for reassessment, their underlying role is central. Returning to the deductive-nomothetic model, such an approach requires that underlying universals of human culture exist and can be identified through archaeology. Indeed, this assumption is present to a greater or lesser extent in most archaeological accounts. Such assumptions are rarely the subject of critical examination and it is to assumptions that the next section turns.

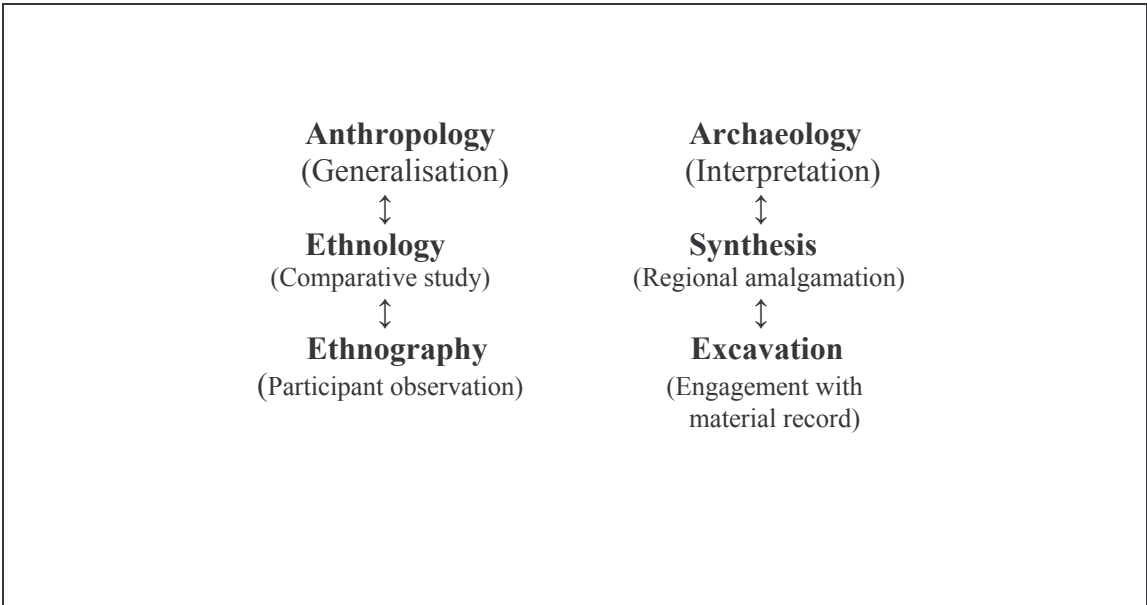


Figure 2.1: Structural similarity between anthropology and archaeology

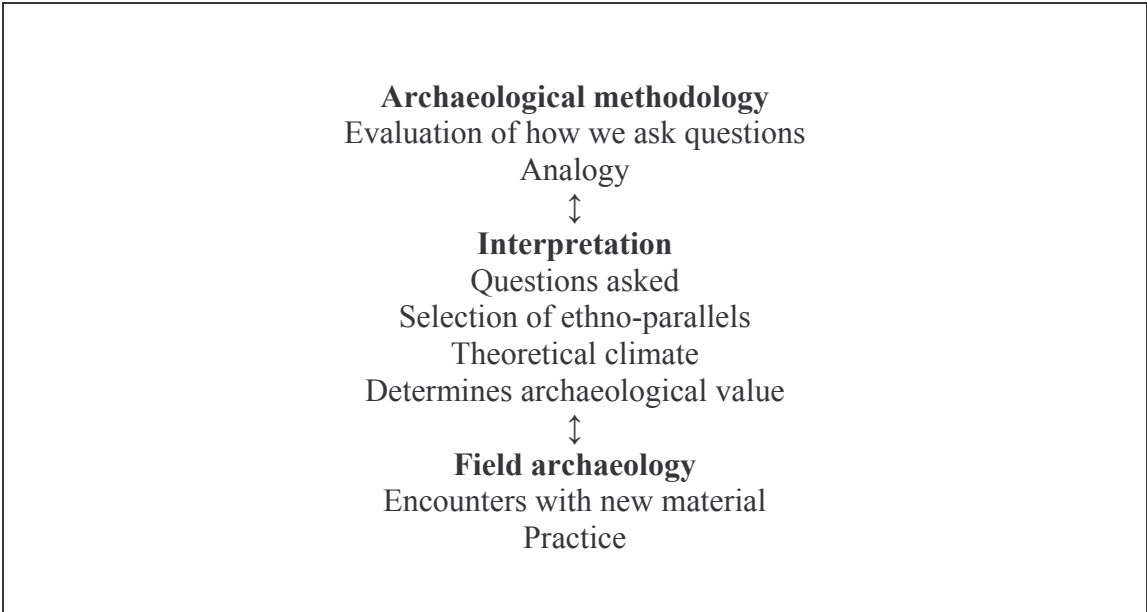


Figure 2.2: Relationship between different levels of archaeological activity

Chapter 3: Assumptions and Constants

3.1 Introduction

By their nature, underlying assumptions are usually obscured, taken for granted or remain implicit. In the contemporary theoretical climate, the need for the relationship between the archaeologist, the work he or she produces and the archaeological record he or she writes about, to be critically assessed and theorised is greatly emphasised. A good example of this is the underlying influence of gender, both in central concepts such as ‘landscape’ (Ashmore, 2006) to the practice of archaeology itself (Lucas, 2001, 7). Such need for self-reflexivity and examination of the underlying assumptions of archaeological work are critical factors highlighted by post-structural theory and have been in evidence in subjects such as anthropology for a relatively long time. However, the concept of a world subjectively constructed to a greater or lesser degree, characteristic of much post-structural thought, sits ill at ease with a subject such as archaeology which likes to consider itself as built upon scientific ‘fact’. Archaeological analysis requires some form of objective ‘yardstick’ by which competing archaeological interpretations can be measured, and this is traditionally believed to be the material record. This throws critical attention onto the relationship between the object of study and the theory used to interpret it. Alison Wylie has discussed this relationship in terms of tacking between the abstract theories that account for human behaviour, and the models that are used to interpret archaeological remains (Wylie, 2002, 161-167). A further dialectic is then considered between the application of these models and the specific archaeological evidence being examined. Wylie has termed these two dialectical processes as ‘vertical tacking’ and ‘diagonal tacking’ respectively, the former concerning the selection and formulation of principles, and the latter their application (Wylie, 2002, 165). Wylie therefore explores both the interpretive stance of the archaeologist, and the application of this interpretation to the archaeological record. The location of this within a two-way process accounts for how new material discoveries, or theoretical innovation, can act to render certain explanations untenable, thus acting as a constraint on archaeological speculation (Wylie, 2002, 166, 1982, 44). As a corollary, the more

strands of evidence brought to bear increase the force of the argument without necessary recourse to claims of objectivism (Wylie, 2002, 163, note 5).

It is the level of synthesis and interpretation that this chapter will primarily focus upon. The opening sections begin with a discussion of the archaeological assumptions that, either implicitly or explicitly and to a greater or lesser extent, inform both this thesis and most other archaeological accounts. From here, the second section deals with what can be considered to be archaeological ‘constants’. More precisely, these refer to a few basic principles that act as ‘building blocks’ for archaeological interpretation: the earlier mentioned yardsticks, by which the consistency of archaeological work can be measured. Ultimately, these factors are built upon the position that there is an objective world independent of the observer. The assumptions of archaeological discourse are roughly paired with the constants upon which they are ultimately founded, and this is reflected in the structure of this chapter. With so much in archaeology centred upon information and interpretation that is constantly in a state of flux it is important to identify the key foundations upon which to build. The two different aspects are roughly grouped in corresponding sequence, so that the archaeological assumption is mirrored by the constant to which it relates.

3.2 Assumptions

3.2.1 Time

It is important to explore the consequences of realising for time what has become apparent for landscape: that it is not simply a neutral backdrop over which human actors carve their lives (Gosden, 1994, Barrett, 1994, Lucas, 2005, Ingold, 1993, Gell, 1992, Murray, 1999, McGlade, 1999). After overcoming this assumption, a whole range of competing ideas as to how time is experienced and how this is manifested in the archaeological record emerge. In other subjects, in particular anthropology and sociology, time is compacted into an essentially timeless ‘snapshot’ of a society in which change is sacrificed for the exploration of social structure. This was a major criticism aimed at New Archaeology (Shanks & Tilley, 1987, Chapter 5), as although it allows for an easier systematic approach to social structure, the lack of

time depth restricted the value of reconstruction. However, for a subject that counts its ability to chart change over the long-term as a major strength, explicit theorisation of time is neither standardised nor realised in most archaeological accounts. This is not to say that one theory could adequately account for all aspects of time. A growing body of literature concerning time from within archaeology has emerged during the last three decades (e.g. Bailey, 1981, 1983, 1987, Bintliff, 1991a, Knapp, 1992, Murray, 1993, 1999, McGlade, 1999, Leeuw & McGlade, 1997, Lucas, 2005), although the influence of anthropological and historical work is apparent. A particularly Braudelian model of time is later used in this thesis as a way of ordering different processes over different periods (see **chapter 5**). Before this, how these structures work and how they are reconstructed from, and imposed upon, the archaeological record are considered. This is primarily done through a discussion of the literature that has informed and inspired the approach taken in the present work.

The initial approach taken by those who explicitly consider the problem of time is to divide it up. Braudel (1986) divides time into three sets of structures, Bailey (1981, 1983, 1987) differentiates between short-term processes located in the social and subjective spheres and long-term processes found in the ‘objective’ environment, whilst Bloch (1977) and Bradley (1991, 2002) divide time into the ritual and the mundane. Two central questions therefore emerge out of this concern with division. The first is concerned with how the different structures or dualisms within time interact. This is particularly highlighted by asking whether or not short-term processes can affect long-term ones. The second question focuses on how the classifications of time that are imposed upon the past can be justified, and how the effectiveness of these categories can be measured.

A good starting point from which to answer the first question is provided by Gosden’s book *Social Being and Time* (1994), as it provides a critique of previous approaches to time as well as developing some interesting ideas from within an archaeological context. Although not without its critics (e.g. Bender, 1995), Gosden’s work is commonly considered within more recent archaeological accounts concerning time (e.g. Bradley, 2002a, Lucas, 2005). Gosden concerns himself with connecting theories of time with materiality, and concentrates on how material artefacts and sites within a landscape setting reflect ideas of duration. Such an approach has obvious

advantages for a subject such as archaeology. Self-consciously non-deterministic, Gosden also attempts to avoid the difficulties that beset many post-processual accounts of landscape. For Gosden, these arise from a lack of consideration of materiality within the post-processual tradition combined with over-concentration on the abstract world of symbolic and higher thought; “time is not simply a mental ordering device, but an aspect of bodily involvement with the world” (1994, 7). By linking the relationships between different classifications of time explicitly to the material record on a landscape scale Gosden envisages material culture as actively constitutive of past attitudes towards time. In effect he links abstract theories of time to a material record he views as producing and reflecting those attitudes. This is highlighted by his view of different materials as having their ‘own’ times. However, it is important to realise that the ideas of time attributed to material are culturally relative, and not an immanent property of the material itself. A good example of this is the relationship between timber and stone (see **chapter 8**) found at many sacral sites. The relationship is often considered in a crudely evolutionary way, with stone more durable and therefore considered a superior form compared to earlier timber constructions (Gibson, 1998a). More recently, ethnographically-inspired accounts have explored a more nuanced role for the meaning of stone and timber (e.g. Bloch, 1997, Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina, 1998a, 1998b, Parker Pearson, 2000). Similarly, the replacement of timber with stone at Temple Wood in Kilmartin Valley example may represent more than a monument simply becoming more permanent, it may reflect a social change. Using Gosden’s approach it represents a breakdown in the unconscious functioning of time that the monument represents. Thus the change becomes an explicit way of coping with this crisis, a reflection of a problem within society and an attempt at remedy. This is based upon an assumption that change is precipitated negatively by social crises, which is debatable. Bourdieu’s work suggests a similar situation, with implicit rules and principles that guide practice and are only revealed when practical sense is ‘misfiring’ (Bourdieu, 1999, 104). The change in material at the site suggests that contemporary society is coping with some form of crisis within the normal functioning of practice, by literally reconstructing it through Temple Wood. Thus, Temple Wood provides a starting point from which to begin an investigation of how time is represented throughout an entire landscape, searching for similar changes or artefactual links. For now it is important to take from Gosden’s work that there are a multiplicity of times, and from this it follows that: “if time can

be experienced in different ways, even within the same society, it can also be studied at a number of different scales” (Bradley, 2002). This appears similar to the work of Braudel and it is vital to consider how these different scales interact.

The recognition, following Braudel, that time operates on, influences, and is experienced by society at different levels is crucial to formulating a suitable model of time. Braudel’s own model has been extensively criticised, however (see **chapter 5**). It is interesting to note that Gosden analyses but ultimately rejects Braudel’s scheme (1994, 9), before creating a similar three-fold division into which he groups different structures of time. These divisions involve the identification of the habitual time of the individual, a public time felt at the group level and beyond and finally a ‘sedimented time’ (*ibid*, 162). There are however, differences between the two models. Sedimented time is on a scale comparable to that of the *longue durée*, though it contains a human dimension: “We can see a long-term tradition as a cultural treasure, a recursive form of infinite time depth from the standpoint of the individual participating in the tradition” (*ibid*, 162). Public time is viewed as generally moving faster than the structures of habitual time, though by the Neolithic the embodied form of public time, provided by the monuments: “enabled public time to become long-lasting” (*ibid*, 162). As the structures of public time emerge as a response to crises in habitual time and as the form they take becomes increasingly durable, Gosden envisages them as being able to “build up an authority of their own, which gives them unequalled problem-solving powers” (*ibid*, 162). As an example of this process, Gosden refers to Bradley’s case-study of Stonehenge, where the stability of the monument is considered as an attempt to mask a period of considerable social change by providing a veneer of continuity (Gosden, 1994, 124). Thus, activity over time at monumental sites in particular can be used to investigate social change in general. Gosden’s model does have the advantage of making an explicit attempt to dialectically relate the different levels of time, an omission of which Braudel is accused, however unjustly. Braudel’s primacy of the *longue durée* finds a parallel in the work of Geoff Bailey (1983, 1987), and both could be labelled ‘environmentally deterministic’. Gosden disagrees with the primacy given to environmental factors, as he envisages human factors that can contribute to the longer-term structures. Examples of these include monumental architecture and depositional practice (Gosden, 1994, 156), two phenomena that survive in the landscapes of Kilmartin,

Drenthe and Morbihan. This also implies that shorter term processes, associated with human action, can in turn affect longer term ones.

Gosden envisages the chain of this relationship between short and long term processes within the archaeological record as stretching out across the landscape, providing a spatial component to the chronological scheme. The creation of any artefact, from a piece of pottery to a chamber tomb, is always placed within a 'framework of reference' (Gosden, 1994, 17). This involves the whole history of any one particular point in an artefact's life as containing the past processes that contributed to its creation and circulation, as well as the future anticipation of how that artefact will be used. Ideas of these processes are shaped by the conceptual categories and periods to which they are pre-assigned, so Mesolithic artefacts are considered in relation to the *chaîne opératoire* whilst Neolithic evidence is more likely to be considered against a backdrop of sacral activity throughout the landscape. The idea of landscape as growing or contracting according to the material culture considered, finds a parallel with the treatment of landscape according to monument type in the work of Jan Albert Bakker (1991).

This process of creating material culture is considered by Gosden to be characteristically habitual, occurring within habitual time and is thus primarily an 'unconscious' act. Unforeseen consequences (good or bad) can result in a breakdown of habitual practice which requires conscious action in order to 'fix' the problem. This action is again firmly placed by Gosden within the material record, for which sacral remains are particularly prevalent within the Neolithic. Gosden provides a general example of this process for the British Neolithic, where the problems that provoke a crisis within habitual action are connected to the perceived increasingly open and separated nature of communities (Gosden, 1994, 95). According to Gosden, this is actively and consciously countered by a widespread and homogenous material culture, periodically identified in prehistory such as LBK or Corded Ware cultures, and the construction of monuments that tend to anchor and acculturate the landscape. This leads to the creation of public time, as opposed to the individual time of habitual action. Eventually these forms of public time sink back into habitual time, subtly altering the habitus in turn. This is how, in Gosden's terms, the levels are part of a dialectical process. Such an approach does tend to invoke a simple problem: solution

causation. It is also important to highlight that the causes of alteration in habitual action need not be negative - the development of new technology being a good example - but that they still provoke a 'crisis' in that the unconscious mechanisms of habit are made explicit.

The reduction of the complexities of social life to a set of dualisms is unfortunately both characteristic of the discipline and the archaeological record (see **chapter 2**). The literal 'setting in stone' of ideas of time represented by the monuments is therefore important, as these outlive individual conceptions of time by their durable nature, ultimately providing the potential for reincorporation in different conceptual schemes. However, certain monuments were not built with durability in mind, and therefore the archaeological record is biased toward the reconstruction of ideas of time that function over the longer term. This can lead to circular reasoning, whereby monuments that survive are considered reflective of an ideology of permanence, which is why they are reasoned to have been built of durable material in the first place. This may or may not have been the case: for example, the act of construction itself may have been the most important element. Such circular reasoning tends to promote an image of the Neolithic as concerned with ancient and ancestral forces as opposed to the contingent action of everyday life (though for an alternative approach see Whittle, 2003). This also results in the former sphere being the focus of more research activity than the latter. On a different level this may also reflect the opposition between the treatment of 'traditional' societies and modern ones. Gosden also stresses the importance of time as experienced and created within everyday action. This action is primarily habitual, slow moving and reflects Gosden's approach of privileging Being (in Heidegger's sense of the word) as opposed to the mind in creating meaning and social knowledge (1994, 10).

Another area that has recently entered into archaeological debate concerning different temporalities is Non-Linear Dynamics (e.g. McGlade, 1999, Leeuw & McGlade, 1997, Leeuw, 2005, Beekman & Baden, 2005). This term covers a variety of approaches, heavily influenced from mathematics and the natural sciences, which consider societies as complex, open systems in which a level of discontinuity is the norm and that small scale changes can prompt effects felt over the longer term (McGlade, 1999). Similar to *Annaliste* approaches, different processes are viewed as

having different temporal rhythms, although the relationship between these rhythms is explored in more mathematical depth (Lucas, 2005, 17). A traditional narrative account of causal change is similarly eschewed and emphasis put instead on the changing rates of change, which display considerable variety from rapid transformation, to apparent stability (Leeuw, 2005, 182). In this way, society is viewed as in a constant state of discontinuity with the potential for change an ever-present, if low-level, possibility (McGlade & Leeuw, 1997, 6). This potential is often linked with individual agency and the range of novel ways humans react to societal and environmental stimuli (Lucas, 2005, 17). Through a mechanism of ‘feedback’ in societal systems, involving social processes such as “reproduction, cooperation and competition” (McGlade, 1999, 150), this inherent potential for transformation can be amplified and enacted. The trigger for such change is viewed as brought about by the intersection of different temporal rhythms, both within societal structures (e.g. between the individual and the community) or without (e.g. in relation to change in environmental processes). In turn, this leads to a ‘bifurcation’ or rupture, during which time seemingly minor events can spark extensive transformation (McGlade, 1999, 152). Change can therefore be internally generated, or arise in response to external factors, and can be the result of seemingly minor causes.

In this way, approaches utilising Non-Linear Dynamics attempt to combine a scientific approach with concepts of agency, as individual action is given a more explicit role as minor changes can end up having major effects (Leeuw, 2005, 183). However, within this scheme, the individual is still only given a ‘role’. The different temporalities within an *Annaliste* model can also be rescued from charges of determinism, through consideration of individual agency (explored in connection with Bourdieu in **chapter 5**), without reducing the individual in effect to another environmental variable, or relying on a mathematical model of human community. Notions of ‘feedback’ in society, internally generated change and the potential for wide-reaching effects of agency have also been addressed from other theoretical perspectives (e.g. Bourdieu, 1977, 1999, Giddens, 1984, Barrett, 1994, 2001, Dobres & Robb, 2000) without recourse to Non-Linear Dynamics.

In attempting to answer the second question posed at the beginning of this section, which concerns the ways in which the various divisions of time can be

justified and their effectiveness gauged, it is important to recognise the implications of imposition of such abstract schemes upon the evidence. The schemes imposed on the past come from a Western academic tradition, which is dependant on a clear break from the 'other'. The act of recording statements about the past itself changes how it exists in the present. The position of the observer, who can order and reorder past events, can attribute meaning and intention where none was there before. Thus, the contingency and urgency built into a specific decision can be lost when viewed from effect to cause (Bourdieu, 1999, 104 note 9). Similarly, the terms used concerning time within prehistoric society, would not be those recognised by that society and as such the alien nature of the terminology has to be recognised. This is important when trying to create a meaningful narrative about prehistoric people. The dualisms inherent in most of the approaches to time within archaeological accounts serve to mask an underlying dualism, that between relativism and universalism. This is dealt with below, and it serves to highlight how the concerns of the present are passed on to interpretations of the past. Before this however, a diversion into the implications that current preoccupations with time have for the past must be briefly considered. Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley draw attention to the influence of capitalism upon approaches to time within archaeology: "It is a commodified time allowing the calculation and comparison of incommensurate labour" (1987, 126). This is translated into the practice of archaeology through the importation of economic analogy, illustrated by the use of man-hour and least effort principles. It is also responsible for the division of aspects of life that in the past would not have been felt, such as the division between work and leisure time. This had an effect on accounts of the Neolithic, where 'free time' was equated with the construction of monuments, art and fine tools, thus contrasting a supposedly more comfortable agricultural lifestyle with the hunter-gatherer existence (Shee Twohig, 1993, 88). This was arguing from effect to cause and has since been rejected, particularly as the characterisation of the Neolithic and Mesolithic masks the regional variation of degrees of mobility and social organisation that both agriculturalists and hunter-gatherers display (Whittle, 2003, 40). Finally, this economic view of time is translated into chronological charts which act as "an index, a law applying to all events, a single all-powerful force" (Shanks & Tilley, 125).

In a similar way to the division between work and leisure time, the division between ritual and mundane time is also an artificial dualism. Nevertheless, both concepts hold very important consequences for archaeology and this is seen particularly clearly in the work of Bloch (1977) and Bradley (1991, 2002). Drawing upon Bloch's work, Bradley (1991) develops the idea of two types of time existing within society; an everyday sense of the passing of time, and a ritual communication, concerned with legitimisation and mobilising the past to this end. Bloch views the everyday sense of time as a universal factor, linking the perception of this form of time as fundamental to being human (1977, 283), whilst the ritual aspect of time is considered to vary between cultures. Through this, Bloch sidesteps the relativism/universalism dichotomy. Bradley on the other hand, stresses the importance of examining the ritual communication aspect within society; "There is an analogy between the chronological resolution achieved by prehistorians and the distinctive character of ritual, rather than mundane, time" (Bradley, 1991, 217). As mentioned in **chapter 2**, this split is easily explainable by the fact that Bloch is an anthropologist and Bradley is an archaeologist, and that therefore each works from a different sort of record. The dual nature of time, suggested by Bloch is a useful idea to include when considering prehistoric evidence, as is the warning against privileging ritual time. However, the privileging of mundane time may not be amenable in light of the archaeological record, as Bradley highlights (1991, 218). The character of this form of time as simply arising out of people's relationship with the environment is also questionable. Bloch's theory, is just that, a theory, an artificial split in how time is perceived. Raising mundane time to a universal concept and ritual communication to an implicitly lesser, culturally relative role is open to criticism. Similarly, although ritual communication is not considered to be a universal concept amongst society, Bloch identifies two ever present characteristics, the 'dissolution of time' and the 'depersonalisation of the individual' (1977, 287). This would seem to contradict the different nature of the two forms of time.

Regardless of the disagreement over which form of time is a universal, or whether one should be privileged, in terms of research, over the other, Bloch's dualistic division is effective as he creates a dynamic model for social change as a dialectical process between two types of communication (1977, 287). Bloch's critique of previous models (1977, 286), based implicitly or explicitly on a Marxist conception

of an infrastructure/superstructure division, highlights his desire to avoid dualist conceptions and create a model that can account for change. This is done by stressing the 'communicative' aspect of both forms of time. The relationship between conscious, public time and unconscious individual time put forward by Gosden is a similar attempt. In terms of the relationship between social structure and ritual communication, Bloch views the latter as representing an ideal view of the former. Furthermore, he suggests that ritual communication varies directly with the hierarchical nature of society; "the amount of social structure, of the past in the present, of ritual communication is correlated, with the amount of institutionalised hierarchy and that is what it is about" (Bloch, 1977, 289). This theme is explored by Bradley in relation to Stonehenge, though again the division between them as to which type of time is more amenable to study is apparent. Bloch identifies a conceptual split beyond mere disciplinary boundaries between scholars who research either the one form of time or the other. Both aspects are important, though Bloch stresses that focussing too much on ritual time obscures "the fact of the universal nature of a part of the cognitive system available in all cultures" (1977, 285). Thus, to Bloch, ritual cognitive systems are culturally relative and distortions of normal time, whereas time as it is experienced in everyday life is universal, and therefore applicable to any society.

The dualism considered extensively by Gosden, that between conscious and unconscious action, has implications for how prehistoric society conceived of their past, a topic explored in depth by Bradley (2002a). This dualism is criticised in its use within Gosden's work; "surely all life, habitual or not, is structured by conscious *and* unconscious meanings" (Bender, 1995, 180). Bender is of course correct, though when arguing in the context of prehistoric Europe the separation of the two terms can provide interesting results. Following Gosden, habitual practice at Neolithic monumental sites is represented by recurring ritualistic use and repeat interments while conscious action invokes a second concept of time, represented by the planning and creation of new monuments. Interplay between the two is explained by Gosden and Bourdieu as the reaction in conscious time to a crisis in *habitus*. This therefore provides a link between alteration of monument sites and changes in society generally. The second concept, involving the planning and creation of new monuments, is explored by Bradley (2002a). In discussing case-studies in Brittany

and on Arran, Bradley suggests that certain monuments were created with a pre-determined idea of their “cyclical destruction and replacement” (Bradley, 2002a, 92). For Bradley this is a function of memory and an important aspect of the conception of ritual time within prehistoric society and its essential ‘timeless’ quality. The replacement of timber uprights with stone in the circles of Machrie Moor is viewed as reflecting the statement that “Neolithic monuments change their form in a predetermined sequence” (Bradley, 2002a, 89). How ‘predetermined’ that sequence is will affect how radical that statement becomes, though it is interesting to compare this with Gosden’s idea of different materials having different ‘times’. If materials are conceptualised as having different connotations in terms of ideas of time, the association of different material with different structures of time seems likely. Bradley tentatively suggests an association of timber monuments with the living and stone monuments with the dead (Bradley, 2002a, 89). This is speculative, though at least suggests an optimistic view of what can be extrapolated from sacral sites. The recognition that this is closely bound up with prehistoric attitudes to the past, something that is little discussed, is an important one.

The need to theorise time and raise it explicitly from the level of assumption has been recently addressed (e.g. Lucas, 2005, Gell, 1992, Murray, 1999). Past discussions of time have resulted in its division, often into dualisms such as ritual/mundane, conscious/subconscious and individual/public. Such division is useful heuristically and can be tentatively recognised within the archaeological record. Underpinning each of these dualisms is a divide between relativism and universalism. In anthropology this is demonstrated by the stark choice between describing a society according to its own terms, which are bound up within the structures of that society, or choosing the terminology of the observer, outwith the structure of the observed society, but as such, is devoid of meaning. In archaeology, attention has to focus more on the terminology of the observer as prehistoric society only communicates through the material record. Nevertheless, universal standards can still be applied, and the ability to account for change is a persuasive factor in adjudging the applicability of any social model. After acknowledging the constructed nature of these dualisms, the main problem arises from how they relate to each other. From an archaeological perspective the answer has to reside in landscape, for which Gosden’s ideas are particularly useful. A loose framework within which these dialectics are continually

resolved is provided by Braudel's model of time (see **chapter 5**). Underpinning this whole discussion is the assumption that on some level, time is a universal factor within human life. To go further, this factor is integral to being human, without a common understanding of which little sense could be made of other cultures (Bloch, 1977, 283). Prehistoric peoples likely had a very different perspective from the modern scholar; nevertheless, a common ground must be established, otherwise archaeology would become a redundant discipline. This partially rests on the assumption that attitudes to time are in part preserved in the material record and can be recovered as suggested by the authors so far discussed (e.g. Bradley, 2002a, Gosden, 1994).

3.2.2 Uniformitarianism

An assumption that has been central to archaeology from its beginnings is that processes in the past are similar to those of today. Initially this was explicitly formulated within geology and related to physical processes. The importance of geological thought on early archaeology cannot be overstated, though the specific connection between processes occurring in modern times and those in prehistory is discussed in this section. A crucial division within archaeology is between 'operational' and 'substantive' uniformitarianism (Fletcher, 1992, 43). The former technically belongs alongside the archaeological constants as these form the frameworks with which we interpret the world. The principle of the radioactive decay of the carbon-14 isotope is one such operational principle (see below). However, the misrecognition of the fact that carbon-14 production has varied over time is not simply a substantive statement (*contra* Fletcher, 1992, 44) but was implicit in the reconstruction of the operational principles. Similarly to the assumption in geology that rates of deposition were uniform over time, the misrecognition of the changing production of carbon isotopes was of benefit in that it encouraged the development of an archaeological tool and ultimately led to the identification of the initial problem. Such a tangled history of development is hard to unravel into objective constants, and as such uniformitarianism is considered as an archaeological assumption.

Within archaeology, uniformitarianism has been implicitly adapted to social processes, resulting in 'substantive' models (Fletcher, 1992, 43). This leads to the

assumption that categorisation of what is meaningful today was similarly important in prehistory. Thus the types of archaeology that exist and the fundamental categories we employ rely on an underlying assumption that ideas of social complexity and competition, kin relations, burial, prestige (and the list could continue ad infinitum), are similar to those at work today. This immediately calls into question the ‘reality’ that is created through archaeological interpretation and whether it would resemble in any way the experience of a prehistoric individual. This is closely connected to the application of ethnographic models to prehistoric evidence and highlights the basis for comparison of different societies. This is particularly apparent in archaeology in models of social organisation, whereby aspects of material culture are linked to social characteristics, such as sedentism, tribal organisation or belief in ancestors (King, 2003, 46). Such a subjective flavour cannot be denied but also cannot be cast aside. The properties of stone, its durability, characteristics of fracturing and sources can all be investigated in an operational way, but ethnographic evidence as to how it can be treated, worked and used provides the human element of the story.

Within this chapter, ‘uniformitarianism’ as an assumption has been paralleled by ‘causation’ as a constant. This has been done as the former provides a way of rendering the causation that we discover, predominantly through stratigraphy, meaningful for modern narrative. The types of process that form the archaeological record have been investigated in similar terms to how physical processes are described (Schiffer, 1996) and contain assumptions about the similarity between the past and present. This serves to bring the past and present closer together by assuming that certain human and physical processes are constant in certain characteristics, particularly in the rate of change for physical processes, and structural similarity for human processes. Change at a gradual, steady rate also underlies evolutionary and typological approaches to social-cultural development, especially within late 19th century accounts. It is important however, to recognise that interpretation is built upon a modern rendering of the past and that as such (although physical processes are similar to modern ones), social similarities may be more imagined. This is illustrated by considering attitudes towards the rate of societal change. In the 19th century the fast pace of the industrial revolution was seen as deleterious (Trigger, 2003, 150) and this is reflected in contemporary archaeological accounts emphasising homeostasis as a natural state (see below). It is similarly hard to retain the view that prehistoric

people experienced change in the same manner as in the present, not least because of their relatively shorter lifespan. The basis for reconstruction of *their* reality contains a far reaching assumption therefore that is used to relate the remains we uncover to processes currently at work in human society. The grounding of this interpretation is not built on empirical fact, but another layer of interpretation, discussed in the next section.

3.2.3 The Archaeological Record

The ‘archaeological record’ as a concept is an interpretive layer built over past material remains. Due to this it is paralleled with the material record, or the ‘object’ of archaeology (see below). One of the most compelling assumptions held by archaeologists is that this interpretation constitutes a ‘record’ of past activity (Patrick, 2000) and the wider analogy of material culture as being a ‘text’ (Hodder, 1987, Kirk, 1993, 185). Whether or not this is a suitable analogy is being debated (Buchli, 1998), with a number of alternatives based upon the recognition of the distinct character of material remains and the requirement for a similarly distinct set of theories (Hodder et al, 1998, part 5). The textual analogy promotes the idea that the archaeological record can be effectively ‘read’ through consideration of material connections, in the same way that individual elements in a linguistic structure can be read by relating them to one another. This provides the observer with a privileged critical position and opens up the archaeological record to a range of structural and symbolic approaches. Archaeological material is therefore paralleled with linguistics, each piece of data constituting a sign within a logical scheme (Wylie, 1982, 41). The active but also abstract nature of this conception of the archaeological record is encouraging in terms of the potential for reconstruction of the overall scheme. However, it does highlight the fact that meaning is arbitrarily assigned, and is therefore not an immanent property of the material, reinforcing the role of context and potentially weakening the use of cross-cultural comparison. The linguistic analogy has been criticised (e.g. Bradley, 2005, 194), although metaphor is continually applied in order to interpret archaeological evidence (Buchli, 1998, Tilley, 1999). Thus, even though the textual analogy can be criticised, it does tend to be implicitly behind most archaeological interpretations, no matter how contextual or non-linguistic they claim to be (Williams, 2003).

Related to this is the idea that the archaeological record contains part of the blueprint of the society that created it (Watson et al, 1971). Burial evidence, as indicative of social status in life or as reflective of social hierarchy provides examples of this assumption (e.g. Binford, 1972b, Shennan, 1975). This can also be repeated on wider scales, with settlement hierarchies reflecting inter-societal relationships (e.g. Willey, 1953). That the archaeological record is not simply a direct reflection of prehistoric society has long been recognised, and the textual analogy has furthered the potential for examining symbolic and cognitive aspects (Hodder, 1986). This leads to the characterisation of material remains as active in a range of different ways that pose problems for interpretation, as active material can be a distorting factor. This can be seen in the interpretation of communal burials, specifically in monumental tombs, as masking differences in social hierarchy rather than reflecting an egalitarian community (Shennan, 1982, Shanks & Tilley, 1982). The correlation between material remains and the social or cultural factors to which they are linked, is thus not straightforward. Archaeological source material therefore becomes similar to that of history in the sense that sources have to be examined critically.

A textual analogy, although very convenient and allowing a range of powerful analysis, is still very much a modern construct. The archaeological record can also be 'read' in different ways. Alternative metaphors exist for viewing the archaeological record, though the textual analogy is dominant. The situation is further blurred when the archaeological process is used as a metaphor for the construction of information in other subjects (Foucault, 2002), an indication of the expectation of how effective the archaeological process is. It is important to remember that the material record is not a passive reflection of events, but would have been actively constitutive and potentially used to alter the image of social 'reality' or the group's vision of itself (Donald, 1998). Monuments also continue to communicate meaning in the present, though the message may be radically altered (Barrett, 1994, chapter 1). This is particularly clearly highlighted in Neolithic sites where deposition of 'domestic' waste is deliberately structured (Thomas, 1999, chapter 4, Pollard, 2001, 323-327), an alien concept to modern society and highlighted in the way that this practice is incorporated into archaeological narrative. This emphasises the point that data from the archaeological record is not a series of observed facts, but is a constructed object.

3.2.4 Universals

There are two assumptions behind the heading of ‘universals’ within archaeology. The first, shared with other humanities, is that there are universals of human behaviour. The second is that we can identify these general principles from the archaeological record. This is embodied by nomothetic approaches seeking to recover general laws from the evidence or confirming deductive approaches against the data. Both inductive and deductive methodologies can be applied in this way. The level and location at which universals reside is of particular interest for archaeological accounts. Lévi-Strauss attempted to identify such universals of human behaviour within myths that underlie apparent cultural variety, and the structures of language are also suggested as a common factor to human experience (Lévi-Strauss, 1972). Similarly, universals are also sought in religion. Experience of time has also been explored in relation to this topic by Bloch (1977; see earlier) as a shared and fundamental characteristic of human existence. Mithen locates the intrinsic characteristics of humanity within the architecture of the brain and the effects of language and action on its development (Mithen, 1996, chapter 3), an idea formulated by Darwin (Richards, 2002, 552 n86). In this chapter, universals are paralleled with the constant of change, particularly because change is observable over time whilst the identification of universals, essentially timeless, is much more problematic.

Universals of the human condition are fundamental to the use of comparison and analogy, and due to this archaeology tends to assume a pragmatic stance, avoiding questioning this potential problem or the pitfalls of conversely adopting a culturally relativist stance. As such it is tempting to include ‘universals’ alongside the constants and it seems apparent that on some level, no matter how basic, a common denominator in the human experience must exist. In these terms death is a biological universal, even if the experience of it and the response to it are culturally or individually specific. It is to the more secure foundations that this chapter now turns.

3.3 Constants

3.3.1 Absolute Dating

On the starkest level, absolute dating techniques are based on scientific constants, such as the principle of radioactive decay. From this point of departure, layers of method and interpretation are gradually added until theories of time can be built up. In this way dating techniques contribute to the archaeological experience of time, as opposed to that of people in the past. Dating techniques are a method of translating causation into a defined time-frame. The process of this has considerable interpretive and subjective stages, including the sampling strategy and the problems of associating dates collected from the material record with phases of the archaeological record. It is therefore important to remember that the constant at work is the technique of dating a deposit as opposed to absolute dating in itself. Dating techniques in themselves cannot provide the accounts of duration that archaeological consideration of time can.

The archaeological experience of time draws a parallel with how it was experienced in the past, particularly in attempts to comprehend time frames outside human grasp, often termed ‘cosmological’ time. Archaeologists utilise absolute dating techniques and carve up long periods of time into chronological schemes and periods. How prehistoric communities dealt with time is often discussed in terms of sacral monuments, particularly the potential they have for revealing a link between the cosmic order and the social order. This is related to the idea of ritual time essentially being ‘timeless’, and thus monuments potentially reproduce something of the ideal cosmic order. In turn, this may have acted as a template for the ideal social order, providing a model social template for ‘secular’ life. However prehistoric communities dealt with time, the traces they left do survive and the juxtaposition of this provides archaeology with a way of dealing with causation as outlined below.

3.3.2 Causation

Causation is paralleled with uniformitarianism in this chapter, but unlike the latter it does not involve questions of rate of change or of similarity, but simply of

occurrence. That events happen in a certain order, occasionally leaving a material trace, is the main constant of archaeology, and is retrievable through archaeological techniques. No matter how things are perceived, certain things happened in the physical world. This is manifested in archaeology through stratigraphy and though the details of what happened may remain in part unknown, it is at least possible to know that it happened before or after something else. Stratigraphy is often elevated in this respect to an observed fact, a direct window into the material record, and with the potential for re-interpretation after initial recording, thus provides the excavation report with an empirical, scientific feel. Thus the ‘physical foundations’ (Chang, 1967, 228) required to recreate past cultural dynamics are assumed to be present in the material record.

3.3.3 The Material Record

The material record reflects the material reality upon which the idea of the archaeological record is formed. The term ‘record’ is not neutral and carries conceptual baggage considered earlier (see **3.23**), but is retained for convenience sake. The existence of the material record is taken to be the result of causal factors of deposition and subsequent post-depositional processes. The archaeological record is the unearthing and interpretation of the material record in the present. In the same way that people in prehistory responded to their idea of the environment as strictly opposed to the actual environs (see **chapter 6**), archaeologists respond to their conception of the material record. Thus the material remains of the past are pre-sorted into existing categories. As the material residue of past human activity, the material record is the primary source for archaeology and is the reflection of causation as it survives. In this respect it is the ‘object’ of archaeological study as opposed to the ‘subject’ (Klejn, 2001, 12), of which the archaeological record is the treatment of the former, selecting what will be recorded and colouring how it will be interpreted. The processes that create this reflection of causation can also be reconstructed, allowing archaeologists a frame of reference around which to build interpretation.

However, what can be inferred from the material record is subject to a range of qualifications. At the most extreme the effect of excavation and survey can shape the record itself. Survey connects sites in the present that may have been unrelated in

the past. Excavation as a process physically alters the material record and elevates the information recovered onto an interpretive level, with the potential for mutability and multiple meaning to be ascribed to it. This is far beyond the realm of natural processes of post-deposition. The classification into artefact type or presumed site function serves to render material meaningful in the present, although by doing so the past is partly pre-formed. Within works of archaeological synthesis, information is related to the excavation report and not the material record itself, removing the objective reality a step further from the workings of the archaeological imagination.

3.3.4 Change

That things change is a given. How this is viewed and accounted for is what differs. In archaeology this is dependant on the scale of analysis, with explanations of change for the individual person varying from those employed to explain changes affecting whole communities. This latter scale of change is more detectable in archaeological analysis, though the constants of biological change - growth and death - were most immediate in effect on the individual as well as being of universal application. How change is considered is linked to how time is conceptualised, divided and experienced. This involves both biological and social influence. Within archaeology, how time is divided up affects explanation, with the divisions of chronology demanding explanations of change at specific points, generally between periods. Explanation of change within archaeological accounts is a difficult topic to unpick and in prehistory is generally discussed in relation to communities rather than the individual. Change is periodically seen as natural or unnatural to human society, either as an inherent factor or an effect from intrusive factors. The social background to these developing views of change is discussed later (see **chapter 7**).

Whether the rate of change is portrayed in a positive or negative light, it is evident that change is inherent in human society. Homeostasis only occurs in a society when a piece of it is carved off and studied by the sociologist or anthropologist. Change is a constant with a varying rate, and archaeology is well placed to trace such changes in the past over considerable periods of time. In older archaeological models the natural state of society was viewed as static and change was to be accounted for. Phenomena were explained in terms of 'revolutions'. If change is seen as the natural

state (or constant), the 'revolutions' are simply the moment that change becomes identifiable in the archaeological record and the onus of explanation shifts to questions of why periods of considerable stability occur. Explanations to account for change within archaeological narratives rely on a specific vocabulary. This is true for all of the assumptions and constants mentioned in this chapter. The terminology used shapes their meaning and efficacy in archaeological accounts and influences the archaeologist's perceptions of the material record. Selected aspects of this vocabulary are the topic of the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Terminology

4.1 Introduction

The previous section described some of the assumptions inherent in the archaeological approach. Terminology is the manifestation of these assumptions in archaeological literature. It supports the particular paradigm in which it is employed and provides a vocabulary that both enables and delineates the expression of ideas. At its best, this allows succinct and precise communication between practitioners in the same field, at worst the terms exclude others from participating in debate and colours new information with conceptual baggage. This chapter serves partly as an explanation of several terms in order to fix their meaning more securely in relation to their use in this thesis. The other aim of this chapter is partly one of justification, to rationalise why certain terms are used in the way that they are. The selection of the word ‘sacral’ as opposed to a range of other possibilities including ‘ritual’ and ‘ceremonial’ is an example of this (see below) and it is hoped that the reasons behind its selection will help clarify the meaning of the term. Terminology also serves to highlight inter-disciplinary boundaries, and the vocabulary specific to *Annaliste* traditions and the work of Bourdieu will be examined in the next chapter (see **chapter 5**). Importation of terms from the former highlights some of the dangers of terminology. Braudel’s (1958) formulation of the *longue durée* repeatedly appears in archaeological work, though with little or no consideration of the theoretical context from which it derives its meaning (e.g. Kirk, 1993). On an archaeological level, the terms for individual site and artefact categories vary according to distinct traditions of research and classification, an important consideration as the three areas under consideration are in different countries. Terminology can also prove durable, surviving long after the original meaning has disappeared or the type of site has proven unsatisfactory. Thus, we still have *cromlechs* in France, though there is little agreement as to what such a term alludes. This section will deal with some general terms associated with characteristics of certain types of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monument with the specifics of the varying typologies detailed later (see **chapter 6**). It is clear that terminology is not neutral, but helps shape the very classifications

on which it is built. Before turning to a series of important terms, the implications of these underlying classificatory schemes and the terminologies they employ are briefly explored.

4.2 Implications of Terminology

Classification of the material world is inherent in what it is to be human, while terminology is the extension of this into a disciplinary system. Such systems are historically contextual (Foucault, 1997) and a breakdown in terminology signals a collapse of the concepts upon which they were built. Especially visible within academic disciplines, terminologies are reflective of dominant narratives and therefore generally of the ‘establishment’. This is also reflected geographically, with regions considered marginal in modern times often similarly marginalised in discussions of prehistory (Barclay, 2004, see 4.6 below). Competing narratives express themselves either using dominant terminology or by positioning themselves in opposition to it, thus immediately suffering from the disadvantage of being defined by the position that they oppose. Terminology also excludes others from participation in debate. This can include other archaeologists, members of other disciplines, the public generally and those directly affected by archaeological excavation and interpretation. This is more clearly seen within anthropology and the history of relations between practitioners and the people they study. Terminology is built around modern classifications, often constructed in analogous forms with biological ordering and thus the divisions that are made are artificial and primarily meaningful to the modern observer. These divisions also extend to the quantification of time, a continuing trend linked to the commoditisation of time inherent in capitalism. Braudel’s model of time (explored in **chapter 5**) is an attempt to separate out the different processes at work, for Braudel,

“The final effect then is to dissect history into various planes, or, to put it another way, to divide historical time into geographical time, social time and individual time. Or, alternatively, to divide man into a multitude of selves” (Braudel, 1986, 21).

Terminology is constantly torn between two poles, the specific and the general. If a term becomes too specific it can become overly jargonised, eventually

becoming too restrictive to be useful. To the other extreme, a term that becomes too generalised can become a truism, too incorporating and vague to be meaningful. Terms can become so widespread that they sink to a level immune from critical discussion, their specific meaning becoming increasingly ambiguous. A good example of a difficult term in this respect is ‘landscape’ itself, approached in terms of art history in **chapter 1**. The etymology of the word is traced back to the 16th century Dutch term *landschap*, a term initially employed in a far less aesthetic manner than in the 19th century (Schama, 1995, 10). This serves as a reminder of a central problem within terminology, and especially for classification – to what extent are the terms used today relevant to how people lived in the past? Hodder approaches this problem in a similar etymological fashion, tracing his vocabulary of *domus*, *agrios* and *foris* to Indo-European roots (1990). This does at least highlight the problem, though the structuralist foundation for Hodder’s study finds a suspiciously modern reflection in the evidence that he selects. The relationship of the observer to the observed is also brought into stark relief when discussing the term ‘landscape’, a subject which Caspar David Friedrich also addressed. Landscapes are conceived as bounded, human creations portrayed in two-dimensional form from an ‘outsider’s viewpoint’. Timothy Darvill (1997, 3-4) has criticised previous approaches to landscape in archaeology as being variously; over focussed on defined sites, lacking in attention to ‘empty’ spaces, putting primacy on physical dimensions, lacking in attention to social dimensions and emphasising stasis over change. Despite attempts to locate the archaeologist with the ongoing process of landscape creation (e.g. Ingold, 1993), the archaeological ‘observer’ of a landscape is considered to be in a privileged position, selecting what to study and; “reading the landscape as historians might read documents” (Ingold, 1992, 694). Archaeological landscapes are also defined by monuments, as opposed to the people who lived in them.

Current archaeological terminology is linked to modern ideology and in turn shapes how people think and construct narratives, though change does occur. In terms of how ‘landscape’ is treated within archaeology, a considerable development can be traced, from landscape being regarded as a backdrop for historical cultures, to the quantification and middle range theories of the ‘New Archaeology’. This was followed by landscape viewed as subjugation of nature, revealing an explicit contemporary ‘socio-economic bias’ (Topping, 1997, ix) to the range of landscape

approaches of today (e.g. Ashmore & Knapp, 1999). What is clear is that the term 'landscape' refers both to a physical environment and a conceptual one. This demonstrates the potential flexibility of terminology, though with it comes problems of demarcation. The physical extent of the landscape to be studied becomes a problem and is generally solved by respecting topographical or modern political boundaries, an insufficient solution when considering landscapes are conceptually constructed. In an archaeological context this problem is often overcome by considering the distribution of other forms of archaeological material, thus the landscape stretches to encompass these site or artefact types. However, this simply shifts the problem to another category of evidence that ultimately may be operating on a huge range of scales, from the individual site to participation in a global system. Therefore, related to this problem of what to study and how to demarcate and account for it is the idea of 'culture', which is examined below.

4.3 Culture

The concept of 'culture' as it has come to influence archaeology has 19th century roots (Jones, 1997, 16-17), though is most associated with the early 20th century and the emergence of culture-history, replacing evolution as the major influence over archaeological explanation. The works of Childe are integral to the development of a specifically archaeological conception of culture, though in this the earlier work of Kossinna had a critical influence (Trigger, 2003, 163-6). Initially, 'culture' is formulated by Childe in purely archaeological terms as a classification for recurring associations of material types (Childe, 1929, v-vi). In this approach 'culture' is empirically established as something that can be observed, and it is only in his later work that Childe considers the subjectivity of classificatory schemes in this regard (McNairn, 1980, 57). The 'material record' (see **chapter 3**) therefore becomes the 'archaeological record' through the idea of 'culture', ordering material remains into past human activity. The reconstruction of human culture from archaeological culture in Childe's approach, and shared in the work of many others, rests upon a division between an economic base and ideological superstructure, the latter being both harder to reconstruct and less essential to human success. Culture is also directly linked to the environment, another influence of biology with the idea of adaptation, though the ideological nature of the environment itself described by Childe prevents an entirely

deterministic view (Childe, 1949). The potential for reconstruction of human activity from archaeological culture is focused at the level of communities, with group norms and influences traceable through their existence in the archaeological record and linked in reaction to the environment (McNairn, 1980, 60-61). Cultures were viewed as discreet entities and thus were easily written about in terms of historical narrative concerning contact, colonisation and conquest (e.g. Jones, 1997, 25, Piggott, 1967). The New Archaeology also considered ‘culture’ in relation to the environment, but specifically as an adaptive mechanism. Culture was recast as a system, with explanation of change in relation to social processes, as opposed to reflecting “ideational norms” (e.g. Binford, 1962, 1965, Clarke, 1968).

The concept of archaeological culture is also a heuristic tool, demarcating the material record into areas suitable for investigation and rendering them amenable to be used in narrative. For Childe this demarcation was spatial, and whilst chronological division was useful heuristically, he viewed it as detrimental to understanding (Childe, 1956, 95). Material culture was linked to ethnic or racial entities building upon a 19th century trend in anthropology. In archaeological methodology this appears in the use of craniology (see **chapter 7**), both to identify separate races and to assign the skull and associated artefacts to a certain period. The shape of the skull was even used conceptually to link mortuary monuments in long and round mounds to long and round-headed people (e.g. Greenwell, 1877, 122).

‘Culture’ is neither wholly materialistic or idealistic. The archaeologist works from the material, and the role of materiality in actively constituting social life is central (Dobres, 2000, Dobres & Robb, 2000a). However, it is also important to consider prehistoric worldview, and this can be approached through the concept of *mentalité* (see **chapter 5**). This links with Tim Ingold’s reconstruction of what the anthropologist investigates in terms of stepping back from both nature, and the subject community’s worldview, in order to show how experience is “given form and meaning within those received patterns of interconnected images and propositions that, in anthropological parlance, go by the name of ‘culture’” (Ingold, 200, 14-15). *Mentalité* is approached at the level of the group and the shared norms and values can be viewed as operating in a way akin to the *habitus*. Investigating prehistoric *mentalité* is fraught with difficulty, although is implicit in many of the categories we

employ. The transition between the Mesolithic and Neolithic for example is often now characterised in terms of a shift in world view (e.g. Cauvin, 2000, Hodder, 1990), as opposed to a change in the material conditions of production. The question of to what extent archaeological culture reflects prehistoric ‘reality’ therefore is hard to gauge. On a material level, recurring sets of assemblages have been viewed in the past as displaying some form of ethnic or racial patterning (e.g. Childe, 1929). However, this has been shown not to necessarily be the case (Jones, 1997, 106-110).

For this thesis, ‘culture’ is viewed as the guiding principles for social acts. Culture is therefore the next level of interpretation within the archaeological study of society. In this way, the term can be expanded or contracted to cover various spatial or chronological extents, though it is based upon the social and not the ethnic. Thus the social is the specific form that the cultural principles generate (Bell, 1992, 33), a process modelled by Bourdieu (1999, see **chapter 5**). Therefore, what can be reconstructed are both the activities of individuals and groups, and something of the ideology that informed that activity. This may seem to be an issue of semantics, it means that any extrapolation about ‘archaeological culture’ is made upon an interpretation of the social. ‘Culture’ is then explicitly an interpretation based upon interaction with material remains, as opposed to a static classification based on recurrence of association. Childe’s formulation of culture was based upon archaeological ‘types’, viewed as the basic unit of classification (McNairn, 1980, 66). The influence of types is similarly prevalent throughout contemporary archaeology, and the characteristics of ‘type’ in general are discussed below.

4.4 Type

Archaeological ‘types’ are closely related to the geological idea of ‘type-fossils’ with similar connotations as to how they reflect activity in the past. Type is linked to culture through context, with the recurrence of combinations of different sets of types generally taken as constituting an archaeological culture, or at a wider scale, an archaeological region (see below). In archaeology ‘types’ cover a variety of artefact and site forms. They are also constructed on a sliding scale from the specific to the general, thus the ‘Clyde’ variety of tombs display a number of particular characteristics, though they are also members of a more generalised type of

chambered tombs. This monument type is then part of a wider tradition of the construction of megalithic monuments. This is very similar in spirit to a biological classification of type. During the Romantic period, the idea of the ‘archetype’ was developed, primarily by German scholars, as an ideal form to which individual examples were then related (Richards, 2002). This was linked to the ‘ideal forms’ proposed by Plato, where ‘type’ is first apprehended mentally before identifying specific examples in the real world. In archaeological classification of type, the criterion for ordering is often based upon a restricted range of characteristics and is thus not a complete entity. This is different from the German idea of archetype, which incorporated the totality and complexity of a form, and is similar to the British development of this idea whereby membership to a category of evidence is based upon the occurrence of the most basic characteristic of the archetype (Richards, 2002). Thus, tombs are put in sequence according to chamber development or mound construction. These typologies are fragments of wider, more implicit conceptions of particular phenomena, or ‘archetypes’ that underlie archaeological narrative. In this thesis, the notion of a ‘sacral landscape’ is a particularly powerful archetype. The degree of classification of type is also important, with many typologies based upon increasingly specific features, unlikely to always have been meaningful in the past (McNairn, 1980, 68).

Types gain their real explanative power when arranged in a sequence, therefore the recurrence of general types is central to this approach. Archaeological examples that radically depart from generalised types are thus problematic. The site of Temple Wood in Kilmartin for example, changes radically over time. At a certain phase of development, the site resembles a stone circle, although there are not many stone circles in the immediate vicinity, so Temple Wood is either compared to stone circles in other areas or to a tradition of stone uprights within a more local area. On a landscape scale, the specifics of Temple Wood can be subsumed under the abstract term ‘site’ (Dunnell, 1992) and compared in terms of contemporaneous sites located through a landscape. Thus, it is not sites in their entirety that are being compared, but select aspects of them: in the case of Temple Wood this includes the chronological period, the presence of stone uprights and decoration, and the location of the site as part of a sacral landscape. A tension between the unique and the general is therefore ever present in the definition of types. Attempts to overcome this potentially

damaging problem of defining types have been discussed in other subjects, notably biology in the 19th century (Richards, 2002, chapter 14).

4.5 The Sacral

The term ‘sacral’ was chosen to provide the main term for description of the three landscapes under study. Several other terms could have been selected in this respect, though ‘sacral’ conveys a certain range of meaning that is particularly apt. The Oxford English Dictionary defines the term as: “Of or pertaining to sacred rites and observances; set apart for a religious purpose, sacred; pertaining to that which is sacred.” ‘Sacral’ thus contains aspects of the other terms that might have reasonably been preferred, particularly ‘ritual’ or ‘ceremonial’, in that it refers to rites and observances. However, it also alludes to a physical separation of the sacred, a major theme in accounts of the landscapes of Kilmartin, Morbihan and Drenthe. The term ‘ritual’ has specifically anthropological connotations, and while it focuses upon physical, particularly repetitious, action which can be identified at Neolithic monuments, it can therefore be too prescriptive in terms of what it describes. The term ‘ceremonial’ is similarly restrictive and it retains more modern connotations in relation to ritualistic acts. Early published accounts containing the term ‘sacral’ date to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, particularly in the work of Arthur Evans (e.g. 1901), and the term occasionally resurfaces in archaeological writing concerning landscape (e.g. Knapp & Ashmore, 1999).

In terms of the study of archaeological landscapes, a ‘sacral landscape’ is envisaged as separate from the mundane. This separation is manifested physically in the archaeological record, though it is noted that landscapes are conceived conceptually and thus their attributed meaning within a society may not be recognisable to an outsider, or indeed leave any visible trace. Sacral landscapes display certain characteristics that recur during the Neolithic and Bronze Age in north western Europe, including a density of monumental sites which act as foci for repetitious action. Similarly, a concern for the treatment of the dead and a concentration of sites difficult to categorise in terms of everyday life suggests a focus on a more metaphysical realm. This concept of a ‘sacral landscape’ is particular to the history of research of Atlantic Europe and is derived as much from the early

influences upon archaeology as from the archaeological record. The material record differs substantially from other areas of Europe, where settlement sites seem to provide a durable arena for symbolic expression and social negotiation. The identification of ‘sacral landscapes’ particular to Atlantic Europe during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age is therefore based both on the history of archaeological interpretation alongside patterns in the material record. Within this potential type there is considerable variation alongside recurrent similarities. The articulation of this in relation to other contemporaneous evidence of Neolithic communities is provided by the discussion of ‘regions’ in prehistory, discussed below.

4.6 Regionality

Identifying regions in prehistory involves the combination of geographical and archaeological information. This is complicated when physical boundaries do not form cultural ones (Barclay, 2004, 39) and is further hampered by more modern division, both politically and academically. Regionality is a politically charged topic in the context of terminology and is closely linked to conceptions of core and peripheral areas in modern times. The ability of a ‘centre’ to impose descriptive systems on other regions, thus imposing norms, has been previously discussed within archaeology (Barclay, 2004). For the Kilmartin area, interpretive models are often imported from well researched areas in Wessex or Orkney, and Scotland as a whole is often viewed as peripheral, both in Britain and Europe (Kinnes, 1985). Within Brittany, the *Golfe du Morbihan* is often viewed as a regional core, though in relation to the rest of France it is viewed as peripheral to events further east in the Paris basin. Scarre characterises the debate of the extent of eastern influence on Brittany as a province-versus-Paris dispute, with those writers favouring eastern influence being depicted as resident in Paris (1992, 121). Similarly, Drenthe is viewed as a core area in the Northern Netherlands and a source of regional pride (Bakker, 1979c, 151-152), though is relegated to the western periphery by studies of the TRB (Midgley, 1992, chapter 3) and is largely interpreted through analogy with Danish evidence (e.g. Bakker, 1992, 89-97).

The extent to which archaeological regions can be identified as existing in prehistory has also been addressed (Sharples, 1992, Barclay, 2000, Thomas, 1998).

Traditionally this has been determined inductively by finding recurrent associations of material remains (e.g. Piggott, 1954, Childe, 1940). This is ultimately derived from the archaeological formulation of ‘culture’. Geographically, islands form a bounded area and are often investigated as a whole (e.g. Patton, 1996, Waldren & Ensenyat, 2002, Broodbank, 2000). They are still located within wider cultural areas however (Cummings & Fowler, 2004), and the sea has long been recognized as a travel route and not necessarily a barrier. Some inland areas can also be viewed as ‘islands’ due to their remoteness, isolation or the fact that they appear geographically bounded (Braudel, 1986, 150). In prehistory, this separateness likely invested such places with special associations (Cunliffe, 2001, 10-5). Whether through research bias, vagary of survival or actual prehistoric importance, certain types of evidence are given particular priority when identifying regionality, in particular, pottery and monumental tombs (Carver, 1998). A deductive element is present in the use of analogy from well-researched areas to interpret other locales. The ‘region’ in which Kilmartin finds itself is defined by a number of criteria and over a number of scales, but is never entirely satisfactory. The region can be defined geographically by linking it to the Irish Sea, the Western Isles, areas inland or even the Atlantic façade as a whole (Cunliffe, 2001). It can also be defined by recurrent archaeological features, the distribution of chambered tombs of ‘Clyde’ type, distinctive pottery or traditions of stone decoration (e.g. Scott, 1969, Henshall, 1963, 1972). Finally, the ‘region’ around Kilmartin can be defined as peripheral to core areas, typically Wessex or Orkney in a British context (Barclay, 2004). The region around the *Golfe du Morbihan* is similarly defined, with links along the Garonne to the south or the Loire to the east being respectively emphasised and elements of monumental architecture or artefact provenance providing different scales of cultural spread (Patton, 1994). The regional classification of the Drenthe area is primarily derived from a mixture of the geographical plateau, the presence of *hunebedden* and the modern district boundary (Raemaekers, 1999, 26). What is apparent is that none of these categories provide an exact correlation.

The idea of different processes operating over different time-scales (see **chapter 5**) can provide a more satisfying way of connecting the three areas to wider rhythms. Monumental architecture by itself is not a good barometer of social or cultural change. On one level, the presence of different types of megalithic and non-megalithic burial connects Kilmartin into wider traditions across Western Europe and

has been used to provide very general analogy between disparate societies. Specifically in Kilmartin Valley and the surrounding areas, the architecture of the chambered tomb monuments belongs to a type labelled 'Clyde' cairns (Henshall, 1972). Thus, Kilmartin is immediately located within two rhythms, one a widespread tradition of megalithic mortuary monument and one a localised expression of this idea. From here we can then turn to other associations that further locate Kilmartin within a broad Neolithic tradition whilst serving to distinguish it from other regions. Change and development are more likely reflected in other factors than architecture, with pottery decoration and post-construction activity at monuments good examples of action that can be modified to suit individual needs far more easily than the construction of large tombs.

4.7 Personhood

Archaeological considerations of 'personhood' have recently become an important area of research (e.g. Fowler, 2004, Brück, 2004, Jones, 2005b, Chapman, 2000). This can be viewed as refocusing on 'bottom-up' approaches, building narrative around prehistoric individuals and smaller groups, as opposed to giving primacy to longer-term structures. In this way, accounts of personhood are closely linked to archaeological treatments of 'agency' (e.g. Barrett, 1994, Dobres, 2000, Dobres & Robb, 2000a), although the perpetuation of an opposition between structure and agency that is therefore created can be viewed as deleterious (McGlade, 1999, 148).

Focussing on personhood emphasises the multiple ways people can be constructed and conceived of, including gender, age, caste, religious or ethnic components of identity (Jones, 1997, Gero, 2000). What is primarily stressed is that the modern concept of a bounded individual may not be suitable when considering prehistoric people. In relation to this, the relational aspects of personhood have been explored and the idea of 'dividuality' discussed in the interpretation of prehistoric material (Jones, 2005b, 195). 'Dividuality' is the portrayal of personhood as composed of social relations and comprised of multiple elements, some of which may be located outside of the individual biological body (Fowler, 2004, 8). Chris Fowler discusses such composite forms of personhood in relation to the concepts of

‘permeability’ and ‘partibility’ explored through case studies of Indian and Melanesian ethnographies respectively (Fowler, 2004, chapter 2). Although ‘permeability’ and ‘partibility’ are considered structuring principles, it is important not to reify any particular ethnographic portrayal of dividuality (Jones, 2005b, 195). Permeable personhood involves the makeup of the individual being conceived as a flow of substances (Fowler, 2004, 9). Partibility involves transferring part of personhood to biologically extraneous objects, such as artefacts, which are then involved in social exchange and the construction of the personhood of others (Fowler, 2004, 25-30). Partibility may have a more direct application to archaeology therefore as it specifically involves exchange and deposition of material culture. For example, fragmented objects can represent the dispersal of the individual after death (Brück, 2004, Chapman, 2000).

Personhood is not viewed as an immanent property, but rather a contextually negotiated construction (Brück, J. 2004, 312). Personhood is not necessarily conferred on every individual but can also be attributed to non-human entities, such as objects or animals (Ingold, 2000, 89-92, Fowler, 2004, 59-65). In a partible system, objects can also be conceived of as being part of people, and it is this that may be identified within the material record (e.g. Chapman, 2000, Jones, 2005b, Brück, 2004). Personhood is viewed as constructed through relations with others and material culture, and is thus mediated through events, from the small-scale such as cooking, to more communal events such as funerals (Fowler, 2004, 155). Fowler explores conceptions of the person through attitudes and rites surrounding death, often involving the disintegration of the individual and subsequently the reintegration of social links amongst the surviving community (Fowler, 2004, chapter 4). The dead may still retain a personae, though as in any rite of passage, the community conception of this personae is irrevocably altered (Fowler, 2004, 81). A good example of these changes can be found in the treatment of the body of the deceased. Bodies, like conceptions of personhood, are fluid and changing, and are potentially located outside the confines of the biological person (Hamilikas et al, 2002b, 2). After death, the treatment, deposition and circulation of parts of the deceased reflect the concepts of personhood within that society. Funerary deposits have been explored in relation to our conceptualization of the individual in the material records of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age societies (see **chapter 8**; Jones, 2005b, Brück, 2004). Another interesting

aspect of some individual constructions of personhood is that it can be viewed as containing the makeup of the community on an individual scale. This idea of ‘fractal’ personhood (Fowler, 2004, 48-52) has interesting potential, especially for example during the Early Bronze Age of Western Europe where we find the burial of individual people under mounds, as opposed to the funerary rites of the majority of the population. Therefore it is possible that burials such as these represent something of the community, rather than simply being the individual rites accorded to an important person. The dichotomy between individual and community could therefore be avoided (Fowler, 2004, 159), although the scientific analogy of ‘fractals’ may not be suitable for direct application to complex human societies.

Ultimately, personhood is closely linked with the concept of agency as people create their own identity through relations with others and interaction with their material environment (Ingold, 2000, 99, Barrett, 2001). There is a danger of being overly prescriptive in the application of ideas of personhood derived from ethnographic study, and that the exploration of specific individuality, which is difficult but possible, is overlooked (Hodder, 2000). What is important is that the acceptance of a variety of potential ways to construct personhood and identity, undermines the concept of the fully bounded ‘individual’, and that this has to be taken into account both in theories of agency (Robb, 2005, 5) and in archaeological narrative. Similarly, several core elements of agency theory can be applied to the construction of personhood, particularly the focus on materiality, the effects of past traditions and the fact that people change as well as reproduce the structures in which they find themselves (Robb, 2005, 5). It should also be noted that discursive reflection on the creation of identity likely played a part in personhood (Hodder, 2000, 23, Fowler, 2004, 158) and that not everything is located at the level of engagement with the material world, though this is the surest starting point for archaeological analysis.

4.8 Style

Narrative style is important to address as this is how terminology is deployed in practice. However, in archaeology ‘style’ is a widely used term with a number of meanings and connotations. Style is also used as an object of analysis, especially in

regard to pottery or artefact decoration. In this case, the processes at work during the decoration of pottery may have been similar to those at work during the production of archaeological texts, conveying a type of information in relation to the dominant terminology. Style is also discussed in relation to 'lifestyles', and the connotations that are conjured up by the labelling of communities by their subsistence strategy. In this section, however, style is considered in its role of conveyance of meaning in archaeological discourse. These types of archaeological discourse vary, from excavation reports to histories of past communities. The material record represents activity that was meaningful to prehistoric people. The manner in which this activity is described has a strong influence on how the past is represented and therefore interpreted, in the same manner that physical reconstructions of sites tend to fix their significance in the present.

The question of 'style' in relation to material culture has been influenced to a great extent by the debate sparked between a series of papers by James Sackett (1982, 1985, 1990) and Polly Weissner (1983, 1985, 1990). Sackett's view of style is that it is a general category, and not simply something added on to the functional requisites of an artefact, but crucial in the selection and form of the artefact itself (1982, 1990). This view is encapsulated in his concept of 'isochrestic variation' (1982), with style considered as at one with function and a passive reflection of cultural norms learned through practice and habitual action. Weissner contested the passive characterisation of style, viewing it as actively manipulated and essentially communicative, with selection being the result of historical conditions, rather than general principles of selection (1983, 1985). Sackett criticises this view as separating style from function and locates style firmly within habitual action, as opposed to discursive manipulation (1985, 1990). Shanks and Tilley suggest that regardless of whether style is viewed as practical or discursive, it is still active, and that even when viewing style as a general category there is a tendency to view it as somehow secondary to function (1996, 144-6). Indeed, they go as far to view function as secondary to style (Shanks & Tilley, 1996, 144). Both Sackett and Weissner's arguments rest on a concept of group identity, whether delineated through culture or ethnicity, though do not explore how they are defined and changed (Lucas, 2001, 87).

In terms of narrative style, time and contingency are effectively removed by the style of excavation reports, and the archaeological record is presented as though it were the material record, as an empirically observed, objective collection of facts. Antiquarian accounts have been put forward as examples of excavation reports that despite obvious archaeological shortcomings provide detailed information on the process of discovery (Hodder, 1989a, 268). It is somewhat ironic then that the perception of antiquarian work amongst contemporary society was often of a dry, dusty and unhelpfully morbid approach to the minutiae of the past, with a fetish for cataloguing material remains as alluring as any modern pottery study. Many antiquarian accounts in the 18th and 19th centuries turned to illustrations in order to evoke something of the meaning of the past (Reusch, 1990, 104).

Archaeological aesthetics (see **chapter 8**) have clearly changed in regard to what is included in certain forms of archaeological narrative. It is certainly not worth arguing that excavation reports should become less scientific, though it is important to recognise that by assuming an impersonal and technical format, excavation reports tend to privilege the authority of findings as observed fact (e.g. Rouse, 1972), and not as an interpretative archaeological record built on top of a material reality (e.g. Hodder, 1989a, Pluciennik, 1999). Similarly, the fact that most archaeological material will not be read in entirety, if at all, begs the question of whether or not the written form of our engagement with the past is fulfilling the role of furthering our understanding of how people lived. In this respect, the entreaty of Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) to recreate through choice of language the ‘aesthetic experiences’ of the writer (Richards, 2002, 521) serves as a reminder of the importance of easing archaeological information into the mind of the reader. In this respect the work of Peter Glob serves as a practical example. His description of the opening of the oak trunk coffin in the Muldbjerg mound (Glob, 1974, 77-80) describes the process of excavation as it occurred, locating the reader firmly at the scene whilst furnishing the archaeological details. In this respect the account provides archaeological information whilst at the same time locating the finds within a meaningful context, creating a sense of immediacy for the reader and giving an idea of the sequence in which the grave finds had been deposited. Telegrams concerning the discovery and then excavation of the mound are also included, giving a sense of the urgency and time dependence of the excavation. This is not to suggest all

archaeological narratives, from excavation reports to books of synthesis, should be organised in this way; in the main, the level of detail will be determined by the audience. It is important however to reintroduce a more engaging style into archaeological writing no matter the level of discourse, so that aesthetic choices in archaeology come to reflect past human action more meaningfully.

Chapter 5: *Annaliste* and Social Theory

5.1 The *Annaliste* Tradition

5.1.1 Choice of Approach

Consideration of the range of motives and bias that helps shape the work of others is a defining feature within history (Braudel, 1980). Critical appraisal of sources, in this case written sources, is therefore seen as a strength of historical analysis. A critical approach towards sources is present within archaeology, although the sources themselves are very different. The works of interpretation arising from consideration of the archaeological record pass from the domain of simple archaeological review and into a wider sphere of criticism. This opens up archaeological analysis to critical appraisal from other disciplines and allows consideration of perspectives from subjects such as history of art (see **chapter 1**). This is one of the important aspects highlighted by post-processual criticism and reflects a general movement of theory away from an analogy with the natural sciences. Self-evaluation is critical within any study and the various motivations to employ an *Annaliste* approach in the current study are briefly examined before specific discussion of how an *Annaliste*-inspired approach can be utilised within archaeology.

The initial inclination to draw upon the *Annaliste* tradition is connected to the work of Fernand Braudel, the most famous of its exponents. In the preface to *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* Braudel describes his initial motivation to the study of this area; “I have loved the Mediterranean with passion” (Braudel, 1986, 17). This focus on a unifying environmental theme finds a parallel with archaeological accounts based upon regions in part defined by a geographical area, such as the Irish Sea (Cummings & Fowler, 2004) or on a wider scale, the European Atlantic seaboard (Cunliffe, 2001). Braudel’s appeal stems from his ability to combine apparently diverse and often dry sources of information in a manner that is both meaningful and interesting to read (Lewthwaite,

1987, 35). Another characteristic of the *Annaliste* approach, and again Braudel's work in particular, that is attractive to a range of archaeologists (e.g. Bintliff, 1991a, Knapp, 1992, Hodder, 1987) is the powerful model of time. Explored in the greatest depth by Braudel himself (1986), the model divides time into three rhythms. Each rhythm contains a number of processes that affect society, though each occurs and affects society over a different span of time. This will be explored in greater detail below (see **figure 5.1**). The idea of an approach that meaningfully considers the depth of time in a systematic way (a potential strength of archaeology) is an obvious attraction.

The central aims of this section are to examine a set of theoretically-informed stances toward the main themes that any archaeological approach toward landscape must consider. Such theoretical positions are primarily drawn from researchers working within the *Annaliste* tradition and those labelled under the umbrella term 'social theorists'. Evaluation of the suitability of specifically historically- or sociologically-oriented approaches therefore becomes a central concern. It is unrealistic to expect to lift a set of ideas from one subject and simply apply them to another, and many *Annaliste* concepts are either unsuitable for, or have to be converted to, an archaeological use. Good examples of this are the concepts of *conjonctures* and *mentalités* which are initially difficult to apply to the sources of evidence with which archaeology is concerned. Firstly though, how archaeology has already employed *Annaliste* theory is investigated along with a brief outline of the development of the *Annaliste* school of thought. From this, a discussion of what archaeology has and can gain most from such a paradigm⁹ is evaluated. The *Annaliste* tradition is not without critics, and problems with the approach are also considered. The mechanics of converting these ideas toward a specifically archaeological use are then reviewed. Discussion of maximising strengths and overcoming problems leads into the final section, where a combination of an *Annaliste* tradition with a sociological approach is attempted.

⁹ If 'paradigm' is the correct term for such a wide range of approaches (see Stoianovich, 1976, Burke, 1990)

5.1.2 Introduction

The *Annaliste* School of French structural history, with which Braudel is fundamentally intertwined, offers the starting point for the current study. Braudel's three rhythms of history (see **figure 5.1**), from the *longue durée* of a geographical time-scale to the *événements* of historical human action, will be the departure point from which the theoretical and methodological aspects of this thesis will be based. There are critics of the *Annaliste* position, both within history (Kellner, 1979, Hexter, 1972) and within archaeology (Bulliet, 1992). The potential of *Annaliste* approaches for archaeology has been discussed (Bintliff, 1991a, Knapp, 1992, Hodder, 1987), though this has not resulted in their widespread acceptance or application. This may in part be due to the perception that *Annaliste* work is overly economic and statistical in character.

Many criticisms relate to specific points that are easier to redress than a reaction against the *Annaliste* position as a whole, assuming that a coherent 'position' can be identified (Burke, 1990). An example of this is the criticism that the three basic rhythms of history are too short in scale to be applied to archaeology. This would be a valid criticism if the *Annaliste* model of time was intended as a model of social reality. As Braudel himself notes (Braudel, 1972, 893) this is not the case, the concept of time is closer to a heuristic tool for understanding the past and the divisions of time are thus variable. As such, the simple answer lies in adapting the model of time to a time-scale suitable to archaeology (Lewthwaite, 1987, 43). Such grouping of structuring principles is perfectly possible (see **figure 5.1**). Other examples of criticisms are more deep-seated, centring on how the different rhythms of time relate. These problems can be addressed through consideration of social theory as will be highlighted later through discussion of Bourdieu's work.

5.1.3 *Annaliste* Influence within Archaeology

From the outset it must be remembered that the *Annaliste* approach does not rest solely with Braudel himself. The *Annaliste* tradition represented a break with previous approaches, characterised as narrative history, the change being described as a 'paradigm shift' (Bintliff, 1991, 4, Burke, 1990). Although Braudel is the central

figure within this shift the subsequent generation of *Annaliste* scholars have developed their various theories in a nuanced way, taking into account post-structural critique. Braudel was influenced by a number of preceding scholars though is most closely associated with Lucien Febvre and latterly Marc Bloch (Burke, 1990). Febvre himself acted as a mentor to Braudel (Braudel, 1972, 460) and both Febvre and Bloch set up the journal *Annales*, the primary journal of the *Annaliste* movement (Braudel, 1972, 460). Braudel sets out his theoretical position in a number of books and journal entries (Braudel, 1972, 1980, 1986). As Braudel acknowledges (Braudel, 1972) his own background is an important factor in the shaping of his theoretical standpoint. Braudel's self-declared preoccupation with the deeper structures of history have been criticised as being to the detriment of the study of *événements* (Bintliff, 1991, 9). This preoccupation has even been linked to his time spent in a prisoner of war camp during the Second World War (Bintliff, 1991, 9) and the resultant feelings of powerlessness in the face of wider structures. The criticism of having deterministic tendencies has similarly been levelled at Braudel (Bintliff, 1991, 10, Knapp, 1992, 6), though the explicit development by other *Annaliste* scholars of concepts such as *mentalité* (see **chapter 8**) that combine ideas from sociology (similar to e.g. Foucault, 1979, 1997) help to redress this balance by giving greater consideration to the individual (Bintliff, 1991, 10). Inheritors of the *Annaliste* tradition include Jacques Le Goff (1985) and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (1976, 1979) though there is an extensive list of historians working in what is the dominant historical academic tradition in French-speaking countries.

The influence of *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* (Braudel, 1949) was felt throughout the French historical tradition and within historical approaches in several other countries (Hexter, 1972). Peter Burke (1990) and Traian Stoianovich (1976) both provide critical accounts of the rise of the *Annales* movement both in France and beyond. From within history, *Annaliste* accounts that consider specifically archaeological evidence are unfortunately sparse, though are tackled in two articles from the journal *Annales* (Botero & al, 1973, Demoule, 1982). Several archaeological works on the other hand, have been exclusively devoted to the influence of the *Annales* school on archaeology (Hodder, 1987, Bintliff, 1991, Knapp, 1992, Last, 1998) and a number of articles have examined an *Annaliste* approach in relation to archaeological case studies

(Lewthwaite, 1987, Roymans & Gerritsen, 2002,). It is noticeable that most of the main archaeological texts devoted to the *Annaliste* impact are connected to Cambridge or Oxford Universities around the time that post-processual approaches became established (Hodder, 1987, Bintliff, 1991, Knapp, 1992). Both the post-processual and *Annaliste* traditions are considered as ‘paradigm shifts’ (Bintliff, 1991, 4) within their respective disciplines, though the application of *Annaliste* ideas in archaeology are often criticised in the same manner as processual approaches. *Annaliste* traditions however seem to be championed both by processualists and post-processualists (e.g. Bintliff, 1986, 1991, Hodder, 1987). The work of the later generation of *Annaliste* scholars resonates more with post-processual work. As such, the *Annaliste* approach may be a useful bridge over a well-argued dichotomy in archaeology. Braudelien and *Annaliste* concepts can be found running through a number of other archaeological papers where the influence may be suggested but is not explicitly identified (e.g. Sørensen et al, 2001). Whether or not this is direct influence is not as important as the fact that such an approach, whether implicitly or explicitly realised, is viable in archaeology.

5.1.4 Benefits

A major benefit of the *Annaliste* approach when applied to archaeology is that both the general theories used and their application have been critically considered from within history (Hodder, 1987, 8). The action of taking theoretical approaches from one subject and applying them in another necessarily forces a critical appraisal, both of the theory and the subject. However, this has not always been the case, as is demonstrated by some of the models imported from anthropology. Therefore, it is important that the theoretical background to such an approach is explored in detail, and any terminology has to be theoretically considered. Applicability to the nature of the other subject, in this case the specific nature of the prehistoric record, must also be evaluated. Archaeology and the *Annales* tradition share a number of common goals and emphases centring on the exploration of themes such as time and change (Knapp, 1992, 10) and therefore both are geared toward such investigation. A problem-based approach as advocated by the *Annaliste* tradition (Knapp, 1992, 9, Lewthwaite, 1987, 40) corresponds to the broadly deductive approaches advocated within most modern archaeological work. Later *Annaliste* scholars make this approach more explicit than

Braudel (Bintliff, 1991, 14), though his approach was also problem-orientated. A certain level of deductive reasoning is central at the beginning of analysis within a subject in which demarcation of areas of study is problematic, a difficulty shared by history and archaeology.

The most popularly appreciated benefit of an *Annaliste* approach is that it includes a framework from which to study society over the passage of time. Braudel divides time into three rhythms or durations, each including a set of structures that operate at each of those scales of time. The first, that of the *longue durée*, is characterised as: “a history whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of man in his relationship to the environment, a history in which all change is slow, a history of constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles” (Braudel, 1986, 20). Secondly, Braudel proposed a level of *conjonctures*, located at a ‘*moyenne durée*’: “another history, this time with slow but perceptible rhythms...The history of groups and groupings” (ibid, 21). Thirdly, there is the level of human action, or *événements*: “a hearing to traditional history – history, one might say, on the scale not of man, but of individual men” (ibid, 21). Braudel’s scheme is considered useful as an aid to interpretation as: “it also demonstrated that different time scales affect interpretations of environmental, politico-economic, or socio-ideological issues” (Knapp, 1992, 7), thus combining a wide range of sources of information over a considerable depth of time. In an *Annaliste* approach, neither continuity nor change, are assumed as given (Hodder, 1987, 8) and thus discussion of past societies is flexible in its explanatory role. An *Annaliste* approach also attempts to combine different forms of time (Knapp, 1992, 11), with the cyclical nature of the *conjoncture* acting alongside the linear *événement*. Similarly, a temporal dimension can be added to discussion of past societies that are often characterised as ahistorical (Knapp, 1992, 3). When portrayed as a succession of snapshots of past life with little discussion of the factors shaping their development, archaeology loses the ability to examine change over long periods of time. This approach recognises the potential of this time depth and allows archaeology to utilise this in interpretation.

The *Annaliste* approach is characterised by the multidisciplinary outlook it has (Hodder, 1987). Such an all-encompassing approach to a subject is reminiscent of archaeology’s borrowings from a wide range of subjects from natural sciences

through to the social sciences. This can be a considerable strength, though only when the rigour of procedural application is imported from other disciplines along with the ideas themselves. *Annaliste* approaches borrow from more modern economic theory and this is unfortunately not directly applicable to the type of source available to prehistory, though this is not to suggest that ‘economic’ approaches (e.g. Clark, 1952) have not been attempted in archaeology or are not important. *Conjonctures* in particular are seen as modelling economic trends that are harder to apply to archaeological data. Such an approach is seldom applied to the type of society envisaged as existing in prehistory (for an exception see Lewthwaite, 1987) though the idea of a recurring set of structures influencing the history of society on a scale in-between the *longue durée* and *événements* is highly appealing. This particular concept does appear convertible to prehistory, especially in conjunction with the concept of *mentalité* (see **chapter 8**), to account for a range of phenomena attested in the material record, the appearance and spread of pottery style being a good example.

Another important aspect in archaeological work is the way in which the scale of investigation is demarcated both spatially and temporally (Sørensen et al, 2001, 92, Klejn, 2001). In several archaeological accounts island systems are chosen as a ‘landscape’ (primarily defined geographically as opposed to culturally) for investigation, the study of which has been approached from differing theoretical and methodological perspectives (Broodbank, 2000, Broodbank & Strasser, 1991, Cunliffe, 2001, Sørensen et al, 2001, Patton, 1995, 1996, Scarre, 2002c). Lessons drawn from Braudel, however, indicate ways in which the geographical landscape can be culturally ordered very differently in the minds of past peoples, with inland ‘islands’ and ‘complicated stretches of sea’ (Braudel, 1972, 23). Fox showed similar awareness in his treatment of the British Isles (1943) and Childe in his treatment of how communities react to their environment (1949). Consideration therefore of the geographical characteristics of an area and how people in the past viewed that environment, especially those areas considered as ‘natural’ routes or barriers, must be proven rather than assumed (see **chapter 6**). As Bruce Trigger has written, “Childe long ago pointed out that human beings adapt to environments not as they occur in nature but as they perceive them to be” (1994, 378). Archaeology can be used to approach this problem as Braudel himself highlights that a social and cultural barrier

can be raised “to replace the imperfect geographical barrier which is always being broken in a variety of ways” (Braudel, 1972, 46).

Annaliste approaches have had little explicit influence on archaeological field methodology. However, the written interpretation and synthesis of archaeological findings, the end product, are by definition and as accounts of the development of a past society, both historical and narrative (Hodder, 1986, Lewthwaite, 1987, 35). Conscientious *Annaliste* practice and convention can therefore provide a good guide to the standards required for the production of history. The style and rich description with which Braudel discusses his subject offers a sound example for archaeological narrative. When combined with his powerful model of time this offers a nuanced approach to the reconstruction of past society.

5.1.5 Disadvantages

The application of the *Annaliste* approach outside the French tradition of historical research has been mixed, with considerable national variation ranging from enthusiasm amongst many Southern European countries, to apathy (at least initially) in Britain (Burke, 1990, chapter 5). *Annaliste* ideas also seem more popular with historians of the Medieval and Early Modern European time periods (Burke, 1990, 98). There are several critics of the *Annaliste* approach both within history (Kellner, 1979, Hexter, 1972) and within archaeology (Bulliet, 1992). The application of an historical approach to an archaeological subject is the first main criticism. There are considerable methodological differences between the two disciplines. The immediate goals of the subjects are also different, and both contain several internal divisions. Between these internal divisions different explanatory goals can be found, such as the different sources investigated by prehistory and those open to archaeology (Klejn, 2001, 95). The sources thought crucial by authors like Braudel, such as economic records and correspondence, are missing from the prehistoric record. The *Annaliste* approach is also criticised as having a “mania for statistics” (Knapp, 1992, 7). Initially, most papers devoted to application of an *Annaliste* approach to archaeology utilised case studies heavily reliant on written sources (Bintliff, 1991, 18), although this is changing (e.g. Lewthwaite, 1987, Cobb, 1991, Ames, 1991, Sørensen et al, 2001). As an interpretative tool, the extent to which the *Annaliste* tradition can

provide a methodological framework for the practice of archaeological excavation is also limited. The approach can, however, inform on another related range of questions, especially those concerning how entities such as landscapes are defined, and thus how they can be investigated archaeologically. Statistical approaches are also very important within archaeological analysis and the central problem lies in converting several key concepts developed within the study of modern societies, to the study of prehistoric ones.

A major criticism of the *Annaliste* approach and Braudel's work in particular is the artificiality of the three rhythms of time (Hodder, 1987). The choice of three large blocks can also be seen as unwieldy and Braudel himself acknowledges this artificiality (Braudel, 1986, Bintliff, 1991, 27, Lewthwaite, 1987). However, as discussed earlier the meaning of the division is crucial to any criticism of it. As an actual model for how the world works, the accusation of artificiality is justified. However, from a heuristic viewpoint the three level division is an extremely useful tool. *Événements* themselves are also hard to identify in the archaeological record in terms of relating them to actual individual action. *Événements* tend to be swallowed up in broader cultural movements, such as the 'LBK' or 'Corded Ware' cultures, and are therefore harder to meaningfully relate to the *conjonctures* or elements of the *longue durée* in which these broader structures already reside. Bailey, specifically referring to subsistence data, also highlights the recurring and impersonal 'aggregates of behaviour' that are identified in the prehistoric record (1981, 109-110). However, such reliance on envelopment in generalised cultural entities can be broken through consideration of the role materiality has to play through the landscape (Gosden, 1994). This lack of focus upon the individual need not be imported into the archaeological approach (see **chapter 4**; Fowler, 2004), and this thesis actively disagrees with Braudel over the power of the individual to alter the scales of time above *événements*. Detection of these relations is variable, however, especially within the archaeological record. A more nuanced view than Braudel's can be suggested, where local processes at work at the level of the individual within society can in turn affect the higher structures as well as being affected by them; "we start to see the root of social changes as being the complex and locally-situated decisions of people within communities, rather than just the result of generalised processes" (Sørensen et al, 2001, 106). This two-way process is championed by a range of authors including

Bourdieu (1977, 1999), and is discussed in terms of power relations and how overlying structures can be actively incorporated into the lives of contemporary people. The criticism that the model of historical time put forward initially by Braudel (1972) cannot cope with active material culture (Fletcher, 1992, 36), a central component of modern archaeology (Knapp, 1992, 10), is a serious problem that requires exploration. This thesis does not subscribe to the idea that those structures of the *longue durée* and *conjoncture* are unrecognised by human actors and that nothing can be done in opposition to those forces over the long term. Viewing the ability of short term processes to influence and alter those of the longer term is a stance more popular with the later generation of *Annaliste* scholars, such as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (Knapp, 1992, 6). This thesis also asserts that material culture can be consciously deployed in order to affect over-arching ‘structures’ and that this can be identified within the material record.

5.1.6 Discussion

The adoption of an *Annaliste* approach is intended as a solid base from which to build an archaeological approach. The provision of a starting point that can take into account the considerable time depth available to archaeology is crucial. The usage of a wide variety of sources of information combined with the potential for investigation over a wide spatial and temporal span require the topic of study to be carefully demarcated. For Braudel, the Mediterranean was the unifying factor of his account; “My feeling is that the sea itself, the one we see and love, is the greatest document of its past existence” (Braudel, 1986, 17). The Atlantic seaboard provides a similar point of departure that relates to the *longue durée*, both as an environmental factor and as a cultural resource. The landscapes under study can also be roughly located chronologically and spatially in relation to this body of water and wider developments on land, allowing cross comparison.

Developed by later *Annaliste* scholars, the concept of *mentalité* (see **chapter 8**) (Le Goff, 1985, Bintliff, 1991, 10) also presents archaeology with a useful conceptual tool. Consideration of a prevalent ‘world view’ or set of influences that make up a mindset at a particular time can offer a way of explaining a variety of phenomena found in the material record. This approach is similar to Foucault’s ideas (1997) of

historically specific milieus which provide the vocabulary and concepts through which events are thought through, thus characterising and influencing thought and behaviour. In this respect *mentalité* resembles the influence of group *habitus* or norms, and could be included as an aspect of cognitive archaeology. *Mentalité* is characterised as slow moving (Le Goff, 1985, 170) and exerts influence in a similar way as a *conjoncture*. Of particular importance is the observation that *mentalité* is concerned with everyday people and offers a way of examining how people can affect the wider rhythms of history. Tracing *mentalité* in the archaeological record is harder than its recognition in historical sources. *Mentalité* itself is most apparent in aspects of society that are considered marginal or divergent such as attitudes to disease, crime and burial (Le Goff, 1985, 172, Foucault, 1979). Luckily such aspects can be preserved in the archaeological record and the historian Le Goff cites burial evidence as particularly suitable for tracing aspects of world view (Le Goff, 1985, 173). The idea of *mentalité* is therefore potentially recoverable from the archaeological record and offers a way of incorporating structures that occur over the period encompassed by *conjonctures*. The study of *mentalité* also acts as a meeting place for ideas from different subjects, notably archaeology and sociology. The application of *mentalité* to dichotomies arising from research, i.e. between “the individual and the collective, the long-term and the everyday, the unconscious and the intentional, the structural and the conjunctural, the marginal and the general” (Le Goff, 1985, 169) provides a context in which to resolve these dichotomies, and in this respect links in with agency theory (Barrett, 2001, Dobres & Robb, 2000b) and the concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1999).

The relationships between the various rhythms of time represent the greatest challenge to any attempt to convert an *Annaliste* approach into an archaeological one. The weaknesses and strengths of prehistory, respectively the investigation of the individual and considerable time depth, are closely paralleled by the strengths and weaknesses of Braudel’s approach. Important though the structures of the *longue durée* are in shaping society, it is also vital that narratives incorporate the meaningful action of individuals. In order to examine how the different rhythms of time interact and, in particular, how human action of the *événement* can affect the structures of *conjoncture* and the *longue durée*, it is necessary to turn to sociology. As Bernard Knapp stresses: “One of the *Annale*’s most significant achievements has been to force historical attention on social theory” (1992, 9). This achievement can now be used to

address some of the central criticisms of the *Annaliste* approach within archaeology, and combine the powerful approach to time with a consideration of materiality.

5.2 Sociological approach

5.2.1 Introduction

The importation of theories from sociology and anthropology has a long history within archaeology. This has been thrown into sharper relief through the debates between post-processual and processual authors. In a way that is similar to how post-structuralism relates to structuralism, post-processualism attempts to put forward and answer a critique of processualism within archaeology. Thus, it is important to accept the links and continuities between the two, the latter being an extension of the former. Differences are especially apparent in the considerable breadth of social theory applied within post-processual accounts, and as such have become strongly associated with sociological thought, including both structuralism and post-structuralism. A variety of theories (not only from sociology) have been used to inform post-processual approaches and this perceived lack of coherence is often a criticism. More seriously, an apparent lack of analytical rigour in applying theories and concepts from a diverse range of sources has been raised, questioning the legitimacy of some post-processual approaches. All of these sociological approaches, from the earlier influences of Émile Durkheim (1915, 1938, 1952) and Ferdinand de Saussure (1960) to the more recent and often cited work of Michel Foucault (1967, 1979, 1997, 2002), Martin Heidegger (1962), Anthony Giddens (1976, 1984, 1987) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1999), were developed within different disciplines and with different aims and objectives in mind. The sources on which these approaches draw are normally different from those used by the archaeologist and again are often specifically formulated to study specific and relatively modern societies. Approaches within other disciplines heavily influenced by structuralism (e.g. Levi-Strauss, 1972) also tend to privilege a synchronic approach over a diachronic approach, thus ignoring the major strength of archaeological analysis.

Suitability of specific social theories for use within archaeology is therefore something that has to be considered. It is the viewpoint of this thesis that the benefits

of drawing analogy with and importing concepts from social theory into archaeology is essential in order to meaningfully relate the material we discover to groups of people. Drawbacks can be addressed, but first several factors must be taken into account if social theory is to be successfully imported. First of all, the importance of explicit self-critique¹⁰ has led archaeologists to review the purpose and approach of archaeology in general. The reaction against the positivistic processual archaeology has centred on critique of the context in which archaeological information is constructed and what constitutes an objective fact. In turn, this has brought the relationship between the archaeologist and the archaeological record into sharper focus. The realisation of the need to investigate contemporary factors, the context or 'field' in Bourdieu's terminology of the modern archaeologist, is also a result of the impact of social theory. Crucially, social theory focuses on the individual and individual agency, something that is lost or relegated in processual accounts.

There are a few concerns with archaeological approaches that employ social theories, especially the implication that sociology has a monopoly on interpreting past communities or that post-processual accounts are the only ones to employ social theory. Firstly, the fact that post-processualism is a critique of processualism leads to the suggestion that such approaches are negative and not constructive. The need, especially in a young subject such as archaeology, for theory to be fully constructive has been well noted (Chippindale, 1997, 33). Certain post-modern theorists (such as Jacques Derrida) can be accused of taking critique of objective standpoint to an extreme, leading to excessive perspectivism or to no objective basis for the construction of interpretation. Much discussion of social theory in archaeology stresses the recreation of socio-political concerns of the present in narratives of the past (Shanks & Tilley, 1987, 1996). This leads to the conclusion that the past is not value-free, and never has been. Again, this highlights the subject/object relationship and creates a 'double hermeneutic' (Chippindale, 1997, 33), whereby the social context being interpreted and the social context doing the interpreting both have to be critically examined along with the relationship between them. This has served to question the objective basis for archaeological information on the past, focusing on the techniques of reconstruction and thus epistemology rather than the object of

¹⁰ Or 'Reflexive Sociology' according to Bourdieu (1990b)

analysis. This sits uneasily with a subject like archaeology which as well as being interpretive, is also securely grounded in the material record. Archaeology has to have some values considered 'constant' than can provide a base-line for interpretive study (see **chapter 3**), in the same way that criteria can be used by which the worth of differing social theories is judged. Bourdieu (1999), who can be considered to be at the heart of such a debate, discusses the 'field' and 'capital' of both the contemporary researcher and his object of study, making the relationship between the two explicit. Bourdieu also approaches the concepts of everyday practice, materiality and time, topics central to archaeological analysis. Before Bourdieu's theories are examined in the light of these problems, a brief review of other influential social theory upon archaeology is discussed.

5.2.2 Selected Influence of Social Theory

The relationship between archaeology and social theory has been a long, if uneven, one since the emergence of archaeology from antiquarianism, and particularly since the inception of sociology. Early theoretical approaches, where they are explicit, are closely aligned to narrative history and the practice of archaeology itself is seen as the collection of facts for production of that history. This is embodied in the antiquarian approach with its focus on inductivism (see **chapter 7**). The influence of Émile Durkheim and Ferdinand de Saussure is keenly felt throughout the history of archaeology (Trigger, 2003, 245), though especially in the sphere of ritual studies and latterly in structuralism. It is not until the inception of the 'New Archaeology' that the relationship between archaeology and social theory is set out in a programmatic and paradigmatic fashion (Binford, 1962, 1965). Before this, a variety of theories about reconstructing society were deployed from a diverse range of sources (e.g. Childe, 1929, 1956, Willey, 1953, Clark, 1939, Hawkes, 1954). The systems-theory approach within the New Archaeology (Watson et al, 1971, Flannery, 1972) has been compared to many structuralist approaches, though they are not identical. For the purposes of this thesis, social theory within the post-structural tradition is of particular interest, and this emerges in British archaeological literature around the same time as *Annaliste* approaches in the late 1980s.

With roots in structuralism, post-structuralism can be criticised as deconstructive and as not providing an immediate foundation for archaeological interpretation. However, such accounts do question previously held assumptions about the nature of our relationship to the past. The explicit realisation that the past is not entirely a neutral or objective entity, and that it can be politicised by the modern milieu in which it is interpreted (Shanks & Tilley, 1987, 1996), has a long history within archaeology. Post-structuralist theory is characteristically diverse and has attempted to positively incorporate ideas, especially from more famous authors such as Heidegger, Giddens, Bourdieu and Foucault (e.g. Tilley, 1994, Thomas, 1996, Kirk, 1993). These authors focus on a number of topics central to archaeological analysis such as materiality, time and power. In particular, the work of Bourdieu will be discussed within the context of this chapter. With similar ideas to Giddens, the work of Bourdieu is often marginalised within British archaeological accounts in favour of the former. Bourdieu's ideas combine well with archaeological analysis, with his treatment of time and the material component of life and *habitus*.

5.2.3 Bourdieu

Bourdieu's influential paper on the Kabyle house (1970), examining the physical role of inculcation, arguably made the most impact upon archaeology in Britain although this paper is not representative of Bourdieu's work as a whole (see below). Bourdieu is often mentioned in connection with the *Annaliste* tradition in passing (Lucas, 2001, Hodder, 1987), though the benefits of combining concepts from both perspectives have been little studied. Bourdieu's work shares a lot of common ground with the *Annaliste* scholars and in particular with the generation after Braudel (e.g. Jacques Le Goff and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie), who appear more receptive to his ideas of human agency. Both Bourdieu and the *Annalists* draw upon structuralism and in particular the structuralism of Durkheim, though Bourdieu is not a structuralist. Similarly, both are influenced by the French Structuralist movement as a whole. However, whereas Braudel, as a structural historian, is very much a part of the early development of structuralism, Bourdieu (and the later *Annalists*) offer more of a critique and attempt to build around Structuralist shortcomings. This is similar to much work termed 'post-structural', including that of Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. However, it is less open to the charge of being overly negative and not

providing a constructive theoretical base. Both Bourdieu and in particular Braudel, are also heavily influenced by Claude Lévi-Strauss and his structural approach within anthropology. In turn, Lévi-Strauss was influenced by both Emile Durkheim and Ferdinand de Saussure, the latter having a great deal of impact on many post-processualist theories. Bourdieu, working within anthropology, offered a greater critique of Lévi-Strauss' work (e.g. Bourdieu, 1999, 99), whereas Braudel was more influenced by, rather than critical of, the structuralist approach from within anthropology.

Bourdieu is an attractive writer for the present study for a variety of reasons. Firstly, Bourdieu's theories are grounded in a strong tradition of empirical data. For Bourdieu, material culture is active and can be consciously deployed in order to influence the social context in which the individual finds himself. Bourdieu does not consider power to be an immanent property. Thus, power is attributed and is therefore contextual. Such contextual relationships can be explored, and systems of power connected to the individual's relationship within society can therefore be reconstructed from the material record. This is very appealing from an archaeologist's perspective, as it provides a direct link between social theory (often criticized as being overly abstract) and the material record. Bourdieu, in a similar way to Giddens, also focuses upon the individual and how the individual relates to the structures that affect the social context in which he finds himself. This is an area where it is fruitful to combine an *Annaliste* approach, specifically in connection with the model of time, which will be detailed below. Bourdieu's view that the action of the individual is not simply determined by over-arching structures unaffected by human agency, is informed by his concept of *Habitus* and individual *Praxis*. This combines the effect of deeper structures influencing human action with the realisation that those structures themselves are then renegotiated and influenced in turn by the cyclical, repetitive action at the level of the individual and the group. This concept answers several criticisms aimed at the *Annaliste* approach (and structuralism generally), particularly accusations of determinism and omission of the individual. Bourdieu's view that structures can enable human agency as well as acting as a constraint (Baert, 1998, 32) help to avoid either environmental or cultural determinism. The division of data into binary opposites (see **chapter 2**), as used by structuralists (e.g. Lévi-Strauss, 1972, 35, Hodder, 1990) is a useful heuristic tool but is not necessarily reflective of the

actual social situation. It can also create dichotomies, such as that between the individual and community (or between subject and object), that become difficult to reconcile and become entrenched in research objectives. Bourdieu is useful in that he attempts to bridge this sort of gap through approaches such as the generative model (Bourdieu, 1999, 100, see 5.24).

Bourdieu's *The Logic of Practice* (1999; originally published in 1980) will be taken as a starting point to discuss the role of his work in the current study. *The Logic of Practice* was selected as it develops arguments put forward in *An Outline of Social Practice* (1977; originally published in 1972), whilst providing an accessible summary of the main points of the earlier book. Other works will be considered though the *Logic of Practice* is seen as the central plank or 'arch-text' (Geertz, 1996, 32) around which consideration of his other work will be oriented. Bourdieu's works that deal with materiality and *praxis* are more obviously applicable to archaeological concerns though other works, especially those concerning the concept of 'field' such as *Homo Academicus* (1990a), have important consequences for the historiography of archaeology.

At the beginning of *The Logic of Practice* Bourdieu attempts to chart his intellectual position amongst influences, and in particular in relation to Structuralism; "my article on the Kabyle house (1970), written in 1963...is perhaps the last work I wrote as a blissful structuralist" (Bourdieu, 1999, 9). Structuralist approaches are criticised as over-simplifying complex data, exemplified by the use of binary opposition. This criticism is particularly pertinent to archaeological interpretation where the nature of the archaeological record can lend itself to over-simplified interpretation. However, the ability of structuralism to cope with the larger scale of analysis is acknowledged (*ibid*, 10), and this is an important point when combining aspects of Bourdieu's work with those of Braudel. Bourdieu also criticises the comparative method and the generalisations that accompany it (*ibid* 4). However, the comparative method is harder to cast aside within archaeology, as the sources are generally less replete than those within sociology or anthropology and as a result the comparative method has considerable explanatory power. Evaluation of the implicit comparisons utilised within archaeology, generally from within anthropology, is a good starting point. This has specific relevance to the Neolithic and Bronze Age

periods under examination in the current work as our understanding has been strongly shaped by underlying application of anthropological models. On a similar theme, Bourdieu stresses the relationship between the observer and the observed, and the power the former has over the latter (*ibid*, 18). This theme is the first to be explored in the body of the book.

Bourdieu's view on the relationship between subjectivism and objectivism is categorical; "Of all the oppositions that artificially divide social science, the most fundamental, and the most ruinous, is the one set up between subjectivism and objectivism" (*ibid* 25). Bourdieu attempts to bypass this division by formulation of a now well-recognised concept the "feel for the social game". Through this a balanced investigation can be achieved between factors such as the environment (seen both as constraint and opportunity), and the social influences that affect an individual. This allows consideration of individual intention and influences, both social and environmental, without necessarily privileging one over the others. Bourdieu also seeks to undermine those approaches, exemplified by the term 'objectivism', that seek laws of human behaviour. He does this by demonstrating that while social rules and norms affect individual intention, the individual will attempt to bend these to his own benefit (*ibid*, 100). This is reflected in the construction of his generative model (see **figure 5.3**). This involves identifying generative principles that provide a loose set of societal rules from which the individual acts to his advantage in a given situation (see **section 5.24**).

The importance of investigating the factors that shape the modern observer's viewpoint forms a major topic of Bourdieu's work. In post-processual work this can lead to a highly pessimistic view as to the nature of knowledge production and a critical position regarding the potential for establishing objective data. Bourdieu however views this as a necessary first step in order to ensure a solid base from which to build (*ibid*, 27). Consideration of the observer/observed relationship and in particular the formulation of the observer's viewpoint, are treated in relation to practice. The influence of linguistics on structuralism, beginning with Saussure, is seen by Bourdieu as alienating the observer from the observed (*ibid*, 31). This is done through isolating language;

“it would not be difficult to show that all the presuppositions, and all the consequent difficulties, of all forms of structuralism derive from this fundamental division between the language and its realisation in speech, that is, in practice, and also in history, and from the inability to understand the relationship between these two entities other than as that between the model and its execution, essence and existence – which amounts to placing the linguist, the possessor of the model, in the position of a Leibnizian God possessing *in actua* the objective meaning of practices” (*ibid*, 32).

Thus, the evidence is considered to be in place purely for interpretation. Within archaeology this can lead to extensive typological and chronological studies that bear little relation to any exterior social reality. Bourdieu’s view also holds an implicit criticism of the archaeology-as-text assumption, highlighting his departure from structuralism, though interestingly, he acknowledges the suitability of a Saussurian approach toward dead languages (*ibid* 32). The nature of archaeological evidence falls between the two types considered by Bourdieu: it is neither wholly ethnographic nor wholly a ‘dead language’. Consideration of the material record as a text to be read is too useful a tool to be discarded, though it is important to remember that the meaningful action we extract was laid down by the practice of past people (and with all the variation involved within the social ‘game’ that this involves) as opposed to having been created according to a strict grammar of social rules. It is also important to recognise that this process is viewed in retrospect, and the way that history played out as it survives to us was not the only potential outcome. It is therefore important to remember that the past was set down actively and without the secure knowledge of how it would appear in the future.

The privileged position of the observer in relation to the observed confers a sort of power, both in the ability to manipulate time and the ability to decide the ‘objective meaning of practices’ (Bourdieu, 1999). Bourdieu highlights the complex examination this relationship has undergone within both anthropology and sociology, and similar examinations have also been undertaken within archaeology (e.g. Shanks & Tilley, 1987, 1996). However, the relationship between the archaeologist and the archaeological object appears more innocent than within related fields, such as anthropology, where those under study are still alive. This diverts attention away from how archaeologists interpret their relationship to the archaeological record, not in terms of their interpretive stance, but how they apply their interpretive stance to the

archaeology. Unwittingly, this can lead to models of behaviour, designed to explain actions, as becoming determinant models through which the archaeological evidence is altered (see **chapter 2**)¹¹. An increasing emphasis on reconstructing ‘personhood’ from the archaeological record (e.g. Fowler, 2004), however, can help redress this.

Bourdieu’s discussion of *habitus* (1990, 52-65) further informs the approach taken within this study. *Habitus* as a concept is particularly suited to consideration within a wider historical approach in that it is itself historical; “The *habitus* – embodied history, internalised as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product” (*ibid* 56). In this way past experience is continually reproduced as a strategy for dealing with the future. This concept provides a crucial method of linking processes operating within the different time-scales of Braudel’s model of time. The influence of the *habitus* is not simply environmentally determined as it is historically constructed - it is already oriented and influenced by past events as well as contemporary ones. However, in the past the structures of the *longue durée* would have impacted upon the *habitus* as they do at any particular moment in prehistory. Thus the longer-term structures are important influences, and can be connected to the *événements* in which *habitus* is also identifiable, but are not straightforwardly deterministic. *Événements* are the products of the *habitus*, but are also reincorporated, in turn affecting the *habitus* and becoming a process. What is left in the archaeological record is the husk of the *habitus*, representing in static form what was once part of a dynamic interplay of social factors. The concept of *habitus* avoids cultural determinism as the environment plays an important part in the generation of the concept itself.

Identifying *habitus* within the archaeological record is made easier by the fact that Bourdieu himself built his theory around material practice, and that by nature the concept is realised in recurrence. Although robbed of the individuals of history we can identify individual agency within the archaeological record (Hodder, 2000, Last, 1998, 149) by the survival of their action within material culture. From this, we can begin to extrapolate as to how prehistoric people created their social world (Barrett, 1994, Dobres & Robb, 2000b). Bourdieu points out that social groupings (or classes

¹¹ The Prestige Goods Economy model applied to the Bronze Age of prehistoric Europe is a suitable example (Brumfiel & Earle, 1987b).

within more complex social groupings) have harmonised sets of *habitus* which allows recognition of that grouping. Individual *habitus* can therefore be related to a wider *habitus* of the collective but without recourse to the structuralist theory of Durkheim and his ‘collective representation’ (Durkheim, 1938) or a normative position in general. This can be recognised within the archaeological record. For example, specific practice at individual monuments can then be related to wider distributions of monument types considered at a more general spatial and typological scale. In a convenient manner, therefore, we loosely consider the impact of structures of the *longue durée* on group *habitus* which can be located within *conjunctures* in the *Annaliste* model of time¹². This, in turn, will influence individual *habitus* and the practice that is created from this, which is identified within the archaeological record as *événements*. Such a sketch of the effects of structures at different levels is necessarily simplified and adapted to the archaeological record. It is also important to note that these relationships are two-way, as Bourdieu envisaged (1999, 58; see **figure 5.2**), with *habitus* providing the medium through which practices are influenced and in turn influence structure.

Bourdieu identifies the specific characteristics of *habitus* as;

“the conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them” (*ibid*, 52).

These characteristics hold important consequences for archaeological interpretation. Firstly, *habitus* is an unconscious influence which is usually examined when something goes wrong. This idea is similar to that expressed in Gosden’s work (1994) whereby change is caused by the effects of *habitus* being made explicit in order to cope with a rupture. It would be incorrect however to characterise change as solely provoked by ‘negative’ causes. Technological or social developments for example can

¹² Examples of this could include environmental impact on house construction and orientation or dominant pottery style. A conceptual link between house orientation and tomb orientation, for which there is no ‘practical’ reason, would therefore connect another range of structures across the rhythms of Braudel’s model.

be viewed as 'positive' and still effect change through creating new opportunities in which the existing, implicit way of doing things, is made explicit and subsequently altered. This still represents a 'crisis' in terms of the discontinuity that the *habitus* has to adapt to. Secondly, individual *habitus* is always a variation on a theme of group *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1999, 60), an example of which can be identified in pottery decoration. The configuration of decoration may change, but will always draw upon previous decoration (even in opposition), including the initial concept itself of decorating pottery. *Habitus* is self-preserving in that it pre-arranges a milieu in which it is unlikely to be questioned (Bourdieu, 1999). This is similar to the points raised by Lucien Febvre in *The Problem of Unbelief* (1982), in which belief is considered difficult to question without the existence of suitable concepts, i.e. the vocabulary to think *through*. However, this calls into question the problem of change, which has been a recurring criticism of Bourdieu generally. Change can be seen to come from both external and internal circumstances. Externally, structures of the *longue durée*, *moyenne durée* and *événements* would have to be identical in order to produce identical sets of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1999, 63). Internally, struggle for power between competing individuals of groups can cause change through active manipulation of the 'rules of the game' (see later). When *habitus* breaks down, even though it is pre-disposed toward future possibility, certain of its structures are examined explicitly, allowing alteration (see Gosden, 1994) and become visible in the archaeological record.

By its nature, the *habitus* is a recurring concept and can be identified within the archaeological record as such. The *habitus* has been investigated in relation to a number of aspects of prehistoric life, from technology (e.g. Frankel, 2000) to the creation and maintenance of social boundaries (e.g. Dietler & Herbich, 1998). In terms of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Western Europe, the *habitus* can profitably be examined within the spheres of life considered 'sacral'. When connected to ideas of time (see **chapter 3**), the sacral monuments in the areas under consideration form the basis for this approach. Repeated activity at sites during and after their construction is an important clue in this regard. This reflects the inculcation of knowledge and social position, reinforcing the *habitus*. However, there is room for flexibility and each proscriptive rite may also have provided individuals and groups the opportunity to compete socially, for example in the quantities of resources

expended on a feast or burial. Social explanations are never simple (Bourdieu, 1999, 62), and require complex resolution, which highlights the interpretive gap faced when considering these monuments. The surviving evidence does not offer the potential for immediate resolution, though consideration of recurring aspects at both site and inter-site scale can begin to furnish the required social depth to analysis. However, the interpretive gap is useful in terms of making the task of identifying the *field* of those doing the interpreting more obvious, as there is a clearer divide between interpretation of the material record and the remains themselves.

Bodily movement is considered by Bourdieu as an important factor involved in the inculcation of *habitus* and this is particularly in evidence in the ritual arena;

“Every social order systematically takes advantage of the disposition of the body and language to function as depositories of deferred thoughts that can be triggered off at a distance in space and time by the simple effect of re-placing the body in an overall posture which *recalls* the associated thoughts and feelings, in one of the inductive states of the body which, as actors know, give rise to state of mind” (1999, 69).

Bourdieu links physical movement with social meaning, placing the fundamental structures of group *habitus* within physical experience (1999, 71). Linked to this is the importance this type of inculcation plays within a prehistoric society where inherited knowledge “can only survive in the incorporated state” (Bourdieu, 1999, 73). Archaeology can be of particular value in this area as bodily movement can be indicated at both site and inter-site levels. The types of monument studied in the three areas selected can therefore be viewed as a store of knowledge about past society as they represent the embodied form of prehistoric knowledge (Donald, 1998). Merlin Donald describes this process as ‘external symbol storage’, where material culture develops alongside human cognition, providing a creative dynamic between people and their material world (Donald, 1998, 184). The longevity of monumental sites provided a creative opportunity for both individuals and groups to draw upon an ever-changing set of symbolic meanings (Donald, 1998, 181). Culture, as represented by, and projected onto, these monuments, is particularly effectively transmitted through education of the young, reinforcing this tradition, which for Donald affects the very architecture of the human mind (Donald, 1998, 183). Thus the sites and artefacts of the past were active in transmitting culture, as well as being the result of cultural

concerns. Exploring the cultural context of cognition in which these sites participated has been approached in a number of ways, including suggesting that monuments act as mnemonic devices within a framework of experience (Tilley, 1994), or through association within a landscape (Bakker, 1991). The *Habitus* itself is not explicitly learned in the same way as learning from a text, but is inculcated by repeated action (Bourdieu, 1999, 74), the practice of which can be identified on Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments. Thus a change in the sets of repeated activity may reflect the attempts of the *habitus* to cope with an alteration in the conditions of its production. Characteristics of knowledge in the Neolithic and Bronze Age would be very different from today, not least because we attempt to explore the past from a literate perspective ((Bourdieu, 1999, 83) and have formalised the study of our ‘common’ human past. The perspective of prehistoric society in this respect has been briefly explored by Bradley (2002a).

A major problem when approaching the evidence for ‘sacral’ landscapes is that the surviving evidence is skewed towards information of a ritual character and that by concentrating on this form of evidence, the archaeologist might be missing a broader understanding of prehistoric society (Bloch, 1977, 285). A starting point for consideration of this evidence within a wider social scale is provided by Bourdieu: “All the symbolic manipulations of body experience, starting with displacements within a symbolically structured space, tend to impose the integration of body space with cosmic space and social space, by applying the same categories” (1999, 77). This provides a potential avenue of research, though this is currently undermined by a relative lack of early settlement evidence. For Scotland, a link between settlement and ritual architecture has been demonstrated for Orkney, and a similar connection between long houses and long mounds is likely in Continental Europe. This is a very old theme in terms of linking mortuary ritual and domestic ritual through the idea of a ‘house for the dead’ (see **chapter 8**). Linking an idealised cosmic order to the social order would be an important way of achieving domination in a society characterised by personal relationships (Bourdieu, 1999). Thus, achieving such a conceptual link would be more ‘economic’ in terms of effectiveness in power relations, as well as more enduring. The relationship of ritual time to secular time has been contrasted (Bradley, 1991, Bloch, 1977; see **chapter 3**) and if not simply a modern construction, has important consequences for the effectiveness of this process. In this respect,

control of ritual time can be viewed as crucial, as it reflects the longer-lasting, natural order that could be used to ‘legitimate’ social reality.

5.2.4 The Generative Model

During Bourdieu’s discussion of time an example of a generative model is constructed (1999, 100). Several aspects of this model are important when attempting to understand past practice. Most importantly, it is necessary to recognise the uncertainty present whenever a decision was taken regarding practice in the past. Bourdieu accounts for this through consideration of the effect of time: “To reintroduce uncertainty is to reintroduce time” (1999, 99). The model is created by combining a small number of principles based upon the relevant ‘fundamental schemes’ of the social world-view. In Bourdieu’s example (see **figure 5.3**), the fundamental principle is ‘equality in honour’, though he provides examples of dualities in which this idea is replicated, such as day/night, male/female and inside/out (1999, 101), all of which have been identified and discussed within archaeological narrative. Any decisions made by an individual, in this case in relation to points of honour, will be made and can be modelled within the parameters set out within this simple model. This avoids a deterministic view as individuals can, and presumably frequently do, manipulate the rules in order to gain advantage. Such rules are not explicitly stated, being part of the unconscious *habitus*, unless there is a crisis within practice (1999, 104). Again this finds a parallel with Gosden’s work (1994).

Such an approach can also be applied to other concepts, such as relating Hodder’s influential concepts of *domus* and *agrrios* (1990: See **figure 5.4**). Bourdieu’s model can be applied when the principles of a social situation have been identified. It is difficult to reconstruct these principles from the material record alone however and thus they are traced through the history of archaeological interpretation (see **chapter 8**). Bourdieu does attempt this in his paper on the Berber house (Bourdieu, 1999, 271)¹³. This is an overtly structuralist examination, and as such it can be readily comparable to Hodder’s consideration of *domus* and *agrrios* (1990). By accepting this work as a starting point (admittedly opening another avenue of criticism), the

¹³ Though Bourdieu did have anthropological experience of the Berber lifestyle.

generative model can be used to explore how these principles are actually used by people in the playing out of their lives. The material residue which survives to us can therefore be linked with the meaningful activity of individuals, in a similar way to agency theory (Dobres, & Robb, 2000b). This allows a movement away from a dehumanising account in which structures themselves are considered the main actors to one in which individuals actively manipulate the social conditions in which they find themselves (Barrett, 2001). In turn this provides an explanation for changes that are identified within the archaeological record without necessary recourse to external stimuli. This also highlights the non-evolutionist nature of the history of society. The results of the ‘feel-for-the-game’ could easily be different, in which case, context is an important influence but not necessarily a determinant.

The generative aspect itself is harder to identify in practice until it becomes a ‘past tense’. Therefore in terms of Gosden’s (1994) theory, it can be most easily identified when the *habitus* is challenged, breaks down and generates a new expression in order to cope with the problem. Thus the point of departure for the generative diagram concerning the relationship between *domus* and *agrios* is some form of challenge to the accepted system, and therefore a challenge to the *habitus* itself. Such a challenge could take a variety of forms from both external and internal influences. This could involve the environment, the introduction of new technologies or materials, social exchange as well as the internal challenges posed by the continual manipulation of social conditions by individuals - their ‘feel-for-the-game’ (Bourdieu, 1999).

This approach has considerable potential for use within archaeology as it provides mediation between overly deterministic and crudely phenomenological models of past behaviour. Fundamental principles can be cautiously inferred from archaeological narrative and combined within generative models (see **chapter 8**). Identifying manipulation of the system, and thus ultimately change, is harder to chart with material evidence alone. Bourdieu’s consideration of the model also has the potential to explain rapid change:

“The fact that the primary belief of strongly integrated communities is the product of the serial constraint that the group applies to itself...perhaps

explains why breaks... often take a sudden, collective form, with circular control losing its efficacy as soon as there is a glimpse of the real possibility of breaking it” (Bourdieu, 1999, 111).

A good case can be made for the Neolithic and Bronze Age as containing ‘strongly integrated’ communities, and sudden collective, breaks can be identified within the material record.

An important aspect of Bourdieu’s work is in relating the various strands of evidence to themes of domination and power, including within the archaeologist’s community. Related to his concept of ‘field’ Bourdieu explores the idea of ‘capital’. This discussion is centred upon ‘capital’ that is not necessarily economic in nature and Bourdieu is keen to stress the difference in forms of domination between Capitalist and Pre-capitalist societies (1999, 126). Indeed a better differentiation between societies in the Neolithic and the Modern day is ‘pre-economic’ as opposed to ‘prehistoric’¹⁴. Symbolic capital is seen as the most important aspect to be accrued through conversion or ‘misrecognition’ of economic capital (1999, 128). This can be identified in the material record from evidence of feasting to the construction, maintenance and alteration of prehistoric monuments and sites. The idea of social ‘capital’ can be closely related to the generative model in terms of explanation as to the motivation of individual action within the parameters set by the *habitus*. Accumulation of social capital therefore provides a motor in social interaction that is very different in nature to economic capital.

Bourdieu’s approach reaffirms the assumption that material culture is active in constituting social life, particularly where monumental sites are created that last substantially longer than a human generation. Thus, monuments act as cultural stores, providing a cultural thread that survives past the limits of individual memory (Bourdieu, 1999, 125). Such resources still have meaning attributed to them, though their presence will affect the nature of the society that produces them. This is connected to the characteristics of knowledge in the Neolithic. Knowledge would likely have been inculcated through practice and would have to predominantly rely on oral traditions constantly reproducing cultural resources in their entirety. Highlighting

¹⁴ Especially as modern life in Western Europe is saturated by concepts and ideas deriving from Capitalist concerns.

the work of William Greene, Bourdieu shows that a change in the “accumulation, circulation and reproduction of culture” alters both the function of that cultural product and recursively, the structures that created it (1999, 125 n4). Similarly, cultural resources are seen as being ‘transformed’ by altering “the technology of preserved communication”¹⁵. Presumably alongside (and before) monuments and other sites, natural features would also play a part in this, thus conceptualising the landscape within cultural schemes through the incorporation of actual landforms. It is also important to note that in a society heavily dependant on personal relations of power (also see Gosden, 1994) (as central structures and recording traditions (e.g. text) are not in existence), domination is most economically wielded at a general level (Bourdieu, 1999, 131). This is as opposed to relatively uneconomical domination of people individually. As mentioned above, within a Neolithic context a particularly good way to attain this generality would be to be seen to have some form of influence over issues of life and death, ancestors and agricultural or astronomical cycles.

5.2.5 Discussion

Bourdieu thus offers a variety of theory applicable to the archaeological sphere. His concepts force examination both of the relationship of the archaeologist to his subject, as well as to the structures that inform both his viewpoint and engagement with material culture. Ideas of *habitus* and practice allow interpretation of past behaviour whilst avoiding environmental or cultural determinism. The importance of material culture is emphasised and placed in a central role in defining and creating society. This is then combined into a convincing narrative along with discourse on power and domination, and the role of time in shaping intention and behaviour. Time is central to understanding meaningful action, which in turn can be effectively examined through use of the generative model. This powerful but simply constructed tool aids comprehension of a complex social plot.

A number of themes important within archaeology are highlighted by Bourdieu’s work. The problem of relating the individual to the group and the group to the environment around them is as old as archaeology itself. Similarly, investigating

¹⁵ This also has consequences for the modern scholar who by the act of writing site reports and synthesis alters the conception of the past and thereby affects his own society

these relationships over time, which gives an action in the past meaning, poses further problems. The question of how well-equipped archaeology is to answer these issues is a pertinent one. Contemporaneity is the central methodological problem when dealing with an archaeological landscape. Similarly, demarcation of what to consider within an analysis, and at what scale to approach the evidence, is also problematic. These can both be addressed by the concept of landscape itself and on the various scales that it can exist. The continual dichotomy between generalisation and specificity is reflected in the archaeological literature by both broad syntheses and regional studies. Both have their place, though recognition of the fact (implicit in Braudel's model of time), that different processes affect society at different time-scales allows movement between the two. This survives in the material record, and Bourdieu offers straightforward terminology in order to cope with the relationship between society, materiality and time. Bourdieu's approach also includes critical appraisal of the modern conditions of archaeological production, fulfilling the post-structural aim and providing a stronger theoretical basis. Bourdieu offers a simple way of approaching complex social situations and in this can act in conjunction with more structuralist work.

5.3 Conclusion

5.3.1 Summary of Main Points

A number of different approaches have been considered and combined from a range of disciplines. The skeleton upon which all of these ideas hang however is provided by the *Annales* 'school'. The model of time initially proposed by Braudel provides a powerful tool for investigating the structures that influence society on a variety of scales. By including within the model the ability of those structures of the shorter term (*événements*) to influence those of the longer term (the *longue durée*), in a two-way process (however unequal), the dual charges of environmental and cultural determinism are avoided. By converting the time-scale and characteristics of *conjunctures*, and to a certain extent conflating them with the idea of *mentalité*, the evidence available to us from prehistory can be meaningfully incorporated into the model. This accepts that time and meaning are constructed through materiality and that this can be reconstructed from the material record. In the case studies discussed in

this thesis, the material record consists primarily of monuments of a ‘sacral’ nature. As such, they reflect a ritualistic notion of time (see **chapter 3**) that is very different from how ‘everyday’ time is characterised. However, if we accept the assumption that what the ritual record attempts to portray is an ideal representation of society, we can attempt to reconstruct the generative principles at work within that society. The feel-for-the-game deployed around these principles will likely result in the actual social reality bearing varying degrees of resemblance to the ‘ideal’, though it does provide some of the basic principles at work within the social order.

The flesh to the skeleton is provided by the work of Bourdieu and other social theorists, by providing a critical review of the classification of the past and the *field* of schemes imposed upon it. Placing materiality as a central concern, that mediates between individuals, groups and the environment allows the varying processes at work within Braudel’s concept of time to be meaningfully related. This is achieved through powerful methodological concepts such as the generative model (Bourdieu, 1999, 100). Change is powered by the relationship of the *habitus* to both the external factor of the environment and the internal factors arising out of the *feel-for-the-game* (Gosden, 1994). Thus when conditions of reproduction for the *habitus* become intolerable a change is precipitated as the conditions of the unconscious *habitus* are made explicit (Gosden, 1994). A straightforward cause-and-effect solution is overly simplified and requires deeper consideration in terms of power and decisions made ‘in the heat of the moment’ by contemporary people. Thus the structures that affect these decisions can be both opportunity and constraint and resultant activity over shorter time-spans can affect those of the *longue durée*¹⁶.

A combination of *Annaliste* and specifically post-structural approaches is considered a potentially useful tool for investigation of complex past societies. Certain assumptions have to be made (see **chapter 3**) and tested against the archaeological evidence, though this process is in itself a positive and informative one. The *field* which informs classificatory and interpretive schemes upon the past (see **chapter 7**) is also required to be critically analysed in order to identify the

¹⁶ An obvious example is the potential contribution to environmental degradation provided by decisions taken on the level of *événements* that develop a recurring nature and become *conjontures*, affecting even geographical structures of the *longue durée*.

relationship between the observer and the observed. The archaeological record has various strengths and weaknesses and these are considered in light of several recurring themes, including 'landscape' itself and the twin strengths of depth of time and material investigation. These topics reflect a modern preoccupation, but one informed by study of the past, and is therefore characteristic of a relationship with the past, and thus guides any interpretation.

The concepts discussed in the above sections can be identified within the material record. The three landscapes under consideration are linked by structures of the *longue durée* and *conjonctures* that affect all of Western Europe. Their effects and the resolution at which they are visible may vary, but can be demonstrated at each site. Pottery style is one aspect belonging to *conjonctures* that is amenable to study¹⁷, both in terms of suitability for symbolic expression and in practical terms of survivability. The regional pottery styles attributed to each area are set against a backdrop of wider rhythms of pottery manufacture and use. Thus pottery style also operates on a number of levels of time and within a range of primarily sacral and non-sacral assemblages. In this way aspects of materiality can cut across Braudel's levels of time and relate them. This can be both in terms of material, particularly Gosden's concept of objects forming sets of activity throughout the landscape (1994), or symbolically. An example of the latter, particularly important in any account focusing upon the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, is the axe. Axes are present both in a functional role and in terms of trade and prestige. Locations of extraction for material in order to make axes, as well as locations involved in their creation, exchange and deposition hold particular meanings. The *habitus* that informs the processes governing these activities can be approached through the archaeological record, especially as axes are also found represented upon monuments in two of the three areas under study.

The two strengths of archaeological analysis; time depth and materiality, can be related through a combination of the work of Braudel and Bourdieu. Armed with a powerful and simple way to apply concepts of time, we can begin to approach the investigation of the society affected by these different structures. After accepting that

¹⁷ The material culture associated with this, for example the Beaker 'assemblage' including archer's equipment, may represent a *mentalité*

social explanation is highly complex, Bourdieu's model provides a clearly defined and straightforwardly presented way of providing a nuanced investigation of the evidence. The model is also flexible in that the variables can easily be altered and compared again to the evidence. The archaeological evidence to be investigated is detailed in the next chapter.

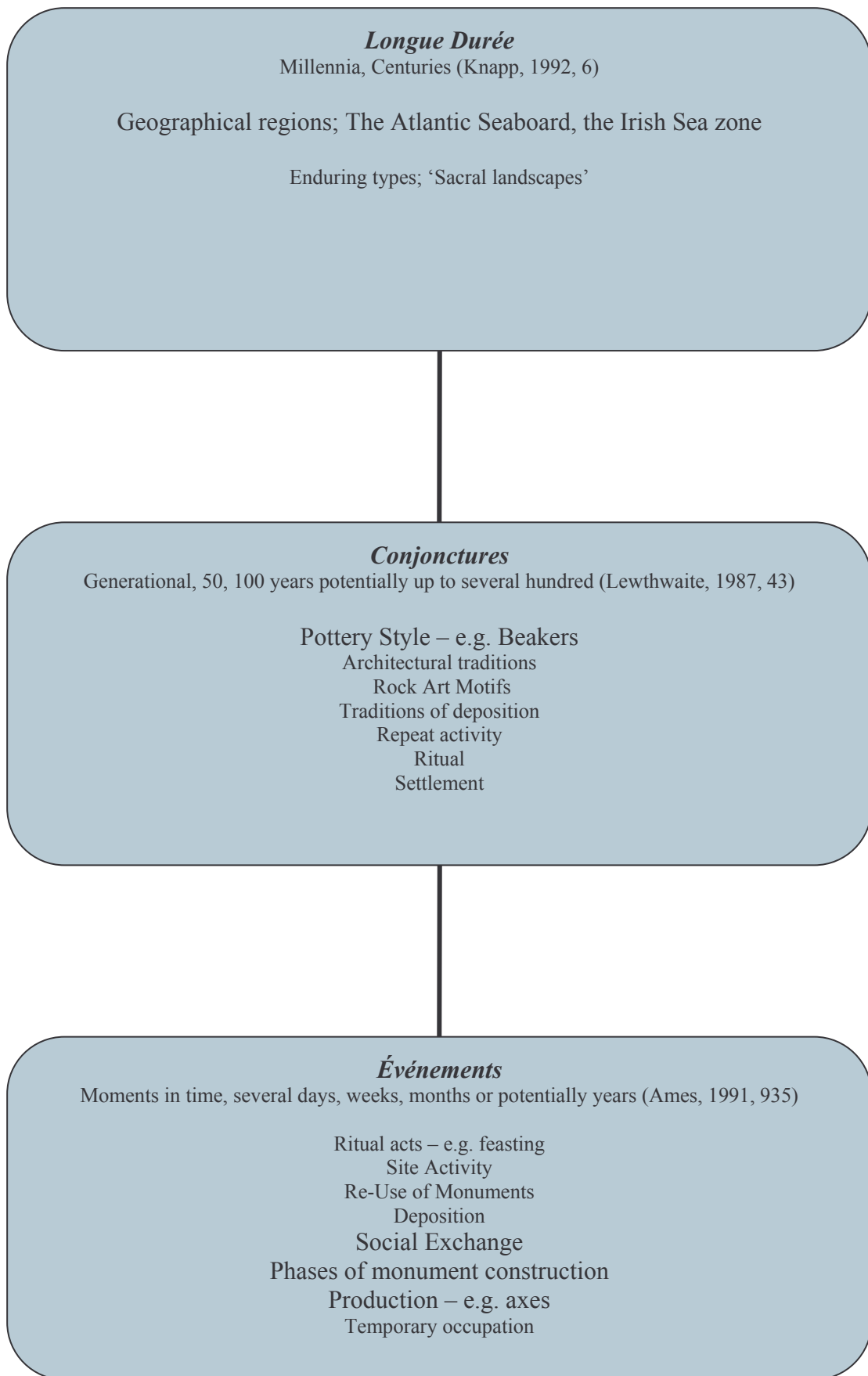


Figure 5.1: Braudel’s model of time applied to structures available to prehistory

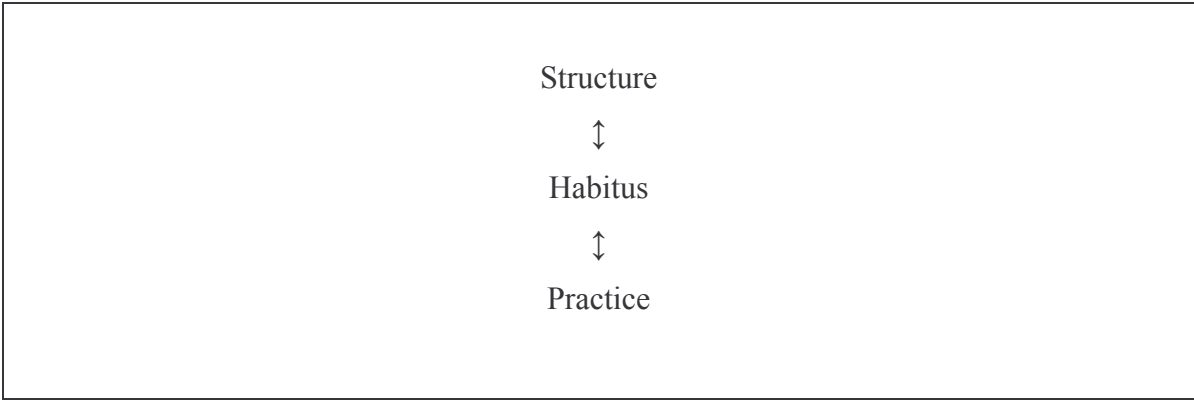


Figure 5.2: Relationship of Structure to Practice

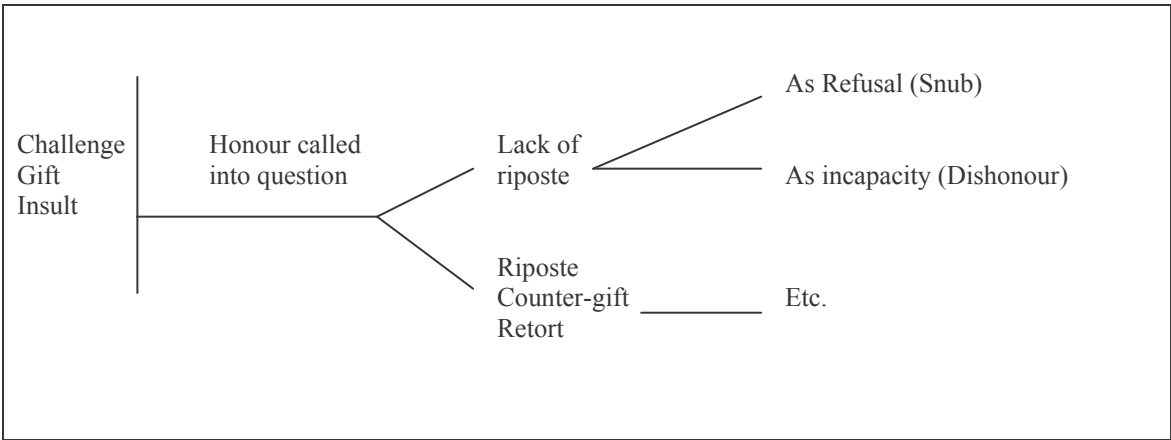


Figure 5.3: Bourdieu's Generative Model (after Bourdieu, 1999, 100)

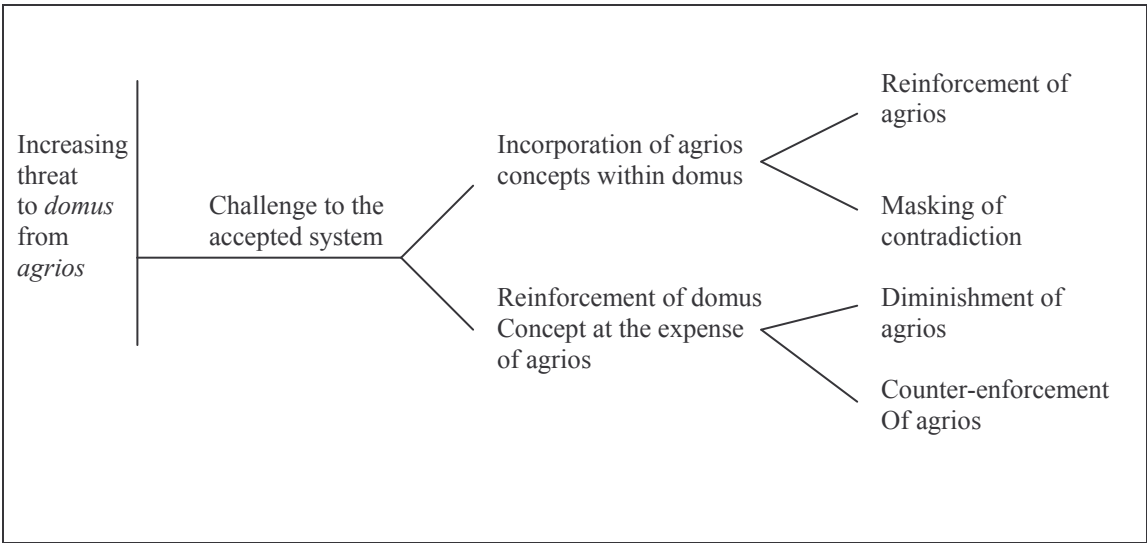


Figure 5.4: Generative Model as Applied to Hodder's concepts of *Domus* and *Agrios*

Part II

Chapter 6: Choice of Area

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have so far sought to explore underlying aspects of archaeological interpretation, from the assumptions of archaeological reasoning to the concept of landscape, and to suggest potentially useful ideas from history and social theory for consideration within archaeological analysis. This chapter introduces three areas traditionally described as ‘archaeological landscapes’ and in particular as ‘ritual’ or ‘sacral’ landscapes. Later chapters will examine the social milieu in which each was first identified and researched, and will try to present an archaeological narrative of change for each area based upon the theoretical starting point elaborated in earlier chapters. For now, this chapter will set out the main characteristics of the material record for each area and reconcile this information within the broad scheme of Braudel’s model of time. According to Lewthwaite when viewing prehistoric data “One of the most critical problems is...communicating more or less simultaneously information about processes which occur at very different time-scales” (1987, 35). Coupled with the problematic dating evidence for many of the sites considered, forming such a narrative is difficult and often overly generalised. It is hoped that the critical consideration of earlier chapters will provide a firm framework upon which a suitable narrative can be constructed to account for change over differing scales.

Before examining the material evidence a number of important themes for any account dealing with prehistoric Europe are briefly discussed. Firstly, a consideration of monument ‘types’ is crucial, as these provide the building blocks of how archaeological evidence is interpreted and compared. The history of the creation of the specific ‘types’ in each landscape, is addressed in the following chapter. The second theme, ‘Barriers and Possibilities’, could be found in a similar format in many ‘economic’ accounts of archaeology (e.g. Clark, 1952, Sheridan & Bailey, 1981, Sherratt, 1997), and is a topic strongly represented within *Annaliste* analyses. However, estimation of such ‘economic’ constraint is considered in relation to the importance of such factors as a cultural resource. The third theme, ‘Culture and

Nature', derives from a more structural root within archaeology (e.g. Hodder, 1990). This basic opposition has been used since the formation of archaeology to demarcate what constitutes a suitable material record for study. This conceptual split has also been utilised in an explanative framework to interpret the material record in terms of opposing culture to nature, thus marking difference whilst at the same time affirming group identity. The stark oppositions proposed have been criticised and recent studies have blurred their boundaries, yet when viewed as a dialectic these categories are still an attractive proposition when attempting to analyse an otherwise enigmatic material record. This short list is by no means exhaustive of the main factors we imagine to be crucial in affecting the daily life of a person several thousand years ago, indeed the extent to which they reflect purely modern concerns has been extensively explored (Shanks & Tilley, 1987, 1996). The material and environmental record that is available from the Neolithic to Early Bronze Age does allow investigation of these topics however. At the same time, all three of these themes are not strongly demarcated, and constantly blend together. Separating them, and loosely structuring the geographical aspects of each area according to them, is mainly a heuristic exercise.

Across Western Europe through the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age a variety of social and cultural phenomena have been identified by past and present archaeologists. The appearance and subsequent alteration of a variety of aspects of material culture, from tomb or settlement architecture, to pottery styles, to artefacts made from novel material or in novel forms and a range of other sources pose the problem of portraying and accounting for them in a comprehensible narrative. Since the concept of 'culture' was imported and applied wholesale into archaeology in the early 20th century, the potential complexity and depth of the prehistory of Europe was unleashed. Luckily, this also coincided with the first main attempts at synthesis, making broadly intelligible the morass of information then presenting itself. A unifying frame of reference within such studies is often provided by a geographical feature, generally a body of water, in such works as Gordon Childe's *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929) or Barry Cunliffe's *Facing the Ocean* (2001), and particularly famously by Fernand Braudel himself (1986). Monument types also provide a similar framework (e.g. Van Giffen, 1928, Henshall, 1963, 1972) and are often the main alternative organising principle. For this account, the Atlantic Seaboard provides both

a general backdrop and an active medium for the discussion of cultural change, and has been selected as such before (e.g. Darvill & Thomas, 2001). The Irish Sea, for example, is often considered as a bridge between the West coast of Scotland and North East Ireland, and is increasingly coming to be viewed as a cultural zone stretching down to Brittany (Cummings & Fowler, 2004). However, the potential for a shared body of water to facilitate social exchange does not prove cultural links in itself. For example, although the distance between Scottish and Irish coasts is relatively short, the crossing and landing may have been particularly difficult (Davies, 1942). However, broad cultural contacts and similarities are strongly indicated by the presence of shared cultural phenomena, such as beaker pottery, axes and tomb morphology. The human agency behind this material evidence is simultaneously the story of specific, individual action at a certain point in time and part of wider traditions of movement and exchange. How these *conjonctures* interact with each other and are manifested at a regional level is the subject of this chapter.

The three areas under consideration are all located in Western Europe (see **figure 6.1**) and as such are part of much wider narratives. Before focusing on the landscape specifics of Drenthe, Kilmartin and the *Golfe du Morbihan*, a wider account is briefly offered against which the specifics may form a more comprehensible narrative. Beginning from the geographical start point from which Gordon Childe (1929) attempted to provide a coherent account on a Europe-wide level, takes us to the Danube, the watery bridge that transported the beginnings of a Neolithic way of life from the south-east to the north-west. Within this broad and generalised movement there are numerous other specific routes through which influences, ideas and people could have travelled (Whittle, 1996). In terms of the current thesis, this is embodied in the evidence from Brittany and the debate centring upon the types of funerary architecture found there (Patton, 1994). The traditional LBK cultural package, as identified in Central Europe by the middle of the 6th millennium BC spread to North-western Europe and gradually assumed regional forms that stretched into the next millennia (mid 5th Millennium). The interaction of the people who used the type of socio-cultural remains we have labelled ‘Neolithic’ and the indigenous ‘hunter-gatherers’, with all the variation these terms include, would likely have taken many forms. Often, there appeared to be a swift replacement of Mesolithic material culture or way of life with a Neolithic one, as may have been the case for areas of

Scotland (Schulting & Richards, 2002). Alternatively, there appeared a more gradual adoption in other areas, exemplified in the Ertebølle culture of Denmark and Northern Germany from the early 5th Millennium BC, representing a model for the process of gradual adoption by local populations of parts of the Neolithic ‘package’ deemed most advantageous (Fischer, 1982, Jennbert, 1985, Madsen, 1987, Whittle, 1996, 206). This is the model currently applied to the Dutch evidence (Fokkens, 1998). Different roles for monumental architecture in this process of Neolithisation have been examined from their emergence in the first half of the fifth millennium BC. This includes megaliths as tools for the conversion of Mesolithic indigenes (Sherratt, 1990, 1995), as responses to population stress and assertion of territory (Renfrew, 1976), as a local reply to incoming traditions (Scarre, 1992) and in relation to earlier practices in other areas, whether the connection is real or imagined, (Bradley, 2002a). A link between more recent Neolithic communities in the west and older LBK communities to the east has been put forward in relation to specific monument types, as well as more generally as a rich source of myth (Whittle, 2003, chapter 5). Following this idea, previous LBK settlement sites with their groups of longhouses are recalled by later burial rites in regional areas further to the west, often not containing LBK material. This may have provided a mediating structure between the earlier Danubian farmers and indigenous populations, the mounds themselves recalling earlier longhouse settlement and those interred under the mounds often accompanied by hunting equipment. This is seen as reflecting ‘the merging of the Danubian and hunter-gatherer worlds’ (Midgley, 2004a, 121). The emergence of a specifically early Atlantic tradition of passage grave construction has been variously considered as either a locally derived extension of this process, or a separate indigenous tradition.

This is a very broad model applying to swathes of Europe during the 5th millennium BC, and describing processes that occupy the longer cycles of Braudel’s *conjonctures*. How do these processes filter down to explain the *événements* on the ground in Morbihan, Drenthe and Kilmartin, however? Firstly, although the generalised economic way of life, embodied in the broad definition of ‘Neolithic’ provides a range of generalised categories from which people in each area could draw, including pottery, monumental architecture, agricultural and pastoral resources, the specific forms these take, their relative importance and how they affect relationships with other, potentially non-Neolithic communities, all vary considerably.

In the Morbihan this is embodied in the discussion of ‘competing’ architectural explanations for the genesis of ‘funerary’ monuments (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, Scarre, 1992, Patton, 1994). In Kilmartin, and in Scotland generally, the Neolithic either arrives without much recourse to what would be considered Mesolithic factors in the economic sense (Schulting & Richards, 2002), or is alternatively viewed as a gradual adoption of ideas and values (Armit & Finlayson, 1992). In Drenthe, the coastal Mesolithic is well established, and the Early Neolithic or Swifterbant Culture (4,900-3,400 BC) is viewed as arising from Late Mesolithic traditions (Raemaekers, 1999, 131).

Interaction and change are more likely apparent in the settlements (Midgley, 2004a, 118) and this evidence is better suited to reflect the nuances of social change than the more measured developments in monumental sites. Unfortunately, evidence is sparser and the variability of what does survive is harder to use for generalisation. Thus although settlement evidence is meagre from Kilmartin, Neolithic houses are found elsewhere in Scotland and Ireland (Armit et al, 2003, Barclay, 2003), and whilst the enclosed settlement site of Le Lizo in Brittany suggests permanent occupation, similar sites are relatively uncommon in the Morbihan area (Hénaff, 2002). In Drenthe, settlement sites can be ephemeral, primarily indicated by pottery sherds, and are located away from the *Hunebedden* distribution (Bakker, 1982).

From such generalised backgrounds we can begin the narrative of how *événements* in the three areas relate to later and larger trends across Europe. From broad accounts to the specifics of site history there is constant oscillation between the long term and the short, the specific and the general. By providing a framework in which to structure an account dealing with processes that unfold over different ‘wavelengths’ of time, Braudel’s work provides a model by which to relate them. The form by which shorter term processes become translated through the archaeological record to those of the longer term is through ‘types’. These are constructed through identification of similar physical characteristics spatially and temporally. The ‘types’ present in each of the three landscapes are described in later sections, whilst the idea of a ‘sacral landscape’ itself may prove to be a particularly powerful, though generally implicitly held, example of a ‘type’.

6.2 Archaeological Types

Archaeological ‘types’ are reflective on a basic level of the human need for categorisation (see **chapter 4**). Linguistically, the acceptance of meaningful ‘types’, however arbitrarily assigned, provides a vocabulary for communal exchange. In archaeology, discussion of ‘types’ takes on very specific characteristics linked to the concept of typology. This is the result of transplanting a biological evolutionary model of classification and development into the archaeological approach. Initially, this was used to highlight the process of social evolution itself before the full utility of typology as a chronological tool was harnessed. Typology presupposes a sound classification and ordering of material things. The building blocks of this type of approach have been shown to be historically determined and specific (Foucault, 1979, 1997, Kuhn, 1996), thus the ‘types’ of one typology may not be deemed as such in another. In archaeology, however, ‘types’ can be very durable. Even when the meaning of classification of a monument or artefact ‘type’ changes, the old vocabulary is often retained to avoid ‘confusion’. Certain forms of archaeological knowledge can appear more like ‘archetypes’, becoming implicit and self evident, such as the identification of megalithic tombs as ‘tombs’, with all the conceptual baggage that accompanies the term. The history of individual ‘types’ is therefore illustrative of the wider system of archaeological classification in operation.

Typologies of monuments and sites have been questioned for decades regarding their ‘reality’ and applicability and this type of criticism has been revived recently (Barclay, 2005, Brophy, 2005, Noble, 2005). The realisation that monument types assume a life and narrative power of their own is well made. Underneath these (often architecturally based) types lurks even more subconscious, deeper-held and ‘natural’ ideas, of which sacral landscapes are particularly pertinent for the study of the Neolithic and Bronze Age, but which could also include attitudes to ritual and ‘economic’ ideas of society. The normalising power of typologies should not be underestimated, though it would be unwise to cast out an essential archaeological tool, the presence of which allows critical dialogue in the first place. This thesis attempts to relate types to different processes of time in an attempt to rescue these ideas from the circular reasoning of an analysis that can become self-defining and pre-determines archaeological results. Typology is useful in that it highlights difference, even though

this is then formulated in a negative relation to idealised types. The best way to overcome these problems and update typology for modern usage is to identify the generative principles in play that affect monument construction and usage. This is often attempted within rock art studies (Jones, 2005a, 115), and an unacknowledged debt may be owed to art historical approaches in this regard. The important points raised by discussion of why Mesolithic and Neolithic evidence is treated according to different standards (Thomas, 1988, Armit & Finlayson, 1992) should not obscure the fact that a real difference exists between the remains we attribute to these categories. It is also important to recognise the longevity of this problem. Earlier accounts were no less innocent than their modern counterparts, and discourse was as susceptible to agenda and bias in the past as it is today. Similarly, early work in archaeology still exerts considerable influence, with evolutionary models of architectural development from the 19th century still in use whilst interpretive ideas, such as the concept of ‘houses for the dead’, actively shape how the past is thought of. Landscapes of sacral monuments have been a recurring theme in archaeological investigation of these periods, from early topographical survey (Piggott, 1985, Lucas, 2001, 4, Haycock, 1999) to modern consideration of landscape archaeology (e.g. Ashmore & Knapp, 1999, Barrett et al, 1990, Bender, 1993, Cooney, 2000, Rossignol & Wandsnider (eds), 1992, Scarre, 2002a). Charting the history of the idea of sacral landscapes, long held as being particularly emblematic of Neolithic and Bronze Age societies, thus provides a critical yardstick to measure both the applicability of the idea and the reasons for its acceptance.

6.3 Barriers and Possibilities

Accounts of the relationship between prehistoric communities and their environment tend to privilege nature as a constraining force, or relegate it to an enabling backdrop. Economic and geographical accounts focus on the carrying capacity, and thus the potential and limitations, of the environment for an imagined community, and the environmental aspect is therefore dominant in these models. At the other end of the spectrum, symbolic, structural and post-processual analyses focus upon the relationship with the environment from the socio-cultural perspective. Both approaches are not necessarily exclusive, the structure of argument being similar, though they tend to stress different ‘prime movers’ when explaining change. A simple

casual explanation may be inadequate, especially if Childe's view of man's relationship with the environment is taken into account:

“the environment to which any *Homo sapiens* adjusts himself by rational action is different from that of any other animal as a result of his use of those systems of conventional symbols that we call languages. It can consist not only of his own immediate experience, enriched by memories of previous experiences...but potentially also of the experience of all members of his society and of such older or alien societies as have contributed to his society's tradition” (Childe, 1949, 7).

This idea effectively combines both extremes and allows change to arise from either social or environmental sources as the idea of adaptation is a social one, but integral to it is the concept that if this social idea strays too much from the environmental reality, the community will suffer (Trigger, 1989, 378). Environmental constraints are therefore not entirely deterministic but breed interesting social responses to cope with and overcome such restrictions. It should be noted, however, that these social ‘responses’ are not technically in response to the environment *per se*, but to the social idea of the environment. If this assumption is accepted, the material record can be analysed in terms of retrieving this attitude towards the environment, examined in the following section. The dichotomy of viewing the environment as either a barrier or possibility is therefore a false one and is best replaced with a more nuanced view, recognising the ultimately constraining environmental context of the *longue durée*, but interpreting the material remains of a society in both a social and environmental context, rather than considering one or the other as deterministic.

This section will deal with two specific features¹ of the landscape that played an important part in the landscapes under discussion: forests and bodies of water. A variety of relationships that people have had with these landscape features is charted through ethnographic and archaeological data, and although very diverse, the importance of these general categories is continually reinforced (Schama, 1995). Total reconstruction of the complex interaction between prehistoric communities and their environment is beyond archaeology. Aspects of this interaction are recoverable, however, and from this extrapolations can be made concerning how people moved

¹ Though this is by no means exhaustive, if space allowed other features would be included, such as hill tops and caves (Tolan-Smith, 2001).

through, lived within or beside and utilised different environmental features. This generates much discussion, particularly concerning the nature of the environmental record and the type of subsistence base that prehistoric people used. Thus, the debate as to the presence or absence of man-made clearances in the Mesolithic or Neolithic gives way to debate as to the nature of clearances and the suitability of particular ethnographic parallels.

‘Bodies of water’ encompasses a large number of geographical forms, from springs, streams and rivers to pools, lakes and ultimately the Atlantic Ocean itself. For Mesolithic communities in Western Europe, location near the sea coast or a river was a critical factor. Shell middens point both to the important subsistence part played by coastal resources, as well as the social role suggested by their construction and the deposits, including burials, found within. Substantial shell middens are found along the West coast of Scotland, as at Oban and the island of Oronsay (Mellars, 1987), and the sites of Tévéc and Hoëdic (Péquart & Péquart, 1954, Péquart et al, 1937) in Brittany attest to an important Mesolithic presence during the Early Neolithic. Drenthe is not found immediately adjacent to the coast, though the importance of the local Mesolithic tradition is emphasised through the early Swifterbant culture (Raemaekers, 1999). Examination of Neolithic settlement sites and, where possible, diet, provides a more complicated picture of the interplay between coastal and inland resources. LBK settlement in Central Europe has long been linked with the loess soils of inland river valleys, though forms of evidence such as the distribution of *spondylus* shells (Whittle, 1996, 187) have been used to emphasise a strong cultural connection with the sea and increasingly wide social exchange networks. Along the Atlantic coast a direct economic connection with coastal resources was likely still important to Neolithic communities, though material evidence for this, as it is found from the Mesolithic, also remains unconvincing. The importance of the sea is reflected in deposits in monuments, grave goods, artistic motifs and the positioning of sites, and is thus generally more conceptual than strictly economic (Cunliffe, 2001, chapter 5, Whittle, 2000, Cassen & Vaquero, 2004). This likely reflects a changing socio-economic attitude to coastal resources over these two periods, with a symbolic importance attached to resources of previous economic importance. The presence of shells at Achnacreebeag (Ritchie, 1970) or the development of a tradition of communal burial within the coastal tombs in Brittany, are suggestive of this (Scarre,

1992, 145). However, many secondary products of the sea, such as oil for light or seal skin for waterproofing may be archaeologically invisible. Across the Late Neolithic and into the Early Bronze Age, material culture became more widespread across western Europe, from Grand Pressigny flint to the Chalcolithic Beaker assemblages, likely continuing a very early trend in a more archaeologically visible manner. Grand Pressigny flint was likely transported to Brittany along both inland and coastal waterways that had likely played an important role much earlier (Sherratt, 1998, 136-7, Mallet, 1992). The social connections that bodies of water facilitate are thus emphasised, even when the subsistence resources they provided may have been less critical than in the past.

How water-bodies are perceived, both in prehistory and modern times, shapes how archaeological narratives account for their importance. The Atlantic Ocean has inspired a rich tradition of folk tales and legends, as it would have done in prehistory (Cunliffe, 2001, chapter 1). Some archaeological interpretations have emphasised the importance of bodies of water for providing routeways through the landscape, whilst others point, with some justification, to the potential problems offered by travel over even apparently small stretches of open water. This is evinced up to modern times with the considerable risk taken by modern day fishermen. In Colin Renfrew's model (1976) the Atlantic is viewed as such an effective barrier that its existence as such ultimately results in the construction of megaliths as territorial markers. Location of settlement required access to water, and later ethnographic examples reinforce the idea of water being conceived of as having a sacral aspect alongside being a physical necessity. That this is also true for the Neolithic is strongly suggested by a range of evidence including deposition of the TRB 'bog pots' from Denmark (Koch, 1998). It is therefore important to note that as well as providing an important opportunity for travel and as an economic resource, water bodies would also provide a considerable cultural resource. This may be intimated by monument distribution referencing rivers (Sherratt, 1998, 128), or the potential that expanses of water offered as the embodiment of the 'other', to be contrasted with the 'known' (Barnatt, 1998, 96-97).

As previously explored (see **chapter 1**), the forest is often seen in Western tradition as opposing culture, representing that which is wild and untamed. Medieval accounts portray the forest as a dangerous location and populate it with myths and

legends, although they also stress its importance for hunting and as an economic resource. Thus, the Medieval forests were simultaneously a barrier, an economic resource and a cultural resource, providing a broad range of meanings that can be selectively emphasised. When faced with the prehistoric record, recovery of attitudes toward the forest becomes more problematic, as their role is likely to have been very different from modern conceptions. The material record may provide clues on a site or artefact level, though stylistic analyses have distinct interpretive problems. Impressions of grain on pottery for example may have been symbolic of aspects of agricultural life, and this would stress the importance of fields over forest. However, if the linguistic implications of reading archaeological material as a text are considered, grain impressions as decoration are arbitrary in terms of meaning, conceivably related to any potential range of connections. Context is what narrows down the range of potential connections, and in this example the use of grain presupposes a connection with farming. However, again within this sphere the range of potential meaning is still wide, as grain is often considered in relation to fertility, for example, and the agricultural metaphor can be stretched to encompass a considerable amount of human experience. The axe is another recurring symbol through the Neolithic, occurring in different forms and contexts, including depictions of axes, deposition of axes and potentially even monuments in axe-form (Thomas & Tilley, 1993, 235) and has been linked to a wide set of symbolism. This symbolism is generally male-centric and has implications for related material, i.e. long mounds viewed as male-associated and passage graves as female associated (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 485). In terms of landscape then, the distribution of axes can provide us with information on systems of exchange (e.g. Le Roux, 1999), but the variety of social and symbolic associations have to be explored in a finer analysis of contextual meaning, including aspects such as the activity of producing of axes (e.g. Dobres, 2000) and their deployment according to factors such as age, gender or ethnicity (e.g. Jones, 1997, Ashmore, 2006).

On a landscape level, evidence provided by pathways through the environment, clearings, agricultural or pastoral areas and site distributions may give more of an idea as to the attitudes of prehistoric peoples to their environs. Travel through thick forest would present difficulties and dangers even to those familiar with the locale. However, the forest also offered important resources such as timber, fruit

and nuts, game, and animal fodder, especially for species such as pigs. Evidence for clearance may stretch back to the Mesolithic and the economic form that forest exploitation took in the Neolithic likely varied considerably. The role of hunting as an economic pursuit is suggested by evidence for subsistence from German and Danish sites (Midgley, 1992, 375-7) and by arrowheads found in monument and mortuary contexts within the Netherlands (e.g. Fokkens, 1998, 110, Brindley et al, 2001, 50-1, De Groot, 1988, 9). Evidence for hunting accoutrements in monumental assemblages suggests a prestigious aspect of hunting. The forest becomes a location to gain status and define and develop social roles. Regardless of the symbolic potential of the forest, trees would have to be cleared to provide space for agricultural or pastoral activities. Clearance was unlikely restricted to purely utilitarian concerns, however; in fact, the evidence from the three areas is mainly based on areas cleared for specifically non-settlement purposes.

Travel and movement through these types of landscape is another major consideration, often addressed by Braudel and the *Annaliste* scholars in general. Braudel's (1990, 110) assertion of the relativity of distance due to the relative speed of movement provides a starting point from which to address the question of how travel can affect *mentalité*. Movement through a landscape is affected by a number of factors, including the physical characteristics of the environment itself, incorporating tides, tree cover and lines of communication, economic factors involving the necessity of travel for hunting, exchange, pastoral or clearance purposes and social factors such as traditional methods of travel, taboos, prestigious activity and transportation technology. All of these factors from the *longue durée* to *événements* bear down upon an individual decision to travel. The prevailing view of prehistoric hunter-gatherer societies tends to promote the idea of harmony with nature, a modern link with the concept of the 'noble savage' (Davies et al, 2005, 282). Ashmore reasonably suggests that Mesolithic people in Scotland would weigh the decision to travel on different scales than we would today (Ashmore, 2003, 45), although also suggests that 'pure' distance would not have been an important factor. Although the considerable potential for travel exists, this overlooks the dangers of moving around in a prehistoric landscape. The suggestion of a more difficult relationship with the surrounding environment on a series of different scales has recently resurfaced (Davies et al, 2005), though this is not a new idea. What becomes apparent is that the specific

mechanics of travel can affect social outlook. This is highlighted by the more modern 19th century parallel of change in attitude towards the aesthetics of antiquity, in particular prehistoric monuments, occurring alongside a change in the comfort and speed of travel (see **chapter 7**). Thus how people travel affects how they view and conceptualise their environment, a point raised by both Childe (1949, 7) and Braudel (1990). In the context of the Irish Sea, an example of this is the suggestion that when travelling by boat, the coastlines of the various landmasses appear as islands (Cooney, 2004b, 149, Davies, 1942, 42-44).

Obviously, travel within a prehistoric context is a harder topic to address than it is for the 19th century. The difference resides in the detail provided by the sources. Historical sources can reveal first hand attitudes toward travel. A considerable quantity of material remains indicate that population movement did occur in prehistory, though reconstruction of the attitudes and goals behind this evidence is harder to attempt. Early evidence of transport exists in the form of log boats, dating from the Mesolithic onwards (Mowat, 1996, 131), although animal traction may occur considerably later in north-west Europe (Sherratt, 1981). Artefact distribution suggests that systems of exchange were obviously in place, though whether this includes the movement of people is open to debate. Recent analysis of strontium isotopes from Bell Beaker burials indicates that population migration during the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age may not have been uncommon (Douglas Price et al, 2004). The movement of people is the underlying assumption of many accounts of the Neolithic and Bronze Age of Europe (e.g. Childe, 1925, Piggott, 1967), and is not confined to cultural-historical approaches, but is present in some form behind most comparative accounts. This provides the vector or motor of change and has considerable explanatory power, especially as it can straightforwardly incorporate archaeological evidence. Reconstruction of the local environment (e.g. Tipping, 1994, Marguerie, 1992, Bakker & Goenman-van Waateringe, 1988) has provided some idea of the physical mechanics required for travel in prehistory though this is of course only half of the picture. Ethnographic parallels strive to provide the other, human half (e.g. McGrail, 1986, chapter 6), though with many qualifications. Studies of material provenance, especially of stone objects such as axes, hints at the movements made by prehistoric people, and in each of the three areas under discussion artefactual or stylistic evidence indicates their involvement in long-distance exchange. Most

movement however was likely characterised as small-scale, including ‘colonisation’ (Sheridan, 2003a, 5). The study of travel emphasises the importance of the characteristics of travel both for economic reconstruction and the influence that it has on social factors, including attitudes to the environment, both social and natural, and this is addressed in the next section.

6.4 Culture and Nature

When examining archaeological evidence on a landscape scale, defining the boundaries of the object of investigation, or demarcation, becomes a problem. Where ‘nature’ stops and ‘culture’ begins is a question built upon a fundamental structural opposition between the two terms (Ingold, 2000, chapter 1). Arguably, this is the most basic division within the human sciences, not only having a role in the demarcation of what to be studied, but also an explanatory role in interpretation (Latour, 1993). The creation of the division between culture and nature in accounts concerning the environment can be linked to a structuralist division within a particularly modern and western viewpoint, and has been viewed as a barrier to understanding (Ingold, 2000, 14-5). Some landscape studies (e.g. Bradley, 2000, Tilley, 1994) approach this problem by highlighting how ‘natural’ features are incorporated into ‘cultural landscapes’, though underlying this, the opposition remains.

The dichotomy between culture and nature masks two problems: how we form the archaeological record to be studied; and secondly, how we conceive of the relationship between past people and their world (Childe, 1949, 8). The latter includes the very terms ‘we’ use to describe ‘them’. The culture/nature dichotomy remains a useful heuristic tool, however, in providing a structure for accounts that deal with patchy evidence for a remote past. The detection of this dichotomy in the material remains of the past is more problematic, and the terms that encapsulate it are demonstrably modern in origin. This leads to reconstruction of particularly ‘modern’ Neolithic communities, framed around ideas of production and consumption and later on, Bronze Age interaction set against free market forces (e.g. Jager, 1985, 186). Opposition of ‘culture’ (and the civilised, ordered sentiments that this evokes), to the wild and untamed ‘nature’ works on paper, though the evidence is unsuitably messy. There is also the concomitant danger of leaning to the other extreme and viewing

nature as an idyll, and populating it with suitably ‘noble’ Mesolithic people (Davies & al, 2005).

An archaeologist who has specifically approached the culture/ nature divide is Ian Hodder, who deals with this topic in his *Domestication of Europe* (1990). Hodder immediately puts the culture/nature division at the heart of the humanities: “the culture/nature duality is the very stuff of all human society” (1990, 30). This relationship is remade into two opposing concepts, the ‘domus’ and ‘agrios’, in an attempt to get closer to ‘their’ language. From here Hodder develops the use of an agricultural metaphor to explain the different relationships between culture and nature, or domus and agrios. This provides a conceptual framework to explain the archaeological record and is recognisably manifest in a variety of material culture. However, by elevating the culture/nature divide to the central explanatory structure, the duality is constantly replicated in archaeological accounts. Once accepted, all manner of dichotomies based upon this underlying one are reproduced or ‘read’ in material culture, including the process of transformation of for example plants into food, stone into tools or bodies into ancestors.

A problem arises when relating these schemes to contingency, i.e. when attempting to paint the complex, social picture that results in the abandonment of a bog track-way before it is finished (Casparie, 1982), or the partial replacement of a timber circle with stone before a new monument is constructed in its place (see **figure 6.4**, Scott, 1989). The domus and agrios are tyrannical in this respect, though both act in a similar way to the idea of *habitus* (see **chapter 5**). Though whereas *habitus* is formed in practice, the domus and agrios are a conceptual scheme and provide deterministic explanation compared to the room the *habitus* allows for nuance and manipulation. Hodder himself notes how his model can appear static (1990, 68) and to counter this he considers the relationship between the two concepts to form a dialectical process over time. Again, this provides only two dimensions, and Hodder’s development of another emerging tradition, that of the ‘foris’ acting as the mechanism by which agrios principles are incorporated by the domus, still seems an over simplification. All categories of data are pre-sorted according to the concepts of domus and agrios (Hodder, 1990, 69 fig 3.5). Some categories appear to be shared, or at least are transitory, between the two concepts, and it is here that the relationship

between the two seems most explicit, the contingency most apparent. However, the presence of incongruous elements within a particular context is explained in relation to their opposition, i.e. in accounts of the domus attempting to control the destructive nature of agrios elements. This makes such arguments hard to disprove, their acceptance or rejection therefore falling on the idea of a Kuhnian conversion through the eloquence of the argument and the undeniable explanative power (Kuhn, 1996, 151-2).

Expanding the idea of domestication into the structural realm of analysing material culture provides a useful tool for analysis, though this relies implicitly on the idea of 'domestication' as holding the same socio-cultural connotations in prehistory as it does now. There is also no *a priori* justification as to why this agricultural metaphor is suitable for other aspects of life, including ideas of time (e.g. Bradley, 2002b). Hodder's account seems to operate under the need to explain how complex societies arose and how 'we' came to be. Needless to say, this was unlikely a thought prominent in the minds of prehistoric farmers. However, the nature/culture divide is analysed in relation to actual archaeological phenomena, and used to extrapolate about the unseen aspects of society - the presence or absence of enclosure or pottery decoration taken as signifying the extent of the domus, and therefore the community (Hodder, 1990, 18). The relationships within a society are paralleled to those between culture and nature, and thus provide one approach to the interaction of people with each other and their landscape.

If the separation between culture and nature is a valid one, their recognition and relationship, especially in archaeological terms, becomes a legitimate avenue of research. This is often explored in archaeological literature through consideration of clearance and enclosure. The specific Neolithic tradition of enclosure in its many forms is viewed as an 'emerging tradition' in the Irish Sea zone (Darvill & Thomas, 2001, 5). Although not greatly in evidence in the three areas under study, this tradition was widespread across large swathes of Europe. However, this does not necessarily suggest a similarity of meaning. Braudel suggests that a social and cultural barrier can be raised "to replace the imperfect geographical barrier which is always being broken in a variety of ways" (Braudel, 1972, 46) and this provides a suitable point of departure. As primarily defensive explanations are generally untenable more

conceptual analyses have been ventured, reinforced by evidence of ‘structured’ deposits, often of pottery and cattle bones. Some forms of enclosure are considered in relation to subsistence strategy, particularly pastoralism or other forms of transhumance (Barclay, 2001, 148) in which they are seen as being ‘central places’ for exchange within mobile populations (Barclay, 2001, 148, Darvill & Thomas, 2001, 144). That mobile populations require such formal locations is itself an assumption. Indeed, the relative lack of enclosure in the three specific landscapes (even though they neighbour widespread distributions of enclosed monuments) may be meaningful in itself, if not simply a vagary of survival. Clearances similarly suggest a form of relationship with the surrounding forest that is most easily conceptualised in terms of opposition. Some traditions of enclosure may mirror the conceptual, as well as physical, role that the forest may have played (Edmonds, 1999, 92). In this way the role of an enclosure in contrasting the interior space with an ‘other’ outside may be a parallel with the earlier role of the forest. Early LBK settlements were threaded along river valleys and bounded by nearby forestry. Increasing clearance and a more open landscape at the end of the Neolithic and beginning of the Bronze Age would offer the opportunity for development of a cultural rather than natural boundary. This explanation operates over the longer time scales of Braudel’s model, providing broad interpretive sweeps, but missing the detail. Clearance and enclosure can also be employed within accounts of more mobile populations (Davies et al, 2005). It is to the regional and particular, represented by the *conjectures*, that our explanations should turn.

Undoubtedly, the culture/nature dichotomy is a powerful one, not least in the influence that it exerts on modern day archaeologists, but also in that it may be tentatively identified within the archaeological record. Other interpretative dichotomies have also been used however, many of which prove durable. An opposition of male and female has been used to interpret the monumental traditions in Brittany along with examples of rock art and associated artefacts (Cassen, 2000b). Similarly, the metaphor of biological reproduction has been used to interpret tomb design (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 485) and connect ideas of death to regeneration. This is paralleled by the extension of the metaphor of agricultural production to the social and to the idea of time (Bradley, 2002b). These aspects could be subsumed, of course, within the culture/nature categories as Hodder does, by attributing structural elements

of the concept of ‘female’ or ‘male’ to the domus and agrios. This process is obviously not neutral and can lead to misleading interpretations, ‘Man the Hunter’ being a famous example (Wylie, 2002, 138). What the structuralist division does allow is the exploration of specific archaeological traits and the attempt to interrelate and account for them in a wider narrative. The apparent preference for particular tree species at certain sites for example, such as the use of oak at many palisaded sites in Britain (Gibson, 1998b, 75), may represent more than simply functionalist selection. Incorporating this type of information within a structuralist approach is inadequate, though provides a suitable springboard for further discussion.

6.5 Kilmartin Valley

Kilmartin Valley is found within Mid-Argyll, a region in the modern administrative district of Argyll in the south-west of Scotland (see **figure 6.1**). The area is notable for having a high concentration of prehistoric monuments and examples of rock art. Due to the concentration and visibility of the monuments within the Kilmartin area, interest in them has a long history. Early antiquarian excavations of sites date back to the 19th century, beginning with Rev. Greenwell’s accounts of exploration of a number of monuments near Crinan (Greenwell, 1866) and Dean Mapleton’s excavations of Ri Cruin. Both Mapleton and Greenwell also excavated the chambered tombs of Kilchoan (Mapleton, 1866) and Nether Largie South (Greenwell, 1866). J.H. Craw undertook the investigation of many sites in the Kilmartin area during the first half of the 19th century (Craw, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932). Despite this, a proper survey of sites and finds from the Kilmartin area was not undertaken until the 1960s (Campbell & Sandeman, 1961). The Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments later published a systematic field survey of the monuments in Argyll (RCAHMS, 1988) with a later volume concentrating exclusively on the Kilmartin area (RCAHMS, 1999). Excavation to a modern standard includes the site of Temple Wood (Scott, 1989) and rescue excavation of a number of other sites such as the proposed timber circle and cursus monument at Upper Largie (Terry, 1997). The Kilmartin area also appears in a number of syntheses. The presence of chambered tombs of the ‘Clyde’ type have resulted in Kilmartin appearing in a number of typological accounts (Henshall, 1963, 1972, Powell, 1969). Posited astronomical use at a number of sites within the Kilmartin area (especially Kintraw and Temple Wood)

has led to the area appearing within archaeo-astronomical works (Ruggles, 1988, Thom & Thom, 1978). The concentration and quality of rock art in the Kilmartin area has also led to its inclusion in several rock art syntheses, from early accounts (e.g. Allen, 1882), to more recent (e.g. Bradley, 1997, Morris, 1977). The artefactual remains gathered from the earlier excavations, as well as those collected as curiosities or for profit, often went missing with no reliable record of their characteristics. The early excavators were also selective in their choice of what constituted a suitable artefact for retention (see **chapter 7**). Even artefacts that were housed in collections were sometimes destroyed, as was the case in a fire at the Poltalloch Estate. Fortunately, some idea of the inventory can be recreated, which included a jet necklace from Glebe Cairn and several fine pieces of pottery. Several monuments were also reconstructed after initial excavation, often with a potentially misleading structural interpretation. A good example of this is Glebe Cairn (see **chapter 7**), excavated and reconstructed by Greenwell.

Many of these sites are believed to date from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, traditionally considered to date from around 4,000 to 2,500 BC and from 2,500 BC to 1,700 BC respectively. This provides Scotland with later Neolithic and Bronze Age periods than the other two areas under consideration, though Kilmartin does have evidence for comparatively early activity at the sites of Temple Wood, Kilchoan and Nether Largie South. Radiocarbon dates from Temple Wood (Scott, 1989, Ashmore, 1997) indicate that the Kilmartin area was likely a focus of activity from the early 4th Millennium B.C. Extensive survey and description by the Royal Commission of Ancient and Historic Monuments (RCAHMS, 1988) gives a reliable indicator of sites that survive today. It should be noted that this distribution is continually added to: the recent discovery of a ‘cursus-like’ monument near Kilmartin (DES, 1997, 19) and the subsequent excavation (DES, 2000, 16) provide good examples of this continually developing record. More common are discoveries of smaller sites, such as rock decoration or fallen standing stones (DES, 1993, 74). Due to disturbance at many of the sites, form, contents and function are often dependent on analogy with monuments outwith the Kilmartin area. Poor preservation on mainly acidic soils contributes to this problem, with many sites considered to be ‘mortuary’ monuments, but containing little skeletal evidence.

The area under consideration is roughly 330km² in total extent (after RCAHMS, 1999) and incorporates the old Kilmartin Parish. This encompasses the valleys and surrounding area of Kilmartin Burn and the River Add, along with a large part of the raised beach complex of the Mòine Mhór to the South (see **figure 6.2**). Glaciation has left a patchwork of low-lying hills, rarely exceeding 200m, surrounding the flatter valley floors (Tipping, 1998, 1). The period in question for this study falls into the Mid-Holocene, where temperatures would likely have been similar to those experienced today, although drier and with a greater range of temperature over the summer and winter (Bonsall et al, 2002, 14-15). Average climate would have been warmer than the present day and the complex of islands to the West would have protected the Kilmartin area from the worst of the weather rolling in off the Atlantic. The relationship between isostatic rebound and eustatic sea-level rise following the last glacial period has led to a complex scheme of landscape change. The formation of peat bog over large areas of the Mòine Mhór, for example, is adjudged to have begun sometime after the drop in sea-level between 5,000 to 4,000 BP (Tipping, 1999, 4). The complex interplay between isostatic rebound and eustatic sea-level rise also led to the formation of fluvio-glacial terraces along the River Add and at the south western end of Loch Awe (Tipping, 1998, 3). Both of these water-bodies were likely important to the people who constructed the monuments of Kilmartin Valley. Marine encroachment at Loch Crinan may also have provided lagoon-like conditions in a similar manner to the western end of the Drenthe Plateau (see later), with the resultant animal and bird resources. These factors would have greatly affected the opportunities for agricultural exploitation in prehistory. Unfortunately, the resolution of the environmental data is insufficient to allow secure comparison with specific periods in the archaeological record. This is a recurring problem with environmental records for the area, with many gaps in the evidence for specific periods with the result that only general trends can be securely described.

The Kilmartin area would have been favourable for agriculture in comparison to much of the West Coast (Davidson & Carter, 1997, 51). Soils in the west are not particularly deep, and the machair that covers a large part of the Kilmartin area were light, and thus potentially cultivated by human traction (Cowie & Shepherd, 1997,

164), an important consideration as animal traction may not have been widespread until much later. The coastline of Argyll is made up of a patchwork of valleys and coastal plains, wedged between the sea and highlands. Such a location would offer a variety of maritime resources, which were likely utilised during the Mesolithic, though seem absent from the diet of Neolithic communities (Schulting & Richards, 2002, 148). This does not preclude the potential for 'secondary' products, such as fish oil for light and heat (RCAHMS, 1999, 4) or seal skin for waterproofing (Schulting & Richards, 2002, 173). Loch Awe in the north and Loch Fyne to the south would also have offered a variety of both sea and fresh water resources. The sea and inland lochs allowed communication from the hinterland to the coast and between the numerous islands off the West Coast. Similarly, the River Add and the Kilmartin Burn would have provided an accessible freshwater source throughout the Kilmartin area. The area as a whole could offer a secure subsistence base with a wide range of resources. Isotopic evidence on a restricted sample of Neolithic burials suggests little or no maritime element to the diet. However, it is impossible to trace the occasional consumption of fish with current dietary analysis. A votive pit containing over 2,000 marine shells from the front of the nearby chambered cairn at Crarae hints at the importance of maritime resources (Ritchie, 1997, 72) along with the mussel and cockle shells found within the cairn material at Kintraw (Simpson, 1967, 57). The freshwater component of diet is currently harder to reconstruct, though the relative lack of suitable environment for large numbers of freshwater species in the West of Scotland indirectly suggests that it played a lesser role (Schulting & Richards, 2002, 157).

The wider environment around Kilmartin would have been heavily wooded in prehistory. According to Richard Tipping, Kilmartin is located between two different types of forest cover: that characterised by birch, hazel and oak: and woodland characterised by oak, hazel and elm (Tipping, 1994, 12). Along with local stone, this would have provided a source of suitable building material. Copper deposits have been identified around Loch Fyne (RCAHMS, 1999, 11) though there does not appear to be an intensive local industry. Although these resources were all available, reconstructing how important they were in prehistory is poorly understood. Human impact upon the environment can reliably be identified from the Neolithic (mid 3rd millennium B.C.) onwards, though not located or quantified with certainty. The

forests of the Neolithic would still have presented a formidable barrier to movement and by inference, to social exchange. The presence of artefacts from other regions suggests that their prestige was connected to the respective distance involved. This distance would appear greater if the journey was difficult, and in this way the forest could act as both a physical and a conceptual barrier. Travel over water would likely present a quick alternative to overland movement, as most of Kilmartin Valley is 5km or less from the coast. Sea or freshwater travel is inferred from site and material distribution from the Mesolithic onwards in Scotland. Although no finds of boats from this period have been recovered, the implications of the material evidence and the presence of log boats in other parts of Scotland and Atlantic Europe, especially from Denmark, indicate their contemporary use (Saville, 2004, 203-204). The nature of the environment lends itself to water transport, with the fjord-like character of the coast and Lochs Fyne and Awe allowing access inland. Kilmartin Burn snakes through the alluvial deposits of Kilmartin Valley and drains into the River Add to the south, adding another natural corridor through the landscape. Kilmartin Valley is situated at a cross-roads within this landscape (Ritchie, 1997, 57), both in terms of overland routes and as an interface between the coast and inland areas. Crossing overland at Crinan (along the line of the modern Crinan canal) would remove the need for a long voyage around the Kintyre peninsula (RCAHMS, 1999, 4). Kilmartin Valley is also located between the Irish Sea zone and the Great Glen, allowing movement up to North-east Scotland. This is suggested by the presence of Irish axes in the north-east (Ray, 2004, 166) and the carved stone ball at Dunadd.

Evidence for woodland clearance in Scotland as a whole, likely dates back as far as the Mesolithic (Finlayson & Edwards, 1997, 112) though is only securely attested for the Neolithic (Whittington & Edwards, 1997, 16). Inferences from geographical data (RCAHMS, 1988, Whittington & Edwards, 1997), individual sites (e.g. Temple Wood; Scott, 1989), and monument distribution (Childe, 1934, Scott, 1970), suggest that Kilmartin Valley was kept as a relatively open environment from an early period in its history. Several sites in the valley, including Temple Wood, Nether Largie South and Kilchoan are likely to be early in date, indicating an intensity of activity during the Early Neolithic (see **figure 6.3**). At the nearby complex of Machrie Moor on Arran, traces of cultivation were discovered underneath several monuments (Haggarty, 1991) which have been dated to around 3,000 BC. This

illustrates the creation of an open environment from midway through the Neolithic and offers a parallel with Kilmartin Valley. Initial clearance (and then maintenance) of a large open area is in itself a labour intensive project, and would likely have more than simply economic meaning (Brown, 2000, 60-61). At present there is a dearth of early settlement evidence for the Kilmartin area; the nearest settlement site is likely found at Ardnadam (Rennie, 1984). This may reflect a different, more mobile, form of settlement based upon a pastoral economy. It could also reflect survival factors within the archaeological record and the domestic evidence from Ireland serves as an indicator of what can survive (Grogan, 2004, Cooney, 1997) alongside the more substantial evidence from sites such as Balbridie in the east of Scotland. In either case, the maintenance of an open environment, possibly separate from domestic areas, is a considerable feat in itself and provided an 'island' within a wider forest (Braudel, 1986). That such an area was not demonstrably utilitarian in nature reinforces the interpretation of Neolithic society as having an overtly sacral nature.

Prehistoric monuments, as they survive today, are not evenly distributed throughout the 330km² area under consideration. Preservation has been affected by environmental factors (e.g. soil acidity) and human activity, both in antiquity and modern times. This is reflected in the survival of predominately stone monuments and little else. However, the density and distribution of such sites are still meaningful. Discrete groupings of monument types and localised densities allow 'regions' to be identified (Kinnes, 1998, see **chapter 4**), and within these, more specific locales or landscapes. Kilmartin Valley has been well surveyed, though the establishment of a chronological sequence has proven more problematic. Relations between different monuments can only be investigated at the point when they exist in relation to each other. The record we have at the moment also consists of the final stage of each monument. Multi-phase monuments in Kilmartin Valley, such as Temple Wood (see **figure 6.4**) represent a long period of use and considerable difference in form. In many cases the only definite change in function we can reliably discern is the cessation of use of the interior of the monument, such as the proposed final blocking of Nether Largie South with the addition of a cist burial containing a food vessel (RCAHMS, 1988, 48, No.15, Ritchie, 1997, 77). Breaks in usage can also be identified, and this may be a good indication that the 'function' of the monument may have altered.

Monuments in the Kilmartin area can be sub-divided in a number of ways, and traditionally this is done by consideration of discrete monument ‘types’. The main monument types fall on either side of the Neolithic to Early Bronze Age tradition, with some dating back to the Early Neolithic. Those monuments generally considered to be of Neolithic date include the chambered cairns (including Nether Largie South and Kilchoan), standing stones, the henge at Ballymeanoch and the potential cursus monument (RCAHMS, 1999, 4-9; see **figures 6.3 & 6.5**). Those monuments falling into the Bronze Age include the cist burials under cairns, such as Ri Cruin, Glebe cairn and Nether Largie North, as well as the majority of other burials and cists (Ritchie, 1997, 80-90; see **figures 6.6 & 6.7**). The profuse tradition of decorating rock outcrops and standing stones with cup and ring designs, and latterly axe motifs, likely continued throughout both periods (see **figure 6.8**). This rough division is further complicated by the continued re-use of previous monuments. This can take many forms, including the insertion or addition of mortuary structures, re-working of the monuments into different forms and re-inscribing decoration on stone. Several decorated stones likely dating to the Neolithic show evidence of re-use in the Bronze Age, both by addition of design and with incorporation into later monuments. Both of these aspects are likely in evidence in the cover slab of Nether Largie North. Apart from monuments traditionally associated with some form of ritual or funereal aspect, little else survives.

The following types of monuments are those used by the RCAHMS survey (1988) and relate to monument forms of a wider British and ultimately European set of traditions. Chambered cairns are some of the earliest monuments found within Kilmartin valley and include Nether Largie South and Kilchoan (see **figure 6.3**). These are identified as belonging to a broad tradition of compartmentalised chambers covered by a mound of stones. They are further distinguished by a form of chamber construction involving overlapping side slabs, and are related through this feature to a wider class of ‘Clyde’ cairns found across Western Scotland. The monuments themselves are fairly widely spaced throughout the lower half of the Kilmartin Valley area. A preference for proximity to coastal flats or rivers can be detected in an admittedly small sample size. The apparent connection of Clyde cairns to flatter alluvial land (especially when overlooking it as at Auchoish), led Childe to view the

chambered cairns as proxy settlement evidence (Childe, 1934, 22). Deposits from Kilchoan, Auchoish, Nether Largie South and the other Neolithic mortuary monuments have not been radiocarbon dated, though are roughly located within the tradition of chambered tomb construction from around 3,700 BC to 2,500 BC, with these three sites probably nearer the beginning of this range.

Temple Wood is also likely early in the Kilmartin sequence, though is harder to fit into a 'type' (see **figure 6.4**). Morphologically it is a stone circle, though it previously underwent a series of alterations and ultimately became a mortuary monument. Henge monuments are represented by a single example at Kilmartin, Ballymeanoch, notable for its presence outside the usual distribution of its type (Barclay, 2005). Critical consideration of this monument type (e.g. Brophy, 2005) has questioned the utility of current classification however and the suitability of isolating enclosure sites from a broader range of site types that display enclosure as an underlying theme. In the traditional sense, Ballymeanoch conforms to the characteristics of a Class II henge, with internal ditch surrounded by bank and broken by two opposing causeways to the north and south. The henge is also likely to be associated with nearby standing stones whilst the presence of two cists within the enclosure highlights a mortuary element. A problematic site that may or may not be related to this broad type is the potential pit-defined 'cursus' monument at Upper Largie (Radley, 1993, Terry, 1997, Cook, 2005). Currently, this appears to be a predominantly Scottish phenomenon, with examples to the east in Tayside and Fife and to the south (Brophy, 1998, 94). This site is also likely linked to the tradition of timber circles, appearing as it does to combine a linear plan with a circular one. Similarly, the construction of the monument through pits, possibly holding wooden uprights, recalls other pit-defined monuments such as Douglasmuir (Brophy, 1998, 94). Upper Largie is therefore difficult to define, in that it incorporates a number of traditions; pit-definition, cursus, enclosure, timber circle, and latterly burial (Radley, 1993, Terry, 1997). Upper Largie could therefore be placed within a number of monument traditions or types (Ellis, 2000).

Stone circles and standing stones (see **figure 6.5**) are often considered together and form a confusing class of monument, often attributed to the Late Neolithic but probably present over a longer period of time. The designation 'circle' masks a

variety of arrangements with only Temple Wood forming a stone circle in plan (Scott, 1989, fig 3) though the setting at Upper Largie likely incorporated a timber circle (Terry, 1997). Other arrangements are more appropriately described as ‘alignments’, such as the Ballymeanoch standing stones (Barber, 1978), or defy simple categorisation, such as the Nether Largie Standing stones (RCAHMS, 1999, 76-77). Standing stones are found in the vicinity of a variety of other monuments, including the Ballymeanoch henge and the Kintraw cairns (Simpson, 1967), and are likely connected in some manner. Several stones are decorated, as at Ballymeanoch or Nether Largie, with similar motifs to that found on rock shelves (RCAHMS, 1999, 6). Stone uprights may have been re-used in later cist or chamber burials, such as the capstone at Nether Largie North (Stevenson, 1997, 109). The stones at the Temple Wood circle replaced earlier wooden posts (Scott, 1989), although it is difficult to identify such replacement of timber with stone at other sites.

Dated largely from grave goods and the apparent change in burial practice, a number of cairns or barrows over individual cists have been attributed to the Bronze Age (Ritchie, 1997, 80-84; see **figure 6.6**). The location of several of these monuments, particularly Ri Cruin, Nether Largie Mid, Nether Largie North and Kilmartin Glebe, also seem to incorporate earlier sites within a linear arrangement through Kilmartin Valley (Ritchie, 1997, 82). It is during this period that the ‘sacral landscape’ appears to form, particularly due to the concentration of monumental sites at the lower end of the Kilmartin Burn. It is hard to extrapolate the relative status of those interred from the grave goods or skeletal material (where it survives) in these monuments. The rich finds from Kilmartin Glebe, now largely missing, do indicate considerable importance attached to the burial or funerary act itself, as do the decorated cist and cover slabs at Ri Cruin (Mapleton, 1870, 379, Craw, 1930, 133) and Nether Largie North (Craw, 1931).

Similar to the cists under the cairns, a number of individual graves, likely from the Bronze Age, have been uncovered in the Kilmartin area (see **figure 6.7**). This distribution map also includes the insertion of cist burials into earlier monuments, as at Ballymeanoch henge (Greenwell, 1866, 348-349), Temple Wood (Scott, 1989) and Nether Largie South, at the latter site both in the cairn material and probably within the chamber. Such alteration could radically affect the appearance of monuments, and

material associated with the cist burials also appears in the final blocking of earlier sites. Kerb cairns were also built over the interior of Ballymeanoch (RCAHMS, 1999, 24, Craw, 1931, 278-279) and Temple Wood (Scott, 1989). Grave goods could be similarly rich to those found under cairns, the jet necklace from cist A at Poltalloch (Craw, 1929) a good example. Groups of cists potentially arranged in cemeteries, are also found on the gravel terraces of Upper Largie (Mercer & Rideout, 1987) and at Poltalloch (Craw, 1929, RCAHMS, 1999, 38-40). This may be a more common occurrence than current evidence suggests, with small groups of cists, as at Dunchraigaig (Greenwell, 1866, 347-348), potentially representing the remains of larger groups as was the case at Upper Largie. Outside Kilmartin, the discovery of a lozenge-decorated side slab at nearby Badden (Campbell et al, 1961) points to the presence of decoration in cist burial without a covering cairn. Due to the lack of monumental aspect, it is harder for the modern observer to incorporate the cist burials within the idea of a sacral landscape, although rich finds from cists such as at Poltalloch rival the most impressive finds from the burials under cairns.

The presence of rock art is distinguished as a distinct 'type', characterised by the decorated rock-shelves and other exposed surfaces, particularly boulders, found throughout the Kilmartin Valley. There is also a related tradition of decorating standing stones and cist end- and cover- slabs with a similar set of designs, generally cup marks, cup-and-ring marks and a variety of combinations, including 'dumb-bells' (see **figure 6.8**). Again, the presence of stone decoration seems to form concentrations, especially around the monuments near to the Kilmartin Burn, though decoration of rock shelves seem to be more spread through the surrounding area, often located on higher ground from the valley floor. Some decorative motifs remain particular to the individual monuments, however, such as the carved axes on the Ri Cruin and Nether Largie North cists, or the circular and spiral designs on stones 9 and 11 of the Temple Wood southern circle (Scott, 1989, 73). Decoration, whether on monument or rock shelf, is hard to date, though stylistic parallels suggest a Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age *flourit*. The cup-marked stone found within the mortuary structure of the Dalladies long barrow (Piggott, 1972, 32) is roughly dated to the 4th millennium BC and offers an early comparison. The practice of decorating rock surfaces had a long history, and many sites were likely the product of continual visits over many years (Stevenson, 1997, 109). How the decorations on the different

surfaces relate to each other is another enigmatic question. More complex motifs are found to occur both on rock faces and on monuments (Jones, 2005a, 115).

The artefactual record for Kilmartin Valley from secure contexts (see **figure 6.9**) has suffered from the history of investigation, with several items disappearing (e.g. Campbell & Sandeman, 1961, 123-125). The association of 'exceptional' Late Neolithic material in the closing phase of the chambers of several Clyde cairns (Kinnes, 1985, 41) is typical of the enigmatic trends to be unravelled. Most evidence comes from grave goods, with worked stone and pottery the most numerous categories. Unprovenanced finds from the Poltalloch area include beaker sherds, flints and a Tievebulliagh axe (Campbell & Sandeman, 1961, 123-125), although most of the surviving prehistoric artefacts come from graves and monuments. Several finds of food vessels and beaker pottery, from chambered cairns such as Nether Largie South (Greenwell, 1866), to individual cists at Barsloisnoch (Craw, 1930, 136-137) and Rhudil (Greenwell, 1866, 349-350) have been related to regional typologies (e.g. Clarke, 1970) and reflect wider influences. Stone artefacts are represented by flints, especially knives, within cists at Upper Largie (Mercer & Rideout, 1987), Poltalloch (RCAHMS, 1999, 38), Rhudil (Greenwell, 1866, 350) cairn and within the chamber at Kilchoan (Mapleton, 1866, 354). The presence of a flint knife outside Auchoish (Craw, 1932, 447) may indicate the role of such tools in rites as well as presumably in mortuary deposition. Arrowheads from the Temple Wood cist (Scott, 1989) and from a pit at the Upper Largie cursus (Cook, 2005), along with the whetstone and greenstone axe from the cairn at Dunchraigaig (Greenwell, 1866, 138), indicate the variety of stone tools deposited. Some finds remain difficult to interpret, such as the stone ball from Dunadd (RCAHMS, 1999, 88), though they point to some form of connection with North-East Scotland. Spectacular finds, such as the jet necklaces from Poltalloch (Craw, 1929) or Kilmartin Glebe (Greenwell, 1866, 340), indicate craft expertise or at least the presence of social networks capable of supply. Fluted jet beads were also recovered from the cairn at Kintraw (Simpson, 1967). Little early metalwork has been discovered, with some apparently stray bronze finds and otherwise occasional finds within cist burials. The exception to this is the hoard of bronze objects from Torran (Campbell & Coles, 1963, Strachan, 1884), including spearheads, socketed axes, some rings and a knife. Presumably, more perishable artefacts, including textiles, were also deposited in the cists and chambers. Animal

remains were also a likely deposit, as suggested by the bovine bones from Nether Largie South (Greenwell, 1866, 343), Crinan Ferry cave cist (Mapleton, 1881, 103-104) and the cairn from Kintraw (Simpson, 1967, 57), although many of these are teeth and are thus harder to separate as 'food' from other symbolic connotations.

Bone preservation is generally poor, though traces have been found in several contexts (see **figure 6.10**). This is essential in confirming some form of mortuary association with many of these monuments, although much of the evidence derives from older accounts, the original finds of which are now gone, such as at Bàrr a'Chuirn (Simpson, 1866, 58) Dunamuck (RCAHMS, 1999, 37) and Crinan Moss (RCAHMS, 1999, 37). The nature of the skeletal evidence incorporates unburned human bone as well as bone that has been subject to burning to some degree, the variety of which seems to preclude application of the catch-all term 'cremation'. Inhumation is intimated at a few sites including cist 2 at Ballymeanoch Henge, cist 1 at Dunchraigaig and at Rhudil (Greenwell, 1866, 348-50). Burned and unburned human bone occurs together along with animal bone at several sites. Multiple burials are suggested at the cist at Ballymeanoch Henge which likely contained three inhumations and at cist 3 from Dunchraigaig, which contained the burned and unburned remains of up to eight to ten individuals (Greenwell, 1866, 347-8). Identification of age and sex is very rare (though there are the remains of a child burial alongside an adult one at a cist in Poltalloch), and no real demographic conclusions can be drawn.

Few sites in Kilmartin Valley have been excavated to a modern standard. As a result of this, there are relatively few secure radiocarbon dates (Ashmore, 1997, Gibson, 1998) and a reliable sequence has not yet been established. Therefore dating is mainly based on comparison of artefacts or tomb morphology (Henshall, 1972, 19), often from other archaeological regions. This results in considerable uncertainty as to the sequence of events. Nevertheless, a broad outline has been tentatively established. Around the west of Scotland as a whole, Mesolithic activity has been identified at several key sites and it is probable that the Kilmartin area, accessible as it is to the coast, was utilised from potentially the 7th Millennium onwards (Bonsall, 1997, 27). It is from the 4th Millennium that we can trace Neolithic material, and although subject to much debate, it is likely that this involved movement of people (Sharples, 1992).

Again, the origin and distance of this movement is uncertain, though the Irish Sea zone offers a number of later material parallels in monument architecture (Henshall, 1963, 1972, Scott, 1969), decoration and artefact types (Saville, 1999, Scott, 1989, 74), and small scale movements from this area are most likely (Sheridan, 2004). Mesolithic activity was possibly less intensive here than on the nearby islands or further up the coast. Early Neolithic arrivals would likely have been attracted by the lighter soils in the Kilmartin area, which were tillable by human effort.

The presence of early Neolithic farmers is inferred by the first phases of Temple Wood and the chambered cairns. However, their locations do not yet suggest a particularly tight-knit landscape *per se*, it is only through the Neolithic and into the Early Bronze Age that the Kilmartin area ‘fills up’ into the archetypal ‘sacral’ landscape. At the beginning of the Neolithic, monuments seem to provide a more individual or localised focus (Scott, 1989, 73), though the proximity of Nether Largie South and Temple Wood hints at the future accretion of sites. Evidence from the Machrie Moor stone circle suggests that the area had been farmed between the timber and stone phases (Haggarty, 1991, 67-71). This complicates the interpretation of an area as specifically set aside for a sacral role, though the evidence from Kilmartin is less indicative of subsistence use. The dearth of settlement evidence does not preclude a mainly sedentary existence and the lighter soils could have been opened up by human traction. However, Neolithic people in the West of Scotland ate domesticated animals and it formed a significant portion of their diet (Schulting & Richards, 2002, 155). If cattle were an important component of the economy a pastoral, and thus mobile, existence can be inferred. Unfortunately, evidence for this is lacking from Kilmartin, with only a few finds of bovine bones from the sites of Kintraw (Simpson, 1967) and Nether Largie South (Greenwell, 1866).

Around the middle of the 3rd Millennium BC Beaker pottery arrives in the archaeological record along with a perceived change in burial practices to individual burials in slab-built coffins, often in small groupings or ‘cemeteries’. Many of the interiors of the earlier monuments in Kilmartin are closed off from this period, with Beaker, or slightly later Food Vessel material. This is demonstrated at Nether Largie South with the final blocking of the monument with addition of a cist burial containing a food vessel (RCAHMS, 1988, 48 No.15, Ritchie, 1997, 77). Earlier sites

likely retain significance though are altered by the addition of individual burials and the apparent end to the use of the interior of the monuments. The central cist inserted into Temple Wood contained a Beaker and three barbed-and-tanged arrowheads likely accompanying an inhumation. The importance of ‘archer’ assemblages at this time may reflect prestige associated with hunting. A monumental aspect is still retained in the form of covering tumuli over some burials, though the mortuary role is less concerned with access and more with burial itself.

The break between the Mesolithic and Neolithic ‘chapters’ of the story of Kilmartin and the wider regional area is portrayed as an abrupt change, likely involving population movement and a dramatic alteration in subsistence practices, diet and material culture. Recent accounts have returned to this idea in the face of more gradual trajectories of acculturation over the Mesolithic and Neolithic frontier proposed for other regions (e.g. Thomas, 1991). Social and conceptual roots for Neolithic practices within indigenous Mesolithic communities have been suggested in other areas, especially Brittany. This seems a less viable argument in economic terms for the Kilmartin area, though conceptually the presence of maritime materials within monument sites and the selection of coastal areas for human activity hints at a strong continuity. The changes that become apparent around 2,500 BC are generally more frequently couched in terms of a conceptual change, an acculturation of a more individualistic way of life with increasing social hierarchy and complexity. In the past this has been framed in terms of population movement. The break between the Neolithic chapter and subsequent ‘Secondary Products Revolution’, ‘Chalcolithic’, or ‘Early Bronze Age’ chapters is now viewed as more of a conceptual change to a considerably more ‘modern’ way of life, complete with increased amounts of social differentiation. What is interesting is that the two apparently radical alterations in society are based on differing sources of evidence. The Mesolithic and Neolithic frontier is marked by emphasising subsistence changes first and foremost, and then changes in burial traditions and suitable explanations of chambered tombs and the like as expressions of territoriality or time depth. The change from the Late Neolithic to the early Bronze Age or Chalcolithic in the West of Scotland is initially more marked by considering burial traditions than a demonstrable change in subsistence economy. Thus, the Mesolithic change is viewed as more mundane and more obviously a population replacement, though this does beg the question of which is more

intractable and less open to change: the subsistence economy of a society or their burial rites? There is also no reason to necessarily equate changes in burial custom with radical alteration of population or dramatic changes in religious belief (Ucko, 1969).

Machrie Moor has provided a parallel to the Kilmartin evidence (Haggarty, 1991). Machrie Moor, on the nearby island of Arran, has also been considered a sacral landscape due to the similar density of neolithic monuments, and provides an interesting parallel to Kilmartin. Monuments on Machrie Moor have similar dates to Kilmartin Valley: some are early in the 4th millennium BC, though most seem to be around 3,000 BC (Ashmore, 1997, 238). Temple Wood in Kilmartin Valley may be older, the first timber phase dating from 4,313 to 3,371 BC, although this is only a single date, with the others more firmly located within the 3rd Millennium BC (see **figure 6.25**). Stone circles, rare in Kilmartin, are much more prevalent in Machrie Moor, though again, how this was meaningful is difficult to interpret. The excavator of Temple Wood viewed the circle as important on a more local scale (Scott, 1989, 73), the addition of later monuments to form a much wider complex suggestive of a more regional importance. Machrie Moor, again like Kilmartin, was also involved in wider spheres of interaction and influence, hinted at by the presence of Grooved Ware. This may have been an early development in this pottery form (Ashmore, 1998, 146) and indicates an early involvement in the exchange of sacral ideas and material across large distances. The discovery of traces of previous cultivation underneath monuments in Machrie Moor (Haggarty, 1991) indicates that the immediate area was in use before being reworked as a sacral site, and this may hint at the situation in Kilmartin. Again this fuels the connection between ritual and everyday activity in the Scottish Neolithic, though a physical separation between these types of activity can also be argued for (see **chapter 8**). A shift from a sedentary economy to a more mobile pastoral one fits this model and has been applied to the Neolithic of other areas (e.g. Sherratt, 1981; for opposite view see Whittle, 1996). Due to factors of preservation, the sites where the majority of the population lived and where they were buried remain lost to us. Thus, parallels for Kilmartin are brought in from nearby areas, for settlement from Ardnadam, and for evidence of exchange networks from Achnacreebeag (Ritchie, 1970, Sheridan, 2000). The Ardnadam evidence suggests

that the extended household was probably the basic social unit, at least in the Late Neolithic (Rennie, 1984), though it is hard to extrapolate from such limited evidence.

6.6 Drenthe Plateau

The Drenthe Plateau stretches over a large part of the Northern Netherlands. Drenthe itself is a Dutch administrative district (see **figure 6.11**) and is home to most of the surviving megalithic tombs of this westernmost distribution of the TRB cultural group. Prior to this, the earliest Neolithic communities are traced to the early 5th millennium BC of which Swifterbant is the main type-site. The surviving monuments form a very different sort of landscape than that identified in the Morbihan and Kilmartin. Firstly, the subject area itself is defined in the main by one general class of megalithic monument, forming (as Bakker puts it), the “concept of the Dutch hunebed” (1992, 6). This tends to obscure the other mortuary traditions that were in use over a longer period, in particular the flat graves (some with the addition of tumuli), as well as the settlement evidence. Archaeological interpretation is also hampered by the poor organic preservation in the sandy soils. The spatial distribution of prehistoric monuments is further affected by the modern boundary between Germany and the Netherlands, with the TRB monuments of the neighbouring Hümmling forming part of the same tradition (Bakker, 1992, 1). Dutch writers have tended in the past to look to the well-studied evidence from Denmark as a source of models for the transition between the Mesolithic and Neolithic and the development of a TRB horizon (e.g. Bakker, 1992, 89-97, 1991, 510, Raemaekers, 1999, 188). In the same way as the Kilmartin area is considered part of a wider culturally-defined ‘Irish Sea Zone’, prehistoric Drenthe is closely related to the Western extent of the TRB cultural area, and much of the material remains and site architecture is therefore closely connected to developments further to the east. The TRB does not seem as homogenous as the LBK, however, and there are clearer signs of regional differences.

Interest in the prehistoric remains of Drenthe tends to focus upon the megalithic *Hunebedden* and stretches back hundreds of years. Lists of sites were first produced by Smids as far back as 1694, and then again in 1711. Legal protection for the megalithic tombs was passed in 1734 and 1735 (Bakker, 1979c, 147). The first full surveys were completed much later however, in 1818 and again in 1820. These

surveys took the form of a series of questionnaires sent by the governor of Drenthe to the various *gemeente* (districts) requiring details concerning the various sites found there. These early surveys suffered from a number of errors and inconsistencies often connected to uncertainty over types of sites. Terms describing other monument types, such as *Hunebergen*, *Hunebelten*, and *Hunepöle* have often been confused with *Hunebedden*. Similarly, the term ‘*Grafkelder*’, which was originally used to describe smaller *Hunebedden* later became associated with *Steenkeldertjes* (or cists) causing yet more misunderstanding (Bakker, 1988, 70). In 1833, Caspar Reuvens, amongst others, attempted to document the *hunebedden* (Bakker, 1979c, 147). W.C. Lukis and Henry Dryden provided a survey of the megaliths to a good standard in 1878 and explored some sites intrusively, digging holes in D26 Drouwenerveld (Bakker, 1992, 50). The first modern account was undertaken by Albert Egges Van Giffen in 1925. His programme of excavation, reconstruction and preservation shaped not only the physical appearance of many *hunebedden* but also their portrayal in subsequent archaeological literature. Several sites excavated by Van Giffen were subsequently re-excavated (e.g. Brindley & Lanting, 1991). The discovery of large ceramic assemblages from the *hunebedden* have resulted in several typo-chronological analyses (Bakker, 1979b, Brindley, 1986a, Van der Waals & Glasbergen, 1955). Van Giffen’s survey was updated by R.H.J. Klok in 1979 and again by Jan Albert Bakker in 1988.

Van Giffen devised the numbering system for *hunebedden* still in use today. Each *hunebedden* was attributed a number as it was discovered, prefixed by the district in which it was found (which in most cases is ‘D’ for Drenthe). Destroyed *hunebedden* were listed by adding a letter to the nearest *hunebedden* in the same ‘*marke*’ (village grounds). Thus, D32a represents a destroyed *hunebedden* closest to the existing *hunebedden* at Odoorn (D32). If no *hunebedden* is found in the same *marke*, then a site in the same ‘*gemeente*’ is used. If neither occurred, the site would be labelled as D54 (the highest number found) followed by a letter. The labelling system has been criticised, as it contains some unreliable sites. The system can also be confusing in some aspects, particularly the labelling of destroyed sites, as they respect modern divisions. Thus, sites can be named after *Hunebedden* in the same *gemeente*, whereas closer sites exist but are located in different *gemeente*. The system is so well known, however, that to change is considered to be too confusing (Bakker, 1988, 63).

The Drenthe plateau (see **figure 6.12**) stretches over the province of Friesland and parts of Gronigen, Overijssel and Flevoland, as well as Drenthe itself (Fokkens, 1998, 13). The plateau is bordered to the north and west by the sea with wetlands, tidal flats and areas of peat and marsh over the lower-lying coastal areas. To the east the River Ems effectively divides the plateau from the Geest of Hanover, and to the south the River Vechte marks the beginning of the Veluwe plateau. A number of small rivers criss-cross the landscape, though the specific courses they took during the prehistoric period are harder to reconstruct (Waterbolk, 1956, 40). Over the Holocene, increasing marine encroachment eastwards began to turn the lower-lying areas into swampland and systems of creeks (Raemaekers, 1999, 25). This long-term process changed the western extent of the plateau into marshland, effectively forming a barrier between the higher sandy soils to the east, including the area of *hunebedden* distribution in Drenthe, and the coast (Fokkens, 1998, 13). The modern district of Drenthe is inland and this separation may have been heightened by the drowning of the landscape to the west, thus the relationship with the sea for Neolithic and Early Bronze Age communities in this area was less immediate than at Kilmartin or Morbihan.

Soils covering the low-lying plateau consist of a mixture of coversand overlying boulder clay, surrounded by peaty and clay-based soils (Bakker & Goenman- van Waateringe, 1988, 143). Lighter soils in the coastal areas to the west would have been available for agricultural purposes involving human traction from a relatively early stage, though were progressively inundated by the sea from the Mesolithic onwards. *Hunebedden* are found on the sandier soils, though agriculture was likely practised on neighbouring well-drained land that initially supported lime and ash (Bakker & Goenman- van Waateringe, 1988, 174). The stones required for *hunebedden* construction would have been provided by fluvial erosion of the boulder clay itself (Bakker, 1979b, 159, Bakker & Goenman- van Waateringe, 1988, 151). The plateau would have offered a variety of resources with coastal and wetland areas to the west including expanding lagoon and creek environments, following marine inundation (Bakker & Goenman- van Waateringe, 1988, 161). The interior was covered by thick deciduous forest and was unlikely to have been cleared on any large scale until the end of the Middle Neolithic at the very earliest (Fokkens, 1998, 103). A

form of the slash-and-burn model of subsistence was likely employed at this time (Bakker, 1979b, 159, Fokkens, 1998, 103). A more agricultural existence later in the Neolithic is suggested by the ard-mark evidence from the settlement site of Bornwird on the north coast (Fokkens, 1982, 96, see **figure 6.11**).

Overland routes were provided by a number of rivers, including the Vechte and the Ems, linking the hinterland to the coastline, though in later prehistory access to the coast from the Drenthe Plateau would be hampered by extensive marshland. Bog trackways were used to overcome this problem, though few have been securely dated to the Dutch Neolithic (Casparie, 1987, 1982). River valleys also served to link the Drenthe Plateau to wider cultural areas, specifically the TRB group to the east in Denmark and Northern Germany. The lack of mountain ranges or sizeable hills to disrupt movement would have facilitated this contact. *Hunebedden* distribution has been closely linked to the occurrence of ‘stonefields’ (Bakker & Goenman- van Waateringe, 1988, 151) providing suitable building material. Other analyses have also focused on the possibility that *hunebedden* distribution follows routeways through the landscape (Bakker, 1991, Jager, 1985). This mirrors earlier research in Denmark and north west Germany (Jager, 1985, 186).

The relationship between cultural material, specifically monuments, and the surrounding environment is particularly well illustrated in Drenthe. Forest clearance within the inland areas took place well into the Neolithic and the *Hunebedden* were likely built in forest, or degraded woodland (Casparie & Groenman-van Waateringe 1980, 61). TRB studies in Denmark and Germany suggest a continuing, if gradually diminishing, role for hunting and gathering (Madsen, 1982, Midgley, 1992, 377). This is also suggested by the number of arrowheads present in the *hunebedden*, including 119 in G2 Glimmen (Bakker, 1992, 57, Brindley et al, 2001, 50-1, De Groot, 1988, 9). As domestic animals became more dominant, the continuing, if small, presence of wild species on Danish and German sites has led some to postulate a more social role for hunting (e.g. Midgley, 1992, 377). This may also have been the case in Drenthe, although there has been much less research undertaken and less settlement discovered. Settlement sites are difficult to trace, though have been found containing a tradition of domestic beaker pottery, offering the potential of linking domestic sites to sacral ones. *Hunebedden* are unlikely proxy indicators of settlement evidence, as they are

generally situated away from the best soils. In terms of architectural space, *hunebedden* offer the potential for holding large numbers of bodies, though this is not recovered in practice, possibly due to preservation problems (Bakker, 1992, 50). *Hunebedden* D43-Schimmeres has been discussed in terms of the monument following the natural contour of the ridge behind it (Bakker, 1992, 15), and the ritual arena, or ‘parvis’, in front of most *hunebedden* has implications for the clearance of tree cover (Bakker & Goenman-van Waateringe, 1988, 174).

A range of archaeological sites have been identified as belonging to broadly ‘Neolithic’ groups or those at the transition to the use of metal. These sites include; individual burial in flat graves (occasionally in cemeteries as at Ekelberg (Bakker, 1979b, 187)), burial in flat graves under a tumulus (like the three examples at Hooghalen (Van der Veen & Lanting, 1989)); hoards of objects such as at Drouwen; and settlement sites from the earliest Neolithic in Swifterbant to Neolithic occupation at Schipborg and Bronze Age occupation at Elp (Van Zeist, 1968, see **figure 6.15**). In archaeological research, these different monument types tend to be relegated in terms of importance in favour of the *Hunebedden*, representing the western extent of the TRB cultural group distribution. Predominantly based on pottery studies and with little radiocarbon evidence, the tombs are thought to date from around 3,400 to 2,850 Cal. B.C. (Brindley, 1986, 105). This would seem to be the *flourit* for construction and usage of these monuments, though their megalithic component would ensure their prominence in the landscape up until the present. *Hunebedden* as they exist today only retain their megalithic aspect, the presumed presence of other features, in particular a covering mound, being degraded over time.

Most surviving *hunebedden* are to be found in the Dutch province of Drenthe (see **figure 6.11**) in the North-East of the Netherlands. Of 53 surviving *hunebedden*, 52 are found in Drenthe and 1 in Gronigen. The remains of 22 *hunebedden* have also been excavated. Again, the majority (16) are found in Drenthe but sites are also present in Gronigen (3), Overijssel (2) and Friesland (1). The original number of *hunebedden* was likely considerably greater, with a range of potential sites in

existence or suggested through place name evidence (Bakker, 1988, 65)². Several previously identified monuments have now been rejected however, mainly as the result of past confusion of *hunebedden* remains with other forms of monument or even natural features.

In the reappraisal of *hunebedden* D30 and D40 (Brindley & Lanting, 1991), the mound construction was reinterpreted as having several phases (Brindley & Lanting, 1991, 97), the first of which saw the mound only partially covering the megalithic chamber. In other cases enough material survives from the site itself to allow a significant amount of reinterpretation (as at *hunebedden* O1). For many monuments, however, the information required in order to consider these structures is generated from the records produced by the original excavation. Similarly, the artefacts recovered from the varying contexts provide a potential body of work for reinterpretation. Excavation techniques of several decades ago do not always compare favourably with those of modern times, and as such a number of artefacts, particularly smaller finds, may not be proportionately represented (Brindley & Lanting, 1991). Pottery is a favourite topic of study in *hunebedden* research and forms the framework upon which interpretation is built. A suitable body of ceramic evidence is available for this, especially from the relatively abundantly furnished *hunebedden* such as G2-Glimmen (Brindley, 1986, 26). This allowed Brindley to propose a 7 stage pottery sequence (1986, 93) that spans the period concerned, and charts a growing development of Western Group pottery as distinct from the phase 1 similarities with Haassel-Fuchsberg type. Pottery studies occupy a central place in *hunebedden* studies, though chronological schemes based on architectural typology and other artefact types need to be considered (Bakker, 1979b, 35).

Attempts at coherent synthesis have involved consideration of the monuments as indicating prehistoric route-ways. The *gemeente* of Anloo has been considered in this fashion by Sake Jager (1985). This model combines other site types as well, notably settlement evidence and includes much later sites, up to and including the Iron Age. In this way the problem of contemporaneity is avoided, though only two

² If all these potential sites are combined it suggests the original existence of over a hundred additional *hunebedden*, although the unreliable nature of this evidence (Bakker, 1988, 65) suggests a much lower figure.

hunebedden are closely linked to the main route suggested by Jager (1985). *Hunebed* D8 appears to occupy an important position, though whether this importance only became conferred in later periods is debatable. There is a tendency to assume that prehistoric routeways conformed to modern logic in their construction. Jager explicitly states that the least effort principle was the underlying determinant of prehistoric routeways (1985, 186), a view at odds with the monuments themselves and the considerable effort involved in their construction. A similar divergence from the ‘least effort’ principle appears to be suggested by the effort involved in the building of the prehistoric wooden trackways across raised bogs in the Netherlands (Casparie, 1987, 157). It is tempting to raise the influence of the *longue durée* in this respect to a determining factor, though the choice of one route over another was a social decision and Jager’s (1985, 186) suggestion of the development of a market economy as a prime mover for the movement of people in the Neolithic is suspiciously modern. Tentative suggestions have also been made based upon the general distributions of sites, with the larger number of *Hunebedden* in the East of Drenthe possibly suggestive of a greater population density (Waterbolk, 1956, 50).

The Dutch *hunebedden* (see **figure 6.12**) are typically viewed as a monumental collective mortuary site with a chamber containing a number of grave goods concealed under a covering mound. The distribution of this type has come to be seen as proxy settlement evidence, in much the same way as the Clyde Cairns have in Scotland, though (as previously noted) they are situated off the prime soils. *Hunebedden* often occur in pairs (see **figure 6.12**) of closely placed monuments and occasionally in groups of three, though the numbers would greatly increase when likely destroyed monuments are taken into account. The *hunebedden* monuments tend to follow the river valleys, which may in part explain the ‘linearity’ identified in their distribution. The *hunebedden* architectural tradition consists of a variety of structural variations upon a theme, somewhat masked by their shared label. Common to all are a chamber, partly or entirely covered by a mound, and accessed by a passage in the long side of the mound. The mound can vary by size, shape and the presence or absence of a peristalith and parvis, though mounds are normally round or oval, with the exception of the long mound at D43 Schimmeres (see **figure 6.13**). The chamber varies by number, orientation, size, contents and a variety of smaller architectural features. Unlike the megalithic monuments in Kilmartin and the Morbihan, the only

stone decorations known from the *hunebedden* are a few cupmarks on a stone from D16-Balloo. A wooden element has been suggested for some sites, such as D6e Tynaarlo and G1 Noordlaren (see **figure 6.14**), though these post-holes may be connected to the construction of the monument (Bakker, 1992).

A number of other burial traditions were also present in Drenthe, many of which are dated by associated artefacts to phases following the TRB horizon. Burial in single graves probably represents an underlying tradition throughout the Neolithic and into the Bronze Age. Seen as characteristic of this type are those graves with an assemblage linking them to the so-called ‘Single Grave Culture’, part of a generalised set of ‘Corded Ware Cultures’ identified across Europe, and in Drenthe conventionally dated from around 2,900 to 2,500 BC. This generally consists of assemblages with a ‘Protruding Foot’ type beaker and associated stone objects, often axes. Graves could also be covered by a tumulus, this tradition currently being attributed in origin toward the end of the Neolithic, as at Hooghalen (see **figure 6.11**, Van der Veen & Lanting, 1989, 197). Additionally, a variety of other architectural traditions may have been in place (Midgley, 1992, 409-18). These forms of burial are often found in proximity to earlier megalithic sites reinforcing the suggestion that they form routeways through the landscape (Jager, 1985, 188), and used as an illustration of the accretion of a sacral landscape. Flat graves are also found in cemeteries as at Ekelberg (Bakker, 1979b, 187). The presence of Single Grave Culture or Bell-Beaker pottery and associated artefacts in the chamber fills of the TRB *hunebedden* are viewed as later burial insertions, though variations in the forms of ceramics with those commonly found in the flat graves suggest a differentiation (Bakker, 1992, 58). D.J. De Groot suggests that the beaker evidence from *Hunebed* D9 Noordlo, for example, might better be considered in relation to food consumption rather than burial (De Groot, 1988, 99).

Pottery typo-chronologies (e.g. Bakker, 1979b, Brindley, 1986a) have been based upon the considerable assemblages from *Hunebedden* such as D53-Havelte, D26-Drouwenerveld or G2-Glimmen³. Potential settlement sites are largely identified

³ Containing respectively a minimum of 649 TRB pots and 15 SGC vessels (D53-Havelte), around 160 TRB pots and 2 SGC amphorae (D26-Drouwenerveld) and around 8,500 sherds and 6 SGC vessels (G2-Glimmen) (Bakker, 1992, 57).

by surface scatters of artefacts, particularly pottery and flint at sites such as Midlaren (Bakker, 1979b, 194), or at Anloo (see **figure 6.11**) associated with a small beaker cemetery and potentially enclosed settlement (Jager, 1985, 215). Substantial settlement traces are only found from the later Neolithic, such as at Oldeboorn, to the south of Drenthe. Swifterbant occupation has been identified at a number of predominantly coastal sites to the east of the Drenthe Plateau, though Swifterbant material has also been recovered from Drenthe itself at the site of Bronneger (Raemaekers, 1999, 26). The other main contexts from which pottery is retrieved are mortuary contexts and votive deposits.

A variety of stone artefacts have also been recovered. Axes made from flint were likely in use over a very long period, from the 5th millennium until the Early Bronze Age, although most of those from secure contexts in Drenthe date from TRB, Single Grave Culture or Bell-Beaker assemblages, from roughly the middle of the 4th to the end of the 3rd millennium BC (Ter Wal, 1995, 127). Hoards of flint axes have also been found, generally in wet contexts (Bakker, 1982, 88) conforming to the pattern for TRB axe hoards elsewhere (Midgley, 1992, 282). Distributions of different stone tools indicate a network of connections with surrounding regions, and this has been explored in relation to axe types. Bakker views the distribution of axes as primarily economic indicators (1979b, 12), eschewing the ritual or social emphases prominent in analyses of other areas, particularly Brittany. The presence of numbers of arrow-heads in *hunebedden* such as D9-Noordlo (de Groot, 1988, 93) suggests a symbolic or prestigious role for hunting, whilst stray finds or those in potential domestic sites such as Midlaren (Bakker, 1979b, 194), indicate the economic importance still attached to wild resources during the Later Neolithic. Finds of arrowheads in flat graves as at ‘grave A’ Ekelberg (Bakker, 1979b, 187) highlights the likely continuation of the prestigious or symbolic nature attached to their use towards the end of the Neolithic. This is paralleled in the finds of arrowheads from monumental contexts in Kilmartin and Morbihan.

Hoards have also been recovered from Drenthe at Drouwen and Bargerroosterveld. Containing bronze and stone items, both of these hoards are from likely mortuary contexts, and thus blur the traditional boundaries of these categories. Drouwen contains a number of bronze artefacts and 9 flint arrowheads, while the

Bargeroosterveld hoard (Butler, 1971) included bronze bracelets and a knife. The Drenthe area contains no natural sources of tin or copper, so the presence of metal objects ties the prehistoric communities to other areas of Europe, and connections have been posited on stylistic grounds with Brittany, Ireland and Britain. The lack of local resources may also explain the scarce deposition of metal objects within the *Hunebedden*, the two copper spirals from D28-Buinen being an exception.

Similarly to the other two areas, poor survival conditions have resulted in a general lack of skeletal material, and it thus difficult to identify any patterns. Evidence from the *Hunebedden* often includes fragments of cremated bone in the chamber fills though rarely the presence of unburned bone in any quantity. Typical of this is the recovery of ten small fragments of bone from D6a Tynaarlo (Brindley & al, 2001, 79), or the small quantities of cremated bone from *Hunebed* G2 (Brindley, 1986b, 37). Animal bones have also been found in monumental contexts, such as the pig jaw from D26 Drouwenerveld (Bakker, 1992, 47), though again to what extent this can be considered as a dedication of food is hard to gauge.

The succession of events in Drenthe is closely tied to the wider TRB, but the beginning of the Neolithic sequence is found past the western edge of the plateau and the collection of sites identified as belonging to the Swifterbant culture. These groups concentrated in coastal areas or river valleys and had many similarities with Mesolithic subsistence strategies: hunting, gathering and fishing were important aspects of their diet. The emergence of a Neolithic way of life is essentially viewed as a model of gradual adoption of aspects of the Neolithic package that would have been available from LBK and derivative groups based on the loess to the south and later TRB groups to the east, mirroring the Ertebølle model in Denmark. It is with identification of cultural material connected to the latter on the Drenthe plateau that the ‘first completely agrarian communities’ (Fokkens, 1998, 90) are identified, and before this time a more broad-based economy, including traditionally ‘Mesolithic’ subsistence practices, likely remained important (Raemaekers, 1999, 182). Mesolithic activity is less evident in the upland areas of the Drenthe plateau (Fokkens, 1998 94) and communities seem to have preferred coastal and river locations as at Swifterbant. The introduction of TRB cultural material associated with phases A to E, a new pottery style and a tradition of monumental construction from around the middle of

the 4th millennium BC is viewed as heralding the beginnings of the TRB West Group proper, derived from the North Group (Fokkens, 1998, 99) and involving some form of influence from the east as opposed to the south. From the Middle Neolithic the model of occupation on the plateau is one of the initial opening-up of upland, forested areas based upon a slash-and-burn subsistence model (Fokkens, 1998, 99). Settlement evidence for this part of the prehistoric story is largely circumstantial, though the appearance of a new collective mortuary rite, the construction of the *hunebedden*, dominates the record.

The relatively brief period of *hunebedden* construction is associated with a period of expansion into the interior. After the initial bout of building, construction ends, though activity at the sites does not. Wild resources likely continued to play an important part in the people's diet (Fokkens, 1998, 98, Midgley, 1992, 376-7, Madsen, 1982). The next archaeological period is also heralded by a change in pottery style, the 'Protruding Foot Beaker', and the associated burial tradition of individual inhumation in flat graves with a general similarity in grave goods. This is traditionally labelled the 'Single Grave Culture', though inhumation had likely been underway from the earliest Neolithic. Erection of barrows over individual flat graves also occurred as at Hooghalen. Forested areas on the plateau were likely increasingly opened up to agriculture, and the general model is one of in-filling of inland and upland areas. Settlement requires more study, though there is evidence of temporary sites devoted to exploitation of specific resources, especially fish (Fokkens, 1998, 107). Around the middle of the 3rd millennium BC another pottery style heralds a change, in this case the much wider phenomenon of the appearance of Bell-Beakers. Whether either of these developments represents a population change has been debated, though many see the change to beaker material as incongruous with cultural continuity (Fokkens, 1998, 103). Evidence for metal use has been found from this period, and a 'Chalcolithic' phase in the Northern Netherlands has been identified. The relatively standardised Maritime style of Beaker pottery decoration gives way to more regional types. For the Drenthe Plateau this includes Veluwe Beakers and tends to end with the development of the Barbed Wire type of decoration, also found in Northern France (Fokkens, 1998, 109). Burial traditions likely remained largely unaltered from the previous phase, although the grave accoutrements begin to take on

a distinctive character. Beaker pottery does not only occur in mortuary deposits, but is also found on settlements, though in different forms.

The *Hunebedden* can be related to neighbouring groups of monuments, particularly in Germany, and this highlights in particular the artificiality of the Dutch/German border in shaping research. This is further highlighted by the Swifterbant site of Hüde I, found in Germany (Raemaekers, 1999, 25). Bakker draws comparisons with the TRB megaliths of Poland (1992, 73-79), and similar concentrations of megalithic monuments are found in Northern Germany, and several comparisons with the type of landscape being created in the Neolithic of the Drenthe Plateau have been made. This is especially the case for the adjacent Hümmling region (Bakker, 1988, 159), along with the parallels drawn with Schleswig-Holstein and into Denmark. The dominant models of the transition between the Mesolithic and Neolithic and interpretation of fully Neolithic communities are imported primarily from Denmark. The Veluwe plateau to the south, divided from Drenthe by the River Vechte, also provides a more immediate parallel.

6.7 Golfe du Morbihan

The *Golfe du Morbihan* is found on the southern coast of Brittany in North West France (see **figure 6.1**). The area contains a considerable number of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments and concomitantly has a long and intensive history of investigation. Neolithic activity can be securely dated from around the 5th millennium BC against the backdrop of a well established Mesolithic presence, particularly highlighted by the cemeteries at Tévéc (Péquart et al, 1937) and Hoëdic (Péquart & Péquart, 1954). Cerny affiliated material is found dated to around 4,700 BC, with Castelleic material first appearing around 200 years later, both arriving after the earliest Neolithic material. A considerable amount of fieldwork over the past 150 years has resulted in broad coverage of monument distribution. Such research is inevitably focused upon the more visible remains of mounds and megaliths and stretches back to early antiquarian interest, from the earlier surveys of W.C. Lukis (1875b), Henry Dryden and James Miln (1877, 1881) in the 19th century to Z. Le Rouzic (1910) in the early 20th century, to more modern work (e.g. L'Helgouac'h, 1965, Boujot & Cassen, 1993, Giot & al, 1998, Cassen, 2000a). It was not until the

founding of the *Societe Prehistorique Francaise* in 1904 that archaeological investigation started to become sufficiently regulated. Excavations to a satisfactorily modern standard occur almost exclusively after the Second World War however. The appointment after 1918 of Zacharie Le Rouzic as doyen of Breton archaeology signalled the beginning of a modern approach to archaeology within the Armorican Massif along with a more extensive inventory, building on previous work by James Miln and Félix Gaillard. More recent accounts include those of P-R.Giot and J.L'Helgouac'h (Giot & al, 1998, L'Helgouac'h, 1965), along with a survey of the megalithic art of Brittany (Shee Twohig, 1981). Another inventory of many of the monument types present in the peninsula was recently published by S. Cassen (2000). This body of data includes a number of different monumental traditions and has resulted in debate as to their respective origins (Patton, 1994, Scarre, 1992, Boujot & Cassen, 1993). The largely acidic soils of the region result in poor bone preservation, though occasionally the presence of shellfish deposits or build up of sand in individual monuments (as at the passage graves of Pors Guen; Burl, 1985, 163) can offset this problem by adding an alkaline element to the soil.

Centred on the *communes* (districts) of Carnac, Plouharnel, La Trinité and Locmariaquer, the area considered is roughly 440km² and forms what has been termed a 'core area' (Scarre, 2001a, 287) due to the concentration and coastal location of monuments. The monument distribution appears to correlate with lower-lying land around the *Golfe du Morbihan* and *Baie de Quiberon*, with considerably less monuments in the hillier north. This includes a considerable amount of submerged land that during the Neolithic was likely above sea-level (Schulting & Richards, 2001, 315), with the resultant impact that this likely had on monument distribution indicated particularly clearly at the partially submerged site of Er Lannic. At present, the *Golfe du Morbihan* is a complex system of inlets feeding into the *Baie de Quiberon*, and the fluctuations in sea-level are particularly hard to reconstruct. This is emphasised in the archaeological record for the nearby Channel Islands, where recorded sea-level rise during the Late Neolithic and Bronze Age is evident on island sites but not on the neighbouring mainland (Patton, 1995, 13). Islands would have played an important role in the *Golfe* during prehistory, reflected in the monuments built upon them, though several would likely have been connected to the coast during the Neolithic.

This area as a whole is part of the ‘Armorican Massif,’ comprising Brittany and part of western Normandy. Principally, this is defined by the underlying geology that extends to the junction of sedimentary rock formations found to the East and to the South. The Breton peninsula itself is subdivided into two rough geographical units, the uplands of the interior or *argoad*, and the lower lying coastal areas or *arvor*, of which the *Golfe* is part. The landscape under consideration is therefore characterised as a low-lying coastal fringe.

Some loess deposits are found in the Armorican Massif though not over great areas and mainly confined to parts of coastal Côtes-du-Nord, northern Finistère and Ille-et-Vilaine. Due to the relative lack of evidence for early settlement and cultivation (Hénaff, 2002), monumental tombs have come to be used as proxy evidence for settlement (e.g. Daniel, 1960, Giot, 1960). The simple correlation between monumental tombs and prime agricultural areas is largely untenable for Brittany, however (Scarre, 2002b, 85). The lowland coastal plains of Brittany would have offered a substantially different range of ecological opportunities than the inland, and predominately upland, areas. Soils in the Armorican Massif are variable, though are often shallow and not very fertile. The climate would have been drier and with a wider temperature range than today, but was likely moderated by the proximity of the sea (Giot et al, 1998, 41-2). Brittany as a whole would have been thickly forested, with woodland development significantly altered over the transition from the Atlantic period to the Sub-boreal. Alder increased over the early Neolithic at the expense of most other species, particularly elm (Marguerie, 1992). Despite indications of the opening-up of the landscape on a small-scale in Brittany, large-scale clearance took place relatively late, possibly from the end of the Neolithic (Marguerie, 1992, Scarre, 2001a, 297). The Southern Morbihan was an exception to this however, areas of which may have been extensively cleared from the Middle Neolithic, judging by sites such as Petit-Mont in Arzon (Lecornec, 1994, Marguerie, 1987). River valleys in the hinterland also provided a different resource base to both the coastal plains and the inland upland areas, and probably acted as an artery of communication between differing environmental landscapes. Monument distribution has also been linked to river valleys (Sherratt, 1998). The *Golfe* was primarily marshland during the

Neolithic, and would have provided a resource base similar to that of the western end of the Drenthe Plateau.

Previous clearance for pastoral or agricultural use before the construction of monuments has been suggested at several sites in Brittany. A good example of this is Dissignac in the neighbouring *département* of Loire-Atlantique, where pollen evidence suggests previous pastoral usage, along with finds of wheat grains and hazelnuts (L'Helgouac'h, J. 1976). The area around Le Petit Mont was also likely kept open, but there is no trace of agricultural activity (Lecornec, 1994). Therefore, some areas appear to be initially cleared for 'sacral' use, whilst others end up becoming part of a wider sacral landscape from 'economic' beginnings. This finds a comparison with the landscapes of Kilmartin Valley and Machrie Moor, the former with little trace of domestic structures or evidence for subsistence and the latter with stake holes and potential fields underneath the monuments. Similarly to Drenthe, long mounds in Brittany may have been built to complement the natural topography. Modern reconstruction influences opinion on these factors, and the French tradition of envisaging step-sided mounds, as opposed to continuous mounds in the British tradition, aids this identification (Giot, 1970, L'Helgouac'h, 1965, Scarre, 2000).

As the predominant forms of archaeological evidence in Brittany are 'sacral' sites characterised by megalithic and mound burial forms, archaeological literature has focused on their origin, development and function. In the past this was dominated by typologies, both concerning the structure and form of the monument itself and the more diagnostic artefacts found in association. This developed into the identification of two different traditions of monument building, and debate moved on to the relationship between these traditions, particularly their respective origins. One tradition is seen as spreading into Brittany from the Paris basin (identified as belonging to VSG and later, Cerny groups) in the east and is characterised by the long mound monuments. These are more common in Western Normandy (as would be expected if the influence was from the east), though are found in Brittany, especially in southern Morbihan. The other tradition is represented by the passage graves, prevalent in Brittany and seen to be a local phenomenon, influenced by groups to the south, rather than the east, of France. These southern groups are characterised by Cardial ware. Both traditions are thought to be indicative of very early monument

construction and are placed at the beginning of sequences of monument typologies that frequently entwine. Regardless of the debate as to the origins, by the Middle Neolithic, the *Golfe du Morbihan* has a very distinctive monumental record that has no parallel to the immediate east or south. Settlement evidence is largely lacking, although the enclosed site of Le Lizo near to the open environment of Carnac indicates a permanent settlement, with evidence of buildings (De Closmadeuc, 1866, Le Rouzic, 1933, Lecerf, 1986). There are also likely settlement sites at Croh Collé on the Quiberon peninsula and the island of Er-Yoh (Hénaff, 2002). Coupled with evidence of early forest clearance, the southern Morbihan area may represent a more sedentary community than was in place in the rest of Brittany, although the settlement record as it currently exists does not account for the numbers of people required for the construction and maintenance of many of the surviving monuments or cleared areas (Scarre, 2001a). The population may best be described as pursuing some form of mixed semi-permanent shifting cultivation with limited clearance and garden plots (Scarre, 2001a, 306, Marguerie, 1992, 2000). This does not suggest an entirely agricultural economy however, a fully ‘agrarian’ landscape was probably not in place until the Late Bronze Age (Scarre, 2001a, 297). Pastoral resources were likely important, as suggested by the presence of cattle bones in monuments (e.g. Le Rouzic, 1930, 13) and imply population mobility. The cattle burial underneath Er Grah may date to a very early period and represent the Mesolithic burial of a domesticated animal (Tresset, 2003, 24). During the earlier part of the Neolithic subsistence may have been similar in character to the Mesolithic, and hunting and foraging likely remained an important aspect of subsistence (Schulding & Richards, 2001).

The situation is further complicated by the lack of organic survival owing to the acidic soils. Much of Brittany therefore has a lacuna of skeletal information that is highlighted when compared to the relative wealth of skeletal information preserved in the more alkali soils of neighbouring areas in Normandy, especially Calvados (Hibbs, 1983, 273). The lack of soil depth, especially in the inland and upland areas, generally results in poor protection for stratigraphy, and as a result many non-monumental sites only survive as a surface scatter of artefacts, if at all. As well as attracting archaeological interest, many of the more prominent sites have attracted the attention of looters or those seeking a convenient source of stone. Christianity has also had an influence, which has ranged from the appropriation and alteration of monuments to

outright destruction. Agricultural development has also affected monument survival, and several potential sites can only be garnered from historical accounts and folklore. **Figure 6.16** contains an inventory of the passage graves that could not be located on a map, or that have been completely destroyed, hinting at the original numbers of such monuments.

The two types of monuments traditionally focused on in modern archaeological accounts of the *Golfe du Morbihan* are from two broad traditions, either long mounds covering cists, or megalithic chambers covered by cairns and accessed via a passage. The long mound monuments likely represent a slightly older tradition characterised by the *tertes tumulaires* (see **figure 6.15**). These are large rectangular or trapezoidal mounds, generally earthen or with a mix of stones, and are generally low in height. The mounds can contain cists or coffres and a variety of other structures such as hearths, and are generally bordered by drystone walling or stone slabs (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 479). There is considerable variation within this tradition, Petit-Mont for example contains no internal settings whilst nearby Bilgroid contained both cists and cairns (Patton, 1993, 52). They are also often associated with menhirs, as at Le Petit-Mont and Le Manio. Repeated access to features within the mounds would be difficult, and require partial dismantling of the mound, though this would be made easier by the relatively low height of the *tertes tumulaires* and access to features within the mounds may have been underestimated (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 479). Another form of the long mound tradition is the *tumulus carnaéens* (see **figure 6.15**), consisting of huge mounds incorporating stone vaults and other features. The number and quality of artefacts found within these monuments can be exceptional. The *tertes tumulaires* are possibly a precursor to the *tumulus carnaéens* (Scarre, 2000, 319) and there are obvious structural similarities. Sherratt views the *tumulus carnaéens* as an expansion of *tertes tumulaires* principles, enlarged in competition with increasingly substantial passage graves (1998, 122). Escalation between two competing traditions appears overly simplified and suspiciously modern as an explanation, though there does appear to be a greater stress on monumentality over the earlier and middle Neolithic.

The passage grave, or *tombe à couloir*, tradition (see **figure 6.16**) underwent considerable alteration in terms of both the architecture of the chamber and the form

of covering mound. The ‘basic’ passage grave consists of a chamber, generally megalithic or of drystone construction, with access via a passage and contained within a circular, sub-circular or trapezoidal mound of stone or earth. Variations upon this theme are generally considered to be of later date (Scarre, 2002c, 25), though there are dangers in applying this assumption as a hard rule. Later forms can have restricted distributions (see **figure 6.17**) and include side chambers or transepted ground plans (Boujot et al, 1998, 202). Angled or V-shaped passage graves also appear along with lateral-entry passage graves that appear later in date (L’Helgouac’h, 1966), and likely represent an intermediary stage before the *Allées Couvertes* (Boujot & Cassen, 1993). The specifics of the development are debatable, however; the passage grave of Mané Rutual, for example, being located both early (Thomas & Tilley, 1993, 208) and later (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 486) in the Neolithic sequence. Similarly, the passage grave of Conguel is simple in ground plan (Gaillard, 1892), but contains the eponymous pottery style considered as being Late Neolithic in date. Thus, **figure 6.17** contains some monuments that apparently occur in both periods, while the difficulty of assigning a date in general is indicated by the numbers of monuments that are confidently located as either early or late. The monument at Table des Marchands was likely built over an area that had previously been the focus for ritual activity (L’Helgouac’h & Cassen, 1989, 1990, Patton, 1993, 62) as was Petit Mont, which underwent a series of structural changes (Lecornec, 1994; see **figure 6.18**). Passage grave development has been viewed as a cyclical evolution, from early monuments with little demarcation in architectural layout, through more ‘complex’ forms, to later, undifferentiated constructions (Boujot et al, 1998b). Although the specifics vary, there does appear to be a gradual extension of the chamber at expense of the passage, while the chamber itself is subject to increasing attention and differentiation. This architecture has also been linked to an increasing concern with collective burial, particularly by connecting the architecture with the human body on a symbolic level, the monuments themselves becoming a “collective corpse” (Boujot et al, 1998b). The culmination in the Later Neolithic of these predominantly Early and Middle Neolithic types is the *allée couverte* form (Boujot & Cassen, 1998, 112), though some of the later forms of passage graves were still open at this time. The *allée couverte* is basically one long chamber or gallery grave, formed by two parallel rows of stones with capstones forming a roof with one end closed off. The interior of the monument is often compartmentalised, the main distinction being the division of an antechamber

or 'porch' before the chamber proper and often containing a terminal cell at the back. Often the gallery graves would be set in a rectangular or sub-rectangular mound with an orthostatic peristalith (Giot et al, 1998, 394-8). This type of monument is not very prevalent in the *Golfe du Morbihan*, with Mané Roullarde conforming most closely to this description. Combined with the relatively few lateral entry passage graves, such as Kerlescan (Lukis, 1868, Gaillard, 1887, 1888) and Kerléarec (L'Helgouac'h, 1966), Late Neolithic activity in terms of the passage grave tradition in the area seems limited, especially when compared to the wealth of earlier forms.

Traditions of long mound and passage grave construction only provide a rough division in the classification of monuments, and specific forms can vary considerably from the abstract descriptions of type, especially as they are often altered over time. This is particularly highlighted by Barnenez, in the nearby *département* of Finistère, in which passage graves are inserted within two trapezoidal mounds that form one, encompassing monument (Giot & L'Helgouac'h, 1957, Giot, 1970, 1973), a similar sequence on a larger scale to that which may have taken place at Pen-Hape, a site with a large mound and relatively small passage grave (Minot, 1964, Mauricet, 1877). This merging of supposedly separate traditions is seen in several monuments in the Morbihan where passage graves are incorporated within earlier long mounds, as at Le Petit Mont (Lecornec, 1994; see **figure 6.18**), Tumulus St Michel (Le Rouzic, 1932, Galles, 1864a) and Mané Lud (Galles & Mauricet, 1864). Proto-passage grave forms have also been suggested at Mané-er-Hroeck, Er Grah and Parc Guren (Boujot & Cassen, 1993). What remains constant is that the likely mortuary character of the monuments, taking into account poor preservation of bone, is not representative of the funerary rite of the majority of the population. The provision of artefacts, sometimes in large quantities or of very fine quality, also hints at the exceptional nature of these sites. As these artefacts are the most durable, it is very likely that other, more perishable offerings were present that do not leave any archaeological trace. Similarly, the range of potential ritual behaviour and repeated use of monuments and their immediate environs is also a largely invisible element.

A confusing factor within the Neolithic monument traditions described above are the so-called *Dolmens Simples*, characterised by a simple megalithic chamber enclosed in a mound with a peristalith (Hibbs, 1983, 293). Most of these monuments

are in ruinous condition and have not been subject to proper excavation and thus lack clear and datable associations, although pottery finds may indicate a Late Neolithic date for some of these sites (Patton, 1993, 153). They may represent the remains of other types of monument, and the basic form of the dolmen has parallels both with features found within the long mounds and the chambers of passage graves (e.g. Soulier, 1998). Thus, it is hard to locate these monuments within a typological timeframe. The *Dolmens Simples* remain an ill-defined monument type that may simply exist due to the effects of time on other, more recognisable forms. This tradition has not been identified within the landscapes of Kilmartin Valley or in Drenthe.

The other tradition of megalithic monument in the *Golfe du Morbihan* involves standing stones, or menhirs, either individually or grouped in alignments or circles (see **figure 6.19**), and form a particularly dense concentration compared to the rest of Brittany. Menhirs vary considerably in dimensions with most ranging between 6-8m in total height (Hibbs, 1983, 295), although the famously large exception is the Grand Menhir Brisé which would have reached between 20-30m when complete. Individual menhirs were linked with other sites, especially the *terres tumulaires*, and a stone alignment partially overlies the site of Le Manio (Le Rouzic, 1920, Le Rouzic et al, 1923), providing both a relative chronology and reinforcing the association. Individual menhirs were often incorporated within passage grave monuments, such as the stone that provided Gavrinis with a capstone (Le Roux, 1982, 1984, 1985, De Closmadeuc, 1884) and La Table des Marchands with a back stone (Cassen & L'Helgouac'h, 1992, L'Helgouac'h & Cassen, 1989, 1990). Similarly, a minimum of three menhirs were incorporated in the cairn construction at Le Petit Mont (Lecornec, 1994), the intentional uprooting and re-use of standing stones in later passage graves becoming something of a trend in the Morbihan (Scarre, 2000, 315). The re-use of menhirs in passage graves has been linked to changes in societal ideology, away from a 'masculine' set of principles to a more 'feminine' grouping, in turn connected to the ongoing process of 'Neolithization' (Cassen, 2000b, 234).

Stone circles are relatively rare and are often considered along with a variety of other ground plans and site types, such as the *cromlechs*, another poorly defined term. *Cromlechs*, the open, three sided setting of stones were possibly associated with the long mound tradition (Sherratt, 1998, 121) or enclosures generally. As such, they are probably removed from the somewhat later traditions of stone alignments. Stone circles are found in association with alignments of menhirs, as at Kerlescan (Giot et al, 1998, 552-3). Amongst the most spectacular examples of the alignments, Le Méneac in Carnac consists of over a thousand stones in eleven rows (Giot et al, 1998, 550), although other alignments contain just a few stones arranged together in a line. Alignments may have had a wooden element to them and seem to link different monuments together, including the reincorporation of earlier monument types. Several menhirs are also decorated with abstract designs, as at Le Manio (Le Rouzic et al, 1923), or are altered to appear more anthropomorphic (Giot et al, 1998, 526-9). Due to their nature, standing stones are difficult to date, though associations with the *terres tumulaires* and their incorporation within passage graves hint at an early date for the initial construction of several (Le Roux, 1984, Cassen, 2000b, Cassen & L'Helgouac'h, 1992). Some authors place them toward the end of the Neolithic (Sherratt, 1998, 120), as the culmination of an increasing trend towards monument accessibility, and there is no reason not to suggest a long tradition of construction and re-use of these monuments throughout the Neolithic and beyond.

Decoration on stone is found within a number of sites in the *Golfe du Morbihan*, in a marked difference with the open air rock art of Kilmartin valley. The distribution of decorated menhirs, however, which seem predominantly confined to the Morbihan, would have provided an easily visible open-air tradition before their incorporation within later monuments. 'Art' as it survives in this area seems much more linked to the sites themselves, as opposed to on an inter-site or landscape scale such as at Kilmartin Valley. An early phase of passage grave art (see **figure 6.20**) has been broadly distinguished from developments associated with later passage grave traditions and *allées couvertes* (Shee Twohig, 1981). Abstract decoration with highly complex combinations of symbols is attested at sites such as Gavrinis (Shee Twohig, 1981, figs. 110-121), while a more restricted range of naturalistic motifs, such as bovines and hafted axes, has been identified on the menhirs. This includes depictions

of bovines, possibly serpents and, as recently argued, a whale (Whittle, 2000, Cassen & Vaquero, 2004). The presence of axe motifs on two of the standing stones at Er Lannic (Péquart et al, 1927, 7-9, Shee Twohig, 1981, 58-60, fig. 181), a site closely connected to axe production, appears to closely connect the symbolism of the site with its functional importance. Such a correlation, however, is harder to apply to other traditions of megalithic art. The depictions of ‘crooks’ at Gavrinis, Kermarquer, Moustoirac (Shee Twohig, 1981, 58) and on pottery from the horizon beneath Table des Marchands and as inscribed in the monument itself (Cassen & L’Helgouac’h, 1992, L’Helgouac’h & Cassen, 1989, 1990), hints at a pastoral lifestyle. Conversely, the ‘axe-plough’ suggests a link to agriculture (Le Rouzic & Keller, 1910, Shee Twohig, 1993) although what this symbol represents has been contested (e.g. Cassen & Vaquero, 2004).

The later monument tradition of angled passage graves contains the largest numbers of decorations with the ‘buckler’ motif, often taken to be a representation of the female form (Cassen, 2000b, 237-8), occurring on several sites (Shee Twohig, 1981, 60, 91). Passage graves themselves can be taken to represent a range of ‘female’ motifs (Boujot et al, 1998, 203), and several do contain representations of breasts, as at Pen Hap or Les Pierres-Plats, although Burl (1985, 14) views these as a later development and thus unlikely to be involved in an original conceptualisation of passage graves as feminine or otherwise. Long mounds are often correspondingly linked with male attributes, especially axes, particularly unsubtly suggested at Mané-er-Hroeck. There is a danger, however, of once apparently discovering some form of symbolic connection, in this case phallic, that symbolism can then become ‘identified’ in other contexts that may not have been appropriate (Boujot et al, 1998, 205), for example in the ground plan of long mounds (e.g. Thomas & Tilley, 1993). This overly simplified view also does not explain the changing nature of the passage in later tomb forms, which is hard to reconcile as a symbol meant to represent female reproduction. *Allée couvertes* also produce a relatively large number of decorated stones, the particular characteristic of which is a tendency to portray anthropomorphic designs. A simple progression from abstract to representative design within the passage grave tradition obscures a more complex story. What is more probable is that a common symbolic vocabulary was being applied contextually. It is perhaps disingenuous to

assume that what we perceive to have been important for prehistoric people in terms of subsistence, necessarily either provided, or was avoided, as the main source of prehistoric symbolism.

After the *flourit* of monument construction in the Neolithic period, a trend towards smaller, simpler monuments becomes apparent in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age. Monuments of the scale of the larger passage graves or long mounds disappear and are replaced by smaller burials in cists, often in small groups. Old monuments are carefully closed, beaker assemblages often being the final dedicatory offering, and several monuments have later graves inserted into them. This follows the pattern established in other areas of Western Europe of the appearance of single graves with distinctive pottery, often under tumuli. This tradition is particularly visible in western Brittany, and Morbihan contains several examples (Patton, 1995, 104). The burials in tumuli are categorised into two rough sequences based upon grave goods, with one grouping containing gold and metal artefacts, whilst the other is mainly characterised by finds of pottery (Briard, 1984, 18). Schemes distinguishing between monuments based upon architecture, prevalent in the study of the Neolithic, now give way to analysis of grave goods (Briard, 1984, 282-197). Again, the recorded examples do not account for the mortuary practices of the majority of the population, and the Morbihan did not seem to have been a focal area for the construction of these monuments.

A large body of artefactual evidence survives from the *Golfe du Morbihan*, though often from unspecified or specifically non-domestic contexts. The finds from the *tumulus carnaéens* represent the most spectacular assemblages and are unparalleled in the other monument types, which by comparison seem poorly furnished (Herbaut, 2000, Cassen & Pétrequin, 1999). Large numbers of fibrolite axes have been recovered from Mané-er-Hroëk (Lefèvre, & Galles, 1863) and Tumulus St Michel (Galles, 1864a) the former containing 90 examples. Such axes also occur in passage graves, but in much smaller quantities such as the single example from Kerlescan (Lukis, 1868). There was likely a source of fibrolite in the *Golfe du Morbihan*, the processing into objects of which probably took place at the site of Er Lannic, which contained both rough-outs and finished axes (Le Rouzic, 1930, Patton,

1993, 22, De Closmadeuc, 1867). This is also reflected in the occurrence in quantity of fibrolite axes in neighbouring monuments and the site has been portrayed as a locus for exchange as well as production. Stone tools form a particularly important component of the archaeological record, as they can be traced to different sources. Grand Pressigny flint is found at a number of monuments from the later Neolithic (L'Helgouac'h, 1965, 114, Sherratt, 1998, 135). The source of Grand Pressigny is found to the south east, whilst stone artefacts made from dolerite likely travelled from Plussulien in Côtes-d'Armor immediately to the northeast. Plussulien is a large axe quarry from this area located on the source of Type A dolerite, which supplied a large proportion of the known axes from Brittany (Le Roux, 1999). Other axes likely made even longer journeys, with jadeite axes, like the two from Mané-Hui (Gaillard, 1897), likely coming from the Alpine area (Pétrequin et al, 1997, Cassen & Pétrequin, 1999, 27). Arrowheads are again found in monumental and mortuary contexts, such as those at Kerlescan passage grave (Lukis, 1868, Gaillard, 1887, 1888), though are rarely found scattered through the landscape in the same manner as in Drenthe. Their presence in Later Neolithic monuments reinforces the idea of a continuing prestige attached to their use. The arrowheads from the chamber under the Mané-Hui mound (Gaillard, 1897) were likely struck from the core found in the same chamber, which was probably imported (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 483).

As is typical in prehistoric studies, pottery forms a well-studied and typologically crucial body of material. The pottery sequence has been long-established (see **figure 6.23**), although periods of overlap of certain styles and indeed their origin, provides an area of disagreement. Most of the pottery typologies have been established from assemblages recovered from monumental contexts. Earlier ceramic styles are Cerny-related, with Castelleic-style pottery also located early in the Neolithic sequence, and their relationship has been used to order the development of monument traditions (e.g. Boujot & Cassen, 1993). Domestic assemblages are rarer, though settlement sites such as Groh-Collé in St Pierre Quiberon provided a large assemblage. The form and style of pottery reflects more than a simple chronology of the changing tastes of prehistoric communities. The site of Er Lannic has yielded a considerable number of 'vase supports', traditionally attributed to the Middle Neolithic (De Closmadeuc, 1867, Le Rouzic, 1930, Bailloud, 1975), and suggesting

an intensive period of use at this site from around the late 5th to late 4th millennium BC. Pottery from the layers prior to the construction of Table des Marchand displayed crook motifs similar to those on the menhir incorporated in the later monument (Cassen & L'Helgouac'h, 1992, L'Helgouac'h, & Cassen, 1989, 1990), suggesting a system of symbols later subverted (or incorporated) by the passage grave tradition. The contents of the pottery would also have played an important part in their role in both domestic and sacral monuments, whilst broken pottery in and around mortuary monuments hints at the role it played in past practice. Metalwork is rare from megalithic contexts, the more spectacular finds occurring in the Bronze Age tumulus burials. Smaller finds of metalwork are generally associated with beaker burials.

In common with the other two areas, preservation of bone is poor in archaeological contexts from the Morbihan. The presence of large numbers of skeletal material in communal monuments in Normandy is often taken as proxy evidence for the Morbihan sites. Two passage graves from the Quiberon peninsula do contain evidence for multiple inhumations. The Conguel passage grave contained at least five skeletons in its lower layer with a further two in a later phase of use (Gaillard, 1892). The first of the two passage graves at Pors Guen reportedly had twelve skulls, along with other disarticulated remains, deposited in the lower layer of the chamber (Burl, 1985, 163). A later deposit, separated by a layer of stones, had the same number of skulls, though two remained fully articulated (Burl, 1985, 163). The second passage grave at Pors Guen contained three complete skeletons. Animal remains have also been recovered from several sites, with parts of oxen particularly prevalent. In Mané Lud, five horse skulls were recovered from underneath the mound, apparently in association with five small standing stones (Galles, & Mauricet, 1864, Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 487). Whether these reflected consumption is difficult to gauge, although the ox burial under Er Grah still retained a large proportion of the potential meat on the carcass (Tresset, 2000). In both contexts, the animal in question makes an early appearance in the archaeological record and it is perhaps this factor which contributes to their treatment (Tresset, 2005).

The prehistory of the *Golfe du Morbihan* is usually framed in relation to differing incoming traditions and complicated by an indigenous response. This is

further complicated by the relative lack of Early Neolithic sites (Guyodo, 2005, 215-6). A strong Mesolithic tradition is in evidence, and during the 5th millennium coastal communities were exploiting a variety of marine resources (Schulting & Richards, 2001, Schulting, 2005, Dupont & Gruet, 2005), though there is also some evidence for more inland exploitation (Marchand, G. 2005). They were also burying their dead in shell middens (Péquart et al, 1937, Péquart & Péquart, 1954), and it is to this tradition that a parallel is drawn with later communal mortuary monuments (Scarre, 1992). Similarly, analysis of Mesolithic material culture has suggested potential ‘territories’, posited as the precursor to their development in the Neolithic (Yven, 2005, 95-6), and in both periods, there appears a preference for coastal sites. Other evidence suggests more of a break between the Mesolithic and Neolithic. Isotopic analysis indicates a clear difference between Mesolithic and Middle Neolithic populations in terms of diet, although the transition is still unclear, and there was likely a small marine contribution to diet during the Neolithic (Schulting, 2005, 167). Domesticated species arrived over the transition (Tresset, 2000) along with new traditions of working stone (Guyodo, 2005, 223). From the Early to Mid 5th millennium cereal evidence appears (Marguerie, 1992), and then the pottery styles of Cerny, and slightly later, Castellar. However, the model of sedentary agriculturalists, traditional for the LBK, is impossible to retain (Scarre, 2001b, 288).

Whether colonising farmer or acculturated hunter-gatherer, the population likely led a mobile existence. The presence of cattle burial, cattle motifs on the reused menhirs at Gavrinis and Locmariaquer and possible ‘yolk’ or ‘crook’ motifs on pottery and carved into stone (Scarre, 2001, 38; though also see Cassen, 2005) suggests a pastoral existence, although Anne Tresset has suggested that bovine domesticates were of higher symbolic, rather than economic, value (Tresset, 2005, 283). Cultivation was likely small-scale and shifting, with semi-permanent settlement. In variance with many traditional accounts of prehistory, a ‘Mesolithic’ way of life may have been more sedentary than contemporary ‘Neolithic’ populations. Communal action and a sense of place are represented by the mortuary traditions of collective burial in chambered tombs or under large mounds, and these monuments would have been the focus of later sacral activity. A more sedentary existence towards the end of the Neolithic is implied in coastal areas and at sites such as Le Lizo (Hénaff, X. 2002). As Neolithic ways of life gave way to Chalcolithic and Early

Bronze Age activity, burial rites seem to have changed. Individual burial in cists, often in small groups became the dominant form of internment. Similarly to Drenthe, this tradition of burial probably remained a background trend from the Mesolithic onwards. Later burials were also sometimes covered by tumuli, and were connected to a trend towards richer grave goods. In this period, the Morbihan seems to be less of a focus in terms of the construction of new monuments than it had been in the past.

6.8 Chronological schemes

Identifying and accounting for change over time is the central focus and main strength of archaeology. The practicalities of this however pose a number of problems. Stratigraphy and typology have formed the basis of chronologies that stretch from the three individual regions to across north-western Europe. Each of the three areas therefore has their own chronological schemes in which Neolithic material and ideas arrive at different times, reinforcing its cultural, rather than strictly temporal, characteristics. The resultant periodisation is heuristically necessary in order to provide narrative structure, but pre-sorts future data and thereby attaches cultural connotations. Typologies themselves are the product of an evolutionary archaeology, and the concept of ‘types’, with a tendency to chart progress from simple to complex are recurring themes. As a comparative study, the landscapes of Drenthe, Kilmartin and the *Golfe du Morbihan* were selected, as they represent ‘types’ of landscapes associated with a specific period spanning the Neolithic. The changes in cultural chronology are reflected in the different periods, though these ‘breaks’ are located firmly in our own conceptual schemes (see **figures 6.21-6.23**). Some ‘breaks’ are more distinct than others. For example, in Brittany the division between the Mesolithic and Early Neolithic is hard to identify, although the Late Neolithic seems clearly distinct from earlier phases. For the Morbihan, this division is more apparent during the Middle Neolithic, characterised by evidence for clearance and concentrations of monuments, and is thus early relative to the rest of Brittany (see **figure 6.24**). Kilmartin Valley, as a smaller area, is harder to relate to the wider regional trends in Scotland, as many types of material have not been found there (see **figure 6.22**). For Scotland as a whole, Patrick Ashmore warns against rigid periodisation; “there appears to be no tight correlation in time between various changes” (2004, 134) and variation on a regional level is difficult to relate to broader

phenomena. In Drenthe, the chronology is predominately formulated in relation to the TRB North Group (see **figure 6.23**), and dependant on this area for absolute dating evidence and to a greater extent, the reconstruction of subsistence practices and social organisation. There are, of course, considerable disagreements concerning aspects of these sequences (e.g. Boujot et al, 1998b, Boujot & Cassen, 1993, Scarre et al, 2003, Scarre, 1992). The dating of Kerugou pottery in the Morbihan and the introduction of ard ploughing in Drenthe (Fokkens, 1998, 102) are all points of contention. Changes in the archaeological record were meaningful in the past, though change is not located in the abstract terms we employ. Discussion of what terms such as ‘Neolithic’ actually mean has led to primarily economic considerations of the farming ‘package’, advantageous elements of which are selected by different groups in different areas. Such a selection process would be informed to a considerable degree by social and cultural factors, and this rescues the model from accusations of economic or environmental determinism.

Absolute dates provide a range of problems concerning interpretation, from sampling strategy to the laboratory process itself. Doubt has been cast on some of the earlier radiocarbon dates for a variety of reasons (Ashmore, 1998, 2004), and this has led to uncertainty over the interpretation of evidence, such as the early dates from Kercado based upon material from Le Rouzic’s excavations (Le Rouzic, 1927, Shee Twohig, 1981, 51). Coverage is also variable, there are few dates from Neolithic sites in Drenthe, for example, and the more durable monument sites have developed over hundreds of years, leading to complexities in their dating. Relating radiocarbon dates to typo-chronologies can also prove difficult, with disparities leading to questions about the reliability of absolute dates, as is the case with Kercado, or more unusually, the redefining of a cultural period. Context is often called into question on those dates discarded but is not critically discussed on those accepted. This is part of the inherent nature of the archaeological record and the obstacle it provides. For the three areas under discussion this includes poor conditions of preservation and the paucity of certain types of site, most notably settlement. However, the site-specifics of phasing and re-use established through excavation, and the potential of decoration on rock surfaces, monuments and artefacts to suggest parallels and developmental sequences allows chronological comparisons to be made.

Typo-chronologies for each area (see **figures 6.21-6.23**) have been primarily built upon tomb and pottery morphology, though other sites and forms of evidence, such as rock art, have been considered. Different types of sites reflect change on different scales. Unfortunately, those that reflect change over shorter periods, such as settlements, are often invisible. This has led to a reliance on tomb architecture, which is a longer term *conjoncture* and can stretch into the *longue durée*. *Événements* at specific sites, and shorter term *conjonctures*, such as pottery style, have to be combined in order to provide better resolution than that gleaned simply from tomb morphology. Characteristics, in a broad sense, of monumental sites, including access to the dead or the presence of communal burial, are also used to flesh out periodisation and relate local schemes to wider trends. The importance of aspects of mortuary sites other than the architecture of the chamber, i.e. the covering mound and façade, are also paramount for understanding both the development of sites and the nature of the activity outside the monument itself.

For Kilmartin Valley, the Neolithic period is roughly divided into three, although this is a very artificial scheme and the periods are very porous (see **figure 6.21**). During the Early Neolithic, hunter-gatherer activity at neighbouring coastal sites likely persisted well into the 4th millennium BC. For the west coast of Scotland as a whole pottery assemblages from 4,000 BC onwards indicate the arrival of some form of agriculture, or at least a ‘Neolithic’ way of life. The site of Achnacreebeag to the north of Kilmartin may suggest both an early date for the uptake of ceramics and megalithic architecture, and may even suggest connections with Northern France (Sheridan, 2000, 2003). There is less evidence for early 4th millennium activity in Kilmartin Valley however, although the first circle at Temple Wood may have been in place from around 3,500 BC. The earliest Clyde cairns, such as Kilchoan and Nether Largie South, may have been built towards the end of the Early Neolithic. The Middle Neolithic is the period in which Kilmartin Valley takes on many of the characteristics associated with the area today, with land clearance likely increasing and the construction of a variety of sites, including the henge at Ballymeanoch, standing stones and more chambered cairns. The tradition of stone decoration likely began during this period as a cup-marked slab is re-used as a cover slab at Nether Largie (Bradley, 2002a, 90). Individual pots can be related to wider traditions of carinated and Grimston ceramics, and their subsequent derivations and regional sequences

(Sheridan, 2000), though the earlier pottery from Kilmartin is not particularly diagnostic. Toward the end of the Neolithic and into the Bronze Age, the appearance of beaker pottery and food vessels along with individual burial provides a more fixed date horizon. From the middle of the 3rd millennium the long history of re-use and alteration at many of the earlier monuments is ended, and the sites closed off, often with associated beaker or food vessel deposits. The construction of Kerb cairns at Ballymeanoch and Temple Wood links this process to monumental traditions in other areas. Barrows are built over individual graves, and groups of cists on river terraces suggest the creation of ‘cemeteries’.

The Drenthe sequence is more extensively worked out than the Kilmartin Valley chronology, due to the wider geographical range, the presence of settlement sites and considerable pottery assemblages (see **figure 6.22**). Little activity is traced to the Early Neolithic, although there is possible semi-permanent settlement of areas with specific resources. For several centuries after the Early Neolithic there appear even fewer traces of activity on the plateau. Around the middle of the 4th millennium however, there is an expansion into the uplands with a subsistence pattern likely based on a slash-and-burn model of hoe agriculture. TRB influence is apparent in the pottery styles (Phases A-E, grouped into seven main phases (Bakker, 1992, 42)) and construction of the *hunebedden*, which seems to have taken place throughout the period. Based on pottery style (Bakker, 1979b, 154-155) an earlier ‘colonisation’ phase of *hunebedden* construction has been suggested (Fokkens, 1998) followed by consolidation. Settlement is identified through flint scatters, whilst hoards begin to enter the archaeological record. A change in pottery style heralds the beginning of the Late Neolithic, with the corded ware SGK tradition. This is accompanied by individual burial under barrows, and the first appearance, in small quantities, of metal. Settlement sites from this period in other parts of the Netherlands appear more substantial, and an expansion to the north is suggested alongside a change to plough agriculture (the plough marks at the settlement site of Bornwird are an indication of this). The second part of the Late Neolithic is primarily identified by the appearance of Maritime Beakers and their subsequent development. Whether or not this developed from earlier SGK and AOO pottery styles, or represented a movement of people, remains unresolved. Evidence of metal-working becomes more prominent in the archaeological record, and grave assemblages including weaponry, though

infrequent, are also found. The contemporary settlement of Oldeboorn, located to the south of Drenthe, indicates more substantial dwellings, although no comparative site has been found on the plateau itself. The number of arrowheads found throughout the landscape from this late period suggests a rise in the importance of hunting.

For the *Golfe du Morbihan*, the chronological specifics have been contested (Boujot et al, 1998b, Boujot & Cassen, 1993, Scarre et al, 2003, Scarre, 1992, Patton, 1994), specifically in relation to the derivation and date of two of the earlier mortuary traditions, long mounds and passage graves (see **figure 6.23**). The presence of Mesolithic mortuary evidence from the shell mounds at Tévéc and Höedic provides a possible precursor in terms of multiple burials within a monumental context. The earliest Neolithic activity around the *Golfe* left few substantial traces, although the first *terres tumulaires* may have been built towards the end of this period. The beginning of the Middle Neolithic is the period during which the greater numbers of long mounds were created. Associated pottery is derived from Cerny influences, including Early Castelleic which is particularly associated with the Southern Morbihan. The tradition of decorated menhirs, re-used in several passage graves, likely originates from this period. In the second half of the Middle Neolithic there is evidence for land clearance in the Southern Morbihan, considerably earlier than that for the rest of Brittany. The passage grave tradition likely begins early in this period along with the construction of the *tumulus carnaéens*. A tradition of megalithic art associated with the passage graves also dates from this period and is supplemented by the re-use of earlier decorated menhirs. Castelleic pottery style develops into Late Castelleic, the type paralleled with the pottery from Achnacreebeag, examples of which are found in Normandy. Carn pottery is particularly associated with the passage grave tradition, and on the northern coast of Brittany likely occurs at the beginning of the Middle Neolithic, mainly assigned through the dating evidence of Barnenez. Vase-supports, possibly connected to the round-bottomed pottery of the period, also appear as an element of the second half of the Middle Neolithic. Their occurrence in numbers at the stone circle at Er Lannic connects this site to this period. *Cromlech* construction may date back to around this time, though the evidence is unequivocal, and might better be viewed as part of the tradition of alignment building. The beginning of the Late Neolithic in Brittany as a whole is marked by expansion of settlement inland, clearance and the circulation of Grand Pressigny flint. Regional

pottery styles, such as Conguel, are developed in this period. In the Southern Morbihan earlier passage graves begin to be closed off, and later monument forms built, including different traditions of megalithic art. The impressive alignments of standing stones are likely constructed over this period, though are hard to date. Similarly, the *Dolmens Simples* may be built from around this time onwards, though again the chronology is not straightforward. The occurrence of pottery of SOM style within these monuments (Patton, 1993, 153) may not reflect the initial period of construction and use. The second half of the Late Neolithic is marked by the arrival of Bell Beaker material and individual burial, whilst the quarry at Plussulien is abandoned. The later passage graves are also closed off.

Absolute dates for the three areas are variable in quality and coverage. The dating of individual sites is always open to debate, especially the early dates from Kercado, with radiocarbon evidence used in both sides of the argument over the chronology of mortuary monuments (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, Scarre, 1992). In the Morbihan, the only securely dated monument sequence comes from Petit Mont (Lecornec, 1994, Giot et al, 1998; see **figure 6.18**), and this level of information is unique among the archaeological evidence of the three areas. There are relatively few radiocarbon dates from Drenthe, with Swifterbant sites thought to range from the beginning of the 5th millennium BC up to the middle of the 4th millennium BC. Following this, the introduction of TRB cultural material is held to range from around 3,400 BC and continues into the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC before Corded Ware traditions appear around 2,900 BC. The next main change occurs roughly around 2,500 BC with the arrival of beaker pottery and eventually the onset of the Chalcolithic. Kilmartin Valley also has few absolute dates, those that are present suggest a relatively early construction of sites such as Temple Wood. The nearby chambered tomb at Crarae offers a date from a shell probably associated with the construction or initial use of the chamber of 3,760-3,370 BC (Ashmore, 2004, 130) that may offer a parallel with the chambered tombs in Kilmartin. The dating of the pre-monument horizon at the Table des Marchand (L'Helgouac'h & Cassen, 1989, 1990, Cassen & L'Helgouac'h, 1992), with its association of Early Castellar pottery, to the early 4th millennium BC has been integral to confirming the earlier date of the long mound tradition. The other important date relates to the closure of Gavrinis (Le

Roux, 1985, 183), highlighting the types of context in these monuments from which absolute dates can be meaningfully related to wider chronological schemes.

There is a considerable danger in basing chronologies on patterns the modern observer recognises in mortuary data. These may have not be significant in the past, a tendency to focus upon the ground plan of the chamber being an example of this. However, the schemes we construct are based on changes in the archaeological record itself, and must have reflected meaningful action. The important task is to relate the record of action at specific sites to wider processes at the landscape scale and beyond. This involves investigating the sets of characteristics employed on Neolithic sites, especially mortuary monuments, which recur across wide areas. These include the ideas of collective burial, interment in chambers and monumentality itself, though they incorporate a large number of other possibilities. The presence of enclosure, the role of fire and even the addition of architectural features such as the paving of the chamber, are also recurring features. In this way a parallel process to the explanation of the 'Neolithic package' is envisaged, with various potential Neolithic or indigenous principles regarding monuments selected or discarded according to region. Thus on a scale of analysis over the *longue durée* we can identify a general trend across North Western Europe that involves the construction of megalithic monuments with enclosing mounds. At a more fine-grained level of analysis however, the regional specificities become apparent. A common theme in each area is the apparent invisibility of the prevalent burial form, which may be hinted at by the likely presence throughout the Neolithic of a background tradition of individual inhumation in simple flat graves with cists or coffins. There is perhaps considerably more continuity expressed by this than by the changing forms of megaliths. Similarly, the pottery used for typo-chronologies is often from funerary contexts, with some major exceptions, such as the Beaker pottery from settlement sites in the Netherlands. It is therefore harder to connect pottery changes with population alteration or movement.

A final consideration in the construction of prehistoric chronologies is reflected in the problematic term 'Chalcolithic', reflecting a 'Copper Age' at the end of the Neolithic. The association of worked metal with recurring sets of assemblages, generally found in graves, is perhaps not enough to distinguish a period by itself. Similarly, in some areas it is hard to distinguish a Copper Age from the Early Bronze

Age (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 485). The Chalcolithic has been linked to the secondary products revolution (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 485), with the appearance of animal traction and a range of exploitation, including dairy products (Sherratt, 1981). The nature of this change is difficult to reconstruct, however, and reflects wider concerns about the transitions between the periods we construct and how they were actually lived in by prehistoric communities. How abruptly or how gradually the 'Chalcolithic' was introduced is a very abstract question, and is closely tied to its definition (Lichardus, 1991). Dairying, long thought a secondary product, may have been present in Britain from the early Neolithic (Copley et al, 2005), with the various implications that this has for the definition of the 'Chalcolithic'. This serves to highlight some of the inadequacies of archaeological chronology, of which its artificiality is of central concern. Duration of time as viewed from the modern day would have been very different in prehistory, especially as the biological reality of death was generally experienced earlier in prehistoric times than it is now. Instead of thinking of the passage of time in terms of mortuary traditions it is worth thinking in terms of the passing of generations. The different ways of viewing the past are approached in the following chapter by consideration of the history of interpretation of these landscapes, and how it has translated the 'material record' into the 'archaeological record'.

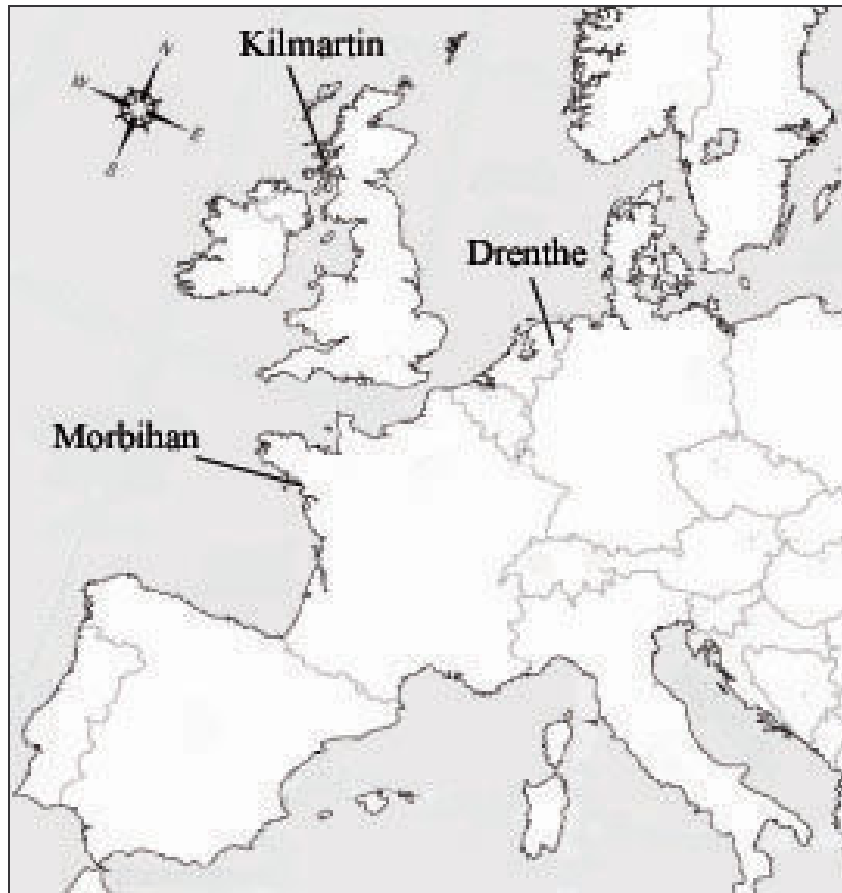


Figure 6.1: Map of the three areas discussed

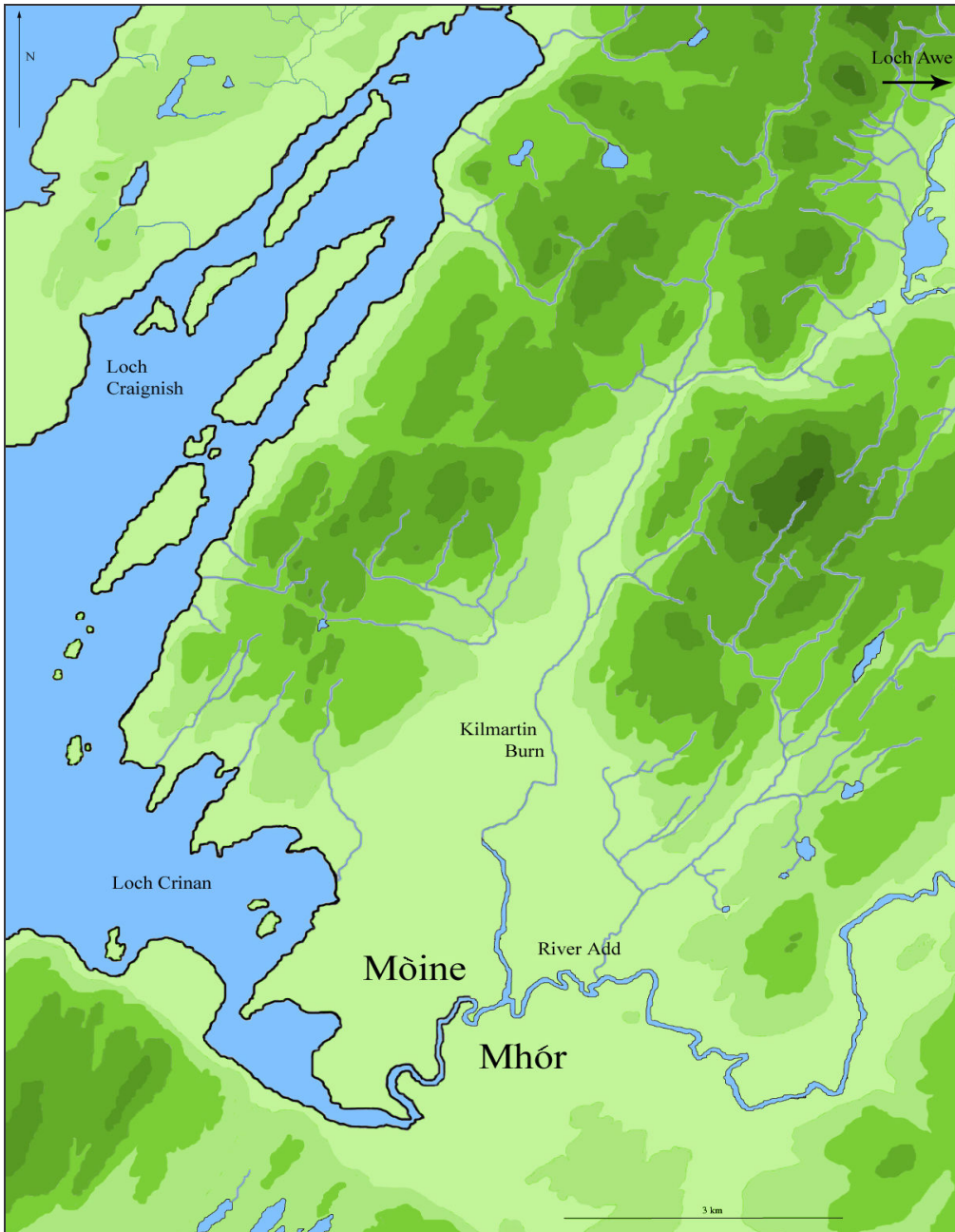
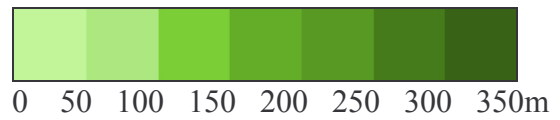


Figure 6.2: Map of the Kilmartin area



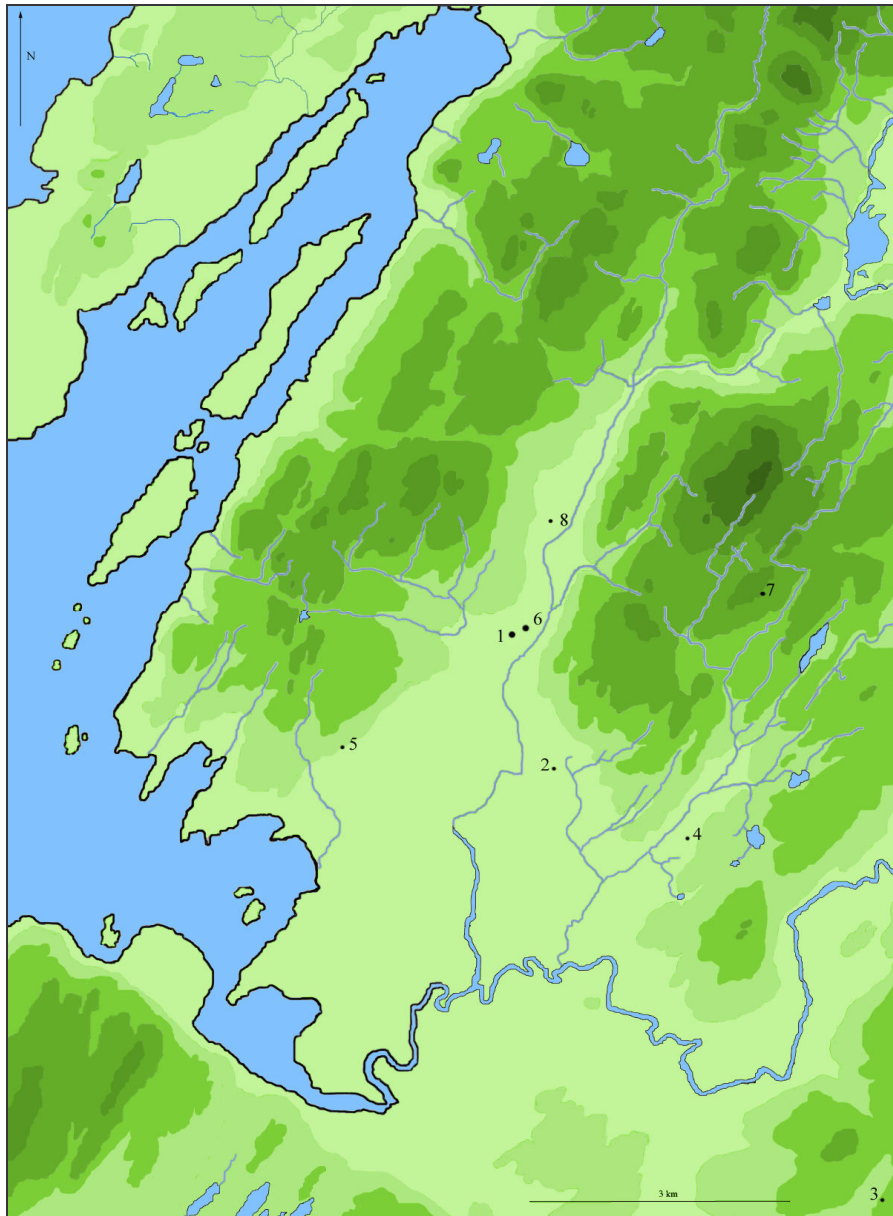


Figure 6.3: Distribution of Chambered Cairns and Early Monuments

Stone Circle

- 1. Temple Wood

Henge

- 2. Ballymeanoch

Chambered Cairns

- 3. Auchoish
- 4. Baroile
- 5. Kilchoan
- 6. Nether Largie South
- 7. Upper Rhudil

Pit-Defined 'Cursus' and Circle

- 8. Upper Largie

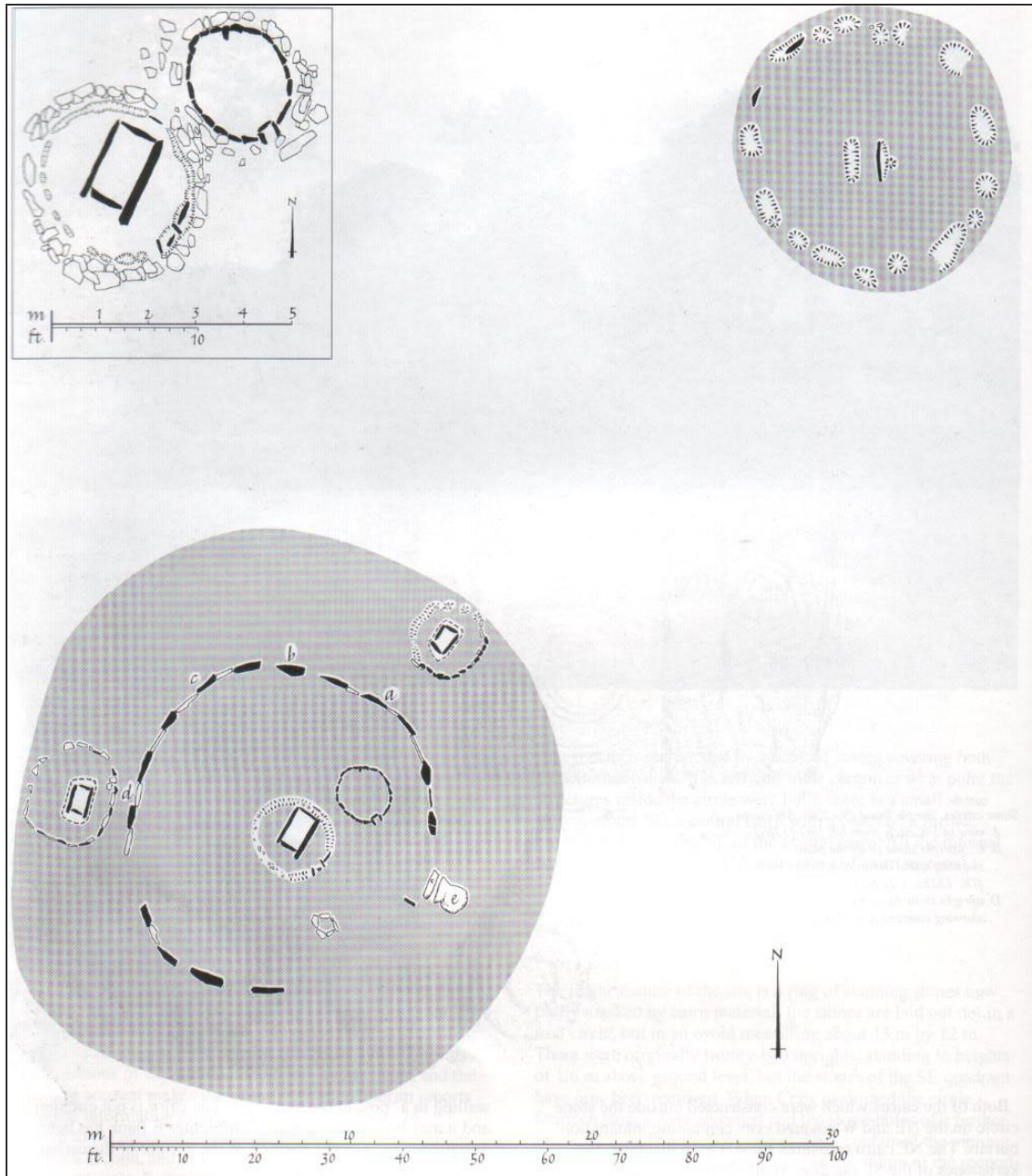


Figure 6.4: Plan of Temple Wood stone circles (after Scott, 1989)

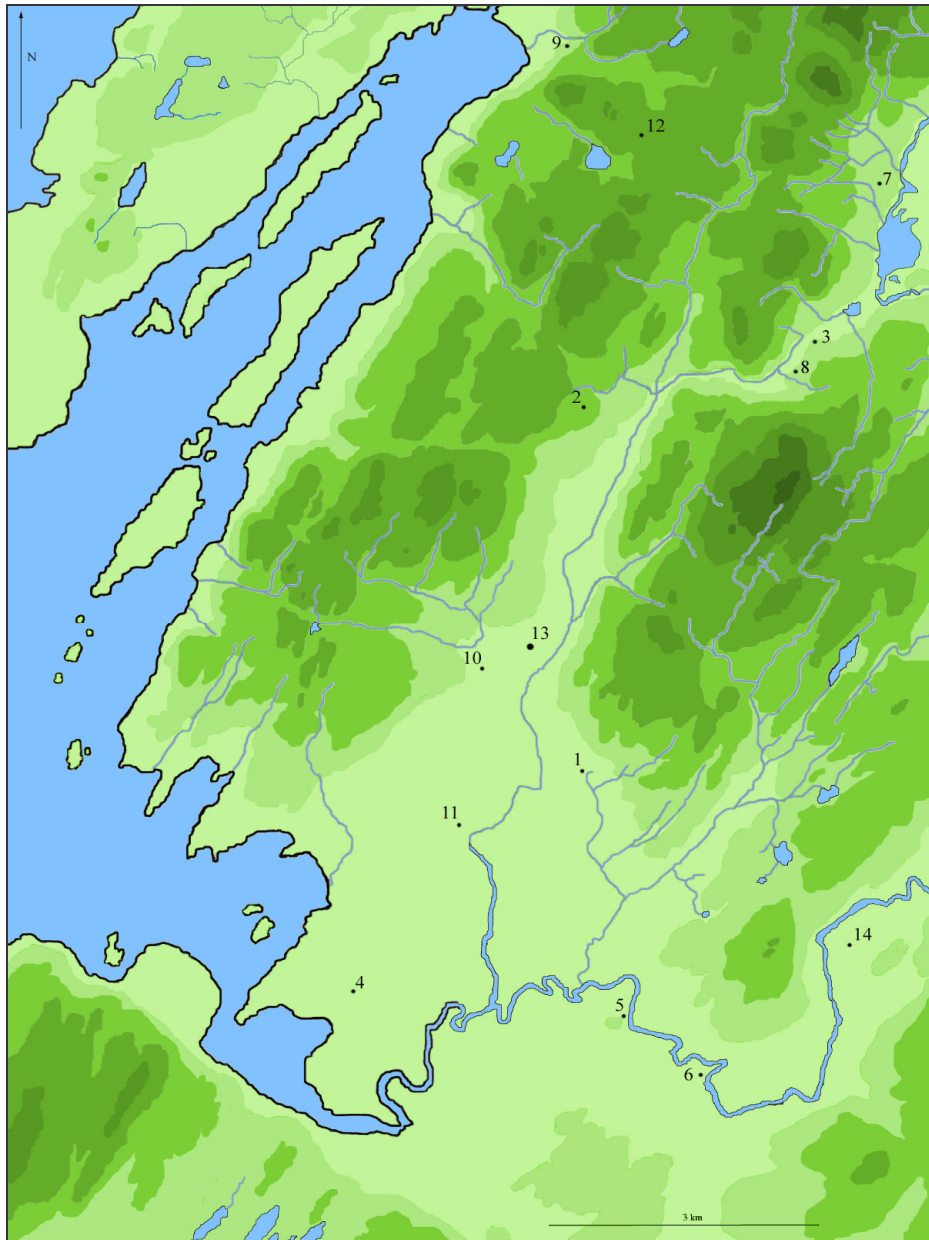


Figure 6.5: Distribution of standing stones

1. Ballymeanoch
2. Carnassarie
3. Creagantairbh Beag
4. Crinan Moss
5. Dunadd
6. Dunamuck
7. Ford
8. Glenman
9. Kintraw
10. Nether Largie
11. Rowanfield
12. Salachary
13. Temple Wood
14. Torbhlaran

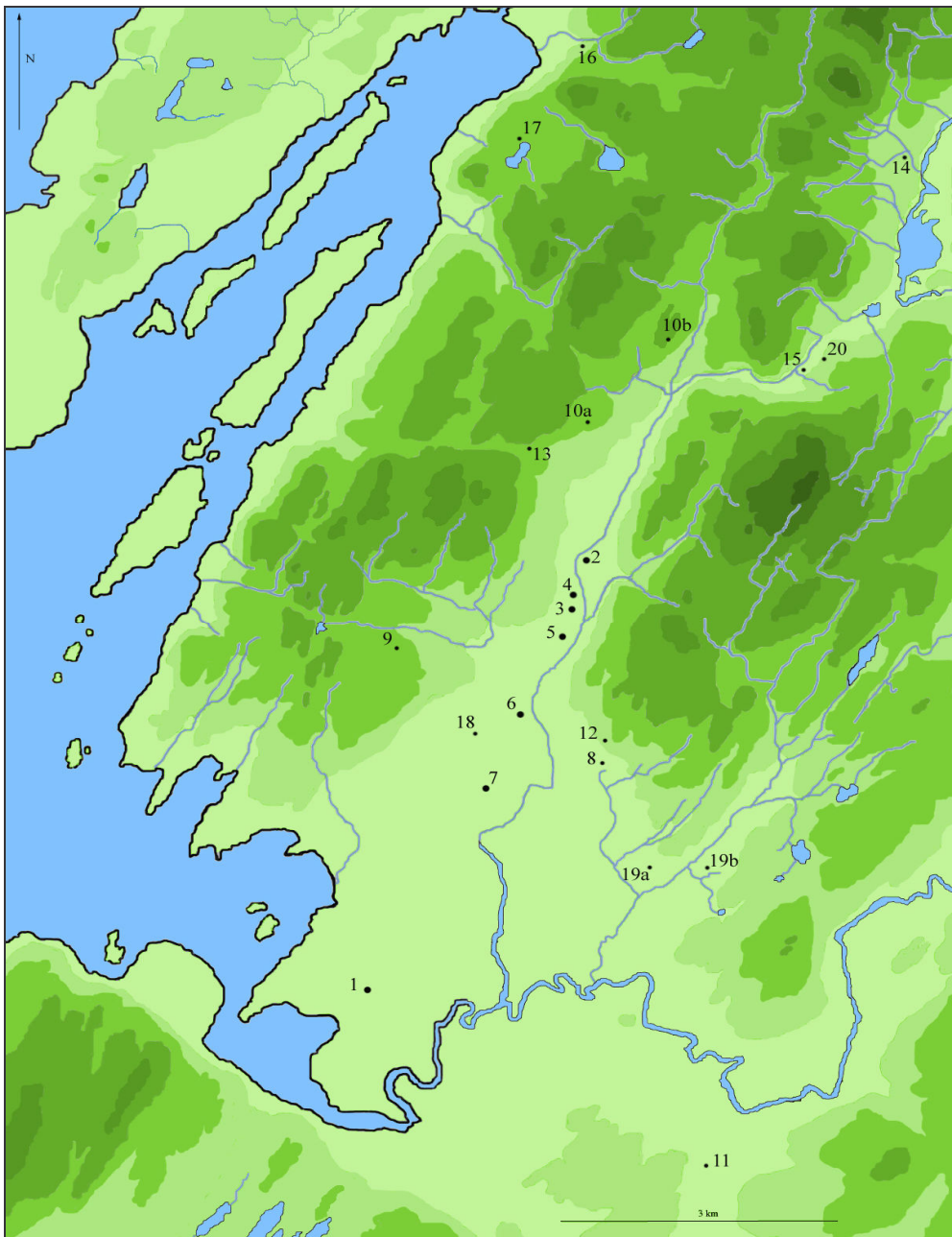


Figure 6.6: Distribution of Bronze Age Cairns and ‘Linear Cemetery’

‘Linear Cemetery’

1. Crinan Moss (possibly), 2. Kilmartin Glebe, 3. Nether Largie Mid, 4. Nether Largie North, 5. Nether Largie South, 6. Ri Cruin, 7. Rowanfield

Other Bronze Age Cairns

8. Ballymeanoch, 9. Bàrr a’Chuirn, 10(a), 10 (b). Carnassarie, 11. Dunamuck, 12. Dunchraigaig, 13. Dùn Mac Samhainn, 14. Ford, 15. Glennan, 16. Kintraw, 17. Lochan Druim Rathaid, 18. Poltalloch (possibly), 19(a), 19(b). Rhudil, 20. Tigh a’ Charnain

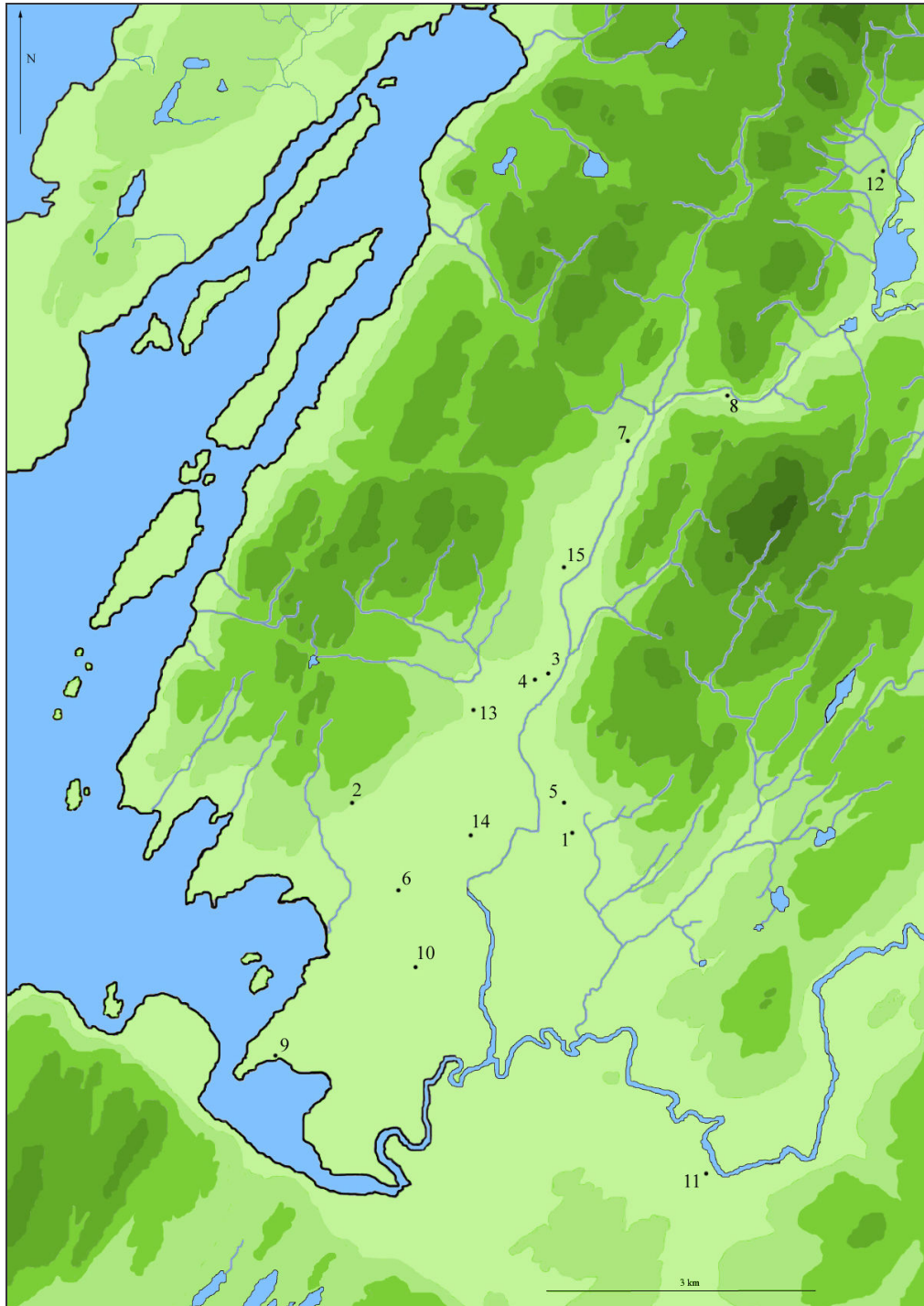


Figure 6.7: Distribution of cist burials and inserted cists

Cists inserted into existing monuments

1. Ballymeanoch, 2. Kilchoan, 3. Nether Largie South, 4. Temple Wood

Cist Burials

5. Ballymeanoch Cists, 6. Barsloisnoch, 7. Carnassarie, 8. Creagantairbh Beag, 9. Crinan Ferry Cave, 10. Crinan Moss, 11. Dunamuck, 12. Ford, 13. Potalloch Cists, 14. Rownafeld, 15. Upper Largie

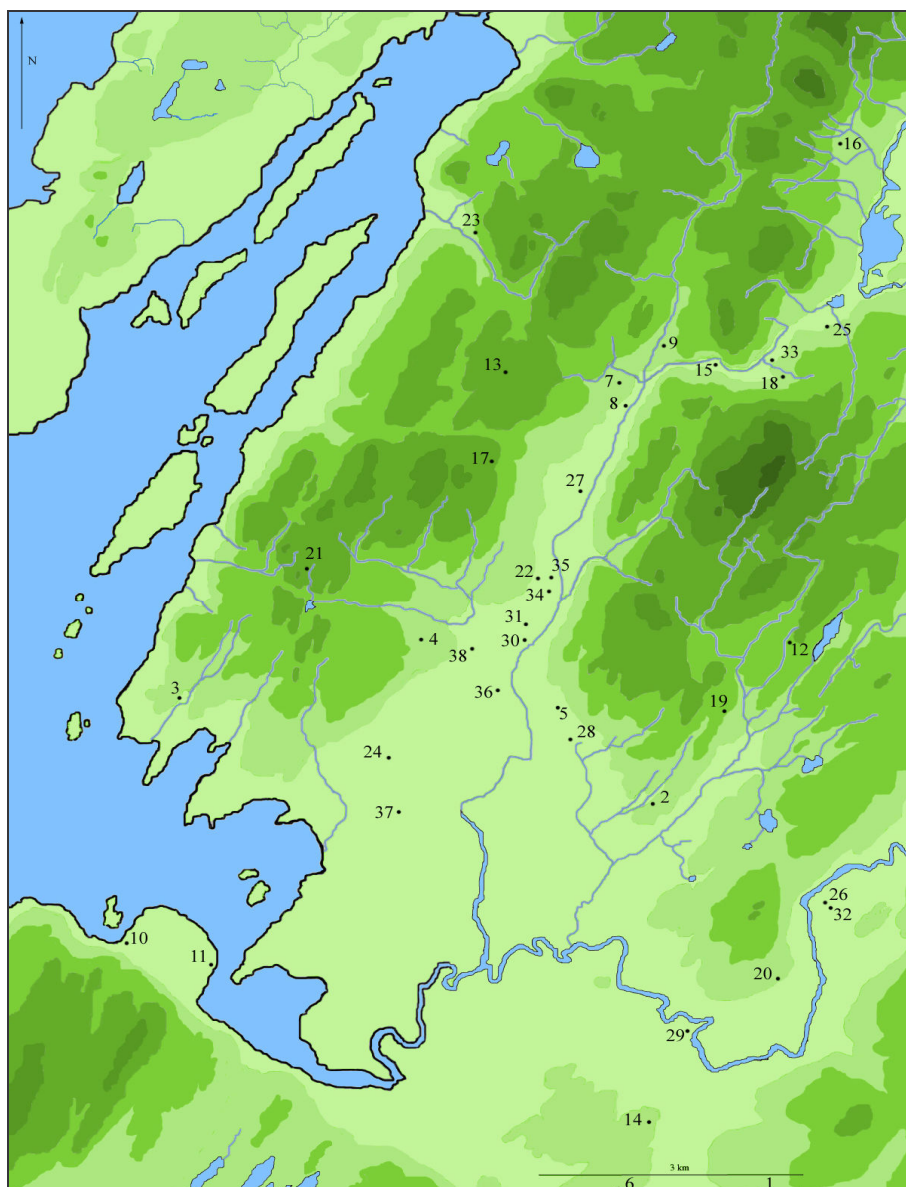


Figure 6.8: Distribution of stone decoration

Rock Shelf Decoration

1. Ach nabreck, 2. Anaskeog, 3. Ardifur, 4. Ballygowan, 5. Baluachraig, 6. Cairnbaan, 7. Carnassarie Castle, 8. Carnassarie Cottage, 9. Creagantairbh, 10. Crinan, 11. Crinan Ferry, 12. Crubageen Boulder, 13. Druim Buidhe, 14. Dunamuck, 15. Eurach, 16. Ford, 17. Glenmoine – Upper Largie, 18. Glennan, 19. Kilbride, 20. Kilmichael Glassary, 21. Loch Michean, 22. Nether Largie, 23. Ormaig, 24. Poltalloch, 25. Tigh a’ Charnain, 26. Torbhlaren, 27. Upper Largie

Standing Stone Decoration

28. Ballymeanoch, 29. Dunamuck, 30. Nether Largie, 31. Temple Wood, 32. Torbhlaren

Decoration on cists in cairns

33. Glennan, 34. Nether Largie Mid, 35. Nether Largie North, 36. Ri Cruin

Decoration in cists

37. Barsloisnoch, 38. Poltalloch

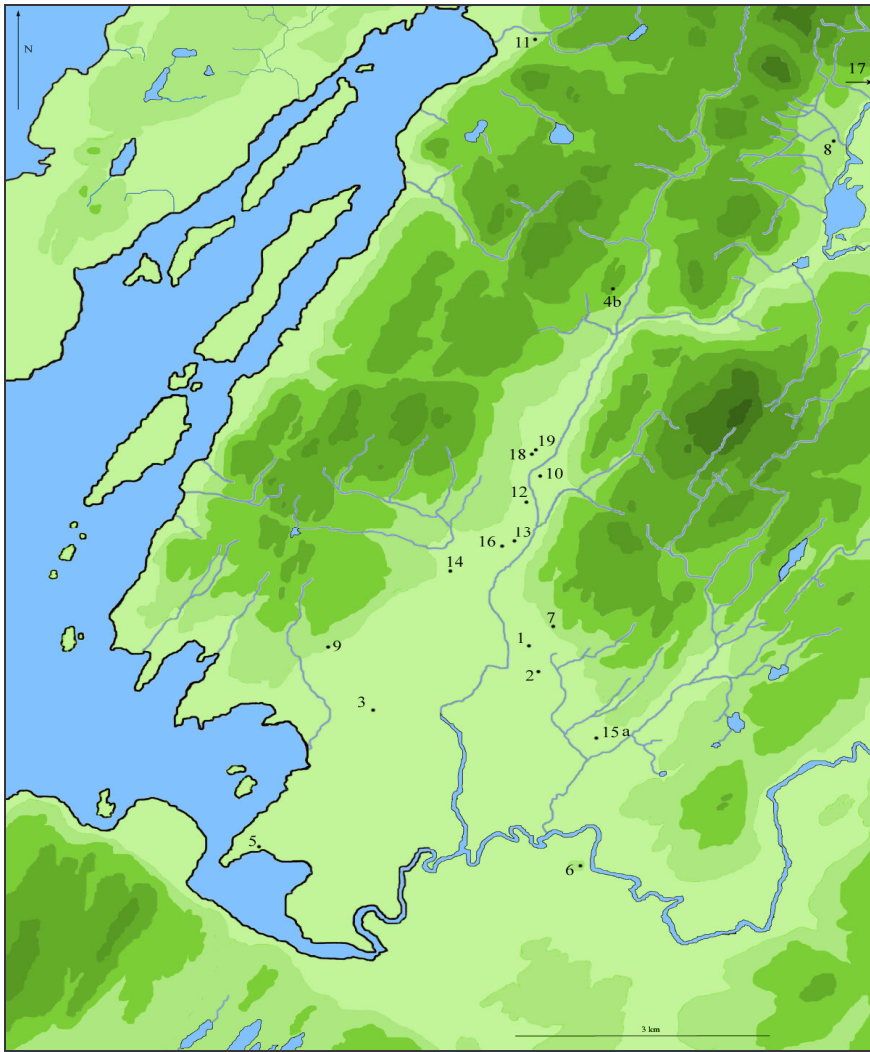


Figure 6.9: Selected artefacts discovered in Kilmartin

1. **Ballymeanoch Cist:** copper dagger and urn (lost)
2. **Ballymeanoch Henge:** Beaker in inserted cist
3. **Barsloisnoch cist:** Food vessel
4. **Carnassarie cairn (b):** Food vessel
5. **Crinan Ferry cave:** Beaker sherds
6. **Dunadd:** Carved stone ball, Food vessel sherd
7. **Dunchraigaig:** Food vessel, whetstone, greenstone axe, flint knife in cist 1 & 2, pottery from cairn
8. **Ford cist:** Food vessel
9. **Kilchoan:** Food vessel and flint implements throughout chamber
10. **Kilmartin Glebe Cairn:** Jet necklace, Food vessel associated with inhumation
11. **Kintraw:** 6 fluted jet beads from cairn
12. **Nether Largie North:** Ochre
13. **Nether Largie South:** Beaker and sherds, arrowheads, quartz from chamber, food vessels in cist
14. **Poltalloch Cist:** Beaker, Food vessel and flint knife, jet necklace and flint knife, food vessels
15. **Rhudil cairn (a):** Food vessels, flint knife
16. **Temple Wood:** Beaker, Barbed-and-Tanged arrowheads and scraper in inserted cist
17. **Torran:** Bronze hoard – spearheads, socketed gouge, socketed axes, rings, knife
18. **Upper Largie cists:** 3 cinerary urn and plano-convex flint knife
19. **Upper Largie Cursus:** 3 Beakers, 1 flint tool and flint arrowhead from associated pit, Food Vessel in another

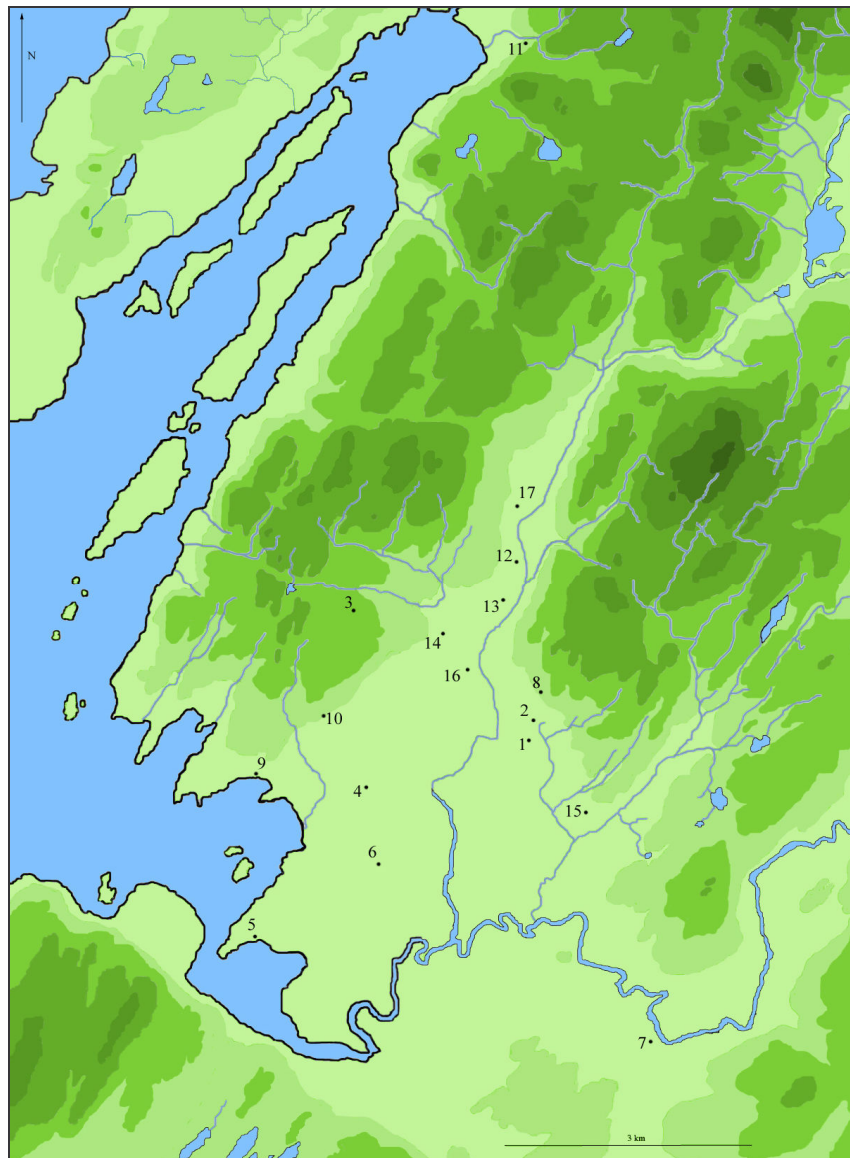


Figure 6.10: Distribution of surviving human and animal bone

1. **Ballymeanoch Henge:** remains of 3 inhumations in 2nd cist
2. **Ballymeanoch standing stones:** cremated bone, probably foundation deposit for stone G
3. **Bàrr a'Chuirn, cairn:** burnt bone
4. **Barsloisnoch cist:** remains of cremation burial
5. **Crinan Ferry cave:** possible remains of two individuals, pig bones/teeth
6. **Crinan Moss cist:** human bones possibly found (lost)
7. **Dunamuck:** human bones possibly found (lost)
8. **Dunchraigaig cairn:** burnt and unburned bone from 8 to 10 individuals
9. **Duntroon Cave:** assorted bones of possibly 6 individuals, red deer skeleton, sea-bird bones
10. **Kilchoan:** burnt bone in chamber recesses
11. **Kintraw:** cremated bone, Oxen and possibly sheep teeth, cockle/mussel shells
12. **Nether Largie North:** human molar tooth in central cist, , ox molar in 2nd grave
13. **Nether Largie South:** unburned and cremated bone, mixed bovine bones
14. **Poltalloch cists:** unburned and cremated bone from number of individuals
15. **Rhudil cairn:** remains of inhumation
16. **Ri Cruin cairn:** cremated bone in central cist
17. **Upper Largie cists:** burnt bone fragments in 3 cists



Figure 6.11: Map of the Netherlands and sites mentioned in the text

1. Anloo
2. Bargoosterveld
3. Bornwird
4. Bronneger
5. Drouwen
6. Ekelberg
7. Elp
8. Hooghalen
9. Kolhorn
10. Leeuwarden
11. Midlaren
12. Nieuw-Dordrecht bog trackway
13. Schipborg
14. Swifterbant cluster

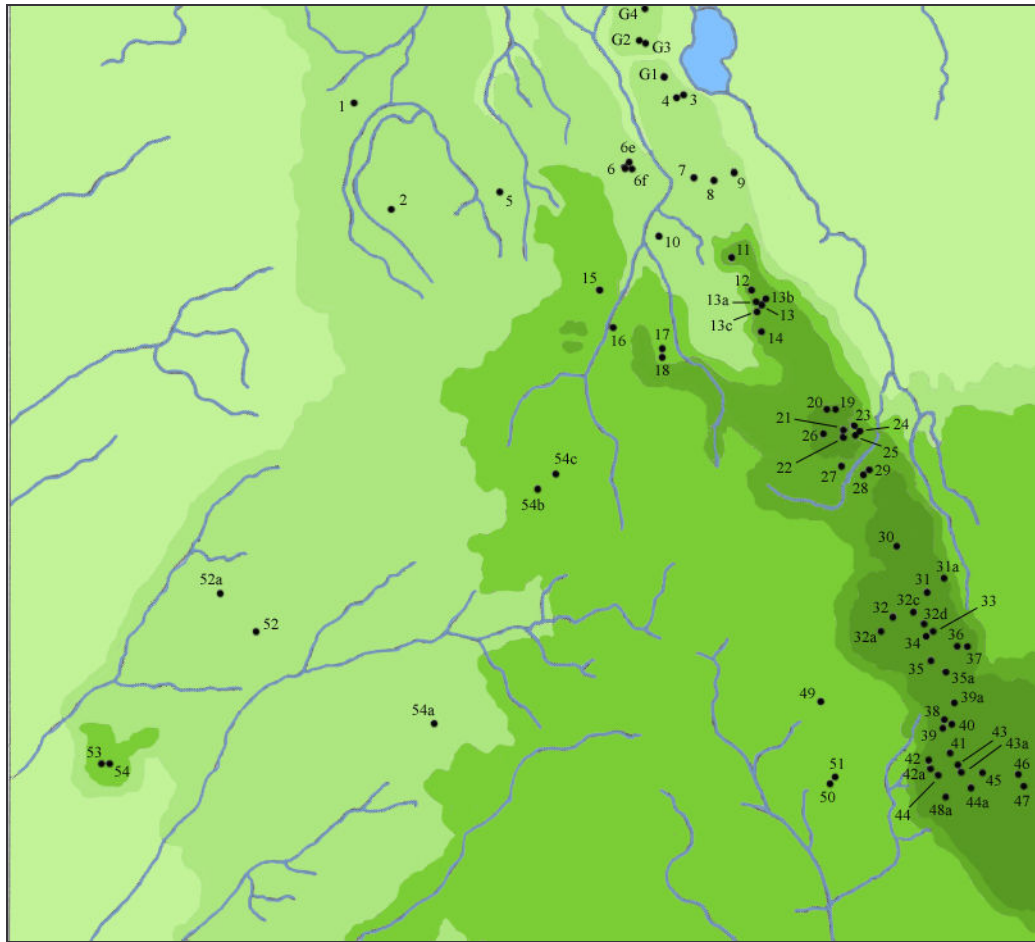
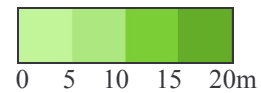


Figure 6.12: Distribution of Hunebedden



Hunebedden

G1 Noordlaren, D1 Steenberg, D2 Westervelde, D3) Midlaren-W, D4) Midlaren-O, D5 Zeijen
 D6 Tynaarlo, D7 Schipborg, D8 Anlo-N, D9 Noordlo, D10 Gasteren, D11 Anlo-Z, D12 Eext-es
 D13 Eexter grafkelder, D14 Eexterhalte, D15 Loon, D16 Balloo, D17 Rolde-N, D18 Rolde-Z
 D19 Drouwen-W, D20 Drouwen-O, D21 Bronneger-W, D22 Bronneger-O, D23 Bronneger-N
 D24 Bronneger-ZW, D25 Bronneger-ZO, D26 Drouwenerveld, D27 Borger, D28 Buinen-N
 D29 Buinen-Z, D30 Exlo-N, D31 Exlo-Z, D32 Odoorn, D34 Valthe-W, D35 Valthe-ZW, D36 Valthe-
 O², D37 Valthe-O, D38 Emmerveld-N, D39 Emmerveld-ZW, D40 Emmerveld-ZO, D41 Emmen-N,
 D42 Westenes-N, D43 Schimmeres, D44 Westenes, D45 Emmerdennen, D46 Angelsloo-N, D47
 Angelsloo-Z, D49 Schoonoord, D50 Nordsleen-N, D51 Nordsleen-Z, D52 Diever, D53 Havelte-W,
 D54 Havelte-O

Destroyed Hunebedden

F1Rijsterbos, O1 De Eeze, O2 Mander, G2 Glimmeres, G3 Glimmeres, G4 Onneres, D5a Zeijen
 D6a Tynaarlo, D6b Tynaarlo, D6c Tynaarlo, D6f Tynaarlo, D13b Eext, D13c Eext, D27a Borger
 D27b Borger, D31a Zuider Veld, D32a Wester esch, D32b Exlooërweg, D32c Exlooërweg, D32d
 Noorder Veld, D33 Valtherveld, D35a Valther spaan of bosch, D37a Valtherbosch, D42a Westenes
 D43a Schimmeres, D44a Saalhof, D45a Emmerhout, D45b Weerdinge, D48a Noordbarge, D52a
 Wapserzand, D54a Spier, D54b Hooghalen, D54c Hooghalen

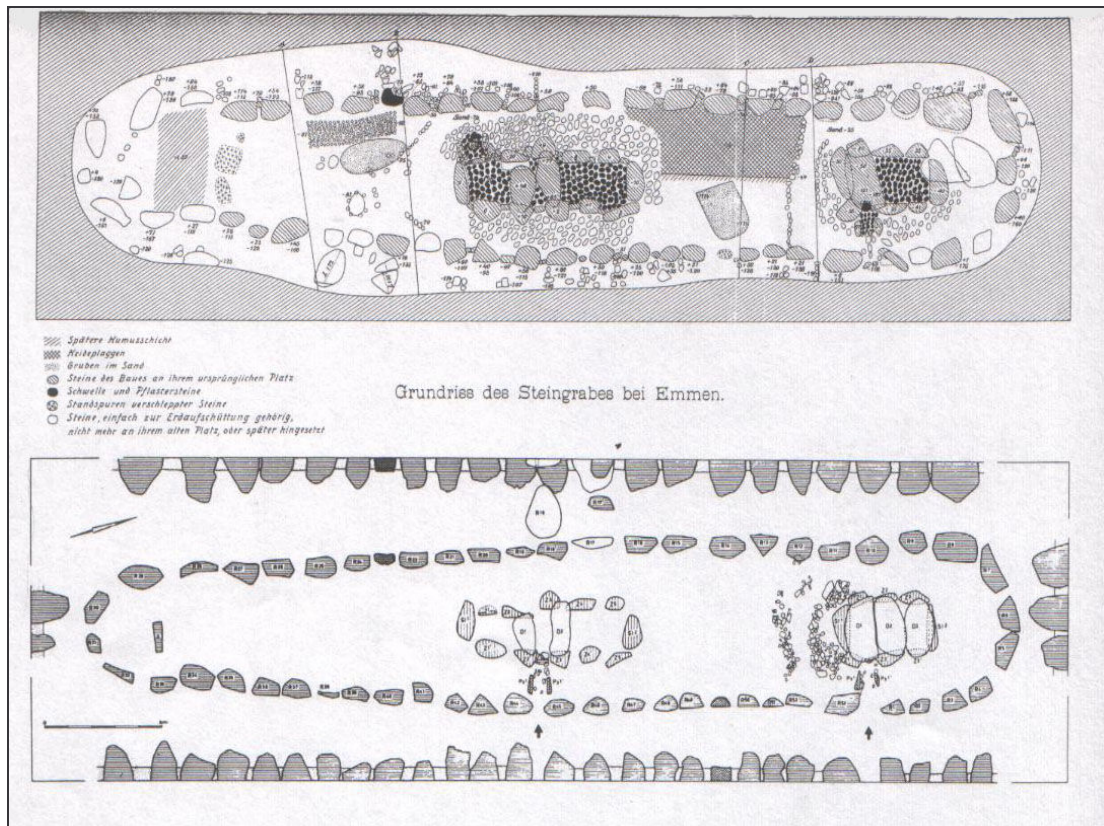


Figure 6.13: Plan of *hunebed* D43 Schimmeres (after Bakker, 1992, 161)

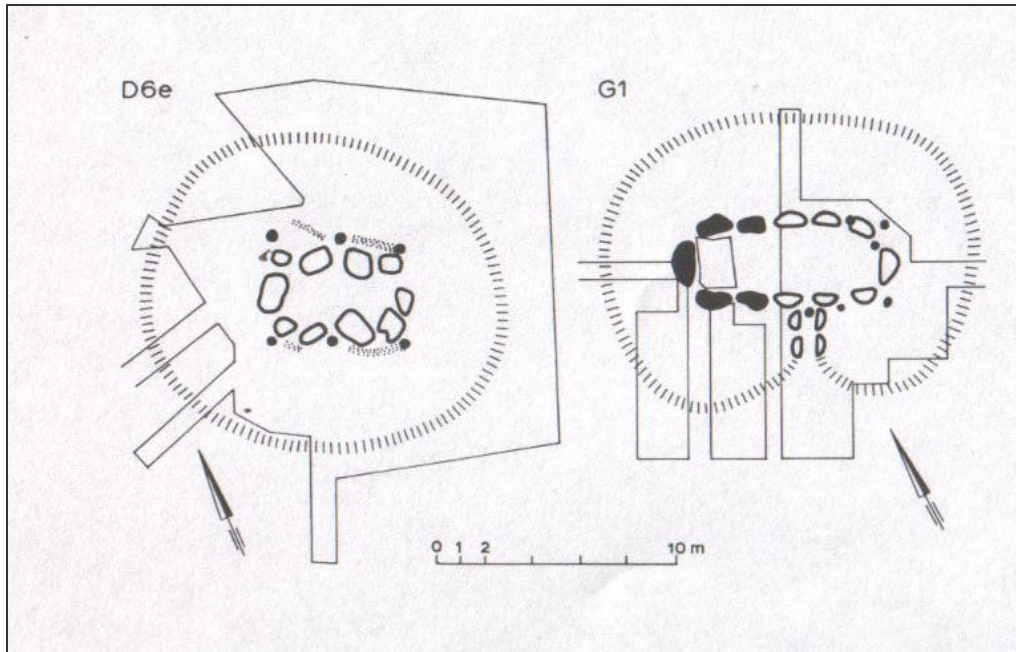


Figure 6.14: Plan of *hunebedden* D6e Tynaarlo and G1 Noordlaren (after Bakker, 1992, 166)

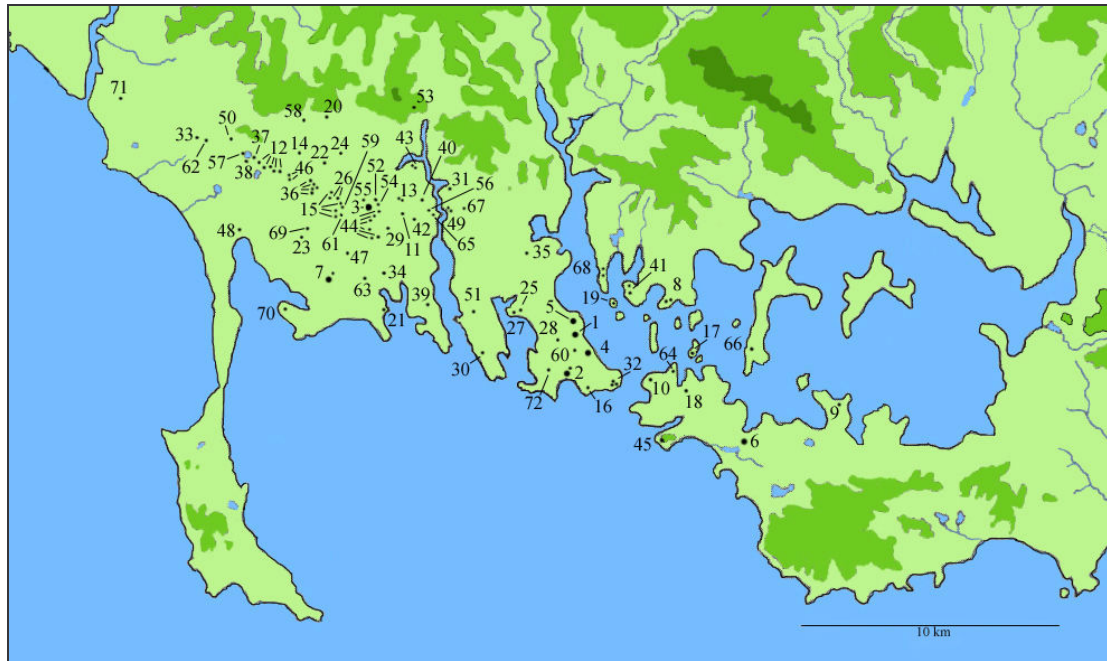
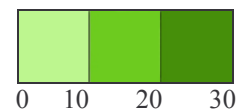


Figure 6.15: Distribution of *tertes tumulaires* and *tumulus carnaécens*



Tumulus Carnaécens

1 Er Grah, 2 Kerlud, 3 Le Moustoir, 4 Mané-er-Hroeck, 5 Mané Lud, 6 Tumiac, 7 Tumulus St Michel

Tertes Tumulaires

8 Berchis, 9 Bernon, 10 Bilgroix, 11 Bois du Latz, 12 Bovelann, 13 Clos Pernel, 14 Coët Houarem, 15 Er Gradouresse Crucuny, 16 Falaise, 17 Gavrinis 1, 18 Grah Niaul, 19 Ile Senix, 20 Ker Bois, 21 Kerinis, 22 Kerdual, 23 Kergonan, 24 Kergrim, 25 Kergo, 26 Kerguelvan, 27 Keriavel, 28 Kerlegonan, 29 Kerlescan, 30 Kerneveste, 31 Kerorang, 32 Kerpenhir, 33 Kervazic, 34 Kervinio, 35 Lann Kerran, 36 Lann Granvillarec, 37 Lannec er Gadouer, 38 Lannec er Menhir, 39 La Vigie, 40 Le Castellic, 41 Le Couëdic, 42 Le Lac, 43 Le Lizo, 44 Le Manio I, 45 Le Petit-Mont, 46 Le Puç, 47 Le Pusseau, 48 Le Vieux Moulin, 49 Luffang, 50 Mané Bras, 51 Mané Carnaplaye, 52 Mané Cristual, 53 Mané er Blei, 54 Mané er Houar Tyhir, 55 Mané er Layeu, 56 Mané Hui, 57 Mané Net, 58 Mané Pleurec, 59 Mané Pochat Er Uieu, 60 Mané Rutual, 61 Mané Ty Ec, 62 Mein Glaz, 63 Montauban, 64 Montenzo, 65 Passage du Lac, 66 Pen-Hap, 67 Peudrec, 68 Pointe du Blair, 69 Runesto, 70 St Columban, 71 St Germain, 72 St Pierre-Lopérec

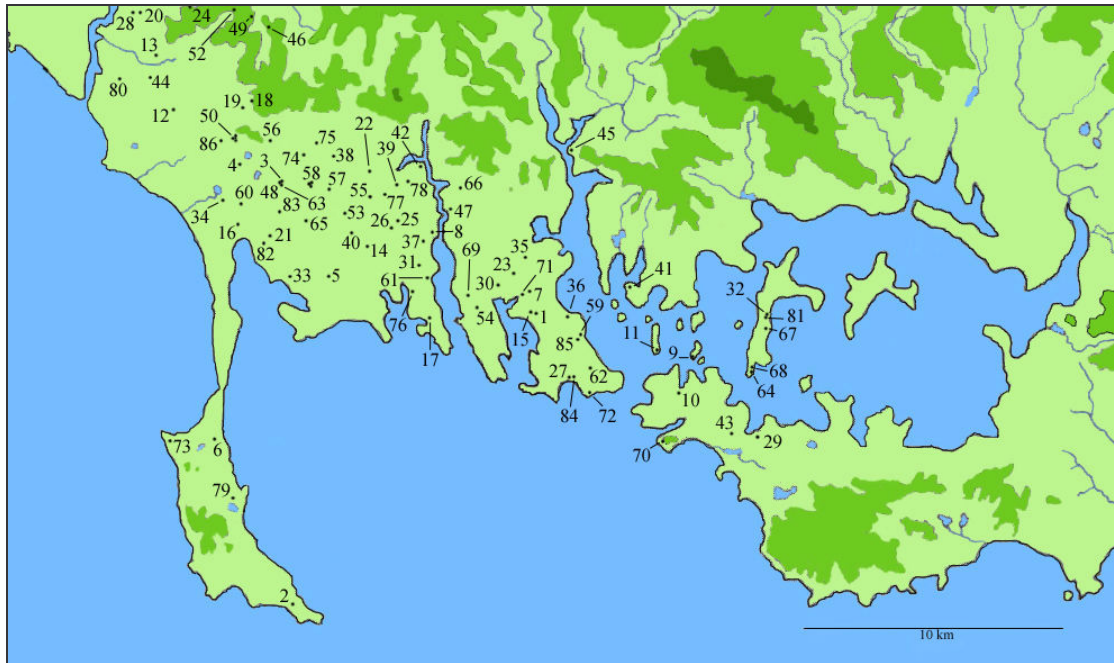


Figure 6.16: Distribution and inventory of known passage graves

Surviving Passage Graves

1.Coët Courzo 2.Conguel 3.Cosquer I & II 4.Crucuno 5.Cruz-Menquen 6.Dolmen du Roch 7.Er Mar
 8.Er Rohec 9.Gavrinis 10.Grah-Niohl 11.Île Longue 12.Kerangre 13.Kerbrevost 14.Kercado
 15.Kercadoret 16.Kerderenne 17.Kerdro Vihan 18.Keredo er Run 19.Keredo er Trion 20.Kergallon
 21.Kergavat 22.Kergo 23.Kerhan 24.Kerhuen 25.Kerléarec 26.Kerlescan 27.Kerlud 28.Kerlutu
 29.Kermaillard 30.Kermané 31.Kermarquer 32.Kerno 33.Keroch 34.Kerozillé 35.Kerran
 36.Kerveresse 37.Kervilor 38.Klud-er-Yer 39.La Madeleine 40.Lann Mané Kermario 41.Le Couédic
 42.Le Lizo 43.Le Net 44.Les Sept-Saints 45.Le Rocher au Bono 46.Loqueltas 47.Luffang 48.Mané Beg
 er Heur 49.Mané-Bihan de Mané-er-Hloh 50.Mané Bras I, II & III 52.Mané Bras du Mané-er-Hloh
 53.Mané Brizil 54.Mané Carnaplaye 55.Mané Graver 56.Mané Groh 57.Mané Keriavel 58.Mané
 Kerioned A, B & C 59.Mané Lud 60.Mané Remor 61.Mané Roullarde 62.Mané Rutual 63.Men er Roh
 64.Nioul I & II 65.Noterio 66.Parc Guren I & II 67.Pen-Hape 68.Pen-Nioul I & II 69.Petit Kerambel
 70.Petit Mont 71.Peudrec 72.Pierres-Plats 73.Pors Guen 74.Quelvezin 75.Queric Er-Mané I & II
 76.Queric en Arvor 77. Roch Feutet 78. Rogarte 79.Roh-en-Aud 80.Roh-er-Argant 81.Roh Vras
 82.Rondossec I & II 83. Runesto 84.St Pierre Lopérec 85.Table des Marchands 86.Ty-er-Mané

Inventory

(**Arradon**) Er Roh, Le Treh (**Arzon**) Bilgroid (**Baden**) Lanester, Fort-Espanyol, Toulvern, Mané
 Venguen (**Belz**) Bocennic Vras, Kerdonnerh, Kerclément, Lann Keiber, (**Bono (le)**) Kerdrech,
 Kernouz, Mané-Verh, (**Carnac**) Kerdrain, Kergroix (Mané-Hir), Kerlagad, Roh-en-taltec, Grah-trimen,
 Kergarec, Kergouret, Kergrinm (Lann Poudèque), Kerluir, Mané-er-Grageux, Mané-er-Ouah-Tyhir,
 (**Crach**) Mané-Rohénézezel, Vieguarch, Mané-Seule, Kergoët, Kerléverit, Kerantrech, Kerdaniel,
 Rohnaro, (**Erdeven**) Kerhuel, Gadoueric, Keriourec, Kerjosselin, Kergaire, Bovelane, (**Étel**) Roh-er-
 Crès, Moulin du Sach, (**Ile-Aux-Moines**) La Vigie, Men-Guen, (**Ile D'Arz**) Pen Liousse, Pénéreau,
 (**Larmor-Baden**) Pen Lannic, Ile Berder, Ile Renault, (**Locmariaquer**) St-Pierre (Roh-er-Vil), St-
 Pierre (Er-Houéer), Kerpenhir, Kerlevarec, Kerdaniel, Kerjean, Pont-er-Len, (**Ploemel**) Kergonvo,
 Mané-Bogad, Kercret Ihuel, Locmaria, (**Plougoumelen**) Kerroyal, (**Plouharnel**) Kergazec, Kergonan,
 Kernehué, Mané Rouquelles, (**Plouhinec**) Kerouaren, Beg en Havre, (**Pluneret**) Mané Skaouen,
 (**Quiberon**) Beg-el-Lannec, Mané-Meur, Roh Priol, (**Riantec**) Roh-Parc-Néhué, (**St-Avé**) Plaisance,
 (**St-Philibert**) Mané Kervehenec, Er Pointe, Er Grageu, Mané-er-Gongre, Kerlioret, Pointe ar Beleg,
 Kernavetse, Mané-Canaluye, (**St-Pierre-Quiberon**) Port-Blanc, Beg-Portivy, Beg-en-Noz, Kerniscop,
 (**Sarzeau**) Men-Hiaul, Treste, Brilhac, (**Sene**) Ile de Boede, Gornévèse, (**Surzur**) Talhouet

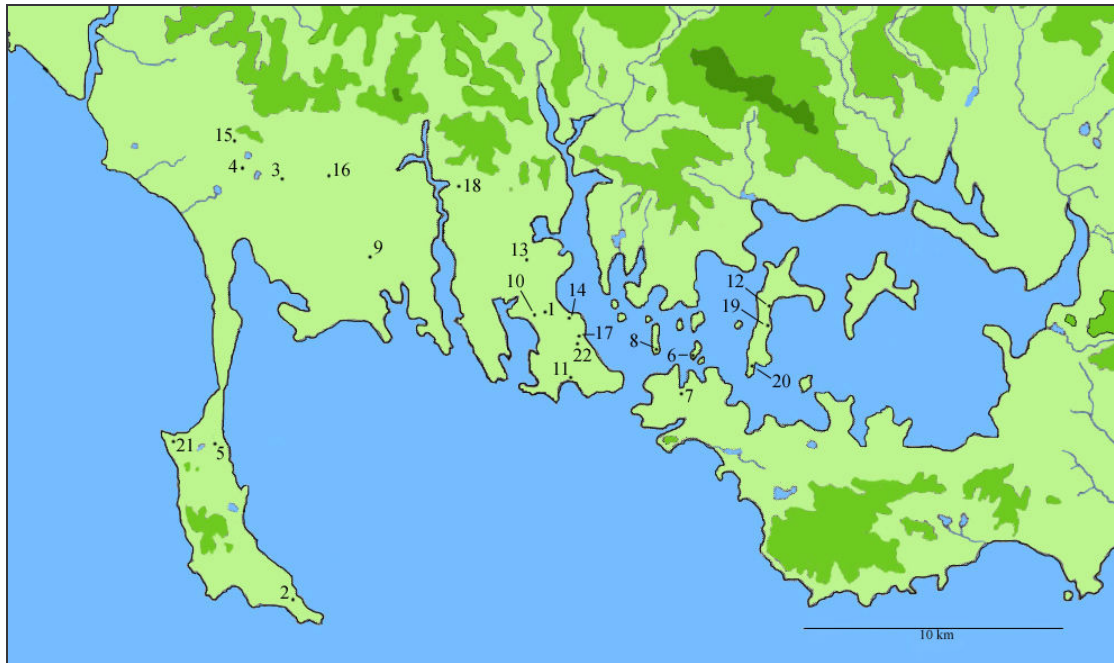
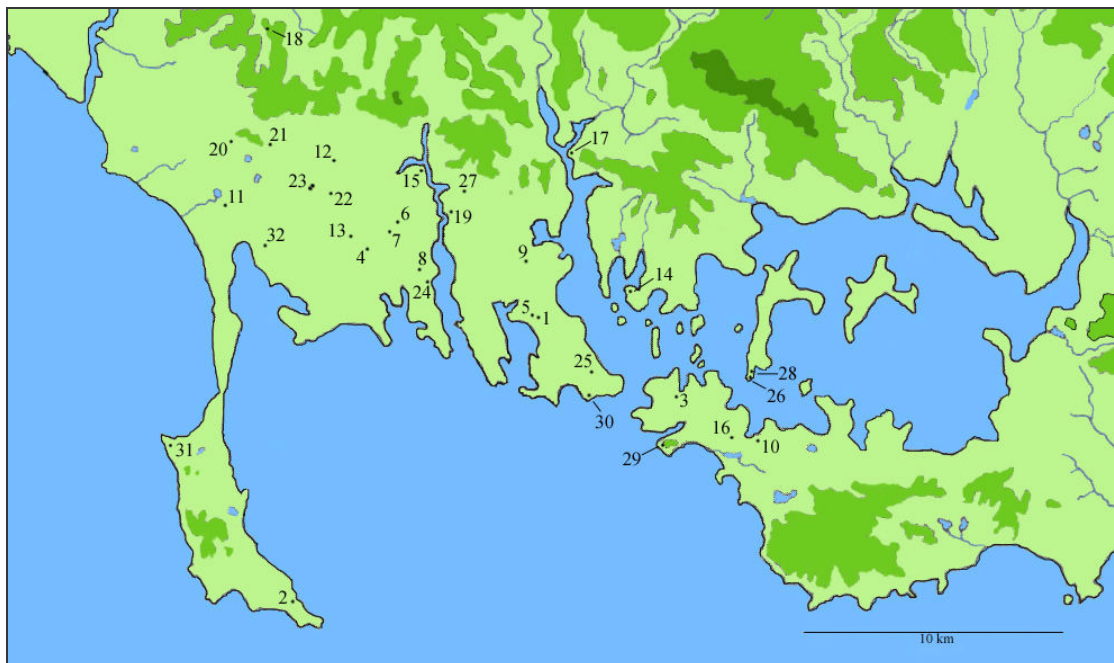


Figure 6.17: Distribution of a) earlier

1.Coët Courzo 2.Conguel 3.Cosquer, 4.Crucuno 5.Dolmen du Roch 6.Gavrinis 7.Grah-Niohl 8.Île Longue 9.Kercado 10.Kercadoret 11.Kerlud 12.Kerno 13.Kerran 14.Kerveresse 15.Mané Bras 16.Mané Kerioned A 17.Mané Lud 18.Parc-Guren I & II 19.Penhape 20.Pen-Nioull 21.Pors Guen 22.Table de Marchands



and b) later passage graves

1.Coët Courzo 2.Conguel 3.Grah-Niohl 4.Kercado 5.Kercadoret 6.Kerléarec 7.Kerlescan 8.Kermarquer 9.Kerran 10.Kermaillard 11.Kerozillé 12.Klud-er-Yer 13.Lann Mané Kermario 14.Le Couédic 15.Le Lizo 16.Le Net 17.Le Rocher au Bono 18.Locquetas 19.Luffang 20.Mané Bras 21.Mané Groh 22.Mané Keriaval 23.Mané Kerioned B & C 24. Mané Roullarde 25.Mané Rutual 26.Nioull 27.Parc-Guren II 28.Pen-Nioull 29.Petit-Mont 30.Pierres-Plats 31.Pors Guen 32.Rondossec

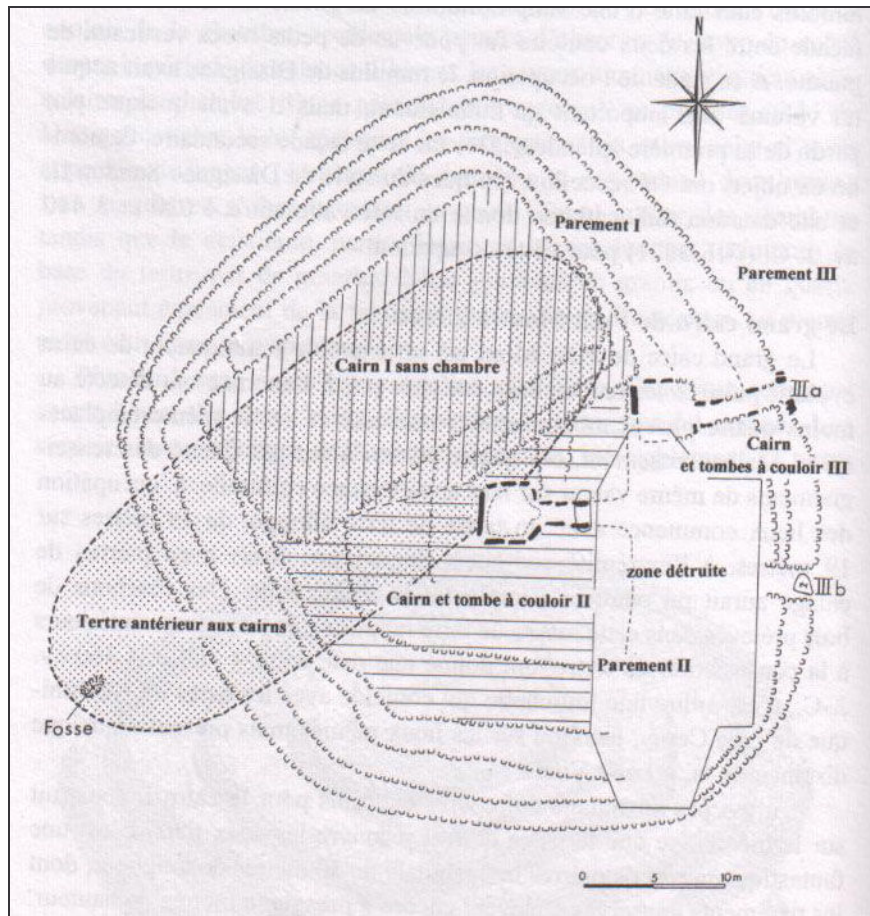


Figure 6.18: Plan of Petit Mont (after Giot et al, 1998, 316)

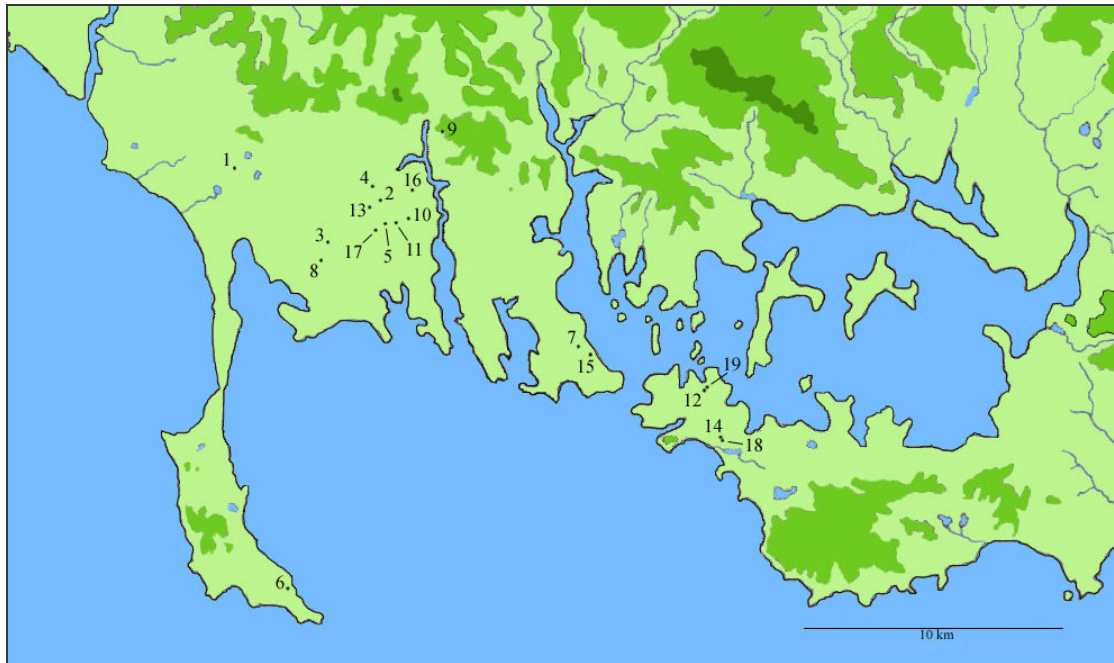
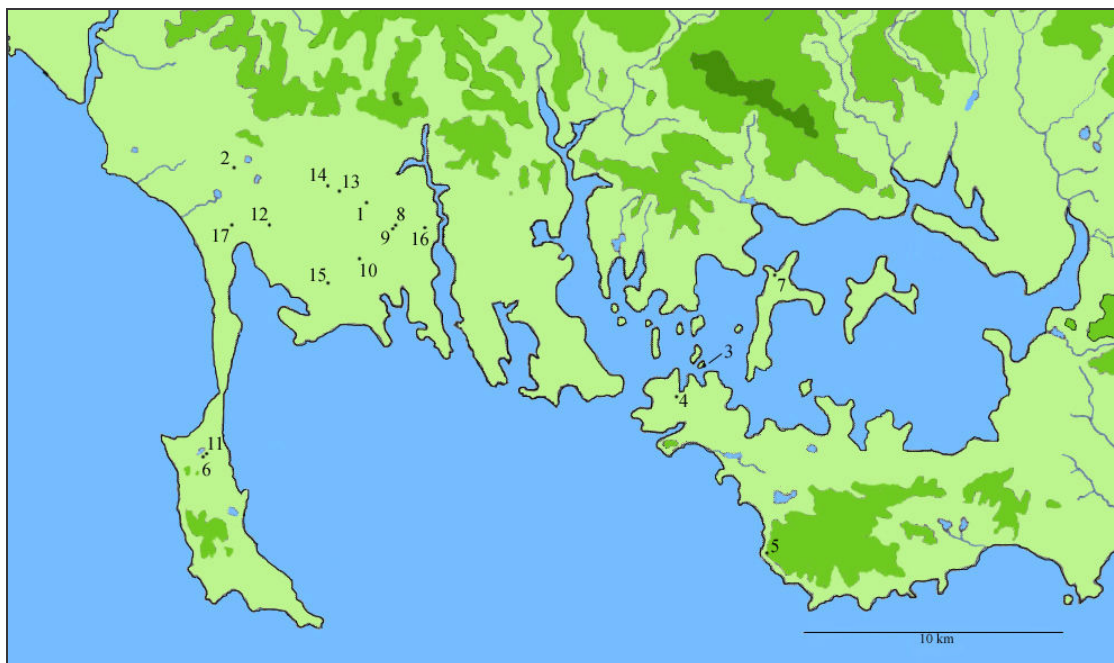


Figure 6.19: Distribution of the principal a) individual and small groups of menhirs

1.Chaise du Pape 2.Champ de la Croix menhir 3.Crifol 4.Crucuny menhir 5.Géant de Manio
6.Goulvarch 7.Grand menhir Brisé 8.Kerderff 9.Kerin-Brigitte 10.Kerlescan hamlet menhir
11.Kerlescan tumulaire menhir 12.Kermaillard 1 & 2 13.Le Moustoir 14.Le Net 15.Mané-er-Hroek
16.Mané Roch 17.Manio I menhir 18.Men-ar-Palud 19. Scaleshir



and b) stone circles, cromlechs and alignments

1.Champ de la Croix 2.Crucuno rectangle 3.Er Lannic 4.Grah-Nioull 5.Grand Rohu 6.Kerbourgneq
7.Kergonan 8.Kerlescan alignments 9.Kerlescan W & N cromlechs 10.Kermario alignments and
cromlech 11.Le Moulin de St Pierre Quiberon 12.Le Vieux Moulin 13.Mané Keriavel alignments
14.Mané Kerioned 'rectangle' 15.Ménéec alignments and cromlech 16.Petit-Ménéec 17.St Barbe
Alignment and cromlech











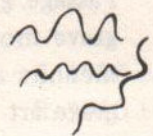
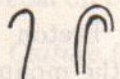
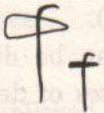
1		5		9		MOTIFS
2	 	6		10		1 Cupmark
3	 	7		11		2 U motif
4		8				3 Yoke
						4 Crook
						5 Cross
						6 Angle 7
						7 Axe-triangular blade
						8 Hafted axe
						9 Mané Rutual type axe
						10 Buckler
						11 Wavy lines

Figure 6.20: Passage grave motifs (after Shee Twohig, 1981, 54)

Period	Pottery Style/ Culture	Sites	Social Trends
Mesolithic c.8,500- c.4,000BC		Obanian middens to the north	Shell middens on coast
Early Neolithic c.4,000 – 3,200 BC	Achnacreebeag pottery? Carinated pottery		Hunter-gatherer activity until c.3,500 BC
	Grimston ware Beacharra ware (c. 3,500 – 2,000)	Timber phase at Temple Wood possibly as early as 3,500 BC.	Farming
	Developed ‘carinated bowl’ (Sheridan, 2000) Collared bowls Lyles Hill-Grimston derivatives	Earliest Clyde cairns possibly built at Kilchoan, Nether Largie South	
Middle Neolithic c.3,200 – 2,500 BC	Grooved Ware	Chambered cairns constructed Henge at Ballymeanoch Standing stones Cup-and-Ring marks	Monuments constructed at Machrie Moor c.3,000 BC More extensive land clearance
Late Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age c.2,500 – 1,700 BC	Beakers Food Vessels	Barrows over individual cists Cists inserted at several monuments Kerb Cairns at Ballymeanoch, temple Wood and Kintraw	Individual burial ‘Cemeteries’

Figure 6.21: Chronology of activity at Kilmartin valley

Period	Pottery Style/ Culture	Sites	Social Trends
Mesolithic c.8,500–c.4,400 BC		Late Mesolithic sites similar to Swifterbant type	Little activity identified away from coast
Early Neolithic c.4,400 – 4,000 BC	Swifterbant	Bronneger	Little activity on upland plateau. Possible semi-permanent settlement at sites like Bronneger
Middle Neolithic A c.4,000 – 3,400 BC		Stray finds	Very little evidence for activity
Middle Neolithic B c.3,400 – 2,900 BC	TRB pottery phases A - E	<i>Hunebedden</i> first phase of construction likely includes sites; D30, D23, D54c, D43, D6e, D54b, D37a, G1, D54a, D26, D20, G2, D19, D14 based on pottery (Bakker, 1979b, 154-5). All <i>hunebedden</i> constructed by c. 2,900BC (Brindley, 1986, 105). Settlement sites indicated primarily by flint scatters.	Expansion into uplands. Slash + Burn hoe agriculture Hoards of axes and pottery Collective burial
Late Neolithic A c.2,900 – 2,500 BC	Late Havelte Single Grave Culture (“Protruding Foot” beakers – a Corded Ware tradition) Aoo beakers	Settlement sites at Kolhorn and Bornwird	Change to plough agriculture. Individual burial under barrows Appearance of metal Hoards become less frequent Possible settlement expansion to the north
Late Neolithic B c.2,500 – 1, 800 BC	Bell Beakers - “Maritime” Veluwe beakers Barbed Wire beakers	Oldeboorn settlement to south with potential house plans and Veluwe pottery	Evidence of metal-working Arrowheads in numbers through the landscape ‘Warrior’ assemblages appear in a few graves e.g. Drouwen and Hijkn

Figure 6.22: Chronology of activity at the Drenthe Plateau

Period	Pottery Style/ Culture	Sites	Social Trends
Mesolithic c.8,500-c.4,800 BC		Téviec and Höedic	Shell midden sites on coast
Early Neolithic c. 4,800-4,500 BC		Earliest <i>tertes tumulaires</i>	Little evidence for Neolithic activity
Middle Neolithic A c.4,500 – 4,200 BC	Cerny derivatives; Chambon, Pinacle, Sandun, and Early Castellar	<i>Tertes Tumulaires</i> constructed Decorated menhirs	Axe circulation
Middle Neolithic B c.4,200 – 3,500 BC	Carn, Le Souc'h, Chasséen, Kerlivor, Late Castellar	Passage graves built and associated 'art' Grand Tumuli constructed	Land clearance in Southern Morbihan Communal burial
Late Neolithic A c.3,500 – 2,850 BC	Vase-supports Conguel, Groh-Colle, Kerugou, Quessoy	Later passage graves built and associated 'art' Alignments Cromlechs? Gavrinis entrance blocked up c.3,343-2,910 <i>Dolmens Simples</i> constructed (Patton, 1993, 153), though hard to date <i>Dolmens Simples</i>	Axe circulation intensifies Earlier passage graves closed Expansion inland Grand Pressigny flint used
Late Neolithic B / Chalcolithic c.2,850 – 2,250 BC	Bell Beakers SOM, Kerugou	Kerlescan closed by Bell Beaker deposit	Plusselin abandoned c. 2,700 Individual burial Later passage graves closed

Figure 6.23: Chronology of activity at Southern Morbihan

Chapter 7: Past Approaches Analysed

7.1 Introduction

The historiography of archaeology is assuming an increasingly important position in the discipline in general and this has focused attention upon how archaeological knowledge is constructed. The subscription to an essentially progressive and cumulative system of knowledge production has been heavily criticised from within the history of science (Kuhn, 1996) as well as within history (Foucault, 2003), anthropology (Bell, 1992), geology (Gould, 1987) and archaeology itself (Trigger, 2003). The history of archaeology is traditionally portrayed as a series of episodes whereby continual improvement in methods and techniques allows an ever more accurate representation of the past. The works of Michel Foucault (1967, 1979, and 1997) and Thomas Kuhn (1996) have highlighted the flaws in this ‘Whiggish’ conception of history and instead focus on how knowledge was produced within a particular historical context. In light of this, investigation of how the approaches and methods of the past have come to affect modern interpretation is an important consideration. On a general level this has been attempted in relation to archaeological theory (Trigger, 2003), the development of prehistory (Daniel, 1975, 1971) and the influence of antiquarianism (Piggott, 1976).

The history of research in the three areas under consideration provides a good arena for discussion of the production of archaeological knowledge. All three areas have been the subject of archaeological interest for a period of time that spans the formative stages of the discipline up until its current modern incarnation. The most important period of this interest can be traced back to the 19th century and the exploration of most of the main sites discussed by a small number of individuals. Examining the sets of both social and archaeological concerns that shaped the initial identification, excavation and interpretation of particular sites, as well as whole landscapes, brings with it a set of specifically historical problems. Identifying causes, effects, influences and stimuli from a complex and copious array of sources is the first problem. Providing a coherent narrative that accounts for the most important of these

factors in a meaningful way is the next. A good example of these difficulties when disentangling such a complex mesh of factors are the problems faced when trying to explain the rise in public demand for archaeological publication and depiction of antiquity from the 19th century onwards. Initially this is embodied in the employment of artists to illustrate antiquarian tours, such as Friedrich's work in the German province of Rügen (Reusch, 1999) and develops with popular accounts of excavation and discovery such as Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, published in 1848-49 (Daniel, 1975, 72). Is this the result then of stunning archaeological finds (such as those of Schliemann at Troy and Mycenae in the 1870s and 80s or the Swiss lake dwellings in the 1850s) beginning to catch public imagination or does it arise from a growing sense of nationalism being kindled in Western European countries? Does the rise in public demand reflect a widening interest among the increasingly well-educated middle classes (Trigger, 1997, 117) fostering archaeology as a bourgeois version of an activity previously the preserve of the gentry, or is it connected to a growing dissatisfaction with classicist ideals? Can it be traced to the pioneering efforts of individuals such as Sir John Lubbock and his *Prehistoric Times* (first published 1865) in creating a new demand for the past, or was it a factor long in existence, enabled to flourish in the 19th century due to advancements in printer's technology allowing better quality reproduction at lower cost (Reusch, 1999, 98)? A simple, causal explanation is as unlikely as it is for every real social phenomenon (Bourdieu, 1999) and the likelihood is that a combination of all the factors, to a greater or lesser extent, were involved. However, the recurrence of several crucial themes emerge that clearly influenced early archaeologists such as the Reverend William Lukis and Canon William Greenwell. The intent of this chapter is the exploration of these themes and will hopefully not only inform as to why the past was viewed and reconstructed as it was, but also allow comparison with contemporary attitudes to prehistory. The three areas under consideration provide a barometer of such change, indicating both points of comparison and of departure over a long period of archaeological work and interpretation. This will emphasize how concerns in the present help shape attitudes to the past, as they did in the 19th century. Similarly, the fact that these landscapes are considered as they are today owes much to the way the 19th century excavators interpreted them. This in turn is affected by the aims and agendas of the early excavators at a time when nationalist and class issues rumbled to the fore.

Furthermore, Greenwell and Lukis worked at a time considered to mark the passing from a period of investigation traditionally labelled as ‘antiquarian’ to the beginnings of a ‘scientific’ archaeology, characterised by evolutionary concerns. For Chapman, the years 1860 to 1870 see archaeology developing from an ‘essentially dilettantist avocation’ to ‘an organised discipline’ (1989, 34). This therefore allows analysis of a subject over a period traditionally viewed as transitory and highlights the similarities and contrasts between two neighbouring, and also contrasting, periods in the development of archaeology. The legacy of these early periods is best approached by investigating the concerns of this ‘antiquarian’ and ‘archaeological’ paradigm, for which Kuhn’s (1996) model provides a structure⁴. The sets of conventions, aims, and methods that informed the early approaches to archaeology as well as the audience, both archaeological and general, to which their findings are addressed, have an important bearing both on past work as well as resurfacing in the themes of modern accounts. Before addressing these wider concerns, the biographies of the main figures of Greenwell and Lukis will be examined alongside the archaeological and wider communities in which they interacted. This will provide the basis for locating their work within a wider field of archaeological research.

7.2 Histories of Research: Greenwell and Lukis

Three central figures are especially associated with the areas discussed, Canon W. Greenwell, the Reverend W.C. Lukis and Professor A.E. Van Giffen. Van Giffen worked in a later period in which archaeology was firmly established as a discipline and as such his work was subject to different influences and stresses. However, as the influence of the intellectual climate of the early 19th century, dependant on Romanticism and antiquarianism, affected Lukis and Greenwell, so did the later half of the 19th century, with its evolutionary and empirical concerns, affect Van Giffen’s generation of archaeologists. His work will be examined at the end of the chapter. Firstly, this section will focus upon the previous two early archaeologists (see **figure 7.1**), working within a subject that was beginning to emerge in its modern form from an antiquarian tradition. W. Greenwell (1820-1918) and W.C. Lukis (1817-1892)

⁴ This has been attempted in relation to ‘prehistory’ (see Sterud, 1973).

were both born around the same time as Queen Victoria (1819-1901). When she assumed the throne in 1837 the antiquarian period of archaeology is traditionally seen as drawing to a close, to be replaced by a burgeoning and more 'scientific' discipline (Piggott, 1976, 129). Before this time, neither man had begun their work into the prehistory of Europe. Although Greenwell is thought to have first excavated in 1847 (Kinnes, 1985, 10) it was not until the 1860s that he began his extensive series of excavations, including that in Kilmartin valley in October of 1864. The earliest plan attributable to Lukis dates back to 1839 (Atkinson, 1976, 112) and from this point up until the early 1880s he worked in a number of areas of Europe, including in Yorkshire with Greenwell, Brittany with Dryden and in Drenthe, exploring the *Hunebedden*. Greenwell's work culminates in 1877 with publication of his *British Barrows*, in collaboration with George Rolleston, although he continued to work into the 20th century, by then into his eighties. Lukis' work on megaliths was intended to be published in totality by the Society of Antiquaries in 1880, though a fire at the printers resulted in only partial publication (Atkinson, 1976, 112). This unfortunate circumstance prevented Lukis' work from being more widely received and likely denied him his place amongst the more celebrated contributors to prehistory. It did not entirely prevent him from publishing however, in the form of guidebooks (Lukis, 1875b), site reports (Lukis, 1866, 1868), journal articles (Lukis, 1864, 1885) and pamphlets on archaeological matters (Lukis, 1875a).

The personal histories of both men are illuminating when attempting to characterise the type of person initially interested in antiquities in the 19th century. Both Lukis and Greenwell became Anglican ministers (in 1841 and 1844 respectively) after a university education at Durham, for Greenwell, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, for Lukis. Their religious background may count against both men when their work is evaluated within a modern context; a parallel is provided by their near contemporary Dean William Buckland (1784-1856). His work is treated harshly within a modern context and his religious position is identified as a central problem, whereas his pupil Charles Lyell (1797-1875), whose secular credentials are much easier to identify, is better suited to having his work incorporated within a progressive history of archaeological thought (Cook, 2003, 181). The popularity of archaeological pursuits with the clergy is reflected in the high proportion of clergymen within the ranks of the Society of Antiquaries at the turn of the century, a

trend identifiable in antiquarian societies across Britain (Hudson, 1986, 18-21, Levine, 1986, 10). Such a profession accorded enough free time for exploration of prehistoric monuments. However, it would be disingenuous to describe their work as equating to a hobby. The considerable number of sites excavated and planned suggests considerable dedication, and it would be tempting to identify a Protestant work ethic at the heart of this were it not for the similar efforts of antiquaries in Catholic countries. Lukis belonged to a wealthy family and his father, F.C. Lukis (1788-1871), was also interested in antiquities and had explored several prehistoric monuments, including Le Dehus on Guernsey. Born in the Channel Islands, Lukis was well versed in French and he exhibited a curiosity in the archaeology of the continent which led to his wide range of interests, including Dutch, French and Algerian sites as well as those within Britain, providing a suitably broad base for archaeological analogy. Greenwell on the other hand was more insular, though he worked throughout England, including excavating at Grimes Graves, and forayed into Scotland. It is also interesting to note that through his dealings in antiquities Greenwell managed to turn a profit (Kinnes, 1985, 10), bucking a trend of reliance on another source of income in order to be actively interested in archaeology. What becomes immediately apparent in their respective biographies is how easily they can be labelled 'middle class'. The close identification of archaeology with the growth and increasing power of the middle class has been well documented (Trigger, 1997, 151, Hudson, 1986, 40, Levine, 1986, 8), and the concerns of Lukis and Greenwell can be identified with wider rhythms beating across Western Europe.

On a practical level, the choice of employment and the relative wealth of both of these men allowed time for their archaeological activities. The close association of archaeology and bourgeois interests made excavation, collection and survey socially acceptable pursuits. Both had been university-educated and were familiar with the contemporary spheres of publication and archaeological societies. Lukis was a member of several archaeological societies⁵ and was definitely a realist in terms of the vagaries of publication (1875a, i). Greenwell was also a member of a large number of societies including the Newcastle Archaeological Society, the Durham and

⁵ Including membership of the *Société Archologique de Nantes*, a fellow of the *Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries*, a member of the *Société Polymathique du Morbihan*, a fellow of the *Society of Antiquaries* and even the *Société de Climatologie Algérienne*

Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological society, the Berwickshire Natural History Society, the Tyneside Naturalists and the Surtees Society. A recurring theme in the range of societies of which Greenwell was a member, and reflective of a wider trend, is the emphasis they place on regional interests. Northumbria as a region for example, exerted a coherent local identity which is lost in generalised accounts of 'nationalism' (Sweet, 2004). This likely affected Greenwell, although he later went on to carry out most of his archaeological work in Yorkshire, another county with a strong regional identity. What is also apparent is the range of interests that these groups represent, from architecture to natural history. The importance of scientific and historical societies cannot be over stated for the early development of archaeology. Increasing specialisation, a powerful trend towards the end of the 19th century, had not yet weakened the Victorian ideal of a well-rounded interest in a vast array of subjects, and dilettantism had not yet assumed its modern pejorative meaning. Prominent antiquarians were thus often members of a vast array of societies, and were heavily influenced from subject areas outside of archaeology. Lukis and Greenwell, both having been elected to the Society of Antiquaries, were also likely to meet with scientists, geologists, anthropologists and historians who numbered archaeology or prehistory amongst their many interests. This would have provided a wealth of material to draw upon when both came to write their archaeological work. Societies also served to provide a forum for like-minded people of similar social and economic outlooks, in many ways operating in a similar manner to a club, with all the attendant opportunities for social mobility (Levine, 1986, 11) and security (Hudson, 1986, 13) that it afforded. In this way the societies functioned less as a backdrop and more as motor for success (Chapman, 1989, 35), whether defined in archaeological or socio-economic terms. On a local level, the rise of the county archaeological societies, coupled with the near completion of the rail network⁶ provided a new source of appreciation for archaeological monuments and thus aided their preservation in Britain (Hudson, 1986, 43).

As ordained Protestant ministers, it is tempting to set the work of Greenwell and Lukis against the backdrop of the rise of nationalism across Europe and resultant backlash in Britain, and especially Germany, against the neo-classicism of a

⁶ The construction of the rail network itself revealed a considerable amount of archaeological material (Trigger, 2003, 149).

perceived, predominantly Catholic, threat. This is further emphasised by the dominance of Protestant denominations amongst clergy involved with archaeology at the time (Levine, 1986, 9). The memory of the sudden upheaval in the late 18th century by the American and French Revolutions and in the early 19th century by the Napoleonic Wars was periodically resurrected during the 19th century (Colley, 1992, 5) and was firmly connected with neo-classical design and principles. This resulted in a rejection of ideologies such as neo-classicism that carried connotations of continental nationalism, and helped give rise to a background of British nationalism in which the study of the indigenous monuments of the Atlantic fringe would appear an attractive proposition. These concepts fed into a wider Gothic Revival stressing indigenous ‘Teutonic’ Christian strength contrasted against the Classical, and therefore pagan, ideal (Levine, 1986, 4). Greenwell sets out his own ideas of a shared English past, possible to recreate if only the archaeological record were sufficiently forthcoming:

“Our own English ancestors might, no doubt, have been understood by us in many of their great characteristics, in their obedience to law, their love of justice and of freedom, and their aptitude for self-government, for these by an unswerving tradition have passed down, by slow gradations of change, unto ourselves” (1877, 58).

Lukis authored a strange pamphlet⁷ in 1882, and apparently read this at a meeting of the York College of Rosicrucians. The anti-Catholic sentiment is obvious and criticism of ‘Continental’ writers by Lukis (1875a, 26-27) can be found as a recurring theme. It is perhaps only natural that a sense of British nationalism can be traced within their work, particularly in light of British Imperial history during the 19th century.

The wider social milieu of Romanticism doubtless exercised an influence on Greenwell and Lukis, though both appear to appeal to the Enlightenment principle of fact-recovery over the more imaginative aspects of antiquarian times. Lukis is keen to distance himself from his ‘antiquarian ancestors’ (1875a, 14) and distinguish his own work from their imaginative foibles. Both stress the importance of primary data and establishing facts inductively. Lukis criticises previous archaeological accounts based

⁷ Entitled - *A New Year's Gift to the Pope, or the Freemasons Vindicated. A Reply to the Bull of Excommunication of Pope Benedict XIV, 1751; Together with a Copy of the Bull. An Epistolary Correspondence Between a Neapolitan and a Priest of the Roman Church*

on this premise (1875a, 14). It is interesting however to note the survival of Romantic influence upon the arch-inductivist Sir Richard Coalt-Hoare more than a generation earlier in his *Ancient Wiltshire*, first published in 1812 and often referred to by Greenwell in his *British Barrows* (1877). This book, famous for speaking from ‘facts and not theory’ (the phrase already a cliché in Coalt-Hoare’s time), displayed an archaic spelling of the title on its frontispiece and was decorated in a suitably romantic way with small finds (Piggott, 1937, 36, Cook, 2003, 190). On similarly pragmatic grounds, the interest with local antiquity was seen as a cost-effective, and suitably patriotic, substitute for the Grand Tour (Piggott, 1937, 34, Reusch, 1999, 96, Haycock, 1999, 70) and was less subject to the disruptions of war. Lukis conforms to a long held antiquarian tradition in suggesting taking several routes as the best way to take in and appreciate prehistoric monuments (1875b, 3-30). These short tours through the countryside recall the illustrations of artists such as Casper David Friedrich and the tradition of describing monuments as though the reader were there, such as Stukeley’s account of Stonehenge and Avebury (Haycock, 1999, 70). Lukis stresses the importance of visiting the sites, especially due to the improvements in travel (1875a, 1), though reproductions in print provided an armchair alternative. Local antiquities were also readily available to be excavated, subject to the landowner’s permission. Both Lukis and Greenwell belonged to a tradition where excavation of large numbers of mounds, often quickly, was seen as both ethical and desirable. This is reflected in Lukis’ description of two contemporaries; “Both these priests are well-known antiquarians and zealous barrow-diggers” (1875a, 25). This is revealing in that the two qualities admired most by Lukis in the churchmen are their fame (in this case as it relates to their archaeological authority), and their work ethic. This is in agreement with the inductivist view, held by Greenwell whereby through collection of enough ‘facts’ a better understanding will present itself to an informed observer. Both men appear to hold such an appetite for labour that a strict division between work and leisure appears redundant (Atkinson, 1976, 115).

The specific interactions between Lukis, Greenwell and their contemporaries is informative and acts as a good introduction to wider connections within the field of production of archaeological work discussed in the remainder of this chapter. At a time when the number of archaeological practitioners along with the number of archaeological publications was relatively limited, an individual could reasonably

master a documentary record even though it was largely devoid of overall syntheses and had only recently been provided with the ordering principles of the three age system and a cultural evolutionary approach. Through the archaeological societies and the network of contacts established between these early archaeologists the web of connections and influences can be inferred with a good degree of confidence. Most archaeological practitioners would have known each other either through personal contact at society meetings or conferences, through correspondence by mail or by reading their published work (Levine, 1986, 19). Lukis especially is credited as a diligent reader of archaeological reports (Daniel, 1975), and both he and Greenwell visited several archaeological conferences and were in contact, or at least conflict with, most of the prominent British, and many foreign, archaeologists of the time including Sir John Lubbock, Sir John Evans and General Pitt-Rivers, with whom they formed a committee charged with preserving megalithic monuments in Brittany and elsewhere (International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology, 1869, 417). Lukis and Greenwell worked together in Yorkshire in 1864, toured Kilmartin Valley in the same year and Greenwell was meant to visit Lukis in Brittany in 1872, though the plans for the trip failed. Both men worked with other notable archaeologists, Lukis with Sir Henry Dryden in Brittany and Greenwell with Llewellyn Jewitt and John Thurnam (Kinnes, 1985, 10). However, the antiquarian community was not simply one of friendly collaboration, but was also full of competition and disagreement, which is worth remembering when speaking of the antiquarian period as a whole. This is exemplified in the negative spirit of competition and criticism between Greenwell and another prodigious barrow-opener, J.R. Mortimer (Kinnes, 1985, 10-11). Lukis was also unafraid to hold back when criticising his contemporaries; James Fergusson and his *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries* particularly attracted his ire (1875a, 1). Greenwell is also credited as an early mentor to General Pitt Rivers (1827-1900) digging together in 1867 and continuing correspondence until the General's death. The exact details of their first meeting remain unknown though they may have been introduced by Albert Way, stumbled across one another on the Yorkshire Wolds or been introduced by any number of shared acquaintances, highlighting the interconnections of the antiquarian community. The early development of Pitt Rivers' detailed recording strategies was likely influenced by Greenwell himself (Bowden, 1991, 154). The two men also kept in contact through letters and the various societies to which they belonged and both men worked and were friends with the anatomist

George Rolleston. Occasionally their sporadic relationship was tested through competition in the London sale houses (Bowden, 1991, 144), differences in archaeological minutiae (*ibid*, 130) or even on one occasion by Pitt Rivers' role as Inspector of Monuments (*ibid*, 99). Lukis also knew Pitt Rivers and both men displayed a commitment to the preservation of the Breton megaliths which Pitt Rivers spent time surveying.

General Pitt Rivers is seen as a crucial figure in ushering in a modern archaeology. Employing evolutionary principles he developed his own typological schemes and set new high standards in the method and technique of field archaeology, particularly concerning artefact recovery. He is often held as a 'father figure' within traditional archaeological histories (Chapman, 1989, 35), though it is hard to divorce his achievements entirely from those of his peers. Thus the work of Pitt Rivers is seen to straddle two periods of archaeology, itself exemplifying the culmination of the methodological aspects of the collection of facts inductively. However, the recognition that the facts will not speak for themselves is mirrored in the adoption of the three age system, typological schemes and, in Britain especially, an evolutionary framework. Although contemporary with that of Pitt Rivers, the work of Lukis and Greenwell falls into the grey area between competing paradigms, more 'scientific' than the early barrow openers, but not fully realised in terms of a modern archaeology.

7.3 Paradigms

'Paradigm' in the Kuhnian sense is used in two main ways;

"On the one hand, it stands for the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given community. On the other, it denotes one sort of element in that constellation, the concrete puzzle-solution which, employed as models or examples, can replace explicit rules as a basis for the solution of the remaining problems of normal science" (Kuhn, 1996, 175).

Kuhn identifies the former definition as a paradigm proper, whilst labelling the latter as an 'exemplar', an indication of how work can proceed. This double meaning of 'paradigm' has caused confusion amongst historians of science, though a more

restricted and critical application within the history of archaeology (e.g. Kohl, 1984, Lewthwaite, 1987, Roddin, 1981, Sterud, 1973, Trigger, 2003) provides a powerful model to account for change within the discipline, whilst recognising the historically-specific context in which knowledge is constructed. The broad 'milieu' in which an individual works can be related to social or national undercurrents as well as to certain schools of thought such as 'evolutionary', 'culture-historical' or 'processual'. This often leads to sterile debate over whether a school equates with a paradigm (for an example of this in relation to the *Annales* paradigm see Burke, 1990, Kellner, 1979, Stoianovich, 1976). Whether or not the traditionally held idea of 'archaeological paradigms' are reasonable to maintain is discussed below, though Kuhn himself notes that "...it remains open to question what parts of social science have yet acquired such paradigms at all. History suggests that the road to a firm research consensus is extraordinarily arduous" (1996, 15). Within archaeology, the second meaning of 'paradigm' can be more easily identified than the first. The 'exemplars' or individual breakthroughs, theories and discoveries that provide a model for future research are much better understood and cross-cut all aspects of archaeological research. Some of the earliest and best documented of these revolve around dating archaeological material. The methodology of the three age system, typology and the application of radiocarbon dating provide three historically evaluated examples.

These three techniques are traditionally viewed retrospectively as revolutionary moments in the history of the discipline, and as such are identified with an individual and a specific point in time. However, these events are not a revolution in themselves, the identification, development and application of these theories was carried out over time and by a number of people. As Kuhn notes; "No wonder historians have had difficulty in dating precisely this extended process that their vocabulary impels them to view as an isolated event" (1996, 7). Thus the term 'revolution' is fitting in terms of the effects of change in a paradigm, but is misleading in describing the historical process that leads to that change. How change happened, whether in the prehistoric past or in the history of archaeology, is closely linked to the theoretical stance taken toward the evidence. Thus change as a gradual process is evoked by some early evolutionary writers, whilst sudden and dramatic changes are suggested by those working from within a culture-historical or Marxist perspective. In turn, these can be related to broader social conditions, where either maintaining the

status quo or emphasising the ability of society to suddenly alter matches competing political aims, in this instance either conservative or libertarian respectively. Thus in the second half of the nineteenth century in Britain, evolutionary accounts of change as occurring gradually and progressively can be set against a preceding background of revolutionary change on the Continent and a desire to maintain a considerable and far-flung empire. Though it is worth considering that on an individual level these influences were more complex, Pitt-Rivers, for example, was a social conservative who moved in libertarian circles. These are broad strokes however, and there is considerable variation within supposedly coherent research strategies. It is also important to note that the concept of ‘change’ itself (in relation to human society), is not necessarily fixed. Change is generally considered as either an inherent characteristic of human society or as an unnatural state opposing human nature’s tendency towards homeostasis. This creates a dichotomy that necessarily shapes any account that tries to explain change from an archaeological perspective (see **chapter 3.34** for a fuller discussion).

The rejection of the evolutionary model of knowledge in which the hard sciences advance through continual accretion, has led to emphasis being placed upon the view of knowledge as developing within a historically specific series of world-views, generated and sustained by historical processes and changing through ‘revolutions’. The value of such a historical approach toward the history of a discipline is reinforced by Foucault’s analysis of society’s attitudes towards, amongst other things, madness, crime and punishment (1967, 1979). The introduction to Foucault’s *The Order of Things* (1997) is neatly paralleled by a passage from Daniel’s *150 Years of Archaeology* quoting from Nilsson’s scheme for classifying stone tools into: “(i) tools by means of which other tools and weapons of stone were made, (ii) implements for hunting and fishing, (iii) Carpenters’ and mechanics’ tools, (iv) some forms of stone implements which cannot satisfactorily be classed amongst any of the foregoing, (v) ornaments, (vi) vessels of burnt clay or stone, (vii) implements which have become worn out or broken through use, and (viii) implements transformed into implements of another kind!” (Daniel, 1975, 47). The illogical foundation to this scheme may be obvious to the modern observer but was not so readily apparent in the 19th century. This serves as a reminder that world view alters, and can do in subtle, but nevertheless revolutionary ways. As such, the perception of supposedly neutral

data is itself context dependant. A secondary problem also emerges (the so-called 'double hermeneutic') whereby if the idea of the individual working within, and shaped by, a particular social context is valid, it must apply universally. If this is the case, then the ideas of Foucault and Kuhn must equally apply to their own work. It is thus easy to fall into a downward pessimistic spiral of relativism (though Kuhn is quick to argue that he is not a cultural relativist (1996, 205-207)). Different authors have tried in several ways to overcome this problem, either through pleading the scientific, and therefore objective, nature of the archaeological record or through the nuanced reading of materialism. One such use of the considerable and expanding body of archaeological evidence is as a 'brake' on speculation, a common measure by which competing theories can be compared. Other uses involve focusing on the material remains as an actively mediating and generating agent, particularly employing social, Marxist and anthropological theories. Bruce Trigger utilises the work of Gordon Childe to suggest that archaeologists react to their perception of the archaeological record in a similar way to how people react to their perception of the environment, (Trigger, 1995, 264-5). If a society's perception of the environment differs too much from the actual environment, that society will diminish. Trigger suggests the same for an archaeological theory, the material record acting as a restraint upon speculation. Similarly, the self-critical awakening of archaeology, the 'loss of innocence' first described by Clarke (1973), has resulted in a considerable literature on the philosophy of archaeology (e.g. Embree, 1992, Klejn, 2001) which provides a coherent and logical basis from which to evaluate competing theories. A central theme of contemporary social theory is that the past must be approached and understood in its own terms and that a judgment, in the pejorative sense, of work in the past as compared to the present is both disingenuous and unproductive.

The implications for the history of archaeological interpretation of the characteristics of the archaeological community in which individuals worked are as important as the scientific community as described by Kuhn. It is also similarly flexible, the number of participants which constitute the community waxing and waning according to the topic of investigation. Kuhn's analysis, by his own admission (1996, xii), focussed upon internal influence, on change coming from within the scientific community. However, archaeology is particularly influenced by the public and the situation is further complicated by the strong influence of other external

factors including paradigms from other disciplines. These relationships are of course reflected in the production of archaeological work, the goals they have and the shifting audiences to which they appeal. Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times* (covering 7 editions from 1865 to 1913) is a good case in point of an early cross-over work, appealing to a broader base of public interest as well as to a specialised archaeological community. Kuhn views the consolidation of a paradigm as embodied in the production of textbooks. These textbooks present and elaborate upon the core tenets of a paradigm, providing a set of first principles from which a new practitioner can proceed without having to establish those first principles anew. Such accounts portray the history of the discipline as an unerring evolution of discovery that leads to the present position. As such, these accounts reconstruct the historical process to suit their own agenda. For the early studies located somewhere between an antiquarian and archaeological character, explicitly archaeological text-books were lacking. Exemplars did exist from the work of pioneering antiquarians such as Stukeley at Avebury and Stonehenge to archaeologists such as Pitt-Rivers, although synthesis and an overall framework for understanding prehistoric Europe were not in place until the time of Childe. Significant publications in other disciplines, such as Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* from 1830-3, Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* in 1859 and Edward Tylor's *Anthropology* in 1881 all had considerable influence in the development of archaeology. Thus the early archaeological 'paradigm', included a large range of paradigms within it and as such loses some coherency, though a number of underlying themes are detected and are detailed in the following sections. Thus, what is constitutive of a paradigm and therefore suitable for investigation is a complicated issue. In part this problem may be due to Kuhn's substitution of 'paradigm' for "a variety of familiar notions" (Kuhn, 1996, 11). In particular, Kuhn envisages a paradigm as a particular work (latterly embodied in the 'textbook') both "sufficiently unprecedented" and "open-ended" (Kuhn, 1996, 10). However, the importance of Christian Thomsen's Three Age System for example, discussed below (see **figure 7.2**), was not that the theory was particularly unprecedented, but that it combined ideas in a coherent and applicable manner (Gräslund, 1981, 46). Furthermore, the external factors contributing to the acceptance of Thomsen's scheme, ranging from public opinion to the Austrian-Prussian invasion of Schleswig-Holstein, provided the main impetus behind its eventual acceptance.

The recognition of the fact that scientific communities operate within a historically specific cultural context has not always been translated into a rigorous critical examination of the influences that have shaped previous approaches. This results in a ready acceptance of the label 'paradigm' without regard to what the consequences this has, particularly in reference to the implications this holds for the current 'paradigm'. These considerations naturally lead to the question of what type and character of paradigms can be identified within the history of archaeology. Once these are identified, the focus turns to the implications this has both for past and contemporary archaeological research. Within the study of the history of archaeology Kuhn's work has been applied to a select number of areas and a number of 'paradigms' have been identified. Traditionally, archaeology is viewed as passing through a number of stages, that in terms of general aims, outlook and methodology could be described as cyclic in nature. Arising from the early antiquarian concerns of the aesthetics of collecting, archaeology is viewed as developing through several broad paradigms. These include an evolutionary stage, culture-historical approaches, a processual or neo-evolutionary paradigm and broad range of approaches developing from a critical consideration of the latter (Trigger, 2003). A fine-grained reading of this history of development will identify many more research trends, including the rise and fall in popularity of both functionalist and structuralist approaches along with similar influences from geography, economics, ecology and anthropology. The characteristics of archaeological work within these paradigms are generally portrayed as shifting between a number of opposing positions from nomothetic to idiographic, inductive to deductive, nationalistic to diffusion, emphasis on change to homeostasis, conservative to libertarian and even optimistic to pessimistic. As such, this is not so much a cyclical change in archaeology but reflects a shift between dialectic positions that have been identified within the study of society more generally, specifically the history of the middle classes and their subsequent association with archaeology.

Paradigm shifts have been assertively identified throughout the history of archaeology. However, the characteristics of these changes do not coherently resemble the scientific paradigms described by Kuhn. The coherence, close community and periods of 'normal science' intended to elaborate on a set of core principles, are rarely so evident within these changing fashions in archaeology that they can be confidently labelled a 'paradigm'. Even when approaches can be grouped

together under terms such as ‘culture history’, this fails to account for the considerable variation amongst practitioners, particularly in their formulation and application of basic concepts such as ‘culture’ (Trigger, 2003, chapter 5). Of the exemplars and models of approach, archaeology has a good number and several have been explored in detail. However, before turning to discuss two specific exemplars (the three age system and the concept of ‘prehistory’) it is worth examining the broad phases characterising archaeological interpretation and theory. This traditionally begins with a period of antiquarian interest characterised by collections of curios alongside description and depiction of prehistoric monuments, and broadly stretches from the 16th to early 19th centuries (Piggott, 1976). To characterise this as a paradigmatic period in the history of archaeology is premature, however. Antiquarian studies were still seen as secondary in importance to historical approaches (Levine, 1986, 29, Piggott, 1989, 150-1) and the lack of cohesion in approach (combined with a short biblical chronology) provided no thematic scheme in which to place individual artefacts or to provide a basis for interpretation. The legacy of the 17th century scientific approach furnished early antiquarian efforts with a consistency of thought, a preoccupation with description and classification and an emphasis on excavation (Trigger, 2003, 71). The legacy of the Enlightenment provided the concept of cultural progress and foreshadowed the idea of evolution as applied to society after Darwin. Such libertarian concerns were not the only thread in a diverse amalgam of approaches however, and the strongly conservative themes of romanticism were stressed during a time of increasing nationalism and social change fostered by the Industrial Revolution across Western Europe. From this period an interest in the material remains of the past, as opposed to historical sources, becomes generally accepted and the development of the ‘science of man’ arises from Enlightenment thought. However, in terms of Kuhn’s structure, this period clearly resembles a pre-paradigmatic phase rather than a paradigm in itself and it is not until the middle of the 19th century that archaeology appears to emerge from within it.

The emergence of archaeology in general, and prehistory in particular, in the 19th century is traditionally seen as made up of several key elements unlocking the potential of a discipline that had been steadily building throughout the previous century and was simply waiting to achieve full maturity. Antiquarian study had previously been an adjunct of history, relegated to illuminating textual sources.

Wresting archaeology free from history was a long and gradual process. Subsequently, the changes in archaeology are best understood when considered in relation to the broader social milieu in which they occurred. For archaeology this entails a consideration of the middle classes, and in this section this exploration focuses mainly on Britain. By the mid-19th century the provision of a method for sorting and relatively dating archaeological finds allowed a methodological basis for interpretation. Prehistory became an established subject and the longer period of time in which these interpretations could unfold allowed much greater freedom to generate and test hypotheses. The underpinning theoretical theme of this phase in archaeology was an evolutionary one, and this provided a certain coherence and explanatory framework within which future research and interpretation was fitted. Underlying this were several Enlightenment themes, of which the concept of ‘progress’ was particularly important. A confident middle class, having benefited economically from the Industrial Revolution, was prepared to accept an optimistic view of the development of society along with a Whiggish interpretation of history. Although a romantic reaction against the Industrial Revolution can be traced throughout 19th century archaeology, change, at a gradual rate, was seen as a natural state for society which progressed through a number of developmental stages common to all civilisations. Archaeological information tended to be used to prove these evolutionary theories, as opposed to the theory itself enriching archaeological finds (Gosden, 1999, 62-3).

The downfall of the evolutionary model in archaeology can be traced to a greater insecurity amongst the middle classes in the latter half of the 19th century. The Enlightenment principles underlying the approach were gradually abandoned (Trigger, 2003, 151) and by the 1880s the central concepts of the evolutionary theory within archaeology were being discarded. In its place arose approaches that were later to be labelled as ‘culture-history’. Central tenets of this approach were pessimistic in nature; change in society was seen as an anomaly to be explained, society was seen as essentially static and ‘culture’ or ‘type’ became the central unit of analysis, where ‘stage’ or ‘period’ had been used before. Gone was the idea (based upon Enlightenment principles), that man was naturally inventive and could overcome nature through reason. In its place was the view that the great inventions could only have been invented once and the vector for their transmission was to be explained by

diffusion, migration and conquest while nature became a deterministic factor. 'Culture' as a term is considered to be first systematically applied to archaeological data by Gustaf Kossinna in 1911 (Jones, 1997, 16), though it is the publication of Gordon Childe's *Dawn of European Civilisation* in 1925 that is viewed as signalling the emergence of the culture-history paradigm proper (Daniel, 1971, 84). Interestingly, the 1920s also heralded the beginnings of social anthropology and with it the appearance of functionalist ideas within archaeological writing. Within this tradition, a biological analogy is used to describe society as a living organism. Again, change is seen as the anomaly and attention focuses on how the related parts of society work. A range of functionalist approaches were imported into archaeology from geography, economics, social anthropology and ecology, and distinct functional categories were classified and explored as discreet objects.

This range of approaches persisted for several decades and it is not until the 1960s and 1970s that a coherent alternative was presented. Advocates of this New Archaeology specifically stated the sorts of questions archaeology should be answering and provided a positivist and programmatic process by which this would be accomplished. New Archaeology adopted a self-consciously 'scientific' mode of practice and distanced itself from historicising and particularising accounts. The optimism of the New Archaeology, and the neo-evolutionary ideas closely connected with it, is reflected in the contemporary success of the middle class, especially in America, home of the core group of exponents of processual archaeology. Although there is an obvious parallel with the confidence of the socio-economic conditions of the 19th century, Trigger identifies the neo-evolutionary theories as essentially conservative (2003, 290). Reflecting the economic climate and the importance of multi-national corporations, neo-evolutionary schemes view human society as essentially static. Trigger believes that this is linked to the differing conditions of capitalism, with the importance of entrepreneurial spirit of the 19th century reflected in the archaeological schemes of constant change and individual creativity, but not reflected in accounts shaped by a world where multi-nationals do not stress individuality as a spur for economic success (2003, 290).

Arising from dissatisfaction with New Archaeology's methodology, a variety of approaches were subsequently attempted, and in retrospect are often labelled 'post-

processual'. This term covers a very broad range of differing schools of thought however, including both structural and post-structural work. In Britain especially, this is strongly affected by the increasing influence of social theory within neighbouring disciplines. From the perspective of the middle classes, the growing realisation of environmental degradation, ever increasing populations and later the threat of the Cold War, led to pessimism about the future of human development (Trigger, 2003, 320). This, in turn, is reinforced with political cynicism. Although appearing too diverse to be attributed as a paradigm, and with relatively small numbers of archaeologists actually considering themselves as 'post-processualists', several broad themes do emerge from these works however. A return to particularising accounts is evident as the epistemology and historiography of archaeology is increasingly questioned by critical post-modern analysis. A pessimistic assessment of what can be known combined with a political scepticism from the modern middle class has resulted in a profusion of models being imported not from the hard sciences but from the social sciences and history. Change is often viewed as revolutionary within human society, often happening too fast and with less than desirable consequences, a reflection of the times.

When discussing paradigm change, it is also important to consider field archaeology. The separation of field archaeology from interpretive work can be traced to the 19th century (Lucas, 2001, 5), and although the separation is blurred, for example through university research excavation, the division is still apparent today. In terms of the practical techniques employed in excavation and survey, a considerable change is evident. Early approaches can be described as topographic survey, with the work of Stukeley characteristic of the early attempts to record archaeological monuments and their settings (Haycock, 1999). Within 18th and 19th century fieldwork, the major concern was the recovery of artefacts through excavation, generally for personal collections, and this is apparent in the work of many practitioners well into the 19th century (e.g. Greenwell, 1866, Kinnes & Longworth, 1985, 10). Towards the end of the 19th century, the desire to highlight the general processes of the evolution of material culture informed the approaches in the field (Gosden, 1999, 62-3). Contemporary archaeologists such as Pitt Rivers tended to excavate larger areas (such as the entire burial mound as opposed to a small number of trenches) and record a greater range of finds than their predecessors (Barrett et al,

1990, Bowden, 1991). From the first half of the 20th century, a greater emphasis is placed on stratigraphy and fieldwork was conducted to retrieve information on the development of the site itself, as opposed to the evolution of the finds (Lucas, 2001, 45). In this way, stratigraphy, as opposed to artefact typology, became the essential dating technique at the site level. Innovative fieldwork approaches included the use of the box or grid method by Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1954), allowing simultaneous vertical and horizontal control, to the more open area excavations of Bersu (1940) and the subsequent increase in the recognition of negative features such as post-holes. From after the Second World War until the present, practical archaeology underwent a series of further changes, especially the development of radiocarbon and other forms of dating, and this had a major on archaeological interpretation (Renfrew, 1973c). The development of digging by phase, as opposed to more arbitrary techniques, was then complemented by the Harris Matrix (Harris, 1989). Finds were recorded in relation to a Cartesian grid and open area excavation, aided by the use of mechanical diggers, became the norm (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 1969). Sampling strategies, geo-physical survey, and the proliferation of the use of specialist laboratory analysis are all innovations at a time in which the rise of rescue excavation reinforces the distinction between archaeology in the field, and in the library. Finally, the development of a post-processual dimension to fieldwork, examining the basis of interpretation, and locating this process ‘on site’ is a more recent development (Hodder, 1997).

This brief survey of a selection of the changes within archaeological fieldwork suggests considerable development, although whether this entails a paradigm change in the widest sense is questionable. Variety, as opposed to coherence, characterises the development of field archaeology. Although with increasing professionalisation this is changing, the differences in approach, quality and goals (e.g. between excavation within an academic environment and a rescue one) are significant. The maintenance of a division between practical archaeology and interpretation has a long history, and although particular field techniques change, the questions that are asked of the evidence are strikingly similar (Chippindale, 1989). The main developments in field archaeology can also be linked to wider intellectual climates within archaeology as a whole (Lucas, 2001, 62) – the concern with the evolution of material culture and its manifestation in late 19th century fieldwork being a prime example. However, it is important to recognise that the relationship between fieldwork and interpretation is

recursive, and not simply interpretation built over data retrieval (Hodder, 1997, 1999). The statistical presentation of data for example (e.g. Shennan, 1987), is a major methodological innovation, but also influences the way in which information is conceived. Particular developments stand out in the history of archaeological fieldwork such as seriation, stratigraphy, mechanical clearance, specialist reports and sampling strategies. However, this belies continuity in technique – typological schemes are still used and schemes of cultural development are still employed. Similarly, ‘innovations’ tend to be preceded - stratigraphy was recognised before its importance became paramount (Lucas, 2001, 33). The history of development of field archaeology is better characterised in general as a change in degree as opposed to a series of paradigmatic revolutions. Within this however, there are a set of ‘exemplars’ (Kuhn, 1996, 175) that have come to represent considerable innovation, at both a practical and interpretive level.

The contemporary result of this rough outline of development is hard to gauge, though what is evident is the lack of paradigm definition in the Kuhnian sense between these phases in archaeological development. Coherence in archaeological accounts tends to derive from general archaeological constants (see **chapter 3**). Attitudes to change in human society, the need for particularising or generalising accounts, the role of the individual, selection of analogy, and pessimism or optimism regarding human development, seem to cyclically drift from one position to the other however. Approaches that fit these trends tend to be the most durable and last through the changing archaeological climates. What these shifts entail in terms of detail within specific archaeological accounts, as well as for the idea of archaeology as a whole is also rarely approached. Does it result in a shift in method or techniques of analysis? On a higher theoretical level, does this determine the school of thought to be used? Higher still, does this affect the very concerns and aims of archaeology? Unfortunately, these questions are outside of the remit of the current thesis, which briefly charts these changes and crudely links them with a selection of influences affecting the middle class, and predominantly the middle class of Britain. What can be addressed is an evaluation of a couple of the exemplars of archaeology, specifically those that would have first impacted upon Greenwell and Lukis and affected their work.

Of the exemplars previously mentioned, Christian Thomsen's development of a three age classification is located very early in the history of archaeology, and had considerable influence on the archaeological community which excavated and surveyed most of the monuments discussed in this thesis. However, Thomsen's scheme was not simply plucked from the ether, and its subsequent (though in places gradual) popularity and acceptance are all inter-dependant on a series of historical factors. That the three age system was not without precursors or contemporary advocates, has long been recognised (Cook, 2003, 183)⁸. Thomsen is given credit for setting out his concept in a coherent and persuasive manner and demonstrating its applicability with actual archaeological artefacts. That the archaeological community was ready to accept such a notion, at whatever different rates, can be analysed in terms of the conjunction of a number of historical events. A brief survey is useful to highlight the type of historical processes that create, popularise and maintain exemplars within the history of archaeology (see **figure 7.2**).

It should be noted that the adoption of Thomsen's scheme varied considerably across Europe, with Scottish-based archaeologists adopting his ideas relatively quickly, and the English archaeological community much later. The British Museum adopted the scheme in 1858, though this did not prove popular, and it was not until the late 1860s that the ideas began to be cemented through archaeological literature such as Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times* and Greenwell's *British Barrows*. The National Museum of Denmark, at which Thomsen developed his scheme, had an extensive collection of artefacts. His construction of the three-fold division is therefore traditionally held as being based on an inductive approach, rather than on the speculation of earlier attempts. That earlier attempts were similar to Thomsen's approach suggests that innovation was due to application of the system (Daniel, 1943, 12), rather than in working from a purely inductive stance. The need to order the large range of stone, bronze and iron artefacts in the collection served to focus attention on the problem. As his ideas were set down in a museum guidebook, his scheme was presented to a wide range of people and was immediately demonstrated by his exhibition. The scheme was also a practical method suitable for the ordering of other collections. Geological principles of stratigraphy were already known, and had been

⁸ As early as 1740 with Mahundel and then Borlase (Cook, 2003, 183)

applied within archaeology, thus allowing the development of the typological method used by Thomsen.

However, this only provides half of the story, as Thomsen did not seem particularly motivated to promote his theory to other museums. The role of Jen Jacob Worsaae (1821-1885) is particularly important in this respect as it is with the publication of his work and the promotion of the scheme under royal patronage that the ideas began to take hold. This was closely connected to contemporary national insecurity felt by Denmark at the time after the losses of Norway in the treaty of Kiel in 1814, and subsequently the Austrian-Prussian invasion of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864. Denmark's long tradition of the preservation and excavation of national antiquities was tied to the national character (Kohl, 1998, 228). In this environment, the introduction of an evolutionary argument suggesting the indigenous development of the people living in Denmark as they progressed through successive ages found a receptive audience, as it connected ideas of national identity closely with the physical boundaries of the country. The three age system was thus used to promote the idea of the sanctity of Denmark's borders. Rodden (1981) views Thomsen's scheme as archaeology's first paradigm and it is hard to argue that it is not archaeology's first 'exemplar', if not paradigm in the widest sense of the word.

In a similar way to that of the three age system, the concept of 'prehistory' itself can be shown to have a long developmental history, with a no less revolutionary effect. Daniel Wilson (1816-85), a Scottish archaeologist in contact with Worsaae, and an early advocate of the three age system, is credited with first using the term 'prehistory' in 1851 in the title of his book *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (Daniel, 1971, 9). This was based upon his application of the three age system to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's artefact collection (Trigger, 2003, 83). It was commonly used soon after, and both Greenwell and Lukis use the term throughout their work. Whilst the short chronology proposed by Ussher may not have been the theoretical straightjacket modern historians conceived it to be in practice (Cook, 2003, 180), the acceptance and definition of a considerable period before recorded history served to emphasise the difference between archaeology and history, define prehistory as a subject in itself, and provide enough conceptual space to allow theories of gradual change and long periods of development. As such, the concept of

prehistory was crucial to the development of typologies reflecting gradual change as systematically set out by Pitt Rivers (Bowden, 1991, Thompson, 1977).

Previous to the acceptance of the concept of ‘prehistory’ credible discussion of past material remains had to be assigned to named peoples (Daniel, 1971, 23); any interpretation was therefore deferential to history. With the advent of prehistory these convoluted historical movements of people were replaced by epochs or evolutionary stages in the development of humanity. A few decades later archaeology broke from this geological and evolutionary model of sequences of epochs which had attained, according to Daniel, “the status of an archaeological fundamentalist doctrine” (1971, 83). This echoes Kuhn’s choice of religious conversion as a metaphor to explain change within a subject and highlights the dominance of the evolutionary model at the time when Lukis and Greenwell were working.

Both of these concepts are good examples of ‘exemplars’ that were exerting considerable influence within archaeological circles around the time that both Lukis and Greenwell were working. These central ideas are present throughout their work and Lukis explicitly defends both concepts (1875a, 30, International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology, 1869, 218-222). While more circumspect on the minutiae of the three age sequence (1877, 45-46), Greenwell also subscribes to the consequences of their general acceptance, though he refers to Thomsen’s scheme as “Denmark’s stone, bronze and iron age” (1877, 58). This hints at the more gradual acceptance of the model in Britain, although Greenwell himself contributed considerably to that acceptance. It is worth now turning to the sets of influences and conventions from society as whole and not simply from archaeological circles that affected Lukis and Greenwell. This will put their work within an explanatory historical context.

7.4 Underlying Themes

The nature of the paradigm in which Lukis and Greenwell worked, while partly archaeological in character, also retained a strong antiquarian influence and this aspect is particularly relevant to the present study. A closer inspection of the socio-academic climate in which they interacted provides an historical perspective on the archaeological decisions that they made, choices that have left an important legacy to

the modern archaeologist. In this respect, this section will attempt to explore the ‘field’ (to borrow Bourdieu’s terminology (1990)), in which Lukis and Greenwell interacted. Greenwell and Lukis worked in a period during which several texts of enormous impact to the early development of archaeology appeared (see **figure 7.3**). Christian Thomsen’s *Ledetraad til Nordisk Oldkyndighed* was published in 1836, though it was not translated into English until 1848 as *A Guide to Northern Archaeology* and was popularised in Britain by Sir John Lubbock’s *Prehistoric Times* (Daniel, 1943, 10). Charles Darwin (1809-1882), another contemporary, published *Origin of the Species* in 1859, though evolutionary ideas had started to become prevalent before this. Charles Lyell published the third volume of *Principles of Geology* in 1836. Thus around this time all the themes traditionally seen as crucial to the development of archaeology as a mature discipline become accessible to the wider archaeological community (Daniel, 1971, 31-49). The antiquity of man was proved by the eventual acceptance of Jacques Boucher de Perthes’ findings in the Somme gravels, published in 1841 but not generally accepted in the English-speaking world until the mid 1860s (Cook, 2003, 180). It is also worth noting that the biblical chronologies provided by churchmen such as Archbishop Ussher also persisted as late as the 1860s (Gould, 1987). Therefore the debate between those advocating the long or short chronologies may have resulted in mainstream acceptance for the former (in a similar fashion to how evolutionary theories eventually won out), but literature of the time may not reflect this in such a clear cut manner. Many contemporaries of Greenwell and Lukis may well have accepted the concept of ‘prehistory’ but were still religiously minded, and this is reflected in their work, especially in the church analogies liberally employed by Greenwell (e.g. 1866, 337), and although his ideas may exhibit evolutionary principles of gradual change, they can also be particularising and nationalistic (e.g. 1877, 58). In a similar manner, it is important to recognise that the concept of ‘progress’ need not necessarily be an inherent part of evolution, two ideas often conflated in modern evaluations of 19th century thought.

In terms of field methodology, Pitt-Rivers’ (1827-1900) work is traditionally held as the watershed in the development of modern approaches, and this occurs contemporaneously with the work of Greenwell and Lukis, the former being, as previously mentioned, a considerable archaeological influence over Pitt-Rivers (Bowden, 1991, 154). Identifying Lukis and Greenwell as either archaeologists or

antiquarians is therefore troublesome, as they worked during the time in which the beginnings of modern archaeology can be detected. This is caused in part by the confusion and continual conflation of the contemporary antiquarian community with the archaeological one which “hindered the formation and development of a separate self-image” (Levine, 1986, 31). Both Greenwell and Lukis exhibited diverse tastes outside of archaeology, though their considerable focus on excavation and survey and their sophisticated analysis of their findings clearly mark out the two men as archaeologists. However, a number of themes recur in their accounts and those of their contemporaries which can be labelled ‘antiquarian’. Firstly, in terms of archaeological methodology, though Greenwell is noted as considerably better than most of his contemporaries and Lukis was a fine draughtsman, the techniques they use are not particularly advanced and their recovery of artefacts is poor by the standards of Pitt-Rivers. Their choices of which monuments to excavate, almost invariably burial mounds (though Greenwell did excavate at Grimes Graves), is also indicative of a wider trend whereby more impressive sites, and those likely to yield finds for personal collections, are selected. This also feeds into the antiquarian stereotype of being morbidly obsessed with death (Peltz & Myrone, 1999). The inductive aims of Greenwell and Lukis’ accounts, whilst attempting to appear more scientific at the time, tend to retain something of the antiquarian fascination of collecting for purely aesthetic reasons, accumulating data with no explicit (other than personal), interest.

The most important aspect of the field in which Lukis and Greenwell participated is the close association between the rise of archaeology and the rise of the middle classes. Whereas previous interest in antiquarian study was more closely associated with gentry and the richest of society, the beginnings of archaeology have humbler, if still relatively comfortable, connections. From the mid-18th to mid-19th centuries the Industrial Revolution not only required considerable areas of the countryside, resulting in the unearthing of archaeological material, but also funded an increasingly affluent and self-confident middle class. The effects of the Industrial Revolution in all aspects of life cannot be underestimated, and the impact on the early development of archaeology is too large a topic for this chapter. Similarly mentioned but not explored is the impact of this revolution on countries with differing denominational demographics (e.g. Weber, 1967). Population movement from rural areas into urban centres, the emergence of the railways and steamships in the 1840s

and the creation of a working class are a few more select threads in a very complex social tapestry and their effect on archaeology and the public's perception of prehistory are topics worthy of future research.

Archaeology had previously been closely identified with aspects of a growing nationalism throughout Europe. Initially, royal charters were granted in places such as Denmark to preserve national monuments, in an attempt to foster a sense of national unity. Several antiquarian societies also benefited from royal charter, though the perceived power of antiquarian pursuits for nationalistic goals is reflected in James I and VI's suspension of the Society of Antiquaries of London (Trigger, 1997, 47). Their work was viewed as fostering a particularly English national identity in the eyes of the Scottish king who was keen to promote a British identity. This connection between archaeology and nationalism grew over time and was further heightened by the reaction against the libertarian values of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars (Colley, 1992). However, archaeology, previously used to reinforce conservative nationalistic interests, was now also being utilised in a way that highlighted socio-economic differences. The interest in sites of antiquity and their suitability for the attention of the gentry, embodied in the Grand Tour, were replaced with the study of local sites. This was fuelled both by a backlash against neoclassicism in several, predominantly Protestant areas, and the rise of nationalism, embodied in the search for the indigenous roots of particular countries. Similarly, for the growing middle class, interest in a more local tour was much more cost-effective, and much less time-consuming, than the Grand Tour of the gentry. The work of artists like Caspar David Friedrich embodies this interest in depicting the local nature of antiquity and the increasing demand for illustrations of tours of sites and monuments. The Romantic tradition of Friedrich, with its emphasis on a decline from prosperity and grandeur to ruin and decay from a prosperous age is an inversion of the evolutionary schemes of the 1860s onwards, though both satisfy the same need within nationalism of stressing a common past. The idea of the 'noble savage' as outlined by Rousseau is connected to this trend, with industrial growth viewed as taking society further away from a more innocent beginning.

The audience for this fledgling archaeological community was initially relatively small. It is not until we see the adoption of archaeological concerns within

the middle class that public interest expands rapidly. A huge number of factors influenced this development, not least of which was the growing local archaeological societies and their organised field trips (Levine, 1986, chapter 3). The popularity of archaeological monuments was greatly increased by improvements in transportation that allowed people to visit sites, often in more remote rural areas (Piggott, 1976, 122, Bowden, 1991, 149). The developing transportation network also facilitated attendance at societal meets. Prints of drawings and archaeological publications became disseminated to a wider public with the establishment of print clubs in the 1830s and improvements in printer's technology throughout the century (Levine, 1986, 41-5). The audience for archaeology was continually building, especially fuelled by the exotic discoveries in the East. Societies, whether archaeological or not, also presented archaeological findings to an increasing array of the middle classes as well as amongst the working classes. Themes of education and dissemination of knowledge were important, often seen in a paternalistic manner as exemplified by Pitt-Rivers (Bowden, 1991, 141-2). This was reinforced by local and national museums and the role they played in promoting a stable society (Díaz-Andreu, 2004, 238).

With the increased visibility and presence of archaeological sites within the public consciousness, concerns about their preservation, a theme long in existence in antiquarian circles, came to the fore. 'Preservation' in the antiquarian sense at the very beginning of the 19th century is very different from the meaning of the word in modern times (Sweet, 2004, 303, Morgan Evans, 2004), though gradually progressed through the century from sporadic recording of monuments on paper to the eventual passing of an Act of Parliament attempting to provide state protection (Murray, 1989). Sir John Lubbock, one of the main architects behind the bill, acquired his title of 'Lord Avebury' after buying the land upon which Avebury was set in order to preserve it (Murphree, 1961). A similarly suitable gentlemanly pursuit, landscape gardening, was popular from the 18th century onwards (Schama, 1995, chapter 9) and played a part in the presentation of monuments, as well as the creation of artificial 'archaeological' landscapes on the private grounds of estate owners. Appreciation of archaeological monuments thus progressed from their 'romantic' nature in rural areas as the population became more mobile and were then incorporated within traditions of landscape gardening. Several principles of gardening layout are also traced within

archaeological accounts dealing with monuments within a landscape setting. The depictions of Avebury and Stonehenge by Stukeley reflect this concern and provide an early exemplar of how to present the past (Haycock, 1999). This also helped form the idea that landscapes had been intentionally constructed in prehistory, as well as in the present. 'Landscape' therefore became a unit of analysis, with topographic survey the preferred method of investigation (Lucas, 2001, 4), and the presentation of monuments influenced by trends in garden design (Haycock, 1999, 72). Landscapes could be cross-compared and ancient monuments were often recreated on private estates (Howley, 1993). In this way, archaeological narratives were beginning to reflect ways of viewing and experiencing landscape that were becoming a tradition.

Does the period in which Greenwell and Lukis worked equate to a paradigm by Kuhn's criteria? External influences are clearly very important (see **figure 7.4**), more so than Kuhn explores for the scientific community. The advent of evolutionary archaeology provides a rough theoretical outline that can be used to group together contemporary archaeological interpretations and is traceable in the works of Lukis and Greenwell (e.g. 1877, 58). However, the shift from antiquarian pursuits to early archaeology proper may be more a question of change by degree rather than a 'revolution'. The breakthrough in field archaeology and methodology represents progress on the low level of theory, but the higher levels are not convincingly differentiated, evolutionary influence aside. Archaeology was becoming the domain of a different set of people, though in many ways the gentry were simply being replaced by industrialists. However, the broad appeal of archaeology expands at this time, and the audience for Greenwell's *British Barrows* (1877) or Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times* (1865), was a very different one from William Camden's *Britannia* (1586). The lack of explicit and critical theory in antiquarian times before the wholesale adoption of evolutionary principles is central to its characterisation. The inductive collection of facts, either according to individual or group aesthetics early in the antiquarian period, or in the vain hope that collection of a suitable weight of data would allow the archaeological record to 'speak for itself', closely resembles Kuhn's idea of a pre-paradigm period. The removal of such 'taste' from analysis is seen as the point at which archaeology became a proper scientific discipline (Daniel, 1971, 74).

When comparing research in the 19th century to that of today it is relatively easy to identify contrasts rather than points of similarity. However, certain aspects of archaeological investigation remain relatively constant despite improving field techniques and theoretical innovation in both archaeology and neighbouring disciplines. This theme is addressed in the remaining section of this chapter. However, the nature of the modern ‘paradigm’ is not so secure that it evades scrutiny. Indeed, if applying a Kuhnian structure to the analysis of the history of archaeology, a series of paradigms in the broadest sense are harder to identify, whilst research that resembles that of a pre-paradigmatic period and that of a subject in crisis are much more readily apparent. Following this scheme, the antiquarian period provides the pre-paradigm introduction for an archaeological paradigm that encompasses around a hundred years, from the adoption of an evolutionary approach at the end of the 19th century to the rejection of a neo-evolutionary one towards the end of the 20th century. On the surface this period undergoes a series of apparently revolutionary changes. However, on the lower levels of theory there is significant continuity in archaeological aims and methodology, which do at times exhibit considerable clarification and refinement. However, they do not signal a *gestalt* switch with the new approaches and attitudes to the past initiated by antiquarian studies. Thus most of archaeology resembles a period of ‘normal science’ where work aims at fleshing out the paradigm itself. By this standard, modern archaeological work more closely resembles a period of scientific crisis, and a crisis provoked by theory (Kuhn, 1996). Unfortunately, the prerequisite for paradigm change is a viable and competing alternative, which so far has not emerged with enough support or elaboration from the archaeological community. Alternatives have been suggested, particularly explicitly by advocates of the ‘New Archaeology’ (e.g. Binford, 1962, 1965, Clarke, 1968), though no approach has won overall acceptance.

7.5 Recurring Themes

The contemporaries Greenwell and Lukis seem far removed, both in time and attitude, to Albert Egges Van Giffen (1884-1973), the most prodigious worker in Drenthe. It is safe from a modern perspective to identify Van Giffen as working as an archaeologist, as opposed to inhabiting the grey area between antiquarian investigation and the development of a coherent, scientific discipline. The prefixes of

‘Canon’ and ‘Reverend’ for the former, as compared to ‘Professor’ for the latter, reflect something of the change felt within archaeology over this period of transition. The development of increasing specialisation within archaeology, embodied in university research and teaching, was the continuation of a much earlier trend. Antiquarians operating in the 18th century gathered and presented collections according to schemes that would appear alien to modern scholars comfortable with contemporary museum exhibitions. Material would not be sorted by any form of chronological distinction and categories would be collapsed, with curios originally separated by time and space lumped together by the collector (Syson, 2003, 113-14). This reflected a different epistemological basis for collecting in which gradually, specialised classification of material according to period, type and area led to the schemes created in the 19th century. Increasingly specific classification led to individuals concerning themselves with a more restricted field of interest. The broad base of dilettantism became a pejorative term and the wider interests of antiquarians prior to, and including, Greenwell and Lukis were narrowed in favour of the specific interests of those such as Van Giffen. Albert Egges Van Giffen, although born in the 19th century, belongs to a later (though as we shall see not wholly unconnected) period. He also worked in other countries as well as the Netherlands, including Ireland and France, though Lukis also investigated the Dutch *hunebedden*. Van Giffen’s work provides accurate excavation drawings and plans, as well as a photographic record, and was driven by research from within the University of Groningen. However, his failure to publish his work at several sites has been commented upon before (Groenman-van Waateringe & Butler, 1976, 74) alongside relatively minor flaws in archaeological observation, including problems when attempting to identify original ground surfaces (Van der Veen & Lanting, 1989, 223). In terms of the character and content of the archaeological field in which each man worked, it is tempting to view Van Giffen as having an advantage. The corpus of data available to him, as a student of prehistoric north-west Europe, was continually expanding and archaeology was now a fully formed and coherent discipline. Terminology was much more standardised, terms such as ‘neolithic’ were accepted when Van Giffen published (its use supported by Greenwell (1877, 131) but not unequivocally used in his time). Whether or not this represented a difference of degree between the two periods of archaeological thought or was indicative of a conceptual and theoretical break is hard to evaluate. Surveys, of which those produced

by Van Giffen (1928) himself represented the pinnacle, were still not the norm and Ernst Sprockhoff's (1892-1967) megalithic 'atlases' were not published until almost forty years later. Similarly, syntheses for prehistoric Europe were just being developed, and are exemplified in the work of Gordon Childe (1925, 1929) who could still initially marshal the wide spread of all available relevant archaeological information that now would be impossible, as the pace of investigation has grown exponentially. Retrospectively, Van Giffen worked within a very different archaeology from Lukis and Greenwell, though in the 1920s when Van Giffen published his first major work, the differences would have been less perceptible. Under the surface there are also closer links between the methods of the three men than would be expected. Superficially, this is reflected in the prodigious output of work that Van Giffen produced.

From a modern perspective, it is apparent that in terms of methodology there has been a considerable advance in the techniques of field archaeology and an increasing elaboration of the higher levels of archaeological theory, including the recent addition of post-structural theory, from the periods in time in which Lukis, Greenwell and Van Giffen worked. This is highlighted in the relative poverty of detailed description of field technique of the earlier archaeologists, of which Greenwell's work is often found guilty (Kinnes, 1985, 13, Greenwell, 1877, 27). Similarly, antiquarian emphasis on the collection of facts and avoidance of speculation seems far removed from the goals of modern archaeology. However, it is worth considering the aspects of archaeology that can be traced as recurring throughout successive traditions of archaeology. This topic has been touched upon by Chippindale (1989) in relation to Stonehenge and is particularly apparent when comparing the work of Greenwell and Lukis to more modern archaeologists. Comparing Greenwell's accounts with later work is particularly illuminating in this respect. Technically, in terms of excavation technique and the range of material investigated, Greenwell's work, although advanced for its time, lacks answers to more modern questions. Both he and Van Giffen assigned a scheme for the description of the sites investigated, although Greenwell was slightly less reliable in the choice of what was to be recorded and published (Kinnes, 1985, 14). From a surveyor's point of view, Lukis' draughtsmanship compares favourably with modern attempts. On a fundamental level however, Chippindale suggests that the basic method of

archaeology remains unchanged and that techniques for elaborating upon archaeological methodology is what changes (1989, 69). Chippindale's identification of analogy as the central tenet of archaeological method⁹ is borne out when examining the 19th century accounts. For all the depictions of early archaeologists as labouring under a quest to uncover facts (Kinnes, 1985, 10), avoiding speculation and increasingly shaping their work to prove evolutionary principles (Trigger, 1989), Greenwell's *British Barrows* displays a considerable amount of conjecture (if often located in the relative safety of footnotes). Such imaginative aspects are underpinned by considerable usage of classical analogy (e.g. Greenwell, 1877, 15, 16) doubtless reflecting the orientation of Greenwell's education and illustrative of history's still dominant position, even using Hamlet as a parallel (*ibid*, 11). On a general level the initial identification, description and interpretation of archaeological finds as prehistoric man-made implements owes itself to analogy with other tool-producing cultures (Klindt-Jensen, 1976). In modern accounts, analogy also occupies a central place, and can be implicit in the identification of types of monument. Greenwell's account is consistent in that speculation is easily distinguished from data collection. More modern works benefit from a wider range of potential parallels and a stronger body of critical theory available regarding their application.

Thus, on a general level the recognition that prehistoric remains are man-made, and that they had a considerable antiquity is first widely accepted during the 19th century, whilst analogy still provides the underpinning for archaeological interpretation. The idea that monuments, particularly megalithic chambers or large earthen mounds are somehow 'sacral' to the society that created them also found support in the 19th century. This has led to the acceptance of the idea of such monuments as forming 'sacred landscapes', set apart from other areas and acting as an archaeological 'type'. It is possible to trace the success of such an idea of landscape through the traditional paradigms of archaeology, its continued popularity due to the fact that the idea can be adapted to fit changing arguments and analyses. For the 19th excavators, such as Lukis and Greenwell, the idea of a prehistoric religion as a form of nascent contemporary religion would have fitted in well with the prevalent evolutionary model of thought i.e. religion traced back to its origins (e.g. Greenwell,

⁹ Though on a very general level analogy is essential throughout the humanities and arguably in the human condition itself.

1877, 58). The physical separation of 'religious' sites would have sat well with their ideas and provided a suitable analogy for their explanations. Greenwell in particular uses a large number of contemporary and classical religious analogies (e.g. Greenwell, 1877, 5 note 3, 16 note 1, 18 note 1, 58). Using solid inductivist approaches, the lack of evidence, particularly of settlement, was not to be explained, but the presence of religious sites was focused upon and everything was therefore strictly discussed in relation to the evidence that survived. The concept of the 'noble savage' would also contribute to their interpretations and highlight the importance of those durable monuments for a time which had been viewed as otherwise scantily furnished in terms of material remains (Piggott, 1989). It would also sit well with the portrayal of sacral landscapes as a rural idyll in the face of increasing industrial exploitation of the countryside (Levine, 1986, 52, Piggott, 1976).

In later phases of archaeology, this idea of contained and discrete landscapes, building on earlier influences of how sites had been presented (Haycock, 1999), proved durable. A physical separation of religious areas prefigured the systematic division in early functionalism and nascent anthropology of religion as an aspect of human society to be studied separately (Bell, 1992, 70). Sacral landscapes became a type worth studying in relation to prehistoric society as a whole, a functional aspect as spatially distinct as an appendage on a living organism is from the body. As ideas of culture and culture-history rose to the fore, the durable remains of landscape, such as megalithic monuments, could be used to trace the movement of people. Diffusionist explanations invoked megalithic missionaries (Childe, 1940), and contemporary debates centred on Brittany still use these monuments to trace influences and movements through France and surrounding countries (e.g. Boujot & Cassen, 1993, Scarre, 1992). Geographical approaches that considered the 'personality' of the land (e.g. Fox, 1943) were also influential. Therefore, the compartmentalised landscapes of Brittany, Kilmartin and, to a lesser extent, the Drenthe Plateau, were suited to be portrayed as displaying a separate and self-contained religious character. By the Processual or Neo-evolutionary phase of archaeology, this now embedded separation was suitable, as it pre-defined a coherent body of work to be examined and thus its very coherency was never questioned. The change in emphasis back to recovery of universal or covering laws, as had been the case in the 19th century evolutionary theories, was also well prepared to analyse aspects of what appeared as nascent

religion. With the advent of structural and post-structural analysis, questions regarding the nature of such a functional and spatial separation were again stressed. However, in areas where ‘domestic’ evidence is not as extensive as ‘sacral’ evidence, the idea of ritual as pervading all aspects of society provides no additional interpretive power. In areas where it does, such as the settlements in Orkney, explanations tend to link the two spheres, with burials contained in ‘houses for the dead’ an idea which Greenwell himself suggests (1877, 2). Structural and symbolic analyses may prefer the opportunities ‘sacral’ evidence provides as an object of study, though more critical approaches threaten to devalue the data set of the monuments and the analysis based on them by questioning the construction of information itself.

Within this rough outline are numerous other important influences. The influence of the industrial revolution and the commoditisation of time, leading to a split between work and leisure time, is one aspect that finds its way into the interpretation of the past through ‘least effort’ principles and other economic analyses. Greenwell’s account of Kilmartin in which he describes the valley as a place of “religious association” to which people from other areas were drawn (1866, 337) finds later parallels in modern work on pilgrimage (e.g. Scarre, 2001c). This is a particularly apt analogy for a clergyman, and reflects a wider trend to separate out aspects of society that may not have been separable in prehistory. For Kilmartin, an area with little surviving Neolithic settlement evidence, the discovery of a separate area for ritual concerns has seemed to be ‘common sense’ for over a hundred years. From a Kuhnian perspective this tends to reinforce the idea of archaeology as a whole forming one continuous paradigm from the 19th century to the present day.

Presentation of the past also derives from an early antiquarian root. Within Kilmartin valley, Glebe cairn was restored by Greenwell in accordance with his interpretation of the original form of the monument. Temple Wood is also restored based upon the interpretation of J.G. Scott’s excavation (1989). What is notable, and applicable to many restored monuments in Britain, is the landscaped way these sites are displayed to modern taste. Such landscaping is closely connected to the idea of gardening as a gentlemanly pursuit, popularised in Britain in the 18th century with a demonstrable effect on contemporary views of archaeological sites (Haycock, 1999, 67). In such a way, an interpretive position becomes unconscious in archaeological

thought, and how monuments look today in turn affects how they are perceived as being in the past. Thus criticisms of the production of a ‘sanitised’ past are reflective of a society undergoing the influence of globalisation.

Recognising the historical specificity of the early archaeological interpretations of prehistoric sites in Drenthe, Kilmartin and the Morbihan allows objective analysis of what qualifies as an archaeological fact. Historical analyses of documentary evidence provide a starting point from which to begin the speculation of higher level theories. The preceding chapter, concerning the physical, archaeological sources as they survive today, either as actual remains or in record, form the base by which these speculations can arise or are grounded (Trigger, 1995, 265), though in turn their own historical context of identification and construction must be examined. Although differences within the approach and construction of narrative within archaeology at different times in the 19th and 20th centuries are often stressed, the continuities are similarly striking. The differences in theoretical orientation have led to the depiction of a series of paradigms within archaeology, unfolding from evolutionary approaches, through cultural-historical schemes to processual archaeology. Similarly the techniques and processes of field archaeology previously discussed, display considerable innovation. This masks continuity in archaeological interpretation and evaluation however. If the preceding antiquarian period closely resembles the pre-paradigmatic period in Kuhn’s model, and the current climate is one of crisis, there is a strong case for the intervening period as a whole resembling one generalised paradigm of archaeology, as opposed to several specific and coherent schools of thought. Within this paradigm there are many exemplars, but the division of the subject as such into different stages (not in the evolutionary sense) seems counter-productive. The recognition of how archaeological information, such as detailed in the previous chapter, is formed under historical conditions is crucial in providing a sound base for further interpretation. The culmination of the discussions of approach, data and historical context are brought together in the following chapter.

Greenwell, W. (1820-1918)		Lukis, W.C. (1817-1892)	
		1841	Ordained
MA from University of Durham	1843		
Ordained	1844		
Joins Newcastle Archaeological Society	1845		
First Excavation	1847		
With Thurnam in Wiltshire	1863		
Yorkshire wolds and Kilmartin with Lukis	1864	1864 1865-72	With Greenwell in Yorkshire With Dryden in Brittany
With Pitt-Rivers	1867		
Elected F.S.A.	1868		
		1869	Appointed to committee to protect monuments
Excavates at Grime's Graves	1870		
Brittany trip	1872		
<i>British Barrows</i> published	1877		
Elected F.R.S.	1878		
A.E. Van Giffen born	1884		

Figure 7.1: Timeline of events and publications in the lives of Greenwell and Lukis

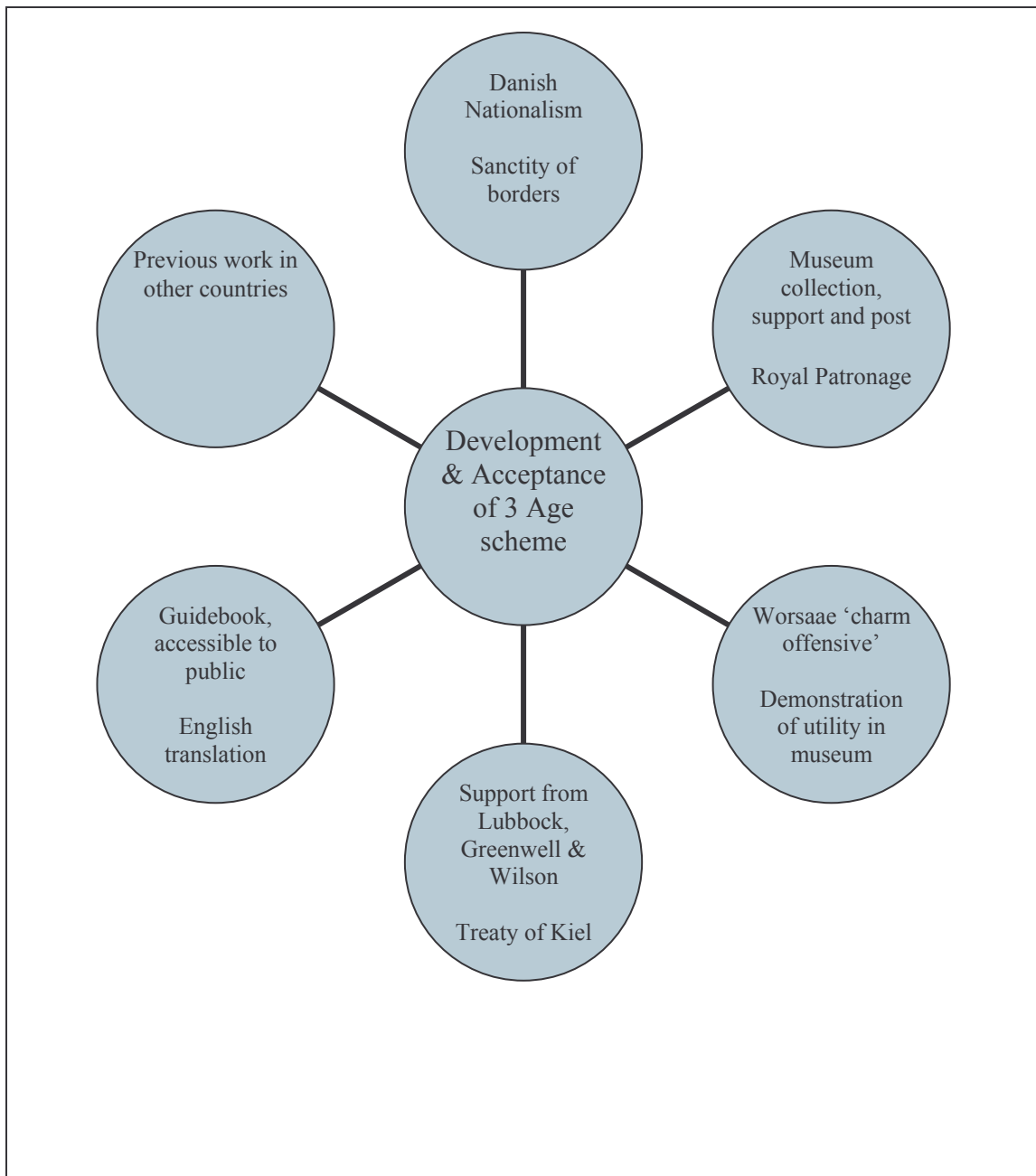


Figure 7.2: Important factors contributing to the creation and acceptance of Thomsen's scheme

Defeat of Napoleon	1815		
		1830-3	Lyell's <i>Principles of Geology</i> published
Victoria assumes throne	1837	1836	Thomsen's <i>Ledetraad til Nordisk Oldkyndighed</i> published
Layard's <i>Nineveh and its Remains</i> published	1849	1848	<i>Guide to Northern Archaeology</i> translated and first published
Darwin's <i>Origin of the Species</i> published	1859		
Lubbock's <i>Prehistoric Times</i> published	1865	1864	Invasion of Schleswig-Holstein
International congress of prehistoric archaeology held in Norwich	1869		
Schliemann begins excavations At Troy	1871		
Tylor's <i>Anthropology</i> published	1881	1882	Ancient Monuments Act passed

Figure 7.3: Timeline of important events contemporary with Greenwell and Lukis

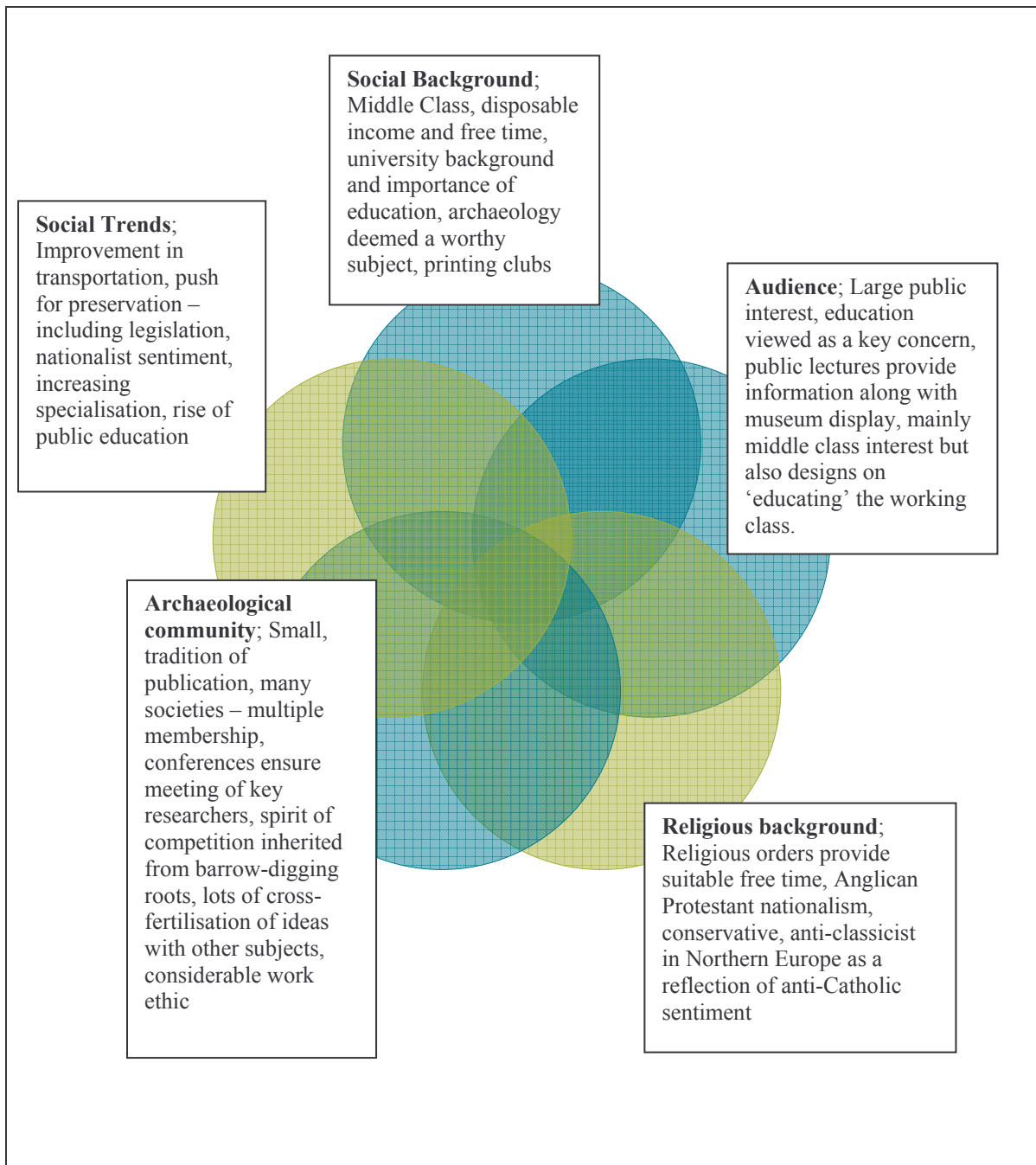


Figure 7.4: Key elements affecting archaeological work during the mid to late 19th century

Chapter 8: Application of Approach

8.1 Introduction

Several key concepts and assumptions underlying the current archaeological approach have been explored in earlier chapters. The specific material record of three areas and the historical background to their interpretation have also been examined. This chapter seeks to combine the two by applying the previously discussed theoretical approaches to archaeological and historical landscapes in a challenging and comparative narrative. The modern concept of ‘landscape’ itself has been explored and been shown to be shaped by the historical contingencies that affected the development of archaeology itself. Modern accounts privilege the landscape setting and it now forms an area of investigation in its own right. It is easy to generalise regarding the idea of ‘archaeological landscapes’, and a cautionary note is sounded by comparison of the three landscapes on the most basic level. All three are defined in the current thesis, and have been demarcated and studied in the past, over different spatial scales. To what extent this reflected a meaningful distribution in prehistory is discussed below (see **section 8.4**). Similarly, all three areas appear to have represented foci of activity over differing, if all considerably lengthy, periods of time. Only Kilmartin seems to retain significance during the Bronze Age in terms of monumental construction, and as a result, this thesis has tended to focus upon the Neolithic. To what extent the three landscapes represent ‘sacral landscapes’ as an archaeological type is open to debate. On a general level they exhibit many similarities, with the presence of megalithic tombs, accessible burial and the close proximity of non-domestic monumental sites. At a more specific level, there are considerable differences. Drenthe, for example, does not have as extensive a tradition of stone decoration as Kilmartin or the Morbihan, and lacks the variety in form of Neolithic monuments. Whether or not the three areas display similar types of site or were subject to similar underlying processes is hard to gauge. However, this leads to discussion of the similarities and differences of the societies that constructed these landscapes. This tends to obscure the long period of time over which the landscapes were created through the addition of new monuments and the reworking of older ones.

Estimations of the man-hours required to construct varying monument types or produce certain quantities of artefacts (particularly axes in the context of Brittany) is combined with ethnographic data in order to try to reconstruct the size of contemporary populations (although there are obvious hazards with this type of approach (e.g. Scarre, 2001a, Patton, 1993, 10-11)). Investigation into the relationship between monuments, particularly evidence of site ordering, can be used to infer potential levels of social organisation. This approach has been applied to Jersey, where the site of La Hogue Bie has been taken to represent a powerful centre due to its large size, central position and utilisation of a range of stone sources relative to other monumental sites on the island (Patton, 1993, 102). This has tentatively been attempted for Brittany (Scarre, 2001a), where the concentration of impressive monuments hints at a considerable population density. For Kilmartin and Drenthe, the situation is less clear, and in all areas the lack of settlement evidence is the greatest hindrance when approaching Neolithic demographics. Monumental evidence can thus become proxy evidence for settlement, and ultimately, population. This is problematic, especially if sacral landscapes as a type, characterised by separation from the mundane, is accepted as a category.

The application of Braudel's model of time to archaeological evidence affects how information is both conceived and accounted for. How this interrelates and affects archaeological discourse on change is explored below (see **section 8.3**). In turn, the related concept of *mentalité* (see **section 8.4**) is explored in terms of how evidence interpreted through the structures of the *longue durée*, *conjonctures* and *événements* is investigated and portrayed in archaeological accounts. In this sense, *mentalité* is a part of the archaeological interpretive toolkit. The selective processes of what to study, and how this is both portrayed in archaeological narrative and presented physically, is considered under a discussion of archaeological aesthetics (see **section 8.5**).

When reviewing the historiography of archaeology it becomes apparent that most accounts tend to make *a priori* assumptions regarding the coherence of the region or the phenomena investigated. By attempting to make these assumptions explicit it is hoped that the reasoning behind them will at least be made apparent, and thus the processes by which conclusions are drawn will be traced. Similarly, these

phenomena are interpreted along thematic lines arising from modern historical influences. By introducing an historical perspective surrounding the selection of themes, by not denying bias but giving it a central place within analysis, the assumptions underlying their acceptance can be explored. These themes tend to recur in the archaeological literature concerning the Neolithic and Bronze Age. They are also often interpreted along an implicitly or explicitly held division between culture and nature, which underlies most of the generative principles outlined below. Therefore, archaeological narrative is constructed from archaeological principles generated from both underlying assumptions and paradigmatic constants. As a parallel with this process, social factors in their broadest sense also exert influence over the individual writer. The mechanism to unlock this is provided by Bourdieu's generative model, which puts time, and therefore contingency, back into archaeological accounts. This also allows comparison of the underlying processes at work across the three different areas, and is addressed in the next section.

8.2 Generative Modelling

A researcher in any subject will begin with a series of themes, whether consciously or unconsciously held, that shape any subsequent discussion and that prevent a truly objective or scientific discourse. The approach in this chapter will begin with these ideas, identifying dominant trends in the historical interpretation of each area, making explicit their links with interpretation and evaluating them in light of the evidence. The traditional themes are provided by the history of archaeology (explored in **chapter 7**), whilst the data through which they are evaluated is discussed in **chapter 6**. This provides a method with which to assess whether these concepts can generate interesting social narratives, or if they have descended into truisms. The themes that arise from archaeological research provide the principles to be tested by the generative model. A range of themes are addressed, and when considering landscapes containing sacral monuments concepts of movement, perception and exclusion are particularly prevalent. These can take different forms in different areas, with ideas of sacral landscapes as destinations, or 'ritual centres', being applied to the Morbihan and Kilmartin (e.g. Scarre, 2001c). This is contrasted with Drenthe, where monuments are envisaged as following, or marking out, routeways, and are thus linked more to the journey itself than to the destination. These ideas are, of course,

speculative, though the themes themselves are derived from the archaeological literature and as such reflect archaeological realities. In this respect, the generative models explore archaeological thinking about sacral landscapes as much as the prehistoric development of such landscapes themselves.

A generalised model of the application of themes in archaeological accounts is provided in **figure 8.1**. This is based on the assumption that changes or alterations in the material record reflect a change in the community that created them. Following on from this, the idea has been developed (Gosden, 1994, 12) that change arises in response to the breakdown in efficacy of some form of social process and that the specifics of this change reflect the explicit principles at work behind normally implicitly functioning social processes. This is thought to be reflected in the material record by periods of change. Thus, in this assumption, change as a response to the misfiring of some aspect of the social is a negative position. In archaeological narrative the changes in the material record can either be interpreted along the same thematic lines, or can employ new generative principles. Many of the generative models overlap; for example, the role that the control of movement likely played in the inculcation of social knowledge, or the separation between culture and nature that the 'house for the dead' model is based upon. Thus, the production of narrative modelled in **figure 8.1** is an amalgam both of the reality of the archaeological record and the historiography of archaeological accounts. The archaeological record provides the yardstick against which the themes ultimately either succeed, leading to the extension of the theme as a metaphor for other areas or categories of evidence, or fail, leading to the selection of alternative themes. It is also important to stress the potential for manipulation inherent in the real situations described by the generative models. This can be found in the presence of many later additions to existing monuments, where the older associations of meanings and values come to be appropriated by later interest groups. This can be clearly illustrated by the incorporation of earlier decorated stones within the mound or chamber of later monuments, as at Nether Largie North in Kilmartin, or Table de Marchands in Brittany.

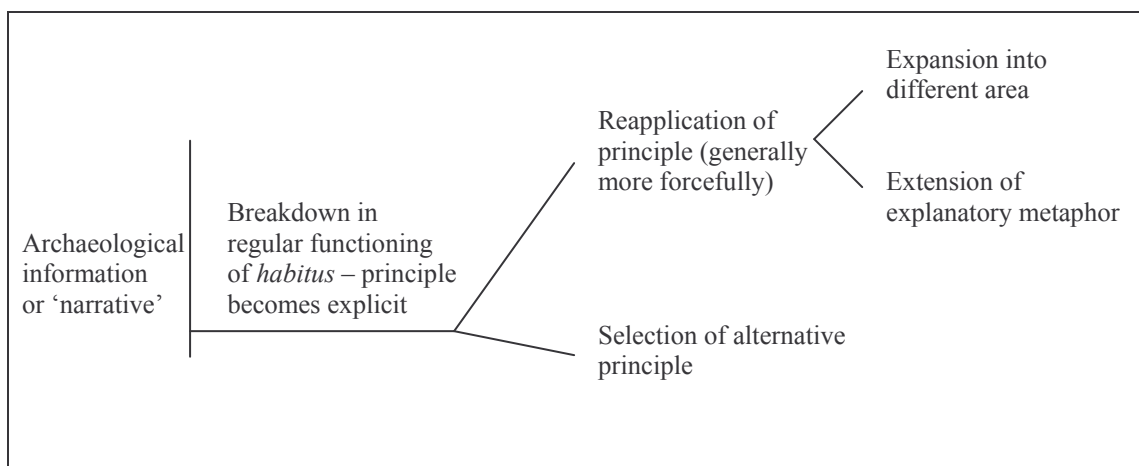


Figure 8.1 General application of generative model

Archaeologists can identify change in a variety of areas, from technology, to subsistence economy, to personal identity (Dobres, 2000, Fowler, 2004). This is reflected in a range of archaeological contexts and can be considered in terms of strategies of ‘fixing’ social problems in prehistory or coping with more positive innovation. One area, particularly pertinent for the current study, in which change can be identified, and is deemed particularly suitable for dealing with ruptures in everyday life, is considered to be ‘ritual’ (Bell, 1997, chapter 7). The relationship between stone and timber at monumental sites, for example (see below), a topic of recent debate, may reflect a breakdown in a previous tradition. Thus the change of material is viewed as an explicit attempt at solving a problem (Bourdieu, 1999, 107), rather than in terms of a retrogressively applied evolutionary scheme. That this does not always work in practice is suggested by Temple Wood (see **figure 6.4**), where the phase one wooden circle was partially replaced by stone, only to be dismantled, and a new stone circle was constructed (Scott, 1989). It seems that replacement was by itself insufficient in this example, and highlights the contingent nature of decision-making and the fact that the choices made can fail. The specifics of meaning of this social discontinuity are harder to reconstruct than the fact that it happened. The range of associations with timber or stone has been explored in anthropological terms as well as within archaeological work, in which the recurrent associations of stone or timber are explored in relation to other monument types. The tendency to project modern ideas connected to the idea of timber or stone is a problem in this regard, as are building interpretations of their respective roles upon contextual associations with monuments already pre-interpreted as ‘mortuary’ or ‘ritual’.

Repeat activity at monumental sites, insofar as it can be characterised as ‘repetitive’ (i.e. is of similar nature, not involving a radical alteration of the site), is viewed as representing continuity. The Mesolithic shell middens are a particularly clear example of this. This is often viewed as a desirable social goal: “making continuity out of discontinuity...through infinite additions of the infinitely small” (Bourdieu, 1999, 107). Alteration at a site is commonly correlated with discontinuity and evidence is sought from other spheres of archaeological evidence to find corresponding patterns. Again, change is ultimately portrayed as a reaction to a negative. Discontinuity is also viewed as a malfunctioning of the socio-cultural order, with radical change characterised as the explicit process by which this is ‘fixed’ (Bourdieu, 1999, 110-11, Gosden, 1994). This obscures the fact that at any one point cyclical or repetitious activity would represent a contingent decision, prone to all the potential uncertainties that also led to more radical action. The fact that it did not result in its characterisation in the present time as cyclical, and therefore running smoothly. This poses problems if both change and continuity require explanation, though it is important that neither state is viewed as ‘natural’ or that either evades critical examination. What can be approached with confidence are the abstract schemes brought to, and arising from, the archaeological evidence.

The first theme to be explored underlies many accounts of the Neolithic in Western Europe, including the three landscapes studied in this thesis. This is the idea of a ‘house for the dead’: the central principle being that mortuary monuments provided a house for the deceased in the same manner that domestic settlement does for the living. The connection between domestic arrangements and mortuary evidence provides the metaphor for interpreting archaeological material (Bradley, 2002b, 2005, chapter 2). This is an idea with a long history, though it has been continually updated and reapplied, and has been recently articulated by Ian Hodder (1984, 1990; also see Madsen, 1979, Whittle, 1996), drawing specific points of comparison between long mounds and long houses, and later in connection with the ‘domus’ and ‘agrios’ principles. Earlier accounts reference ethnographic parallels that portray a similar model, and Magdalena Midgley provides a model from an archaeological perspective for the physical connection between the long houses and long mounds (Midgley, 2005, 130). Older use of this idea can be connected to ecclesiastical metaphors put

forward in the 19th century, often by clergymen, and linked to the stereotypical antiquarian obsession with death. More recently, this idea has been reinforced by the similarity in plan of long mounds and long houses on the continent. This conceptual connection is bolstered by physical connections between these types of site, such as the appearance of a Cerny cemetery over an earlier VSG village at the French site of Balloy (Mordant, 1998). It has also been employed to link the settlement evidence of Orkney with chamber tombs in Scotland. This generative principle can be set out in a basic diagram (see **figure 8.2**), and tested against the archaeological evidence in relation to the process of Neolithisation.

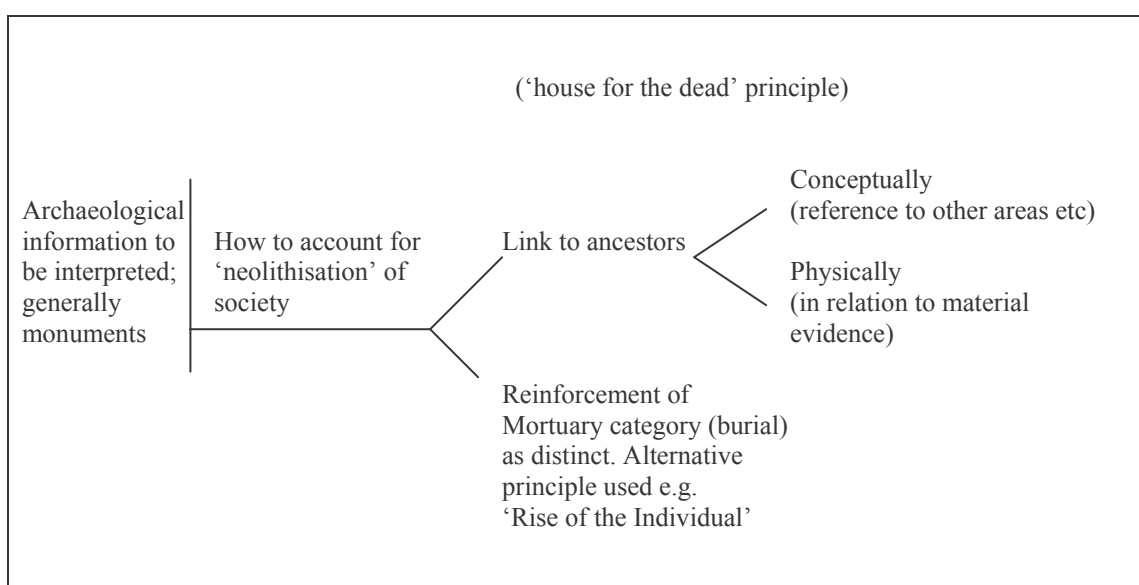


Figure 8.2: Generative model of ‘house for the dead’ principle

The type of archaeological information interpreted using this model generally centres upon monuments, and is most commonly involved within discourse concerning the process of becoming Neolithic, or ‘more’ Neolithic. If this material can be interpreted in terms of ancestors, a recurring theme in Neolithic studies, this then feeds back into the definition of archaeological information in the first place. In this sense, the theme can act akin to the *habitus*, predetermining the categories of evidence that it subsequently interprets. The conceptual and physical links to the idea of ancestors need not be mutually exclusive, indeed the predominant way we approach the former is through the latter. Thus, ideas of Neolithic society that refer back through some form of folk memory to diffusion from central Europe are traced through the similarity of long mounds and long houses. The failure of the application

of this model leads to the selection of alternative metaphors. The selection of another model tends to recast the nature of the evidence in different terms, and thus not as a process of 'Neolithisation'. Thus, ideas more commonly associated with the Bronze Age, including individual burial (reflecting a more modern conception of self), may be stressed in place of ancestor worship. Circular reasoning can have an effect, whereby if it is not ancestor worship it is not Neolithic, with the reverse also being true.

The first point of comparison is in plan and appearance, in this respect the long mound tradition and the long houses are particularly closely linked, emphasised by the discovery of later mounds over earlier houses and indeed later cemeteries over earlier settlement (Midgley, 2005, 41). The linear division of space (Patton, 1993, 55) is another obvious point of similarity. This close connection is potentially lessened conceptually by the lack of access to the long mounds themselves. The east-west or north-west/south-east orientation of most long mounds finds a parallel with long houses (Hodder, 1984, 55). In many cases, the eastern end of both monument types seems to have been more of a focus of activity and was often larger (Patton, 1993, 54). The *hunebedden*, for example, are generally oriented along the east-west axis (Bakker, 1992, 13) although with several slight deviations, paralleling the north west to south east alignments of the settlement site of Elsloo to the south of Drenthe (Whittle, 1996, 163). In Brittany, the long house tradition is absent, although it is found in neighbouring Normandy. The closest example to Brittany is the V.S.G. long house at Le Haut Mée (Cassen et al, 1998). The asymmetry of the ground plan for this domestic site has been compared to the tertés tumulaires of Mané Pochat, Mané Ty Ec and Le Manio II in Carnac (Laporte et al, 2002, 78). Similarly, traditions of roundhouse construction have been compared to the passage graves and their circular covering mounds (Bradley, 2005, 62). In Scotland, the connection between the stone furniture in the well-preserved settlements and monumental tombs in Orkney has led to the development and application of this idea into other areas where the evidence, particularly in relation to settlement, is less equivocal.

The 'monumental' aspect of longhouses would equate with the impressive size of long mounds, though a large corpus of Neolithic monuments, including standing stones and avenues cannot be explained through this model. The comparisons

amongst the Orcadian evidence rest upon the tradition of stone as building material and the internal features of the sites. However, settlement such as Skara Brae may not be representative of settlement in the Orkney Islands as a whole (Richards, 2005b, Clarke, 2003), let alone wider regional areas. Similarly, Orkney has surviving examples of both ‘sacral’ and ‘domestic’ sites, making it a very unusual area. The categories of surviving sites, predominantly tombs and settlements, tends to reinforce the schemes that draw parallels between them. For Kilmartin, the parallel is less convincing, particularly as little settlement evidence exists. Similarly, the survival of monumental wooden structures found to the east, such as Balbridie (of a potentially domestic nature), find little parallel in the west. Functional arguments pointing to a mobile way of life, and thus explaining the lack of settlement evidence, suggest that monuments probably did play on ideas of ancestor worship. This position views monuments as providing a focal point for dispersed rural communities and a mechanism for reinforcing claims to land. In this sense, ‘monumentalism’ and ‘megalithism’ become functional aspects of this idea and not simply unexplained epiphenomena. In Drenthe, the larger *hunebedden* chambers resemble long houses in plan with a generally rectangular layout and access from the long side and there is LBK cultural material found in the south of the country, so exemplars were likely there for prehistoric communities in the north. However, the covering mound is generally circular or oval with the exception of D43 Schimmeres in Emmen (see **figure 6.13**), where two passage graves are enclosed in a long mound (Bakker, 1992, 15). *Hunebedden* are built from stone, although presumably the relationship between timber and stone could account for this change in meaning (see below, Bradley, 2005). If there is a connection between the *hunebedden* and earlier long houses, it is more conceptual than the more direct comparisons present in the long mounds of Brittany.

If the generative model for this principle closely resembled reality, the artefacts found within the mortuary contexts would reflect those found within settlement. In the Netherlands, pottery is found in substantial numbers in the *hunebedden*. This pottery differs from the styles used in domestic contexts (Bakker, 1992), though this does not necessarily invalidate the parallel. In the same way, beaker pottery from *hunebedden* appears to differ from the majority of styles associated with individual burial (de Groot, 1988, 99). That domestic areas were

centres of production, at least on a very local scale, is highly likely and reinforced by the presence in numbers of ceramic and stone debris that mark out many settlement sites. If the model is closely followed it would be reasonable to assume that such evidence would be found in some of the monumental contexts. Again, the evidence is not securely indicative either way, although the flint core discovered within Mané-Hui was likely used to strike the arrowheads found in the same chamber (Boujot & Cassen, 1993, 483). The artefacts that are found in many of the long mounds in the Morbihan (e.g. Lecornec, 1994, Le Rouzic, 1920, Herbaut, 2000, Cassen & Pétrequin, 1999) are considerably richer than those found from the few settlement sites located (Hénaff, 2002), whether through bias of preservation or prehistoric preference. This is also true for the evidence from Kilmartin and to a lesser extent, Drenthe.

In terms of the individual objects, it is perhaps better to compare the classes of artefact present rather than individual examples, which tend to be more spectacular in the monumental contexts. Stone tools, particularly axes and flaked tools, are found in both monuments and in settlements, although the latter category of site is largely under represented in the archaeological record of the three areas. Arrowheads, often found in monuments, are present in numbers throughout the Dutch landscape, though less so in the Morbihan and at Kilmartin. Complete pots were inserted in many monuments and were often broken by later activity, though it is also likely that at some sites, broken pottery was added. The connotations of this are hard to interpret, although the idea of breaking items so that they can be used in the next world, whilst an attractive proposition, is hard to apply, especially as many other artefacts from sites in the three areas were recovered undamaged. Pottery, as previously noted is prevalent in most types of Neolithic assemblage. Both complete pots and broken sherds are found deposited in monuments, though the broken pottery in general seems more closely connected to activity outside many sites, especially the parvis of the *hunebedden* or the façade of sites in Kilmartin and the Morbihan. Similarly, animal bones, where they survive, have been found in monumental contexts (see **figure 6.10**), while also representing an important facet of domestic life. The surviving evidence is often from what are commonly held to be the less productive parts of animal remains, such as the skull and jaw (e.g. Bakker, 1992, 47, Simpson, 1967). This is not necessarily the case, however, as on a pig, a large edible muscle is found on the jaw. The skull itself may have represented a more prestigious cut as it would

have required longer to process (Knight, 2001, 52). The five horse skulls from Mané Lud might be interpreted in this way, although their position in the mound, the association with the pillars and the location outside of the chamber (Galles, & Mauricet, 1864), suggest otherwise. The ox burial underneath Er Grah was of an animal that was buried whole (Tresset, 2003). The sample size is small, and may reflect the different survival of certain bones (such as teeth) as compared to others. In a similar fashion to pottery, animal bones from outside monuments may better reflect consumption in some form of activity. Animal remains therefore may have reflected the symbolic importance of animals as food rather than the actual choice cuts. This would be at odds with the artefactual evidence however, where the imported and good quality material seems to have been selected for deposition. This is especially the case for assemblages in the *tumulus carnaéens* or *tertes tumulaires* in the Morbihan, and to a lesser extent the more poorly furnished passage graves in the same area, or the chamber tombs in Kilmartin.

The 'house for the dead' model presupposes a certain relationship with the deceased, including emphasising both their closeness and their distinctness from the living. The link of long mounds with earlier long houses, for example, does not explain why burial traditions would not mirror contemporary and more local settlement forms, and all three landscapes are outside the distribution of the longhouse tradition. Attempts to connect local monument traditions with settlement evidence, such as round houses to passage graves in round mounds (Bradley, 2005, 62) provides an expansion of the metaphor into other areas. A variety of Neolithic monuments appear incompatible with interpretation in this way, although some theories do attempt to incorporate them, such as by viewing menhirs as memorials to deceased individuals. The choice of a more distant parallel is commonly explained with reference to some form of folk memory of movement from earlier Neolithic regions and thus an ancestral connection is established (e.g. Hodder, 1984, Bradley, 1991). This is also why the division between the long mound and passage grave traditions is often framed in relation to a newcomer/indigenous model. Perhaps, a distance in time is being maintained in a similar manner to a spatial distance, as suggested by the sacral nature of Kilmartin Valley, or local settlement forms might have proven unsuitable, potentially by their insubstantial nature. The model is also based upon both a separation of the 'domestic' and 'sacral' as categories that can be defined and

investigated, and their subsequent reintegration into the same conceptual scheme. Thus, underneath this principle a circular logic appears to operate, based on both the separation and the inherent connection between two categories of culture. Bound up in the term ‘neolithic’ are ideas of domestication and territory that seep into any interpretation, so it appears common sense that tombs are full of ancestors, living in houses for the dead, that mark a claim over the land and are used as the setting for “religious and perhaps political assembly” (Greenwell, 1866, 337). Thus the ‘house for the dead’ principle carries with it a range of associated values that can be used to extend the metaphor, such as the existence of a religious society, some form of priestly elite, and a largely egalitarian community. In this way, the analogy has been developed further, and Greenwell views the position of the standing stones in relation to nearby cairns and other monuments in a similar way to how burials are found next to churches, extending the ecclesiastical analogy (Greenwell, 1866, 337). Similarly, Patton views passage graves as fulfilling the same type of role as that played by parish churches in Medieval communities, or cathedrals for the larger monuments (1993, 69). At its heart though, ancestor worship is the key element, often making the model superfluous as it pervades archaeological narrative.

The ‘house for the dead’ model also links domestic and sacral monuments to other schemes, especially Ian Hodder’s idea of ‘domus’ and ‘agrios’, sorting the archaeological data into a pre-established structural format, although Hodder later abandoned this idea of domestic traditions literally translated into mortuary ones (1990, Patton, 1993, 56). Again, the dominant archaeological model acts in a similar fashion to the *habitus*, incorporating archaeological material into conceptual schemes before it is ‘interpreted’. Overlap between interpretive models is perhaps inevitable, and the next principle to be discussed - ‘the rise of the individual’ - builds on the distinctions in the mortuary record that archaeologists use to differentiate between ancestor worship and individual burial. In this way, the next model is an alternative to the ‘house for the dead’ principle in archaeological narrative. It is based upon a more modern idea of the dead as retaining personal identity in death, rather than becoming an ancestor.

The ‘rise of the individual’ has been invoked to explain the appearance of single inhumation in place of larger, supposedly communal, burial monuments. As a

model it is generally applied to later Neolithic evidence. The central principle of this theme is the increasing recognition of the individual, as reflected in the retention of identity in death, as opposed to the deceased performing some other role, such as that of an ancestor. This idea of individuality is reflective of modern ideas of ‘self’ (see **chapter 4**; Fowler, 2004, 3) and is in contrast to the more communal egalitarian interpretations put forward for earlier monuments. The most eloquent exponent of this idea was Gordon Childe (1925), who developed the idea of enterprising nomads roaming Western Europe. The context for the development of these ideas is influenced primarily by a capitalist model, with vigorous entrepreneurs striking out to the west in order to make their fortune. This is combined with the portrayal of contemporary Mediterranean societies, a world viewed as much closer to our own in terms of the trappings of ‘civilisation’. Thus, the Atlantic coast of Europe was viewed in terms of resources to be extracted, goods to be produced and indigenes to be traded with. This is further reinforced by beaker studies that tend to place the origins of this ceramic style in the Rhine delta (Lanting & van der Waals, 1976), with early derivations from the Iberian Peninsula. Recent evidence from beaker burial in central Europe (Douglas Price et al, 2004) suggests a mobility of population, fuelling the concept of individuals moving around in search of profit. The principle of the ‘rise of the individual’ is set out in a generative model (see **figure 8.3**) and is generally discussed in terms of burial evidence.

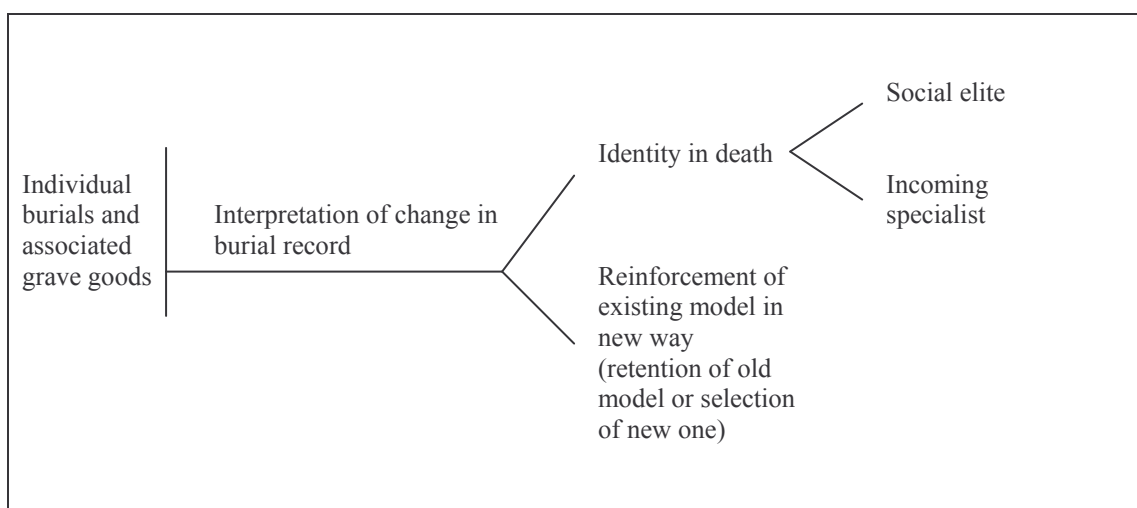


Figure 8.3: Generative model of ‘the rise of the individual’ principle

The generative model is based upon changes in the material record, in particular the burial record, at the end of the Neolithic, which occur over considerable

areas of Western Europe during similar periods. This is basically the appearance of individual, non-monumental burial with a recurring set of artefactual assemblages. The archaeological material is characterised by Beaker, or Corded Ware, grave goods, occasionally with rich finds or 'archer' assemblages (Shennan, 1986). The identification of this material tends to be interpreted along two main lines, either as a social elite procuring items of prestige (Harrison, 1980), or representing the actual movement of people (Childe, 1925, Douglas Price et al, 2004). The former type of argument suggests the development of another level of social hierarchy, and often links in to models of prestige good economies. The latter is based on the movement of people, the characteristics of which are debatable, though the discovery of domestic beaker pottery opens up the possibility of larger scale movement alongside more individual journeys. Both these interpretations need not be mutually exclusive, and although the assemblages have considerable similarities over wide areas, the likelihood is that there was variation upon a theme. The contrast between the individual and the group is made through the association of individual inhumation with grave goods. In the three areas studied, the 'communal' burials are hard to define as such, due to the poor preservation of bone. The long mound tradition likely contained small numbers of inhumations or even individual burial, though these are often interpreted in terms of ancestors as opposed to being discussed in terms of personhood and individuality. The monumental aspect of earlier burial is not repeated, though is referenced by later insertions into mounds or chambers, often being a component of the final blocking of a monument, and thus located at an identifiable moment of change which is reflected in archaeological accounts. This association with the closure of earlier monument types is another factor in the adoption of this explanatory model, although a background tradition of burial likely remained throughout the Neolithic. This generally consists of simple burial in unmarked flat graves and is suggestive of continuity in many respects with the more 'individual' burials identified toward the end of the Neolithic and into the Bronze Age.

The 'rise of the individual' principle is closely linked to an economic model that appears increasingly capitalistic, involving the movement of prestige goods and an increasingly differentiated society. Again, the individual in this explanation exhibits modern sensibilities and displays an entrepreneurial character, whilst the power structures seem to accommodate a rich social strata when compared to the

supposedly egalitarian Neolithic, which is commonly characterised as having a small, often priestly, ruling elite. The metaphor allows expansion into other areas of society and nascent market economies are discussed in terms of trade and exchange. Similarly, the evidence of extensive stone quarries in Brittany and the large scale production of axes are portrayed in terms of ‘factories’ and specialist producers. At the quarry site of Plussulien (Côtes-d’Armor), activity appears to have begun around the late 5th millennium BC, followed by several phases of use, before the site was abandoned around 2,000 BC (Le Roux, 1999). This combines with the assumption that extensive exchange networks, which in Brittany are in evidence from at least the Late Neolithic (Giot et al, 1998, 490-5, Le Roux, 1999, Scarre, 2001a), created social hierarchies (Patton, 1993, 28), which in turn results in a proto-modern characterisation of prehistoric society. Individual burial is also connected to ideas of maintaining property (Tarlow, 2000) as opposed to being emblematic of group territory. Evidence of increasingly open environments from around the end of the Neolithic is caught up in ideas of development of the land and progress, again reinforcing the modern connotations of this model.

The evidence is more equivocal than the model suggests, however, with often inconclusive evidence for earlier communal burial and the presence of ‘individual’ burial with artefacts from an early period. There was also variation in mortuary practice over the Early Bronze Age and the body may not have ended up in the ‘individual’ state we would expect (Brück, 2004, 310). Alternative theories have recently been put forward concerning the construction of personhood and the limitations of modern concepts of the ‘individual’, when examining prehistory (see **chapter 4**; e.g. Jones, 2005b, Brück, J. 2004, Fowler, 2004). Andy Jones criticises both the modern nature of the self-contained individual, as well as highlighting the unsuitability of applying ethnographic examples, such as the ‘dividual’, in an overly generalised way (Jones, 2005b, 195). Jones proposes that different historical processes create different types of people, suggesting that the arrival of the Neolithic way of life was one such opportunity for renegotiation (2005b, 200), and presumably this could also apply to the changes over the Early Bronze Age. Drawing on a variety of ethnographic examples (Jones, 2005b, 197), he also highlights the relational nature of personhood, created out of interactions with people, with objects and with their environment. Above all, the creation of personhood is viewed as a material

engagement, and, explicitly exploring northwestern European Neolithic examples, Jones views personhood as articulated at sites such as burial monuments and landscape features (2005b, 215). The alteration in focus at mortuary sites during the Early Bronze Age may thus indicate a change in construction of personhood, though not in generalised terms of a move to a more modern, bounded individual.

Dealing specifically with the notion of the individual in the Early Bronze Age, Joanna Brück criticises the dominant accounts for this area as being generalised, modern and with an over emphasis on status (Brück, 2004, 326). In a similar way to Jones, she suggests that personal identity was more relational and fluid than the concept of a bounded individual allows (Brück, 2004, 307). These ideas are explored in relation to Early Bronze Age mortuary contexts, suggesting that funerary rites were more to do with coping with loss, than displaying the status of a prehistoric ‘individual’ (Brück, 2004, 326). The application of modern ideas of ownership has been criticised and the division between people and animals, and between people and things, may not have been as sharply drawn as it is today (Brück, 2004, 324, Ingold, 2000, chapter 6), making it harder to apply interpretations of the individual. Brück portrays the change in burial rites over the Early Bronze Age as representing a coping mechanism to deal with the ruptures that death may bring, and that these display regional variations, thus undermining a single, generalised model of the individual self (Brück, 2004, 311). Similarly to Jones, Brück views the relational aspect of self as resulting in elements of the individual existing outside of the biological body itself (Jones, 2005b, 197, Brück, 2004, 325) with the fragmentation and accumulation of objects in funerary contexts reflecting this.

The narrative built up around the rise of the individual and the importance of status results in the characterisation of a number of societal ‘roles’, for example the ‘archer’ assemblage (Fitzpatrick, 2002, Brück, 2004, 310). The archer assemblage is interesting in that it is an identity that seems to be maintained in death, rather than the fact that such an identity would be regarded as particularly special in life. Manipulation of previous practices is particularly apparent with reference to earlier sites, in that the later burials can be placed within, or near to, existing monuments. This acts as a ‘material citation’ linking burials to earlier periods (Jones, 2005b, 200). This also highlights the fact that due to the location of graves in cemeteries, and

therefore their relation to earlier monuments, the identity of the deceased is in part constituted by the relationship to other burials. Similar material can also be associated with the closure of monuments or a drastic change in character, again through the insertion of cist burial. The prevalence of individual burial, especially in earlier monuments that are interpreted along 'domus' themes, fuels the idea of 'agrrios' concepts coming to the fore. The next principle is prevalent in interpretations of prehistoric life from an earlier period than the Bronze Age individual (with his similarity to the modern person). The idea of the 'noble savage' is as distanced from modern times as the 'individual' is closely related, and affects how we conceptualise people from early prehistory.

The concept of the 'noble savage' is another generative principle of considerable age that exerts a strong influence over archaeological accounts. Viewed as closely linked with the writing of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778; Rousseau, 1997; for alternative view see Ellingson, 2001), this idea combined with romantic concepts of rural idylls, nature mysticism and trends such as 'celtomania' to create a nostalgic view of the past that was applied further back in time as prehistory itself deepened. The appeal of the 'noble savage' in the 19th century can be portrayed as a reaction against the Industrial Revolution and the associated implications of urbanisation. The underlying innocence of man in nature ties in with biblical accounts as well as the exotic in the form of descriptions of indigenous peoples from the New World (Ellingson, 2001, chapter 4). In archaeological accounts this has tended to take the form of portraying prehistoric people, in particular Mesolithic people, as operating in unison with nature (Davies et al, 2005), whilst contrasting this with the human relationship with the environment in later periods. The fundamental principle reflects a collapse of the categories of culture and nature and the portrayal of this in a sympathetic light.

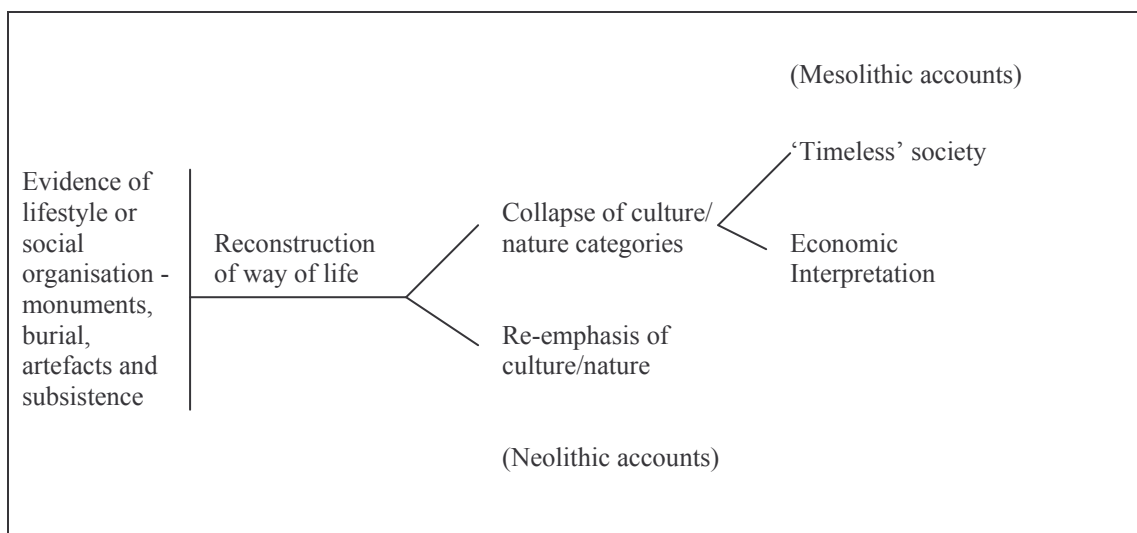


Figure 8.4: Generative model of the ‘noble savage’ principle

The generative model (**figure 8.4**) highlights how the central principle of the ‘noble savage’ collapses the categories of culture and nature in order to portray hunter-gatherer society. Similarly, it eschews the superstructure/ infrastructure model developed for modern society within Marxist accounts. However, this often leads to discussion of Mesolithic society in purely economic terms, with social or cultural factors at best epiphenomenal, or at worst, not distinguished from more general, functional aspects of the economy. In either case, the vision of society is far removed from that of a post-industrial era and is much harder to project a modern economic approach upon, which in this sense is part of the appeal. Characterisations of the Mesolithic can be overly static, denying modern ideas of progress and confining it to an essentially timeless and ‘innocent’ state. A similar characterisation of the Neolithic can also be presented, and is implicit in Greenwell’s work, highlighted when he rejects an explanatory model as “too artificial for such a state of society” (Greenwell, 1877, 27). Categories of evidence deemed suitable to distinguish between different ways of life are often less direct than settlement as this is poorly represented in the three areas studied. It is often a restricted and less indicative range of evidence focused on monuments and including burial, artefact types and subsistence. Furthermore, it is generally specific aspects of these categories that are used to distinguish between different lifestyles, such as polishing of stone tools, the presence of cultivated plants (no matter how small in quantity) or the presence of monumentalism in burial. These fine lines lead to characterisation of sites as

‘Mesolithic’ or ‘Neolithic’ and they are then involved in considerably different interpretive frameworks of archaeological narrative.

Each of the three areas either contained a strong Mesolithic presence, or had one nearby. Certain characteristics of Mesolithic sites can be compared to Neolithic communities with many points of similarity. Several authors suggest that these similarities represent continuity across the Mesolithic/ Neolithic divide. In terms of differing spheres of interpretation, the point has already been well made that Mesolithic evidence, once labelled as such, is interpreted according to different criteria than Neolithic material (Armit & Finlayson, 1992, Thomas, 1988). For example, clearance in relation to a Neolithic society is often interpreted in cultural terms, as opposing the ‘nature’ represented by the forest. Economic use is explored as of underlying importance, with symbolism as an epiphenomenon, mirroring the superstructure/infrastructure model. Mesolithic clearance is interpreted in terms of attracting game, regeneration or perhaps limited forest management. The cultural aspect is often downplayed, with many clearances believed to be caused by natural factors and exploited by opportunistic hunter-gatherers. In this way, Mesolithic communities are portrayed as working ‘at one’ with nature. Alternative approaches have been put forward more recently however, especially those that consider the creation of place through the movement of Mesolithic people through the landscape. The ‘noble savage’ principle still exerts a lot of influence however. Hunting for example is considered a prestigious activity during the Neolithic, mainly due to the finds of arrowheads in monumental contexts and precisely because it may not have been an important subsistence activity. This may reflect more recent parallels drawn with the medieval period and the idea of the ‘hunt’, or simply the division between work and leisure time. During the Mesolithic, however, hunting is viewed as primarily subsistence-orientated, with little scope for prestige. This exposes a fundamental illogical assumption, whereby the prestige of an activity is inversely linked to its ‘economic’ importance.

The portrayal of Mesolithic society as described in the model can either be positive, placed in opposition to the drawbacks, real or imagined, of modern society, or negative, portraying a backward, non-progressive society. In a similar way, the ‘timelessness’ of society can be portrayed either as a good or bad characteristic. The

principle can also be expanded to provide the characterisation, in terms of opposition, of Neolithic society. Thus Neolithic society is characterised as more modern and operating against, or at least in an attempt to dominate, nature. The current vogue for explanations that suggest that the Neolithic way of life, especially in Britain, arose from acculturation of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers reflects this concern. It is tempting to view these explanations, especially centred upon evidence from the south of England, as retaining a nationalistic element (Barclay, 2004). The indigenous communities are credited with the uptake of elements of the Neolithic package that they found advantageous, and ultimately developed into a recognisable more 'modern' society. This also recalls a British, specifically English, idea of taking the best aspects from incomers (Trigger, 2003, 168). This view privileges the Mesolithic communities in terms of their relationship with a new way of life and incoming traditions. A similarly modern viewpoint tends to portray hunter-gatherer societies as being more knowledgeable about plants and animals than Neolithic or even modern society, though as has been pointed out this idea is perhaps over simplified (Mithen, 2004, 255). What is known from the three landscapes is that there was a strong Mesolithic presence in the neighbouring environs. The role of indigenous hunter-gatherers varies in archaeological accounts of the three areas, however. The 'noble savage' principle is based upon a harmonious relationship with nature, and this has filtered into archaeological accounts. The reality of this is harder to gauge. Some commentators (e.g. Davies et al, 2005) stress the harsher aspects of the Mesolithic relationship to the environment whilst it is also important to recognise that the modern view of the forest as dangerous and wild may not be applicable to prehistoric life. In either event, the 'noble savage' principle has come to provide the framework through which the relationship of the Mesolithic and Neolithic is explored in archaeological narrative. It became very much a Romantic concept and in many ways the Noble Savage is the opposite of Enlightenment Man. A similar division is present in the next generative model, concerning the relationship between timber and stone.

The relationship between timber and stone is a well-explored topic, through which questions concerning the differences in material employed at prehistoric monuments can be approached. The relationship between timber and stone is an example of a phenomenon that has been elevated to a generative principle in some accounts, whilst the difference between the two is downplayed in others. The

latter view tends to point with some justification to the fact that the differential survival of the two materials may be responsible for any patterning rather than prehistoric social factors. The relationship between wood and stone in prehistoric monuments is often considered as a straightforward transition from wood to stone, the replacement of a less durable material with a more enduring one, and retains something of an evolutionist aspect. Increasingly, archaeological evidence suggests that in many cases this may be an over-simplification (Gibson, 1998a). Many monuments may have been composite, the first circle at Temple Wood being an example (Scott, 1989), the difference in preservation between the materials being more important than any potential difference in meaning. The range of monument form may similarly represent the main differences in usage rather than the material used in their construction. Stone and timber monuments therefore have the potential to be 'equivalent', or at least contemporary.

On the other hand, the importance of medium in prehistoric monuments has been much discussed (e.g. Bradley, 1997, Gibson, 1998a, Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina, 1998a, 1998b, Parker Pearson, 2000). How differently timber and stone were considered, however, is difficult to ascertain. Most modern commentators simply consider stone as representing a more durable material, and the resulting modern connections with ideas of permanence and immortality, especially when connected to the human life cycle. Michael Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina have recently explored this issue in relation to Stonehenge (1998a). In this account, the idea of 'hardening' as a process of maturation (Parker Pearson, 2000, 203) is borrowed from anthropological work on Madagascar (e.g. Bloch, 1997) and linked to the concept of a parallel land for the ancestors and for the living. That stone is unlikely to be linked with ideas of 'softness' by virtue of its physical properties seems reasonable and illustrates that meaning is not simply arbitrary. However, that it would be involved in similar conceptual schemes involving ancestor worship, particularly in opposition to the cultural associations with timber, is harder to prove. Similarly, the potential for harder woods to assume the connotations of stone in certain circumstances (Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina, 1998a, 322), and the different roles that the materials would represent to different elements of society, serves to indicate the difficulties of applying ethnographic parallels.

The physical properties of certain types of stone are invoked as evidence of the ‘superiority’ of stone in terms of building material or symbolic associations (Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina, 1998a, 308), and the visual impact of quartz has been considered at several monumental sites (e.g. Burl, 1976). Similarly, especially in connection with axe studies, certain stone appears to have held social value based on appearance and the source from which it came (Ray, 2004). The specific historical circumstances of exchange would also affect the aesthetic value, whether exchanged as part of a dowry or as a goodwill gesture (or a multitude of other potential situations). In this way, the biography of the object is central to its relative importance (Appadurai, 1986b), although this complicates the values attributed to an artefact based on the material that it is made from. Similarly, different types of wood likely held different connotations (Bloch, 1998, Rival, 1998b), with the preference for oak at palisaded sites in Britain already mentioned (Gibson, 1998b).

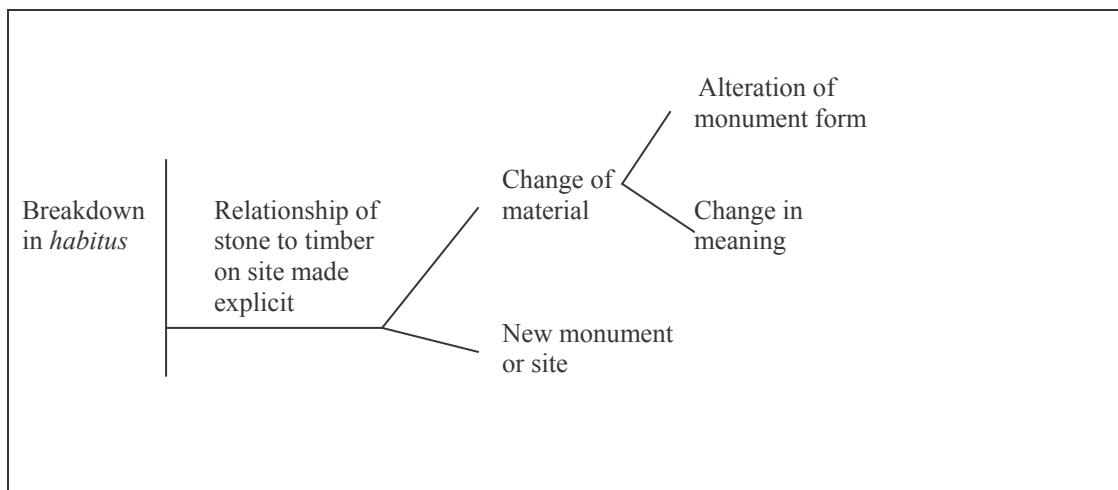


Figure 8.5: Generative model of the ‘relationship between timber and stone’ principle

The generative model of the relationship between timber and stone (see **figure 8.5**) presupposes that a breakdown in the regular functioning of the *habitus* provided the motor for change (Gosden, 1994), and that this can be reflected by changes at monuments. On the one hand, the specific meaning attached to timber or stone is context dependant and probably varies through time, though this does not prevent speculation as to potential associations (see below). On the other hand, that change can reflect social malfunctioning through alteration of the material record, if accepted, is a universal process. The types of site that are investigated through the model are those that contain elements that were, or likely could have been, constructed either of

timber or stone. This includes cists or coffins, mortuary structures, uprights, alignments and circles. The presence of grooving on stone cists from Kilmartin for example suggests that there was an earlier, or contemporary, timber-working tradition. A change in material might then reflect a change in meaning, and although this can only be guessed at, the direct replacement of one material with another might suggest this. Alternatively, this change may result in an alteration of monument form that is not dependant on the relationship between timber and stone. On a basic level, this relationship is complicated by other materials important to the construction of Neolithic monuments, such as earth and turf, although it then becomes harder to portray change in terms of a structural opposition. Change at a site might also represent the construction of an entirely new monument in the eyes of the prehistoric builders and thus have entirely new sets of meaning.

The specific characteristics of the relationship between the two materials are harder to reconstruct, however, mainly as the cultural connotations of each material would be specific to each community. It is also unlikely that this relationship remained constant over the millennia in which the monuments were in active use. One area in which the relationship can be explored on an initially functional level is astronomy. Astronomical settings would require a long series of observations and subsequent adjustment. Timber would provide an easier material to work with in this regard (though bearing in mind the pitfalls of using the ‘least effort’ assumption). Construction techniques commonly associated with timber are present on stone monuments, such as grooving on cist sides and covering slabs, which may suggest a tradition of wooden techniques translated into stone (Campbell of Kilberry et al, 1961, Ritchie, 1997, 85). This also suggests that the prehistoric builders wanted to refer back conceptually to a timber tradition. This was done either directly or through the lens of a new material, particularly stone, with all of the ways that it could alter the original meaning. Similarly, wood-working techniques translated into stone have been cautiously inferred in relation to the furniture at Skara Brae (Clarke, 2003, 91). This connects the relationship of timber and stone to the ‘house for the dead’ model, and it is tempting to identify a parallel between the translation of once-living timber to stone and the human life cycle. This can also be applied in the interpretation of the *hunebedden*. If the ‘house for the dead’ model is accepted, the linearity, orientation and size of several *hunebedden* suggest a potential link with the longhouse tradition.

The similarity in plan between D43-Emmen and a longhouse (Bakker, 1992, 161, fig. 12), but of lithic construction instead of timber, points to the eternal connotations often ascribed to stone. This is complicated by the variety of *hunebed* architectural traditions and the discovery of traces of post-holes between the chamber orthostats at D6e-Tynaarlo and G1-Noordlaren (see **figure 6.14**), possibly underneath kerbstones at D43-Schimmeres and in a pit at D26-Drouwenerveld (Bakker, 1992, 32). Although Bakker views these as more likely to be reflective of the construction of the chambers (Bakker, 1992, 34-35) a wooden element on site may not be that unlikely.

Underlying the idea of permanence of stone monuments is their survival in the material record, which is due to the material itself. A circular argument can therefore arise where monuments that survive are considered to have been intentionally built of stone in order to last. Timber monuments may have been maintained for more than a generation or two, and it is important to recognise that from the prehistoric individual's perspective, timber would be a hardy material. Timber on sites is often related to movement and exclusion through the identification of palisades and enclosures. Such a function would be harder to achieve with stone, although the presence of the stone alignments in Brittany warns against simple application of the least effort principle. It is to the concept of sacral movement that the next generative model is applied.

Movement to, inside, around and between monuments has long been considered in the archaeological literature. This ranges from journeys over considerable distances to individual or groups of sites (Scarre, 2001c, Bradley, 1997), to the specific mechanics of moving in and around a particular site (e.g. Harding, 2000b, Tilley, 1994). What links these different scales of movement is that they are conceptualised as 'sacral' and this can be approached with the generative model. In archaeological narrative, the 19th century preoccupation with the 'tour' heavily influenced the way prehistoric monuments were experienced (Haycock, 1999, 70). Similarly, modern ideas of pilgrimage combine the concepts of a 'central place' with that of a 'ritual centre'. Sacral landscapes can therefore be portrayed as a destination, an area set apart from everyday life (e.g. Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina, 1998a). However, the journey, as well as the destination, can also be marked (Bradley, 1997, 214, Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina, 1998a) and can encompass a range of actual

distances. Similarly, monuments are not the only focus - recent work on the significance of geographical features emphasises the importance of movement in relation to natural features (e.g. Bradley, 1997, Harding, 2000b), with ethno-parallels, such as Australian aboriginal case-studies (e.g. Layton, 1997), emphasising the importance of sacral geography. All of these aspects have had considerable influence over the way sacral movement is discussed in archaeological narrative, which is portrayed in the generative model (see **figure 8.6**).

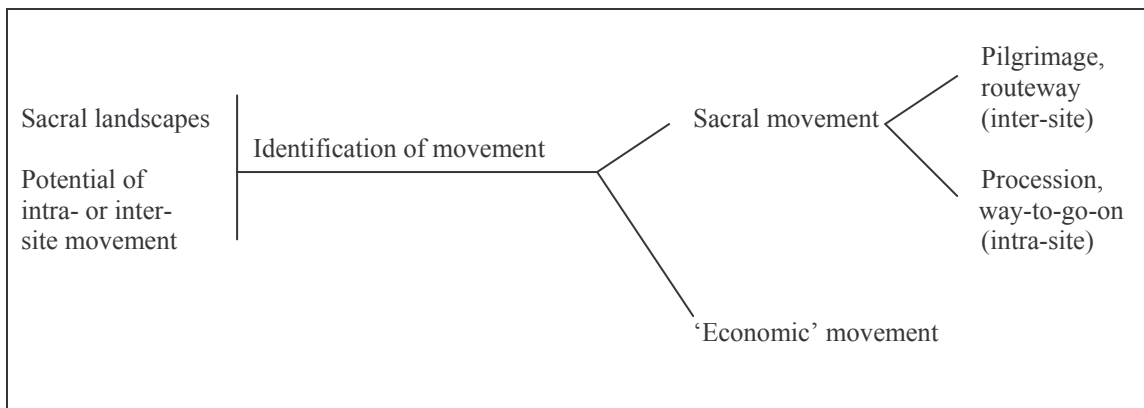


Figure 8.6: Generative model of the 'sacral movement' principle

The identification of movement in itself pre-conditions to some extent the nature of the evidence to be interpreted, though once identified, how that movement is presented in archaeological accounts is dependant on the recognition of sacral sites. If 'sacral landscapes' can be identified as a type, the range of potential interpretations for travel increases to include 'spiritual' journeys, as well as the more 'economic' reasons for movement. The presence of artefacts from outside the immediate vicinity of specific sites suggests movement of a sort, and the exotic nature of finds combined with their context, often in monuments, suggests movement that was more than purely economic in nature. The scale of movement to areas viewed as sacred likely varied, and although modern ideas of pilgrimage can involve considerable distances, Greenwell envisaged travel from neighbouring areas, or at most from Ireland, when considering Kilmartin (Greenwell, 1866, 337). Similarly, Chris Scarre views movement from within Brittany and neighbouring regions to the monumental complex at St. Just (2001c). More local journeys are represented by the movement of axes and the influence of pottery styles, though the more exotic artefacts tend to capture the archaeological imagination, and are perhaps over emphasised. The

concept of 'pilgrimage' stresses not simply the destination, but also the journey, and the presence of monuments in Drenthe along possible routeways is potentially indicative of this (Bakker, 1991, Jaeger, 1985). This may also reflect the merging of sacral and 'economic' concerns. Even areas considered as a 'destination', such as Kilmartin, contain evidence suggestive of inter-site movement such as the linear cemetery and the location of monuments (particularly decorated rock surfaces), through the landscape more generally (Bradley, 1997, 214). On an intra-site level the specifics of procession and exclusion around a site suggest some form of social control and regulation concomitant with ritualistic acts. This level of interpretation focuses more explicitly on the experiential aspect of analysis (e.g. Tilley, 1994). Alternatively, movement can be interpreted in a more 'economic' fashion, focusing on the particulars of transport and accounting for the distribution of artefacts in terms of supply and demand (e.g. Sherratt, 1998). Motivation in this sense is explained in functional terms.

The idea of sacral movement is based on a division between ritual or sacral aspects of society and those deemed mundane. In archaeology this also rests upon the ability to identify both types of activity in the material record. A strict division between the 'domestic' and 'ritualistic' has been recently criticised (e.g. Bradley, 2005), though the term 'sacral' has been employed to avoid this, especially as the term 'ritual' can be employed within the 'domestic' sphere, and thus is not really an opposing term. The idea of Medieval pilgrimage again questions this division. For example, the mechanics of travel resulted in people boarding, cooking and living in monasteries and other sites considered primarily as 'sacral' destinations. In a similar way to some of the other generative principles, the idea of sacral movement allows the development of an ecclesiastical metaphor. The idea also ties into nationalistic discourse through the idea of the Tour, and again in a British, specifically English context, in terms of incomers and indigenes and taking the best from 'incoming' populations. The presence of ritual or sacral 'centres' is a prerequisite in terms of explanations of sacral movement and is an element confidently identified in archaeological accounts. This also helps to obscure the difficulties in identifying the character of movement. The distinction between incomers and indigenes is perhaps a more important one in modern accounts and is caught up in wider discourses of movement, sacral or otherwise. In Brittany, this distinction is explored in relation to

different monument traditions. Interpretation of this evidence often involves a sexual metaphor, both for the form and associations of particular sites and thus their affinities with locals or incomers, which is explored by the next generative model.

Another theme that recurs in the archaeological literature is the use of sexual metaphor to interpret archaeological material. This is particularly the case for the Breton evidence which also contains a rich tradition of megalithic art. Discussions have also been framed in such a way as to differentiate between incomers and indigenes based on the assigned gender characteristics of long mounds and passage graves in Brittany. This is harder to apply to the evidence of Kilmartin or Drenthe and has occupied a less prominent place in the archaeological literature concerning these areas. This is likely the result of a combination of the unsuitability of the archaeological record to sustain this type of interpretation, and a difference in the history of research. Modern accounts tend to be heavily influenced by structural approaches, with Lévi-Strauss a critical influence, particularly as he links the female/male opposition to other categories, including culture/nature. Artefact and decorative analyses also focus on sexual characteristics (Cassen, 2002b). This is especially the case with the axe (e.g. Kinnes, 1980, Thomas, & Tilley, 1993), which in Brittany can be confidently interpreted as having phallic connotations in the case of the artefacts at Mané-er-Hroëk and possibly the stone motif at Gavrinis.

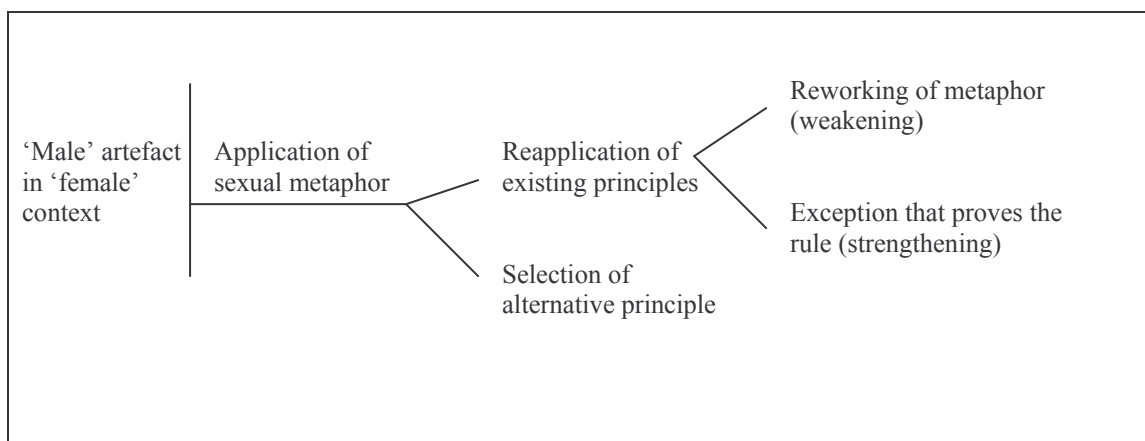


Figure 8.7: Generative model of the 'sexual metaphor' principle

How the application of the sexual metaphor works in archaeological narrative can best be approached by considering evidence incongruous with the model and thus calling into question its underlying principles. In this example it is the occurrence of a

‘male’ artefact in a ‘female’ context, such as the fibrolite axe in the passage grave of Kerlescan (see **figure 8.7**). In terms of how this is accommodated in archaeological accounts, the reapplication of the metaphor can result in a reworking of the principle itself, possibly including a reconsideration of the original categories and expansion to encompass more evidence. The opposite outcome results in the strengthening of the principle, through viewing the specific example as exceptional, the classification as such highlighting the original strength of the principle and the unrepresentative nature of the particular example. This can also result in an extension of the metaphor in a more nuanced narrative. The selection of an alternative principle questions the existing category itself and results in the formulation of another way of interpreting the evidence. Thus a powerful model such as ‘house for the dead’ can take precedence over the sexual metaphor in archaeological narrative, although aspects of the division between the sexes can be incorporated, such as the division of space along gender divisions. Thus, the presence of a male artefact in a female context exposes the principles at work in archaeological narrative and only potentially in the prehistoric situation itself. Change is thus identified and in turn affects *habitus*. In this way, change can again be portrayed as acting in response to a crisis.

Once started, there can be a tendency to over-identify the sexual metaphor in archaeological material. The sexual metaphor has been applied to burial evidence, including within both the long mound and passage grave traditions (Cassen, 2000b). Although the simple association is made between the long mound tradition and male characteristics it is complicated by more nuanced interpretations, for example the division of space within monuments along male and female lines (Boujot et al, 1998b, Hodder, 1984). Similarly, if gender divisions are accepted, the distinction between incomers and indigenes becomes even more important. Thus local traditions of passage grave construction in Brittany can be interpreted in terms of female symbolism, whilst the ‘incomers’ are associated with a male symbolic vocabulary. A circular argument can therefore come to prefigure discussion of the evidence. The generative model in this respect is particularly useful, as it makes explicit how data that is harder to incorporate is considered. It is also important to remember how the abstract schemes we reconstruct would have been ‘real’ situations to prehistoric people, and thus open to manipulation. Bourdieu mentions this in relation to gender, discussing how these types of relationships can be used to naturalise, and thus

maintain, the social order (Bourdieu, 1999, 110 n15). Another metaphor that is often used in the interpretation of the material record is connected to the agricultural cycle, and there are areas of considerable overlap. This can be applied within archaeological narrative to give a sense of time as experienced by prehistoric communities, and is linked to the human life cycle. There is considerable overlap here with connotations of ‘maleness’ and ‘femaleness’ that tap into an ill-defined nature mysticism assumed to be operating during the Neolithic, another implicit effect of the ‘noble savage’ model.

The agricultural metaphor lurks behind many accounts concerning the Neolithic, particularly as the practice of farming is taken as the defining feature of the period, a similar *leitmotif* to the axe. The extension of this into other spheres is therefore to be expected, and the practice of agriculture, however carried out, would have been of crucial importance within prehistory. Within archaeological accounts this idea has a long history and has been periodically revisited. The focus has changed from subsistence practices to the range of symbolic associations (e.g. Thomas, 1991), though all are connected by a tendency to link the experience of humans to the agricultural cycle. This often involves connecting the ideas of birth, death and rebirth to the seasons through the annual changes in agricultural practice. As such, this is a particularly deep metaphor that can also be identified within modern society.

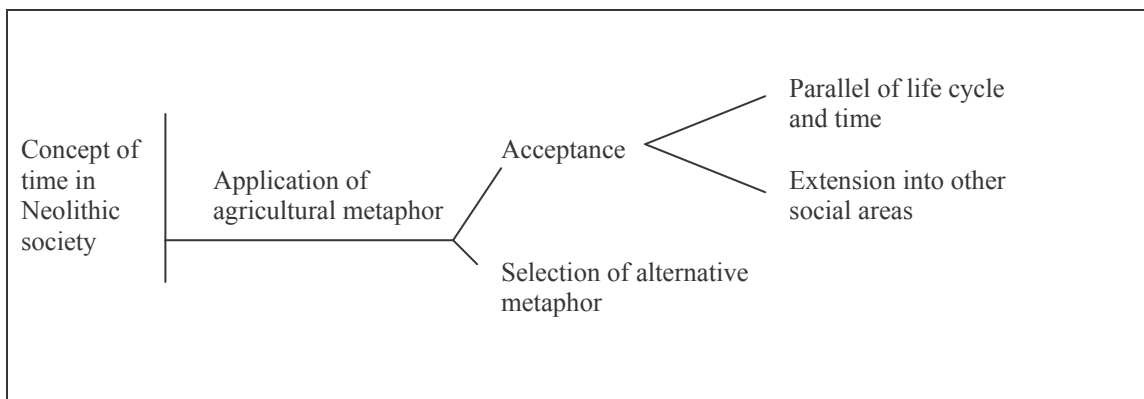


Figure 8.8: Generative model of the ‘agricultural metaphor’ principle

The generative model for the agricultural metaphor (see **figure 8.8**) is particularly applied in terms of the conception of time in interpretations of Neolithic society. If this is accepted, the connection between life cycle and the extension of the metaphor into other aspects of society are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The

presence of artistic motifs, especially designs such as the axe-plough or oxen from the passage graves and menhirs in Brittany, has been taken to highlight the importance of the subsistence economy in the symbolism employed (Bradley, 1989). However, axes and oxen are not necessarily emblematic of a purely agricultural way of life, neither are the ‘crooks’ found at Gavrinis and the Table des Marchands, although these are used to extend the agricultural metaphor. This is also the case when considering the impact of the sexual metaphor and the overtones of fertility and reproduction. The production of artefacts, particularly axes which are often interpreted in terms of sexual properties, are also linked to this model (Patton, 1993, 31-32). Similarly, the agricultural cycle can be related to aspects such as astronomy. Mark Patton links the construction of long mounds and menhirs in the Morbihan to the emergence of a new way of life involving agriculture (Patton, 1993, 63). This parallel is pervasive in accounts of the Neolithic, as it forms an integral part of the term itself and thus tends to be present to some extent in many of the other metaphors applied to this period. The agricultural metaphor tends to blur the boundary between culture and nature, although it is implicitly a cultural model. Culture and nature are divisions that provide the fundamental principles behind the generative models, to greater or lesser extent of implicitness.

The division between culture and nature (see **chapter 6**) assumes a central place in archaeological narrative and is used to interpret most archaeological information. It is also used to demarcate the topic of study, thus to a certain extent pre-determining the data set, a recurring *habitus*-like feature of the generative models. The presence or absence of enclosure at archaeological sites, for example, is often conceived of in these terms. This has been explicitly recast in terms of the ‘domus’ and ‘agrios’ by Hodder (1990), though is a common theme in any account dealing with human society or landscape. An example of how the culture and nature categories function in archaeological accounts is set out below (see **figure 8.9**) and recalls the similar modelling of the ‘domus’ principle (see **chapter 5**).

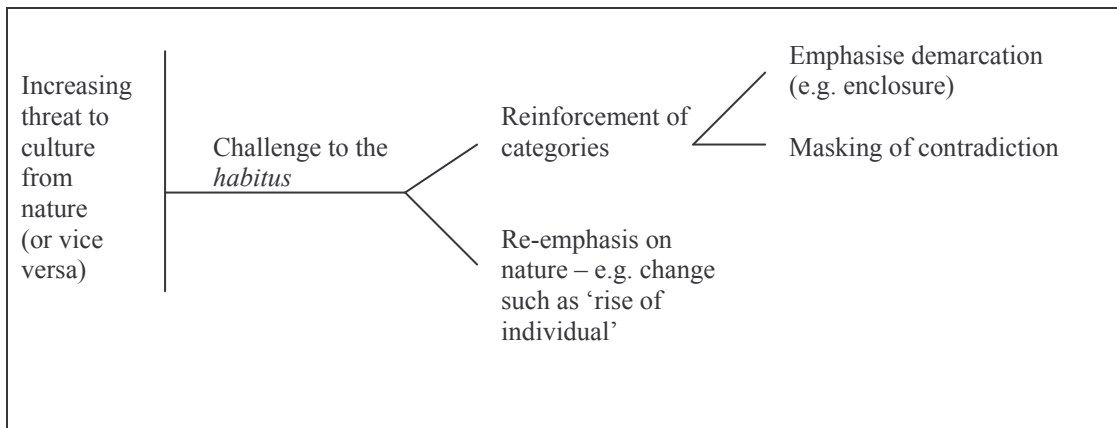


Figure 8.9: Generative model of the ‘culture and nature’ principle

In the model, the threat to one or the other category could be from a number of sources and the increasingly open nature of the environment is one that Chris Gosden has explored (1994). Enclosure is often held as indicative of the reinforcement of these categories in archaeological narrative. This may be epiphenomenal in the same way as ‘megalithism’ or ‘monumentalism’ is to the ‘house of the dead’ model. Contradictions between culture and nature can be masked through the incorporation of ‘wild’ elements within cultural contexts such as settlement or mortuary monuments. The re-emphasis or choice of an alternate generative principle reflects archaeological information that can be better incorporated under a different model. Ian Hodder views this as leading to a changing relationship between the ‘domus’ and ‘agrios’, and eventually the idea of the ‘foris’ (1990). In other archaeological accounts it can be traced through the often implicit selection of other models such as the ‘rise of the individual’, although a division between culture and nature can be traced behind most categories. There is a degree of blurring however. For example, art in a modern sense is clearly a cultural construct, though it is harder to characterise the prehistoric tradition of stone decoration in quite those terms. The presence of motifs on natural rock outcrops in Kilmartin exemplifying this lack of distinction.

The presence of decoration on stone is a keenly examined element of the archaeological record in the Morbihan and at Kilmartin (e.g. Shee Twohig, 1981, Morris, 1977, Stevenson, 1997). Decoration is recovered from pottery, and craftsmanship can be identified in individual artefacts, though it is the presence of both abstract and representative motifs that captures the archaeological imagination. The various symbols and designs have been interpreted through structural analyses,

including the locations of decoration in relation to each other and natural features (Jones, 2005a, Bradley, 1989), as well as symbolic consideration of the meaning of specific motifs (Cassen & Vaquero, 2004, Shee Twohig, 1981). In general, this is the main difference between accounts concerning prehistoric ‘art’. Structural analysis can be criticised for over-simplifying the evidence, whilst symbolic analysis can be overly culturally relativistic. The generative model (see **figure 8.10**) explores the implications for modelling the application of motifs on a more generalised level.

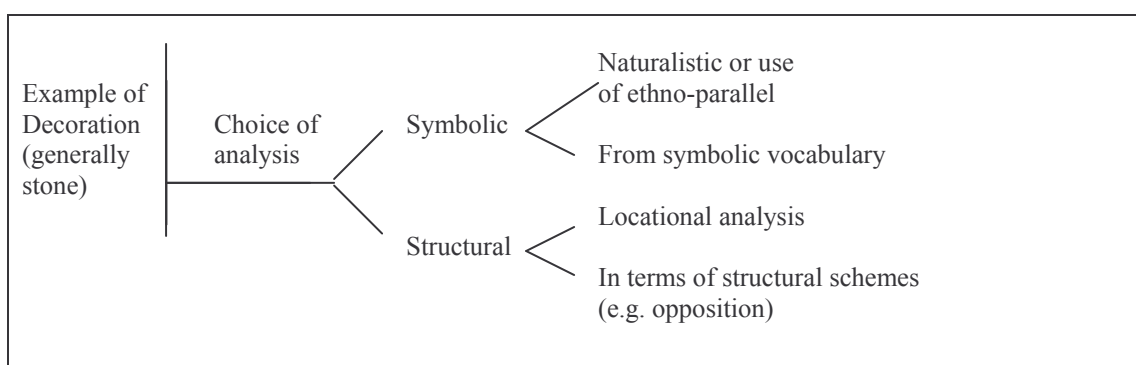


Figure 8.10: Generative model of the ‘applied motifs’ principle

This generative model represents the basic process of applying motifs and how this comes to be analysed in archaeological accounts. In the case of Kilmartin and the Morbihan there is a strong tradition of decoration of stone, though this is not the case in Drenthe. The characteristics of these representations differ markedly, however. Both areas contain abstract design; the Kilmartin area exhibits more decoration on rock surfaces as opposed to monuments, though both contain decorated standing stones and examples of the reuse of earlier monuments in later ones. The Morbihan contains more examples of representative art, and this is easier to accommodate within symbolic explanations of decoration as meaning appears more ‘fixed’. In Kilmartin, the exception is the depiction of axes which occur on several monuments such as the cover slab of Nether Largie North or the end-slab from Ri Cruin. The choice between structural or symbolic approaches is not as stark as it is portrayed in the model, and they can be combined. However, it is reflective of a general division within archaeological narrative. Symbolic qualities are stressed where evidence of more naturalistic motifs can be identified, whilst structural approaches tend to be utilised with more ‘enigmatic’ forms such as cup-marks. Overlap occurs, such as the presence of recognisable objects amongst the extensive decoration at Gavrinis. The

possibility of decoration under the influence of mind-altering substances has been recently discussed (e.g. Bradley, 2005), although this is hard to substantiate.

The arena of decoration provides considerable opportunity for manipulation, although more so in pottery than in sacral monuments. Ethnographic parallels have been used to chart the suitability of ceramic decoration for a variety of social roles, including the subversion of power. The evidence from the Morbihan is further complicated by the incorporation of decorated menhirs in passage graves such as Table des Marchands and Gavrinis, which themselves display decoration. The presence of 'crook' motifs on the menhirs is paralleled by pottery decoration from the pre-monument surface of the Table des Marchands (Patton, 1993, 33). The spread of motifs from one medium to another is also evinced in Kilmartin, with similar symbols found on rock shelves, standing stones and surfaces within cists and chambers. As well as the spread of designs, the form can also be transmitted as in the case of menhirs carved to resemble axes. The axe itself is the most recognisable symbolic element in the Neolithic vocabulary, and cross-cuts other models through associations with maleness, for example. The axe is also used to link accounts and provide a focus for archaeological narrative. A similarly difficult topic to address to how prehistoric man conceived of the motifs used in decoration is the production of knowledge. How knowledge was transmitted in prehistory is a difficult topic and is generally dependant on ethnographic analogy. Archaeological treatments of this subject tend to be imaginative.

How knowledge was produced is a particularly difficult subject for prehistorians. The term 'produced' hints at how it has been forced into similar categories to other types of evidence. Similarly, accounts of prehistoric knowledge tend to focus upon the opportunities it provides for control, such as through access to sacred or ritual knowledge, or upon spectacular examples of categories such as art or astronomy.

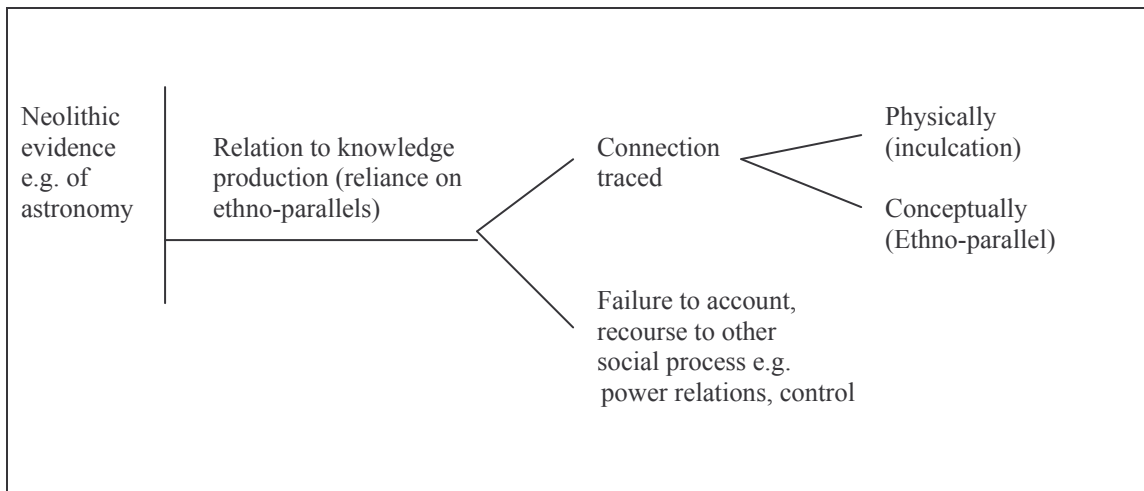


Figure 8.11: Generative model of the ‘prehistoric knowledge production’ principle

The generative model (see **figure 8.11**) traces how learning in prehistory is portrayed in archaeological accounts. This rests on the ability to identify cognitive schemes in material evidence, and as such relies on analogy more than the other models. Physical and conceptual explanations are, of course, linked, but tend to be studied separately. Underlying assumptions about prehistoric knowledge tend to be based upon ethnographic examples. The idea of the ‘noble savage’ again filters into this, or modern ideas of learning are projected backwards. Knowledge itself can be put in the background and experience or phenomenology put in the foreground when approaching this theme (Brady, 2003, 104). This is the case from an archaeological perspective, as inculcation can potentially be recovered from material remains, particularly through movement and exclusion on site, although the relationship between the two different modes of learning was likely complex and intertwined. More than the other generative models, this aspect of prehistoric life can lead to a dead end in terms of archaeological narrative, with accounts often focusing on the issue of power and social control through monopolisation of ‘sacred knowledge’ (e.g. Kirk, 1993). Reconstruction of prehistoric knowledge production is perhaps beyond archaeology, although a number of general characteristics can be traced. This includes the primarily oral nature of learning, the potential for transmission of information over long periods of time (as suggested by astronomical observation), and the importance of material exemplars. Identification of the latter is difficult, though is perhaps suggested by the presence of Neolithic chambered tombs acting as inspiration for the construction, however structurally unsound, of the nearby Clava Cairns (Bradley, 2003b, 164). The similarities in appearance between Bronze Age clearance

cairns and burial monuments might also offer an example of this, as well as suggesting a link with the agricultural cycle (Williams, 2003, 230). Megalithic art, which has been considered in terms of the transmission of sacred learning (Hibbs, 1983, 299), also offers the potential to link material remains with ideas of knowledge.

Most of the themes explored through the generative models are neither wholly proved, nor disproved, through the archaeological evidence, one reason why they have persisted for so long. However, the likelihood that they in some way model an aspect of past social reality is tested by how they relate to the archaeological evidence. The ‘house for the dead’ model, for example, appears to fit the evidence (where it survives) quite well, although in Kilmartin it is perhaps an interpretive import from Orkney. The ‘rise of the individual’ principle, although a prevalent feature of the literature, seems harder to reconcile with the evidence. Ian Hodder’s discussion of the ‘agrios’ and ‘domus’, whilst more abstract, provides a more generally applicable platform from which to explore this type of evidence. The highly speculative nature of reconstructing the characteristics of knowledge production, or the application of motifs to stone, results in a model that very obviously reflects the choices taken within archaeological narrative, rather than the choices taken in prehistory. To a greater or lesser extent this is true of all of the principles, the generative aspect modelling the production of archaeological narrative in the first instance, although this is based on patterns identified in the data and thus likely had significance in the past. In this way they reflect how troublesome data is reincorporated or how metaphors are maintained and expanded. They also tend to pre-define the sorts of data to be approached, thus acting like an archaeological *habitus*. The division between culture and nature, and to a lesser extent the agricultural metaphor, tends to underlie most of the other models for the Neolithic. The categories of evidence that these models are used to interpret, and how they are approached through Braudel’s model of time, are investigated in the next section.

8.3 La Longue Durée, Conjonctures and Événements

Archaeology’s relationship with history highlights the need when investigating archaeological remains over a variety of spatial and temporal scales, to develop a coherent narrative with which to discuss and describe the material and therefore

render them meaningful. An entirely objective ‘scientific’ language does not exist to account for individual phenomena (Kuhn, 1996, 127), let alone collections of them throughout a landscape. The value of such an account in transmitting a meaningful past would itself be dubious. The range of evidence, from artefact to monument to environmental data, has to be articulately combined to provide a strong basis from which to reconstruct a complex social plot. In these terms, does the division of time developed by Braudel work conceptually? The division both orders archaeological evidence, and acts as a structure for archaeological investigation, but is it meaningful in terms of archaeological analysis? Does the assumption inherent in this model, that different processes are acted out over different time-spans, and that the best way to understand these processes is to acknowledge their different natures, provide a useful model for archaeological analysis? Do we need different methodologies for each level? How do their interpretations differ and how can they be combined? The problem in regard to these questions is centred upon the practical mechanics of the *longue durée*, *conjonctures* and *événements*, whether they provide a suitable correspondence to reality and how the processes located over different spans of time interrelate. In this regard, archaeological evidence provides a wealth of evidence as to how this model works. The structure of archaeological narrative also reflects the implicit division of archaeological evidence into different scales. Traditionally, many accounts begin by describing the geographical factors before increasingly focusing in on a particular period or site. Site reports tend to do this before concentrating exclusively on one site then ending by extrapolating to other sites of similar type, location, period and the place that the particular site occupies within the contemporary canon of archaeological information. Syntheses of larger areas (e.g. Whittle, 1996) divide areas into distinct regions before continuing in the same manner. Studies concerned with specific facets of material culture (e.g. Shee Twohig, 1981) adopt a necessarily comparative approach, but one that has a tendency to cut through contextual specificities and replace them with generalising narratives.

Within the realm of archaeological writing, the ‘type’ is the way that material data is transformed and travels through the three levels of Braudel’s model. As material styles solidify into ‘types’ in archaeological literature, through endurance and prevalence of their distribution, processes belonging to *conjonctures* are elevated to the *longue durée*. Thus, the ‘type’ occupies an ambiguous position, both as a

monument form and as a way of archaeological thinking. In this sense the generative models highlighted in the previous section both influence types and are derived from them. This is specifically in relation to the construction of archaeological narrative, though the model of time is also useful in approaching prehistoric practice. Pottery, for example, was often used to ‘close’ sites, i.e. is present in the final deposit, often associated with blocking material. At Gavrinis, for example, the blocking of the façade involved the burning of wooden stakes and destruction of pottery (Le Roux, 1985, 183). This is a classic example of a phenomenon acting at the level of *événements* affecting the deeper (and in a way the ‘final’) meaning of a monument, and thus in turn, affecting the level of *conjonctures* and the *longue durée*. Braudel’s other two rhythms of time are also linked to the archaeological terminology used to describe and interpret the material record. *Conjonctures* can be linked with the ‘style’, or set of cultural alternatives, that are drawn upon when creating an artefact or monument, while processes of *événements* are connected to this specific act of deposition, construction or decoration. This latter level of human action reflects the manipulation of the generative principles more securely uncovered within the two former sets of processes. Such consideration therefore allows the possibility of action within the here and now of events, though acted out within the parameters defined by wider processes, to be able in turn to influence the processes of *conjonctures* and even of the *longue durée*. In a way then, Braudel’s separation of processes already underlies the archaeological approach.

Another way in which *événements* can be linked to wider processes is through recurring traditions or repeated activity. Recurring sets of *événements* are the most useful in terms of archaeological analysis and these are most clearly seen at sacral sites within the sphere of ritual activity. This can be of a cyclical nature, where repeat activity at a site follows a similar pattern, for example, of feasting or placing of human remains within a chamber, without radically altering the form of the site. Alternatively, monuments can be re-used in a more directional manner whereby the site can change dramatically, such as the shift from ‘open’ sites to ‘closed’ or ‘mortuary’ ones. The addition of cists to the second circle at Temple Wood is a good example. This does not necessarily preclude the monument remaining as a focus for subsequent activity, however. Closing off passage graves, for example, does not remove much space for participants and the monumental aspect, as a frame for

activity, is still retained. The styles of artefacts, particularly pottery, can be linked to other *conjunctures*, as indeed can the tradition of ritual, but the specifics of a ritual event belong to *événements*. Finds from within many monument types, especially the chambered tombs, suggest a careful and ordered deposition of a ritual character. A concern for ritual activity is most clearly indicated by those monuments that have some form of obvious ‘ritual arena’. This is often indicated by a ‘parvis’, façade or avenue, or ‘open’ monument, such as stone circles, where specific acts are continually reproduced in a similar fashion, and each of the three landscapes have monuments that display this sort of feature. Similarly, stone mounds or cairns may have provided a source of repetitive action, either through adding a stone or removing one at a particular visit, in this manner providing a conceptual link between the three levels. All monuments may not have been constructed over repeat visits, though the idea of accretion certainly works for some and provides a good description of how sacral landscapes as a whole were created. This also suggests that such monuments may have provided a cultural resource in a similar manner to the circulation of human bone by the addition or removal of individual stones from a cairn. Monuments that endure gain considerable meaning from continual re-use, which in the Neolithic seems to take the form of ritual deposition, placement of the dead or modification of existing architecture. These sites would also affect later monument distribution and potentially act as inspiration for the form of other monuments (Bradley, 2003, 164).

Different processes operate over different timescales, thus different forms of archaeological evidence provide different information on change. Changes in pottery decoration can reflect abrupt or subtle change relatively easily (and at the level of the household), whilst monumental sites are much less mutable. Ceramic technology represents an accessible medium for expression and display, whereas monuments are viewed as much harder to access and alter. Pottery styles reflect recurring influences, linking individual areas to other regions, and hint at enduring and extensive systems of exchange throughout the Neolithic. It is hard to reconcile stylistic change with actual historical events, however (Trigger, 1968, 319), although certain forms and styles of pottery, often to high standards of craftsmanship, are connected to periods of re-use and the closure of several monuments. As well as style, distribution and material are important indicators of *conjunction*-level processes and can be approached through a range of analyses focussing upon the source, production,

exchange and deposition of artefacts. Each of these factors has been associated with *conjoncture*-level features from the rituals associated with visits to quarries to traditions of votive deposition in watery contexts. Similarly, different phenomena are more amenable to study at different levels of time. Thus, when accounting for the role of movement and route-ways within Drenthe, the wider perspectives of the *longue durée*, and the longer-term processes within *conjonctures*, are initially easier to study through the juxtaposition of monuments through time to corridors of movement. In Brittany, exchange, communication and social relations between groups are more easily traced within the processes of *événements* and *conjonctures* through the extensive evidence of artefact production and distribution.

If artefact, and particularly ceramic, style is prevalent amongst the processes of *conjonctures*, the manufacture of individual artefacts and their deposition assumes a similar ascendancy amongst the processes of *événements*, although the style of deposition, such as the importance of watery contexts, operates on the level of *conjonctures*. *Événements* provide the basic substance that archaeologists study. Each monument is made up of specific episodes that are created from processes operating over much longer periods. Patterns of re-use of monuments, discard from ritual and the artefacts deposited all represent a particular moment in time. Unfortunately, by themselves these have little explanatory value. They become useful when they can be related to the underlying themes that affected why they happened when and where they did. The level of *événements* can be seen as the arena in which the generative principles created over long periods of time are acted out, respected and manipulated to suit individual aims. This is accounted for by the generative models of the previous section and tends to highlight the discrepancies, such as the presence of a ‘male’ artefact in a ‘female’ context (see **figure 8.7**). Types and styles are employed to suit goals located in the here and now of human action. This can be identified in the employment of familiar forms in slightly different contexts or with slight alterations. In the context of monument morphology this can be traced in the appearance of aberrant members of types of site, such as the chamber at Nether Largie South. As such, *événements* are the starting point for the collection of facts that allow reconstruction of longer term structures. However, this is not a one-way process; the parameters for action, the ‘rules of the game’, are provided by the processes of the *longue durée* and *conjonctures*.

These aspects are all present in an individual site, with the construction of a specific monument made up of a series of *événements*, which draw upon durable traditions belonging to *conjonctures*, in turn affected by the deepest cultural traditions and those of nature, belonging to the *longue durée*. In these terms, ‘movement’ as a theme is reflected on the level of *événements* by movement within sites, especially as part of some form of ritual act or procession with the focus on the subjective experience of the individual actor. The wider tradition of movement as an important aspect at a site is reflected in the *conjonctures*, as is the placement of other sites, and thus movement on an inter-site level. This eventually combines to influence the later positioning of sites as in the linear cemetery at Kilmartin, or the linkage of monument groups as is done by the stone avenues in the Morbihan. Ultimately, the geographical factors affecting human location and the underlying essentials of human society will bear down upon the human decision to build something at a point in the landscape or to travel. Thus, the *longue durée* is always present, even if it goes periodically unnoticed. In this way movement flits in and out of focus in archaeological accounts, with longer term structures in the background until drawn into the foreground through analysis.

When considering the processes of the *longue durée* in relation to the theme of the three landscapes as providing a focus for movement, in particular sacral movement or even pilgrimage (see **figure 8.6**), it is impossible to distinguish causal factors as acting upon prehistoric people directly. Several forms of evidence are suggestive of a physical separation of the sacral aspects of life from the domestic, particularly in Kilmartin and Morbihan. In Kilmartin, the topography of the surrounding landscape could itself be described as ‘compartmentalised’, and the characterisation of travel and dominant model of subsistence suggests a dispersed population, though linked through several lines of communication. The idea of an area such as Kilmartin as a focus for sacral activity or pilgrimage has a certain resonance when imagining local inhabitants sprinkled around the dispersed valleys and islands. It is tempting to see the environment of Argyll, divided as it is into compartments of lowland separated by upland, as facilitating the separation of primarily sacral landscapes from primarily domestic landscapes. Again, it is important to stress that such forms of evidence are suggestive, rather than causal, though they do offer a

departure point from which to test the hypothesis. Several proxy forms of evidence suggest that the Kilmartin area would have been ideally situated to be affected by both local and long-distance social relations. Kilmartin Valley is situated at a cross-roads (Ritchie, 1997, 57), both in terms of overland routes and as an interface between the coast and inland areas, and highland and lowland zones. Of the processes that occupy the *longue durée*, the geographical factors are the easiest to identify as exerting an influence over the distribution of archaeological finds. None of these long term factors necessarily prove the theme's validity however. Monument types and terms such as 'neolithic' are far more effective as deeper structures that affect modern interpretations of areas like Kilmartin. The characteristics of the sites types identified in Kilmartin do not present themselves for strictly utilitarian explanation. In themselves they are often explained with recourse to sacral elements of society, or with political functions, which are often conceived of as being closely combined due to the influence of ethnographic studies that have come to shape our ideas of prehistoric society. The structures of the *longue durée* provide suggestive evidence for these themes, and this has been replicated in much of the terminology. It is to the finer-grained analysis at the level of the *conjonctures* and *événements* to which we must turn in an attempt for more detailed interrogation of this theme.

The influence of the *longue durée* filters down to the *conjonctures* and *événements* through traditions of site location, methods of travel and even influencing diet. Conceptually it also provides an influence, previously mentioned in physical terms of barriers and possibilities (see **chapter 6**). For example, enclosure is often portrayed as a way of defining through opposition, particularly drawing on distinctions between culture and nature. This often recalls ideas of earlier relationships with the forest in terms of LBK houses threaded through the landscape. The fact that all of these environments were to a certain extent 'drowned landscapes' (Fokkens, 1998) offers an alternative geographical feature, the sea, from which to draw similar conceptual schemes. This is of course speculative, but highlights the potential influence of the *longue durée*.

Although each area has considerable similarities on a structural level, they are also caught up in much wider rhythms, both in terms of geography and the *longue durée*, and in terms of traditions belonging to the *conjonctures*. The presence of

artistic motifs on monuments in Brittany and Kilmartin, for example, points to a shared Irish Sea tradition that includes the tradition of decorating stone itself and is reinforced by artefact and architectural evidence. The prehistoric communities in Drenthe meanwhile seem to have been heavily influenced from the east and TRB groups, who decorated other things than stone, of which pottery survives best. Quality of craftsmanship, evident in many artefacts, especially axes, should also be considered when discussing decoration. Individual elements present in each sacral landscape can also be related to much wider traditions. This is facilitated in archaeological narrative through the use of types by linking phenomena, such as the construction of chambers under mounds or enclosure, to wider influences, whilst specific aspects of these to more regionalised or localised influences.

From the above examples it can be seen that a variety of archaeological phenomena can be investigated over the three differing scales. Perhaps the most widespread is the labelling of subsistence lifestyles, with the two broadest categories, ‘hunter-gathering’ and ‘farming’, operating at the most generalised level of archaeological discourse. Below this, the particular idiosyncrasies of specific regions are discussed in relation to ethnographic examples and the archaeological residues. At the level of *événements* the individual material expressions of these ways of living are found, and often can appear to modern eyes as subversive, i.e. hunting paraphernalia in Neolithic graves or mortuary monuments representing house forms from a different, antecedent and less mobile way of living. It is at this level that the ‘rules’ of the game are bent and manipulated. Subsistence models and reconstructions of the economy are more traditionally traced to the level of *conjoncture*. However, the terms ‘Neolithic’ and ‘Mesolithic’ have come to represent broader themes than the specifics of subsistence strategy. However these terms are defined, they have become so implicit within archaeological discourse that as a factor influencing interpretation of prehistoric life they are effectively located within the structures of the *longue durée*. This is a complicating element, as it highlights how archaeological terminology can assume similar characteristics to the processes of the *longue durée* and *conjonctures* (see **figure 2.2**). Similarly, routeways through the landscape, whether as part of the subsistence economy or to facilitate exchange, were likely of great antiquity, a factor that came to influence the placement of sites down through the generations. Links between regions involved each of the three areas within wider rhythms that manifest

themselves at the level of *conjonctures* through stylistic influences and materials. The presence of individual artefacts represents the level of *événements*. The carved stone ball found at Dunadd, located outside the predominantly north-eastern distribution, represents a particular historical story set within the wider spheres of interaction influenced by longer term processes.

It is hoped that the combination of the generative principles outlined as residing in the *longue durée* and *conjonctures* both indicate regionality and provide an explanatory context in which to discuss the sphere of *événements*, where the game is played out and the rules bent, though not always to a ‘satisfactory’ conclusion, for example; the half-finished trackway at Nieuw-Dordrecht in the Netherlands (Casparie, 1987, 52). The *événements* and *longue durée* are easier to study, the former close to anthropological analysis and the latter, geography. Archaeology tends to focus upon the *conjonctures* and base interpretation at the half-way house between the individual and the environment. The labels we use to divide up this timescale take on a life of their own and are established at the level of the group. The key aspect in the relationship between Braudel’s grouping of processes, is that it is impossible to go directly from the *longue durée* to *événements*. Between these levels, the traditions located at the level of *conjonctures*, or more specifically, within the *habitus*, provide a mediating force. This renders things intelligible, thus (after Childe, 1949) the idea of the environment mediates between the actual environment and a particular response. The archaeological *habitus* similarly conditions interpretation of the material record through the archaeological record. It is to the *mentalité* that the study of *conjonctures* in archaeology naturally turns. *Mentalité* is specifically concerned with how ordinary people live their lives, thus it is slow-moving but rooted in the *événements* as much as in the *longue durée*.

8.4 Mentalité

Mentalité has a dual meaning in archaeological analysis, providing both the object of study, in this case the shared norms or collective consciousness of a prehistoric community, and reflecting the subject of study, or the shared characteristics underlying the archaeological approach itself. In terms of the former, it is more profitable to replace ‘universals’ in archaeological explanation with *mentalité*

as a meaningful unit of analysis. On a practical level, the search for *mentalité* is closely connected to ‘regionality’, or the search for likenesses across varying spatial scales. Of these, the Atlantic façade of Europe is the widest, viewed as a ‘region’ due to broad similarities in material culture and a shared set of geographical characteristics (Cunliffe, 2001). On a general level, the exploitation of marine resources, the opportunity for travel that the ocean afforded and the influences on terrestrial areas (through climate and the alteration of the coast), provided a geographical link between communities in northwestern Europe. On a local level, this was translated into a variety of traditions of practice drawing upon the opportunities that the Atlantic façade offered, whether through material culture, art, travel, disposal of the dead or way of life in general (e.g. Burenhult & Westergaard, 2003, Cassen & Vaquero, 2004, Shee Twohig, 1981, De Laet, 1976, Fokkens, 1998, Edmonds & Richards, 1998, Henderson, 2000, McGrail, 1986, Scarre, 2002a, Cunliffe, 2001, Darvill & Thomas, 2001, Whittle, 2000). In this way, the Atlantic façade provided a conceptual, as well as geographical, background, from which a variety of communities drew upon in their own way. This also results in identifying regional ‘personalities’, in a similar way to Cyril Fox (1943), allowing easier incorporation of areas into archaeological narrative. Each of the three landscapes fits into broader areas, Kilmartin into a region linked by the Irish Sea, Drenthe to the immediate inland east and the Morbihan both to the coastal north and inland to the east along the river valleys. In turn, this connects the concept to aspects of ‘culture’ (see **chapter 4**), though a simple substitution is misleading. In many ways *mentalité* encompasses a wider remit than archaeological ‘culture’, investigating the worldview behind the choices that are reflected in the material record. Thus, *mentalité* reflects generative principles, rather than grouping cultural traits into wider entities. At the level of archaeology, *mentalité* is reflected in *conjoncture*-level processes and is an aspect of group values and norms, acting in a similar way to the *habitus*.

On the broadest level, a division is drawn between Mesolithic and Neolithic lifestyles. Interactions between the two have been explored and it has been suggested that both ways of life involved different conceptualisations of the world, including the experience of time. However, within the cultural category of ‘Neolithic’ there is considerable variation. Irish houses from the Neolithic, for example, suggest a very different picture of domestic life from the contemporary evidence in Scotland. Links

between the two areas can be traced through artefact distribution (e.g. Sheridan, 2004). Thus, there was cultural contact, but was this interaction between groups that were as disparate in terms of way of life as between Neolithic and Mesolithic communities? If so, their conceptualisation of time could have been different. Recent research (e.g. Armit & Finlayson, 1992, Thomas, 1988) has promoted the idea of cultural continuity between earlier Mesolithic communities and later Neolithic ones, and in Brittany the shell mounds are put forward as precursors to some of the later monumental traditions (Boujot & Cassen, 1993). If this is true, the categories we employ at the moment lack suitable nuance. In this way the 'Neolithic' as a meaningful heuristic category is questioned. Perhaps it can be resurrected, as in Ian Hodder's view (1990), as a primarily cognitive or symbolic transition as opposed to a primarily physical or economic one. In this sense, however, any categorisation would involve substituting one set of information for another, with ideas of time and symbolism replacing the presence or absence of aspects of the Neolithic 'economic package'. In some areas the transition between the Mesolithic and Neolithic appears more rapid, and thus continuity appears less likely (e.g. Schulting & Richards, 2002). In this instance, the terms 'Neolithic' and 'Mesolithic' retain some use in emphasising difference in prehistory. There is no reason why these different depictions of the transition between the Mesolithic and Neolithic could not have occurred in different places, although this then requires a terminology flexible and durable enough to neither be overly generalised, nor too specific.

In terms of demarcation, the implication for archaeological study is that if the generative principles governing human action can be recovered from the archaeological record, norms or more specifically systems of *mentalités* can be identified and traced over time. Primarily, *mentalité* is a cognitive construct at the level of the group or community, recreating the psychological aspect or norms of behaviour. 'Neolithisation' as a process then becomes problematic. If this represents a different attitude to time, how can it be 'more Neolithic' than something else? Being 'more' Neolithic could only be established along material lines, and would be an archaeological judgement. This would also involve translating *mentalité* into 'regionality', though this is not simply a materialistic division. A recent paper (Noble, 2005) discussing the Neolithic of the West of Scotland illustrates something of this problem. The critical points Noble makes about implicit monument types are highly

instructive, though there still exist behind these a couple of deeper held assumptions. Firstly, Noble assumes that the subsistence way of life of a community is directly reflected in the spiritual aspects of their material culture, mediated by Claude Meillassoux's (1972) ideas of differing conceptions of time between hunter-gatherer and sedentary communities. Thus, both communities produce different types of monuments. The changing architecture of Clyde cairns to increase capacity, accessibility and the opportunity for 'framed' community ritual is put forward to suggest an increasing reliance on farming and thus a changing conception of time based upon the need to venerate previous generations (apparently crucial to a sedentary and agricultural way of life (after Bradley, 1998, chapter 4)). At this point, the problem presents itself of who is building the monuments. The early 'Clyde' cairns are presumably built by the same sort of community that subsequently altered them, even if by this time they were becoming more reliant on farming. Thus, the change in focus is not between a hunter-gatherer world view and a sedentary, agricultural one, but is from within a Neolithic tradition (if the evidence for this type of phasing is accepted, which seems reasonable). Therefore, is this a process of Neolithic people becoming 'more' Neolithic, and if so, is it possible to have a conception of time that becomes 'more' linear? This may be the case, but it is far removed from the differences traditionally emphasised between hunter-gatherers and farmers, especially in the west of Scotland, where dietary evidence is used to suggest a sharp break in subsistence patterns, and thus a likely change in population (Schulting & Richards, 2002). Indeed, the same process could be suggested to be at work for hunter-gatherer groups in the same way as Neolithic ones, through the gradually increasing shell mounds and their subsequent affect on later generations. Gordon Noble's ideas are reasonable and thought-provoking, but are still based upon deeply held assumptions regarding the categories of 'Neolithic' and 'Mesolithic' and how the material residues of these are related to prehistoric conceptual schemes. Similarly, the focus on 'Neolithisation' appears as a modern translation of the search for origins underlying culture-historical accounts. The conclusion appears to be that either our ideas of the experience of time are erroneous, or that the archaeological terminology is flawed.

Different Neolithic communities, however they are characterised along the sliding scale from sedentary agriculturalist to mobile pastoralist, potentially vary from

each other as much as from Mesolithic communities. In each of the three areas studied there is a strong Mesolithic presence, and some authors point to indigenous development of later 'Neolithic' phenomena, such as communal and monumental burial in Brittany (Boujot & Cassen, 1993). Thus 'Neolithisation', whether primarily a symbolic process or one based upon subsistence, is difficult to apply across larger areas. Bradley links the change from burial to ancestor worship¹⁰ in Neolithic monumental contexts during the Middle and Later Neolithic periods in Brittany to differing concepts of time (Bradley, 1998, chapter 4). In this way, Bradley links the agricultural metaphor to the 'house for the dead' model. This suggests that the change in material culture between the Mesolithic and Neolithic does not reflect an alteration in the sense of time, whilst that between the Middle and Late Neolithic does. This may be a reasonable assumption, although the types of evidence used to explore both periods are similar, and in Bradley's analysis focus heavily upon 'mortuary' monumental data. Bradley then links this model to wider evidence for environmental impact during the Middle and Later Neolithic periods in Brittany, extrapolating from the mortuary record to explain other types of information. This approach gives primacy to information from 'mortuary structures', particularly monumental, and in this case megalithic, sites. In one sense, it may be argued that the idea of time represented by the monumental sites is indicative of the community as a whole. This idea of group identity and 'public' time has been discussed before within archaeological literature (Gosden, 1994). If we consider as a universal that the experience of time is integral to being human, modern parallels can be suggested. The death of someone we know can bring ideas of the infinite into everyday life. In terms of the approach of this thesis, this would be described as a momentary breakdown in smooth social functioning, an 'explicit' moment where we get a glimpse at the *longue durée*, and to which factors such as monuments help restore the balance. In this respect the idea of time immemorial on the grandest scale is perhaps evoked in these monuments, and may even provide a mechanism by which to cope when normal social life is disrupted by death. However, the idea of time as lived, the day-to-day being, is surely to be found elsewhere than in the most impressive monuments. Which should be prioritised in terms of research? There are considerable difficulties

¹⁰ Assuming that we are seeing a change from burial to ancestor rites, and the evidence is persuasive, although in terms of chronology it does subscribe to a development of a suspiciously simplistic evolutionary sequence.

considering the types of site that survive, but to extrapolate ideas of time from one social arena and apply it to another is similarly problematic.

The sacral landscapes in each of the three areas were bound up in a continuous process of development and redevelopment. No pre-determined plan unfolded over the centuries of construction, though individuals and groups were influenced both by what had gone before and their vision for what could be in the future. Thus landscapes were in a constant state of 'becoming' and were built through the contingencies of everyday practice (Barrett, 1994). Occasionally this process appears relatively transparent, as in the creation of monuments that appear to follow a line through Kilmartin valley. It is important to remember however that at any one particular moment in life, the material conditions actively influenced what was to come next, including the development of the human mind (Donald, 1998). New ideas were incorporated into the contemporary traditions, in some cases merging with them and in other cases supplanting them. However, changes in ceremonial deposition and monument typology may not necessarily reflect changes in other aspects of society. Even when they do, they may not accurately reflect the situation in society generally. Gallery graves, for example, are considered by Mark Patton, not in the way he regards other monument types, but in order for them to fit into his model (Patton, 1993). Within this model, gallery graves are employed by a ruling class in society to provide an illusory equality in death in order to mask inequality in life. This is in response to a crisis identified as arising through the emergence of a 'Big Man' social formation threatening the established social control based around tribal elders. However, regardless of how 'reasonable' this interpretation is, the model was primarily developed from sacral monuments (although with evidence of social exchange and some settlement), and other forms of evidence can be made to fit the hypothesis without external controls. Similarly, the idea of gallery graves as being subversive in their reflection of contemporary society is not applied to other monument forms, which are assumed to be directly equivalent and representative to contemporary changes in society.

When trying to tease out and compare the characteristics of sacral landscapes, both physically and in the minds of past people, a number of aspects of *mentalité* come to the fore. Firstly, and fundamentally, the notion of time, and how it is

characterised, experienced and reflected in the archaeological record has been investigated earlier (see **chapter 3**). The question of whether the experience of time is universal to the human condition remains unanswered, however. Perhaps the best solution is to recognise a shared biological reality and a certain influence that this has over outlook but acknowledge the thick layers of cultural traditions that can build up over it. Similarly, the connection between knowledge, power and space has been discussed in relation to prehistoric sites and the importance of ‘genealogical knowledge’ has been stressed (Kirk, 1993). This has been further explored in relation to prehistoric communities’ conception of their own past (Bradley, 2002a). Problems with these lines of approach are highlighted when considering that ‘our’ expectations may not match up with ‘their’ socially constructed world. In anthropological examples this is most clearly seen where social rites of passage involving puberty or coming of age do not match up with their biological equivalent. The characteristics of knowledge production (see **figure 8.11**), both in prehistory and now, are also pertinent, and it is worth re-emphasising the oral nature of prehistoric learning. However, it is at the material level that archaeologists gain access to a prehistoric community’s image of itself. This is often explored in relation to the range of symbols, motifs or decoration found on pottery or carved into stone. In terms of the reconstruction of prehistoric ways of life, this is a favourite area of research. Whilst the problems of any form of cognitive archaeology are legion, certain motifs constantly recur in certain contexts (see **figure 8.10**). The axe motif, for example, is found carved on a number of megalithic monuments, is much rarer on rock art or pottery decoration, and is also present as an actual artefact. In terms of potential for symbolic association, the axe is regarded as the symbol *par excellence* for the Neolithic, as it has been linked to the clearance of forest, the destructive power of the agrios, men in general, and these interpretations are reinforced by the presence of axeheads (often considered to have phallic connections), in long mounds. However, if correct on a *conjecture*-level, in terms of *événements*, these aspects can be played on and manipulated (e.g. see **figure 8.7**). Similarly, cup-marked stones, traditionally found outside, can occasionally be found inside monuments. This can be interpreted in terms of the culture/nature opposition, with aspects traditionally associated with one area of the mythico-ritual arena incorporated into another in an attempt to say something of the relationship between them. This is often described in terms of ‘taming’ or ‘acculturating’ the wild, and built on raising the nature/culture divide into

an underlying, universal metaphor. Thus, this provides the longer scale level of time, whilst the symbolic vocabulary, suitably durable and present in the group's shared idea of itself, is a *conjuncture*-level process. Finally, the idiosyncrasies discovered in the archaeological record reflect the playing out of these principles in the 'here and now' of the real world.

When discussing the symbolic vocabulary of a prehistoric society, the influence of archaeological narrative becomes more apparent. When interpreting symbols and motifs a more imaginative approach is dictated by the nature of the evidence, partly due to the deficiencies of our information and partly as this form of evidence seems 'special' when compared to more mundane data. The wider interests of the public may have an influence over this. Themes can be identified that recur in the history of archaeological investigation (see **section 8.2**) and affect how archaeologists conceptualise the archaeological record and present their interpretations. This serves as a useful topic of study when attempting to explain the conclusions that archaeologists draw, as the enigmatic nature of much of the evidence serves to both highlight the range of detail that is missing, and therefore the interpretive influences that archaeologists use to plug the gap. These influences form an archaeological *mentalité*, affecting how they view or explain the material they discover. This is addressed in the final section.

8.5 Archaeological aesthetics

When evaluating the archaeological aesthetic it is hard to divorce archaeology from wider themes, as the creation of archaeology itself is owed to an increasing appreciation of the prehistoric past. What is deemed worthy of study, or see as beautiful to the archaeological imagination was not always so. Mountains, previously seen as imperfections in the landscape or unsightly barriers to movement, have come to be appreciated aesthetically. In the 19th century, mountains provided a source of sublime terror, to be experienced by walking through fearful passes. It was this idea of movement and travel that led to a closer experience of prehistoric monuments and their beneficial public perception. This is not simply a one-way process, however. The 'themes' of archaeological investigation, highlighted in **chapter 7**, also drive the archaeological aesthetic as well as arising out of the contemporary social milieu. Thus

the topics of archaeological investigation can become more widely popular. In aesthetic studies part of the response to an object lies partly in the object itself and partly in the viewpoint of the observer (Brady, 2003). The latter can be traced through both the history of archaeology and society's attitude to the landscape in general. Conflict between different factors in this relationship can arise within the archaeological aesthetic, the 19th century drive to preserve the past conflicting with the aesthetic of the ruin, for example.

From the concept of aesthetics and appreciation of the past we approach its value. Archaeological value is central to what is deemed suitable to study, and in turn shapes how the past is pieced together. 'Monumentality' is a recurring theme in archaeological value, though is too closely linked to nationalism to provide a neutral starting point for archaeological research (Carver, 1998, 425). Nevertheless, 'monuments' as such dominate the archaeological approach. This is at odds with 'least effort' principles or overtly 'economic' approaches, whereby monumentality itself is relegated to an epiphenomenon of surplus production. Alternatively, the monumental aspect can be discussed in terms of its functional aspect as indicative of territory, or deployment in social or power relations (e.g. Renfrew, 1973b). Aggrandisement in these examples is taken to reflect competition in the pursuit of social capital. The tension between functional arguments (e.g. Renfrew, 1973a, 1976, Clark, 1952) and those that explore contextual, symbolic or structural aspects of the archaeological record (e.g. Hodder, 1982, 1984, Shanks & Tilley, 1982) surfaces at this point. In terms of monuments, the latter approaches question whether form is directly indicative of function. The equivalence of form and function is undermined in accounts of prehistoric society when the identification of what to the modern observer is a basic category, for example 'burial' in the archaeological record of the three landscapes, is difficult to verify. Similarly, archaeological explanations often rest on an unspoken acceptance that monuments represent territorial markers (Renfrew, 1976) or that agricultural societies are pre-figured to worship their ancestors (Whitley, 2002, Meillassoux, 1972). Aspects of the material record that display non-functional characteristics (monumentalism providing a good example), are soon reincorporated into 'common sense' archaeological knowledge. Thus, monumentalism becomes a functional aspect of territorial marking or reflective of aggrandisement in social competition.

The developing nature of the archaeological aesthetic is also apparent in the changing characteristics of what is deemed suitable to excavate and retain. The fetish for impressive artefacts has given way to soil sampling, faunal analysis and the construction of incredibly detailed pottery typo-chronologies (Lucas, 2001, chapter 3). The different ways of experiencing and knowing the environment are increased for the archaeologist through the act of excavation and subsequent laboratory work. Collecting artefacts to satiate a hoarder's urge or instruct in the reality of social evolutionary processes have given way to those that illustrate snapshots of politically correct interpretations of past people's lives. Both extremes delight in the discovery of things and the pleasures that this provides; it is simply that the parameters of what is 'worth' discovering - from a well-made beaker to information on how people organised their domestic space - that changes.

Closely connected to the archaeological aesthetic is the way that the past is presented. The connection of archaeological narrative to other discourses, especially nationalistic ones, has influenced how monuments are presented both physically and in text. This has changed over time, from the picturesque influence over viewing prehistoric monuments *in arcadia*, to the drive for preservation and restoration, embodied in Van Giffen's work on the *hunebedden*. The rise of cultural heritage management can be linked to the recognition of the importance of prehistoric monuments, both in an economic sense with tourism, and as playing an important educational role. This has led to the management of encounters with prehistoric sites and the inclusion of information on site. This provides an extension of aesthetic appreciation through knowledge in a similar way to how archaeologists experience the landscape through their informed start point. For example, the Neolithic site of Balbridie was initially mistaken for a medieval hall (Fairweather & Ralston, 1993). When it was discovered that it was prehistoric, the site became more impressive, valued in higher terms and presented in a fashion that raised its profile in both the professional and public consciousness. In archaeological narrative this is portrayed in terms of our improving ability to assign sites to certain periods and a caveat against assumption. In terms of archaeological aesthetics it highlights how we apply archaeological value. The portrayal of this information provides the opportunity for control and manipulation of the past, and finds an eerie echo in theories of prehistoric

society involving the control of ritual knowledge as an effective way to maintain power. The implicitly held 'rules' governing this process can be likened to an archaeological *habitus*, influencing the data we choose and the interpretations we offer.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and Future Work

9.1 Introduction

When compiling a thesis, a number of assumptions that are held beforehand come to wither in the light of critical scrutiny. In this thesis, the concept of ‘landscape’ as a straightforward unit of study was the primary casualty. Retrospectively, the idea that landscape could have been straightforwardly studied was naïve, and this is reflected in the variety of scales over which the three areas have been investigated. Thus, the *Golfe du Morbihan* is often portrayed as a landscape unit in the same fashion as the much smaller Kilmartin Valley and the larger Drenthe Plateau. Kilmartin Valley has the strongest claim to conforming to a ‘sacral’ landscape. It is formed from a concentration of monuments within an easily defined geographical area, enclosed by the sea and ringed by uplands. The division between the ‘sacral’ and the ‘domestic’, heavily criticised in recent work (e.g. Bradley, 2005), seems to be reflected in the archaeological record of this area. Drenthe appears more as a modern dissection of a distribution originally much wider in prehistory, although geographically it forms perhaps the clearest landscape division. The characterisation of the Morbihan falls somewhere between that of Kilmartin and Drenthe. The local geography forms a coastal unit, linked by marshland and inland tributaries that would have provided a range of economic resources. The concentration of monuments and stone alignments seem to knit the landscape together over a wide area and depth of time.

The history of archaeological research exerts a strong influence over each area, acting as a demarcating principle, and affecting the way that the Neolithic has been conceptualised and portrayed. The identification of each of these areas as a topic for study in itself is determined by the depth of attention devoted to them in the past. The level of data that is used to reconstruct Neolithic society is highlighted in **Chapter 6**. Skilful combination of a variety of sources of information, from palaeo-environmental analysis to the symbols etched on megalithic slabs, provides interesting narrative. However the doubt persists that the evidence as it exists may be over-

interrogated in archaeological narrative. This is most clearly highlighted through the use of monuments as proxy settlement evidence, though is also apparent in the export of models from well-studied areas to other regions. In this way, a core-periphery relationship is often created within archaeological narrative. This is not to suggest that all regions were equal in prehistory, but that their juxtaposition often reflects the current state of archaeological research.

9.2 Problems and Solutions

Within the history of archaeology, the causes, effects and influences over the formation of the discipline are hard to unpick from a complex social background. Thus this topic of investigation is as difficult to demarcate as the study of prehistoric regions themselves. In the early stages of the development of archaeology it seems relatively easy to identify the main protagonists and reconstruct the dynamics of their community. Several biographies of key figures have been attempted from an archaeological perspective (Bowden, 1991, Thompson, 1977, Piggott, 1985) along with social histories of archaeology (Levine, 1986, Hudson, 1986). However, outwith the individuals identified in archaeological textbooks, this group of early practitioners has been somewhat neglected and promises to be a productive avenue of future research. The link between archaeology and the middle classes is an important one and is confidently identified for the 19th century and first half of the 20th century, although this relationship remains to be studied for the second half of the 20th century. Whether or not the class connection is a meaningful one post Second World War is a potentially fruitful topic. The demography of archaeology has changed and it would be of further interest to investigate this aspect as it exists today. Tracing other connections to the wider socio-political world, especially the class connection in archaeology's formative years, may yield interesting results regarding the formation of archaeological narrative. For example, 19th century archaeologists are often portrayed as socially conservative, and it would be interesting to assess whether or not a more liberal stance has since been adopted in archaeology.

This approach has focused upon archaeological ideas, and discussed them in relation to landscapes with long histories of investigation. Depiction of 'sacral landscapes' in archaeological narrative reflects both the historiography of

interpretation, as well as the character of the material remains. The concept of the 'Neolithic' itself provides a dominant set of metaphors through which the evidence is interpreted. Making this approach relevant to the practical aspects of archaeology is challenging. However, focusing attention on the scales of evidence and the factors affecting what is considered to be useful archaeological information can only be beneficial in terms of a considered excavation and survey strategy.

A central theme for this thesis has been the archaeological treatment of time, in particular concerning the work of Braudel. His level of *conjonctures* sits closest to that of archaeological analyses. It is those aspects of the material record that occur over wide areas or that cyclically recur, that are easiest to trace and include within archaeological narrative. However, this grouping of processes by itself is a little inadequate when considering the information that can and cannot be gleaned from prehistoric sources. Combining the idea of *mentalité* with *conjoncture*-level processes provides a starting point for constructing archaeological narrative. Another possibility is to divide the *conjonctures* into two further groupings. This does not reflect a simple division between those processes of slightly longer or shorter duration, but reflects a separation of those processes that can be primarily described as cyclical or directional in nature. What is clear is that the portrayal of time in archaeological narratives is inadequate when discussing the prehistoric experience. Our discussions of change and continuity need to take account of duration, and the differences between the lengths of time that we divide up into periods, and the years that prehistoric people would have experienced. In this sense, the 'generation' is a more meaningful unit of analysis and departure point for discussions of continuity and the ways in which this would have been experienced by the individual in prehistory.

What is expected from narratives concerning the Neolithic is determined by both the history of archaeological investigation and the prevailing theoretical climate. The questions asked of the record tend to anticipate their own answers. The recovery and portrayal of prehistoric *mentalité* is fraught with difficulties. Traditional depictions draw upon a long history of ideas that can sink down into the archaeological subconscious. In recent approaches the role of the ancestors has permeated our ideas of the Neolithic (Whitley, 2002), largely escaping critical

consideration at the same time. This idea has arrived largely from anthropology, the work of Claude Meillassoux (1972) acting as a particularly key influence (e.g. Barrett, 1994, Bradley, 1998). The application of simple structural divisions within archaeological work has been questioned, although Meillassoux, as a structural and Marxist anthropologist, appears to have escaped critical attention. Significant anthropological influences to be incorporated in archaeological accounts of this area of prehistory also include Bronislaw Malinowski on Papua New Guinea (1922), Edward Evans-Pritchard (1956) on the Nuer and Maurice Bloch on Madagascar (1971). A discussion of the implications of *mentalité* in archaeological work follows in the next section.

9.4 Identifying *Mentalité*

Neolithic society in Western Europe is portrayed in a variety of ways in archaeological accounts, although a number of features constantly recur. An example of this is provided by the discussion of axes in Brittany by Mark Patton, which the author assumes are linked to ‘ancestors, death and the past’ (1993, 30). This is a good summary of the preoccupations inherent within many narratives concerning the Neolithic. Nineteenth century accounts developed ecclesiastical metaphors or built on ideas of nature mysticism and the romantic concept of the ‘noble savage’. Classical parallels were invoked along with accounts of native peoples from the New Worlds to create a prehistoric past that veered between nostalgia and lurid fascination. The attractions of a bygone, pre-industrial age were often contrasted with accounts of cannibalism (Greenwell, 1877). Similarly, the agricultural cycle has come to provide the dominant metaphor through which prehistoric symbolism is interpreted.

When discussing the individual, whether from the Mesolithic, Neolithic or Bronze Age (Brück, 2004, Jones, 2005b, Chapman, 2000), it is difficult not to conceptualise them in relation to our own ideas of self and modernity (Fowler, 2004, 3). Prehistoric people were aware of the conditions that shaped their society, even if these were conceived of in different terms from ours. The fact that the material record indicates considerable manipulation within the conceptual schemes and generative models that have been identified within prehistory highlights this. The individual in prehistoric narrative is often portrayed as a biological entity or social role, rather than

a living, breathing person (Fowler, 2004, 4, Hodder, 2000). This criticism was aimed at the New Archaeology, although the individuals that are excluded, manipulated and inculcated at monumental sites in more modern accounts seem similarly abstract and determined by forces outwith their control. At a fundamental level, the biological certainty of death provides a universal of human experience. To what extent any cultural experience is universal is open to debate, but ultimately, death is a cross-cultural factor. Accounts concerning the Neolithic focus on death and the cultural layers built up around it. It is unfortunate, therefore, that much of the debate is framed in relation to the exotic or 'other'. The treatment of the dead and the material traces that this leaves are regarded in very different ways dependant on whether the individual concerned is from the Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age or, for that matter, Modern times. Discussion of the location of 19th century cemeteries, for example (Tarlow, 2000) contrasts with interpretations of ancestors and spirits applied to prehistoric evidence (e.g. Barnatt, 1998), even though the material remains are not hugely dissimilar. If the archaeological record is approached with cultural categories in mind, then that tends to be what is 'discovered'. The presence of burial near to, or far from, settlement areas is discussed through the same explanatory principles, thus proximity or distance are explained according to identical schemes. Thus, Richard Bradley's model (2005, 201) concerning conceptual and physical distance, is actually a model for how he copes with the evidence after collapsing the categories 'ritual' and 'domestic'. The principles and schemes that predetermine to a certain extent the interpretation of Neolithic monuments are more revealing of the archaeological aesthetic, which appears blind to ideas of ancestors when considering the many 18th and 19th century tombs dotted around cities such as Edinburgh.

9.5 Conclusions

In a recent work, Bradley questions the idea of 'ritual landscapes' as a meaningful unit of analysis (2005, 201). Through this thesis, the idea of a 'sacral landscape' has been identified as a type prevalent in archaeological accounts of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. It is the differentiation between 'sacral' and 'ritual' that makes this type meaningful. The idea of 'ritualisation' as a process (Bell, 1992), as opposed to ritual as a category, still leads to the former becoming an object of archaeological research. Bradley falls into this trap by collapsing the categories of

‘ritual’ and ‘domestic’ before wondering whether “it might be more interesting to ask when ritual and ceremonial first became separated from domestic life” (Bradley, 2003a, 222). If ritualisation as a process is to have more than a culturally specific meaning, it is illogical to ask the question Bradley does. Thus while ‘ritualisation’ as a process can be important across all aspects of life, a distinction can be drawn between domestic ritual and sacral ritual. The problems with the term ‘ritual’ indicate how deeply it has saturated archaeological thought. The old division between domestic and ritual activity is crudely drawn, and the recognition of ritualistic activity at domestic sites, particularly structured deposition, collapses the distinction. However, the physical separation of archaeological evidence that can be interpreted in terms of sacral ritual (as opposed to domestic ritual) is, I believe, a meaningful one for the three areas studied. Both categories may exhibit ritual characteristics, in the same way that enclosure might be present at both domestic and sacral sites, but to deny difference results in poorer archaeological narrative. Within Bradley’s account a number of underlying themes including the ‘agricultural metaphor’ and the ‘house for the dead’ principles in particular, can be identified (2005, 204-205, explored in **chapter 8**). These seem to operate on the same level of assumption associated with the idea of ‘ritual landscapes’ itself.

Underlying models and assumptions that colour interpretation are prevalent within archaeology, though are also visible enough to be identified and studied. In part, this is due to the extensive borrowings archaeologists make across disciplinary boundaries, along with the ‘silent’ nature of their evidence which requires an imaginative, and to a certain extent artificial, approach. Models tend to be durable and can explain apparently contradictory information in the same way. For example, the presence of statue menhirs in Brittany can be connected to the depiction or commemoration of individuals. However, timber may be thought of as being a more suitable material with which to construct a monument associated with the living and the short term (e.g. Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina, 1998a). However, a variety of explanations can be constructed along ideas of translating the brevity of existence into ‘immortality’, commemoration, misrecognition of death, questioning the correlation between the menhirs and the portrayal of individuals (and a whole host of others). These explanations play on the timber and stone relationship, but never invalidate it.

Typology is one manifestation of the archaeological approach that charts the progression of archaeological data from specific example to generalised category. Within the time frame explored in this thesis the term 'sacral landscape' has been an important type that has come to define discussion of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age society. This type appears a more applicable description of the Kilmartin and Morbihan areas than Drenthe. Monuments in Drenthe seem to be more interspersed through the landscape and connected to other 'types' of site, although all three areas have been interpreted with recourse to special journeys, the presence of ancestors and the negotiation of social power.

In more recent accounts of time, change is often explained in relation to negative forces, such as a breakdown in the social process. This is viewed as discontinuity, and thus has to be explained. However, the identification of continuity, often by repetition, is open to scrutiny. The depth of time observed by archaeologists is often compressed in our explanations of change at specific sites, so that the idea of duration is often omitted. Similarly, the potential for change as the result of positive forces, such as the introduction of a new technology, can be neglected in archaeological accounts. What then characterises continuity and repetitious action on a site? Over how many years gap can continuity be said to exist? In accounts of the Neolithic, the reference to ancestral long houses suggests considerable periods of time over which social memory can be maintained. The recourse to negative causes when explaining change may be as a result of the types of information that are used when constructing archaeological narrative. The work of Michel Foucault for example, focuses on aspects of life located at the margins of society, including madness, crime, death and burial (1979). The latter two are particularly the concern of the prehistorian, and the reason why change can be portrayed as negative may arise from the idea that the record we are working from is conceived as reflecting marginal, aberrant, or exotic behaviour. It should be emphasised that change can also be the result of positive factors, including technological or social innovation.

In this thesis the work of Braudel and Bourdieu has been especially useful in conceptualising some of the problems that a discussion of time highlights. However, the majority of this exists at the level of construction of archaeological narrative. To what extent these ideas of time correlate to prehistoric existence is much harder to

gauge, and remains a complex, ongoing, theoretical question. Archaeological accounts often focus on the edges of the Neolithic, where continuity comes to an end and thus the explicit principles underlying the Neolithic become visible. Thus, the processes of becoming Neolithic, or at the other end of the scale, the passing of a Neolithic *mentalité*, are popular research fronts. Continuity itself is subjected to much less critical analysis and interpretation, the presence of cultural phenomena that exist over wide areas tend to be examined in terms of their spatial extent and how they are transmitted. Increasingly, the subsistence economy of prehistoric communities is being relegated in favour of accounts that examine the more symbolic aspects of Neolithic society. In part, this is due to recognition of the regionalised nature of the economy in different areas. However, wider themes of the Neolithic, such as the conception of time, are not re-evaluated on a regional level, but are considered as an inherent principle, universal to the Neolithic across Europe. That Mesolithic or Bronze Age people had radically different concepts of time seems unlikely in every area, regardless of whether acculturation or incoming population is the dominant mode for explaining discontinuity. The reappraisal of the economic basis on a region by region basis should be reflected in accounts concerning the symbolic and ideological aspects of society. More specifically, the *mentalité* of different areas should provide the basis for interpretation.

9.6 Future Work

A number of areas briefly explored in this thesis are amenable to future study. Firstly, the historiography of archaeology remains a rich area for investigation, especially the ways that processes such as ‘Neolithisation’ have been characterised. Throughout the history of archaeology several themes loom large, especially the effect of the Industrial Revolution. This offers a starting point from which to explore the formation of archaeological work and some of the early concerns that filter down into modern archaeology. Similarly, the development of the terminology that has been used in archaeological narrative would provide a fruitful topic of research, especially in relation to the historical context of the development of archaeology in different countries. An exploration of the choice and application of models, especially from anthropology would also be highly informative, especially field work from the Trobriand Islands and the Kula exchange networks. The latter example is used in

several accounts concerning the movement of people and artefacts. This is useful in highlighting the range of social, cultural and historical factors that shape exchange alongside 'economic' ones, and is a reminder that people have complex relationships with artefacts, and that this is reflected in exchange. Similarly, the information provided on agricultural production makes this a popular parallel for accounts dealing with prehistoric communities (e.g. Bradley, 2005). However, the specifics of how this model has been employed and how it has shaped our understanding of the past are interesting topics in themselves. In part, this may be connected to the writing talents of Bronislaw Malinowski himself in his accounts of the anthropological studies of the islands (1922), his important position in the canon of anthropology and his connections to British scholarship. In a similar way, Aboriginal case studies have also played a part in archaeological thinking, particularly regarding landscape and rock art (e.g. Ashmore & Knapp, 1999b, Chippindale & Nash, 2004b, Arsenault, D, 2004) and a systematic examination of how they affect the construction of archaeological narrative would form an interesting study. From within archaeology, exploration of phenomena such as beaker pottery, including both the material and the conceptual category, would also form a productive focus for future research (Clarke, 1970, Shennan, 1986, Douglas Price et al, 2004). The construction of the 'beaker phenomenon' and how debate is framed around this idea would provide not only a useful account of archaeological material that provides a touchstone for the three areas studied, but would also highlight the nature of polemic and narrative building within archaeology as a whole.

Although extensively investigated in the past, the three landscapes studied offer the potential for future research. Kilmartin Valley, for example, potentially contains considerable archaeological data under the peat. Reassessment of older excavation, including the reconstruction of their approach has yielded interesting results in the Dutch examples where it has taken place. The potential for undiscovered wooden components to sites, especially interesting at monuments that are postulated to have an astronomical element, is also considerable given the deficiencies of earlier excavation. The identification of domestic activity, either through survey or excavation, is also a crucial future concern when discussing the nature of these landscapes.

The archaeological approach itself also offers a rich potential for future study. Archaeological techniques that seem well understood, typology being a prime example, offer a range of critical insight into how archaeological knowledge is created and applied. Similarly, the range of concepts we use and investigate, such as ‘society’, *a priori* shape the accounts we write. By examining the concepts we investigate and the approaches we apply to the past we can in turn examine the processes at work in the present. Theories of time as applied within archaeology are also worth further exploration, including discussion of how they can be applied to archaeological data. Previous work is founded on a number of underlying assumptions and constants (see **chapter 3**), though there is little overall coherency or common language. At a fundamental level, the demarcation of the object of archaeological analysis and the question of what can be inferred from this still remain problematic questions in need of addressing. As new forms of data and techniques come to be applied within archaeology it is important to maintain a critical approach to the older ones. More recent and often more ‘scientific’ approaches, such as genetics, attract a lot of funding. It is hard to justify the utility of new approaches, however, if we still cannot meaningfully incorporate pottery evidence in the archaeological narrative.

The three landscapes studied yielded a range of themes within the history of their research, and it would be interesting to discover if other ‘sacral landscapes’ reveal similar or contrasting underlying approaches. The presence of monumental sites within each of the three areas studied and in particular, the megaliths, ensured that these landscapes captured the archaeological imagination. The stories that have been woven around such evocative constructions contrast with their silent nature. As such, the narratives of the megalith are really the story of archaeology.

Bibliography

Allen, J.R. 1882. "Notes on some Undescribed Stones with Cup-Markings in Scotland" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 16. pp 79-143

Ames, K. 1991. "The Archaeology of the *Longue Durée*: Temporal and Spatial Scale in the Evolution of Social Complexity on the Southern Northwest Coast". *Antiquity* 65. No.249. pp 935-945

Appadurai, A. (ed). 1986a. *The Social Life of Things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Appadurai, A. 1986b. "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value" in Appadurai, A. (ed). *The Social Life of Things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 3-63

Armit, I. & Finlayson, B. 1992. "Hunter-gatherers Transformed: The Transition to Agriculture in Northern and Western Europe". *Antiquity* 66. No.252. pp 664-676

Armit, I., Murphy, E., Nelis, E. & Simpson, D. (eds). 2003. *Neolithic Settlement in Ireland and Western Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books

Arnold, C.J. 1986. "Archaeology and History: The Shades of Confrontation and Cooperation" in Bintliff, J. & Gaffney, C.F. (eds). *Archaeology at the Interface*. Oxford: BAR International series 300. pp 32-39

Arsenault, D. 2004. "Rock-Art, Landscape, Sacred Places: Attitudes in Contemporary Archaeological Theory" in Chippindale, C. & Nash, G. *The Figured Landscapes of Rock-Art: Looking at Pictures in Place*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 69-84

Ashmore, P. 1997. "Radiocarbon Dates from Archaeological Sites in Argyll and Arran" in Ritchie, J.N.G (ed). *The Archaeology of Argyll*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp 236-283

Ashmore, P. 1998. "Radiocarbon Dates for Settlements, Tombs and Ceremonial Sites with Grooved Ware in Scotland" in Gibson, A. & Simpson, D. (eds) *Prehistoric Ritual and Religion*. Stroud: Sutton. pp 139-147

Ashmore, P. 2003. "Terminology, Time and Space: Labels, Radiocarbon Chronologies and a 'Neolithic' of Small Worlds" in Armit, I., Murphy, E., Nelis, E. & Simpson, D. *Neolithic Settlement in Ireland and Western Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 40-46

Ashmore, P. 2004. "Absolute Chronology" in Shepherd, I.A.G. & Barclay, G.J. (eds). *Scotland in Ancient Europe: The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Scotland in their European Context*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. pp 125-136

- Ashmore, W. 2006. "Gender and Landscapes" in Nelson, S. (ed). *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*. Oxford: Altamira Press. pp 199-218
- Ashmore, W. & Knapp, B. (eds). 1999. *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Aspinall, A. 1986. "Hard Science: Too Hard for Archaeology?" in Bintliff, J. & Gaffney, C.F (eds). *Archaeology at the Interface*. Oxford: BAR International series 300. pp 130-132
- Atkinson, R.J.C. 1976. "Lukis, Dryden and the Carnac Megaliths" in Megaw, J.V.S. (ed). *To Illustrate the Monuments*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Baert, P. 1998. *Social Theory in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bailey, G.N. 1981. *Concepts, Time-Scales and Explanations in Economic Prehistory* in Sheridan, A. & Bailey, G (eds). *Economic Archaeology*. Oxford: B.A.R. v.96. pp 97-117
- Bailey, G.N. 1983. "Concepts of Time in Quaternary History" *Annual Review of Anthropology* 12. pp 165 -192
- Bailey, G.N. 1987. "Breaking the Time Barrier" *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 6. pp 5-20
- Bailloud, G. 1975. "Les Céramiques "Cannelées" du Néolithique Armorican" *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 72 pp 343-367
- Bakker, J.A. 1979a. "July 1878: Lukis and Dryden in Drenthe". *The Antiquaries Journal* 59. pp 9-18
- Bakker, J.A. 1979b. *The T.R.B. West Group: Studies in the Chronology and Geography of the Makers of Hunebeds and Tiefsch Pottery*. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam
- Bakker, J.A. 1979c. "Protection, Acquisition, Restoration, and Maintenance of the Dutch *Hunebeds* since 1734: An Active and Often Exemplary Policy in Drenthe" in *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 29. pp 143-183.
- Bakker, J.A. 1982. "T.R.B. Settlement Patterns on the Dutch Sandy Soils." *Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia* 15. pp 87-124
- Bakker, J.A. 1988a. "A list of the Extant and Formerly Present *Hunebedden*". The Netherlands" in *Palaeohistoria* 30. pp 63-72
- Bakker, J.A. 1991. "Prehistoric Long-Distance Roads in North-West Europe" in Lichardus, J.(ed) *Die Kupferzeit Als Historische Epoche*. Bonn: Habelt. pp 505-528

- Bakker, J.A. 1992. *The Dutch Hunebedden: Megalithic Tombs of the Funnel Beaker Culture*. Michigan: Ann Arbor
- Bakker, J.A. & Goenman-van Waateringe, W. 1988. "Megaliths, Soils and Vegetation on the Drenthe Plateau." in Groenman-van Waateringe, W. & Robinson, M. (eds). *Man-made Soils*. Oxford: B.A.R. pp 143-181
- Ballantyne, C.K. & Dawson, A.G. 1997. "Geomorphology and Landscape Change" in Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons. pp 23-44
- Bapty, I. 1990. "Nietzsche, Derrida and Foucault: Re-excavating the Meaning of Archaeology" in Bapty, I. & Yates, T. (eds). *Archaeology After Structuralism*. London: Routledge. pp 240-276
- Bapty, I. & Yates, T. (eds). 1990. *Archaeology After Structuralism*. London: Routledge
- Barber, J.W. 1978. "The Excavation of the Holed-Stone at Ballymeanoch, Kilmartin, Argyll" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 109. pp 104-111
- Barclay, G.J. 1997. "The Neolithic" in Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons. pp 127-150
- Barclay, G.J. 2000. "Between Orkney and Wessex: The Search for the Regional Neolithic of Britain" in Ritchie, A. (ed). *Neolithic Orkney in its European Context*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. pp 275-285
- Barclay, G.J. 2001. "Neolithic Enclosures in Scotland" in Darvill, T. & Thomas, J. (eds). *Neolithic Enclosures in Atlantic Northwest Europe*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 144-154
- Barclay, G.J. 2003. "Neolithic Settlement in the Lowlands of Scotland: A Preliminary Survey" in Armit, I., Murphy, E., Nelis, E. & Simpson, D. (eds). *Neolithic Settlement in Ireland and Western Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 71-83
- Barclay, G.J. 2004. " '...Scotland cannot have been an inviting country for agricultural settlement': A History of the Neolithic of Scotland" in Shepherd, I.A.G. & Barclay, G.J. (eds). *Scotland in Ancient Europe: The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Scotland in their European Context*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. pp 31-53
- Barclay, G.J. 2005. "The 'Henge' and 'Hengiform' in Scotland" in Cummings, V. & Pannett, A. (eds). *Set in Stone: New Approaches to Neolithic Monuments in Scotland*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 81-94
- Barclay, G.J. & Maxwell, G.S. 1998. *The Cleaven Dyke and Littleour*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

- Barnatt, J. 1998. "Monuments in the Landscape: Thoughts from the Peak" in Gibson, A. & Simpson, D. (eds). *Prehistoric Ritual and Religion*. Stroud: Sutton. pp 92-105
- Barrett, J.C. 1990. "The Monumentality of Death" *World Archaeology* Vol.22. No 2. pp 179-189
- Barrett, J.C. 1994. *Fragments from Antiquity: An Archaeology of Social Life in Britain, 2900-1200 BC*. Oxford: Blackwells
- Barrett, J.C. 2000. "A Thesis on Agency" in Dobres, M-A. & Robb, J.E. (eds) *Agency in Archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp 61-68
- Barrett, J.C. 2001. "Agency, the duality of structure, and the Problem of the Archaeological Record" in Hodder, I. (ed). *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity. pp 141-164
- Barrett, J.C., Bradley, R.J. & Green, M. 1990. *Landscape, Monuments and Society: The Prehistory of Cranborne Chase*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Barrett, J.C. & Fewster, K.J. 1998. "Stonehenge: Is the Medium the Message?" *Antiquity* 72 (278) pp 847-852
- Barrett, J.C. & Fewster, K.J. 2000. "Intimacy and Structural Transformation: Giddens and Archaeology" in Holtorf, C. & Karlsson, H (eds). *Philosophy and Archaeological Practice*. Göteborg: Bricoleur Press. pp 25-38
- Barrett, J.C. & Kinnes, I. (eds), 1988. *The Archaeology of Context in the Neolithic and Bronze Age: Recent Trends*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press
- Barringer, T. & Flynn, T. 1998. "Introduction" in Barringer, T. & Flynn, T. (eds). *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum*. London: Routledge. pp. 1-10
- Bauer, A.A. 2002. "Is What You See All You Get? Recognising Meaning in Archaeology" *Journal of Social Archaeology* Vol 2 (1). pp 37-52
- Beekman, C.S. & Baden, W.W (eds). 2005. *Nonlinear Models for Archaeology and Anthropology: Continuing the Revolution*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Bell, C. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Bell, C. 1997. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Bender, B. 1986. *The archaeology of Brittany, Normandy and the Channel Islands*. London: Faber
- Bender, B (ed). 1993. *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Oxford: Berg
- Bender, B. 1995. "Timely Interventions" *Antiquity* 69. No. 262. pp 179-182

- Bersu, G. 1940. "Excavations at Little Woodbury, Wiltshire" *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 6. pp 30-111
- Bettelheim, B. 1975. *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf
- Biddle, M. & Kjølbye-Biddle, B. 1969. "Metres, Areas and Robbing" *World Archaeology* 1. pp 208-219
- Binford, L. 1962. "Archaeology as Anthropology". *American Antiquity*. 28. pp 217-225.
- Binford, L. 1965. "Archaeological Systematics and the Study of Cultural Process" *American Antiquity* 31. pp 203-210
- Binford, L (ed). 1972a. *An Archaeological Perspective*. New York: Seminar Press
- Binford, L. 1972b. "Mortuary Practices: Their Study and their Potential" in Binford, L (ed). *An Archaeological Perspective*. New York: Seminar Press. pp 208-251
- Bintliff, J. & Gaffney, C.F (eds). 1986. *Archaeology at the Interface*. Oxford: BAR International series 300
- Bintliff, J. 1986. "Archaeology at the Interface: and Historical Perspective" in Bintliff, J. & Gaffney, C.F (eds). *Archaeology at the Interface*. Oxford: BAR International series 300. pp 4-31
- Bintliff, J (ed). 1991a. *The Annales School and Archaeology*. Leicester: Leicester University Press
- Bintliff, J. 1991b. "The Contribution of an *Annaliste*/Structural History Approach to Archaeology" in Bintliff, J. (ed). *The Annales School and Archaeology*. Leicester: Leicester University Press. pp 1-33
- Blagg, T., Jones, R. & Keay, S. (eds). 1984. *Papers in Iberian Archaeology*. Oxford: B.A.R.
- Bloch, M. 1971. *Placing the Dead: Tombs, Ancestral Villages and Kinship Organization in Madagascar*. London: Seminar Press
- Bloch, M. 1977. "The Past and the Present in the Past" *Man* 12. pp 278-292
- Bloch, M. 1997. "People into Places: Zafimaniry Concepts of Clarity" in Hirsch, E. & O'Hanlon, M (eds). *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp 63-77
- Bloch, M. 1998. "Why Trees, too, are Good to Think With: Towards an Anthropology of the Meaning of Life" in Rival, L. (ed). *The Social Life of Trees*. Oxford: Berg. pp 39-55

- Blühm, A. (ed). 1996. *Philipp Otto Runge, Caspar David Friedrich: The Passage of Time*. Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum
- Boguki, P. & Crabtree, P.J. (eds). 2004. *Ancient Europe 8000BC – AD 1000*. Vol I. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons
- Bonsall, C. 1997. "Coastal Adaptation in the Mesolithic of Argyll. Rethinking the 'Obanian Problem'" in Ritchie, J.N.G (ed). *The Archaeology of Argyll*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp 25-37
- Bonsall, C., Macklin, M., Anderson, D., Payton, R. 2002. "Climate Change and the Adoption of Agriculture in North-West Europe." *European Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 5 (1). pp 9-23
- Bottero, J, Buschenschutz, O, Cleuziou, S, Duval, P-M, Laming-Emperaire, A, Schnapp, A, & Wasowicz, A. 1973. "Préhistoire, Archéologie, Sociétés" *Annales: ESC* 28. pp 52-76
- Boujot, C. & Cassen, S. 1993. "A Pattern of Evolution for the Neolithic Funerary Structures of the West of France." *Antiquity* 67 No.256 pp. 477-491
- Boujot, C. & Cassen, S. 1998. "Tertres Armoricaains et Tumulus Carnacéens" in Guilaine, J. (ed). *Sépultures d'Occident et Genèses des Mégalithismes (9000-3500 avant notre ère)*. Paris: Editions Errance. pp 109-126
- Boujot, C., Cassen, S. & Vaquero Lastres, J. 1998. "Some Abstraction for a Practical Subject: The Neolithization of Western France seen through Funerary Architecture" *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 8 (2). pp 193-206
- Bourdieu, P. 1970. "The Berber House or the World Reversed." *Social Science Information* 9 (2). pp 151-170
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bourdieu, P. 1990a. *Homo Academicus*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bourdieu, P. 1990b. *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity
- Bourdieu, P. 1999. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bowden, M. 1991. *Pitt Rivers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bradley, R. 1984. *The Social Foundations of Prehistoric Britain*. London & New York: Longman
- Bradley, R. 1989. "Deaths and Entrances: A Contextual Analysis of Megalithic Art" *Current Anthropology* 30. pp 68-75

- Bradley, R. 1991. "Ritual, Time and History". *World Archaeology* Vol 23. No 2. pp 209-219
- Bradley, R. 1993. *Altering the Earth*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
- Bradley, R. 1997. *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe: Signing the Land*. London: Routledge
- Bradley, R. 1998. *The Significance of Monuments*. London: Routledge
- Bradley, R. 2000. *An Archaeology of Natural Places*. London: Routledge
- Bradley, R. 2001. "Orientations and Origins: A Symbolic Dimension to the Long House in Neolithic Europe" *Antiquity* 75 (287). pp 50-56
- Bradley, R. 2002a. *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*. London: Routledge
- Bradley, 2002b. "Death and the Regeneration of Life: A New Interpretation of House Urns in Northern Europe." *Antiquity* 76. No.292 pp 372-377
- Bradley, R. 2003a. "Neolithic Expectations" in Armit, I., Murphy, E., Nelis, E. & Simpson, D. (eds). *Neolithic Settlement in Ireland and Western Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 218-222
- Bradley, R. 2003b. "Seeing Things: Perception, Experience and the Constraints of Excavation". *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3 (2). pp 151-168
- Bradley, R. 2005. *Ritual and Domestic Life in Prehistoric Europe*. London: Routledge
- Brady, E. 2003. *Aesthetics of the Natural Environment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Braudel, F. 1958. "Histoire et Sciences Sociales: La Longue Durée". *Annales* 13. pp725-751
- Braudel, F. 1972. "Personal Testimony". *The Journal of Modern History* Vol.44, Issue 4. pp 448-467
- Braudel, F. 1980. *On History*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson
- Braudel F. 1986. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Vol 1. London: Fontana Press
- Braudel, F. 1990. *The Identity of France Volume 1: History and Environment*. New York: Harper & Row
- Braudel, F. 1992. *The Identity of France Volume 2: People and Production*. New York: Harper Perennial

- Briard, J. 1984. *Les Tumulus D'Armorique*. Paris: Picard
- Brindley, A.L. 1983. "The Finds From *Hunebed* G3 on the Glimmer Es, Mun. of Haren, Prov. of Gronigen, The Netherlands." *Helenium* 23. pp 209-236
- Brindley, A.L. 1986a. "The Typochronology of T.R.B. West Group Pottery" *Palaeohistoria* 28. pp 93-132
- Brindley, A.L. 1986b. "*Hunebed* G2: Excavation and Finds." *Palaeohistoria* 28. pp 27-92
- Brindley, A.L. & Lanting, J.N. 1991 "A Reassessment of the *Hunebedden* O1, D30 and D40: Structures and Finds." *Palaeohistoria* 33/34. pp 97-140
- Brindley, A.L., Lanting, J.N. & Neves Espinha, A.D. 2001. "*Hunebed* D6A near Tinaarlo" *Palaeohistoria* 43/44. pp 43-85
- Brocklehurst, H. & Phillips, R (eds). 2004. *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain*. Basingstok : Palgrave Macmillan
- Brongers, J.A. 1976. "Material for a History of Dutch Archaeology up to 1922" *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Jahrang* 26 pp 7-62
- Broodbank, C. 2000. *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Broodbank, C. & Strasser, T.F. 1991. "Migrant Farmers and the Neolithic Colonization of Crete" *Antiquity* 65 (247). pp 233-245
- Brophy, K. 1998. "Cursus Monuments and Bank Barrows of Tayside and Fife" in Barclay, G.J. & Maxwell, G.S. *The Cleaven Dyke and Littleour*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. pp 92-108
- Brophy, K. 2005. "Not My Type: Discourses in Monumentality" in Cummings, V. & Pannett, A. (eds). *Set in Stone: New Approaches to Neolithic Monuments in Scotland*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 1-13
- Brown, A.G. 2000. "Floodplain Vegetation History: Clearings as Potential ritual Spaces?" in Fairbairn, A.S. (ed). *Plants in Neolithic Britain and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 49-62
- Brück, J. 2004. "Material Metaphors: The Relational Construction of Identity in Early Bronze Age Burials in Ireland and Britain" *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4 (3). pp 307-333
- Brumfiel, E.M. & Earle, T.K. (eds). 1987a. *Specialisation, Exchange and Complex Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Brumfiel, E.M. & Earle, T.K. 1987b. "Specialization, Exchange, and Complex Societies: An Introduction" in Brumfiel, E.M. & Earle, T.K. (eds). *Specialisation, Exchange and Complex Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp 1-9
- Buchli, V. 1998. "Interpreting Material Culture: the Trouble with Text" in Hodder, I, Shanks, M, Alexandri, A, Buchli, V, Carman, J, Last, J. & Lucas, G. (eds). *Interpreting Archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp 181-193
- Bulliet, R. W. 1992. "Annales and Archaeology" in Knapp, A.B. "Archaeology and Annales: Time, Space and Change" in Knapp, A. B. *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 131-134
- Burenhult, G. & Westergaard, S. (eds). 2003. *Stones and Bones: Formal Disposal of the Dead in Atlantic Europe during the Mesolithic-Neolithic Interface 6000-3000 BC*. Oxford: Archaeopress
- Burguiere, A. 1982. "The Fate of the History of *Mentalités* in the *Annales*". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Volume 24 Issue 3. pp 424-437
- Burke, P. 1990. *The French Historical Revolution*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Burl, A. 1976. *The Stone Circles of the British Isles*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Burl, A. 1985. *Megalithic Brittany*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Busch, W. 1996. "From Time Immemorial to Time Unimaginable: Caspar David Friedrich and the Depiction of the Four Seasons" in Blühm, A. (ed). *Philipp Otto Runge, Caspar David Friedrich: The Passage of Time*. Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum. pp 17-31
- Butler, J.J. 1971. *Bronze Age Groups and Hoards of the Netherlands (I)*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GMBH
- Campbell, M. & Coles, J.M. 1963. "The Torran Hoard" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 96. pp 352-354
- Campbell, M. & Sandeman, M.L.S. 1961. "Mid Argyll: A Survey of the Historic and Prehistoric Monuments" *PSAS* 95. pp 1-125
- Campbell of Kilberry, M., Scott, J.G., Piggott, S. 1961. "The Badden Cist Slab" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 94. pp 46-61
- Carver, M. 1998. "On Archaeological Value" in Hensel, W., Tabaczyński, S., Urbańczyk, P. *Theory and Practice of Archaeological Research*. Warszawa: Naukowa Oficyna Wydawnicza "Scientia". pp 411-430
- Casparie, W.A. 1982. "The Neolithic Wooden Trackway XXI (Bou) in the Raised Bog at Nieuw-Dordrecht (The Netherlands)" *Palaeohistoria* 24. pp 115-164

- Casparie, W.A. 1987. "Bog Trackways in the Netherlands" *Palaeohistoria* 29. pp 35-66
- Casparie, W.A. & Groenman-van Waateringe, W. 1980. "Palynological Analysis of Dutch Barrows" *Palaeohistoria* 22. pp 9-65
- Cassen, S (ed). 2000a. *Éléments d'Architecture*. Chauvigny: A.P.C.
- Cassen, S. 2000b. "Stelae Reused in the Passage Graves of Western France: History of Research and Sexualization of the Carvings" in Ritchie, A. (ed). *Neolithic Orkney in its European Context*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. pp 233-246
- Cassen, S. 2005. "Pigeon-Vole! Re-Connaissance d'une Gravure Armoricaire du V^e Millénaire" *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 102 (2). pp 299-334
- Cassen, S., Audren, C., Hinguant, S., Lannuzel, G. & Marchand, G. 1998. "L'habitat Villeneuve-Saint-Germain du Haut-Mée (Saint-Etienne-en-Coglès, Ile-et-Vilaine)". *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 95. pp 41-76
- Cassen, S. & L'Helgouac'h, J. 1992. "Du Symbole de la Crosse: Chronologie, Répartition et Interprétation" in Le Roux, C-T. (ed). *Paysans et Bâisseurs. L'Emergence du Néolithique Atlantique et les Origines du Mégalithisme*. Vannes: R.A.O. Supplément no.5. pp 223-235
- Cassen, S. & Pétrequin, P. 1999. "La Chronologie des Haches Polies Dites des Prestige dan la Moitié Ouest de la France" *European Journal of Archaeology* 2 (1). pp 7-33
- Cassen, S. & Vaquero, J. 2004. "Fabulous Things" *Journal of Iberian Archaeology* 6. pp 7-48
- Cauvin, J. 2000. *The Birth of the Gods and the Origins of Agriculture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Chang, K.C. 1967. "Major Aspects of the Interrelationship of Archaeology and Ethnology" *Current Anthropology* 8. No. 3. pp 227-243
- Chapman, J. 1991. "The Creation of Social Arenas in the Neolithic and Copper Age of S.E. Europe: The Case of Varna" in Garwood, P., Jennings, P., Skeates, R. & Toms, J. (eds). *Sacred and Profane*. Oxford: Oxbow. pp 152-171
- Chapman, J. 1994. "The Living, the Dead, and the Ancestors: Time, Life Cycles and the Mortuary Domain in Later European Prehistory" in Davies, J. (ed). *Ritual and Remembrance: Responses to Death in Human Societies*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. pp 40-85
- Chapman, J. 2000. *Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of South-Eastern Europe*. London: Routledge

- Chapman, R.W., Kinnes, I. & Randsborg, K. (eds). 1981. *The Archaeology of Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Chapman, W. 1989. "The Organisational Context in the History of Archaeology: Pitt-Rivers and Other British Archaeologists in the 1860's" *The Antiquaries Journal*. Vol. LXIX. pp 23-42
- Childe, V.G. 1925. *The Dawn of European Civilisation*. London
- Childe, V.G. 1929. *The Danube in Prehistory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Childe, V.G. 1934. "Neolithic Settlement in the West of Scotland". *Scottish Geographical Magazine* vol.50, pp 18-25.
- Childe, V.G. 1940. *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*. London: Chambers
- Childe, V.G. 1946. "Archaeology and Anthropology" *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 2 (3). pp 243-51
- Childe, V.G. 1949. *Social Worlds of Knowledge*. London: Oxford University Press
- Childe, V.G. 1956. *Piecing Together the Past: The Interpretation of Archaeological Data*. London: Routledge & Paul
- Childe, V.G. 1985. *What Happened in History*. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Chippindale, C. 1989. "Philosophical Lessons from the History of Stonehenge Studies" in Pinsky, V. & Wylie, A (eds). *Critical Traditions in Contemporary Archaeology*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press
- Chippindale, C. 1997. "Ambition, Deference, Discrepancy, Consumption: The Intellectual Background to a Post-Processual Archaeology" in Yoffee, N. & Sherratt, A (eds). *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 27-36
- Chippindale, C. & Nash, G. 2004a. *The Figured Landscapes of Rock-Art: Looking at Pictures in Place*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Chippindale, C. & Nash, G. 2004b. "Pictures in Place: Approaches to the Figured Landscapes of Rock Art" in Chippindale, C. & Nash, G. *The Figured Landscapes of Rock-Art: Looking at Pictures in Place*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 1-36
- Clark, G. 1952. *Prehistoric Europe: The Economic Basis*. London: Methuen
- Clarke, D. 2003. "Once Upon a Time Skara Brae was Unique" in Armit, I., Murphy, E., Nelis, E. & Simpson, D. (eds). *Neolithic Settlement in Ireland and Western Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 84-92
- Clarke, D.L. 1968. *Analytical Archaeology*. London: Methuen

- Clarke, D.L. 1970. *Beaker Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. vols. 1 & 2
- Clarke, D.L. 1973. "Archaeology: The Loss of Innocence". *Antiquity* 47. pp 6-18
- Clarke, D.L. (ed). 1977. *Spatial Archaeology*. London: Academic Press
- Clarke, D.V., Cowie, T.G. & Foxon, A (eds). 1985. *Symbols of Power at the Time of Stonehenge*. Edinburgh: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland
- Colley, L. 1992. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Cobb, C. 1991. "Social Reproduction and the Long Durée in the Prehistory of the Midcontinental United States" in Preucel, R. (ed). *Processual and Postprocessual Archaeologies: Multiple Ways of Knowing the Past*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. pp 168-182
- Cook, J. 2003. "The Discovery of British Antiquity" in Sloan, K. (ed). *Enlightenment*. London: British Museum Press. pp 178 - 191
- Cook, M. 2005. "Upper Largie, Kilmartin (Kilmartin Parish), Cursus" *D.E.S.* 6. p 29
- Cooney, G. 1997. "Images of Settlement and the Landscape in the Neolithic." In Topping, P (ed). *Neolithic Landscapes*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 23-31
- Cooney, G. 2000. *Landscapes of Neolithic Ireland*. London: Routledge
- Cooney, G. 2004a. "Neolithic Stone Axe Quarries and Production Sites in Scotland and Ireland." in Shepherd, I.A.G. & Barclay, G.J. (eds). *Scotland in Ancient Europe: The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Scotland in their European Context*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. pp 191-203
- Cooney, G. 2004b. "Neolithic World; Islands in the Irish Sea" in Cummings, V & Fowler, C. (eds). *The Neolithic of the Irish Sea: Materiality and Traditions of Practice*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 145-159
- Copley, M.S., Berstan, R., Dudd, S.N., Aillaud, S., Mukherjee, A.J., Straker, V, Payne, S. & Evershed, R.P. 2005. "Processing of Milk Products in Pottery Vessels through British Prehistory" *Antiquity* 79 306. pp 895-908
- Cosgrove, D. & Daniels, S (eds). 1988. *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Cowie, T.G. & Shepherd, I.A.G. 1997. "The Bronze Age" in Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons. pp 151-168.

- Craw, J.H. 1929. "On a Jet Necklace from a Cist at Poltalloch, Argyll" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 63. pp 154-189
- Craw, J.H. 1930 "Excavations at Dunadd and at other Sites on the Poltalloch Estates, Argyll" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 64. pp 111-146
- Craw, J.H. 1931. "Further Excavations of Cairns at Poltalloch, Argyll" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 65. pp 269-280
- Craw, J.H. 1932. "Two Long Cairns (One Horned) and an Ogham Inscription, near Poltalloch, Argyll" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 66. pp 445-450
- Cummings, V & Fowler, C. (eds). 2004. *The Neolithic of the Irish Sea: Materiality and Traditions of Practice*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Cummings, V. & Pannett, A. (eds). 2005. *Set in Stone: New Approaches to Neolithic Monuments in Scotland*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Cunliffe, B. 2001. *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and its Peoples, 8,000 BC-AD 1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Daniel, G. 1943. *The Three Ages: An Essay on Archaeological Method*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Daniel, G. 1960. *The Prehistoric Chamber Tombs of France: A Geographical, Morphological, and Chronological Survey*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Daniel, G. 1971. *The Idea of Prehistory*. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Daniel, G. 1975. *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*. London: Duckworth
- Daniel, G. (ed). 1981. *Towards a History of Archaeology*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Daniel, G. & Kjærsum, P. (eds). 1973. *Megalithic Graves and Ritual*. Copenhagen: Jutland Archaeological Society Publications
- Daniels, S. & Cosgrove, D. 1988. "Introduction: Iconography and Landscape" in Cosgrove, D. & Daniels, S (eds). *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 1-10
- Darvill, T. 1997. "Neolithic Landscapes: Identity and Definition" in Topping, P (ed). *Neolithic Landscapes*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 1-13
- Darvill, T. & Thomas, J. (eds). 2001. *Neolithic Enclosures in Atlantic Northwest Europe*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Darvill, T. & Thomas, J. 2001. "Neolithic Enclosures in Atlantic Northwest Europe: Some Recent Trends" in Darvill, T. & Thomas, J. (eds). *Neolithic Enclosures in Atlantic Northwest Europe*. Oxford: Oxbow Books pp 1-23

- David, N. & Kramer, C. 2001. *Ethnoarchaeology in Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Davidson, D.A. & Carter, S.P. 1997. "Soils and Their Evolution" in Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons. pp 45-62
- Davies, J. (ed). 1994. *Ritual and Remembrance: Responses to Death in Human Societies*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press
- Davies, M. 1942. "The Diffusion and Distribution Pattern of the Megalithic Monuments of the Irish Sea and North Channel Coastlands". *The Antiquaries Journal*. No. 26. pp 38-60.
- Davies, P., Robb, J.G. & Ladbrook, D. 2005. "Woodland Clearance in the Mesolithic: The Social Aspect" *Antiquity* (79). No. 304. pp 280-288
- Davis, A. 1988. "The Metrology of Cup-and-Ring Carvings" in Ruggles, C.L.N. (ed). *Records in Stone: Papers in Memory of Alexander Thom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp 392-422
- Dawkins, R. 1986. *The Blind Watchmaker*. Harlow: Longman Scientific & Technical
- De Closmadeuc, A. & De Closmadeuc, J. 1866. "Rapport sur les Foilles Faites par la Société Polymathique du Morbihan dans le Communes de Carnac et de Plouharnel, sous la Direction de MMR. Galles, Gressy et de Closmadeuc" *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan*. pp 91-101
- De Closmadeuc, G. 1867. "Découverte d'un Cromlech dans L'Île d'El-Lanic (Morbihan)" *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan*. pp 28-30
- De Closmadeuc, G. 1884. "Gavrinis, Fouilles et Découvertes Récentes" *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan*. pp 180-187
- De Closmadeuc, G. 1887. "Fouilles sous le Dallage du Monument Intérieur de Gavrinis" *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* 10. p 10
- De Groot, D.J. 1988. "Hunebed D9 at Annen (Gemeente Anlo, Province of Drenthe, The Netherlands)" *Palaeohistoria* 30. pp 73-108
- De Laet, S.J (ed). 1976. *Acculturation and Continuity in Atlantic Europe*. Brugge: De Tempel
- Demoule, J-P. 1982. "La Préhistoire et ses Mythes" *Annales: ESC* 37. pp 741-59
- Demoule, J-P & Guilaine, J. (eds). 1986. *Le Néolithique de la France*. Paris: Picard

- Díaz-Andreu, M. 2004. "Britain and the Other: The Archaeology of Imperialism" in Brocklehurst, H. & Phillips, R (eds). *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain*. Basingstok : Palgrave Macmillan. pp 227-241
- Dietler, M. & Herbich, I. 1998. "*Habitus*, Techniques, Style: An Integrated Approach to the Social Understanding of Material Culture and Boundaries" in Stark, M (ed). *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*. Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press. pp 232-263
- Dobres, M-A. 2000. *Technology and Social Agency*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Dobres, M-A. & Robb, J.E. (eds) 2000a. *Agency in Archaeology*. London: Routledge
- Dobres, M-A. & Robb, J.E. 2000b. "Agency in Archaeology: Paradigm or Platitude?" in Dobres, M-A. & Robb, J.E. (eds) *Agency in Archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp 3-17
- Donald, M. 1998. "Material Culture and Cognition: Concluding Thoughts" in Renfrew, C. & Scarre, C. (eds). *Cognition and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Symbolic Storage*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. pp 181-187
- Douglas Price, T., Knipper, C., Grupe, G. & Smrcka, V. 2004. "Strontium Isotopes and Prehistoric Human Migration: The Bell Beaker Period in Central Europe". *European Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1). pp 9-40
- Dunnell, R.C. 1992. "The Notion Site" in Rossignol, J. & Wandsnider, L. (eds). 1992. *Space, Time and Archaeological Landscapes*. New York: Plenum Press. pp 21-41
- Dupont, C. & Gruet, Y. 2005. "Malacofaune et Crustacés Marins des Amas Coquilliers Mésolithiques de Beg-an-Dorchenn (Plomeur, Finistère) et de Beg-er-Vil (Quiberon, Morbihan) in Marchand, G. & Tresset, A (eds). *Unité et Diversité des Processus de Néolithisation sur la Façade Atlantique de l'Europe (6^e-4^e Millénaires avant J.-C.)*. Mémoire XXXVI de la Société Préhistorique Française. pp 139-161
- Durkheim, E. 1915. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. London: Allen & Unwin
- Durkheim, E. 1938. *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press
- Durkheim, E. 1952. *Suicide; A Study in Sociology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Ebbesen, K. 1984. "Megalithic Graves in Schleswig-Holstein" *Acta Archaeologica* vol.55. pp
- Edmonds, M. 1992. "Their Use is Wholly Unknown" in Sharples, N. & Sheridan, A. (eds). *Vessels for the Ancestors*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Edmonds, M. 1999. *Ancestral Geographies of the Neolithic*. London: Routledge

- Edmonds, M. & Richards, C (eds). 1998. *Understanding the Neolithic of North-Western Europe*. Glasgow: Cruithne Press
- Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). 1997a. *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons
- Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M. 1997b. "Environment and People in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times: Preliminary Considerations" in Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons. pp 1-10
- Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M. 1997c. "Environment and Archaeology in Scotland: Some Observations" in Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons. pp 255-266
- Edwards, K.J. & Whittington, G. 1997. "Vegetation Change" in Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons, pp 63-82
- Ellingson, T. 2001. *The Myth of the Noble Savage*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Ellis, C. 2000. "Upper Largie, Argyll and Bute (Kilmartin parish), timber circle; sub-rectangular enclosure; cist" *D.E.S.* p 16
- Embleton, C. (ed). 1984. *Geomorphology of Europe*. London: Macmillan
- Embree, L. (ed). 1992. *Metaarchaeology: Reflections by Archaeologists and Philosophers*. London: Kluwer Academic Publishers
- Evans, A.J. 1901. "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult" *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 21. pp 99-204
- Evans-Pritchard, E. 1956. *Nuer Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Fairbairn, A.S. (ed). 2000. *Plants in Neolithic Britain and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Fairweather, A.D. & Ralston, I.B.M. 1993. "The Neolithic Timber Hall at Balbridie, Grampian Region, Scotland: The Building, the Date, the Plant Macrofossils" *Antiquity* 67. No. 255. pp 313-323
- Febvre, L. 1982. *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; Harvard University Press
- Finlayson, B. & Edwards, K.J. 1997. "The Mesolithic" in Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons. pp 109-126

- Fischer, A. 1982. "Trade in Danubian Shaft-Hole Axes and the Introduction of Neolithic Economy in Denmark" *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 1 pp 7-12
- Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2002. "The Amesbury Archer: A Well Furnished Early Bronze Age Burial in Southern England" *Antiquity* 76 (293). pp 629-630
- Flannery, K. 1972. "The Cultural Evolution of Civilisations" *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 3. pp 399-426
- Fletcher, R. 1992. "Time Perspectivism, *Annales*, and the Potential of Archaeology" in Knapp, A. B. *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Fokkens, H. 1982. "Late Neolithic Occupation near Bornwird (Province of Friesland)" *Palaeohistoria* 24. pp 91-114
- Fokkens, H. 1998. *Drowned Landscape: The Occupation of the Western Part of the Frisian-Drentian Plateau, 4,400 BC – AD 500*. Assen: Van Gorcum
- Foucault, M. 1967. *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. London: Tavistock Publications
- Foucault, M. 1979. *Discipline and Punish*. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Foucault, M. 1997. *The Order of Things*. London: Routledge
- Foucault, M. 2002. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge
- Fowler, C. 2004. *The Archaeology of Personhood: An Anthropological Approach*. London: Routledge
- Fox, C. 1943. *The Personality of Britain: Its Influence on Inhabitant and Invader in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales
- Franck, I. M. & Brownstone, D. M. 1984. *To the Ends of the Earth: The Great Travel and Trade Routes of Human History*. New York: Facts on File
- Frankel, D. 2000. "Migration and Ethnicity in Prehistoric Cyprus: Technology as *Habitus*". *European Journal of Archaeology* 3 (2). pp 167-187
- Friederike Müller, A. 2002. "Sociology as a Combat Sport" *Anthropology Today* 18. No 2. pp 5-9
- Gaffney, C.F. 1986. "Explanation at the Method and Theory Interface" in Bintliff, J. & Gaffney, C.F (eds). *Archaeology at the Interface*. Oxford: BAR International series 300. pp 88-93
- Gaillard, F. 1887. "Du Tumulus de Kerlescan, à Carnac, de son Acquisition et de sa Restauration" *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* 10. pp 687-693

- Gaillard, F. 1888. "Observations sur le Complément de la Restauration du Tumulus de Kerlescan" *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* 11. pp 461-463
- Gaillard, F. 1892. "Le Dolmen de la Pointe de Conguel à Quiberon" *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* 15. pp 37-47
- Gaillard, F. 1897. "Le Dolmen du Mané-Hui à Kerléarec en Carnac" *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* 20. pp 34-38
- Galles, R. 1864a. *Fouilles du Mont Saint-Michel en Carnac, etc.* Vannes
- Galles, R. 1864b. *Tumulus et dolmen de Kercado (Carnac).* Vannes
- Galles, R. & Mauricet, A. 1864. *Étude sur le Manné-Lud en Locmariaquer.* Vannes
- Gamble, C. 2001. *Archaeology: The Basics.* London: Routledge
- Garwood, P., Jennings, P., Skeates, R. & Toms, J. (eds). 1991. *Sacred and Profane.* Oxford: Oxbow
- Geertz, C. 1996. *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author.* Cambridge: Polity Press
- Gell, A. 1992. *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images.* Oxford: Berg
- Gibson, A. 1998a. *Stonehenge & Timber Circles.* Stroud: Tempus
- Gibson, A. 1998b. "Hindwell and the Neolithic Palisaded Sites of Britain and Ireland" in Gibson, A. & Simpson, D. (eds). *Prehistoric Ritual and Religion.* Stroud: Sutton. pp 68-79
- Gibson, A. & Simpson, D. (eds) 1998. *Prehistoric Ritual and Religion.* Stroud: Sutton
- Giddens, A. 1976. *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies.* London: Hutchinson
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration.* Cambridge: Polity Press
- Giddens, A. 1987. *Social Theory and Modern Sociology.* Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Giffen, A.E. Van. (I 1925, II 1927, Atlas 1927). I *De Hunebedden in Nederland.* Utrecht: Oosthoch
- Gilman, A. & Thornes, J.B. 1985. *Land-use and Prehistory in South-East Spain.* London: Allen and Unwin
- Gimbutas, M. 1989. *The Language of the Goddess.* London: Thames & Hudson.

- Gimbutas, M. 1991. *The Civilisation of the Goddess*. San Francisco: Harper
- Giot, P-R. 1960. *Brittany*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Giot, P-R. 1970. *Barnenez*. Rennes: Direction des Antiquités Préhistoriques de Bretagne
- Giot, P-R. 1973. "Les Leçons Finales du Cairn de Barnenez" in Daniel, G. & Kjærum, P. (eds). *Megalithic Graves and Ritual*. Copenhagen: Jutland Archaeological Society Publications. pp 197-202
- Giot, P-R. 1988. "Stones in the Landscape of Brittany" pp 319-324 in Ruggles, C.L.N. (ed). *Records in Stone: Papers in Memory of Alexander Thom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Giot, P-R. & L'Helgouac'h. 1957. "Le Cairn Méridional de Barnenez-en-Plouézoc'h (Finistère), Campagne de Fouilles de 1956" *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 54. pp 358-365
- Giot, P-R, Monnier, J-L, L'Helgouac'h, J. 1998. *Préhistoire de la Bretagne*. Rennes: Editions Ouest-France
- Glob, P.V. 1974. *The Mound People: Danish Bronze Age Man Preserved*. London: Faber
- Glørstad, H. 2000. "Freedom of Speech is Always Freedom From the Speech of Others, or Rather Control of Their Silence. On Pierre Bourdieu and Archaeology" in Holtorf, C. & Karlsson, H (eds). 2000. *Philosophy and Archaeological Practice*. Göteborg: Bricoleur Press.
- Golson, J. 1982. "The Ipomoean Revolution Revisited: Society and the Sweet Potato in the Upper Wahgi Valley" in Strathern, A (ed). *Inequality in New Guinea Highlands Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 109-136
- Gosden, C. 1994. *Social Being and Time*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Gosden, C. 1999. *Anthropology and Archaeology: A Changing Relationship*. London: Routledge
- Gosden, C. 2001. "Postcolonial Archaeology: Issues of Culture, Identity, and Knowledge", in Hodder, I. (ed). *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity. pp 241-261
- Gould, S. J. 1987. *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Graslund, B. 1981. "The Background to C.J. Thomsen's Three Age System" in Daniel, G. (ed). *Towards a History of Archaeology*. London: Thames & Hudson. pp 45-50

Graslund, B. 1987. *The Birth of Prehistoric Chronology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Greenwell, W. G. 1866. "An Account of Excavations in Cairns near Crinan" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 6. pp 336-51

Greenwell, W. G. 1877. *British Barrows*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Gregory, C.A. 1984. "The Economy and Kinship: A Critical Examination of Some of the Ideas of Marx and Lévi-Strauss" in Spriggs, M. (ed). *Marxist Perspectives in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 11-21

Groenman-van Waateringe, W & Butler, J.J. 1976. "The Ballynoe Stone Circle" *Palaeohistoria* 18. pp 73-86

Groenman-van Waateringe, W. & Robinson, M. (eds). 1988. *Man-made Soils*. Oxford: B.A.R

Grogan, E. 2004. "The Implications of Irish Neolithic Houses." In Shepherd, I.A.G. & Barclay, G.J. (eds). *Scotland in Ancient Europe: The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Scotland in their European Context*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. pp 103-114

Guilaine, J. (ed). 1976. *Colloque 24: La Civilisation des Vases Campaniformes*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

Guilaine, J. (ed). 1998. *Sépultures d'Occident et Genèses des Mégalithismes (9000-3500 avant notre ère)*. Paris: Editions Errance

Guyodo, J-N. 2005. "Les Assemblages Lithiques de la Fin du Néolithique Ancien et du Néolithique Moyen sur le Massif Armoricaïn et ses Marges" in Marchand, G. & Tresset, A (eds). *Unité et Diversité des Processus de Néolithisation sur la Façade Atlantique de l'Europe (6^e-4^e Millénaires avant J.-C.)*. Mémoire XXXVI de la Société Préhistorique Française. pp 213-224

Haggarty, A. 1991. "Machrie Moor, Arran: Recent Excavations at Two Stone Circles" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 121. pp 51-94

Hamilikas, Y., Pluciennik, M. and Tarlow, S. (eds). 2002a. *Thinking Through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporality*. London: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum

Hamilikas, Y., Pluciennik, M. and Tarlow, S. 2002b. "Introduction: Thinking Through the Body" in Hamilikas, Y., Pluciennik, M. and Tarlow, S. (eds). *Thinking Through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporality*. London: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum. pp 1-21

Hansen, M. & Rostholm, H. 1993. "Single Graves and Late Neolithic Graves" in Hvass, S. & Strogaard, B. (eds). *Digging into the Past: 25 Years of Archaeology in Denmark*. Copenhagen: The Royal Society of Northern Antiquities. pp 116-121

Harding, A. (ed). 1982. *Climatic Change in Later Prehistory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Harding, A. 2000a. *European Societies in the Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Harding, A. 2000b. "Henge Monuments and Landscape Features in Northern England: Monumentality and Nature" in Ritchie, A. (ed). *Neolithic Orkney in its European Context*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. pp 267-275

Harris, E. C. 1989. *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*. London: Academic Press

Harrison, R.J. 1980. *The Beaker Folk: Copper Age Archaeology in Western Europe*. London: Thames & Hudson

Hart, C. 1998. *Doing a Literature Review*. London: SAGE Publications

Hawkes, C.F. 1948. *Archaeology and the History of Europe*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Hawkes, C.F. 1954. "Archaeological Theory and Method: Some Suggestions from the Old World" *American Anthropologist* 56. pp 155-168

Haycock, D. 1999. "A Small Journey into the Country: William Stukeley and the Formal Landscapes of Stonehenge and Avebury" in Myrone, M. & Peltz, L. (eds). *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850*. Aldershot: Ashgate. pp 67-82

Heidegger, M. 1962. *Being and Time*. Oxford: Blackwell

Hénaff, X. 2002. *Les Habitats au Néolithique en Bretagne*. Rennes: Institut Culturel de Bretagne-Skol-Uhel Ar Vro

Henderson, J.C (ed) 2000. *The Prehistory and Early History of Atlantic Europe*. Oxford: Archaeopress

Hensel, W., Tabaczyński, S., Urbańczyk, P. 1998. *Theory and Practice of Archaeological Research*. Warszawa: Naukowa Oficyna Wydawnicza "Scientia"

Henshall, A.S. 1963. *The Chambered Tombs of Scotland, Volume 1*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Henshall, A.S. 1972. *The Chambered Tombs of Scotland, Volume 2*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Herbaut, F. 2000. "Les Haches Carnacéens" in Cassen, S (ed). *Éléments d'Architecture*. Chauvigny: A.P.C. pp 387-395

- Hexter, J.H. 1972. "Fernand Braudel and the Monde Braudellien..." *The Journal of Modern History* Vol. 44 Issue 4. pp 480-539
- Hibbs, J. 1983. "The Neolithic of Brittany" in Scarre, C. (ed). *Ancient France: Neolithic Societies and their Landscapes, 6000-2000 BC*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp 271-323
- Hicks, D. 2003. "Archaeology Unfolding: Diversity and the Loss of Isolation" *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22 (3). pp 315-329
- Hirsch, E. & O'Hanlon, M (eds). 1997. *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Hobsbawm, E. J. 1977. *The Age of Revolution: Europe, 1789-1848*. London: Sphere
- Hodder, I. (ed). 1982. *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hodder, I. 1984. "Burials, Houses, Women and Men in the European Neolithic" in Miller, D. & Tilley, C. (eds). *Ideology, Power and Prehistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 51-68
- Hodder, I. 1986. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hodder, I (ed). 1987. *Archaeology as Long-Term History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hodder, I. 1989a. "Writing Archaeology: Site Reports in Context". *Antiquity* 63. pp 268-274
- Hodder, I (ed). 1989b. *The Meaning of Things*. London: Unwin Hyman
- Hodder, I. 1990. *The Domestication of Europe: Structure and Contingency in Neolithic Society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Hodder, I. 1997. "'Always Momentary, Fluid and Flexible': Towards a Reflexive Excavation Methodology" *Antiquity* 71 (273). pp 691-700
- Hodder, I. 1999. *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Hodder, I. 2000. "Agency and Individuals in Long-Term Processes" in Dobres, M-A. & Robb, J.E. (eds) *Agency in Archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp 21-33
- Hodder, I. (ed). 2001. *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity
- Hodder, I., Isaac, G. & Hammond, N. (eds). 1981. *Pattern of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Hodder, I, Shanks, M, Alexandri, A, Buchli, V, Carman, J, Last, J. & Lucas, G. (eds). 1998. *Interpreting Archaeology*. London: Routledge
- Hofmann, W. 2000. *Caspar David Friedrich*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Holtorf, C.J. 1998. "The Life-Histories of Megaliths in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Germany)" *World Archaeology Vol. 30*(1). pp 23-38
- Holtorf, C. 2000-5. *Monumental Past: The Life-histories of Megalithic Monuments in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Germany). A Living Electronic Monograph*. University of Toronto: Centre for Instructional Technology Development. (<http://hdl.handle.net/1807/245>)
- Holtorf, C. & Karlsson, H (eds). 2000. *Philosophy and Archaeological Practice*. Göteborg: Bricoleur Press.
- Howley, J. 1993. *The Follies and Garden Buildings of Ireland*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Hudson, K. 1986. *A Social History of Archaeology*. London: Macmillan
- Hunter, M. 1981. "The Preconditions of Preservation: A Historical Perspective" in Lowenthal, D. & Binney, M. (eds). 1981. *Our Past before Us: Why do We Save It?* London: Temple Smith. pp 22-32
- Hvass, S. & Strogaard, B. (eds). 1993. *Digging into the Past: 25 Years of Archaeology in Denmark*. Copenhagen: The Royal Society of Northern Antiquities
- Ingold, T. 1992. "Editorial" *Man* Vol.27. No. 4. pp 693-696
- Ingold, T. 1993. "The Temporality of the Landscape". *World Archaeology* 25 (2) pp 152-174
- Ingold, T. 2000. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge
- International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology. 1869. *Transactions of the Third Session Which Opened at Norwich on the 20th August and Closed in London on the 28th August 1868*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Jager, S.W. 1985. "A Prehistoric Route and Ancient Cart Tracks in the *Gemeente Anloo* (Province of Drenthe)." *Palaeohistoria* 27. pp 185-245
- Jennbert, K. 1985. "Neolithisation – a Scanian Perspective" *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 4 pp 196-197
- Johnson, M. 1989. "Conceptions of Agency in Archaeological Interpretation". *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 8. pp 189-211

- Jones, A. 2005a. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Rock Art and Mimesis in Neolithic and Bronze Age Scotland" in Cummings, V. & Pannett, A. (eds). *Set in Stone: New Approaches to Neolithic Monuments in Scotland*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 107-117
- Jones, A. 2005b. "Lives in Fragments? Personhood and the European Neolithic" *Journal of Social Archaeology* 5 (2). pp 193-224
- Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge
- Joussaume, R. 1988. *Dolmens for the Dead*. London: Batsford
- Kellner, H. 1979. "Disorderly Conduct: Braudel's Mediterranean Satire." *History and Theory*. Volume 18, Issue 2. pp 197-222
- King, M. P. 2003. *Unparalleled Behaviour: Britain and Ireland during the 'Mesolithic' and 'Neolithic'*. Oxford: Archaeopress
- Kinnes, I. 1980. "The Art of the Exceptional: The Statue-Menhirs of Guernsey in Context". *Archaeologia Atlantica* 3. pp 9-23
- Kinnes, I. 1985. "Circumstance not Context: the Neolithic of Scotland as Seen from the Outside" *P.S.A.S.* 115. pp 15-57
- Kinnes, I. 1998. "From Ritual to Romance: A New Western" in Gibson, A. & Simpson, D. (eds) *Prehistoric Ritual and Religion*. Stroud: Sutton. pp 183-189
- Kinnes, I & Longworth, I.H. 1985. *Catalogue of the Excavated Prehistoric and Romano-British Material in the Greenwell Collection*. London: British Museum Publications
- Kirk, T. 1993. "Space, Subjectivity, Power and Hegemony: Megaliths and Long Mounds in earlier Neolithic Brittany." In Tilley, C (ed). *Interpretative Archaeology*. Oxford: Berg. pp 181-223
- Kirk, T. 1997. "Towards a Phenomenology of Building: the Neolithic Long Mound at La Commune-Sèche, Colombiers-sur-Seulles, Normandy" in Nash, G (ed) *Semiotics of Landscape: Archaeology of Mind*. Oxford: Archaeopress. pp 59-70
- Klejn, L.S. 2001. "Metaarchaeology" *Acta Archaeologica* Vol. 72:1. pp 1-149
- Klejn, L.S. 1993. "To Separate a Centaur: On the Relationship of Archaeology and History in Soviet Tradition" *Antiquity* 67. No. 255. pp 339-348
- Klindt-Jensen, O. 1976. "Influence of Ethnography on Scandinavian Archaeology" in Megaw, J.V.S. (ed). *To Illustrate the Monuments*. London: Thames & Hudson. pp 44-48
- Klok, R.H.J. 1979. *Hunebedden in Nederland, Zorgen voor Morgen*.

Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck

Knapp, A. B. 1992. *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Knapp, A.B. 1992. "Archaeology and *Annales*: Time, Space and Change" in Knapp, A. B. (ed). *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Knapp, A.B. & Ashmore, W. 1999. "Archaeological Landscapes: Constructed, Conceptualised, Ideational" in Ashmore, W. & Knapp, B. (eds). *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers pp 1-30

Knight, S. 2001. "Beasts and Burial in the Interpretation of Ritual Space: A Case Study from Danebury" in Smith, A. T., & Brookes, A. (eds). *Holy Ground: Theoretical Issues Relating to the Landscape and Material Culture of Ritual Space*. Oxford: Archaeopress. pp 49-59

Koch, Eva. 1998. *Neolithic Bog Pots from Zealand, Møn, Lolland and Falster*. København : Kongelige Nordiske oldskriftselskab

Koerner, J.L. 1990. *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape*. London: Yale University Press

Kohl, P. 1985. "Force, History and the Evolutionist Paradigm " in Spriggs, M. (ed). *Marxist Perspectives in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 127-134

Kohl, P. 1998. "Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past". *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 27. pp 223-246

Kohl, P. & Fawcett, C. (eds). 1995. *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Kohl, P. & Fawcett, C. 1995. "Archaeology in the Service of the State: Theoretical Considerations" in Kohl, P. & Fawcett, C. (eds). *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 3-18

Kristiansen, K. 1988. "The Black and the Red: Shanks & Tilley's Programme for a Radical Archaeology" *Antiquity* 62. No. 236. pp 473-482

Kuhn, T.S. 1996. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions 3rd Edition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Lake, M. 1998. "Digging for Memes: The Role of Material Objects in Cultural Evolution" in Renfrew, C. & Scarre, C. (eds). *Cognition and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Symbolic Storage*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. pp 77-88

- Latour, B. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf
- Layton, R. 1997. *An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Le Goff, J. & Nora, P. (eds) 1985. *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Le Goff, J. 1985. "Mentalities: A History of Ambiguities" in Le Goff, J. & Nora, P. (eds). *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 166-180
- L'Helgouac'h, J. 1965. *Les Sépultures Mégalithiques en Armorique*. Rennes: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
- L'Helgouac'h, J. 1966. "Les Sépultures Mégalithiques à Entrée Latérale en Armorique" *Palaeohistoria* 12. pp 259-281
- L'Helgouac'h, J. 1976. "Le Tumulus de Dissignac à Saint-Nazaire (Loire-Atlantique) et les Problèmes du Contact entre le Phénomène Mégalithique et les Sociétés à l'Industrie Microlithique" in De Laet, S.J (ed). *Acculturation and Continuity in Atlantic Europe*. Brugge: De Tempel. pp 142-149
- L'Helgouac'h, J. & Cassen, S. 1989. "Locmariaquer, la Table des Marchand" *Bulletin d'Information Archéologique* 1. pp 60-62
- L'Helgouac'h, J. & Cassen, S. 1990. "La Table des Marchand (Daul Varchant) à Locmariaquer" *Journée Archéologique de Bretagne* 1. pp 19-21
- Le Roux, C-T. 1982. "Nouvelles Gravures à Gavrinis, Larmor-Baden (Morbihan)" *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 79. pp 89-96
- Le Roux, C-T. 1984. "A Propos des Fouilles de Gavrinis (Morbihan): Nouvelles Données sur l'Art Mégalithique Armoricaïn" *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 81. pp 240-245
- Le Roux, C-T. 1985. "New Excavations at Gavrinis" *Antiquity* 59. pp 183-187
- Le Roux, C-T. (ed). 1992. *Paysans et Bâisseurs. L'Emergence du Néolithique Atlantique et les Origines du Mégalithisme*. Vannes: R.A.O. Supplément no.5
- Le Roux, C-T. 1999. *L'Outillage de Pierre Polie en Métadolérite ue type A. Les Ateliers de Plussulien (Côtes-d'Armor): Production et Diffusion au Néolithique dans la France de l'Ouest et Au-Delà*. Rennes: Travaux du Laboratoire Anthropologie. Préhistoire et Quarternaire Armoricaïn
- Le Rouzic, Z. 1910. *Les monuments Mégalithiques de Carnac et de Locmariaquer: Leur Destination, Leur Age*. Vannes: Lafolye Frères & Co

- Le Rouzic, Z. 1920. "Carnac: Fouilles Faites dans la Région" *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan* pp 82-91
- Le Rouzic, Z. 1927. "La Restauration du Dolmen à galerie, sous tumulus, de Kercado, commune de Carnac" *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan*. pp 80-89
- Le Rouzic, Z. 1930. *Les Cromlechs de Er-Lannic, Commune d'Arzon de 1923 à 1926*. Vannes: Lafoyle & De Lamarzelle
- Le Rouzic, Z. 1932. *Tumulus du Mont St Michel*. Vannes
- Le Rouzic, Z. 1933. "Premières Fouilles au Camp du Lizo (Commune de Carnac, Morbihan)" *Revue Archéologique* pp 189-219
- Le Rouzic, Z. & Keller, C. 1910. *Locmariaquer, La Table des Marchands. Ses Signes Sculptés et ceux de la Pierre Gravédu Dolmen de Mané er H'roëk*. Nancy: Et. A. Barbier
- Le Rouzic, Z., Péquart, M. & Péquart, S-J. 1923. *Carnac, Fouilles dans la Région: Campagne 1922*. Nancy: Berger-Levrault
- Le Roy Ladurie, E. 1976. *The Peasants of Languedoc*. London: Urban
- Le Roy Ladurie, E. 1979. *The Territory of the Historian*. Hassocks: Harvester Press
- Lane, P. 2003. "Reviewing: Bradley *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*" *Antiquity* 77. No 295. pp 198-200
- Lanting, J.N. 1975. "De Hunebedden op de Glimmer Es (Gem. Haren)" *Groninger Volksalmanak*. pp 167-180
- Lanting, J. & van der Waals, D. 1976. "Bell Beakers in Continental Northwestern Europe" in Guilaine, J. (ed). 1976. *Colloque 24: La Civilisation des Vases Campaniformes*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. pp 8-32
- Laporte, L., Joussaume, R. & Scarre, C. 2002. "The Perception of Space and Geometry: Megalithic Monuments of West-Central France in their Relationship to the Landscape" in Scarre, C. (ed). *Monuments and Landscape in Atlantic Europe: Perception and Society During the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age*. London: Routledge. pp 73-83
- Last, J. 1998. "The Nature of History" in Hodder, I, Shanks, M, Alexandri, A, Buchli, V, Carman, J, Last, J. & Lucas, G. (eds). *Interpreting Archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp 141-157
- Layton, R. 1997. "Relating to the Country in the Western Desert" in Hirsch, E. & O'Hanlon, M (eds). *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp 210-231

- Leach, E. 1973. "Concluding Address" in Renfrew, C (ed). *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*. London: Duckworth. pp 761-771
- Lecerf, Y. 1986. "Une Nouvelle Intervention Archéologique au Camp du Lizo en Carnac (Morbihan)" *Revue Archéologique de l'Ouest* 3. pp 47-58
- Lecornec, J. 1994. *Le Petit Mont, Arzon, Morbihan*. Rennes: Documents Archéologiques de l'Ouest
- Leeuw, S.E. van der. 2005. "Non-Linear Processes and Archaeology" in Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. (eds). *Archaeology: The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge. pp 182-186
- Leeuw, S.E. van der & McGlade, J (eds). 1997. *Time, Process and Structured Transformation in Archaeology*. London: Routledge
- Lefèvre, M. & Galles, R. 1863. "Mané-er-Hroëk. Dolmen Découvert sous un Tumulus à Locmariaquer" *Bulletin de la Société Polymatique du Morbihan*. pp 18-33
- Lévi-Strauss, C. 1972. *Structural Anthropology*. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Levine, P. 1986. *The Amateur and the Professional*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Lewthwaite, J.G. 1986. "Archaeologists in Academe: An Institutional Confinement?" in Bintliff, J. & Gaffney, C.F (eds). *Archaeology at the Interface*. Oxford: BAR International series 300. pp 52 -87
- Lewthwaite, J.G. 1987. "The Braudelian Beaker: a Chalcolithic Conjuncture" in Waldren, W.H. & Kennard, R.C (eds). *Bell Beakers of the Western Mediterranean*. Oxford: BAR International Series 331 (i) pp 31-60
- Lichardus, J (ed). 1991. *Die Kupferzeit als Historische Epoche: Symposium Saarbrücken und Otzenhausen*. Bonn: Habelt
- Lichardus, J. & Lichardus-Itten, M. 1985. *La Protohistoire de L'Europe*. Paris: P.U.F.
- Lowenthal, D. & Binney, M. (eds). 1981. *Our Past before Us: Why do We Save It?* London: Temple Smith
- Lubbock, J. 1865. *Pre-historic Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*. London: Longmans, Green
- Lucas, G. 2001. *Critical Approaches to Fieldwork*. London: Routledge
- Lucas, G. 2005. *The Archaeology of Time*. London: Routledge
- Lukis, W.C. 1864. "On Cromlechs" *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XX. pp 228-237

- Lukis, W.C. 1866. "On Some Peculiarities in the Construction of Chambered Barrows" *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XXII. pp 249-263
- Lukis, W.C. 1868. "On a Remarkable Chambered Barrow at Kerlescant, Carnac, Brittany" *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XXIV. pp 40-44
- Lukis, W.C. 1875a. *On the Class of Rude Stone Monuments which are Commonly Called in England Cromlechs, and in France Dolmens, and are here Shown to have been the Sepulchral Chambers of Once-Existing Mounds. Prevailing Errors on the Subject Refuted by a Critical Examination of the Monuments Referred to by the Maintainers of these Errors*. Ripon: Johnson & Co.
- Lukis, W.C. 1875b. *A Guide to the Principal Chambered Barrows and other Pre-Historic Monuments in the Islands of Morbihan, the Communes of Locmariaker, Carnac, Plouharnel, and Erdeven, and the Peninsulas of Quiberon and Rhuis, Brittany*. Ripon: Johnson & Co.
- Lukis, W.C. 1885. "Egyptian Obelisks and European Monoliths Compared" *Archaeologia* XLVIII. pp 421-430
- Mackenzie, I.M. (ed) 1994. *Archaeological Theory: Progress or Posture?* Aldershot: Avebury
- Madsen, T. 1982. "Settlement Systems of Early Agricultural Societies in East Jutland, Denmark: A Regional Study of Change" *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1. pp 197-236
- Madsen, T. 1987. "Where Did All the Hunters Go? An Assessment of an Epoch-Making Episode in Danish Prehistory" *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 6 pp 229-239
- Magnusson Staaf, B. 2000. "Hannah Arendt and Torsten Hägerstrand. Converging Tendencies in Contemporary Archaeological Theory?" in Holtorf, C. & Karlsson, H (eds). *Philosophy and Archaeological Practice*. Göteborg: Bricoleur Press. pp 135-152
- Malinowski, B. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: G.Routledge & Sons
- Mallet, N. 1992. *Le Grand-Pressigny: Ses Relations avec la Civilisation Saône-Rhône*. Argenton-sur-Creuse: Société des Amis du Musée du Grand-Pressigny
- Manson, N. C. 2004. "Presenting Behavioural Genetics: Spin, Ideology, and Our Narrative Interests" in *Journal of Medical Ethics* 30. pp 601-604
- Mapleton, R.J. 1866. "Notice of a Carin at Kilchoan, Argyleshire, and its Contents" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 6. pp 351-355

- Mapleton, R.J. 1870. "Notice of Remarkable Cists in a Gravel Bank near Kilmartin: and of Incised Sculpturings of Axe Heads and other Markings on the stones of the Cists" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 8. pp 378-381
- Mapleton, R.J. 1881. "Notice of the Examination of a Cist, on the Banks of the River Add, at Crinan, Argyllshire" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 15. pp 103-104
- Marchand, G. 2005. "Le Mésolithique Final en Bretagne: Une Combinaison des Faits Archéologiques" in Marchand, G. & Tresset, A (eds). *Unité et Diversité des Processus de Néolithisation sur la Façade Atlantique de l'Europe (6^e-4^e Millénaires avant J.-C.)*. Mémoire XXXVI de la Société Préhistorique Française pp 67-86
- Marchand, G. & Tresset, A (eds). 2005. *Unité et Diversité des Processus de Néolithisation sur la Façade Atlantique de l'Europe (6^e-4^e Millénaires avant J.-C.)*. Mémoire XXXVI de la Société Préhistorique Française
- Marguerie, D. 1987. "Etude Palynologique du Complexe Mégalithique du Petit Mont (Arzon, Morbihan)" *Revue Archéologique de l'Ouest* 4. pp 57-61
- Marguerie, D. 1992. *Evolution de la Végétation sous l'Impact Human en Armorique du Néolithique aux Périodes Historiques*. Rennes: Travaux du Laboratoire d'Anthropologie, Préhistoire, Protohistoire et Quaternaire Armoricaïns no. 40
- Marguerie, D. 2000. "Végétation Néolithique sous Impact Anthropique en Morbihan et dans le Reste de la Bretagne" in Cassen, S (ed). *Éléments d'Architecture*. Chauvigny: A.P.C. pp 563-566
- Mathers, C. 1984. "Beyond the Grave: The Context and Wider Implications of Mortuary Practices in South-East Spain" in Blagg, T., Jones, R. & Keay, S. (eds). *Papers in Iberian Archaeology*. Oxford: B.A.R. pp 13-46
- Mauricet, A. 1877. "L'Ile aux Moines, ses Monuments Mégalithiques" *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan*. pp 89-98
- McGlade, J. & Leeuw, S.E. van der. 1997. "Introduction: Archaeology and Non-Linear Dynamics – New Approaches to Long-term Change" in Leeuw, S.E. van der & McGlade, J (eds). *Time, Process and Structured Transformation in Archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp 1-31
- McGlade, J. 1999. "The Times of History: Archaeology, Narrative and Non-Linear Causality" in Murray, T. (ed). *Time and Archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp 139-163
- McGrail, S. 1986. *Ancient boats in N.W. Europe: The Archaeology of Water Transport to AD 1500*. London: Longman
- McNairn, B. 1980. *The Method and Theory of V. Gordon Childe*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press
- Megaw, J.V.S. (ed). 1976. *To Illustrate the Monuments*. London: Thames & Hudson

- Megaw, J.V.S. & Megaw, R. 1988. "Review of Hodder (ed) *The Archaeology of Contextual Meaning* and Hodder (ed) *Archaeology as Long-Term History*" *Antiquity* 62. No. 235. pp 392-394
- Meillassoux, C. 1972. "From Reproduction to Production: A Marxist Approach to Economic Anthropology" *Economy and Society* 1. pp 93-105
- Mellars, P.A. 1987. *Excavations on Oronsay: Prehistoric Human Ecology on a Small Island*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Mercer, R.J. & Rideout, J. 1987. 'The Excavation of a Cist-Group at Upper Largie Quarry" *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 14. pp 25-38
- Midgley, M. 1992. *T.R.B. Culture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Midgley, M. 2004a. "Settlement in North-West Europe: An Overview" in Shepherd, I.A.G. & Barclay, G.J. (eds). *Scotland in Ancient Europe: The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Scotland in their European Context*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. pp 115-124
- Midgley, M. 2004b. "Long Barrow Cemeteries in Neolithic Europe" in Bogucki, P. & Crabtree, P.J. (eds). *Ancient Europe 8000BC – AD 1000*. Vol I. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons
- Midgley, M. 2005. *The Monumental Cemeteries of Prehistoric Europe*. Stroud: Tempus
- Miller, D. & Tilley, C. (eds). 1984. *Ideology, Power and Prehistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Miln, J. 1877. *Excavations at Carnac (Brittany): A Record of Archaeological Researches in the Bossenno and the Mont Saint Michel*. Edinburgh: David Douglas
- Miln, J. 1881. *Excavations at Carnac (Brittany): A Record of Archaeological Researches in the Alignments of Kermario*. Edinburgh: David Douglas
- Minot, R.S. 1964. *Monuments Mégalithiques de l'Ile aux Moines*. Vannes: Société Polymathique
- Mitchell, M.E.C. 1930. "The Nether Largie Chambered Cairn, Kilmartin, Argyll" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 64. pp 233-243
- Mitchell, T.F. 1982. "From Vedute to Vision: The Importance of Popular Imagery in Friedrich's Development of Romantic Landscape Painting" *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 64. pp 414-424
- Mithen, S. 1996. *The Prehistory of the Mind: A Search for the Origins of Art, Religion and Science*. London: Thames & Hudson

- Mithen, S. 2004. "The 'Mesolithic Experience' in Scotland" in Saville, A. (ed). *Mesolithic Scotland and Its Neighbours*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. pp 243-260
- Mizoguchi, K. 2000. "Anthony Giddens and Niklas Luhmann" in Holtorf, C. & Karlsson, H (eds). *Philosophy and Archaeological Practice*. Göteborg: Bricoleur Press. pp 13-24
- Mohen, J-P., Scarre, C. (eds). 2002. *Les Tumulus de Bougon, Deux-Sèvres : Complexe Mégalithique du Ve au IIIe Millénaire*. Paris: Errance
- Momigliano, A. 1950. "Ancient History and the Antiquarian" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* Vol.13. pp 285-315
- Montelius, O. 1986. *Dating in the Bronze Age with Special Reference to Scandinavia*. Stockholm: Kungl
- Mordant, D. 1998. "Émergence d'une Architecture Funéraire Monumentale" in Guilaine, J. (ed). *Sépultures d'Occident et Genèses des Mégalithismes (9000-3500 avant notre ère)*. Paris: Editions Errance. pp 71-88
- Moreland, J. 2001. *Archaeology and Text*. London: Duckworth & Co
- Morgan, L.H. 1877. *Ancient Society, or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization*. London: Macmillan,
- Morgan Evans, D. 2004. "Et in Arcadia? The Problems with Ruins." *The Antiquaries Journal* 84. pp 411-422
- Morris, R. 1977. *The Prehistoric Rock Art of Argyll*. Poole: Dolphin Press.
- Morse, M. 1999. "Craniology and the Adoption of the Three-Age System in Britain." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*. pp 1-16
- Moser, S. 2001. "Archaeological Representation: The Visual Conventions for Constructing Knowledge about the Past" in Hodder, I. (ed). *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity. pp 262-283
- Mowat, R.J.C. 1996. *The Logboats of Scotland*. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 68
- Murphree, I.L. 1961. "The Evolutionary Anthropologists: The Progress of Mankind: The Concepts of Progress and Culture in the Thought of John Lubbock, Edward B. Taylor, and Lewis H. Morgan" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. Vol. 105 (3). pp 265-300
- Murray, T. 1989. "The History, Philosophy and Sociology of Archaeology: the Case of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act (1882)" in Pinsky, V. & Wylie, A (eds). *Critical Traditions in Contemporary Archaeology*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. pp 55-67

- Murray, T. 1993. "Archaeology and the Threat of the Past: Sir Henry Rider Haggard and the Acquisition of Time" *World Archaeology* 25 (2). pp 175-186
- Murray, T. 1997. "Dynamic Modelling and New Social Theory of the Mid- to Long Term" in Leeuw, S.E. van der & McGlade, J (eds). *Time, Process and Structured Transformation in Archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp 449-463
- Murray, T. (ed). 1999. *Time and Archaeology*. London: Routledge
- Myrone, M. & Peltz, L. (eds) 1999. *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Nash, C. 2002. "Cultural Geography: Postcolonial Cultural Geographies". *Progress in Human Geography* 26 (2). pp 219-230
- Nash, G (ed). 1997. *Semiotics of Landscape: Archaeology of Mind*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Nash, G. 2002. "Constructing Hypothetical Systems of Exchange: Doing Kula in the Danish Mesolithic" in Waldren, W.H. & Ensenyat, J.A. (eds). *World Islands in Prehistory: International Insular Investigations*. Oxford: Archaeopress. pp 19-30
- Nelson, S. (ed). 2006. *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*. Oxford: Altamira Press
- Noble, G. 2005. "Ancestry, Farming and the Changing Architecture of the Clyde Cairns of South-West Scotland" in Cummings, V. & Pannett, A. (eds). *Set in Stone: New Approaches to Neolithic Monuments in Scotland*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp25-36
- Norris, R. 1988. "Megalithic Observatories in Britain: Real or Imagined?" in Ruggles, C.L.N. (ed). *Records in Stone: Papers in Memory of Alexander Thom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 262 – 276
- Parker Pearson, M. 2000. "Ancestors, Bones and Stones in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Britain and Ireland" in Ritchie, A. (ed). *Neolithic Orkney in its European Context*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. pp 203-214
- Parker Pearson, M. & Ramilisonina. 1998a. "Stonehenge for the Ancestors: The Stones Pass on the Message" *Antiquity* 72 (276). pp 308-326
- Parker Pearson, M. & Ramilisonina. 1998b. "Stonehenge for the Ancestors: Part Two" *Antiquity* 72 (278) pp 855-856
- Patton, M. 1993. *Statements in Stone: Monuments and Society in Neolithic Brittany*. London: Routledge
- Patton, M. 1994. "Neolithisation and Megalithic Origins in North-Western France: A Regional Interaction Model." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 13 No.3. pp 279-293
- Patton, M. 1995. *Neolithic Communities of the Channel Islands*. Oxford: Tempus

- Patton, M. 1996. *Islands in Time: Island Sociogeography and Mediterranean Prehistory*. London: Routledge
- Peebles, C.S. 1991. "Annalists, Hermeneutics and Positivists: Squaring Circles or Dissolving Problems" in Bintliff, J. (ed). *The Annales School and Archaeology*. Leicester: Leicester University Press. pp 108-124
- Peltz, L. & Myrone, M. 1999. "Mine are the Subjects Rejected by the Historian': Antiquarianism, History and the Making of Modern Culture" in Myrone, M. & Peltz, L. (eds) *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850*. Aldershot: Ashgate. pp 1-13
- Péquart, M. & Péquart, S-J. 1954. *Hoëdic: Deuxième Station-Nécropole du Mésolithique Cotier Armoricaïn*. Anvers: De Sikkel
- Péquart, M., Péquart, S-J, Boule, M. & Vallois, H.V. 1937. *Téviéc: Station-Nécropole Mésolithique du Morbihan*. Paris: Masson et Cie
- Péquart, M., Péquart, S-J & Le Rouzic, Z. 1927. *Corpus des Signes Gravés des Monuments Mégalithiques du Morbihan*. Paris
- Pétrequin, P., Cassen, S., Croutsh, C. & Weller, O. 1997. "Haches Alpines et Haches Carnécéennes dans l'Europe du Vème Millénaire" *Notae Praehistoricae* 17. pp 135-150
- Piggott, S. 1937. "Prehistory and the Romantic Movement". *Antiquity* 11. pp 31-38
- Piggott, S. 1954. *The Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles: A Study of the Stone-Using Agricultural Communities in Britain in the Second Millennium B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Piggott, S. 1967. *Ancient Europe*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Piggott, S. 1972. "Excavation of the Dalladies Long Barrow, Fettercairn, Kincardineshire." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 104. pp 23-47
- Piggott, S. 1976. *Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Piggott, S. 1981. "Summary and Conclusions" in Daniel, G. (ed). *Towards a History of Archaeology*. London: Thames & Hudson. pp 186-189
- Piggott, S. 1983. *The Earliest Wheeled Transport*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Piggott, S. 1985. *William Stukeley: An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Piggott, S. 1989. *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination: Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency*. London: Thames & Hudson

- Pinsky, V. & Wylie, A (eds). 1989. *Critical Traditions in Contemporary Archaeology*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press
- Pluciennik, M. 1999. "Archaeological Narratives and Other Ways of Telling" *Current Anthropology* 40 (5). pp 653-678
- Pollard, J. 2001. "The Aesthetics of Depositional Practice" *World Archaeology* 33 (2). pp 315-333
- Popper, K.R. 1959. *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. London: Hutchinson
- Powell, T., Corcoran, J., Lynch, F. & Scott J.G. (eds). 1969. *Megalithic Enquiries in the West of Britain*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press
- Preucel, R. (ed). 1991. *Processual and Postprocessual Archaeologies: Multiple Ways of Knowing the Past*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press
- Radley, A. 1993. "Upper Largie (Kilmartin Parish)" *D.E.S.* p75
- Raemaekers, D. C. M. 1999. *The Articulation of a 'New Neolithic'*. Leiden: Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University
- Ray, K. 2004. "Axes, Kula and Things That Were 'Good to Think' in the Neolithic of the Irish Sea Regions" in Cummings, V & Fowler, C. (eds). *The Neolithic of the Irish Sea: Materiality and Traditions of Practice*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 160-173
- RCAHMS. 1988. *Argyll: An Inventory of the Monuments. Vol.6: Mid Argyll and Cowal: Prehistoric and Early Historic Monuments*. Edinburgh: RCHAMS
- RCAHMS. 1999. *Kilmartin: Prehistoric and Early Historic Monuments*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS
- Renfrew, C (ed). 1973a. *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*. London: Duckworth
- Renfrew, C. 1973b. "Monuments, Mobilisation and Social Organisation in Neolithic Wessex" in Renfrew, C (ed). *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*. London: Duckworth. pp 539-558
- Renfrew, C. 1973c. *Before Civilization: The Radiocarbon Revolution and Prehistoric Europe*. London: Cape
- Renfrew, C. 1975. "Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication" in Sabloff, J.A. & Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C. (eds). *Ancient Civilisation and Trade*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. pp 3-59
- Renfrew, C. 1976. "Megaliths, Territories and Populations" in De Laet, S.J (ed). 1976. *Acculturation and Continuity in Atlantic Europe*. Brugge: De Tempel. pp 198-220

- Renfrew, C. 2003. *Figuring it Out*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. (eds). 2005. *Archaeology: The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge
- Renfrew, C. & Scarre, C. (eds). 1998. *Cognition and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Symbolic Storage*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
- Rennie, E. 1984. "Excavations at Ardnadam, Cowal, Argyll, 1964-1982." *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 11. pp 13-39
- Reusch, J.K. 1999. "Caspar David Friedrich and National Antiquarianism in Northern Germany" in Myrone, M. & Peltz, L. (eds). *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850*. Aldershot: Ashgate. pp 95-114
- Richards, C. (ed). 2005a. *Dwelling Among the Monuments: The Neolithic Village of Barnhouse, Maeshowe Passage Grave and Surrounding Monuments at Stenness, Orkney*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
- Richards, C. 2005b. "The Neolithic Settlement of Orkney" in Richards, C. (ed). *Dwelling Among the Monuments: The Neolithic Village of Barnhouse, Maeshowe Passage Grave and Surrounding Monuments at Stenness, Orkney*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. pp 7-22
- Richards, R. 2002. *The Romantic Conception of Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Ritchie, A. (ed). 2000. *Neolithic Orkney in its European Context*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
- Ritchie, J.N.G. 1970. "Excavation of a Chambered Cairn at Achnacreebeag" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 102. pp 31-55
- Ritchie, J.N.G (ed). 1997. *The Archaeology of Argyll*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Rival, L. (ed). 1998a. *The Social Life of Trees*. Oxford: Berg
- Rival, L. 1998b. "Trees, from Symbols of Life and Regeneration to Political Artefacts" in Rival, L. (ed). *The Social Life of Trees*. Oxford: Berg. pp 1-36
- Robb, J. 2005. "Agency" in Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. (eds). *Archaeology: The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge. pp 3-7
- Rodden, J. 1981. "The Development of the Three Age System: Archaeology's First Paradigm" in Daniel, G. (ed). *Towards a History of Archaeology*. London: Thames & Hudson. pp 51-68

- Rossignol, J. & Wandsnider, L. (eds). 1992. *Space, Time and Archaeological Landscapes*. New York: Plenum Press
- Rouse, I. 1972. *Introduction to Prehistory: A Systematic Approach*. New York: McGraw Hill
- Rousseau, J-J. 1997. *The Discourses and other Early Political Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Roymans, N. & Gerritsen, F. 2002. "Landscape, Ecology and Mentalités: A Long-term Perspective on Developments in the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt Region." *Proceedings of Prehistoric Society* 68. pp 257-288
- Ruggles, C.L.N. 1988. *Records in Stone: Papers in Memory of Alexander Thom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Ruggles, C. 1988. "The Stone Alignments of Argyll and Mull: A Perspective on the Statistical Approach in Archaeoastronomy. pp 232 – 250 in Ruggles, C.L.N. *Records in Stone: Papers in Memory of Alexander Thom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Sabloff, J.A. & Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C. (eds). 1975. *Ancient Civilisation and Trade*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press
- Sackett, J. 1982. "Approaches to Style in Lithic Archaeology" *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1. pp 59-112
- Sackett, J. 1985. "Style and Ethnicity in the Kalahari: A Reply to Weissner" *American Antiquity* 50. pp 154-160
- Sackett, J. 1990. "Style and Ethnicity in Archaeology: The Case for Isochrestism" in Conkey, M. & Hastorf, C. (eds). *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 32-43
- Sahlins, M.D. & Service, E.R (eds). 1960. *Evolution and Culture*. Michigan: Ann Arbor
- Saitta, D.J. 1989. "Dialectics, Critical Enquiry, and Archaeology" in Pinsky, V. & Wylie, A (eds). *Critical Traditions in Contemporary Archaeology*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. pp 38-43
- Saussure, F. 1960. *Course in General Linguistics*. London: Peter Owen
- Saville, A. 1999. "A Cache of Flint Axeheads and other Flint Artefacts from Auchenhoan, near Campbeltown, Kintyre, Scotland" *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 65 pp 83-123
- Saville, A. (ed). 2004. *Mesolithic Scotland and Its Neighbours*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

- Saville, A. 2004. "The Material culture of Mesolithic Scotland" in Saville, A. (ed). *Mesolithic Scotland and Its Neighbours*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. pp 185-220
- Scarre, C. (ed). 1983. *Ancient France: Neolithic Societies and their Landscapes, 6000-2000 BC*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Scarre, C. 1992. "The Early Neolithic of Western France and Megalithic Origins in Atlantic Europe". *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 11. pp 121-154
- Scarre, C. 2000. "Forms and Landforms: The Design and Setting of Neolithic Monuments in Western France" in Ritchie, A. (ed). *Neolithic Orkney in its European Context*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. pp 309-320
- Scarre, C. 2001a. "Modelling Prehistoric Populations: The Case of Neolithic Brittany." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 20. pp 285-313
- Scarre, C. 2001b. "Enclosures and Related Structures in Brittany and Western France" in Darvill, T. & Thomas, J. (eds). *Neolithic Enclosures in Atlantic Northwest Europe*. Oxford: Oxbow Books pp 24-42
- Scarre, C. 2001c "Pilgrimage and Place in Neolithic Western Europe" in Smith, A. T., & Brookes, A. (eds). *Holy Ground: Theoretical Issues Relating to the Landscape and Material Culture of Ritual Space*. Oxford: Archaeopress. pp 9-20
- Scarre, C. (ed). 2002a. *Monuments and Landscape in Atlantic Europe: Perception and Society During the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age*. London: Routledge
- Scarre, C. 2002b. "Coast and Cosmos: The Neolithic Monuments of Northern Brittany" in Scarre, C. (ed). *Monuments and Landscape in Atlantic Europe: Perception and Society during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age*. London: Routledge. pp 84-102
- Scarre, C. 2002c. "A Pattern of Islands: The Neolithic Monuments of North-West Brittany." *European Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 5(1). pp 24-41
- Scarre, C., Arias, P., Burenhult, G., Fano, M., Oosterbeek, L., Schulting, R., Sheridan, A., Whittle, A. 2003. "Megalithic Chronologies" in Burenhult, G. & Westergaard, S. (eds). *Stones and Bones: Formal Disposal of the Dead in Atlantic Europe during the Mesolithic-Neolithic Interface 6000-3000 BC*. Oxford: Archaeopress. pp 65-111
- Scarre, C. & Healy, F (eds). 1993. *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Schama, S. 1995. *Landscape and Memory*. London: HarperCollins
- Schiffer, M. 1996. *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press

- Schulting, R. 2005. "Comme la Mer Qui se Retire: Les Changements dans l'Exploitation des Ressources Marines du Mésolithique au Néolithique en Bretagne" in Marchand, G. & Tresset, A (eds). *Unité et Diversité des Processus de Néolithisation sur la Façade Atlantique de l'Europe (6^e-4^e Millénaires avant J.-C.)*. Mémoire XXXVI de la Société Préhistorique Française. pp 163-171
- Schulting, R. & Richards, M. 2001. "Dating Women and Becoming Farmers: New Palaeodietary and AMS Dating Evidence from the Breton Mesolithic Cemeteries of Tévéc and Hoëdic." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 20. pp 314-344
- Schulting, R. & Richards, M. 2002. "The Wet, the Wild and the Domesticated: The Mesolithic-Neolithic Transition on the West Coast of Scotland." *European Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 5 (2). pp 147-189
- Scott, J.G. 1969. "The Clyde Cairns of Scotland" in Powell, T., Corcoran, J., Lynch, F. & Scott J.G. (eds). *Megalithic Enquiries in the West of Britain*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. pp 175-222
- Scott, J.G. 1970. "A Note on Neolithic Settlement in the Clyde Region of Scotland" *P.P.S.* 36. pp 116-124
- Scott, J.G. 1989. "The Stone Circles at Temple Wood, Kilmartin, Argyll" *The Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 15. pp 53-124.
- Shackleton, M.R. 1954. *Europe: A Regional Geography*. London: Longmans
- Shanks, M. & Tilley, C. 1982. "Ideology, Symbolic Power and Ritual Communication: A Reinterpretation of Neolithic Mortuary Practices" in Hodder, I. (ed). *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*. pp 129-154
- Shanks, M. & Tilley, C. 1987. *Social Theory and Archaeology*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Shanks, M. & Tilley, C. 1996. *Reconstructing Archaeology*. London: Routledge
- Sharples, N. & Sheridan, A. (eds). 1992. *Vessels for the Ancestors*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Sharples, N. 1992. "Aspects of Regionalisation in the Scottish Neolithic" in Sharples, N. & Sheridan, A. (eds). *Vessels for the Ancestors*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp 322-331
- Shee Twohig, E. 1981. *Megalithic Art of Western Europe*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Shee Twohig, E. 1993. "Megalithic Tombs and Megalithic Art in Prehistoric Europe" in Scarre, C. & Healy, F (eds). *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Shennan, S. 1975. "The Social Organisation at Branc" *Antiquity* 49. pp 279-287

- Shennan, S. 1982. "Ideology, Change and the European Early Bronze Age" in Hodder, I. (ed). *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 155-161
- Shennan, S. 1986. "Central Europe in the Third Millennium BC: An Evolutionary Trajectory for the Beginning of the European Bronze Age" *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 5. pp 115-146
- Shennan, S. 1987. *Quantifying Archaeology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Shennan, S. 1989. "Archaeology as Archaeology or as Anthropology? Clarke's *Analytical Archaeology* and Binford's *New Perspectives in Archaeology* 21 Years on". *Antiquity* 63. pp 831-835
- Shennan, S. 1997. "After Social Evolution: A New Archaeological Agenda?" in Yoffee, N. & Sherratt, A (eds). *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 53-59
- Shepherd, I.A.G. & Barclay, G.J. (eds). 2004. *Scotland in Ancient Europe: The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Scotland in their European Context*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
- Sheridan, A. 2000. Achnacreebeag and its French Connections: Vive the 'Auld Alliance'" in Henderson, J.C (ed). *The Prehistory and Early History of Atlantic Europe*. Oxford: BAR International Series 861
- Sheridan, A. 2003a. "French Connections I: Spreading the *Marmites* Thinly" in Armit, I., Murphy, E., Nelis, E. & Simpson, D. (eds). *Neolithic Settlement in Ireland and Western Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 3-17
- Sheridan, A. 2003b. "Ireland's Earliest 'Passage' Tombs: A French Connection?" in Burenhult, G. & Westergaard, S. (eds). *Stones and Bones: Formal Disposal of the Dead in Atlantic Europe during the Mesolithic-Neolithic Interface 6000-3000 BC*. Oxford: Archaeopress. pp 9-25
- Sheridan, A. 2004. "Neolithic Connections Along and Across the Irish Sea" in Cummings, V & Fowler, C. (eds). *The Neolithic of the Irish Sea: Materiality and Traditions of Practice*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 9-21
- Sheridan, A. & Bailey, G (eds). 1981. *Economic Archaeology*. Oxford: B.A.R. v.96
- Sherratt, A. 1981. "Plough and Pastoralism: Aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution" in Hodder, I., Isaac, G. & Hammond, N. (eds). *Pattern of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 261-305
- Sherratt, A. 1990. "The Genesis of Megaliths: Monumentality, Ethnicity and Social Complexity in Neolithic North-West Europe." *World Archaeology*. Vol 22 (2). pp 147-167

- Sherratt, A. 1995. "Instruments of Conversion? The Role of Megaliths in the Mesolithic/Neolithic Transition in North-West Europe." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14 (3). pp 245-260
- Sherratt, A. 1997. *Economy and Society in Prehistoric Europe: Changing Perspectives*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Sherratt, A. 1998. "Points of Exchange: The Later Neolithic Monuments of the Morbihan" in Gibson, A. & Simpson, D. (eds) *Prehistoric Ritual and Religion*. Stroud: Sutton pp 119-138
- Simpson, D.D.A. 1967. "Excavations at Kintraw, Argyll" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 99. pp 54-59
- Simpson, J.Y. 1866. "On Ancient Sculpturings of Cups and Concentric Rings, & c." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 6. Appendix
- Sinclair, A. 2000. "This is an Article about Archaeology as Writing" in Thomas, J. (ed). *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*. Leicester: Leicester University Press. pp 474-488
- Sloan, K. (ed). 2003. *Enlightenment*. London: British Museum Press
- Smiles, S. 1999. "British Antiquity and Antiquarian Illustration" in Myrone, M. & Peltz, L. (eds). *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Smith, A. T., & Brookes, A. (eds). 2001. *Holy Ground: Theoretical Issues Relating to the Landscape and Material Culture of Ritual Space*. Oxford: Archaeopress
- Smith, M. E. 1992. "Braudel's Temporal Rhythms and Chronology Theory in Archaeology" in Knapp, A. B. *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Snodgrass, A. 1991. "Structural History and Classical Archaeology" in Bintliff, J. (ed). *The Annales School and Archaeology*. Leicester: Leicester University Press. pp 57-72
- Sørensen, M.L.S., Hill, J.D. & Lucy, S.J. 2001. "Long-term History on a Danish Island: The Als Project" *Acta Archaeologica* 72 (2). pp 91-107
- Soulier, P. (ed). 1998. *La France des Dolmens et des Sépultures Collectives (4500-2000 avant J.-C.)*. Paris: Editions Errance
- Spriggs, M. (ed). 1984. *Marxist Perspectives in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Stark, M (ed). 1998. *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*. Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press

- Steinsland, G. (ed). 1986. *Words and Objects*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.
- Stevenson, J. 1997. "The Prehistoric Rock Carvings of Argyll" in Ritchie, J.N.G (ed). *The Archaeology of Argyll*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp 95-117
- Sterud, G. 1973. "A Paradigmatic View of Prehistory" in Renfrew, C (ed). *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*. London: Duckworth. pp 3-17
- Stoianovich, T. 1976. *The French Historical Method: The Annales Paradigm*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Strachan, J.M. 1884. "Notice of a Find of Bronze Weapons at Ford, Loch Awe" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 18. pp 207-209
- Strathern, A (ed). 1982. *Inequality in New Guinea Highlands Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Sweet, R. 2004. *Antiquaries*. London: Hambledon and London
- Syson, L. 2003. "The Ordering of the Artificial World: Collecting, Classification and Progress" in Sloan, K. (ed). *Enlightenment*. London: British Museum Press. pp 108 - 121
- Tarlow, S. 2000. "Landscapes of Memory: the Nineteenth-Century Garden Cemetery" *European Journal of Archaeology* Vol 3 (2). pp 217-239
- Terry, J. 1997. "Upper Largie" *D.E.S.* pp 19-21
- Ter Wal, A. 1995. "Een Onderzoek naar de Depositie van Vuurstenen Bijlen" *Palaeohistoria* 37/38. pp 127-158
- Thom, A. & Thom, A.S. 1978. *Megalithic Remains in Britain and Brittany*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Thomas, J. 1988. "Neolithic Explanations Revisited: The Mesolithic-Neolithic Transition in Britain and South Scandinavia." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 54. pp 59-66
- Thomas, J. 1991. *Rethinking the Neolithic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Thomas, J. 1993. "The Politics of Vision and the Archaeologies of Landscape" in Bender, B (ed). *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Oxford: Berg. pp 19-48
- Thomas, J. 1996. *Time, Culture and Identity: An Interpretative Archaeology*. London: Routledge
- Thomas, J. 1998. "Towards a Regional Geography of the Neolithic" in Edmonds, M. & Richards, C (eds). 1998. *Understanding the Neolithic of North-Western Europe*. Glasgow: Cruithne Press. pp 37-60

- Thomas, J. 1999. *Understanding the Neolithic*. London: Routledge
- Thomas, J. (ed). 2000. *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*. Leicester: Leicester University Press
- Thomas, J. 2004. "Materiality and Traditions of Practice in Neolithic South-West Scotland" in Cummings, V & Fowler, C. (eds). *The Neolithic of the Irish Sea: Materiality and Traditions of Practice*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 174-184
- Thomas, J. & Tilley, C. 1993. "The Axe and the Torso: Symbolic Structure in the Neolithic of Brittany" in Tilley, C. *Interpretative Archaeology*. Oxford: Berg. pp 225-324
- Thompson, M. 1977. *General Pitt-Rivers: Evolution and Archaeology in the Nineteenth Century*. Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press
- Tilley, C. 1989. "Interpreting Material Culture" in Hodder, I (ed). *The Meaning of Things*. London: Unwin Hyman. pp 185-194
- Tilley, C (ed). 1993. *Interpretative Archaeology*. Oxford: Berg
- Tilley, C. 1994. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg
- Tilley, C. 1996. *An Ethnography of the Neolithic: Early Prehistoric Societies in Southern Scandinavia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Tilley, C. 1999. *Metaphor and Material Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Tipping, R. 1994. "The Form and Fate of Scotland's Woodlands" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 124. pp 1-54
- Tolan-Smith, C. 2001. *The Caves of Mid Argyll: An Archaeology of Human Use*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
- Topping, P (ed). 1997. *Neolithic Landscapes*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Tresset, A. 2000. "Early Husbandry in Atlantic Areas. Animal Introductions, Diffusions of Techniques and Native Acculturations at the North-Western Fringe of Europe" in Henderson, J.C (ed). *The Prehistory and Early History of Atlantic Europe*. Oxford: BAR International Series 861
- Tresset, A. 2003. "French Connections II: Of Cows and Men" in Armit, I., Murphy, E., Nelis, E. & Simpson, D. (eds). *Neolithic Settlement in Ireland and Western Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp 18-30
- Tresset, A. 2005. "La Place Changeante des Bovins dans les Bestiaires du Mésolithique Final et du Néolithique d'Armorique et des Régions Adjacentes" in Marchand, G. & Tresset, A (eds). *Unité et Diversité des Processus de Néolithisation*

sur la Façade Atlantique de l'Europe (6^e-4^e Millénaires avant J.-C.). Mémoire XXXVI de la Société Préhistorique Française. pp 273-286

Trigger, B. 1968. *Beyond History: The Methods of Prehistory*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston

Trigger, B. 1990. "Monumental Architecture: A Thermodynamic Explanation of Symbolic Behaviour" *World Archaeology* 22 (2). pp 119-132

Trigger, B. 1995. "Romanticism, Nationalism, and Archaeology" in Kohl, P. & Fawcett, C. (eds). *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 263-279

Trigger, B. 2003. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Tylor, E.B. 1871. *Primitive Culture*. London: John Murray

Ucko, P. 1969. "Ethnography and Archaeological Interpretation of Funerary Remains." *World Archaeology*. Vol. 1 (2). pp 262-280

Vaughan, W, Börsch-Supan, H & Neidhardt, H. 1972. *Caspar David Friedrich*. London: Tate Gallery

Vaughan, W. 1980. *German Romantic Painting*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press

Veen, M. Van der. & Lanting, J.N. 1989. "A Group of Tumuli on the 'Hooghalen' Estate near Hijken (Municipality of Beilen, Province of Drenthe, The Netherlands)" *Palaeohistoria* 31. pp 191-234

Waals, J.D. Van der, & Glasbergen, W. 1955. "Beaker Types and their Distribution in the Netherlands; Intrusive types, Mutual Influences and Local Evolutions" *Palaeohistoria* 4. pp 5-46

Waldren, W.H. & Kennard, R.C (eds). 1987. *Bell Beakers of the Western Mediterranean*. Oxford: BAR International Series 331 (i)

Waldren, W.H. & Ensenyat, J.A. 2002. *World Islands in Prehistory: International Insular Investigations*. Oxford: Archaeopress

Waterbolk, H.T. 1956. "Pollen Spectra from Neolithic Grave Monuments in the Northern Netherlands." *Palaeohistoria* V. pp 39-52

Watson, P.J., LeBlanc, S.A. & Redman, C.L. 1971. *Explanation in Archaeology: An Explicitly Scientific Approach*. New York: Columbia University Press

Weber, M. 1967. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Unwin University Books

- Weissner, P. 1983. "Style and Social Information in Kalahari San Projectile Points" *American Antiquity* 48. pp 253-276
- Weisner, P. 1985. "Style or Isochrestic Variation? A Reply to Sackett" *American Antiquity* 50. pp 160-165
- Weissner, P. 1990. "Is there a Unity to Style?" in Conkey, M. & Hastorf, C. (eds). *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 105-112
- Wheeler, R.E.M. 1954. *Archaeology from the Earth*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Whitley, J. 2002. "Too Many Ancestors". *Antiquity* 76. pp 119-126
- Whittington, G. & Edwards, K.J. 1997. "Climate Change" in Edwards, K.J. & Ralston, I.B.M (eds). *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8,000 BC- AD 1,000*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons. pp 11-22
- Whittle, A. 1996. *Europe in the Neolithic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whittle, A. 1998. "People and the Diverse Past: Two Comments on 'Stonehenge for the Ancestors'" *Antiquity* 72 (278) pp 852-854
- Whittle, A. 2000. "'Very Like a Whale': Menhirs, Motifs and Myths in the Mesolithic-Neolithic Transition of Northwest Europe". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10 pp 243-259
- Whittle, A. 2003. *The Archaeology of People: Dimensions of Neolithic Life*. London: Routledge
- Willey, G. R. 1953. *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Virú Valley, Peru*. Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology
- Willey, G.R. & Phillips, P. 1958. *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*. Chicago: Chicago University Press
- Williams, M. 2003. "Growing Metaphors: The Agricultural Cycle as Metaphor in the Later Prehistoric Period of Britain and North-Western Europe". *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3 (2). pp 223-255
- Wylie, A. 1982. "Epistemological Issues Raised by a Structuralist Archaeology" in Hodder, I. (ed). *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp 39-46
- Wylie, A. 2002. *Thinking from Things: Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology*. London: University of California Press
- Yoffee, N. & Sherratt, A (eds). 1997. *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Yven, E. 2005. “Le Fonctionnement Interne des Territoires au Mésolithique. Approche Spatiale de la Néolithisation” in Marchand, G. & Tresset, A (eds). *Unité et Diversité des Processus de Néolithisation sur la Façade Atlantique de l’Europe (6^e-4^e Millénaires avant J.-C.)*. Mémoire XXXVI de la Société Préhistorique Française pp 87-97

Zeist, W. Van. 1968. “Prehistoric and Early Historic Food Plants in the Netherlands” *Palaeohistoria* 14. pp 41-174