

Dear colleagues,

the below index includes the list of articles with abstracts (where applicable) and reviews published in the first five issues of the then Journal of European Archaeology 1 – 5, 1993 – 1997. By pressing Ctrl and clicking your mouse over the displayed page number, you will be able to read the article's abstract. Full texts are available to EAA members in the members' only section and you will be granted access after becoming member of the Association. Alternatively, texts in pdf format sent via e-mail or on a CD are available for a fee upon request from eea@arup.cas.cz. The EAA hopes you will benefit from this new service.

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Articles

Kristian Kristiansen: 'The strength of the past and its great might'; an essay on the use of the past (p. 3 – 32)

This essay is part of a critical analysis of the use of the past in present-day society. Different types of past (e.g. heroic or domesticated pasts) are created in different contexts such as books and films, and in the landscape and in urban settings. History has become the dominant ideology of the present, in the interest of nationalist and other social groupings. The changing way in which the past is constructed through time is illustrated with the case of Denmark.

Anders Andrén: Doors to other worlds: Scandinavian death rituals in Gotlandic perspectives (p. 33 – 56)

This paper examines Gotlandic picture stones and their relation to death rituals in Scandinavia from AD 400 to 1100. The stones are shown to mediate, as 'doors', between the living and the dead, and their iconography can be related to a specific form of narrative which may also have been relevant to ship burial on the mainland. The interaction between this tradition of burial and Christianity is discussed.

J. D. Hill: Can we recognise a different European past? A contrastive archaeology of later prehistoric settlements in southern England (p. 57 – 77)

This paper argues that archaeologists should become more critical of the assumptions they work from when studying prehistoric settlements in Europe, stressing that we must learn to recognise the difference of the past. Traditional studies of Later Prehistoric settlements ask a limited range of questions of the data and portray past worlds which are immediately familiar to our own lived experience. The paper argues that such visions run the danger of being 'modernist fantasies in prehistory', suggesting that it is possible to avoid writing the past as if it were the same as the present. Offering a contrastive archaeology of Later Prehistoric settlements in Southern England, it illustrates a very different past to that of our expectations through considerations of how material entered the archaeological record, the symbolic aspects of settlement layout, and the nature of past subjectivities.

Michael Shanks: Style and the design of a perfume jar from an archaic Greek city state (p. 77 – 107)

The rise of the Greek city state and political community; art histories of the evolution of archaic and classical Greek style: against a backdrop of such grand narratives is considered the design of a perfume jar belonging to the style known as proto-Korinthian. Lines of thought and connection are drawn which reach into pottery production and pictorial imagery (of a studied sample of some 1930 pots), pointing beyond through the whole economic life-cycle of the artefact, from production to exchange and consumption. In contrast to those processual social archaeologies that set artefacts in a narrow context of social rank, status, and community interaction, reducing style to an expression of 'society', context is defined pragmatically according to what is suggested in an encounter or interpretation of this particular pot. The result is an attempt to work with the archetypical archaeological relation between the particular and the general in a theoretical framework arising from 'post-processual' discussions of the style and meaning of material culture. Insights are provided into the cultural and ideological milieu of an aristocratic state under pressure and change. It is

argued that the changes in pot design known as proto-Korinthian began as creative experiment with the articulation of risk and identity, violence and transgression, through definitions of the body and alterity. The painted images later clarify in their visual ideology of a realm of aristocratic masculinity detached from the domestic. Challenges are set for conventional art histories and processual archaeology, while a wide range of issues is raised concerning the archaeological construction and understanding of culture.

Ulrich Veit: Burials within settlements of the Linienbandkeramik and Stichbandkeramik cultures of central Europe. On the social construction of death in early-Neolithic society (p. 107 – 141)

Starting with the recognition that cemeteries are not the only places in which death can be studied, the paper surveys the evidence for 'burials within settlements of the early and middle-Neolithic period of central Europe and tries to place it within the wider context of the spatial and social organisation of death in Neolithic society. Contrary to earlier hypotheses it can be argued that burials within settlements, although far from being the dominant mode of the disposal of the dead, nevertheless formed an integral part of early-Neolithic burial practices. This becomes especially obvious when we compare the evidence of formal and demographic characteristics available so far with the data from contemporary cemeteries. Some hypotheses are raised concerning the extent of these practices and their possible social and symbolic meaning. Notwithstanding the great number of questions that have to remain unanswered, the available evidence makes unmistakably clear that, in Neolithic times, not only the peoples in the near East or in Atlantic Europe but also those living in central Europe held complex and long-lasting burial rituals and funerals, which created a permanent tie between the living and the dead.

Arkadiusz Marciniak: Cultural adaptive strategies in the Neolithic in central Europe within the context of palaeodemographic studies (p. 141 – 151)

In the present paper an attempt is made to use the palaeodemographic variables to explain a particular cultural situation in two Neolithic cultures in central Europe: the Linienbandkeramik culture and the Corded-Ware culture. The ecological-cultural approach has been applied to that study. The demographic situation has been estimated using the coefficient of potential reproduction (R_{pot}) and the parameter e^0_{20} from the death table - the expected life span at the age of twenty. Populations of the Linienbandkeramik culture show very similar but low variables of these indices which correspond with their economic system, highly inefficient in the natural and cultural environment of temperate Europe. On the contrary palaeodemographic variables of the Corded-Ware culture populations present considerable differences - from the highest values among those using a husbandry mode of production (Odra-Vistula region) to the lowest for groups with dominant agricultural occupations (Saxony, Thuringia).

Svend Th. Andersen: Early- and middle-Neolithic agriculture in Denmark: pollen spectra from soils in burial mounds of the Funnel Beaker culture (p. 153 - 180)

This paper examines pollen evidence for early agriculture in Denmark. After a general introduction to the problems at issue, the specific data from burial mounds of the different TRB phases are considered. Problems of survival and recovery are identified. The early-Neolithic spectra indicate two agricultural methods producing small cleared areas. In the middle Neolithic there was widespread use of secondary woodlands for swidden cultivation

and pasture. Pollen analyses from Single-Grave barrows in western Jutland show differing methods of agriculture.

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Articles

Andrew Sherratt, What would a Bronze-Age world system look like? Relations between temperate Europe and the Mediterranean in later prehistory (page 1 – 58)

This paper examines differences in the nature of inter-regional relations in the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and early Iron Ages, in an attempt to define the specific characteristics of Bronze-Age world systems. It distinguishes between the slow spread of innovations and the active intervention of trade networks related to the expansion of urbanism. The former dominate in the Neolithic, and similar phenomena continue to occur in later periods. Following a suggestion by Jane Schneider, a distinction is drawn between a core area of urban consumers, a periphery that is actively altered by its role as a supplier of raw materials to the core, and an outer margin that is indirectly affected through the spread of innovations. For most of prehistory, temperate Europe acted as a margin to a Near Eastern / Mediterranean core-periphery system. The formation of long-distance routes linking northern and southern Europe (successive axial routes along the Danube and Black Sea, and from Italy to Scandinavia) was critically affected by the spread of urban-centred trading systems along the

Mediterranean. The ‘amber route’ was an important precursor of the structures underlying the later development of European polities.

Stephen Shennan, Commodities, transactions, and growth in the central European early Bronze Age (p. 59 – 72)

This paper suggests that recent studies of the beginning of the Bronze Age and the growth of a bronze ‘industry’ have placed too much emphasis on the importance of social ranking and the control of resources by elites. Copper had been in demand for over 2000 years before the beginning of the Bronze Age. What changed at this time was the emergence of a technology that gave access to virtually unlimited copper supplies and contributed to a process of economic growth. Circulating metal took on the role of a proto-currency in certain areas and had a significant effect on local patterns of social organisation. It was not centrally controlled. Eventually, the end of the growth process led to increased competition and warfare. Studies of these processes are illuminated by looking at the circulation of metal and money in medieval Europe and by thinking of the social changes in terms of Douglas’s ‘grid’ and ‘group’ dimensions.

Vladimír Salač, Production and exchange during the La Tène period in Bohemia (p. 73 – 100)

An economic approach is used to explore production and exchange in Bohemia during the Iron Age, concentrating on the production of iron, on agriculture, and on the manufacture, use, and trade of pottery and quern-stones. The relationship of *oppida* to unenclosed sites is particularly investigated. The rise of *oppida* is seen to reflect the need for distribution rather than production centres. Their political importance is doubted and the intensity of the economic ‘boom’ of the La Tène period is claimed to be less great than commonly assumed.

Zofia Anna Stos-Gale, The origin of metals from the Roman-period levels of a site in southern Poland (p. 101 – 132)

In Bronze-Age Mediterranean archaeology, lead isotope provenance studies of metals have provided otherwise unavailable information about metal mining and smelting centres and the trade of metals. There is no similar scientific information about base non-ferrous metals in Europe in the Roman period, but a considerable body of written and archaeological evidence of Roman mining and smelting exists. Less is known about the origin of metal supplies for metal smithing workshops outside the Romans empire. This paper summarises the results of the first attempt at finding the mineral sources of such metals using compositional (XRF) and lead isotope analyses.

From the settlement of Jakuszowice in southern Poland, a group of base metals dated to AD 200 - 400 was analysed and the results compared with lead isotope ‘fingerprints’ of ores and some Gallo-Roman bronzes published previously. The finds from Jakuszowice include numerous imported artefacts, such as Roman coins and glass beads, which indicate links with the Roman empire. However, many small decorative objects of metal were made in the smith’s workshop on the site. Compositional analyses of the fragments and artefacts from the smithy show that the types of alloys are broadly similar to the metals used in the Roman empire. But only about 30% of the metal analysed shows lead isotope compositions consistent with sources within Roman Europe. The majority of metal seems to be imported from the much nearer ore deposits in the Erzgebirge in present-day Germany and the Czech Republic.

Pedro Paulo Abreu Funari, Graphic caricature and the ethos of ordinary people at Pompeii (p. 133 – 150)

The graphic symbolism of Pompeian caricatures is approached through a semiotically defined, oppositional framework, in which possible adjectives and connotations attached to various physical features are listed. These in turn are grouped either as those associated with power and authority or as those associated with their absence. Although scholars have often ignored popular culture or characterised it as coarse and vulgar, the caricatures are found to have a sophisticated semiotic system that stood in opposition to erudite upper class painting and served to criticise people in power. Nevertheless, caricatures of slavery as an institution reveals that ordinary people's ethos was affected by social contradictions and thus social bonds were unconsciously reinforced.

Michael Fotiadis, Regions of the imagination: archaeologists, local people, and the archaeological record in fieldwork, Greece (p. 151 – 168)

This paper takes a close look at the relationship of an archaeological team engaged on a regional survey for the Greek Archaeological Service to the local population, and at the practices and scholastic assumptions of the archaeologists. Regional survey, with emphasis on populations and resources is found to resemble the work of census takers and bureaucrats (and not surprisingly many locals see the archaeologists as representatives of the state). Prehistoric farmers are treated as 'sensible and apolitical, and archaeology is seen to adopt refined tactics that domesticate the unfamiliar and banish the difficult and contradictory from concern. The intellectual safety of demographic approaches becomes clearer when the multiplicity of relations between the team and the locals is considered - precisely the variety missing from the texts written about the past - and when the archaeologists attempt to banish local life and politics from their narratives.

Béatrice Fleury-Ilett, The identity of France: the archaeological interaction (p. 169 – 181)

The last fifteen years have seen in France a rapid increase of Iron-Age archaeological studies, both as part of the development of 'National Archaeology' and of political changes. This neo-structural analysis aims to make Iron archaeological studies objective. It underlines how the need for a national identity influences Iron-Age archaeological constructions and strategies. After describing the 'total' context of French archaeology, the analysis unveils the symbols underlying Iron-Age studies in France which fit familiar archetypes - including a common ancestor - contained in the collective memory, and enables one to apprehend how the permanence of archetypes may contaminate archaeological constructions, thereby reinforcing the original ideologica strategy.

Philip L. Kohl, Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology in Soviet Transcaucasia (p. 181 – 190)

This paper examines the politics of archaeology in Transcaucasia, an area of exceptional ethnic and linguistic diversity, and recently scene of numerous and often bloody territorial disputes. Political activity extends to the destruction of cultural monuments, such as Armenian churches and crosses. More commonly archaeological interpretations simply mirror political claims. Claims of artefactual and cultural origins or ethnic affiliations of archaeological phenomena produce hyperbole that makes detailed synthesis of Caucasian prehistory from the literature impossible for outsiders. The author concludes that there are serious obligations for archaeologists working in politically charged situations, obligations

that are best met by the establishment of criteria for acceptable 'readings of one's prehistoric past that are not chauvinistic or nationalistic.

Bozidar Slapšak, *Archaeology and the contemporary myths of the past* (p. 191 – 195)

Changes in the interpretation of the past have followed the collapse of the rule of the communist parties in Eastern Europe. The paper particularly charts the rise of nationalism in south-eastern Europe and its academic use by different political groups, and concludes that post-modernists' advocacy of a critical socio-political role for archaeology and their hopes for them are unrealistic when faced with powerful, aggressive political forces.

Reviews

Kristian Kristiansen, *Some recent trends in Scandinavian Bronze-Age research* (p.196 – 200)

Roger H. Leech, *Sites and monuments: national archaeological records* (p. 200 – 204)

Christopher Knüsel, *Pagan charm and the place of anthropological theory* (p. 205 – 208)

Zbigniew Kobylinski (ed.), *Archaeologia Polona* (John Hines) (p. 209 – 211)

T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Nerys Thomas Patterson) (p. 211 – 218)

Magdalena S. Midgley, *T.R.B. Culture: the first farmers of the North European Plain* (Julian Thomas) (p. 218 – 220)

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Articles

Alberto Cazzella, *Dating the 'Copper Age' in the Italian peninsula and adjacent islands* (p. 1 – 19)

The author analyses the analogies and differences in the cultural developments of certain regions of the central Mediterranean in the period 3500-2500 bc. Radiocarbon dates, although still insufficient in number, help in building a system of relative chronologies, which are still in the course of being defined. In particular, certain transformations are examined, such as the development of metal working and changes in ritual funerary practices, as well as other socio-ideological aspects. Moreover, the author considers the problem of the role played by contacts with the wider world in these transformations.

John Robb, Gender contradictions, moral coalitions, and inequality in prehistoric Italy (p. 20 – 49)

This article attempts, as an experiment, to reconstruct gender ideology and social inequality in prehistoric Italy through an analysis of symbols, particularly depictions of people (e.g. figures distinguished as male or female by representations of daggers or breasts), using theoretical notions of inequality and coalition. After a theoretical introduction the paper traces the evolution of an ideology of male potency from peripheral middle hunting cults (with a balanced male/female gender ideology and formal ritualism) through an Eneolithic and Bronze-Age system of gender stratification (with male prestige competition), and finally into the Iron-Age ideology of military aristocracy (with a gender ideology of male hierarchy that encompassed a female hierarchy, functioning to exclude unequal classes).

Marisa Ruíz-Gálvez, Priego, The bartered bride. Goldwork, inheritance, and agriculture in the late prehistory of the Iberian peninsula (p. 50 – 81)

There are two main periods of agrarian improvement in the Iberian peninsula, the Copper Age/ Bronze Age transition and the late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition, associated with the use of the plough, traction, and methods of increasing soil fertility, such as fertilising and the growing of legumes. Both were related to changes in women's inheritance. Improvements in agrarian technology appeared first in south-eastern Spain and their consequences are visible in the grave goods of the Argaric tombs. From the late Bronze Age on, the rest of the peninsula underwent similar changes. At the same time precious metals changed their meaning: from being a gift to becoming a commodity and therefore they were increasingly scarce in graves. Although there is evidence of the exchange of women during the Iron Age, they were high-ranking women, such as those of the El Carpio and Aliseda tombs, who transmitted political rights to their descendants. Yet evidence from archaeology, epigraphy, and Roman chroniclers point to the maintenance of a primitive agriculture and matrilineal practices in some parts of northern Spain until the Roman conquest.

Heiko Steuer, The hierarchy of Alamannic settlements in the former *limes* region of south-western Germany to AD 500 (p. 82 – 96)

The author summarises recent research undertaken at Freiburg University on settlement in south western Germany during the Roman and Merovingian periods. Following the Germanic conquest of the Agri decumates and the retreat of the Roman *limes* to the Rhine and Danube (AD 260), hillfort settlements appeared. They were the pinnacle of Alamannic settlement hierarchy, forming the counterpoint to the late Roman *castellae* along the Rhein, which were also garrisoned by Alamanni warriors. New research, however, suggests an otherwise strong continuity of the Roman settlement pattern (particularly the pattern established by *villae rusticae*), and a major shift only occurred around AD 500 when the hilltop settlements disappeared and village-like settlements replaced scattered farmsteads.

Ross Samson, Populous Dark-Age towns: the Finleyesque approach (p. 97 – 129)

This paper looks at conventional views of Dark towns: abandoned or underpopulated and lacking economic vitality. Archaeological and textual evidence is used to suggest that numerous urban churches were required to hold a large population, that so many were outside the town walls because inside was heavily built up. The paper suggests archaeology can often accurately document the demise of Roman urban structures, but survival and upkeep leaves little archaeological record, and this 'negative' evidence requires especially careful evaluation.

It suggests that archaeologists regularly assume that towns cannot exist without trade, that towns must provide 'functions' to the countryside to exist. Moses Finley's view of the ancient economy is followed, and towns are seen as fuelled by the widespread exploitation of peasants by secular nobility and the Church. Much of that rural wealth was consumed in urban centres, indeed big monasteries formed the cores of many of our present towns.

Lotte Hedeager, Warrior economy and trading economy in Viking-Age Scandinavia (p. 130 – 148)

The author argues in this article that the Viking period marks the transition from a gift-giving economy in Scandinavia to a monetised one. Vikings were not merchants, for their expeditions aimed at gaining the silver necessary to maintain power and prestige at home rather than obtaining saleable merchandise. Giving and receiving was appropriate between friends and dependants, but strangers and enemies with whom there were no social ties or obligations might be treated mercilessly. Therefore Vikings had no qualms about simply taking what they wanted when abroad.

The desire of kings to monopolise exotic goods led them to found trading centres such as Ribe and Hedeby, and the minting of coins at such sites was undertaken by kings to legitimise and strengthen their royal authority. The process of exchange at trading sites led to an economic valuation of goods, and a neutralisation, commercialisation, a monetisation of transactions, while kings increased the importance of their coinage by demanding payments of fines and taxes in it.

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Articles

Colin Renfrew, The identity of Europe in prehistoric archaeology (p. 153 – 174)

without abstract

Michael Rowlands, Why do we need a European Association of Archaeologists? (p. 175 – 178)

without abstract

Renata Grifoni Cremonesi, Observations on the problems related to certain cult phenomena during the Neolithic in the Italian peninsula (p. 179 – 198)

This paper looks in detail at the evidence for cult practices during the Neolithic in Italy, especially cave sites in southern Italy. The problems of recognising cult activities are highlighted; whether the simple borrowing of ethnographic parallels or the application of ethnographically derived models such as initiation rites, rites of passage, or hunting magic. Careful contextual archaeology is used to isolate phenomena best seen as special rites rather than variation of general practice, for example the rare cremations at Grotta Continenza alongside normal inhumations. The presence of pits or stone circles, imitative creations, art, the use of ochre or clay, human remains, intentional breakage of artefacts, the deposition of animal or vegetable 'offerings', these are just some of the elements that need special investigation when suggesting cult practices in the Neolithic. The paper argues strongly against drawing hasty conclusions or proposing appealing but speculative interpretations of

supposed agricultural fertility rites, child sacrifices, or male initiation rituals, for the truth is we still know much too little about Neolithic colts or even Neolithic society.

Robin Skeates, Ritual, context, and gender in Neolithic southeastern Italy (p. 199 – 214)

An attempt to demonstrate the importance of a contextual approach in the interpretation of prehistoric ritual is made through a critique of Ruth Whitehouse's recent work, *Underground Religion. Cult and culture in prehistoric Italy*, and through a re-examination of the spatial, material, historical, and social context of the ritual use of caves in south-eastern Italy, with special reference to Grotta di Porto Badisco and other Neolithic and early-Copper-Age sites in the Salento peninsula. Alternative interpretations are offered which focus upon: variations over space and time in the use of caves for different activities; a notion of complementarity and mutuality in Neolithic gender relations; and the existence of a degree of male-bias in the archaeological evidence of the symbolic construction of gender in Grotta di Porto Badisco.

Douglass W. Bailey, The representation of gender: homology or propaganda (p. 215 – 228)

This paper 'engenders' the prehistory of south Europe for the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. It discusses theoretical aspects of a gender archaeology, including three prehistoric case studies, and applies the 'theory of mutedness' and the 'theory of sexual insult - subordinate groups using alternative methods of expression - to the female figurines of the fifth-millennium south eastern Europe. Archaeology reveals that males were dominant in the public sphere of funerary ritual expressed in the amount and types of grave-goods; females dominated the domestic sphere, where figurines abound. An engendered tension existed between domestic and mortuary spaces. A third, asexual gender also existed at this time (documented by asexual figurines and cenotaph burials). The third gender transcended the existing bi-gender tension and strategies of spatial restriction. The sexual imagery in the figurines is interpreted as evidence of gender tensions, rather than as evidence of matriarchical societies.

Sławomir Kadrow, Social structures and social evolution among early-Bronze-Age communities in south-eastern Poland (p. 229 – 248)

The Mierzanowice culture evolved in the early Bronze Age north of the Carpathians. By looking at settlement geography, it is proposed here that the people of the Mierzanowice culture practised arable agriculture and stock rearing in equal measure, and that they lived in micro-regions, defined by two or three main, permanent settlements and a number of small short-lived settlements and camps for exploiting local flint resources and pasturage. They had maintained an earlier Corded Ware pastoral tradition but had been pushed into greater reliance on agriculture. The resultant culture was much more egalitarian and highly self-sufficient. A situation that was only finally to change when long-distance bronze trade brought an end to the culture.

Inga Ullén, The power of case studies. Interpretation of a late Bronze-Age settlement in central Sweden (p. 249 – 262)

This paper investigates two phases (1200-1000 BC and 800-700 BC) of the Bronze-Age settlement at Apalle in central Sweden, concentrating on the symbolism of the interior of houses, cooking stones, and middens. Middens of fire-cracked stones and refuse were similar to tombs in the earlier phase, their contents suggest a notion of death that included the non-human. In the early phase the middens were collectively created and central to the settlement,

in the later they were more numerous but smaller, on the edges of the settlement, and more 'private'. The houses became more open in the later phase, with fewer and less marked interior boundaries. Hearths in the houses became more important, house construction included 'dead' material from the middens. The changes are interpreted as reflecting growing separation between households but increasing openness within the household, and an increasing privatisation of the household's external concerns. The paper also offers some theoretical thoughts on the nature of case studies and their relationship to general understanding.

Mariassunta Cuozzo, Patterns of organisation and funerary customs in the cemetery of Pontecagnano (Salerno) during the Orientalising period (p. 263 – 298)

'The study proposed here, based on a representative sample (148 tombs), deals with the patterns of organization and the funerary customs in the necropolis of Pontecagnano, Salerno (over 6000 tombs dated from the ninth to the fourth century BC), during the Orientalising period with special regard to the period between the last quarter of the eighth and the middle of the VII BC.

Through the analysis of the buried groups and of the spatial distribution it has been possible to highlight certain trends useful for the reconstruction of the social organization in its horizontal and vertical (gender, age, status, rank) and finally to propose an interpretation of certain social dynamics involving the community to which the cemetery belonged.

The resulting image is that of a society where social stratification has become permanent, and where inferior social status possibly implies exclusion from formal burial areas. The community seems to be dominated by strong kinship group loyalties, probably opposing different groups. And especially noteworthy feature is the dialectics, within the domain of funerary ideology, between male and female figures.

A central theoretical and methodological assumption of this study is that the relationship between social organization and its 'reflection' in funerary customs is a complex, mediated phenomenon, a perspective that has been especially outlined by certain currents of European Archaeology.

Slavomil Vencel, The archaeology of thirst (p. 299 – 326)

This article deals with one of the most important human needs; it summarises the poor archaeological information about basic types of drinks. Although the data both for the beginning of various types of drink as well as for their frequency are mostly insufficient in archaeology, great quantities of drinking vessels of various forms appear in the late Neolithic / Eneolithic, which allow us to identify certain types of behaviour. In particular it signals (with the aid of ethnological and historical analogies) the existence of communal drinking, a respectable social custom with important consequences: the development of the etiquette of hospitality, regulation of social relations, construction of networks of reciprocal obligations among drinkers, confirmation of the internal coherence of a community, and so on. The study of drinking has significant social, economic, and political aspects.

Alex Woolf and Roy Eldridge, Sharing a drink with Marcel Mauss: the uses and abuses of alcohol in early medieval Europe (p. 327 – 340)

without abstract

Ross Samson, The end of Alamannic princely forts and the supposed Merovingian hegemony (p. 341 – 360)

This paper summarises German archaeologists' interpretation of hillfort occupation and abandonment in south-western Germany from the fifth to ninth centuries AD. It argues against the dominant belief that hillfort occupation ended around AD 500 and that it was related to Merovingian conquest. The archaeological changes enumerated by Konrad Weidemarm are shown to be fortuitous, illusionary, or of the wrong date, while the strongest contacts archaeologically documented continued to be with northern (Gothic then Lombardic) Italy. Merovingian hegemony is argued to have had little impact on Alamannic lordship. The lack of coinage, diocesan and monastic church organisation, and royal estates east of the Rhine during the Merovingian period are taken as proof of a less 'advanced' form of lordship. Changes in lordship during the Carolingian period are finally suggested to have parallels in Scotland, where hillforts much like the Alamannic Runder Berg were abandoned for 'manors' or *villae/curtes* as they appear in the Carolingian documents.

Inger Zachrisson, Archaeology and politics: Saami prehistory and history in central Scandinavia (p. 361 – 368)

A civil case is being tried in central Sweden today, centring on disputed reindeer grazing rights between Saamis with rights to use land since time immemorial and Swedish landowners. Expert reports from both sides utilise statements by historians and archaeologists, who are called on to interpret the 'Swedish' or 'Saami' nature of prehistoric and medieval settlement. The paper shows how the 'old school' of scholars consistently minimise past Saami presence and depict Saami culture as 'stagnant' while the 'new school' accepts the implications of medieval texts that Saamis formerly occupied territories much further south than they presently do, that the hunting-gathering tradition that still existed in central Sweden in the Middle Ages was most probably Saami, and that their adoption of Nordic words and material culture for their own use is testimony of a long process of the extension of Swedish / agricultural impact on alien culture.

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Articles

Andrew Sherratt, Reviving the grand narrative: archaeology and long-term change (p. 1 – 32)

This contribution, in memory of the Cambridge archaeologist and cultural theorist, David Clarke (1938-76), investigates the possibility of a coherent description of long-term change on an archaeological time scale. It rejects an earlier ('processualist') synthesis based on ecology; but, rather than retreat into an introverted and fragmented post-modernism, it asserts the continuing value of a 'grand narrative'. It identifies the problems of the neo-evolutionary conception prevalent in the 1960s and early 1970s, and in particular a division into stages, and emphasis on autonomous development, and the priority given to production. In contrast, this presentation emphasises the importance of social interaction and cultural encounter. This *interactionist* approach is exemplified in new descriptions of the 'Neolithic', 'Urban', and 'Industrial' Revolutions, and discussed as a means of conceptualising some general properties of long-term change.

Marek Zvelebil, Indo-European origins and the agricultural transition in Europe (p. 33 – 70)

Indo-European languages are believed to have spread through population movements from the original epicentre. In recent years, this diffusion and divergence of languages from the *proto-Indo-European mother tongue has been identified with the dispersal of farming populations from the region of Anatolia/northern Iran, who are held (e.g. by Renfrew) to have gradually colonised Europe between c. 6000 and 3000 bc. It is here argued that this was not necessarily the case, and an alternative explanation for the divergence of Indo-European languages is presented, based on contact, exchange, trade, and intermarriage. Linguistic models for contact-induced language change, the archaeological evidence for such contacts at the transition to farming in Europe, and evidence for the adoption of farming by the local, hunter-gatherer populations are discussed. This leads to the formulation of the ‘Neolithic creolisation hypothesis’. The paper finally suggests a scheme for the divergence of the Indo-European languages following this hypothesis and discusses the linguistic implications.

Alexander Gramsch, Death and continuity (p. 71 – 90)

This article suggests that the common appearance of cultural (‘midden’) material under barrows of the Trichterbecher culture is interpreted as the purposeful metaphor of continuity of the small-scale society that has just suffered the loss of one or more of its actors. The three stages of *rites de passage* as outlined by van Gennep are used to explain the mortuary rituals further. *Separation* was signified by the enclosure (ditch or palisade) around the future barrow site and a ‘facade’. The *liminal stage* may be marked archaeologically by the ‘cleansing’ of fire or dismantling of facades at the barrow entrance, and sometimes by ploughing, which destroyed the cultural material on the site. *Reintegration* was the ‘planting’ of the deceased under soil and the erection of the barrow. The paper concludes with implications for the growth of a lineage organisation of society.

Martin Skjöldebrand, On variations in Bronze-Age social and economic structure in a homogenous area (p. 91 – 104)

Investigating three Bronze-Age cemeteries in a small area near the rock carvings of Norrköping, Östergötland, Sweden, this paper suggests that the social and economic structure of the area was not necessarily homogeneous, although this is the traditional view. Variations in the burial practices are analysed: burial construction, grave goods present, and treatment of cremated bones. An elite is suggested as having existed at settlements using the cemeteries at Klinga and Fiskeby, those using Ringeby were less organised or controlled. A speculative interpretation is offered: that Ringeby served as a subsistence area for the ‘central place’ of rock-carving activity, and lacked the benefits of trade and bronze supplies.

Paul Treherne, The warrior’s beauty: the masculine body and self identity in Bronze-Age Europe (p. 105 – 144)

The concept of ideology has figured centrally in recent accounts of the fundamental social transformation sweeping Europe from the mid-fifth to second millennia BC. In particular, many have focused on the human body as a principal medium of ideological expression, notably in terms of a growing ‘prestige goods ideology’. This paper endeavours to expose the deficiencies of this model, which lie in its overly cynical nature and its disregard for the specific socio-cultural contours of status expression. Specifically, by linking the ‘ideological’ transformations of this period to the development of a distinct institution, a male warrior status group, and its package of expressive themes - individualism, warfare, bodily ornamentation, horses and wheeled vehicles, the hunt, the ritual consumption of alcohol - I

seek to demonstrate that the changing treatment of the human body in mortuary rites and in everyday life is more than ideological. In particular, it is implicated in the development of a coherent *life style*, and as such is fundamentally bound up with changing notions of personhood and self-identity. Running through the fabric of this *life style*, through its embodiment of the subject in both life and death, is an equally distinctive notion of male *beauty*, unique to the warrior.

Penelope M. Allison, House contents in Pompeii: data collection and interpretative procedures for a reappraisal of Roman domestic life and site formation processes (p. 145 – 176)

Despite the extensive household assemblages excavated in Pompeii, material culture studies of this site have been dominated by epigraphical, architectural, and art-historical studies. A database of the excavated contents of 30 Pompeian houses (863 rooms and 6,300 artefacts) was compiled in order to rectify this situation. It was used to investigate room use and the living conditions in Pompeii between AD 62 and AD 79, through these assemblages.

Because of the nature of the excavation records, much effort was required to process the available data in a meaningful and useful manner. Also the state of prior research in this area required the deconstruction of past, predominantly text-based, assumptions about these specific issues. However, using methods and analytical processes appropriate to such an investigation of a previously excavated site, this study was able to present a new perspectives on living conditions in the last decades in Pompeii, in particular, and on Roman domestic life and site formation processes, more generally.

René Rodgers, Woman underfoot in life and art: female representations in fourth-century Romano-British mosaics (p. 177 – 188)

Women are often depicted on Romano-British mosaics either as non-specific allegorical characters without personalities, such as personifications of seasons, fortune, learning, and so on, or as figures representative of the forces of nature, such as Medusa or the seasons. Medusa, often identified with chaos, is depicted already neutralised through the nature of her representation; while the seasons are frequently coupled with a male mythological figure such as Bacchus, related to the contrast between nature and culture. Other scenes of male association with culture include scenes from the hunt. Idealised portrayals of Roman social interests focus on male-oriented activities; activities of specifically female interest are not known. These representations are interpreted in light of Sherry Ortner's social attributes of a 'universal subordination of women'.

Evzen Neustupný, The significance of facts (p. 189 – 212)

This article suggests methods for recognising and recovering symbolic significance in archaeological material. It develops the idea that there are three principal (and overlapping) spheres of the human world. In the first, '*artefacts*' have a practical purpose and function physically on their immediate surroundings. In the second sphere, '*institutions*' have a social purpose and function to organise human relationships. In the third, '*texts*' have a communicative purpose and function through symbolic significance. Application of the 'elimination method' starts by testing the first two spheres before undertaking an analysis of *possible* symbolic significance. The paper uses prehistoric fortifications and houses with sunken floors in Bohemia as examples.

Gonzalo Ruiz-Zapatero and Jesús R. Álvarez-Sanchís, Prehistory, storytelling, and illustrations: the Spanish past in school textbooks (1880—1994) (p. 213 – 232)

This paper looks at how prehistory was portrayed and taught in Spanish school books in four periods (1880—1920; 1920—36; 1936—75; 1975 onwards). Through the first three periods the scientific advances of archaeology can be seen to enter books often only after a time lag of decades, and only after the dominance of scripture for human ‘origins’ gave way to secular versions of history. But until the death of Franco, there was a strong tradition of emphasising nationalistic sentiments of heroic resistance and positive characteristics of the Spanish ‘race’ while concentrating on events and the deeds of individuals, usually military or political. This is graphically demonstrated with illustrations from textbooks. Since 1975 school books have changed radically. This is seen in the shift in illustrative teaching materials, from reconstructed scenes of political events to maps and pictures of source materials.

Angeles Querol, Maria Isabel Martínez-Navarrete, Francisca Hernández, Luisa Cerdeño, and Victor Antona, The value of archaeological heritage: an analysis by the Professional Association of Spanish Archaeologists (APAE) (p. 233 – 246)

The paper begins by underlining the existence in Europe of two opposing views on the role that archaeology is to play: the Anglo-American conception and the Mediterranean one. The Spanish situation should be understood within the second, by analysing the legislative, economic, and social background of archaeological activity in the country and by stressing the determining role that the state plays. Next, reference is made to the development of archaeological enterprises created during the last decade, which coincides the recommendations made by the European Council. The general lack of participation by private sponsors in archaeological activities is discussed, followed by a reflection on the legal conditions of the commerce of archaeological goods and the role played by various kinds of institutions and private collectors in the encouragement of plunder. The conclusion stresses the relevance that institutions such as the EAA can have on safeguarding the European archaeological heritage - bearing in mind a respectful attitude towards the different national feelings - by their contribution towards increased integration.

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Articles

Victor A. Shnirelman, Alternative prehistory (p. 1 – 20)

without abstract

Janusz Ostojka-Zagórski, Settlement research theory: a central European perspective (p. 21 – 32)

This article is, in a way, a dissenting voice from the conviction that central European archaeology plays an essential role in settlement research. In central European archaeology, one constantly finds that a modified version of evolutionism is applied, based mainly on an intimate knowledge of the source materials, ordered into the most precise chronological sequences possible. Settlement research is not only a mere spatial study of a society but also a study of societies through space. For different research to be comparable, it is necessary to

maintain similar rules and methods of explanation. This article deals with the traditional concepts of settlement research pertaining to central European archaeology.

Lindsay Allason-Jones, Colin O'Brien, and Glyn Goodrick, *Archaeology, Museums, and the World Wide Web* (p. 33 – 42)

without abstract

Tom Carlsson, *Objects and attitudes: the Lusatian impact on the material and mental culture in south-eastern Sweden in the late Bronze Age* (p. 43 – 58)

This paper examines the cultural influences from the European continent on the material culture of Scandinavian local communities during the late Bronze Age. A connection between the cremation ritual and pottery as ritual equipment is claimed. The paper suggests a close link between religious ritual and the elaborate pottery types that characterise the late Bronze Age; a connection between material culture and mental ideas. The emphasis on pottery during the Bronze Age is thus a product of the change in meaning for pottery. The new pottery styles have an embodied symbolic meaning connected to the new religion with its different ideas and rites. There is also a change from a domestic sphere to a ritual one.

Pers Persson and Karl-Göran Sjögren, *Radiocarbon and the chronology of Scandinavian megalithic graves* (p. 59 – 88)

Two new series of radiocarbon dates on human bones from passage graves in the Falbygden area in south-western Sweden are presented. It has long been nearly axiomatic that dolmens appeared earlier than passage graves, but the new dates indicate that both types of megalithic grave were introduced at the same time in the later part of the early Neolithic. This also means that the oldest types vary between different regions. In Denmark, the oldest type of megalithic grave is the dolmens, while passage graves were built from the beginning in Falbygden.

Michael Dietler, *The cup of Gyptis: rethinking the colonial encounter in early-Iron-Age western Europe and the relevance of world-systems models* (p. 89 – 112)

A critical evaluation of the appropriateness of traditional 'Hellenization' and recently popular 'world-systems' interpretive perspectives on the colonial encounter in Iron Age western Europe is offered. These approaches are shown to have some common flaws stemming from shared implicit premises resulting from a profoundly embedded cultural legacy of hegemonic Helleno-centrism that permeates interpretive discourse. This legacy is a result of the construction during the Renaissance of a European identity with ancestral roots in ancient Greece and Rome and the consequent importance of these classical cultures to the definition of 'cultural capital' in modern Euro-American society. Additionally, world-systems models have problematic tendencies toward mechanistic structural over determination and reductionism. An alternative interpretive strategy, grounded in the anthropology of consumption and the historical anthropology of colonialism, is applied to the initial phase of the colonial encounter during the Early Iron Age. A brief example illustrates the necessity and possibility of restoring a consideration of local agency and culture to the archaeological analysis of colonial situations and of developing a more subtle means of understanding the relationship between local practice and global structures and processes.

Patrice Brun, Contacts entre colons et indigènes au milieu du 1er millénaire av. J.-C. en Europe (p.113 – 124)

The author shows that the model of world systems economic theory remains the most probable explanation of the forms of contacts between indigenous peoples and colonists. The six zones where the imported goods from Mediterranean 'states' are found to be most numerous are analysed here. They are distributed from east to west across Europe along a discontinuous arc at some distance from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. They have analogously similar structures, conforming to the principles of world-systems economics. Such similarities are surprising because the a priori probability of finding such similarities is so small given the environmental, historical, and cultural differences, as well as those of the human spirit, imagination and inventiveness. We must suppose that a powerful logic was driving this phenomenon. The criticisms directed at this model are often made by those who are habitually 'anti-'. ... More complex and interesting is the alternative explanation proposed by J. Bintliff or M. Dietler. An analysis of the correlation of the drop in the number of sites with these imported goods and increased distance contradicts their alternative. Moreover, there is not one example of development on the same scale and level of integration as these 'chiefdoms' without mediterranean contacts. Finally, the significance of the model may be measured by the frequency that opponents caricature it in order to criticise it more easily.

Matthew Murray, Viereckschanzen and feasting: socio-political ritual in Iron-Age central Europe (p.125 – 152)

This paper summarises the present state of research concerning late-Iron-Age rectilinear enclosures of central Europe known as 'Viereckschanzen'. For several decades these large earthen enclosures were believed to be Celtic temples or sanctuaries. In the context of recent excavations, multiple social, political, and religious functions have been suggested, but these arguments are rarely linked to detailed study of archaeological materials and features at the enclosures. Critical analysis of presumed 'cultic' features and objects at thirty-six excavated Viereckschanzen reveals little support for the suggestion that all enclosures were religious sanctuaries. A functional study of ceramic finds indicates important differences in pottery assemblages between the enclosures and contemporary settlements. The enclosures are then examined within a dialectical landscape context, and it is suggested that they may have functioned as feasting places that often made reference to traditional forms of socio-political organisation represented at earlier cemetery sites.

Bettina Arnold, 'Honorary males' or women of substance? Gender, status, and power in Iron-Age Europe (p. 153 – 168)

The study of prehistoric Europe continues to be simplified in favour of a male-dominated world view. The interpretation of high-status female burials has been particularly plagued by gender bias, since such graves imply that women in these societies may have achieved positions of social and economic power. Changing burial customs and grave-good inventories, as well as documentary evidence from the Mediterranean, indicates that gender relations were affected in significant ways during the early Iron Age. The social changes that accompanied the late-Hallstatt/early-La-Tène transition cannot be understood without reference to gender, as the paper tries to show.

Peter S. Wells, Identities, material culture, and change: 'Celts' and 'Germans' in late-Iron-Age Europe (p.169 – 186)

Archaeological developments east of the Rhine in the fifty years before 15 BC, such as the abandonment of oppida, collapse of complex manufacturing systems and diversification of

material culture suggest that Caesar encountered a society in the process of change, although once broadly similar to that of 'Gauls' west of the Rhine. The significance of Caesar's distinction between 'Gauls' and 'Germans' has long concerned archaeologists and historians. An approach based on anthropological studies of cross-cultural contacts in colonial situations offers a new perspective on the question. By distinguishing between the ways that indigenous groups represented their identities through their material culture, and descriptions of those groups that Caesar and other writers left, we can gain a clearer understanding of the native peoples in temperate Europe at the time of the Roman conquest.

Bert J. Groenewoudt and Matthijs van Nie, Assessing the scale and organisation of Germanic iron production in Heeten, the Netherlands (p. 187 – 216)

A Germanic settlement at Heeten, which was only partly excavated, produced evidence for large-scale iron production. Combining several research methods, an attempt was made to gain insight into the operation, scale, and structure of this production. The research was not only focused on the excavation area itself, but also on the surrounding area. Apart from X-ray combined with sieve-residue analysis of soil-samples (taken primarily for archaeo-botanical purposes), core sampling and geoprospective explorations were carried out. The aims of these investigations were not only of scientific relevance, but can also contribute to the protection and management of the remaining part of the site.

Reviews

Harry James, Publish and be damned (p. 217 – 219)

Randall McCuire, *A Marxist Archaeology* (Michael Shanks) (p. 219 – 221)

Victoria Goddard, Joseph Llobera, and Cris Shore (eds), *The Anthropology of Europe. Identities and Boundaries in Conflict*; Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *Inside European Identities. Ethnography in Western Europe*; Kevin Wilson and Jan van der Dussen (eds), *The History of the Idea of Europe* (Mark Pluciennik) (p. 221 – 227)

Martin Locock (ed), *Meaningful Architecture*; Michael Parker Pearson and Colhi Richards (eds), *Architecture and Order* (Duncan Roberts) (p. 227 – 229)

Alain Schnapp, *La Conquête du Passé: aux origines de l'archéologie* (Henry Cleere) (p. 229 – 230)

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Articles

Arturo Ruiz, A diverse Europe: an archaeological perspective (p. 1 – 18)

This paper is intended to show the incorrect uses of archaeological documents to legitimise current political positions. In accordance with these aims, a better knowledge of poorly known archaeological concepts is proposed to guard against such wrong practices. Concepts such as

‘ethnic groups’ will, of course, remain in use regardless of these considerations. This question is discussed from two different viewpoints: the dialectic relationship between the prevailing history and ‘intrahistory’, and the relationship between the individual aristocratic power and the power held by communities or rural groups during the Iron Age in Europe.

Alexander Gramsch, Landscape archaeology: of making and seeing (p. 19 – 38)

Taking German *Siedlungsarchäologie* as its starting point and background this article attempts to turn from a critique of traditional approaches in settlement archaeology to a new definition of landscape and a new approach in landscape archaeology. Landscape is defined via its constituting parts: space, place, and boundary. From here a theory of landscape is developed as the plenum which is at the same time a passive social and economic resource and active in structuring perception, in socializing, in giving meaning to the world. Key concepts in this approach are therefore experience and perception, or making and seeing.

Jonas Beran, On social psychology and the professional self-assessment of the last generation of East German archaeologists (p. 39 – 44)

without abstract

Jorn Jacobs, Zur Wissenschaftsstrategie in der deutschen Archäologie seit 1990 (p. 45 – 54)

without abstract

Elisabeth Rudebeck, Heroes and tragic figures in the transition to the Neolithic. Exploring images of the human being in archaeological texts (p. 55 – 86)

In this article, the author analyses a group of articles discussing the transition from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic in South Scandinavia from the standpoint of their rhetorical and narrative structure. She uses Hayden White’s categories of emplotment, the time-orientation of the articles and their attitudes to centre-periphery to characterise the articles. In this way, the attitudes to modern ideological and rhetorical themes buried in each article is elucidated. In a final section, a debate is opened up on the relationship between agricultural origins and post-processualism.

Tsoni Tsonev, Neolithisation - a monotonic or catastrophic model for the transition to early farming? (p. 87 – 98)

A two component model is proposed for description of the underlying mechanisms of the emergence and spread of early farming in Europe. Two basic mechanisms are established. The first one is a short-term rapid transition based on the internal evolution of the late Epi-Mesolithic communities which drives the system defined by those communities to a higher technical and socio-economic state i.e. introduction of more productive activities: agriculture, domestication etc. The second mechanism describes the spread of early farming over vast regions in relatively short time. This involves the processes of culture diffusion, culture drift and has boundary solution. On each boundary the process of early farming spread stops and after considerable time delay starts again thus constituting ‘travelling wave’.

Gavin M. Lucas, Of death and debt. A history of the body in Neolithic and early Bronze Age Yorkshire (p. 99 – 118)

This paper addresses the way in which social identity is articulated through the body at death and linked up with cycles of gift-giving and the architecture of tombs during the Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age in eastern Yorkshire. The dynamics of funerary rites are explored and longer-term historical changes in the archaeological record are interpreted in terms of modifications to these ‘everyday’ dynamics. Grave goods, seen as part of a network of gift articulate this process by closing/initiating debts in the course of death which threatens to rupture this network. In a later transformation, however, different practices involving grave goods serve to marginalise death from strategies for the maintenance of social identity.

Cornelius J. Holtorf, Towards a chronology of megaliths: understanding monumental time and cultural memory (p. 119 – 152)

I argue in this paper that monuments such as megaliths can be understood in terms of ‘prospective’ and ‘retrospective memories’. They were originally built as permanent and widely visible mnemonics in order to transmit a particular message to the future, but that message is now lost. Megaliths were then, and stayed for much of their later history, ‘sites of memory’. In later ages, people considered such ancient monuments as part of their ‘cultural memory’ and interpreted them within the framework of the ‘history culture’ of their given social context. Since such re-interpretations are often equally significant and also contain hopes for the future (prospective memories), they can be termed ‘subsequent origins’ of monuments. One example for a ‘subsequent origins’ is the way megaliths are studied and treated according to the academic values of present-day archaeologists. In the paper I discuss several case-studies of megaliths’ ‘life histories’ in different European regions. I conclude with the wish that a true chronology of monuments may be developed that reaches beyond chronographical tables and includes theories about monumental time: the pasts and futures of monuments, in each present.

Peter F. Biehl, Symbolic communication systems: symbols on anthropomorphic figurines of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic from southeastern Europe (p. 153 – 176)

This paper presents a new approach to analysing and interpreting the Neolithic and Chalcolithic clay figurines of Southeastern Europe. Using an example from the Gradešnica-Krivodol culture complex, a contextual approach based on attribute analysis is discussed. This new approach has the potential to replace earlier approaches, all of which were based on form-typology and analogy. The interpretation of the figurines as representations of ‘acting human beings’ rather than of mother-goddesses, deceased villagers etc., is demonstrated by analysing decoration, gender, gesture, masks and the breakage of the figurines. A contextual analysis of the decoration of the figurines in relation to all these attributes indicates that a known system with rules of creation existed, that the makers were aware of it and that they conformed to it. Decoration represents much more than clothing, jewellery or aesthetic ornaments. Seen as a combination of elaborate symbols, it can be a first step in uncovering a communication system. When understood, even if only in part, such a communication system can provide real insight into the figurines’ functions through time and place.

Christina Marangou, Assembling, displaying, and disassembling Neolithic and Eneolithic figurines and models (p. 177 – 202)

This paper attempts a consideration of possible combinations of Neolithic and Eneolithic miniatures, their locations and distribution in space, taking account of respective precise

contexts and discovery associations, when available. Neolithic and Eneolithic miniatures (figurines and models) have usually been found in domestic contexts, either in large sets, small groups or isolated. It is further attempted an examination of possible situations, meaning displaying or concealing figurines and models, occasionally or permanently. Vehicles through which and ways and locations in which these alternatives could take place are mentioned. Evidence tends eventually towards alternating restricted access and common display, as periodic occurrences, as well as definite concealment under particular conditions. The range of possible alternative interpretations regarding these combinations of chosen concealed or displayed symbols in different locations and under various circumstances, in specific contexts, extends from public communication, such as narration or transmission of common knowledge, including initiation, to use as apotropaic tokens, play and eventual performance of rites of sympathetic magic. Examples are taken from Greece, mostly its northern part, as well as from adjacent areas.

John Chapman, Enchainment, commodification, and gender in the Balkan Copper Age (p. 203 – 242)

Two strategies for social relations are defined for the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of south-eastern Europe: enchainment and commodification. Enchained relations are based upon inalienable objects exchanged between relations, while barter relations are concerned with the re-contextualisation of exotic objects into local communities. The metaphor of fragmented artefacts is explored in relation to enchained relations, while those complete objects subject to formal deposition are interpreted as symbolising integral social relations. Fragmentation analysis conducted for a variety of materials indicates the varying potential of fired clay and metals (copper and gold) for relations based on enchainment.

The social practices surrounding fragmentation and structured/formal deposition are explored in two socio-spatial contexts - the domestic arena and the mortuary arena. Fragmentation of figurines is analysed at the late Copper Age tell of Goljamo Delcevo, in north-eastern Bulgaria. By contrast, three north-eastern Bulgarian Copper Age cemeteries are analysed to examine the extent to which material culture is used to express gendered social competition in the mortuary domain. It is proposed that the tension between enchained relations and commodification is one of the key factors in the generation of dynamic change in the Balkan Copper Age, at the time of the Varna cemetery.

Ludmila Koryakova, Social trends in temperate Eurasia during the second and first millennia bc (p. 243 – 280)

This paper outlines some basic trends of social evolution and devolution that occurred in Central Eurasia most in the second and first millennia BC. These main long-term, cyclical regularities were characteristic for the whole Eurasian territory and comprised the alternation between complex social structures and simple, extensive lifeways. The factors stimulating social development were ecological and technological crises, which conditioned a search for the most effective forms of social adaptation. The social landscape of the temperate zone in the second millennium BC was represented by a variety of simple chiefdoms interacting with forest-zone tribes and steppe zone hunter-gatherers. These groups were succeeded by an extensive spread of population, including the colonisation of new landscapes and the discovery of new mineral resources. The transition to the Iron Age is marked by the disintegration of these chiefdoms, which stimulated a chain of recurrent westward migration, disrupting social developments in Central Eurasia. During the first millennium, the process of social stratification and élite military development resulted from the growth of the Eurasian 'world system'.

Michael Friedrich and Hilke Hennig, A dendrodate for the Wehringen Iron Age wagon grave (778±5 BC) in relation to other recently obtained absolute dates for the Hallstatt period in southern Germany (p. 281 – 304)

The dendrochronological dating of timbers from the grave chamber and the wagon from Wehringen Tumulus 8 provides the opportunity for a re-examination of Hallstatt Iron Age absolute chronology for southern Germany. Revisions to the southern German oak-based master curve provide a complete sequence through the 1st millennium BC, enabling the provision of a solid sequence for the first time. This sequence is based upon dendrodates from some twenty sites, including Villingen and the Heuneburg. The authors provide an interpretation of the significance of the new dates for the Hallstatt period in the western Alpine foreland.

Michael A. Morse, What's in a name? The 'Celts' in presentations of prehistory in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (p. 305 – 328)

In presentations of prehistory in museums and heritage centres in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, the 'Celts' often appear as a prehistoric ethnic category. This single name, however, carries different meanings in these three contexts. This paper examines the range of prehistoric presentations across these regions in order to discover the relationship between the meaning of the word 'Celt' and the type of authority invoked to convey that meaning. It is found that 'Celt' is a malleable enough category to accommodate different nationalist agendas and that archaeological authority can be devalued when it does not support a desired meaning for the category. Recently, archaeologists have been making calls for critical self-reflection as they generate knowledge about the past which also has an impact on notions of heritage. By focussing on some of the primary media through which the public learns about the past, this paper argues that it is in archaeological presentations, not merely in archaeological discourse, that critical reflection must take place.

Corrie Bakels, Growing grain for others or how to detect surplus production? (p. 329 – 336)

The paper describes four characteristics by which surplus growing of grain might be detected: 1. the calculated local production exceeded the calculated local consumption; 2. farmers practised monoculture; 3. storage capacity surpassed local needs; grain was clearly produced elsewhere and represented the import of a surplus.

Examples are given concerning Iron Age farms and Roman villa's in the Netherlands and comparable regions. Although each approach brings its own problems, a combination gives encouraging results. The analysis provides a tool for the writing of a history of surplus production which, in its turn, can be related to social history.

Jeremy W. Huggett, Social analysis of early Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials: archaeological methodologies (p. 337 – 366)

This paper presents a new approach to the social analysis of Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials from the fifth to seventh centuries AD. It defies a range of stylistic attributes which encapsulate a succession of decisions and actions by others concerning the burial of a single individual. It seeks to develop a new methodology which starts with the unit of burial and works outwards in scale to the cemetery and region beyond, and applies this methodology to examine the treatment of age and sex and identify the similarities and variability which exist across a range of burial attributes. The analysis summarised here employs data derived from twelve cemeteries, and examines the social differences between both in isolation and as members of a wider group.

Reviews

V. A. Schnirelman, *Voyna i mir v ranney istorii chelovechestva* (Evžen Neustupný) (p. 367 – 373)

York Archaeological Trust and the National Museum of Denmark, *The World of the Vikings (CD-ROM)* (Fiona Campbell and Joana Hansson) (p. 373 – 375)

Christopher Tilley, *The Phenomenology of Landscape* (George Nash) (p. 375 – 377)

Barry Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland: the Enigma of the Irish Iron Age* (Tim Champion) (p. 377 – 379)

Douglass W. Bailey and I. Panayotov (eds), *Prehistoric Bulgaria* (John Chapman) (p. 379 – 381)

Michael Shanks, *Experiencing the Past*; John Law, *Organizing Modernity* (Cornelius Holtorf) (p. 381 – 384)

Martin Kuna and Natalie Venclova (eds), *Whither Archaeology? Papers in honour of Evzen Neustupný* (Pedro Paulo A. Funari) (p. 384 – 385)

David R. Harris (ed.), *The Archaeology of V. Gordon Childe* (Steve Roskams) (p. 385 – 387)

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Articles

John Chapman, Editorial (p. 5 – 6)

without abstract

João Zilhão et al., *The rock art of the Côa valley (Portugal) and its archaeological context: first results of current research* (p. 7 – 49)

The Côa rock art covers 17 km of the river valley and extends along the banks of the Douro, downstream of the confluence between the two rivers. A total of 194 different panels with Palaeolithic zoomorphic motifs have already been identified. Later prehistoric and historic periods, especially the Iron Age, are also represented. Settlement of the valley in Upper Palaeolithic times is documented by residential sites dating to the Gravettian, the Solutrean and the Magdalenian periods. Results of stylistic analysis, whose chronological predictions have been independently confirmed by superposition patterns derived from the figurative stratigraphies observed in the numerous palimpsests known, indicate that all these periods are also represented in the art. The outdoor location of the Palaeolithic art, the size of the territory, the number and aesthetic quality of the motifs represented and the almost uninterrupted continuity to the present of the artistic use of the region's rock faces concur to the uniqueness of this complex of sites. Accordingly, an Archaeological Park was established

in the area, the construction of the dam that threatened to flood the rock art has been abandoned and the valley is to be included in UNESCO's World Heritage List.

Clive Bonsall et al., Mesolithic and early Neolithic in the Iron Gates: a palaeodietary perspective (p. 50 – 92)

This paper is a study of diet and subsistence among Mesolithic and Early Neolithic populations in the Iron Gates section of the Danube Valley, with emphasis on the sites of Lepenski Vir and Vlasac in Serbia and Schela Cladovei in Romania. The first part of the paper reviews the evidence of animal and plant residues and human skeletal indicators; the second presents new data from stable isotopic analyses of human bone supported by AMS ¹⁴C dates. Isotopic and dental evidence suggest that Mesolithic people prior to 7600 BP had high protein diets in which the bulk of the protein was derived from riverine food sources. Significant differences are evident between the isotopic signals of Mesolithic males and females buried at Vlasac and Lepenski Vir, indicating differences in overall diet. These differences are most easily explained in terms of movement of individuals between groups, linked to the practice of local group exogamy. A shift in dietary pattern occurred at Lepenski Vir between *ca* 7600 and 7300 BP. The bone chemistry of individuals post-dating 7300 BP reflects the intake of significantly higher proportions of terrestrial foods. This change may reflect the introduction of stock-raising and/or cultivation in the Iron Gates. If so, then the transition from Late Mesolithic to Neolithic at Lepenski Vir was not characterised by a wholesale shift in subsistence from foraging to farming, the earliest Neolithic inhabitants of the site continued to obtain a significant proportion of their dietary protein from riverine resources. The wider implications of the AMS dates and stable isotopic data are also considered.

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, Reading dress: the construction of social categories and identities in Bronze Age Europe (p. 93 – 114)

This paper proposes that social identities can be studied through the cultural construction of appearance, since this is a powerful visual mediation of identities and is a component in the learning of social roles. Three analytical principles about the construction of appearances are outlined and applied to different case studies. This illustrates how differences are created in appearance. The main characteristics and trends in appearance during the Bronze Age are then outlined. The studies show that some of the categories cross-cut other principles of identity formation. In particular it seems that while the categorical distinction between male and female affects material culture from the earliest Bronze Age, during the Middle Bronze Age different categories of women are created as well. Through the studies neglected aspects of Bronze Age social relations and ideology are brought to our attention.

Margarita Primas, Bronze age economy and ideology: Central Europe in focus (p. 115 – 130)

The deposition of huge amounts of copper and bronze items is one of the major changes in ritual which distinguishes the European Bronze Age from previous and later periods. A macroeconomic approach has been chosen for characterizing two transitional phases in Central Europe: The beginning of Early Bronze Age and the formation of Late Bronze Age civilization. Both are characterized by new features on two levels: ritual practices and the organisation of exchange. The general acceptance of copper and bronze for a variety of new functions (medium of exchange, symbols of rank, votive offerings) promoted increased demand. Regional response led to technological progress in sulphide copper smelting which expanded continuously. A crash of the Early Bronze Age cultural system in the eastern part of

Central Europe is suspected to have completely altered the situation. The following second phase brought a new cultural network and changed the attitude towards bronze. It promoted an incipient economy of demand using weighed metal as a multiple-purpose money. The circulation of scrap metal and ingots, both graded according to weight or size, are relevant indicators. Fragments of ox-hide ingots from southern Germany underscore the wide range of interacting regional systems.

Natalie Venclová, On enclosures, pots and trees in the forest (p. 131 – 150)

Some generalising approaches to the study of European Iron Age as demonstrated in the case of the La Tène period rectangular enclosures and pottery in Central Europe are critically evaluated. The regional diversity in the evolution of settlement structure and material culture, with the structure of find assemblages varying substantially in time and place, must be considered. It is therefore hardly possible to discuss issues of site function by comparison with the structure of ceramic assemblages from sites differing in type and in regional specificity at the same time. There are many reasons to believe that the Central European La Tène rectangular enclosures cannot be viewed as venues for feasting accompanied by drinking, as proposed by Murray (1995). Theoretical models and non-traditional methodological approaches are needed in European studies, conservative in many aspects up to now, and are most welcome, but not without respecting the related data sets and their regional background in their full complexity.

Karen Høilund Nielsen, Retainers of the Scandinavian kings: an alternative interpretation of Salin's Style II (sixth – seventh centuries AD) (p. 151 – 169)

In recent research, the interpretation of the Scandinavian early Medieval period has changed to emphasise increasingly the leading role of South Scandinavia. Comparisons have been made between the South-Scandinavian kingdom and the early Frankish empire, including the probable existence of royal retinues. The territorial organisation of Scandinavia is discussed and used as the basis for a re-assessment of Style II as an indication of the movement of south-Scandinavian royal retainers. The organisation of retinues is discussed with reference to comparative Continental analyses, Beowulf, and other Nordic sources. They all seem to describe the same system: young warriors following a lord in order to achieve honour and wealth. Ring-swords and helmets are suggested by continental scholars to betoken the Frankish royal retinue, and it is here suggested that ring-swords and Style II on weaponry and horse-equipment indicate the same in Scandinavia. On the basis of a regional and chronological analysis of Style II and its context, the assumed distribution of the probable retainers is studied. This reveals a clear structure in alliances, as well as the targets for military activities organised by the South-Scandinavian kings. It results in a conquest of Öland, Sweden, in the late sixth century AD and at least threats against Wesfold, Norway, in the seventh century AD.

László Bartosiewicz, This little piggy went to market...: an archaeozoological study of modern meat values (p. 170 – 182)

This study is part of broader ethnoarchaeological studies of the value attributed to various cuts of beef and pork. It is aimed at establishing a perspective from which the osteological and cultural aspects of palaeodiets can be equally evaluated. Meat prices analysed in this study originate from 24 supermarkets in 16 developed countries. The great regional variability of

identical cuts, and especially intestines shows the importance of local traditions which when combined with the actual nutritional value are expressed in retail prices.

Key words: archaeozoology, palaeodiets, ethnocentric bias

Emilia Pásztor and Curt Roslund, Orientation of Maltese 'dolmens' (p. 183 – 189)

Measurements of the orientation of Maltese dolmens show that they are aligned so as to run parallel with landscape contours and in particular with the flow of streams in the valleys below them. This result indicates that the dolmens served purposes other than that of mere burial places of the dead and that natural features of the landscape held meaning and significance for prehistoric people.

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Articles

Mehmet Özdoğan, The beginning of Neolithic economies in southeastern Europe: an Anatolian perspective (p. 1 – 33)

The role that Anatolia played in the formation of Neolithic cultures has generally been overlooked. However, recent work indicates the presence of a new formation zone in Central Anatolia, distinct in all elements of culture from the traditional Levantine-Mesopotamian zone which also includes Southeastern Turkey. A conspectus of the recent evidence indicates that, even in areas where cultural elements are similar, there is considerable diversity in subsistence patterns. Thus, it is evident that subsistence patterns were not as significant as previously envisaged in defining the status of Neolithic communities or in stimulating their appearance. Moreover, the range of available resources in the broad-ranging habitats of Central and Western Anatolia seem to have been a potent factor both in the initial Neolithic and its later developments. The Neolithic cultures of Anatolia were much less dependent upon domesticates, with sedentary life strongly supported by hunting and gathering. The pre-pottery Neolithic of the Near East provides a model based upon extremely complex and sophisticated socio-cultural developments, with indications of a ruling elite in control of the economy and ritual life. The collapse of this system by the end of the PPNB seemingly reflected social upheavals which provoked a massive migration to other regions. Apart from this factor, the rich environmental potential of the Aegean or the Balkans would have been sufficient to support the spread of the whole Neolithic population from Anatolia.

Sofia Voutsaki, The creation of value and prestige in the Aegean Late Bronze Age (p. 34 – 52)

The main questions addressed in this paper are these: How can we conceptualise power? How can we identify power relations in the archaeological record? How can we explain the emergence of asymmetrical power relations?

These questions will be approached by discussing the creation of value and prestige in primitive societies, with particular emphasis on the practice of conspicuous consumption. I shall argue that an object's value is created not only through labour at the moment of production, but also during its circulation within gift exchange networks, and through its consumption (destruction, deposition) in ostentatious ceremonies. While both gift exchange and conspicuous consumption are central strategies for the creation of value and prestige, I suggest that there is a crucial difference between them: conspicuous consumption brings about the abolition of the reciprocal relationship on which gift exchange is based. The

initiation (and indeed the institutionalisation) of conspicuous consumption is therefore an important strategy in creating rather than simply expressing or legitimating asymmetrical relationships.

The theoretical discussion will be applied to a specific historical problem the transformation of the largely egalitarian kin-based Middle Bronze Age societies of the southern Greek mainland into the hierarchical Mycenaean (i.e. Late Bronze Age) palatial system. I shall argue that conspicuous consumption in the mortuary sphere was not simply a symptom, but a crucial element of the deep structural transformation that swept the southern mainland at the transition to the Late Bronze Age.

Natalia Shishlina, The bow and arrow of the Eurasian steppe Bronze age nomads (p. 53 – 66)

According to a model of local cultural development human adaptation to the specific conditions of the habitat in the third-late second millennium BC led to the appearance of a culture of the ‘mobile herders’ in the Eurasian steppe. Recent major studies of the key role of the horse and an increased mobility of these people provide the background for the origin and development of a new system of armament. The bow and arrow were at the centre of this new nomadic military equipment. A three stage model for the evolution of the Bronze Age nomadic bow shows the existence of two types of bow in the Eurasian steppe during the Bronze Age: a traditional long bow of a simple type and a short composite bow. A new type of bow appeared in the first half of the second millennium BC, short enough to be used on horseback, and composite for extra power. The earliest evidence for such bows is clearly localised on the western part of the Eurasian steppe, but the technical innovation quickly spread throughout the steppe to the East.

John Bintliff, Catastrophe, chaos and complexity: the death, decay and rebirth of towns from antiquity to today (p. 67 – 90)

This article will investigate the phenomenon of urban decay and collapse, primarily using examples from the ancient Mediterranean world, but also through comparison with David Byrne’s recent investigation of contemporary urban breakdown phenomena in northern England. The analytical approach I wish to introduce to shed new light on this phenomenon is Chaos-Complexity Theory, which has a growing attraction for many social scientists in its potential for resolving the oppositional stances of Modernism and Postmodernism.

Martin Gojda, The contribution of aerial archaeology to European landscape studies: Past achievements, recent developments and future perspectives (p. 91 – 104)

Until recently, aerial reconnaissance in Europe was performed almost exclusively by British, German and French specialists. Under the influence of traditional paradigms in archaeology, this discipline was considered in almost all countries as a means of detecting new sites rather than an instrument for the study of spatial relations between past prehistoric communities and the areas, on the one hand, and between people and their natural environment on the other. At the same time, national campaigns in aerial reconnaissance have not been completed by systematic applications of other non-destructive field methods which help to evaluate the potential of air survey and which can bring its results closer to the solution of the principal theoretical problems of settlement archaeology. Since landscape archaeology has changed the archaeological paradigm during the last 25 years, data from aerial photographs have been increasingly evaluated. Since the beginning of this decade, countries of Central and Eastern Europe have started up aerial archaeological projects. A close cooperation between

archaeologists from once-divided Europe in the field of aerial archaeology has stressed the feeling of common European roots among archaeologists of all periods.

Christopher Evans, Sentimental prehistories: The construction of the Fenland past (p. 105 – 136)

The historical constitution of the region's past is considered through the study of folklore, miscellaneous 'lay' sources, commercial histories and antiquarian accounts - all various socially and economically sympathetic. Of broad relevance is the changing nature of reference/authority, the conceptualisation of landscape as waste/frontier and the role of 'natives'. In this case of internal colonialism, parallels are drawn concerning the status of land and archaeological practice within the developing world today.

Pedro Paulo A. Funari, European Archaeology and two Brazilian offspring: Classical archaeology and art history (p. 137 – 148)

The paper deals with classical archaeology and art history in Brazil and its scholarly revolutionary role. Brazilian society is characterised as grounded on patronage and the recent history of archaeology in the country is related to the Cold War period, when there was a military dictatorship in Brazil supported by the United States. Archaeology suffered particularly, but classical archaeology was a way of avoiding direct persecution and also of being in touch with up-to-date social theory. Classical archaeology and art history developed a scholarly approach to science which ran counter to the prevailing mediocrity resulting from patronage. Scholarship itself is revolutionary and both disciplines, thanks mostly to their European roots, have been active in challenging clientship schemes.

Koji Mizoguchi, The reproduction of archaeological discourse: The case of Japan (p. 149 – 165)

This paper argues that if we are to understand the intrinsic nature of archaeology as a social practice, we have to situate the way in which we are conducting archaeological practices in both local and global contexts for considering a way forward. This contention is supported by a critical account of the current crisis situation in which Japanese archaeology operates. It is argued that this crisis situation has resulted from changes which have been taking place in both macro and micro levels of Japanese social reality. A Marxist tradition, which had kept theory and practice of Japanese archaeology integrated with a certain sense of reality, collapsed from changes which took place in the international political climate and in domestic social conditions. Those changes had significant effects not only upon the discursive level of the consciousness of the archaeologist. The current condition of the non-discursive consciousness of the archaeologist makes it almost impossible to grasp the causes of the crisis and to consider a possible way out.

It is argued that the creation of a critical ontology, enabling us discursively to grasp the causes of the crisis, is badly needed to improve the situation. It is proposed that such a critical ontology should enable us to grasp the mechanism of the formation of non-discursive/practical consciousness of ourselves which, together with the experience of the material conditions, constitutes the subjective conditions under which we conduct our archaeological practice.

Reviews

Michael Shanks, review of recent publications in Social Archaeology (p. 166 – 170)

David Brett, *The Construction of Heritage* (Michael Tierney) (p. 171 – 173)

C. Goudineau and C. Peyre, *Bibracte et les Eduens. A la découverte d'un peuple gaulois* (Laurent Olivier) (p. 173 – 188)