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INTRODUCTION

- 1 John Berger's historical novel *C* (1972) is full of insight, his *And My Heart, Our Faces, Brief as Photos* (1984) concentrated and philosophical reflection on time, place and people, Produced with Jean Mohr, *Another Way of Telling* (1982) gives fertile impressions of narrative released into imagery. Susan Buck-Morss (1977, 1989), Richard Wolin (1982), Michael Jennings (1987) and Julian Roberts (1982) have written introductions to Walter Benjamin. I like Terry Eagleton's *Walter Benjamin: Or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism* (1981). These books have helped me make the most of Benjamin, particularly the collection 'Illuminations' (1970). See also Gillian Rose (1978) and Jameson (1990) for Adorno. Bataille's work resists classification surrealistically. His *Inner Experience* (1988) and writings collected in *Visions of Excess* (1985) have influenced me. See also Richman (1982).

PART I ARCHAEOLOGICAL METHOD

- 2 New archaeology was much more than a proposed scientific fundamentalism or scientism, and it had many antecedents. A significant characteristic is that it was a vigorous *polemic* against what were held to be the procedures and assumptions of traditional archaeology. In its later and developed forms New archaeology is usually known as 'processual archaeology' (the two terms are often used interchangeably). Willey and Sabloff (1980) and Trigger (1989a) provide accounts of its emergence and development with full references. The standard texts are Binford (1972), Watson, LeBlanc and Redman (1971), and Clarke (1968).
- 3 See for example Salmon (1982) and also Watson (1990). Colin Renfrew, a major proponent of a New archaeology in Britain, has written a concise defence of a critically rationalist archaeology (1989). For accounts of realist or objectivist philosophy as it may be in archaeology see Wylie (1989a; 1989b), and Gibbon (1989).
- 4 A classic programme for a systems-based archaeology is *Analytical Archaeology* by David Clarke (1968). See also Renfrew (1984). For critical discussion with examples of systems theory in Anglo-American archaeology see Shanks and Tilley (1987a, 1987b).
- 5 The main features of New or processual archaeology are as follows.

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- An anthropological orientation towards explaining the archaeological record in terms of regularities in human behaviour
- This has often involved specifying connections, in systems terms, between technology, subsistence and the environment
- Processual archaeology takes its name from a concern with the workings of social groups - social process and change
- Social change has usually been conceived as cultural evolution

There was, and still is, a marked optimism about processual archaeology, about how much can be known of the past. The concern for an anthropological archaeology has led to an interest in studying contemporary societies (sometimes in ethnoarchaeology) and this has brought realization of the complexity of the remains that archaeologists deal with, it is not a straightforward matter to correlate archaeological finds with past social process.

- 6 The main arena for theoretical debate has shifted since the 1970s to Britain and Scandinavia from North America, the heartland of the methodological hegemony.
- 7 Ian Hodder's edited book *Archaeological Theory in Europe The Last Three Decades* (forthcoming) provides a detailed outline of archaeological thinking in most countries of western and some of eastern Europe. The contrast with the United States is a sharp one. Many European countries have not gone through a phase of new or processual archaeology, and archaeology is conceived as history rather than as anthropology. While much archaeology is conducted with the aim of producing culture history, there has been significant Marxist critique. And much European archaeology would claim a status of science, readily adopting the scientific techniques of Anglo-American processual archaeology.
- 8 Hodder (1986), Shanks and Tilley (1987a, 1987b), Miller and Tilley (1984), Leone *et al* (1987) and Preucel (ed forthcoming) are reviews and critiques. The label 'post-processual' is not a very satisfactory one as it implies too much of a unity and polarization. Post-processual archaeology represents an opening-up of the debate over the character of archaeology, and an acceptance of theoretical as opposed to methodological diversity (this means a diversity which is more than the acceptance of competing hypotheses under a sovereignty of scientific method). A key word is context - taking account of the vital role in interpretation of the contemporary social and political context of archaeology (and of the social and historical context of an artifact in understanding it).
- 9 The strengths of a post-processual archaeology in producing social accounts of the past which are, or promise to be, authoritative, comprehensive and finely textured may be seen in the following work: Barrett (1987a, 1987b, 1988), Edmonds and Thomas (1987), Hodder (ed 1982, 1987a, 1987b), Hodder (1990), Leone and Potter (eds 1988), Miller (1985a, see also 1985b), Miller and Tilley (eds 1984), Paynter and McGuire (eds forthcoming), Richards and Thomas (1984), J Thomas (1988, 1990, forthcoming), Thorpe and Richards (1984), Tilley (1991).
- 10 On ideology critique in archaeology see the discussions in Shanks and Tilley (1987a, 1987b). Trigger's work (1981, 1984) appears in an Historicist mould. Leone (1986, Leone *et al* 1987) argues for an archaeology which is critical in the sense explained, that exploration of social context can help avoid unwanted social bias. Few would hold to relativism: it arises mainly as a problem to be

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avoided (but see Hodder's comments 1984) Trigger's discussion and review (1989b) opts for a polarization in archaeology between objectivist and empiricist science and its relativist opposition. See also Wylie (1989a) Pluralism, relativism and pragmatism are discussed in Hodder (1986), Shanks and Tilley (1987a, 1987b) and Tilley (ed 1990). Some of the publications of the World Archaeological Congress, Southampton 1986, are comprehensive in their illustration of a diverse archaeology conscious of its contemporary location. Miller *et al* (eds 1989), Gathercole and Lowenthal (eds 1990), Layton (ed 1989a, 1989b)

- 11 Reviews and collections of work which may be termed post-structuralist abound. I have found useful the books by Leitch (1983) and Ryan (1982). On post-structuralism and archaeology see Bapty and Yates (eds 1990) and Tilley (ed 1990). Post-structuralism's influence can be seen as far back as Hodder (ed 1982)
- 12 For responses to the critique of processual archaeology and the sovereignty of science see *Norwegian Archaeological Review 1989*, Trigger (1989b), Earle and Preucel (1987), Binford (1989), Watson (1990)
- 13 I am thinking particularly of the work of the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research which has come to be known as 'Critical Theory'. Excellent introductions of readings are Connerton (ed) *Critical Sociology* (1976) and Arato and Gebhardt (eds 1978). See also Held (1980). The work of Habermas continues to provoke, published in English by Polity Press.
- 14 Marcuse (1955) and Oilman (1971) have written clear accounts of a dialectical or Hegelian contribution to Marxism.
- 15 Warnke (1987) has produced an excellent appraisal of Gadamer. See also the work of Paul Ricoeur (especially 1981) to whom Henrietta Moore has written an introduction for archaeologists (1990). On hermeneutics and archaeology see also Shanks and Tilley (1987a, Chapter 5)

PART 2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERESTS

- 16 I owe much of this argument on law to reading Gillian Rose's *Dialectic of Nihilism* (1984). See also Shanks and Tilley (1987a, Chapter 1)
- 17 On Freud and archaeological metaphor see Lowenthal (1985, pp 252-5)
- 18 Consider for example the book *The Archaeology of Death* (Chapman *et al* eds 1981) which presents a cross-section of mortuary analyses in archaeology.
- 19 The books of Stephen Frosh (1987, 1989) are as good a start as any for thinking about psychoanalysis.
- 20 On the analogy between material culture and text see Hodder (1986, 1988, 1989a) and Tilley (ed 1990)
- 21 See the references in notes 8 and 9. Interpretive anthropology is particularly relevant to archaeology, see the convenient collections Clifford and Marcus (eds 1986) and Marcus and Fisher (eds 1986)

Perfume and violence

- 22 I have to emphasize that this interlude is not meant as a definitive analysis, but as a series of impressions in tandem with the argument of the book. This is not to say that it is not supported by empirical work, it represents some results of my current research project to be published in full later.

Standard works on proto-korinthian pottery are by Johansen (1923), Payne (1933), Amyx (1988) and Benson (1989). Illustrations can also be

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found in many general works on early Hellenic archaeology and art Oswyn Murray's *Early Greece* (1980) is a good introduction to the history of the period, Anthony Snodgrass's *Archaic Greece* (1980) covers archaeological aspects Innovative approaches to ceramics and iconography can be found in *La Cite des Images* (1984) and by Anthony Snodgrass (1987) A fine example of a processual Classical archaeology is *Burial and Ancient Society* by Ian Moxon (1987) I have drawn on anthropological and structuralist work in Classical Studies as represented, for example, in Gordon (ed 1981) My presentation also builds on a reading of Theweleit (1987, 1989), Hegel's master-slave dialectic, and Bataille's general economy

PART 3 THE ENCOUNTER WITH THE PAST

- 23 This section owes much to James Clifford's essay on collecting (in 1988)
- 24 James Clifford relates the encounter between ethnography and surrealism in his book *The Predicament of Culture* (1988)
- 25 I owe the association between Benjamin and the passage from *The Tempest* to Hannah Arendt (1970)
- 26 There are very many works now on the experience of modernity and post-modernity I like Berman (1983) and Harvey (1989) See also note 31
- 27 Fuchs (1986) has produced a book on Richard Long For landscape art in general see Sonfist (ed 1983) Compare also Andy Goldsworthy's sculpture (1990), one is pictured on p 194

Dunstanburgh Castle, Northumberland

- 28 I have used the guide to the castle by Hunter-Blair and Honeyman (1955) A recent archaeological guide to medieval castles is by Kenyon (1990) Medieval archaeology is moving away from a simple support to conventional narrative history see Austin (1990), Austin and Thomas (1990) and Champion (1990)
- 29 Pam Grates (1989) and Roberta Gilchrist (1989) have produced interesting analyses of the design of medieval ecclesiastical establishments
- 30 Space is of much interest to archaeology and ancient history, is well established almost as a sub discipline in the former Much inspiration is taken from geography as might be expected On the social logic of space see Hillier and Hansen (1984), see also Gregory and Urry (eds 1985) For a poetics of space there is the work of Gaston Bachelard (1969)

PART 4 WORKING ARCHAEOLOGY

- 31 Works on (post)modernism which I have found stimulating are Appignani and Bennington (eds 1986), Foster (1985a) and Foster (ed 1985b), Harvey (1989), Kroker and Cook (1988), Lunn (1985) and the journal *Theory Culture and Society* special issues 1985 and 1988, 'The Fate of Modernity and Postmodernism'
- 32 That the arts and crafts movement failed (expensive craftworkers ended up producing luxury items for wealthy clientele) is not so much an indictment of its philosophy and conceptions of labour as due to the failure to take strategic account of entering a market dominated and structured by capitalist economic relations

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- 33 Discussions of craft which have some relevance here are by Fuller (some essays in 1985), articles in Thackera (1988) and David Pve's work (1980,1983)
- 34 The things that archaeologists do may be thought as craft or practical reasoning, the artifacts that archaeologists find may be conceived similarly This is that artifacts from the past are neither simply functional objects nor are they purely arbitrary items and determined by style and the communication of social messages Their design includes interpretive choices on the part of their makers regarding viability, expression and purpose It could be said that artifacts are constituted by interpretation - of the material from which they are made, of the purposes to which they will be put (material and conceptual), and of the social and personal meanings they may carry This interpretation, which is design, is practical reasoning or knowhow I suggest that thinking of artifacts in this way will help overcome the polarization of style and function which has so dogged archaeology (material purpose versus expressive meaning) It involves reflection on sensuous receptivity to materials and construction (the perceived physical properties of things) as well as on the structures of social meaning which influence design (see *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 9 1,1990)
- 35 Amberside Productions, an organization set up to promote documentary photography in the North East of England can be contacted via their gallery at The Side, Newcastle upon Tyne
- 36 See Eagleton (1981b), Young (ed 1981), Harari (ed 1980) and Vickers (1988) I have already referred to the use of the concept of rhetoric in analysis of design (Buchanan 1989) It is a powerful tool in understanding advertising too, see Dyer (1982)
- 37 Eugene Lunn has considered modernist style in *Marxism and Modernism* (1985) Gillian Rose presents an interesting analysis of Adorno's style in her book *The Melancholy Science* (1978) Dynamic and flexible in the use of concepts and ideas, Adorno wrote brittle and pointed essays, interventions and critiques, dialectically advancing by extreme statement, exaggeration and irony, refusing a totalizing form or definitions (which would fix a shifting and slippery reality) His style was designed to be itself a theory of society, a style fitting its content, while refusing to accept the terms of that which it was criticizing, bourgeois philosophy or contemporary capitalist culture

Death and the domestic

- 38 I worked on the ritual of early farmers' burial in the Wessex region of England some years ago and published the results with Chris Tilley's work on southern Sweden (Shanks and Tilley 1982) We surveyed most of Sweden's neolithic tombs in the summer of 1988 See also the essay on the pottery outside the tomb Fjalkinge No 9 (m Shanks and Tilley 1987a) I have used Ian Hodder's account of neolithic burial in his book *The Domestication of Europe* (1990) Julian Thomas's work has been stimulating and informative (1988, 1990, forthcoming) The excavation of Tinkinswood was reported by the excavator Ward in 1915 and 1916