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**World Archaeological Bulletin**  
**Volume 9**

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**World Archaeological Bulletin Volume 9**

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## CONTENTS

<b>page</b>	
2	Editorial
3	WAC Meetings
4	From the Treasurer
7	News from Council
7	Stonehenge
9	Kakadu National Park
9	WAC Objectives
10	Hassan
12	Martinez & Ronayne
15	Ayodhya Committee
16	Rowlands and Funari
20	Working Group on Representation
21	New WAC Executive
25	WAC Regional Electoral Colleges
29	Research Notes
29	Chazine (Borneo rock art)
32	Owen (Dating at Jinmium, Australia)
37	Regional Reports
37	Shoocongdej (Southeast Asia)
41	Opinion and Commentary
41	Morris (UK)
45	Blinkhorn and Cumberpatch (UK)
56	Podgorny (Argentina)
59	Book Reviews
59	Campbell (Social Complexity, USA)
66	News and Conferences

## EDITORIAL

Ian Lilley

This edition marks my first *Bulletin* as editor. It is also the first edition of WAC's new-look, twice-yearly publication, which brings *WAC News* under the *World Archaeological Bulletin* masthead. Volume numbering continues that of the old *Bulletin*, not *WAC News*. The *Bulletin* now also has an ISSN number for the first time, as shown on the inside of the front cover. It is not the same as the one used for *WAC News*. In short, *WAC News* is history.

It may be gone, but it is not forgotten. Claire Smith did a tremendous job of producing the *News* twice a year for four years. From what little I have seen already, it must have seemed a *very* long time, Claire! Thanks for your help in getting me this far. I guess I'm on my own now.

In her last Editor's report, submitted to Council in Cape Town, Claire made four recommendations regarding the *News* which now apply to the *Bulletin*:

- it should normally be published in English
- WAC should pay for it
- regional representatives should be required to submit reports as part of their normal duties, and
- WAC should pay for editorial assistance.

I am happy to say that WAC has agreed to pay for publication, distribution and assistance. I will publish mainly in English, but I plan to phase-in non-English articles with English abstracts as occasion arises, and at least French and Spanish abstracts for English articles. I will need volunteers to help. Please write to me if you can assist! All regional representatives should contact me as soon as possible about their contributions.

## **WAC MEETINGS**

Peter Stone

### **WAC-5**

Council accepted an outline bid for WAC-5 from Brazil. Officers, Secretariat and members of the WAC-4 organising team are working together to enable Brazil to submit a full proposal to hold WAC-5 in summer, 2002.

### **INTER-CONGRESSES**

Negotiations are also continuing for an Inter-Congress with a provisional title *Indigenous issues and archaeology* to be held in New Zealand in late 2000. Officers are also exploring the possibility of an Inter-Congress on *Slavery* to be held in the Caribbean in 2001.

### **OTHER WAC-SUPPORTED MEETINGS**

*Comparative Archaeology*. The WAC Senior Representative for Southern Europe is helping to organise a seminar on comparative archaeology in Athens in November 1999. WAC has been asked to assist with academic organisation and it is hoped that the seminar will provide an opportunity for the Executive to meet.

*Tourism 2000*. The organisers of a major international conference entitled *Tourism 2000*, to be held in Sheffield, UK, in September 2000, approached WAC prior to WAC-4 seeking assistance with the organisation of sessions relating to heritage and tourism. Given the importance of tourism to heritage sites and its implications for conservation, preservation and presentation, the Executive and Council agreed that WAC should be involved as long as the conference did not divert WAC finance from our own meetings. The CEO is negotiating with UNESCO for possible financial support for a session on the implications of mass tourism for World Heritage sites. Any members wishing to contribute should contact the CEO immediately.

## FROM THE TREASURER

Robin Torrence

Here I am back for another term. Thanks to the Council for its vote of confidence. I hope I will be able to help WAC with another successful and productive four years. One of my main goals is to update and perfect our database so that Officers and the Executive can communicate more effectively with members. **I need your help to keep me informed of your address and email changes.** Martin Hall and I are also looking for new ways to raise our revenue. **Send us any ideas you may have about fund raising for WAC.**

Renewal forms are sent out in June only to those whose memberships have expired. So if you receive a renewal form, take it seriously and act quickly before it gets buried under the other paperwork on your desk. I am happy to receive credit card details by email, but please also include current address, telephone, fax, and email so we can maintain an up-to-date membership database. If you need to have your fee waived, please fill out the form with current address details and return it with a note requesting a waived membership. This also helps me keep a check on addresses, etc. WAC is one of the few organisations that has kept its membership fee stable. We are incredible value for money so don't forget to

### \*\*\*\*\*RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION\*\*\*\*\*

A financial statement for 1998 is presented below. We have a very healthy balance at the moment only because we are behind on the publication of the *Bulletin*. An issue with papers from the Croatia Inter-Congress discussing the Ayodyha question will be appear soon in the new, twice-yearly series of the *Bulletin*. Up to now, the WAC offices run by the Officers and Editor have been operating on a voluntary basis with no subsidies from the membership. At WAC-4 the Executive agreed to a small subsidy for running expenses of the Chief Executive Officer, Secretary, and Editor. Since we are replacing *WAC News* with two *Bulletins* a year, we will consume our surplus over the next four years. Hopefully by then increased membership will be bringing in higher revenues.

**\*\*\*\*\*LIFE MEMBERSHIP AWARD\*\*\*\*\***

We need your help to recruit new members. Here is an attractive incentive. In June 2000 I will award a Life membership to the member who has recruited the most new members in the 18 months beginning with WAC-4 (students will count as half members). If this initiative is successful, the award will be given annually. Helga Seeden is already in the lead with 10 new student members and her sterling efforts gave me the idea for the award. Let's see what the rest of you can do.

At WAC-4 the Executive approved a new membership category for libraries. Library members will be charged only US\$40 per year for a subscription to the *World Archaeological Bulletin*. Library membership will not replace Institutional membership, which provides the members of the subscribing institution with the benefits of WAC membership (i.e. discounts on conferences, voting, etc.), but provides only one copy of publications. **Please urge your library to subscribe at this new discount rate** and consider the benefits of Institutional memberships where there is a group of members at one university or institution.

**\*\*\*\*\*WAC MEMBERSHIP FEES\*\*\*\*\***

**US\$20 Full**  
**US\$10 Student**  
**US\$40 Library**  
**US\$100 Institution**

We gratefully acknowledge financial donations received from the following members this year: Mary-Jane Mountain, Ernestine Elster, Ingareth Macfarlane, Phillip Partington, Jack Golson, Marianne Cordale Schrimppf, Ben Rhodd, Izumi Niuro, Jenny Coy, Andres G. Laguens. We also thank Peter White and Deidre Koller of Oceania Publications, University of Sydney, who look after our banking and accounts and the Australian Museum, which has assisted with postage and email.

**Financial Statement as of December 31, 1998**  
(Amounts in Australian dollars)

**INCOME**

Carried forward	\$6767.39
Subscriptions and Back issues	\$7337.65
Interest	\$267.39

**Total** **\$14,372.43**

**EXPENDITURE**

Printing <i>WAC News</i>	\$680.00
Postage	\$415.78

**Total** **\$1095.78**

**BALANCE** **\$13,276.65**



## NEWS FROM COUNCIL

Peter Stone

At its meeting at the end of WAC-4 Council adopted a number of motions passed by the Plenary Session. The full text of these motions, and the action that WAC is taking is reported on the WAC web pages (see inside front cover). Anyone without access to the web who would like to receive this information should write to their regional representative (listed in this issue) or to Peter Stone at the Central WAC Office (see inside front cover).

### STONEHENGE

The Plenary Session passed a motion regarding current proposals for the World Heritage Site of Stonehenge, UK. The motion reads:

*We the participants of WAC-4 welcome the concern demonstrated by the UK Government to safeguard the future of Stonehenge World Heritage Site but urge the UK government to reconsider its decision to insert a cut and cover tunnel across the World Heritage site. Particularly we ask that the UK government looks again at the costs of a bored tunnel, taking into account the full potential benefits, economic, social and cultural, and finds funding to build it. This appeal is made in view of the long campaign by English Heritage, the Government's advisor in archaeological matters, in favour of a bored tunnel. WAC would wish to work with the UK government to make the reassessment possible, and to help the UK government in moving the project forward.*

Council asked the Executive to advance this issue as a matter of urgency. The Executive set up a Working Group to report on the issue by April 1999. The Working Group consisted of Dr Julian Thomas, Immediate Past-Secretary of WAC and a specialist in the Neolithic and Bronze Age of southern England, and Professor Robert Layton, who has considerable experience of the World Heritage Convention. Between them, the Working Group consulted widely and met with those at English Heritage responsible for the proposals.

The Working Group reported as follows. The Stonehenge proposals are intended to remove two roads and the present inadequate visitor facilities from the immediate environment of the World Heritage site, returning the area to a grassland free of 'twentieth century clutter'. The visitor facilities would be closed down and removed to the edge of the World Heritage site. One of the roads would be closed and returned to grassland, while the other would be buried in a 2.5 km cut-and-cover tunnel. It is the cut-and-cover tunnel which is provoking some opposition and concern within the archaeological community, as its construction will drive a huge trench through the centre of the World Heritage site.

The Working Group's proposals are:

*In the light of our deliberations, and in accord with the motion recently passed by the Council of the Prehistoric Society, we submit the following proposals for consideration by the WAC Executive:*

- *We applaud the efforts of English Heritage and the National Trust in attempting to improve visitor access to Stonehenge, in seeking to remove roads from the vicinity of the monument, and in seeking to provide adequate visitor facilities;*
- *We call on the UK government to commission an independent assessment of the cost and benefits of a long-bored tunnel for the A303;*
- *We call on English Heritage to present a full set of drawings and representations of both the cut-and-cover and long-bored tunnels (including their entrances and approach cuttings) to the public, to enable a full and informed debate on the alternatives;*
- *We appeal to English Heritage not to cause irreversible damage to the environs of Stonehenge for the sake of a cheaper solution to the problem of removing surface roads.*

The President has written to English Heritage noting the proposals and a press release outlining the WAC position will have been issued before you read this.

## **KAKADU NATIONAL PARK**

The Plenary Session passed a motion regarding current proposals for the World Heritage Site of Kakadu National Park, Australia. The motion reads:

*WAC-4 is dismayed by the serious threat posed to the ecosystems, archaeological and rock art sites, and living indigenous culture of the Kakadu National Park by proposed uranium mining at Jabiluka. The Congress notes the Mirrar people are recognised throughout Australian land rights law as the traditional owners of the country on which the mining development is located, and that the Mirrar oppose any additional mining, as at Jabiluka, on their land. WAC-4 calls on the Australian Government to respect the Mirrar people's status as joint managers of the Kakadu National Park and World Heritage Site. The Congress calls for an immediate halt to preparatory work on the mine, in accordance with the conclusions of the 22nd session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee.*

*WAC-4 urges immediate remedial action and compensation for the damage already caused. It calls on the UNESCO World Heritage Committee to declare the site as "in danger" if preparation of the Jabiluka mine proceeds.*

A press release regarding this motion was issued immediately after WAC-4 and WAC's CEO has written to the Chairman of the World Heritage Committee and Director of the World Heritage Centre outlining WAC's position.

## **WAC OBJECTIVES**

The Executive discussed at some length what we could expect WAC to achieve over the next four years and into the more distant future. Towards the end of the discussion, Fekri Hassan was asked to draft a summary of the debate. Two members of the Executive also decided to produce their own document on WAC's future objectives. Both documents are produced below (with minor editorial amendment) for information and for comment by the wider membership.

**Document 1**  
Fekri Hassan

*Following a discussion of the reports from Regional/Indigenous representatives, the main objectives of WAC for the next 4 years are outlined as follows in order to facilitate further elaboration and discussion by the Council and the membership at large.*

*WAC's overarching objective is seen as the promotion of dialogues and debates among advocates of different views of the past, but more importantly its mission is to open debate and refute those views, often institutionalized, to serve the interests of a privileged few to the detriment of others. The most virulent of such views have been engendered by the recent colonial past and sustained by its aftermath of economic and political inequalities between and within nations. WAC should be combating such views and institutional mechanisms that obliterate, smudge and distort accounts of the past, and those that marginalize the cultural heritage of indigenous peoples, minorities and the poor.*

*In order to achieve these primary objectives, WAC should focus on:*

- Public Education to raise awareness and provide communities with accessible information in order to engage them in the production of archaeological knowledge.*
- Professional Education and Training in order to enhance the active and effective participation of archaeologists from communities, groups, and nations that are at present severely handicapped and disadvantaged because of the lack of or inadequacy of professional human resources and facilities.*
- Action Research that addresses issues relevant to the emancipation, empowerment and betterment of indigenous groups, minorities, and the poor, as well as the conservation of archaeological and other Cultural Heritage. The themes of action research are designated as follows.*
  - Conservation and Appropriate Presentation of archaeological and cultural resources especially these threatened by looting and vandalism, tourism, economic development projects, urban growth, war and other conflicts.*
  - Development Archaeology as a means of conserving, presenting and managing archaeological resources to ameliorate the living conditions of poor and disadvantaged communities. The long-term conservation of sites must include developmental programs to sustain and maintain a healthy environmental milieu.*
  - Trans-Regional and Regional Societal Action Projects as a means of dealing with issues of critical significance to contemporary societies in a changing global context. Such issues include, for example, conflicts over water resources, droughts and food scarcities, population, ethnic and sectarian conflicts, nationalism and identity, and globalisation.*

- Action Theories as a means of exploring, debating, and formulating the ethical and epistemological theories and philosophies and principles of archaeological practices.*
- ACTION FUNDING at a scale far greater than is currently available to WAC is needed if WAC is to become an effective international medium and in order to fulfil the objectives outlined above. WAC Charitable Company can serve as a vehicle for fund-raising, and WAC should facilitate access to information on grants and fundraising opportunities and to assist in submitting proposals on behalf of those groups that lack the capacity to do so. WAC should also encourage trans-regional action projects and seek funding for such projects.*
- Organizational Changes are needed as WAC assumes a more proactive role in order to fulfil the above objectives. Such changes, for example, include:*
  - The creation of a WAC Central Office.*
  - The creation of working groups or task forces to deal with specific issues.*
  - A revision of the current means of disseminating information by combining the WAC Newsletter and WAB in a periodical, that appears regularly. The new publication can serve as the forum for the deliberations and discussions of the working groups. WAC should also explore new media for the children, illiterate adults, the media, teachers and policy makers.*
  - WAC should also deal effectively with the problem of communication resulting from difference in languages among its membership especially members of the Executive and Council.*
  - Support for regional meetings in order to promote the principles of WAC, increase membership, and activities within regions, especially where regional cooperation and integration is lacking or inadequate.*
  - Reform the procedures currently in effect for the participation in the Executive Committee and the Council. Adequate time before the elections of WAC officers, members of the Executive, and Council should be granted to discuss the candidates' qualifications and potential contributions to WAC. Information must reach the membership no less than four months in advance, and nominations must be made two months in advance of elections. Biographical information should be attached to notices on each and every candidate. The Regional meetings can serve as the mechanism by which members to the Council and the Executive are elected.*

## **Document 2**

Yoëlle Carter Martinez and Maggie Ronayne

*In the discussion of the Executive of WAC on Sunday, 10th of January 1999, a number of future objectives were proposed for the World Archaeological*

*Congress. While we agreed with the spirit of many of these proposals, we felt that there were a number of matters of substance with which we could not agree, and other important issues which we felt had been left out. Consequently, and in accordance with the emphasis that we've always seen in WAC itself on debate, we offer the following additional objectives. We request that this preamble, and the points listed below, be added to the previously proposed objectives, as part of a composite 'think-piece' (as Hirini Matunga called it) for the new officers. We also welcome comments from the entire membership on these points:*

- *Recognition that WAC is a heterogeneous and often conflictive body of interest groups and political positions which respect democratic interaction, and that there is a need for a substantive representation of these points of difference as well as points of intersection between people, in order to have an open debate. For example, it should be recognised that there are theories of practice among WAC members informed by the ways in which those members are situated socially, not a WAC theory of practice decided by the Executive. WAC members may argue about which form of practice should be appropriate to WAC - taking positions on the nature of WAC and attempting to follow them through with statute revision, resolutions, projects and so on - but this debate should not be foreclosed.*
- *The recognition of these 'conflictive conversations' within WAC, and the inequalities and power imbalances always present in them, is vital for WAC's future structural organisation. In other words, we should not view the structure as an apolitical series of procedures. Rather, the structure relates directly to questions of power and representation. So, we suggest that the structure of the organisation needs to reflect a more substantial rather than formal kind of democracy, with the membership directing debate on, and decisions about, policy. While we recognise the financial difficulties which would follow a move towards regionalization and wide forms of communication amongst the membership (in the establishment of a permanent secretariat or series of them, for instance), it should be a central aspiration of WAC to work practically towards this substantive kind of representation, step by step. One obvious way of doing this is through the free WAC publications, with email discussion lists for those regions where it is appropriate to do this at the moment. Added to this might be a much clearer definition of the role of regional representatives.*
- *Another important point, which relates to this full and frank process of communication, is language. While fully acknowledging our fellow Executive members' comments on the financial and practical impossibilities of full translation of the myriad languages and dialects of the world, we suggest that this argument should not be used to stop the effort to ameliorate translation difficulties in the organisation. After all, these also have to do with questions of inequality and power - north/south divides and so on - and there are numbers of languages which, owing to processes of colonisation, are spoken by large numbers of people all over the world. It should be a*

*central aspiration of WAC to avoid disenfranchisement of members, regional representatives on the Executive and national representatives on council on the basis of language problems, if at all possible. A number of initiatives has been suggested and some implemented throughout WAC 4. This debate should continue – in more than one language - in the pages of WAC publications in the coming four years.*

- *Publications with which this organisation associates itself or produces are also ethically and politically governed by the statutes, codes and accords of WAC and so are the proper place for these kinds of debates. But given recent issues arising (e.g. with the OWA series, relating to contractual obligations, withdrawal of papers, publishing of authors linked to fascist politics, expense of the volumes), there is a need for a closer concern with the outcomes of the publications policy of WAC. Since publication is not an end in itself but has consequences within and beyond WAC, there is a need for a monitoring/advisory committee (which would consult widely) on the ethical and political issues relating to all of the WAC and WAC-associated publications. This could be integrated with the proposed ongoing review of, and debate about, revisions to the statutes and the proper concerns of WAC.*
- *We recognise the funding problems that are ever present with an entity like WAC and fully support the drive to find sources of funding which would help the organisation to expand. However, given the differences and conflicts we talked about above, we suggest that those sources of funding should not be accepted without a consideration of the effects they might have on full and frank debate, and on the freedom of WAC to champion certain issues. Specifically we urge caution in the application for NGO status by WAC. The discourse of 'human rights' we would be signing up to, while it has been used strategically by some (and we support this use), has been anything but emancipatory for other groups of people who are a part of WAC.*
- *We agree with the other part of this composite document that there should be a wider domain of practical action on the part of WAC members, in implementing the statutes, code and accords of the organisation. This could occur through projects, supported meetings which debate specific issues like ethics, the politics of 'sustainable heritage', the effects of tourism and the monitoring of transnational economic developments in relation to their effects on people and the material histories of those people. The issues change, depending upon the scale at which we focus our efforts. Rather than fixing groups of people as 'the poor', 'women and other minorities', 'indigenous' and so on who are defined as 'to be helped', we suggest promoting more debate on, and exposing, through our field projects, the ways in which the oppression of people and their pasts are brought about. Seeing this point through would mean dealing with how those different oppressions intersect on local, regional and global stages and acting to counteract them. This action would, again, be through our field projects, through lobbying, through the use of resolutions, statements of policy and the statutes, code and accords of WAC to lend support. The point then*

*becomes the ability of all of those disenfranchised groups to speak up for themselves, and struggle with other representations of the past, rather than remaining under the control of a narrowly conceived profession of archaeology - a more powerful form of knowledge which seeks to represent them on its own terms. As a result of this, we don't consider it wise that WAC should be promoted in and for itself - as though providing a service to a consumer-membership - but that its members should take on the responsibility of promoting debate on these issues.*

- *Finally, as feminists we note with pleasure that one of the points the new president of WAC chose to emphasise, in his identification of key issues for WAC at council on 11th of January, 1999, was the rights of women. We suggest that a full debate now take place, in the regular WAC publications, as to how this emphasis can be turned into practical achievements.*

Please send any comments on either of the above documents to the editor who will pass them on to Officers and authors. Any comments or developments will be reported in future issues of the *Bulletin*.

## **AYODHYA COMMITTEE**

At the end of WAC-3 in New Delhi, a Committee was set up to investigate the ban on discussion of the Ayodhya issue at the Congress. At its meeting in Cape Town, Council asked that the text of the Committee's report be disseminated to members. It is produced below with slight editorial amendment.

### **A Report To The Executive Of The World Archaeological Congress**

Michael Rowlands and Pedro Funari

#### ***Introduction***

*We were asked to report to the Council on the circumstances leading to the ban on discussion of the Ayodhya issue at WAC 3 in Delhi December 1994. We understood our brief to be limited to the events that displayed weaknesses in the procedures for consultation and decision making and how these might be avoided in future.*

*To achieve these aims we interviewed two members of the WAC Executive of 1994, Professor Jack Golson and Professor Peter Ucko, and two members of the organising committee in India, Professor B.B. Lal and Dr Makkam Lal. Whilst there was some disagreement over the recall*



*of events, we did not make any attempt to establish the veracity of statements and consider them here only in so far they demonstrate weaknesses in consultative and decision-making procedures.*

### **Background**

*The key issue concerns the decision by the WAC Executive in Delhi in 1994 to ban discussion of the Ayodhya issue at the Congress in response to external pressures. Based on the interviews and without any insider knowledge of the issues, neither author of the report feels competent to make nor would wish to make any statement about the wisdom of this particular decision.*

*However, we can point to a sequence of events which suggests the Ayodhya issue had been raised earlier than this on at least two occasions and that some lessons on good practice can be drawn from what happened.*

*All parties agreed that the Ayodhya issue had been discussed initially at the inter-congress in Mombasa in 1992 and the problem this posed for free and open discussion had been recognised by the local organisers and by both members of the Executive. The former believe that it was accepted that every attempt would be made to exclude discussion of Ayodhya at the Congress and that this was subsequently revoked by Professor Golson. Professors Golson and Ucko deny this but claim instead that it was recognised that such a sensitive issue would require special attention. The latter also claim that an offer was made by the WAC Executive to provide specialist advice on how to deal with such a conflict of interest and this was rejected by the Indian committee. The Executive did not feel they could impose this advice and the offer lapsed.*

*Professor Golson went to India in March 93 to advise on the organisation of the Congress and he expressed his personal worries about the BJP coming to power in India and the effects this might have if the new government was funding the Congress. The question of funding and impartiality had apparently not been raised until then. It was also recognised, perhaps for the first time, that the date of the Congress would fall on the second anniversary of the destruction of the Ayodhya mosque*

*and this could be a time when violence could easily be triggered. Professor B.B. Lal claimed that on this occasion Professor Golson went back on his earlier undertaking not to allow discussion of Ayodhya at the Congress and raised the issue of the principle of free speech and open discussion. By this time there were also tensions between the Executive and the local Indian organisers over money and rights to publication and semi-repressed anxieties over how well the local committee was coping with the strains of organising a large international congress. Dr Lal obviously still feels considerable grievance and complained that neither he personally nor Indian archaeology in general had received any benefit from holding the Congress.*

*In July 1994, JG and PU went to Delhi by invitation to discuss a call by Nadini Rao for a session to be organised on the Ayodhya issue at the Congress. It would appear that the threat of a boycott or the threat of external political interference in the Congress became apparent at this meeting. A compromise was claimed by the Executive members that whilst there would not be a special session since there was insufficient time to organise one, papers on Ayodhya could be presented at any session in the Congress. The organisers claimed that the government had been assured that there would be no special discussion of the Ayodhya issue at the Congress and even individual papers would cause difficulties.*

*The ban on discussion of the Ayodhya issue took place immediately prior to the opening of the Congress under the threat that the Congress and delegates could not be protected from possible violent consequences if discussion took place or a resolution condemning the destruction of cultural property was passed at the Plenary. There was disagreement about whether this was actually said at the meeting with the Indian Minister, was the Executive going back on previous understandings, was the WAC constitution sufficiently clear on what would form an infringement of its statutes and suspicions expressed about attempts to 'bump' the Executive into initiating a ban. Since the Congress was about to start and delegates had either already arrived or were in flight, a nightmarish choice was presented of either of issuing the ban on the one hand, or cancelling the Congress on the other, on the basis that the principle of free speech and open discussion had been impugned (in a manner clearly different from the prior experience of the ban on South African participation, which was not intended to exclude issues from*

*discussion). The question this raises for our report however is not whether the Executive made the right decision but whether the decision could have been taken earlier and more proactively.*

### ***Recommendations for discussion***

*We have outlined certain events neither to present a full account of 'what happened' nor to verify accounts of what happened but as illustrations of weakness in consultative and organisational procedures.*

*We suggest the following points for discussion by the Executive:*

- Is there a clear statement in the WAC statutes about the principles of free speech and open discussion at a Congress or Inter-Congress and that any interference on this principle cannot be tolerated?*
- Is it clearly stated that the local organising committee of a Congress or Inter-Congress is expected to adhere to this principle and agree to do so in some formal manner?*
- Are the President and Officers expected to pronounce on behalf of WAC and are they empowered by the WAC Executive to speak on its behalf? Is the President allowed to act without consulting the Executive or Council, particularly if time does not allow for this?*
- How are decisions made on whether actions by local organising committees or members of the Executive infringe the WAC constitution?*
- How was it possible for the Ayodhya issue to have been raised several times over a two-year period, and its possible implications clearly recognised, without an emergency meeting of the WAC Executive being called to decide what to do? The Ayodhya issue was not introduced at the last minute and yet for many it appeared wrongly to have been so.*
- Based on this experience, relations between local organising committees and the WAC Executive require reconsideration. There is clearly a reluctance by members of the Executive to appear to be interfering or showing a lack of confidence in local organisation. However, it should be possible to require as part of the agreement to organise a Congress that the local committee should be informed of*

*those matters about which it must consult the WAC Executive.. It appears that there was considerable lack of clarity regarding the relative responsibilities of the WAC Executive, some of its officers and the local Indian organising committee.*

- *In 1994 there was too much background acrimony over money, rights to publication, and general control of resources. Also, we gained a sense that an atmosphere of general and unending emergency pervaded, with flying visits and expert advice being offered for open discussion but with an absence of confidence- raising over the Congress in general. This constituted a poor background for dealing with the particular issue of Ayodhya and meant that relations of trust had already been undermined .*

*We present these opinions as items for discussion based on our limited opportunities to discuss the issues with four main participants. We do not pretend to know the history in full, and we have written our report on that basis. We present the foregoing suggestions in a spirit of initiating discussion.*

Both Council and Executive discussed the Report and Officers have been tasked to ensure that all appropriate action possible is taken to ensure that a similar situation does not arise again.

### **WORKING GROUP ON REPRESENTATION<sup>1</sup>**

Claire Smith

WAC is establishing a working group on representation on the Council and Executive. The notion of establishing working groups on topics of particular importance was mooted at WAC-4 during the Executive meeting on Sunday, 9 January 1999. Several ideas for working groups were discussed, including the idea of a working group on representation. Clearly, it is important that WAC achieve broad and effective representation on the Council and Executive. As it stands there are a number of issues that need to be addressed. These include:

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<sup>1</sup> This report incorporates suggestions put forward by Executive members Fekri Hassan, Lesley Suttly, Ken Issacson and Peter Stone.

- Some regional representatives are not able to attend Congresses or Inter-Congresses. This means that their particular region is either under-represented or not represented. This raises questions relating to the funding of representatives to attend Congresses as well as the commitment of these Executive members to actually representing the people of their region. The system of proxies works - but on what basis are people chosen to act proxies? There is a need to work through some principles here.
- Some regional representatives are totally inactive during their period of election. This raises the question of whether regional representatives should be asked to show some evidence of their activity in the region prior to standing for re-election.
- Some Indigenous representatives on the Council are not able to attend Congresses or Inter-Congresses. This raises the issue of whether special funding should be sought to support the attendance of these representatives.
- The procedures implementing the election of country representatives to Council are not very clear. Election occurs during Congresses but there is no procedure which is applied consistently. In some cases this has meant that a country is not represented, even though it does have a representative from that country at the Congress. There may be a case for developing a mechanism to ensure that representatives to Council are duly elected to Council by other members in the country or region before they attend a meeting.
- People from countries outside the UK, Australia, US and Western Europe have very low representation at Congresses. This needs to be addressed. Ideas which have been mooted include seeking targeted funding in a more coordinated fashion and the establishment of a series of regional meetings.

The WAC Executive is establishing a working group to discuss these and related matters. The aim of the working group is to develop practical strategies for dealing with these issues. Input and feedback is being sought from the wider membership of WAC through *WAC Bulletin*. The working group will prepare a report to be tabled for discussion at the next meeting of the Executive. Members are invited to provide input, or to offer to serve on the working group.

The working group will operate through email and fax. Members who wish to join this working group are invited to contact me at:

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#### **NEW WAC EXECUTIVE**

The following are members of the WAC Executive for the next four years. Members should contact their regional representatives regarding any WAC business.

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##### *Secretary*

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#### *Senior Representative: Post vacant*

#### *Remaining Junior Representative*

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***Central America and the Caribbean***

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*Re-elected Junior Representative*

Lesley Suttly (**note:** as Lesley was elected WAC Secretary, the Officers have the opportunity to co-opt a member from the Region to replace Lesley on the Executive until a new election is held).

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**WAC REGIONAL ELECTORAL COLLEGES**

Julian Thomas

***Central Africa***

Angola	Congo Brazzaville
Burundi	Equatorial Guinea
Cameroon	Gabon
Central African Republic	Rwanda
Chad	Zaire

***Eastern and Southern Africa***

Botswana	Republic of South Africa
Ethiopia	Somalia
Kenya	Sudan
Lesotho	Tanzania
Madagascar	Uganda
Malawi	Zambia
Mozambique	Zimbabwe
Namibia	

***Northern Africa***

Algeria	Morocco
Egypt	Tunisia
Libya	

***Western Africa***

Benin	Guinea
Burkina Faso	Guinea Bissau
Canary Islands	Ivory Coast
Gambia	Liberia
Ghana	Mali

Niger  
Nigeria  
Senegal

Sierra Leone  
Togo

*Central America and the Caribbean*

Belize  
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Costa Rica  
French Guiana  
Guatemala  
Guyana  
Honduras  
Mexico

Nicaragua  
Panama  
Puerto Rico  
Salvador  
Surinam  
Trinidad and Tobago  
Venezuela

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Greenland  
United States of America

*Southern America*

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Ecuador  
Paraguay  
Peru  
Uruguay

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Taiwan  
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Burma  
Cook Islands  
Easter Island

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Fiji  
French Polynesia  
Indonesia  
Kampuchea

Kiribati  
Laos  
Malaysia  
New Caledonia  
New Zealand  
North Vietnam  
Palau  
Papua New Guinea  
Philippines

*Southern Asia*

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Bhutan  
India  
Maldiv Islands

*Western Asia*

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Bahrain  
Iran  
Iraq  
Israel  
Jordan  
Kuwait  
Lebanon  
North Yemen

*Central & Eastern Europe and Central Asia*

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Austria  
Azerbaijan  
Byleruss  
Czech Republic  
Georgia  
Hungary  
Khazakstan

Samoa  
Singapore  
Solomon Islands  
South Vietnam  
Tuvulu  
Thailand  
Tonga  
Vanuatu

Mauritius  
Nepal  
Sri Lanka

Oman  
Pakistan  
Qatar  
Saudi Arabia  
South Yemen  
Syria  
Turkey  
United Arab Emirates

Kurgazia  
Moldova  
Russia  
Slovakia  
Tajikistan  
Turkmenia  
Ukraine  
Uzbekistan

***Northern Europe***

Belgium	Lithuania
Denmark	Luxembourg
Estonia	The Netherlands
Finland	Norway
Germany	Poland
Iceland	Sweden
Ireland	Switzerland
Latvia	United Kingdom
Lichtenstein	

***Southern Europe***

Albania	Macedonia
Andorra	Monaco
Bosnia	Portugal
Bulgaria	Romania
Croatia	San Marino
France	Serbia
Greece	Slovenia
Italy	Spain

**RESEARCH NOTES**

**DISCOVERY OF NEW CAVE PAINTINGS IN EAST KALIMANTAN (BORNEO), INDONESIA**

Jean-Michel Chazine (CNRS-CREDO, France)

*This paper appears Speleo an on-line caving journal at [http://speleo.com/borneo.borneo\\_anglais.html](http://speleo.com/borneo.borneo_anglais.html) (an underline joins "borneo" and "anglais"). It is published here, with some editorial amendments, at the request of the author, who also supplied the following French abstract.*

Depuis quelques années, des expéditions de repérage conduites dans la partie indonésienne de Bornéo (Provinces de Kalimantan) ont commencé

a révéler les différentes phases d'occupation de cette île, restée jusqu'à présent en dehors des recherches archéologiques. La découverte tout à fait imprévue de peintures rupestres en 1994 à Kalimantan Timur a commencé à lever un voile important du passé de cet immense territoire. En septembre 1998 la découverte de deux nouveaux groupes de grottes ornées de peintures remarquables par leur nombre, leur variété et leur état de conservation, confirme l'importance du potentiel préhistorique de cette région. Réparties dans 9 cavités, plus de 400 empreintes de mains, des représentations anthropo et zoo-morphes notamment, indiquent une forte corrélation avec l'expression rupestre de Nouvelle Guinée et jusqu'à l'Australie des Aborigènes.

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Following a couple of ethno- and archaeo-speleological surveys carried out in the eastern part of Indonesia's Kalimantan Province on Borneo Island, a expedition organized in 1998 on behalf of Ministry of Tourism has found two sets of quite exceptional decorated caves.

Located in the upper levels of gigantic and steep karst outcrops, these two groups of caves exhibit prehistoric paintings which are remarkable for their number, their pictorial content and their state of preservation.

The first group comprises two caves situated in the middle of a cliff about 30 meters apart. They contain roughly 60 hand stencils concentrated in only two to three panels. The disposition of the stencils indicates the panels intentionally organized.

The other group, 80 km westwards, comprises three large chambers with at least 200 figures including more than 140 hand prints. More than 20 of them have anthropo-and zoo-morphic features in the form of linear or punctuated marks inside the stencil blanks. Moreover, painted on the roof of a "laminoir", about one meter high, three bovine figures larger than one meter are to be seen. They seem to be clear representations of an almost-vanished wild small cow. The representations, at almost 1:1 scale, seems to be the first of their kind ever found. The next two features appear to be deer involved in a hunting scene, and are associated with some pairs of hand stencils.

Paintings are located upon walls, alcoves or niches, from one meter to more than ten meters above ground level. Depending on location, some paintings are covered by a calcite layer of variable thickness. For example, one hand print is covered by a calcite flow up to 15 cm thick, which, whatever the formation conditions would have been, is an indication of extreme age. Locations do not yet show any specific disposition related to entry into dark places.

Many anthropomorphic representations often appear inside hand prints blanks and sometimes in autonomous locations. In an especially remarkable case, anthropo- and zoo-morphic features are associated with a curvilinear track linking two hand stencils. The analogy with some expressions present in Australian Aboriginal art appears to be very strong and the ethnographic literature suggests the Borneo art in question may be read as some form of "initiates' trek". Some hand prints have internal linear tracks evoking tattooing figures like those still executed by Mentawi communities in the Siberut Islands (South Sumatra), as well as the "X ray" drawings frequently present in some Australian Aboriginal pictorial expression.

Several superimposed hand tracks show strong evidence for a chronology which is also revealed through the variety of pigments. Apart the black colour, we found at least four different colours varying from black-brown to light-red.

Within these two cave groups, the disposition of the hand prints appears to be well-organized, expressing deliberated rhythms. One or more circular moves mixing right and left hands are to be seen, showing clearly that ritual efficiency was associated with artistic expression. This organization in the display of these negative hand prints provides a very different expression than what until now has been known about rock art in Indonesia.

Let us recall that until 1994, when we discovered the first cave with unexpected prehistoric paintings, the whole of Borneo was considered by specialists as totally lacking in rock art. It was thought that paintings would not appear west of West Sulawesi (Leang Burung and Maros Caves mostly), eastward of Makassar Straits and Wallace Line. This view

was based upon the fact that investigations had been carried out only in the Malaysian states of Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei.

Year after year, caves we have discovered have provided growing inventory of pictorial expressions, attesting, amongst other things that their utilization was not for utilitarian habitation.

The discoveries which have been made through an area bordered by the sea and the meridional bow of the Mangkalihat Range. This area may extend on the two sides of Wallace Line the culture-area that links the southeastern end of the Indonesian archipelago. The formal analogy between pictorial expression found in Australia and those which have just been discovered in Borneo reinforce that possibility.

As a matter of fact, the Borneo discoveries means that diachronic schemes of cultural influence between the Asian and Australian continents are brought into some focus. In particular, the size of the extension but also the orientation of the trend of relationships on both sides of Wallace Line has to be more carefully approached and therefore needs more investigation.

With origins probably predating the arrival of Austronesians into Borneo 4,000-5,000 years ago, that culture-area or a "Rock Art Culture", could correspond to the period when climatic and marine changes occurred at the end of Pleistocene provoking the geographic isolation of the local insular communities.

The diversity and unity of these new discovered paintings (displayed on Internet: [www.speleo.com/borneo2.html](http://www.speleo.com/borneo2.html)) confirm that the huge size and the strategic location of Borneo require an attention and an investigation program much larger than what has been previously and almost randomly gained.

The different investigations which are currently carried out in the neighbouring archipelagoes and especially Sulawesi, should benefit from the discovery of these Rock Art expressions which affords a new feature for the space occupation and dwelling process in South East Asia Island.



## **POTENTIAL ERRORS IN THE DATING AT THE JINMIUM SITE, IN NORTHWESTERN AUSTRALIA.**

Timothy Owen (University of Leicester, United Kingdom)

Recent debate over the initial occupation of the Jinmium rock shelter, in the Kimberley region in far northwestern Australia, has highlighted some of the challenges involved in using thermoluminescence (TL) to date sediments in sandstone rockshelters. The original dating of the Jinmium site published by Fullagar, Price and Head (1996) suggested the possibility of initial site occupation over 100,000 years ago. However, Spooner's (1998) alternative interpretation of data from this site and Roberts et al.'s (1998) new 'single-grain' optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dates suggest an initial occupation date of less than 10,000 years BP.

The younger figure conforms with middle range theory (Flood 1995) and the conventional understanding of the Indigenous colonisation of Australia (e.g. Allen and Holdaway 1995). The Holocene OSL date is disputed by Price (1998), the TL expert who dated the original samples, owing to OSL sampling procedures and the interpretation of a single selected grain, the statistics used in OSL, and the apparent reliability and consistency of TL. Another indication of Jinmium's antiquity is the scientifically-ascertained age (30,000 years) assigned to rock art in the site (Tacon et al. 1997), which was based upon dating bees-wax figures adhering to the walls of the rockshelter.

Jinmium's TL was based on analysis of 28 aliquots for each sample removed from the ground; an aliquot comprised 2,900 quartz grains (Fullagar et al. 1996:756). However, there are problems involved with using TL to determine age for sediments in sandstone rockshelters. This paper will discuss how some of these problems may have biased the original TL dates.

### **Possible Errors**

Fullagar et al. (1996:760) recognise the possibility that some of the samples at Jinmium may have been contaminated. In particular they point out that W1646 might “thus include grains from in situ disintegrated rubble and saprolite”. However, as argued by O’Connell and Allen (1998), examination of Jinmium’s stratigraphy reveals that other samples may also be open to ‘re-interpretation’ on the same grounds, namely W1645, W1648 and W1752, which were taken from trenches C1/III, C1/III and Auger hole 5 respectively.

Contamination may occur as part of the sampling procedure. Ideally, samples should be taken from a single, homogeneous stratigraphic layer. Wagner et al. (1983:19) state the “important consideration in this context is to ensure that the surroundings of each sample are homogeneous to a distance of 30cm so that a reliable assessment can be made of the soil gamma dose-rate reaching each sample.”

At Jinmium, however, the stratigraphy is such that some of the samples could not have been acquired under these ideal conditions. W1645 is directly adjacent to a large, ground, mudstone feature. W1646 was immediately on top of an un-excavated area of sandstone, below a different sandstone pavement. Sample W1648 was taken from an area located directly beneath the rockshelter, within 10cm of a sandstone pavement. In short, all of these samples were removed from inside the recommended 30cm buffer zone. It is therefore possible that they were all adversely affected by varying levels of alpha, beta or gamma radiation emanating from the non-homogeneous rockshelter walls, or the ground mudstone or sandstone pavement features.

Another possible difficulty with the dates concerns the vital ‘radiation-flux’ measurement (see Aitken 1990:143). Aitken (1985) states that gamma spectroscopy readings are vital for obtaining a correct sample age. It is essential that this reading be made for each and every individual sample hole owing to local gamma variation between all soil samples. Wagner et al. (1983:6) state that the problem of determining dose rate can lead to samples being discarded from a dating program. At Jinmium, though, level calibration for the TL sample holes was not measured (Fullagar et al. 1996:755):.

For TL samples taken from Auger hole A4 and sample numbers W1645-W1648 [that includes all the dates in question here] taken from excavation trench C1/III, in situ gamma spectrometer readings were made. Because of a technical problem that developed in the field, these values were not used in the final age calculations. Because of the sand sheet depth it was not feasible at the auger holes, to make in situ environmental radiation measurements using the gamma spectrometer.

On these grounds, it is possible that an inaccurate dose-rate value has been used in the calculation of these samples ages.

The natural stratigraphy at Jinmium prevented a large number of samples being removed from each stratigraphic layer. The content of the samples may also have placed an upper limit on the dateable range of sample ages. Wagner et al. (1983:19) state that while “some of the factors that cause error are general to a site, others vary from sample to sample and it is advantageous to test half a dozen or more samples from each context”. Although dating accuracy was increased by multiple analysis of each sample (Fullagar et al. 1996:756), it was only possible to remove one sample from each stratigraphic layer, thereby not addressing the problem of sample variation within each layer.

With reference to the limitations of TL, Aitken (1990:173-174) states that the “furthest age that can be reached with quartz is limited by the onset of saturation. In round terms the limit should be put at about 50,000 years BP, more if the annual dose [of gamma radiation levels] is low.” The Jinmium TL samples contained quartz. All of the dates under consideration have values greater than 50,000 years BP, but the specific gamma level of each sample remains unknown. Therefore, it is possible that the dates have been biased owing to the limitations inherent in TL dating.

### **Conclusion**

A combination of the difficulties described above may account for the differences obtained at Jinmium using various dating techniques. New

OSL evidence obtained by Roberts et al. (1998) could provide a date younger than 10,000 BP, but this only indicates the most recent exposure of the sand grains to light. OSL is also a relatively new technique which has yet to be substantiated as a solid dating procedure. While Roberts and his colleagues' initial results are interesting, it is still possible that initial human occupation at Jinmium dates well back into the Pleistocene.

The Jinmium debate questions the importance and reliability pertaining to different methods of analytical dating. The relentless pursuit of scientific authentication in archaeology has greatly expanded the discipline over the past fifty years. However education of archaeologists regarding the theory behind dating techniques and exact sampling procedures is currently lacking. Advancements in teaching and an increase in the number of 'on-site' specialists (such as Price) will allow future research to combine accurate scientific methodology, with precise excavation, observation and ethnography. This should hopefully reduce the chances that future projects will become mired in the sort of 'heated' debate and disagreement that arose over Jinmium.

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## **REGIONAL REPORTS**

## **DESTRUCTION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA'S PAST THROUGH LOOTING**

Rasmi Shoocongdej  
(Silpakorn University, Bangkok)

At the WAC-4 meeting in South Africa, I gave a regional report on serious looting problems in Southeast Asia, particularly in Cambodia. Here, I would like to continue to address this critical issue: the illicit trafficking in archaeological treasures.

I bring up this issue because it is a global problem very frequently encountered in third world countries. Inevitably, this problem directly impacts on archaeological interpretation because artefacts lose value if we don't know their provenance or associated context. Knowledge of the past is thus lost forever...

Due to economic problems, the illicit antiquities traffic has been intensive in Southeast Asia for many decades, operating through a worldwide trade network. This network involves local people, middlemen, antique dealers both local and foreigner, antique shops, and collectors. Many archaeological treasures have been smuggled out of their countries of origin to the illicit traffic centres. The cities in Asia well-known as centres for antiquities trading are Bangkok, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Tokyo. The target sites often are burial sites and religious monuments. The objects most commonly stolen include prehistoric artefacts such as pottery, stone-axes, beads, bronze axes, etc., and historical artefacts such as stone and bronze sculptures of Hindu or Buddhist images, architectural decorations, etc.

However, the case of Cambodia is of particular interest for the world archaeological community because it involves some of the most popular and desired treasures for art dealers or collectors from all over the world, in particular stone-carvings. Cambodian treasures can be compared to the value of the Egyptian or Roman or Chinese antiques as well.

### **Looting in Cambodia**

Like many countries in the world, Cambodia is a rich source of archaeological treasures. Artefacts have generally been looted from many recorded and unrecorded archaeological sites during periods of political instability. When Cambodia opened the site of Angkor Wat for tourism, antiquities unfortunately became the most popular souvenirs on sale to the tourists. As long as the commercial value of antiquities is high in the market, the looters will continue to dramatically destroy archaeological sites. Sadly, at the beginning of this year, the Thai police stopped a truck at night in Prachinburi Province, a borderland, and found that 117 Khmer stone-carvings had been illicitly smuggled out from Panteay Chamar in Cambodia to Thailand. The Panteay Chamar is the biggest Khmer sanctuary outside the city wall which was built by the great king of the Khmer, King Jayavarman VII. Once the police put all the stone-carvings together, they were surprised to find bas-reliefs of Avalokitesvara (God) with a number of small figures of the Amitabha Buddha (Angle) carved all over of his arms. The style is known by Khmer specialists as Bayon art, which dates to around the 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to Lawrence Briggs, an author of "The Ancient Khmer Empire" published in 1951, the bas-reliefs can therefore be identified to their original location. In addition to the 117 stolen pieces just mentioned, an object from the Panteay Chamar, which was smuggled out earlier, was found at an antique shop in River City Mall, Bangkok with a price of \$6,800. This was reported is given by Prof. Claude Jacques, of The French School of Far East, who is also a Khmer-specialist advising UNESCO in Cambodia. It has been reported that this smuggling is linked through the wider international network to antiquities dealers France, Japan, and the USA.

Clearly, most current conservation and restoration projects have primarily focussed on around Angkor area (e.g., Banteay Srey, Phnom Kulen) owing to problems created for tourism by unexploded land mines. Consequently Angkor has the best recorded artefact inventory of all known archaeological sites in Cambodia. If there is no detailed study of other, smaller archaeological sites or sanctuaries, it will be very difficult to detect illicit traffic in antiquity and pursue a legal remedies, since there is no information to confirm the origin of stolen items.

### **What should be done?**

How can the Cambodian cultural property be protected? The response of the Cambodian government to the illegal international traffic of antiquities is to cooperate with UNESCO and the Thai government as they have been formulating antiquities legislation. At the same time, according to the Khmer Constitution of 1993, the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts plays an important role in the development and preservation of the Khmer cultural heritage.

Thailand is well-known as a centre for illicit trafficking of antiquities. The Thai Fine Arts Department and the Cambodian government have set up resolutions preventing the illicit importation or export of Thai-Khmer cultural heritage. However, the Thai Fine Arts Department needs to pursue this agreement seriously in order to protect cultural property effectively. For instance, the Thai should immediately have returned the 117 stone carvings once the investigation of their theft was finished, as they are the cultural property of Cambodia.

It was not until recently that the UNESCO organized a web page which computerized all Khmer artefacts from known archaeological sites in order to disseminate all information concerning archaeological sites and artefacts in the files. This includes the date of the record, a description of sites and artefacts, a photograph, and detailed descriptions of artefact and site discovery. In the case of the archaeological treasures that have been illegally exported out of Cambodia, this information will help to identify the missing pieces. In other words, this will be facility will help prove if cultural property has been stolen from its country of origin. This will facilitate the return of the cultural property under international regulation.

As archaeologists, we are aware that the problem of looting will never cease as long as people remain very poor and the demand from collectors remains very high. I think one simple way we can help save the past for the future is through education. Education about the past is a powerful tool to make people aware of their history, identity, heritage, and community/national pride. We need to promote a new perspective about the value of artefacts, and show that they are meaningless if we don't know their context. We must change the public perception of artefacts solely as art objects. Additionally, wherever we work in the field, I think it is our responsibility to produce both academic and public publications,



particularly in a local language. For instance, if archaeological objects are stolen from the country of origin, having a detailed academic report about them will indirectly help to identify these objects and proceed with legal action.

Finally, the illicit trafficking of cultural property, unfortunately, not only destroy the cultural history of Cambodia but the world history as well. It would be very sad indeed if future Khmer generations have to go to France, UK, Japan, or the USA to study their own history!

## **OPINION AND COMMENTARY**

### **ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM: A VIEW FROM THE COUNCIL FOR BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY**

Richard Morris (Director CBA)

For thirty years there has been sustained effort to embed archaeological expertise in Britain's local government. Local planning authorities regulate development, and the presence of archaeological advice within the planning process is obviously valuable, as is the ability to build archaeological considerations into development plans. Many local authorities are also responsible for museums, and a number are education authorities. A strong archaeological presence thus makes it possible to connect functions of stewardship, study, and public explanation. A tool

which serves all three is the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR): an historic environmental database which should be available to provide accurate, apposite and timely information, and around which other functions can revolve.

Local provision has developed variously since 1970. In England, its main initial flowering was at county level, which enabled the grouping of skills and expertise which would often be unsustainable in smaller areas. In some counties, like Bedfordshire and Hampshire, integrated teams evolved which embraced development control, public outreach and education, and fieldwork, on the principle that these things should be mutually informing and reinforcing. In other areas provision was smaller, sometimes never advancing beyond development control. The location of archaeology within local government has been similarly diverse. Most often it grew up within the planning department, but some authorities made a point of establishing it in relation to their museums or education service.

Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland followed different and in some respects diverging paths. Wales obtained, and still retains, a system which was intended for England in the early 1970s but never introduced, involving regional trusts which exist outside local government but provide services to the planning system and the public. Scotland went down the local government route, although coverage was more slowly achieved than in England. In Northern Ireland there are no local authorities, and conservation functions are handled centrally by the Government itself.

Everywhere, SMRs developed unevenly, with different systems and standards, and varying provision for updating. A long battle, indeed, has been to explain to others why such databases need to be living organisms which evolve as knowledge and valuations change.

These limitations notwithstanding, by 1990 SMR coverage in England was complete, enabling the Government to introduce guidance which insists that archaeological considerations should be taken into account when planning decisions are taken.

Progress since then has mingled triumph with tragedy. On the planning side, the principles launched in 1990 have taken firm root, and have since been extended (with variations) to all parts of the UK. A corollary of this system, however, has been the separation of functions of stewardship, study, and explanation which formerly went together. The system is overseen by local government archaeologists who are regarded as curators, while development-driven fieldwork is undertaken by contracting bodies. Curators are not always resourced to knit together the results of contracting work or planning decisions for the information of local people, while contractors do not always find themselves working for clients who see outreach as part of their responsibility.

Since the mid 1990s such problems have been exacerbated by the effects of local government reorganisation. Again, the effects have not been uniform.

In England, some existing teams have been broken up, with loss of continuity and at the expense of critical mass and the accumulating asset of local knowledge.

The detachment of new unitary authorities has left other services weakened, while provision within the authorities themselves is variable. Joint arrangements, where services are shared between a number of authorities, can be weakened when one or two authorities decide to secede.

A recent survey of English SMRs revealed an overall picture of structural under-resourcing and backlog, which itself exists against a background of potentialities in digital information technology that is advancing so swiftly as to threaten to outpace the ability of archaeological bodies to take progressive and coherent advantage of it.

Superimposed upon all this have been rising expectations of local government archaeology services, and the influence of the Blair Government. Essentially, the services are being asked to do more with less, while the Government's priorities of access, education, regeneration and devolution have yet to reflect much visible sense of enthusiasm for

the historic environment at large. Steps towards regionalization in England add further uncertainties.

It is the stronger services which are most vulnerable - in the rest, there is little left to cut. Each year one or two of the remaining broader-based services are put in jeopardy. Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire suffered in 1997 and 1998. This year services were threatened in Northamptonshire, Worcestershire, Somerset, and elsewhere.

This has become a recognisable cycle. It is hard to resist because in a given year the problem affects only a proportion of services, and so can hardly be portrayed as a national crisis. But the cumulative effect is to chip away at the models to which others could once aspire, and to drive down expectations of what provision should involve.

What should provision involve? In a sentence, it should combine capacity for explanation and education as well as regulation. Public explanation is inherently worthwhile, and if conservation leaves popular understanding behind, other problems will follow. Moreover, many threats to the historic environment don't fall under the planning system at all. The effects of agriculture, for instance, require local advocacy and advice on a scale which many authorities are simply unable to provide.

Beyond this, there is large opportunity for public *participation* in local interpretation and stewardship which in most areas is not being grasped for want of nuclear resourcing. It is said by some that this is best provided by local societies and amateurs, acting spontaneously, and in some areas it is. But this is not an either/or issue. My own view is that independency is likely to flourish best where it can draw on practical support and encouragement, the two achieving more together than either could alone.

Since 1997 the CBA has become increasingly practised in pointing all this out. Government reaction was initially politely dismissive, seeking to portray the issue narrowly as a quibble about capacity for development control.

This year, I confess I am a trifle exasperated by the Government's track record of talking past the point, we have tried to put the case more

unequivocally. We have done so in letters to and meetings with ministers, in dialogue with the local authorities concerned, via Parliamentary questions, contacts to MPs and peers, the media, coverage in our magazine *British Archaeology*, and most recently through encouragement for an Early Day Motion in the House of Commons.

This will continue until agreement is reached on what we are all talking about - or should be talking about. At that point we will see progress. No-one at the CBA assumes that a Government rethink will lead to overnight change, but it would change the climate in which priorities are shaped. That can only be achieved when there is agreement on the diagnosis of the issues. There are signs that this is now being thought about, and that some of the bigger beasts in the heritage jungle (like English Heritage) will soon be taking up the cause in a more visibly proactive way. Meanwhile, the campaign goes on.

## **ARCHAEOLOGY IN ENGLAND 1999**

Paul Blinkhorn and Chris Cumberpatch (Independent Consultants, UK)

### **Background**

During the last decade, archaeology in England has undergone a number of significant changes. In 1990 archaeological intervention was established as an element in the planning process, enshrined in a non-statutory advice note *Planning Policy Guidance note 16* (PPG 16). As a result, the developer was deemed liable to ensure that due consideration was given to the archaeological potential of a site, prior to its redevelopment or exploitation (Biddle 1994). This initiative led to the emergence of a system of competitive tendering and the proliferation of project-funded independent archaeological units. Some are based on units formerly funded by local authorities, while others operate from

universities or museums. Many of the smaller ones are newly established 'independents'. There are a considerable number of these organizations, with the largest employing scores of archaeologists. Some restrict themselves to geographical territories, while others will work anywhere within the United Kingdom. Some have tendered for, and won, contracts in Europe, and others have acted in at least a consultancy capacity in the Caribbean and Asia. More specialized organizations, in areas such as geophysics, have also been established. At the lowest level are individual consultants, particularly artefact analysts.

Parallel to this, the responsibilities formerly held by the government were handed over to a quasi-autonomous government agency, English Heritage, in 1984. This organisation has a wide range of responsibilities, only one of which is archaeology. Space precludes a full discussion of the role of English Heritage and details can be obtained from the organisation's website ([www.eng-h.gov.uk](http://www.eng-h.gov.uk)). From the point of view of archaeology, one critical role is the provision of a series of standards documents and guidance notes which have come to form an important part of the structure of British archaeology. These include *Management of Archaeological Projects, second edition* (English Heritage 1991a), better known as MAP 2, *Exploring our Past* (English Heritage 1991b), *Frameworks for our past* (Olivier 1996) and the *Draft Research Agenda* (English Heritage 1997).

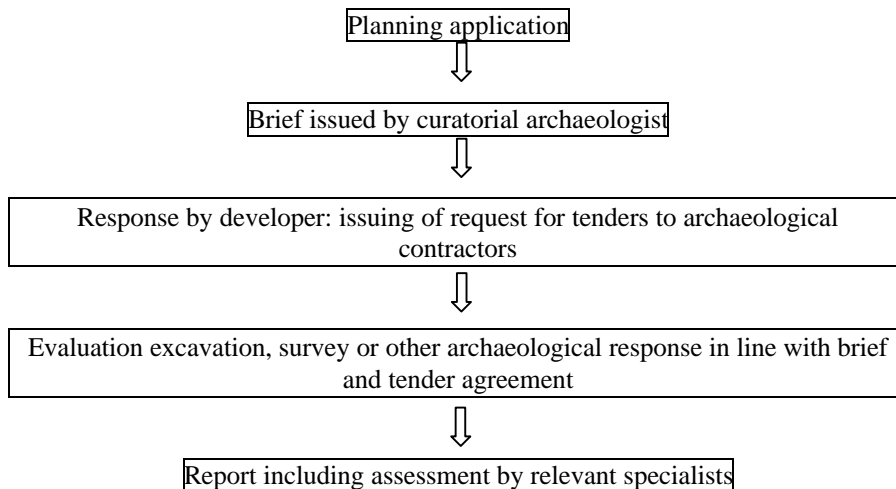
As a result of these innovations, most field archaeology is now driven by the requirements of the construction industry, with the vast majority of projects carried out in response to the threat of destruction by building work, mining and quarrying or road construction. In practical terms the system works as follows (with minor regional and institutional variations).

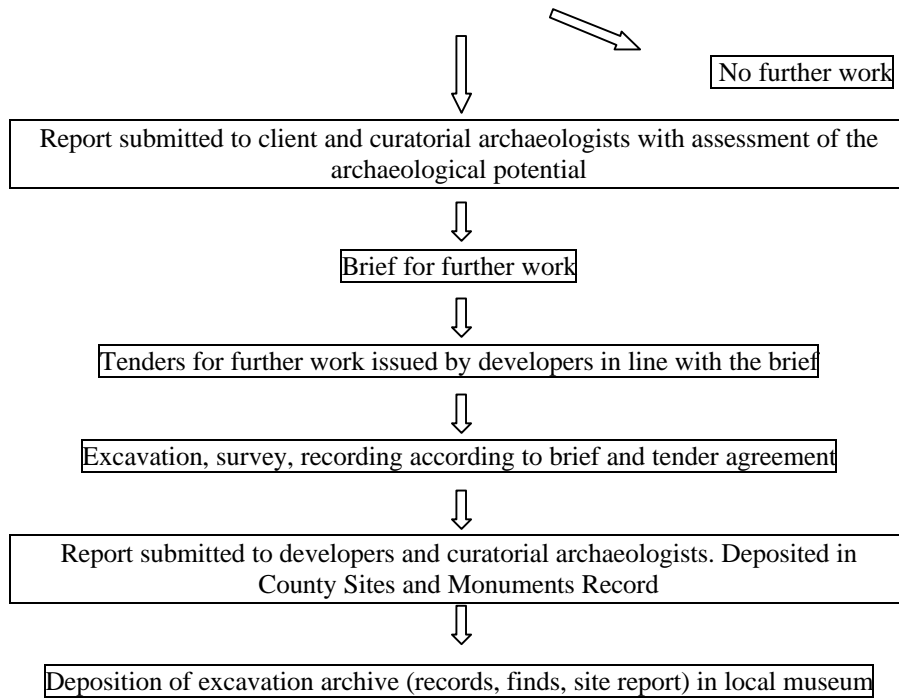
The possible impact of a planning application on the archaeology of a region is monitored by archaeologists employed (mostly) by local authority planning departments to maintain a database of known archaeological remains, usually within a county, called the Sites and Monuments Records (SMR). Under PPG 16, these archaeologists can place conditions on planning applications whereby the developer must undertake to make provision to deal with any archaeology in accordance with a brief issued by the development control archaeologist. At this

point, the developer requests tenders from archaeological contractors, with their final choice of contractor being made without reference to the planning authorities.

Before the work is undertaken, a written brief is issued by the development control officer specifying the extent of the work. This can range from the monitoring the development through to full excavation and publication, depending upon the perceived significance of any remains. Figure 1 below represents an attempt to summarise a typical sequence of events. To some extent this over-simplifies the situation and other arrangements, involving ongoing fieldwork in advance of progressive destruction (in advance of long-term quarrying and mining for example) are possible.

Excavation is not the only solution possible under PPG 16. So-called 'mitigation' strategies are sometimes employed, where buildings are constructed upon piles or rafts which, it is claimed, preserves the archaeology for future investigation. At present both of these alternatives, together with other strategies, are of unproven reliability and very little data exists to assess the effects of them on the archaeological strata.





**Figure 1. The process.**

This necessarily brief sketch of the situation perhaps conceals some of the problems which have arisen as a result of the system. Some specific areas of concern have been already discussed, both in prints and, less formally, at conferences and on the internet (eg. Biddle 1994, Chadwick 1998, in prep., Carrington 1993, Cumberpatch and Thorpe, in prep., Blinkhorn and Cumberpatch 1997, Cumberpatch and Blinkhorn 1997), as have broader criticisms of the mechanistic mode of many commercial operations and the lack of opportunities for contributions by fieldworkers and specialists (Cumberpatch and Blinkhorn 1997, Blinkhorn and Cumberpatch 1997, Challands et al. 1998). Examples of the ongoing nature of the debate can be found in the journals *Rescue News*, *British Archaeology* and the *Bulletin* published by the Institute of Field Archaeologists.



## **The Problems**

The current structure, outlined above and in Table 1, attempts to offer both value for money to the developer and a degree of protection for the archaeology. However, there are a number of problems, some of which were unforeseen when PPG 16 was introduced in 1990.

### ***Regionality***

This stems from the varied nature of past human action. Hitherto, county-based units were able to build up a detailed local knowledge of the archaeology of their local areas, allowing a flexible, informed response to most situations. The advent of units working impartially across the country has tended to erode this local knowledge-base and, as a result, responses have tended to become formulaic, with a rise in situations where ignorance of local issues has led to erroneous conclusions. For example, artefactually-poor Iron Age sites in Yorkshire can appear incomprehensible to those more accustomed to working on sites of similar date in southern England, where material culture played a major role in social activity.

### ***Cuts in the museum service***

Recently, it has become clear that museums are being targeted for cost-cutting by the local authorities that fund them. Staff have been sacked, facilities reduced or closed and the functions of many museums progressively degraded. In Sheffield, for example, the local authority handed control of the local museums and galleries to an unelected, democratically unaccountable Trust who have shifted the emphasis from archaeology and human history towards the art galleries, replacing three members of staff with one. This kind of action has serious consequences as museums are not only the 'first stop' for amateurs and enthusiasts seeking information about the past in general and archaeology in particular, but are also the final repositories for archaeological archives - the surviving traces of sites destroyed during the process of excavation. The situation is now so critical that a number of museums are refusing to accept finds from developer-funded excavations as they do not have the time, space or staff to deal with them.

### ***Lack of specialist archaeological knowledge amongst curators***

Many archaeological curators do not have a background in either archaeological theory or fieldwork practice, nor are they able to keep abreast with the latest developments in either area. This is not due to laziness. Most have a crippling workload due to the fact that they are often seen as dispensable by the same councils that are cutting museum staff. Consequently, they are unable to afford the 'luxury' (in terms of time) of attending conferences which do not deal directly with anything other than planning legislation, and the implementation of it in an archaeological context. For example, the concept of the structured deposition of artefacts on Iron Age sites is now well-established, yet few curators seem aware of it and continue to set briefs where only 1 or 2% of ditches are excavated. This results in artefact assemblages which are far too small to allow identification of anything other than the very broadest chronology and preclude all meaningful insight into the social or economic practices which led to the creation of the archaeological record.

***Lack of research opportunities***

The institution of a contract-tender system has led to a situation where 'research' has become a taboo subject, primarily due to the fact that it is often seen by developers as being beyond their remit. Indeed, as Richard Morris noted (1998), at least one contracting unit advertises the fact that it will not undertake any sort of research element during excavation work. This reluctance to acknowledge the importance of research questions exists in spite of the fact that most excavations inevitably entail a research element, in that artefact and ecofact-based analysis is necessary to make sense of the results of archaeological interventions. This has led to a split between commercial archaeology and 'pure research'.

This situation has resulted many individual projects having a somewhat 'unfinished' or incomplete nature. The requirement to stick closely to a pre-defined brief, often written on the basis of a limited evaluative exercise, largely precludes the investigation of remains which were not defined in advance (Blinkhorn and Cumberpatch 1997). While the provision of contingency clauses can alleviate this situation, in practice this is rarely (in the authors' experience) satisfactory and sites are often completed to a degree which fulfils the brief, but does little to resolve archaeological problems (Cumberpatch 1998:32, 62). In an effort to conform to an artificial model of practice dictated by the market and

market forces, the essentially investigative nature of the archaeological enterprise has been overlooked, with the result that information has been lost and opportunities for the significant enhancement of knowledge have been squandered.

This is inadequate. A failure to acknowledge the fact that the complexity of the archaeological record requires a broad, research-based approach leads inevitably to a tendency to tackle only the immediate problems and a neglect of the wider implications for a town or region, which themselves can affect the prioritization of investigative options at a specific site. The context of a particular site is of critical importance at all stages of a project, from excavation to publication.

This has wider effects, particularly amongst those employed 'at the coal-face', who perceive that they are engaged in nothing more than a continuous damage limitation exercise. The adoption of modern management techniques, which can be said to place their main emphasis on presentation, does little to motivate staff, resulting in low morale, nihilistic attitudes and a leaking away of experienced and talented practitioners at all levels.

The situation has been compounded by the commercialization of the universities. Here, the demands of financiers and other bureaucrats has led to a reduction in the time available to students (even those who are self-funded) to complete Masters and doctoral theses. Thus, a mechanism which should support and enhance the results obtained from the excavation of threatened sites has been subverted by similar commercial pressures to those which have reduced the research effectiveness of archaeological units. Simultaneously, the demands upon university staff to take on roles better performed by business managers and bureaucrats have cut into time which should be spent engaging in research. In both cases, the opportunities for links to be made between academia and field archaeology have been curtailed, to the detriment of the understanding of the information gained by developer-funded projects.

The role of English Heritage in funding research and in setting research objectives must not be underestimated. Generally however, these initiatives are problem-orientated and essentially reactive, although a

number of the initiatives set out in the recent Draft Research Agenda (English Heritage 1997) do appear to acknowledge the importance of pure research in establishing the framework for future work. The forthcoming revision of this document (to be published on the English Heritage Archaeology division website) will be of particular importance in this regard and will, no doubt, generate a debate of considerable value.

***Lack of training and career development***

The problems of the lack of a clear career structure, of low pay, poor accommodation and short term contracts have been widely discussed both in print and at conferences. In general terms, the lack of any sort of clear employment structure within field archaeology has effectively precluded the development of training programmes aimed at increasing the effectiveness of field technicians. Such training as there is inevitably takes place *ad hoc*. The contract-tender system, due mainly to the seasonality of excavation, has resulted in what are euphemistically known as 'flexible working practices'; i.e. short-term contracts and no job security. This is perhaps the principal factor in the alienation of the majority of field staff, who see themselves considered as expendable 'trowel fodder' in whom investment is a wasted asset. Few unit managers can justify spending money on the training of staff who might well be laid off a week or two later. The situation is similar amongst specialists, who, it seems, are expected to spring from the void, fully formed and ready to provide a range of services without any formal training. One small sign of hope in this bleak picture has been the readiness of English Heritage to subsidize a number of training courses aimed at specific groups of specialists. While this has been of great benefit (to the authors, amongst others), it is clear that the numbers of people entering the profession with a marketable skill (ceramics, faunal analysis, environmental archaeology, metalwork etc) is falling. At present the authors know of only two 'in house' trainees in the field of ceramics and concern has been expressed by at least one unit manager at the dearth of specialists in key areas.

Even amongst those institutions which maintain some degree of core-funding, training budgets, along with budgets for books and journals, have been slashed. Increasingly staff are expected to attend conferences at their own expense and in their own time, including that of the Institute

of Field Archaeologists, despite the fact that most organizations prefer employees to be members of the Institute. Meetings of special interest groups such as the Medieval Pottery Research Group are frequently disrupted by the absence of key committee members whose available annual leave has run out. Such groups have a key role in establishing and maintaining professional standards and so even such an apparently minor point can be seen to have significant long-term implications.

The Institute of Field Archaeologists is currently producing a set of guidelines with regard to training and career development, although how effective these will be remains to be seen. In the past, it has set recommendations for minimum pay, yet still certified organizations which did not adhere to its guidelines.

#### ***Under-funding and lack of resources***

The general reduction of core funding to a variety of bodies has had important effects in precluding organizations from maintaining the kind of up-to-date approach necessary in a rapidly changing field such as archaeology. Taken together with the decline in opportunities for training (whether through formal courses or participation in conferences, day-schools etc), the decline in such resources poses a threat to the continued effectiveness of archaeological curators. This is not to blame those employed in such posts - strenuous efforts are made by some individuals to maintain an overview of ongoing professional debate. Such efforts are not well served by a situation which was only partly envisaged by those who enthusiastically embraced the contract-tender system.

#### **The way forward**

In this article we have sketched out a gloomy scenario. Without wishing to represent the situation in England as worse than it is (and we are very aware that the situation is far worse elsewhere in the world), we are motivated by a concern for the future of archaeology and for the people employed within it. Thanks to its early inception and the scale of public and private investment over the years, archaeology in England has a considerable world-wide reputation. This, we believe, is in jeopardy unless action is taken to reverse the trends which we have outlined above. This is not the place to advance a comprehensive manifesto for change, but we feel that the following points must be taken into consideration if

the current situation is not to worsen dramatically in the next few years. It might be that some of these suggestions have resonance in other countries - in which case, a global movement towards the raising of standards might be considered relevant.

The following needs must be acknowledged and addressed:

- The need for the improved resourcing of curatorial archaeologists - including the raising of staffing levels, the provision of in-service training, the improvement of communication with the rest of the profession and the inclusion of specialists in the formulation of regional and local research strategies.
- The need to integrate specialists into the early stages of resource management, project design and implementation and thus to tackle the increasing problem of fragmentation within the discipline and the marginalisation of specialists.
- The need for core funding of field units (over and above the project funding provided by developers) to permit the establishment of a regime including in-service training, a career structure and professional development. This must also marry the short-term demands of seasonal employment with the necessity to maintain a motivated, committed workforce, able to exploit the potential of archaeology in the most effective manner.
- The need for a strong, unified body to represent the diversity of viewpoints within archaeology effectively and powerfully. Such a body must also be able to set standards for practice within the profession, independent of established power blocs, the development lobby and government.
- The need to maintain and enhance the network of regional and national museums whose stores house the accumulated artefactual, ecofactual, documentary and other archives which constitute the archaeology of the country.

### **Further information**

Many of the issues raised in this paper have been discussed at greater length in a variety of articles, letters and polemical pieces in

archaeological periodicals. Readers wishing to follow up particular points might find the following web sites useful as starting points:

- Council for British Archaeology: <http://www.britarch.ac.uk>
- English Heritage: <http://www.english.heritage.org.uk>
- Institute of Field Archaeologists: <http://www.archaeologists.net>
- Rescue - The British Archaeological Trust: <http://rescue-archaeology.freemove.co.uk>

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## **ETHICS, SCIENCE AND PUBLICATION**

*The following article was submitted by (Dra.) Irina Podgorny, Directora IES, La Plata, Argentina ([podgorny@criba.edu.ar](mailto:podgorny@criba.edu.ar) (no attachments), [ipodgo@isis.unlp.edu.ar](mailto:ipodgo@isis.unlp.edu.ar)). It was the editorial in the last issue of Ciencia Hoy (Vol. 9 (51):10-11, 1999, Buenos Aires), a journal devoted to scientific extension. Ciencia Hoy is also a non-profit organization which aims at promoting a) scientific research in Argentina and Uruguay and the Latin American exchanges, and b) public interest in science and culture. It is worthy of note that the editorial board is composed by scholars and university professors who devote their time to this effort. The article was a response to the amazingly amount of mass-media publicity that surrounded the recent discoveries of "Inca mummies in the Andes". The article was translated by Maria Delores Tobias.*



There is a general agreement that certain fields of scientific research, like the biomedical disciplines that experiment with human beings, require a careful adjustment to particular and specific ethical principles. Although they are not the only ones whose praxis should be carried out within an ethical framework, their transgression might result in important consequences and might greatly affect society. The agencies for the promotion of the academic activity generally make public the ethical criteria which they consider necessary to the investigation. In this way in Canada, for example, the three National Councils of Scientific Development (Medical Research Council, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council) disseminated a set of general criteria under the heading "Integrity in Research and Scholarship: a Tri-Council Policy Statement, January 1994".

In addition to principles shared by all the disciplines are those that apply specifically to each one of them. The particular issue that we would like to discuss in this connection is that of anthropological research. Our concern is related to certain events which gained public attention recently after having been spread by a massive press. We refer to the discovery of mummified human remains in the Andean summits of Northwest Argentina by a crew of archaeologists financed by the National Geographic Society of the United States, a society without commercial purposes known for its worldwide magazine. The news identified among the people responsible for the discovery, a North American researcher that works in the Andean region and an Argentine archaeologist that works as a scholarship holder of the CONICET at the UBA institute in Tilcara. The press put emphasis on the feat of mountaineering, which involved excavations to find buried human remains often located at more than 6000 meters above sea level in a region that constitutes "an archaeological deposit of worldwide importance", and on macabre details such as the state of conservation and the attire of the corpses, which were well illustrated with pictures and sketches. In what appears to have been an isolated reaction, a reader of La Nacion newspaper wrote a letter published on April 13th, expressing "astonishment for the treatment that the remains had been given"; he added that they belong to people of ancient cultures, who had been buried according to ceremonies and beliefs as respectable and exotic as current ones could be in a number of

years. The reader claimed that this treatment of the remains had to do with the fact that these were bones that belonged to American Indians. Their removal was thus another episode in the history of "discrimination, haughtiness and contempt with which these cultures had been treated." In order to give strength to his argument, he posed the following question: "Why not exhibit for both educational reasons and curiosity any last century ancestor of archaeologists and directors of museums together with the personal objects with which they were buried?"

The arguments of the letter published in *La Nacion* are not only historically well-founded on respect for the human rights, but also on their relation to ethic principles relevant to archaeological and anthropological research that nobody took into consideration. In a worldwide archaeological Congress held in Barquisimeto, Venezuela, a number of criteria were approved, the application of which we think is essential. Three of these criteria are particularly important to the case of the Andean mummies we have referred to and support the need for archaeologists to:

- obtain informed consent from representatives of the indigenous people whose cultural legacy will be subjected to research;
- guarantee that the results of their research will be presented with deference and respect towards indigenous people; and
- not remove the human remains of indigenous people without their express approval.

We do not know whether the first or third of these principles were taken into account, but the news to which we are guided do not seem to be very optimistic on this score. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that intentionally or not, owing to ignorance, frivolity, or some other reason we do not know about, the second principle was definitely not complied with. There was an incursion, a shameless exhibition of human remains which should have been treated with more respect, and a lack of consideration, verging on contempt, for the humanity of the members of the ancient indigenous culture who buried them. We do not intend to set ourselves up as judges but to attempt to create an awareness of the need to seriously apply and carefully handle ethics in cases such as the one we are analyzing.

Similar situations have arisen with human remains, artifacts and buildings of indigenous groups in the United States. Archaeologists have intensely discussed the way in which ethical principles similar to the ones presented above should be applied, and have widely disseminated them together with the debate for the general benefit of the public, which in turn joined the debate. For instance, the Smithsonian Institution has faced and settled many situations of this kind, sometimes satisfactorily and sometimes not. Nevertheless, in the USA, society with scientists in the lead has faced these difficult matters both maturely and with dignity. It could have occasionally been wrong, but it has always assumed its responsibility.

We are aware that those principles are frequently difficult to apply, especially when remains are more ancient, amongst other reasons because people may disagree as to who the descendants of the indigenous people being studied are. Moreover, more than once, conflicts have arisen among rival groups who disputed the remains and often, fights for political power or economic interests were concealed behind confrontations about human remains. But these principles are valid independently of the difficulty of their application or their abuse. A question that should be always asked, and the answer to which should be provided to the press by archaeologists working on the issue, is what important scientific reason justifies the manipulation of ancient tombs and which measures had been taken to treat them with respect. Not a word was heard about it in the case of the Andean mummies.

In various places in Argentina, indigenous groups have started to show concern over these issues as they have become aware of their state of exclusion. In 1992, the remains of the cacique Incayal were claimed in court from the Museo of La Plata. The verdict authorized the institution to continue to keep the bones that had been inventoried and the ones that were not, were given back and buried in the locality of Tecka, Chubut. We have news about similar claims in Rawson, Chubut (where there is doubt as to the real link between the claimants and the ethnic group to which the remains belong), and La Pampa (where the remains of cacique Yanquetruz are claimed). In Lorohuasi, Catamarca, human remains found by employees of National Highway were studied and returned to the community to be exhibited, after an agreement that resulted from a negotiation between provincial and local authorities. In 1997, a statement was submitted to the

national authorities through a National Forum establishing the need for all scientific research to be carried out with the free consent of informed communities and for the results to be returned to those communities.

Last, is precisely what the ethical frameworks of the international community postulate. It is not only necessary for Argentine archaeologists and anthropologists to make an effort to respect, spread and debate the way in which these principles can be applied, but also to insure that the media will not put the matter aside. We hope that the case of the Andean mummies can be used at least to make people become aware of the matters at issue.

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

**ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE MOUNDVILLE CHIEFDOM.** Vernon James Knight and Vincas P. Steponaitis (eds) 1998. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington DC. ISBN 1-56098-846-0 (hardback). Pp. xx + 203. Price \$USD45:00

Matthew Campbell (University of Sydney, Australia)

I have to say from the outset that I was somewhat disappointed by this book. I had hoped for a comprehensive overview of this important site complex, an introduction to the site, a history of investigation and a discussion of problems and future directions, but this was not to be.

Despite the production values — nice creamy acid free paper, tasteful layout and attractive binding — this is not a book aimed at the general professional reader. For one thing, there is no map showing where the site is, though we eventually learn that it is located in Alabama on the Black Warrior River (I have looked it up in my atlas for you, the Black Warrior is a tributary of the Alabama, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico about 150 km east of the Mississippi Delta. Moundville is about 200 km inland from the Gulf). Neither is there any comprehensive background of Moundville, locating it with reference to the broader “Mississippian” culture. The book, then, is aimed at those who already know the site and understand its place in the broader scheme. It comes out of a 1993 symposium of an SAA meeting, and little attempt seems to have been made to integrate the various contributions. This I find a great pity, but having got that off my chest, it remains a book well worth examining for what it is.

Moundville is, as Christopher Peebles attests in the Foreword, important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it has been preserved from looting, development or natural destruction. The site had been the focus of research for over a century, much of it meticulous and well documented. More is known about this site than any comparable site or complex in the American Southeast. To which I might add that for researchers interested in prehistoric chiefdoms Moundville is an important example, and any student reading on settlement patterns will (I should hope) have some familiarity with the site. Moreover, the de Soto expedition of 1540 came through this area towards the end of the Moundville sequence, and the Spanish contribution to social collapse and depopulation remains a hot topic — but more of that later. Suffice it to say that Moundville is an important site complex, which explains my disappointment that this book was aimed more at the specialist than the general reader (not that the authors ever make any claim otherwise).

In Chapter 1; A New History of Moundville, the editors summarise the Moundville sequence. This is the closest we come to a general introduction, assuming that the reader understands the broader Late Woodland and Mississippian cultures. Putting the summary first is, in this context, a sensible option. Knight and Steponaitis set out their interpretation of the sequence, incorporating the evidence of what is a

diverse bunch of papers from the rest of the volume, to give us an outline of Moundville and its history. I particularly like the use of the word 'history' — as opposed to, say, prehistory or prehistoric sequence — as the authors are clearly trying to move beyond outlining a chronicle, towards presenting an explanatory narrative.

To summarise briefly, the Moundville phase was preceded by the West Jefferson phase of the Woodland culture. An intensification of both maize and craft production is in evidence from around AD 900–1050. Late in this period, the authors suspect, wealth was being manipulated by community leaders in competition with one another. This was followed by the Moundville I phase. In early phase I centralisation took place at a number of sites in the Black Warrior Valley and by late Moundville I, around AD 1200, the paramount Moundville site complex was constructed within a wooden palisade. After this period of consolidation and entrenchment of the paramountcy at Moundville the populace moved away from Moundville to a number of secondary mounded sites. The elite remained resident at Moundville. Possible reasons for this shift in settlement are a desire to increase the sanctity of the centre by moving the people out, soil depletion caused by the concentration of people in one place during phase I, a lessened threat of war, with the palisade no longer kept up, or some combination of these factors. At this time Moundville seems to have become a necropolis for the surrounding populace. This period lasted from around AD 1300–1450, or late phase II to early phase III. Late phase III and phase IV, up until around AD 1650 show that the occupation and use of Moundville rapidly declined, although secondary centres continued to thrive for some time as the centre became irrelevant. By around AD 1550, with the advent of phase IV, the social system seems to have collapsed, maize production severely declined, and eventually the area became a no-mans land between warring Choctaw and proto-Creek peoples. Of particular note in this history is a reversal of previous notions of the Moundville sequence. Whereas earlier researchers believed that Moundville had grown slowly followed by a sudden collapse in phase IV, Knight and Steponaitis present evidence of the sudden establishment of the site at its maximum extent, followed by a gradual collapse.

In Chapter 2; Population Trends at Moundville, Steponaitis outlines the internal settlement evidence for the history outlined in the previous

chapter. Midden, indicating habitation, is concentrated in phase I and early phase II (mainly dated with reference to a well documented ceramic typology), while burials are concentrated in phases II and III. Steponaitis discusses other possible explanations, but the data are pretty clear and the argument concise, so that one feels it must be largely correct.

Chapter 3; Moundville as a Diagrammatic Ceremonial Centre, by Vernon Knight, examines the way the social order is reproduced in the spatial patterns of the mounds. Despite giving one section the title of "Subterfuges in the Idiom of Spatial Form" this chapter is mercifully free of references to incomprehensible French social philosophers. There is a single relevant reference to Lévi-Strauss' practical work on social and spatial patternings, the essence of which is that three-dimensional spatial patterning may mask many important and subtle aspects of multi-dimensional social patterns. The built environment may lock social patterns into place, but may also provide an arena for resistance, or perhaps, given Moundville's late history, political irrelevance. This is a central point to make, acknowledging the limitations of this sort of analysis.

The spatial pattern of Moundville is very regular. Larger residential mounds alternate regularly with smaller burial mounds around the periphery of a central plaza. South to north the mounds are progressively larger and contain more and higher status burials. Thus at the height of its use as a residential complex during phase I - assuming contemporaneity of mound use, by no means proven - a regular pattern of a noble residence accompanied by a mortuary temple is evident, a pattern often found in Mississippian cultures. Mound use became less common from phase II onwards, with mortuary temples falling entirely out of use. Knight argues that this regular pattern of layout and pairing of mounds reproduces the ranked ordering of corporate segments in Moundville society. He supports this argument with an ethnographic analogy from the spatial patterning of Chikasaw camps when the Chikasaw, otherwise dispersed, meet in council. He argues for a strong cultural connection, despite the 700 years separating Moundville I from the early twentieth century Chikasaw, who were also a Mississippian people. The original informant for the information collected in 1904 was relating traditional ceremony and myth, and the camp layout described, though no longer

practiced, seems to have been a traditional though idealised memory. Unfortunately the analogy is overworked in that Knight goes out of his way to justify its use when the relationship between Moundville and Chikasaw peoples is not at all clear. This is unnecessary because the analogy adds little to our understanding of the Moundville spatial layout. The attempt to interpret intangibles on the basis of tangible evidence alone will always be open to criticism. Knight's argument is simple and convincing, and he demonstrates the *kind* of social structure that could have given rise to the visible spatial structure, but I feel he hath protested too much in his justification of the ethnographic analogy, which makes him seem unsure of the validity of his claims. I doubt that such claims may be either validated or invalidated except insofar as they advance a coherent overall model of Moundville history, which these do.

The remaining chapters are more in the nature of reports than the first three, not surprising given their origin at a conference session. Chapter 4; Domestic life on the Northwest Riverbank at Moundville, by Margaret Scarry, reports on recent extensive mitigation excavation prior to erosion prevention work. Previous research has focussed on structures associated with rank and power, rather than those associated with the day to day domestic life of the majority of Moundville's residents. Most of the evidence uncovered could be dated, on the basis of both radiocarbon dating and ceramic types, to phase I. Two phases of domestic architecture were uncovered, simple rectangular structures ranging in size from 13 to 35 square metres. A change in settlement is documented in late phase I with structures built behind the palisade, as opposed to the more dispersed settlement in early phase I. There was some evidence of craft production involving mica, and imported material commonly used in paraphernalia associated with the southeast ceremonial complex (and here again some background would be welcome to the uninitiated).

Chapter 5; Of Time and the River: Perspectives on Health during the Moundville Chiefdom, by Mary Powell, and Chapter 6; Human Subsistence at Moundville: The Stable-Isotope Data, by Margaret Schoeninger and Mark Schurr, are rather technical in nature, as their titles suggest. Here scientific analyses of skeletal material document an increasing reliance on maize, until the collapse of the Moundville polity when health seriously declines and wild foods become important.



Treponematosi (yaws and syphilis, though apparently not venereal syphilis) and tuberculosis were apparent throughout all phases, but became less common in later phases as a more dispersed settlement pattern led to a decreased likelihood of transmission and minimisation of dietary stress. In phases II and III the population was too low and dispersed for the effective epidemic transmission of Spanish introduced influenza and smallpox, and it is suggested that the collapse of the Moundville polity was not due to disease, but more probably to internal factors such as a decline in soil productivity.

As a casual outside observer, I have long been under the impression that a wave of introduced disease decimated Native American populations prior to effective European contact, and that the Mississippi chiefdoms exemplified this, so that by the time of de Soto's famous expedition to the region he encountered only the sad remnants of a once thriving people. Unfortunately Schoeninger and Schurr's argument to the contrary is seriously underdeveloped. This is a pity, because its implications would seem to be important. Knight and Steponaitis (Chapter 1) also side-step the issue of Spanish impacts on Moundville. This rather reinforces the impression of Moundville as an 'island' in isolation both historically and geographically. Its antecedents and final end are (in this volume) not well described.

Only briefly, in the introduction to Chapter 7; Outlying Sites within the Moundville Chiefdom, by Paul Welch, is Moundville's overall place in Mississippian culture described. This chapter presents a summary of the archaeology of sites outside the main Moundville site, but attributable to the Moundville polity, that is to say, where the people lived in their dispersed settlement pattern during phases II and III. It is only in the last 10 or 20 years that these sites have been closely examined. The geographic limits of the Moundville polity seem to have been the floodplain of the Black Warrior River from 25 km north to 15–35 km (it is not currently clear) south of the main site.

Welch describes two types of site. Firstly hamlets and farmsteads, of which the total number and details of distribution are not clear. A few such sites have been excavated, yielding structures, pit features and burials. Secondly there are the secondary mound sites containing single

mounds. By dating these secondary sites Welch is able to document changing settlement patterns, with a proliferation of secondary mound sites through time as the population became more dispersed and, perhaps, power shifted from the centre to the status lineages of the periphery. In late phase III the population seems to have become nucleated around the secondary mounds. Chapter 8; The Oliver Site and Economic Organisation, by Lauren Michals, examines one of these outlying sites in some detail, reporting on salvage excavation of a farmstead at the northern extremity of the Moundville chiefdom. Surprisingly there is no site plan of the excavation, an unfortunate omission. But, as Welch says, with only a minimal knowledge of the hamlet/farmstead sites, where it might be assumed the majority of the people lived and worked, the details of this scheme remain to be filled in.

Despite my initial reservations it should be clear that there are many good points to this volume. The early chapters at least provide a fair overview of an interesting and important site. Any researchers interested in the archaeology of chiefdoms, or of social stratification and social organisation, will find a great deal of interest here. While we must continue to wait for a comprehensive overview of Moundville (with maps) this volume gives us a good idea of the current state of play.

## NEWS AND CONFERENCES

Ian Lilley

### **George Abungu**

Early this year, we received news that George Abungu ([nmk@form-net.com](mailto:nmk@form-net.com)) has been promoted to Director-General of the National Museums of Kenya. This is great news for archaeology in Africa. Belated congratulations, George! Reader should visit the National Museums of Kenya web pages at <http://www.musuems.or.ke>

### **Ethics and hominid remains**

As reported by the *Journal of Human Evolution* 36(4):459 in April 1999, the Permanent Council of the UNESCO-affiliated International

Association for the Study of Human Palaeontology adopted a resolution stating:

- that replicas of hominid fossils rather than the originals are used for public display, and
- that original hominid fossils should be left in their country of origin unless it is demonstrably impossible for a proposed scientific study to proceed on that basis.

The journal notes that correspondence regarding this matter should be addressed to Giacomo Giacobini (Secretary General), Department of Anatomy, Pharmacology and Legal Medicine, University of Turin, 52 Corso M. d'Azeglio, 10126 Turin, Italy.

(Email [giacomo.giacobini@unito.it](mailto:giacomo.giacobini@unito.it))

#### **From the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology**

WAC's Secretary, Lesley Suttly, is also Secretary of the IACA., and in that capacity has provided the following advice. The Association publishes a newsletter in May and November each year and stages a biennial congress, most recently in July 1999. A working group established in 1995 to identify ways in which the Association can play an active role in the region has identified a number of priorities. The one of greatest interest to WAC members is the highest on the list: to advise on local legislation and regional policy in relation to the "needs of archaeological heritage, economic development and tourism". Those interested should contact Lesley (address in this issue) or P. Harris, 2230 NW 51<sup>st</sup> Terrace, Gainesville, FL 32605 USA (Email: [pharris@flmnh.ufl.edu](mailto:pharris@flmnh.ufl.edu)). Those interested in membership (US\$20/year) should contact Miguel Rodriguez (President IACA), Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, PO Box 9023970, San Juan, Puerto Rico 00902.

#### **UISPP**

The Union of Pre- and Protohistoric Sciences, from which WAC split in the early 1980s over the issue of South African participation, is holding its 14<sup>th</sup> Congress in Liège, Belgium, in September 2001. Preliminary registration forms are available. Consult [www.ulg.ac.be/prehist/](http://www.ulg.ac.be/prehist/), or contact Marcel Otte, Service de Préhistoire, Université de Liège 7,

place du XX Août, bât A1, B-4000 Liège, Belgium (Email [prehist@ulg.ac.be](mailto:prehist@ulg.ac.be)).

### **European Association of Archaeologists**

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists will be held in the UK at Bournemouth University from 14<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> September 1999. Preparations for the meeting are progressing well. There are now over 60 planned academic sessions, a full range of social activities, excursions and a major exhibition. Full details of the meeting and a registration form are available at: <http://csweb.bournemouth.ac.uk/consci/ea99> or contact EAA99 Meeting Secretariat, School of Conservation Sciences, Bournemouth University, Talbot Campus, Fern Barrow, Poole, Dorset, BH12 5BB, United Kingdom (Email [ea99@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:ea99@bournemouth.ac.uk)).

### **Mesolithic Scotland**

A major conference is to be held in Edinburgh, 5-7 November 1999, on *Mesolithic Scotland: the early Holocene prehistory of Scotland and its European context*. This conference is organized by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in conjunction with the National Museums of Scotland and the Prehistoric Society. For further details, accommodation advice, and an application form, please contact: The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Mesolithic Scotland Conference), Royal Museum of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1JF, Scotland, UK (Fax: 0131 247 4163 or Email: [j.rowan@nms.ac.uk](mailto:j.rowan@nms.ac.uk) or [f.ashmore@nms.ac.uk](mailto:f.ashmore@nms.ac.uk)) Tel: 0131 247 4054; Fax: 0131 247 4060; Email: [as@nms.ac.uk](mailto:as@nms.ac.uk)

### **TAG**

Information about the 1999 meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group is at: <http://www.cf.ac.uk/uwcc/hisar/conferences/tag99/>. The deadline for papers is 30th June [sorry...Ed.]. Any queries about the conference can be made by emailing the organisers ([tag99@cardiff.ac.uk](mailto:tag99@cardiff.ac.uk)) or by writing to the TAG 99 Organising Committee, c/o HISAR, Cardiff University, PO Box 909, Cardiff CF1 3XU, Wales, UK.

### **INQUA**

COMMISSION OF THE HOLOCENE Meeting 27. 3. - 31. 3. 2000 Seville (Spain). First Circular and Call for Papers. The meeting will be organized under the topic :Environmental changes in Holocene Sequences.-Methods, processes and correlations. We invite applications for papers and posters on geo-pedological, sedimentological and geographical indicators, case studies and developments in paleogeographical reconstructions. Communications will be up to 20 minutes allowing for 5 minutes discussion. Official languages are English, French and Spanish. For further information contact Ana I. Porras, Secretary of the Meeting, Dept. Physical Geography, University of Seville, Tel. +34 954.551.377, Fax +34 954556988 E-mail: [anapc@arrakis.es](mailto:anapc@arrakis.es)

#### **Australia**

The Northern Heritage Network will host a Cultural Heritage Management Conference at Southern Cross University in Lismore on the 11th & 12th of November 1999. The theme of the Conference is "Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place & Communities". The conference will explore the possibilities provided by the construct of landscape and its use in the practice of heritage management, at both local and regional levels. To be put on the mailing list for further information and for enquires regarding paper, poster and field workshop presentations contact : Ms Maria Cotter, School of Resource Science & Management, PO Box 157, Lismore, NSW, Australia 2480. Tel +61 2 6624 5227 Fax: +61 2 6621 2669 Email: [mcotter@scu.edu.au](mailto:mcotter@scu.edu.au)