Editorial

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In these days of instant electronic mail, writing Editorials can be hazardous. While the delay between ANTIQUITY's composition and publication used, in more leisurely times, to be just about as long as it took for gossip to seep around the social network, nowadays the news is often already old by the time the journal is distributed. No longer need we depend on cold print to correct the often distorted hand-to-hand accounts passed down the line, when a quick e-mail can elicit a personal report from the source. On the other hand, the world itself is changing more quickly, and to rely on considered expressions of opinion in the form of refereed articles is often to miss the urgency of its affairs. There are matters of policy where decisions over funding or publishing policies are being made over weeks and months, and where a timely expression of opinion can throw up an unconsidered aspect.

This Editorial comes from Oxford rather than Cambridge, but probably maintains most of the prejudices and predilections of the core community which ANTIQUITY reflects. Written as exams are over but before the summer fully unfolds, it will emerge from its polythene shrink-wrap only as academics prepare for the frenetic activity called term, and may not get read until Christmas. Well then: what was on our minds in July — after we filled the cardboard boxes with xeroxes of our recent publications, just in case the Archaeology Committee of the Research Assessment Exercise wanted to read them?

Funding for archaeological research in the UK is a perennial topic, but British archaeology abroad is at a crossroads, with the future of British Schools and Institutes hanging in the balance. The future of archaeology of all kinds is under severe stress, with some aspects looking sunnier than others but most being pretty overcast. Whether we look East or West there are massive changes in train. In the former Socialist Countries, where archaeology had its place in each Five Year Plan, the prospects are deeply gloomy. When a professor's salary is about the same as that of a newspaper-seller (and an ordinary lecturer's rather less), then a career in archaeology looks deeply unattractive, and may well appeal only to those incapable of selling newspapers. Museums have their place in an aspiring tourist-industry, but pay the price of having to live off their treasures. This has tempted the re-emergence of the Troy II goldwork from the cellars of Moscow's Pushkin Museum — and the high-velocity circulation of precious metalwork to paying venues throughout the world — at the expense of a rash of break-ins at smaller museums unable to afford the now necessary security, in a society where a prominent archaeologist can even be mugged for his gold tooth-fillings.

Brits have always looked enviously across the Atlantic, where the high life now has its come-down: the slashing of the NEH (National Endowment for the Humanities) and the hardening of regulations for the NSF (National Science Foundation) — effectively excluding the social sciences — leave archaeology with massively reduced opportunities for independent research. Instead of responding to the needs of the scientific community (I would have said 'academic', but that has now become a term of opprobrium), the initiative has now decisively passed to the hands of the state, in commissioning work that it wants, and to powerful private companies. This worldwide trend is echoed in the increasingly *dirigiste* policy of the (British) Economic and Social Research Council in laying down acceptable themes for research by those in receipt of its graduate studentships. Despite the rhetoric of 'privatisation', these changes actually concentrate power over any form of research activity in the hands of the state. (Thank goodness, then, for our open tradition of academic publishing, especially our university presses with their splen-

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ANTIQUITY 70 (1996): 491–500

did record of propagating sometimes obscure knowledge — except that even they can be vulnerable.)

The great bulk of archaeological activity, therefore, will in the foreseeable future take place either directly for the state, or within a national or international legal framework placing responsibility on a private firm. This has led Klavs Randsborg, in a particularly ruminative moment, to speak about the prospect of a post-academic archaeology. So it will be, unless academics manage to remove their internal barriers, between 'prehistory', 'ancient history' and 'modern history', and between history, anthropology, and geography. All these entities, and the patterns of alliance between them, are artificial left-overs from the historical accidents of academic growth. Any subject-area which does not have the advantage of our information and our perspective is an impoverished one: that should be our firm assertion, as our immediate economic relevance is questioned.

☙ Two straws in the wind which may signal a new interest in our perspectives and skills have been sets of recent seminars in Amsterdam and in London, on the topic of 'Big History'. This rather inelegant name is becoming the accepted term for a subject which ignores the conventional temporal and geographical boundaries and sees the continuity of the historical process. It is not (like Marxism, or most previous attempts to operate on this scale) a theory-driven exercise, seeking grist for an already constructed theoretical mill, but rather a simple and honest recognition of the arbitrariness of the frontiers that divide up the study of past and present societies.

The Amsterdam series, sponsored by the New School for Social Science Research and organised by Johannes Goudsblom and Fred Spier, goes in a Spencerian sequence systematically from the Big Bang to industrialisation by way of prehistory. The organisers hope to establish an interdepartmental centre for Big History in Amsterdam. The London series, at the Institute of Historical Research, is more modestly conceived, and jointly organized by Patrick O'Brien and Alan Milward: 'From the bunkers of archives it remains all too easy to dismiss global history. Can we do any better? At the I.H.R. we begin to taxi slowly towards the runway'. It is good news, too, that the Erasmus Prize (of which Grahame Clark was a former recipient, and the Prehistoric Society a continuing beneficiary) is now to be given to W.H. McNeill, global historian whose *Rise of the West* and *Plagues and peoples* marked milestones in a holistic understanding of the past. Big/Global History is swimming against the tide, both of the increasingly nationalistic narratives discussed in a later section, and the relativism which pervades academia in the West: but in the long run it is our only hope for a common academic study of the past, within which archaeology must play an essential role.

☙ In the perspective of such global enterprise, the question of the 'British Schools' abroad may seem somewhat parochial; in fact, it is one of the major questions facing British archaeology in its international aspect. Most European countries maintain foreign centres of archaeological and culture-historical research — pre-eminently in the 'classical' lands of the Mediterranean and the areas of older 'oriental' civilization in western Asia or further afield. The older British ones are self-confidently 'schools', the more recent ones 'institutes', and there are also voluntary societies without permanent establishments abroad which promote work in particular countries, like the Egypt Exploration Society. They are often the officially designated bodies for receiving and administering excavation permits in those countries. It is easy to say that they are creatures of their time, and that their time is past: their implied conceptions of the 'classical' and the 'oriental' being precisely part of the problem, not the solution. Yet if we are to continue working on questions which are widely agreed to be of general interest and significance (and the Roman Empire as a historical phenomenon can hardly be ignored), then it is surely useful to have a *pied-à-terre* in the major ancient capitals or countries. The Germans have a highly organized system of divisions (*Abteilungen*) of the German Archaeological Institute — the older ones abroad, but now also (like the former Anglican Bishopric of Gibraltar and parts East) in Berlin, for the whole of eastern Europe, under Hermann Parzinger. The French, too, have a high-profile series of foreign missions, and from time to time produce glossy and highly impressive accounts of their achievements. (I have a particularly sumptuous one at my el-

bow, called *Les hommes et leur passé*, published by the *Secrétariat d'Etat aux Relations culturelles internationales* of the *Ministère des Affaires Etrangères*, whose *Secrétaire générale de la Commission des Fouilles* writes a preface; the lavish standard of publication and Foreign Ministry sponsorship sum up the contrast with how the Brits do it.) The British institutions, equally inevitably, are for the most part entirely independent and unco-ordinated, each run by a voluntary society and council of management within the UK, united only in receiving a high proportion of their income from HM Government through the British Academy's Standing Committee for Schools and Institutes.

And here is the crunch: not only does a high proportion of their income come from the state, but a high proportion of the state's spending on archaeology abroad goes to them. Approximately one-third of the Academy's entire humanities research budget, in fact. This can seem unfair to those working (on no less worthwhile projects, and in no less arduous — often worse — conditions) in countries not served by such institutions; and it makes archaeologists as a whole appear unduly privileged. On the other hand, it would seem short-sighted to throw away an asset which (like the BBC World Service) is one of the more admirable left-overs of our former position in the world — even though the majority of them were founded after 1950. (A Bulgarian archaeologist recently suggested that the British should close down an unwanted School — and re-locate it in Sofia!) As Oliver Goldsmith warned, in another context (*The Deserted Village*):

> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride
> When once destroy'd, can never be supplied.

It was with these issues in mind that the British Academy set up a Review Committee to conduct an Enquiry in 1994–5, and whose Final Report was issued in April this year. The Chairman was Sir David Wilson (incidentally also a leading voice in the 1995 Review Committee for the Ashmolean Museum). The report, officially entitled *The British Schools and Institutes Overseas and Sponsored Societies: an enquiry by a British Academy Review Committee 1994-95 (Final Report April 1996)*, is not in the legal sense a published document: 'It is being circulated, with the authority of the Council, only to those who are regarded as having a legitimate interest in receiving it.'[Who they?] The Committee consisted of Graeme Barker, Peter Haggett, Peter Matthias, Jessica Rawson, and the Academy's Secretary, Peter Brown. The remit of the Committee was to review the effectiveness of current provision for these overseas institutions, and of their activities. While there is a depressing and RAE-like familiarity about pulling more things up by the roots to see how well they are growing, and the now-predictable injunctions to publish rapidly in refereed journals (thus encouraging less thought and more waste of trees), the exercise was clearly inevitable and indeed long overdue.

The facts and figures (mostly for 1995–6, and roughly rounded here for broad comparison) are fascinating: the British Academy's grant-in-aid for advanced research and scholarship in the humanities was just short of £8 million; the Humanities Research Board receives £2¼ million (to serve a 'research-active' community of around 8000 individuals); a medium-sized archaeology department in a British university costs about £1½ million; English Heritage provided funds to home archaeology projects (in 1994–5) to a total of £7½ million; a not exceptional 11-year excavation programme might cost £1¾ million; the Academy gives an annual grant to the CBA of around £200,000, which is just exceeded by the grant to its largest research project, the *New Dictionary of National Biography*. At £2½ million a year, British Schools and Institutes form a not inconsiderable proportion of the total. These figures show just how poorly the British fund humanities research: the French spend £3 million a year simply on the French Academy (of fine art) in the Villa Medici, never mind the Ecole Française with its 21 academics paid at double the home rate; the German institutes (historical, archaeological, art-historical, fine-art, church-history) are on a comparable scale: the British School gets just over £½ million.

The British Schools abroad, hardly profligate spenders, receive a high proportion of a philistine allocation of national funds. The newly-created Humanities Research Board will in future adjudicate between the competing bids for different items of programme expenditure, which will be scrutinised by the Finance and Advisory Committee, and ultimately by the

There are two pleasures to working in the Ashmolean Museum (three if you like the smell of toasting cheese from the new basement restaurant): one is the opportunity to be constantly falling over slips of paper from the Nachlaß *of the great and famous (like John Evans' newspaper clippings, source of the* Times *letters); the other is having a drawing office with a sense of humour. Keith Bennett's transcription of the* repoussé *drinking scene on the Hallstatt-period Kuffarn Situla allowed a certain freedom with the facial expressions.*

Council of the Academy; each Institute now has its own Corporate Plan, and accountants Coopers & Lybrand suggest that increasing emphasis be given to detailed monitoring of the expenditure of Institutes (well: they would, wouldn't they, at £150 an accountant's hour!). But there are also practical considerations, in the realm of employment, career structure and comparability, as well as in terms of goals and achievements, which make some co-ordination desirable — both between the institutes themselves, and between home institutions like university departments. Stand by, then, for BASIS: the Board for Academy-Sponsored Institutes and Societies, to sit alongside the Humanities Research Board; chaired by the President of the Academy, with five of its representatives, five academics not being fellows, and the Secretary of the Academy — and, crucially, membership balanced equally between archaeologists and scholars from other disciplines (but, thank God, no bean-counters from Coopers & Lybrand or Sainsburys).

This is the boring, if essential, part of the report. What is encouraging is the introduction to the section on research and activities, which sets out the distinctive nature of British archaeological fieldwork and training, and the crucial role of expeditionary work within it; what makes compulsive reading is the evaluation of individual institutions against the demands that ought to be made of them. But how far should individual institutions have a 'research plan', of the kind now to be demanded of them? In fact, what could be more calculated to bog down future generations in the preoccupations of the present one? Where the Committee found the lack of research plans 'alarming', I am actually reassured! Curiously, the Committee questioned particularly the commitment to individual sites, like Knossos; yet surely this kind of continuity, capable of sustaining successive generations' changing interests in an unquestioned asset, is more valuable than a spurious commitment to 'urbanization', or whatever catch-all buzzword?

Schools and Institutes get their crisp, end-of-term summaries: Athens and Rome uncertain, Ankara recently re-invigorated, Jerusalem coasting, Amman vibrant and opportunist, Baghdad and Tehran in suspended animation. How best to sustain life for the future in these areas crucial for every aspect of Old World history and civilisation? Amman and Ankara are constantly quoted as models, and flexibility rather than commitment as the keys to success. Operations in adjacent countries, and the maximum degree of collaboration with other foreign teams (and, needless to say, indigenous institutions), are a likely pattern of the future: Jeru-

One is constantly aware of the pressing contemporary issues of cultural property, its repatriation and the treatment of human remains. My eye was caught by a letter in *The Times* (Wednesday 12 November 1870):

Sir, — The abhorrence with which I formerly regarded the wanton destruction of the venerable, mysterious, awe-inspiring tumuli in Yorkshire by Canon Greenwell has been painfully revived by a paragraph in *The Times* of Nov. 2nd, which informs me that the work of destruction and spoilation of these Celtic memorials of remote past ages has been carried on for a month, and is still carried on, by the indefatigable Canon, the Rev. C.W. [*recte* W.C.] Lukis, of Wath, and other so-called archaeologists, at Rudstone, near Bridlington, on the estate of Sir Henry Boynton.

Busy as I am, and only a humble individual (and 'unbeneficed' after a clerical career of 17 years), I must beg you to allow me this opportunity of making a public protest against such vandalism, and worse than this, for the various hordes of barbarous and uncivilized tribes which, age after age, invaded our land, reverently respected and spared those sacred resting-places of our ancient British ancestors — the mighty warrior, the great chieftain, the Patriarch of his tribe. These, forsooth, one after another, must now be sacrilegiously violated, and lost to all future generations of real 'archaeologists' (unless you will kindly interpose) by an insatiable curiosity, a morbid taste, an ill-regulated will, and a selfish mis-appropriation of what ought to be accounted national monuments and sacred and inviolable memorials of our own race and ancestry.

It puzzles me to think how men of right feeling, of any religion, of disciplined will, can possibly allow these teachers of religion to practice so irreligious and sacrilegious an act.

Here we see men in holy orders, who, as such, are supposed to teach the doctrine of the Resurrection, having plenty of leisure, act as recklessly as if they believed it not.

After 30 years' love and pursuit of antiquities, I must, I fear, no longer venture to esteem myself to be an archaeologist, if this is archaeology, and if these infatuated men are archaeologists.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

Alfred Vaughan Walters.

Winchester.

His cry was answered the following day, in soothing and patrician tones:

Sir, — All archaeologists will sympathise with the spirit in which Mr Walters protests against the wanton destruction of ancient monuments.

From ignorance of the facts, however, he does a great injustice to Canon Greenwell. The truth is that the Yorkshire tumuli are being gradually pared down by the plough, and that many a relic of antiquity which would thus have been destroyed has been preserved by the energy of Mr Greenwell.

I cannot follow Mr Walters into his theological objections to Mr Greenwell's researches, which he stamps as 'irreligious and sacrilegious', and contrary to the 'doctrine of the Resurrection.'

I should have thought that Mr Walters might have given a brother clergyman credit for treating the relics of the dead with respect; for my own part I care little whether 2,000 years from hence my bones are crushed by the plough or dug up by some future Greenwell and placed in a museum — though, as a matter of choice, I should prefer the latter.

It would be interesting to know whether Mr Walters supposes that the condition of the ancient Britons who were buried centuries ago in the Yorkshire tumuli can be influenced by the zeal of an archaeologist, or the use of a steam plough.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. L.

London.

It does not require great imagination to extrapolate those initials into the name of [Sir] J[ohn] L[ubbock].

salem and Amman to re-amalgamate, Baghdad and Tehran to give up hopes of return — these are the surgical solutions recommended. Despite the odd grating phrase, I was in the end rather impressed by the judgements contained in the Report. Perhaps, soon, we can look forward to an equally hard-hitting report on the Academy itself: on its representativity and age-profile (heavily over-representing the retired), and on its self-perpetuating patterns of election, with their high spatial and institutional autocorrelation — indeed, questioning the whole concept of fellowship, when applied to a society rather than a real residential community, which can easily be accused (perish the thought!) of being a self-perpetuating oligarchy. Or is it safer not to rock the boat, for fear of simply generating more accountants?

Archaeology in Turkey is rendering increasingly irrelevant the distinction between 'Europe' and the 'Near (or Middle) East'. Although for 18th-century travellers, 'wheel-going Europe' ended at Belgrade (where the Ottoman Empire began), it is equally apposite to note that in Neolithic times the vertical loom began in Turkey and extended across Europe — by contrast to the horizontal loom of Mesopotamia and Egypt.

The growth of archaeological activity in Turkey has been quite phenomenal, and the indispensible annual reports of excavation and scientific work (*Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı*) list *hüyük* after *hüyük* whose names are now as unfamiliar as Alaca and Çatal must once have been, but which are producing results as important to Europeanists as to Assyriologists. One familiar name that has been transformed, though in a minor and still recognizable way, is Çatal itself: now Çatalhöyük rather than Çatal Hüyük — reflecting the contemporary local spelling, which follows rural rather than metropolitan practice (so Istanbul friends tell me). The British Academy report singled out the current Çatal project, designed to last for a quarter of a century (and several generations of buzzwords) and to achieve a whole variety of imaginative goals, as the most ambitious current British project abroad. Certainly it is one of the most exciting, on a dream-site where it is possible to draw every brick and follow every tip-line, surgically dissecting micro-moments of Neolithic domestic activity — as well as watching the bull-hunt on fresco, or reconstructing arcane underground religious rituals. To keep in touch with the progress of work, it is possible to become a Friend of Çatalhöyük and receive a regular newsletter, *Çatal News*, as well as the opportunity to see and hear of the scientific and educational work which the project is undertaking. Write to Amanda Cox at the Department of Archaeology, Downing Street, Cambridge CB2 3DZ, enclosing £35/$50 (students/concessions £15/$20). There are other opportunities for formal sponsorship.

Archaeology and anthropology are close cousins, and share common concerns. An important one is freedom to describe what can be observed and inferred, without the distortion of having to submit to the beliefs of sectional interests and agendas of contemporary *Realpolitik*. We should not, of course, delude ourselves as to the origins of our subjects, respectively rooted in European romantic nationalism and the needs of colonial administration, but we like to think that we have outgrown our origins. A timely volume from Cambridge University Press, *Nationalism, politics and the practice of archaeology* (edited by Philip Kohl & Clare Fawcett), reminds us that nationalisms have constantly accompanied archaeological practice, save for a few fortunate enclaves (where more subtle prejudices nevertheless still operate), and that just now we are witnessing an eruption of it all across the world. 'Letter from Line', in this ANTIQUITY, reminds us of events in Denmark in the 1860s, when antiquities and their nationalist possession had a real role in a passing war. There is something very self-indulgent about the post-processualist cry for the past to serve the present, or for a multiplicity of personal pasts, when such intertwined visions of past and present are in bloody conflict with each other in areas such as the Balkans, Caucasus and central Asia. In such ethnic shatter-zones, even so apparently innocuous a subject as the typology of medieval carved stone crosses can carry a powerful sub-text of territorial assertion. It is something to be proud of, therefore, that Irish megaliths have never been discussed in terms of Unionist Clyde-Carlingford court-cairns or Nationalist passage-tombs: even though their respective geographical distributions arguably echo the same ambiguities of identity which underlie the recent Troubles. A world occupied by human beings living on a non-isotropic surface will never consist of a set of simple boundaries like those between soap-bubbles.

Ironic, therefore, that Cambridge University Press itself should have become embroiled in the Macedonian Question. Those who know Jessica Kuper, CUP's discerning arch. & anth. editor (responsible, indeed, for Kohl & Fawcett's book), can only sympathize with her in the situation that has blown up around her. It came about like this. Greek-born Anastasia Karakasidou wrote a monograph on the Slavic-speaking communities of Greek Macedonia, in the north of present-day Greece, which was recommended for the impressive CUP series of monographs in anthropology and strongly supported both by outside reviewers and by series editors Michael Herzfeld and Stephen Gudeman, both ex-Cambridge and now occupying distin-

By the time this number of ANTIQUITY *is printed and distributed, the Forl UISPP conference will have come and gone, and the amazing poster on i way to oblivion. Presumably its message is the cultural assertion oj intellectual property —Palaeolithic man (or woman?) seizing the microphone to put the conference right about life 20,0 years ago; but the effect owes more to Tina Turner than to caveperson: an inefficient way to wear a fur in a Glacial, and in any case a tropical species of big cat . .*

guished chairs in American universities. The book is an ethnographic report, not a political tract, and contentious only in the eyes of those who see any linguistic minority as a threat to territorial integrity. As is often the case, it is those furthest removed from the situation whose voices are loudest; some rather unpleasant right-wing Greek groups in the US made threats to the author's personal safety, echoed in the equally unpleasant small-time Greek newspaper *Stohos* ('Target'), which helpfully published her Greek address and car-number. These facts were mentioned by Jessica Kuper in her report to the Syndics (governors) of CUP, who in turn sought advice from the Press representative in Athens and from the British Chargé d'Affaires there. In November 1995 the latter wrote back, saying: 'We have not had time to read the text, but the subject matter (ethnography) has the potential to be controversial and raise strong emotions in Greece . . . There is therefore a possibility that the publication might provoke a

reaction against the author or her publishers.' (There have, indeed, been cases of terrorist violence against representatives of foreign cultural institutions in Greece.) 'The Syndicate came to the conclusion that publication might well put local employees at risk, and a decision was made not to publish' (CUP press statement, January 1996). An ancillary factor may well have been CUP's interest in publishing educational books in Greece, and in the Cambridge Examinations Syndicate's role in setting 300,000 English examinations in Greece.

Herzfeld and Gudeman then made forcible protests, and in a moving three-page letter to Anthony Wilson, CUP's Chief Executive, Gudeman explained why. As one of the world's leading academic publishing houses, he wrote, CUP bears a particular obligation to uphold freedom of speech and scientific inquiry. The prestige of the Press and the University is founded on a trust that decisions are made on the basis of merit, not politics. Does the Press avoid publishing books on Northern Ireland? Or Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua or El Salvador? If the message gets out that the threat of terrorism is an effective way to prevent publication, then this makes it more likely to occur. And what of the reputation of Greece itself? Is it not rather a caricature of the Greek people, to present them as uncontrolled and prone to violence? The opinions expressed in Gudeman's letter found ready echo in Cambridge itself: Jack Goody, founder of the series and a prolific CUP author, has unhesitatingly supported their stand.

It is easy to preach (and still easier to volunteer others for the firing-line); but there are real grounds for concern here. Most anthropology, and much archaeology, is done in places far more dangerous than Greece. Both disciplines come up with observations and ideas to which powerful groups, or just nut-cases, could take exception. *Timeo Danaos* may be a wise warning, but it is a poor policy; and it is not a motto that should be espoused by a university press in a free world. In March this year the Chairman of the Press Syndicate, Dr Gordon Johnson, announced a formal review of *Publication and Security Issues*, which will involve extensive consultation. This has gone a long way to re-build confidence in the anthropological community that CUP take seriously the arguments that have been put to them, which are really quite fundamental to the preservation of academic free speech. But the episode has reminded us quite how close to home nationalism can strike — and what courage is required to resist it. Meanwhile Anastasia Karakasidou's book, *Fields of wheat, rivers of blood*, has been published by the University of Chicago Press.

Remains of the dead have a very direct appeal, and none more so than the whole bodies which extremes of heat, cold or humidity have miraculously preserved. Current work on the Bronze Age mummies of Sinkiang, dating from the early 2nd millennium onwards, has centred both on their amazingly well-preserved dyed woollen textiles, and on the fact that they are Caucasoid, i.e. white west-Eurasians, not Mongoloid east-Eurasians. (For a 'Europoid' in Hebei, see MREA CSORBA's paper in this issue). This has raised the question of whether they were Tocharian-speakers: perhaps the least answerable question one could ask of a mummy.

The Alpine (strictly speaking, north-Italian) Iceman, otherwise Ötzi, Similaun Man or the glacier-mummy from the Hauslabjoch, has been interrogated by almost every method known to science (but he still won't talk): and the results of the inquisition are discussed in a second volume of *The man in the ice*, entitled *Der Mann im Eis: neue Funde und Ergebnisse*, edited by Konrad Spindler and others and published last year by Springer-Verlag. The poor man's body is being divided up like moon-rock, to give all kinds of specialists a chance to demonstrate their methods. Some 25 papers cover, to give a random selection, microscopic study of the flint, mycological investigation of the 'black mass' (an organic residue, not a satanic ritual), DNA analysis of grass-remains and their associated microbial flora, the taxonomy of feather-keratins, the amino-acid composition of the hair, ungueal morphology (study of a loose finger-nail), Fourier transform infrared microspectroscopy study of skin fragments, and the ghoulishly fascinating *Noch Kraft in den Muskeln des Tiroler Eismanns?*, which is a study of whether the muscles can still be persuaded to contract under electrical stimulation. As with all bodies, it seems, from Napoleon to the Iceman, traces of arsenic have been found in the hair (so he could have been an off-duty coppersmith); and careful study of the tattoos — at 3200 BC, the oldest in the world — shows them to have been made simply with soot.

Amongst these high-tech laboratory studies is a long essay in traditional archaeology, that may get overlooked. It shouldn't, for it revolutionizes the history of European clothing. By Josef Winiger, it is entitled simply *Die Bekleidung des Eismannes und die Anfänge der Weberei nördlich der Alpen* (The clothing of the Iceman and the beginnings of weaving north of the Alps). Fragments of cloth have long been known from the Swiss lake-dwellings; in that alkaline environment, wool decays but plant fibres (linen and bast) are well preserved. Small fragments of linen cloth have been recovered from Neolithic sites since the 19th century, and imagined as fragments of garments not unlike the woollen clothing of the Danish Bronze Age tree-trunk coffins. The idea of Neolithic lake-dwellers as accomplished textile-producers was enshrined in a famous old find of an ornamented (brocaded) fragment from Irgenhausen, whose reconstruction by Emil Vogt has often been reproduced (e.g. in Grahame Clark's *Prehistoric Europe*).

Inspired by the Iceman, Winiger has now punctured this picture. Ötzi was wearing no woven materials at all: only well-cured leather and an outer garment of straw. What if this were typical? He lived, after all, several centuries before the first evidence for wool anywhere in Europe. Fragments of linen textiles are small, suggests Winiger, because linen was used for things not much more than the size of pocket-handkerchiefs; and the Irgenhausen brocade may well be of Late Bronze Age date, when many new lake-villages were built. The picture has been distorted because the Neolithic evidence has been studied by specialists in cloth rather than basketry, and 'clothing' has been assumed to be made of 'cloth'. Yet the Iceman's cape had as much in common with thatching as with weaving, and baskets were commonly used as hats. Neolithic tailoring was, as in the Upper Palaeolithic, a matter of creating leather garments; when it rained people dressed up like haystacks. It was the advent of wool, some time after 3000 BC, which first made tailored textiles possible and revolutionized the appearance of prehistoric Europe.

Why is this important? Because it affects our *image* of prehistoric times. Reconstructions, a powerful but as yet undisciplined medium of research and communication, are usually an optional extra, done at the last minute to popularize the text. Conventional pictures, even when they are views and elevations rather than abstract representations like plans, usually only include schematic figures for scale. As a result, we never encounter Neolithic people when we study their monuments. In consequence, the occasional forays into reconstruction (like the cover of *British Archaeology* 12 for March this year) are disastrous: ladies in long dresses and men in beachwear worship woolly sheep and stooks of corn in the centre of a circle of bare stones in a treeless landscape! It's not the artist's fault, but the archaeologists': let's devote as much effort to visualizing the people as we do to visualizing the monuments. Now that we can (in theory) visit past states of the monuments in virtual reality, we really should be able to people them properly.

☙ The June editorial reported, with dismayed amusement, some of the sites where searching for 'Stonehenge' on the World Wide Web will take you. You can now visit an elaborate 'virtual reality' Stonehenge from English Heritage and Intel; we are told it gives a three-dimensional model of Stonehenge to explore at several different eras from 8500 BC to the present. At **http://www.intel.com/techone/stonehen/index.htm**, it is just the kind of official Stonehenge presence on the 'Net we did not fall across before. When ANTIQUITY went there from the office machine, however, we found it asked for a PC with certain Pentium features (Intel is a chip-maker, and our machine uses a different brand); pressing on as directed, we stalled at 'requested URL not found on this server'. For ANTIQUITY virtual Stonehenge remains virtual.

Noticeboard

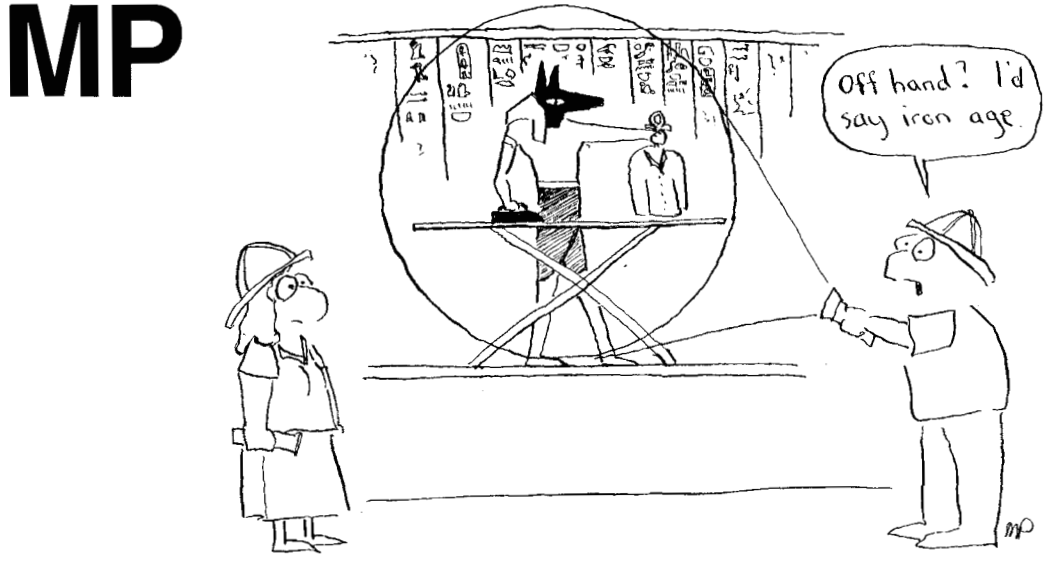
Conferences

14–16 November 1996
Museums in the Landscape: bridging the gap
Verulamium Museum, St Albans. Annual Society of Museum Archaeologists conference. Sessions include portable antiquities, information technology applications in archaeology (e.g. urban databases and multi-media) and recent approaches to interpreting open-air sites from the Roman period through to World War 2. Visits to local Roman sites included in the programme.
Vivienne Holgate, Verulamium Museum, St Michaels, St Albans AL3 4SW, England. Tel. (0)1727-819339; FAX (0)1727-859919.

8–12 January 1997
Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology
Corpus Christi (TX), USA, on the theme 'Seaports, ships, and central places'.
David L. Carlson, Anthropology Department, Texas A&M University, College Station TX 77843-4352, USA; FAX (409)-845-4070; E-mail: dcarlson@tamu.edu

21–23 February 1997
Symposium **O**n **M**editerranean **A**rchaeology: first annual meeting of post-graduate researchers
Edinburgh, Scotland; a gathering of British post-graduate and post-doctoral researchers working on Mediterranean archaeology, intended to promote discussion in an informal setting; posters, 10-minute and 20-minute papers.
Fiona Stephen, University of Edinburgh Department of Archaeology, 12 Infirmary Street, Edinburgh EH1 1LT, Scotland. E-mail: soma@ed.ac.uk.

14–16 April 1998
Cambridge Conference on Archaeology and World Religion: the examples of Judaism, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism. and Buddhism
Cambridge, England; focussing on these five examples and discussion both methodological — the archaeological recognition of sects and schisms, iconography, the reconstruction of sacred space — and theoretical — politics and religious sensitivities, religious texts and archaeology — with emphasis on breadth and cross-cultural applicability:
Timothy Insoll, St John's College, Cambridge CB2 1TP, England. FAX (0)1223-337720; E-mail: TAI1000@hermes.cam.ac.uk



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