One World Archaeology

Arkadiusz Marciniak
Nurcan Yalman *Editors*

Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies

Traditions, Theories, Prospects

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ISBN 978-1-4614-9116-3 ISBN 978-1-4614-9117-0 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0
Springer New York Heidelberg Dordrecht London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013954392

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Contents

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Chapter 1
Non-anglophone Ethnoarchaeologies in the Past and Today: An Introduction

Arkadiusz Marciniak and Nurcan Yalman

Introduction

Ethnoarchaeology is a mature and well-established discipline with a long and rich history. Its importance is founded on the recognition of the enormous distances between patterns of reasoning that prevail in the contemporary West and those found in certain non-Western societies in the present. This makes it possible to understand (or at least imagine) the distance between the Western present and its prehistoric past. Ethnoarchaeology thus offers us a conceptual framework of enormous potential for understanding prehistoric cultures. It is not a case of comparing cultures but of understanding other orders of thought, other forms of personal and cultural identity, to which, arguably, premodern archaeological sites attest.

Ethnoarchaeology has developed in many parts of the world at different intensities and in multiple formats and modalities. Doubtless to say, the ethnoarchaeology that has emerged in the milieu of processual American archaeology is certainly the most solidly grounded version of the field, both in terms of its distinct theoretical underpinnings and in its numerous successful and highly influential applications. It has generated a range of data that has provided a basis for building up solidly grounded modes of inferential reasoning for the past (see e.g. Kramer, 1985:77–78; Stark, 2003:193–94).

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_1,

Ethnoarchaeological studies carried out outside this mainstream milieu have an equally rich and much longer tradition. Many researchers all around the world have been conducting numerous ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies more or less explicitly aimed at addressing various archaeological questions. Some of these works have clearly anticipated the aims, methods, and research questions that some decades later were successfully developed by the ethnoarchaeology that emerged in the tradition of American archaeology. Most of these projects, however, were undertaken within the local traditions of national archaeologies and, hence, have only been recognized locally. Moreover, assessing the significance of these myriad approaches has proven to be largely hindered by language barriers. Of these projects, both more theoretical considerations and numerous case studies were published almost exclusively in national languages in local books and journals, making them incomprehensible to the general audience. Understandably, these publications did not have a wide circulation. Doubtless to say, this largely unknown body of research comprises very valuable achievements that make a thought-provoking contribution not only to the field of ethnoarchaeology but more generally to world prehistory. Hence, a systematic presentation of the numerous facets of these diverse approaches would create an excellent opportunity to reflect on the ways in which research agendas have been formulated, field work conducted, and the results interpreted and utilized, as well as indicating how the political context of practicing archaeology has influenced these works.

These diverse traditions of ethnoarchaeology have been hardly recognized in the English-speaking world and have not been available to the general readership. American ethnoarchaeology itself has shown little research interest in works carried out in other parts of the world, e.g. in works carried out in South Asia by South Asian scholars (Stark, 2003:198–201). American ethnoarchaeology is generally unfamiliar with European traditions and approaches (e.g. Kobyliński, 1985). The European traditions and approaches best known to American ethnoarchaeologists are probably works by the Belgian scholars (e.g. Olivier & Gosselain, 2000). Surprisingly, works developed in the tradition of the French school of "logicism", concentrating on the relationship between technological sequences and social identity, have hardly been recognized in the American tradition (Stark, 2003:200). The American knowledge of other traditions is also rather superficial and is mainly based upon rather general overviews available in English (see Chap.13 by Wobst, in this volume).

Against this background, this volume aims to provide a systematic overview of major non-American traditions of ethnoarchaeology, with a particular focus on Europe and Asia, addressing all major stages of their research agendas. As there is a dearth of works of this kind, we believe that this volume could contribute significantly to the history of archaeological thought and that it could be inspiring for research that is being undertaken currently .

The authors in this volume discuss different facets of ethnoarchaeologies in different theoretical traditions in their countries in the past and today. They express their own diverse views on the cognitive and interpretative value of

ethnoarchaeology for studying the prehistoric past, based on particular cases of experience and research. They make it clear that these traditions, both in the past and today, were and are embedded in the theoretical frameworks of local archaeologies and continue to be dependent on the trajectories of their developments. Subsequent chapters provide numerous accounts on how ethnoarchaeological studies carried out in these different settings have targeted a wide range of different issues and addressed numerous diverse questions. In many instances, these accounts originate from countries in which theoretical debate has been underdeveloped or largely implicit. Accordingly, it can be difficult to provide an overall theoretical context of these works in academic milieus in which the theoretical aspect has never been made explicit.

The volume also aims to place these diverse ethnoarchaeologies in the broader context of the development of archaeology in different parts of Europe and Asia. As such, the volume will not only provide a valuable overview of numerous ethnoarcheological practices in different parts of the region, but will also make a significant contribution to the history of archaeological thought. It will further reflect the current developments in ethnoarchaeology across Europe and parts of Asia and discuss their value and significance in the light of the rapid disappearance of local rural cultures. The contributors to the volume will also discuss how the results of ethnoarchaeological research can facilitate better knowledge of local and global prehistory. Additionally, the book will also scrutinize the major similarities and differences between American and non-American ethnoarchaeologies. This should lead to an understanding of findings where the debates presented in the volume parallel or diverge from those of the American school.

The American Tradition of Ethnoarchaeology

One of the concerns of processual archaeology is to generate a prediction about the remains of the archaeological past and create a model of behavior by using ethnographic comparisons. According to Flannery (1972), this model can be tested against the traces of a prehistoric culture and, therefore, two different bodies of data are provided: (a) observable and (b) anticipated, that creates a third body of data, which is (c) the difference between these two. If processual archaeologists intend to explain the reasons for this discrepancy, this would take them not only to analogical reasoning but to the data of processes. This was a brand new perspective in comparison to culture-history and opened up new research avenues (Gamble, 2001).

The model developing approach was the core idea of the whole processual approach and ethnoarchaeology was born as a new methodology becoming an intrinsic part of this new archaeological paradigm. These important theoretical developments took mainly place in the milieu of American, and to a lesser extent, British archaeology.

The rise of ethnoarchaeology in the United States should not be underestimated. The convergence of anthropology and archaeology has been recognized as a

solution for understanding the fragments of past cultures (Binford, 1962). Although Gould (1978) stresses the limitations of the use of the ethnographic analogy in archaeology, he is a supporter of ethnoarchaeology as a remedy for the misguided application of ethnographic data by archaeologists.

The definition of ethnoarchaeology in the American research tradition is not straightforward. It is understood as theory, research strategy or methodology. One of the most appropriate definitions is provided by Gerrit van der Kooij, who claims that "ethnoarchaeology is a methodology and it has a research strategy. But it should definitely have a theory too because otherwise the methodology and the research strategy cannot be produced" (van der Kooij, 2002:23).

Stark (2003) distinguished three major theoretical frameworks in which American ethnoarchaeology developed. These comprise: (a) evolutionary ecology, (b) behavioral archaeology, and (c) neoprocessual archaeology. Evolutionary archaeology attempts to use ethnoarchaeological studies focused on short-term events to recognize long-term change. The behavioral school deliberately intends to study depositional and formation processes, and recognizing the archaeological record is regarded as the major component of archaeological theory building. Proponents of neoprocessual archaeology define ethnoarchaeology as a heuristically viable tool for recognizing cross-cultural regularities in human behavior and understanding organizational systems.

Whatever the theoretical underpinnings are, ethnoarchaeology is generally structured to address explicitly formulated archaeological questions, and these ethnoarchaeological projects, usually run by archaeologists, are characterized by a well-defined research agenda. This is not surprising, considering that the field developed in a paradigm advocating explicit theoretical foundations, methods of theory building and sophisticated modes of reasoning.

A majority of ethnoarchaeological works are aimed at providing a referential framework for explaining material patterning that is observable in archaeological record. Such works mostly focus on "functional variability around behavioral norms and operate within a progressive evolutionary framework" (Stark, 2003:196). In particular, they aim at discerning a relationship between the material record and the organization of production, seeking formal consistency between the two (Arnold, 2000:109–111). Ethnoarchaeological works guided by these principles have been carried out around the globe. Their focus and intensity differ due to changing research agendas and political circumstances.

The ethnoarchaeological approach to material culture differs from the ethnographic approach, which lacks an archaeological foundation and is largely conducted by anthropologists. However, despite the fact that these ethnographic studies are not guided by archaeologically relevant questions, they provide valuable qualitative data on different aspects of production practices or formation processes that may be relevant from the archaeological viewpoint (see David & Kramer, 2001:304).

The theoretical foundations of American ethnoarchaeology and its subsequent developments are particularly visible in the tradition of ceramic ethnoarchaeology. How important a component of the history of archaeological thought ceramic ethnoarchaeology was is shown by its providing a means of explicitly addressing archaeologically relevant questions (see Stark, 2003:199).

After the early years of the development of ceramic ethnoarchaeology, the first clearly distinguished tradition was "ceramic ecology", originating from cultural ecology, neoevolutionism, and neofunctionalism. Further changes were triggered by the theoretical climate of the 1980s. Ceramic ethnoarchaeology came to be interested in symbolic variables of power and their reflection in material culture. Subsequent developments advocated social theory, making it possible to integrate technical concerns with production processes, taking into consideration their historical contexts and avoiding far-reaching and unjustified generalizations (Stark, 2003:199–201).

Ceramic ethnoarchaeology also exemplifies the interests of ethnoarchaeology. Its major areas of interest comprise a set of issues such as: (a) ceramic manufacture and production; (b) the composition of household assemblages; and (c) vessel use, longevity, reuse, recycling, and disposal; as well as (d) learning, style, and ethnicity (Kramer, 1985:78; Arnold, 2000:122; Stark, 2003:202–213; see also Longacre, 1991). However, ceramic ethnoarchaeology is mainly focused upon studies of pottery manufacturing technology and production. The former refers to the fabrication of the vessel itself while the latter refers to the social, political, and ideological context of pottery making (Arnold, 2000:106–107). The means of production comprises the raw materials and the technology (knowledge and tools) used to transform the raw materials into usable, culturally meaningful goods (Costin, 2000:379; see also Hegmon, 2000; Stark, 2003). These interests are continuously supported by steadily developing methodologies making the results achieved increasingly reliable and justifiable (Arnold, 2000:120).

Apart from the issue of ceramic manufacture and production, the other major issue involves the identification of ceramic production locations, in particular the presence of production facilities and debris. This is a prerequisite for the reconstruction of the technical and social context of production, as their spatial context is used as primary data for inferring this variable (Costin, 2000:384). Equally important is the search for proxies for the specialization of production, in particular the intensity of production, as well as "technological style" and the ethnic affiliation of the producers and their identity (Arnold, 2000:111–114; Costin, 2000:385–392). Ethnoarchaeologists are also interested in determining the social relations of production, consisting of relations within production units and the relations between producers (Costin, 2000:389–390). They continue to be interested in the relationship between ceramic production, ceramic style, and social boundaries (Hegmon, 2000:130).

Another distinctive block of issues comprises a range of depositional processes. These include, among others, the frequency and use-life of ceramics within a household, ceramic recycling processes and abandonment issues and, more generally, the impact of pottery production and consumption on the formation of archaeological deposits (e.g. Kramer, 1985:89–92). In particular, these processes comprise mechanisms by which ceramics circulate, including the exchange and selling pattern or the role of the producers and intermediaries in this process. Some studies are also devoted to studying ceramic consumption (Hegmon, 2000:130).

Non-anglophone Ethnoarchaeologies: Histories and Theoretical Background

The idea of using ethnographic data to enrich archaeology is much older than American processual archaeology. As early as (Hoernes 1909), in his book called "Nature and the early history of the humans" (*Natur-und Urgeschichte des Menschen*, vols. 1–2. Warsaw-Leipzig, 1909) alluded to the effects of ethnological data on prehistoric research (Parzinger, 2002:38). Until the beginning of the twentieth century there was no conceptual differentiation among Scandinavian, British, Russian and German archaeologies (Parzinger, 2002). Later developments led to significant transformations of local traditions. In some countries, these developments resulted in the creation of distinctive schools and approaches, while in others such developments manifested themselves only as short episodes, having little impact on local archaeological studies.

One can also not forget about changes in the understanding of ethnoarchaeology and defining its research agenda through time. The field developed at different moments in the history of archaeology in different countries and it was pursued with changing intensity in the decades subsequent to its introduction.

These changes through time may best be seen in Germany, where ethnoarchaeology underwent a route from the unsystematic use of ethnographic and historical analogies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to a theoretically bold approach linking ethnographic observations with archaeological questions (Chap. 4 by Struwe, this volume). On the other hand, in Italy, ethnoarchaeology was only recognized in the 1990s. Once adopted, it went through a very dynamic and unprecedented period of development (Chap. 3 by Lugli, this volume).

The term "ethnoarchaeology" itself also appears to have been coined in different settings. Not surprisingly, it was and is understood in a number of different ways across different research traditions. In Russia alone it is defined in three ways: (a) as a special approach to scientific research using archeological and ethnographic materials, (b) as a sub-discipline of archeology, and (c) as a sub-discipline of ethnology. Ethnoarchaeology in Russia aims to study the mechanisms and regularities responsible for transforming a "living" culture into a "dead" one, and the mechanisms and **r**egularities responsible for transforming the past activities of a culture into its material residues and traces (Chap. 8 by Kenig et al., this volume).

Ethnoarchaeology in Italy is seen as a research strategy. Its very broad definition encompasses the formation of the archaeological record, relations between what they call ethno-archacology and prehistoric archaeology, and the study of materials and their production, with a strong ethnographic perspective. However, recent dynamic developments have marked a shift towards large-scale issues, such as pastoralism or landscape modification by agriculture, at the expense of functional analysis or simple depositional processes. There is a distinct focus on historically and culturally contingent processes, rejecting any attempts at seeking uniform and universal patterns and laws. As such, ethnoarchaeology is seen as contributing significantly to a deeper understanding of the past. Moreover, it is understood not only as

a tool to interpret the past by analogy with the present, but more importantly, as an important research strategy aiming at investigating and documenting important aspects of human culture (Chap. 3 by Lugli, this volume). Ethnoarchaeology is sometimes seen as the "anthropology of techniques" advocating for the significance of anthropological reflection on the social and cultural dimensions of material culture.

As compared with American ethnoarchaeology, the theoretical foundations of the different local ethnoarchaeologies either developed in different intellectual and research traditions or in settings lacking an explicit theoretical framework.

Fundamental for the development of German ethnoarchaeology was the tradition of the Viennese ethnological research circles, termed "ethnohistory" (*Ethnohistorie*). This tradition left a profound mark on the discipline and remains important until today, irrespective of the significant impact of American ethnoarchaeology from the 1960s onwards. The ethnohistorical perspective refers to the recognition of an actual cultural history of the relevant region. It is worth mentioning the emergence in this context of a discipline of ethno-archaeology embedded in historical ethnology; this discipline is aimed at investigating a culture from a delimited area and time that is characteristic of a certain ethnic group. As such, the discipline follows prehistory, which is aimed at studying the remote past. A more recent understanding of ethnoarchaeology in Germany, inspired by the American school, is that of "living archaeology". It aims to study ethnologically documented objects and pursue other ethnological studies in order to answer archaeological questions (Chap. 4 by Struwe, this volume).

An example of a region with a long local development of ethnoarchaeology is China. The first attempts in the field were characterized by the application of formal analogies aimed at recognizing the use and function of different archaeological materials. However, seeking these formal parallels does not certainly mark a developed ethnoarchaeology. The development of ethnoarchaeology in China only happened in the 1950s and 1960s in the wake of large-scale ethnographic works conducted in that country. These works were later explicitly used by Chinese archaeology and this phenomenon predates similar developments in the United States (Chap. 9 by Kong, this volume).

A different development took place in Turkey. Interest in using ethnographic evidence to facilitate the interpretation of archaeological evidence in Turkey goes back to as early as the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. However, the first systematic attempt was made in the 1930s and was based on the assumption of cultural continuity between the present and past communities of Anatolia. This attempt provided a foundation for a more systematic conceptualization of the relations between ethnography and archaeology as well as folklore and language. Interestingly, it aimed not only to understand and interpret the past but, more importantly, to document and protect the intangible heritage of Anatolia. The subsequent developments from the 1960s onwards were largely shaped by non-Turkish scholars conducting projects in Turkey. So, despite the earlier defining of a discipline of ethnoarchaeology, the discipline came to be largely created by American ethnoarchaeology. It mostly focused on formation processes and functional interpretation of the studied

phenomena. It was only after the 1980s that projects focused on ethnographical data from the archaeological standpoint were embraced by Turkish scholars. This is when we see the term "ethnoarchaeology" emerging. This approach is based on the assumption of a cultural continuity between an archaeological site being investigated and the neighboring village community. More recent developments comprise projects seeking frames of reference for an increasing number of problem-oriented archaeological studies. However, the most prevalent use of ethnographic data still comprises simple comparisons of materials, production processes or technologies (Chap. 7 by Yalman, this volume).

A long tradition of ethnoarchaeology also exists in Russia. Already at the end of the nineteenth century Russian archaeology was developing in the evolutionary tradition, applying ethnography to explain a range of diverse archaeological questions by using direct ethnographic analogies. A further important step was marked by the development of a comparative method characterized by specifying clear criteria for the correlation of archaeological materials with ethnographic observations. Hence, the term "archaeological culture" then emerged and it came to be linked with an obligatory set of ethnic variables, which made it possible to relate these cultures with a living ethnos. Discussions on the ethnogenetic relationship of archeological and ethnographic cultures mainly focused on studies of the local communities of Western Siberia, since they preserved and maintain the traditional mode of life (Chap. 8 by Kenig et al., this volume).

A completely different situation exists in Poland, where the tradition of ethnoarchaeology has been only episodic, albeit very distinct. The tradition is restricted to around 20 years between the 1930s and the 1950s. Its emergence was inspired by the milieu of economic history from the 1920s and 1930s and further strengthened by the imposition of Marxism. These conditions led to the development of the idea of the history of material culture, and ethnoarchaeology was one of the manifestations of this research program. Accordingly, it was focused on studying the material conditions of the peasants' everyday life as a frame of reference for recognizing the nature of long-term historical processes, as investigated by archaeology (Chap. 5 by Kobyliński, this volume).

As regards the theoretical foundations of ethnoarchaeology, the most advanced and elaborated theory is found in France (Chap. 2 by Roux, this volume). Out of three major theoretical traditions, the most pronounced are its links with logicism. It re-considers the analogical nature of archaeological reasoning and the polysemic character of artifacts, stressing the context dependence of any archaeological interpretations. Hence, while using ethnoarchaeological observations for comparative purposes, it is thought necessary to go beyond analogous features for transferring the interpretative attribute and to consider the context of observation by providing the required justification for transferring the attribute in question.

The second most pronounced and distinct theoretical framework is proposed by Alexianu (Chap. 11, this volume). The saturated model he advocates is a logical-mathematical model that is intended to grasp all the existing parameters while studying a given object, phenomenon or process. This grasp of all the existing parameters is a prerequisite for reaching definite knowledge. While a list of considered parameters does not have to be finite, the saturated model is in place when there

are enough parameters for adequately defining the investigated object. The model also specifies conditions concerning the requirements as regards the knowledge of the parameters.

The major concern of different ethnoarchaeologists is to identify criteria that mark the maturity of the field. One of such concerns is the definition of analogy, which is a backbone of ethnoarchaeology. Hence, it is not surprising that already, since the 1980s, this concept has been intensively debated not only in reference to ethnographic data, but also in terms of experimental and ethnohistorical data (Chap. 2 by Roux, this volume).

The selection of analogies depends on the research question, the theoretical impediments, and the general attitude of the researcher, and hence the analogy might take very different forms. The discussion on the nature of analogy was again most pronounced in France, thanks to the embeddedness of ethnoarchaeology in the logicist paradigm. In particular, three definitions, provided by J.-C. Gardin, are of relevance here: (a) the need for identifying regularities aspiring to the status of 'laws' to be explicitly applied to archaeological data, (b) seeking "typological regularities" that provide a reliable frame of reference for recognizing the functional meaning of archaeological objects, and (c) stressing the broader understanding of the social and cultural dimensions of material culture with the aim of better understanding different forms of behaviour and their material manifestations, and more generally, seeking to enrich our understanding of archaeological data (Chap. 2 by Roux, this volume).

The term: 'typological regularities' refers here to two categories: (a) transcultural given natural variables and (b) those requiring an analogy of context, either geographical, socio-economic and/or historical. Technological studies represent the most numerous ethnoarchaeological studies. The latter are similar to the tradition of experimental archaeology and consist both of the coding of present-day *chaînes opératoires* (raw material exploitation, manufacturing technologies, utilitarian functions, and the social context of their use) related to traditional activities and highlighting the attributes diagnostic of these *chaînes opératoires*. The second category of regularities seeks similarities of geographical and historical contexts. In the latter meaning, this has the character of a "direct historical approach".

Non-anglophone Ethnoarchaeologies Today

Local ethnoarchaeologies are currently undergoing very dynamic developments in some countries. The most pronounced situation is certainly taking place in Italy. It is manifested in the number of conferences, publications, and research initiatives, which is a clear mark of the intellectual revival of the discipline. An increase in the number of works from various institutions has made it possible to stimulate intellectual debate (Chap. 3 by Lugli, this volume). Equally dynamic is the development of ethnoarchaeology in Germany. This is manifested by the emergence of new university programs and a range of scientific conferences. Of major significance was the emergence of the "*AG Ethnoarchäologie*" working group in the early 1990s (Chap. 4 by Struwe, this volume).

In Romania, ethnoarchaeology is also undergoing dynamic development, as manifested by the emergence of academic courses, numerous seminars, and the flourishing of research projects (Chap. 11 by Alexianu, this volume). More generally, the same dynamic development applies to the Balkans, where ethnoarchaeology is increasingly more important for interpreting the results of archaeological works. One can distinguish two main trends in the Balkans: (a) descriptive field studies and (b) an analytical approach towards integrating ethnographic data in archaeological reasoning. This analytical approach supports archaeological inferences using the pattern referred to as *chaîne opératoire* (see above for definition).

The major scope of ethnoarchaeological works in the Balkans comprises the use of evidence of local sources of the pre-industrial era, which significantly facilitates the interpretive possibilities of the study of archaeological materials. The use of observations and anthropological records from traditional societies located in distant geographic regions exists in the Balkans but it is very limited (Chap. 6 by Zidarov and Gręboska-Kulow, this volume). A similar situation also occurs in Egypt. The studies in that country usually focus upon investigating everyday life at local villages, providing additional evidence supporting archaeological inference. Some of these works comprise a typical direct historical approach, with a strong emphasis on continuity (Chap. 10 by Wendrich, this volume).

South-Eastern Europe has a particularly high ethnoarchaeological potential, although there is no direct ethnic continuity. However, local villages, such as those in Romania, maintain direct, organic relations with the natural environment, providing a natural reservoir for potentially powerful ethnoarchaeological studies (Chap. 11 by Alexianu, this volume). Interestingly, much more rarely than in Greece and Turkey, ethnoarchaeological studies in the Balkans are focused upon the systematic analysis of an entire community within the confines of a village closest to the archaeological excavations.

A direct continuity, as the most appropriate framework for conducting ethnoarchaeological works, is particularly strongly advocated in Turkey. Takaoğlu (Chap. 12, this volume) argues for the systematic examination of the late Ottoman material record as ethnography as being potentially valuable for ethnoarchaeological research. These places could have either been abandoned or are still being re-used by modern populations in a way similar to their use by their late Ottoman predecessors. These abandoned sites are believed to form dynamic landscapes where the information on past behavioral patterns can be drawn through ethnoarchaeology. The advocacy of a direct historical analogy is also a distinct feature of Bulgarian archaeology. Ethnoarchaeological works in that country are focused on integrating ethnographic observations and archaeological materials, assuming the continuity of ancient practices into the ethnographic record (Zidarov, Gręboska-Kulow, chap. 6 this volume).

This idea of direct historical continuity is criticized by some scholars (Chaps. 7 and 11 by Yalman and Alexianu, this volume). They point to the fact that Europe is devoid of ethnic continuity between the distant past and the present. Considering the significant time span between the two phenomena under investigation (i.e., the distant past and the present), the achieved results are problematic, at best.

Many authors in the present volume also stress the very significant role of contemporary ethnoarchaeologies, referring in particular to the systematic recording

and documenting of the remaining elements of local cultures endangered by dynamic processes of industrialization and demographic transformations. Zidarov and Grębska-Kulow (Chap. 6, this volume) argue that in the next two decades, more than 70 % of Bulgarian villages will have been completely abandoned by Bulgarian groups, ruling out any ethnographic field research, and they note that the possibility of supporting research processes in archaeology will be gone forever. Therefore, they call for so-called urgent ethnoarchaeology in particularly endangered areas.

Similarly, Wendrich (Chap. 10 in this volume) calls for the urgent recording of traditional Egyptian societies due to the rapid rate of change leading to an unprecedented loss of both the tangible and intangible heritage. A corresponding situation has also been diagnosed in Turkey (Chap. 12 by Takaoğlu, this volume). This refers in particular to an urgent need for recording the Ottoman heritage and corresponding rural traditions, which are rapidly disappearing. Ethnoarchaeological studies should not only systematically document and describe elements of the material culture but also be able to grasp their complexity so they can become valuable resources for interpreting archaeological data.

Contemporary ethnoarchaeological studies carried out across the regions discussed in this volume address a range of different issues. They span from a simple searching for functional analogies to investigating large-scale phenomena. The first block of issues comprises the study of different technical aspects of various activities such as pottery-making, fire-making, architecture and burial customs. A distinct feature of contemporary interests comprises studies of pottery, similar to the American tradition. These studies span from reconstructing subsequent elements of pottery-making to investigating a wide range of social dimensions of this process, including decisions behind the procurement of raw materials, criteria for the selection of clay, and methods of transportation. These studies also include the learning processes and transfer of technological knowledge and skills and market networks (Chap. 10 by Wendrich, this volume).

The authors in the present volume make a plea for the question-oriented broad scope of ethnoarchaeology and argue for the usefulness of such perspectives for contemporary archaeology. These perspectives may comprise, among others, the systematic study of the formation of the archaeological record; in particular, the patterns of site abandonment, re-use of structures, and discard behavior. Other equally complex issues may involve the study of pastoralism in the rural landscape, systems of salt exploitation and the emergence of writing systems (Chaps. 8, 9, 11, and 12 by Kenig et al., Kong, Alexianu, and Takaoğlu, in this volume).

Wendrich (Chap. 10, in this volume) notes yet another important dimension of contemporary ethnoarchaeology. This is not a comparison between present and past, but between present (the archaeological record) and present (the current active society). Any relation between particular types of activities and actions and their material consequences needs to be seen in this perspective.

Final Remarks

The present volume provides a systematic overview of the major traditions of ethnoarchaeological studies in Europe, Asia, and Egypt. In some countries ethnoarchaeology was unknown for many decades and it is becoming increasingly popular now. In some other places, a strong tradition of ethnoarchaeology had developed in the past but the field remains completely unknown today. In some countries, local ethnoarchaeology retains its distinct character, while in others the field is increasingly dominated by the processually oriented American ethnoarchaeology.

This book gives interesting and unique insights into local schools of ethnoarchaeology within their historical, political and academic contexts. As such, this is not just an overview of ethnoarchaeology but also an account of the history of archaeology in these countries. The book clearly shows that many aspects of the ethnoarchaeological agenda developed decades before the development of the processual archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-American world.

The volume makes it clear that ethnoarchaeological studies are not rare in archaeology today. At the beginning of the twenty-first century we see more systematic archaeology developing in many countries. In the Balkans, Greece, Turkey and many European countries, as well as in Britain and the United States, ethnoarchaeology is booming today. Although theory-based works are increasing, in Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania and in Turkey the major studies have concentrated on architecture and pottery or on estimating populations, and their major approach is still directly analogical. Ethnoarchaeological studies range from estimating populations to alternative environmental adaptations and the usage of historically informed ethnoarchaeology (Kalentzidou, 2000; Kardulias, 2000; Yerkes, 2000). The ‘salt project’, along with studies of high-land zone exploitations and settlement forms are remarkable examples of this kind of study from Romania (Alexianu, Weller & Curcă, 2011; Nandris, 1985). However, in a majority of cases, scholars seem to be unaware of the ongoing theoretical debates about analogy and related problems.

Ethnoarchaeology has remained a bit infertile most of the time due to its nature of consisting largely of data collection. Hence, many of its practitioners mainly present case studies, each of them being unique. Direct analogy is criticized harshly, and most scholars tend to present their case studies only by stressing the detailed ethnographic data, without showing how to use it in archaeology, and they detach themselves from the accusation of being “direct analogists”.

The success of ethnoarchaeology is not independent of archaeological thought. In the past, archaeological questions, not satisfactorily framed in terms of the cause-effect relation, have resulted in narrowly grasped accounts of the character of comparisons. These clear pitfalls have contributed to a decreasing interest in using ethnoarchaeological data. But while the quality of archaeological research increases, so does the variability/diversity of the questions being addressed. This aspect further raises the expectations of scholars conducting ethnoarchaeological studies.

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Part I
Traditions of Ethnoarchaeology Outside the Anglo-American Contexts

Chapter 2
Ethnoarchaeology in France: Trends and Perspectives

Valentine Roux

Introduction

From the 1960s in France, A. Leroi-Gourhan had recommended having recourse to anthropological data for understanding what was brought to light at archaeological excavations. He nonetheless at the same time urged great caution in using these data. The dilemma was making the most of an anthropological vision while avoiding the pitfalls of the abuse of analogy. In those days, the topics investigated related mainly to activities as close as possible to the ones observed on archaeological sites. Among the oldest works, let us quote the ones conducted by A. Leroi-Gourhan on the Aïnous in the 1940s, J. Emperaire on the Alakaluf in Patagonia in the 1940s and H. Balfet on North African potters in the 1950s. Since those times intellectual positions on analogy have been taken, and these were roughed out in the 1970s. These positions are the products of concerns with epistemological, methodological, and theoretical issues. They reaffirm the need to make use of ethnographic reference systems, as witness two publications in the early 1980s. The first one is an issue of the journal "*Les nouvelles de l'Archéologie*" (1980) devoted to ethnoarchaeology worldwide, 'ethnoarchaeology' being a term coined in English-speaking countries and henceforth adopted by everybody. The second publication is an issue of the journal "*Lettre d'information d'archéologie orientale*" (1982) devoted to ethnoarchaeology in the Near East. But archaeologists do not speak with the same voice insofar as the use of analogy varies depending on the authors' conceptions of how to validate archaeological interpretations. Indeed, analogy is recognized as essential for interpreting archaeological data, which otherwise cannot speak for itself

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_2,

(Gardin, 1979). The analogical procedure itself is well described. It consists of establishing a similarity between archaeological objects and objects whose "meaning" is known, and then transferring the known "meaning" (the attribute) to the archaeological object. However, this procedure raises the problem of the polysemic dimension of objects and therefore of the conditions for using analogy (Gardin, 1979). Two main stands have been taken. The first one maintains that analogy provides only hypotheses to be tested empirically against archaeological data. The second one maintains that the use of analogy requires defining the context of validity of the correlate linking an object with an attribute. In the 1980s, this debate about the use of analogy was raised not only for ethnographic data, but also for experimental data and ethnohistorical data. Hence, the word "actualist" was rapidly adopted in order to discuss the relevance of any frame of reference called on by archaeological interpretation, including frames of reference without any anthropological dimension (e.g., diagnostic attributes for identifying manufacturing techniques). In the 1990s several meetings were held on ethnoarchaeology, without, however, reaching an epistemological consensus (Gallay, Audouze, & Roux, 1992; Bazzana & Delaigue, 1995). At the present time the debates are less acrimonious and various approaches have come close to each other, often very close, without, however, always being explicit. These approaches can be reduced to three:

1. An approach that is based on a theoretical reflection on the conditions for using analogy elaborated by J.-C. Gardin in his logicist program (Gardin, 1979). The objective is to highlight regularities whose conditions of application to archaeological data are explicit. These regularities aspire to the status of "laws."
2. An approach that proposes "typological regularities," using ethnographic data that is as close as possible to the data from the past in order to deliver hypotheses, most often of a functional nature, that are admissible given the constraints of a "natural" (environmental, physico-chemical, mechanical) and/or—in the case of geographic and historic continuity with the ancient populations—of a "cultural" order.
3. An approach that assigns a strong importance to anthropological reflection on the social and cultural dimension of material culture and which, just like anthropology, aims to understand the variability of forms of behaviour and cultural traits so as to deepen our understanding of the archaeological data.

These three approaches stem from several intellectual heritages, the first being logicism; the second, palethnology and experimental archaeology ; and the third, anthropology of techniques . I propose to present the three approaches successively, giving examples of case studies for each of them. The references given are not exhaustive—far from it—but they ought to be enough to give an account of the landscape of French ethnoarchaeology and of its originality. Finally, a last point, among the authors mentioned, a large place has been given to authors such as A. Gallay and O. Gosselain, who are Swiss and Belgian, respectively. Their place in this chapter is quite legitimate as, on the one hand, their research springs directly from a French intellectual heritage and, on the other, they play a full part in the dynamics of ethnoarchaeology in France.

Ethnoarchaeology and Logicism

The title of this part deliberately evokes that of A. Gallay's last book (2011) "Pour une ethnoarchéologie théorique" (For a Theoretical Ethnoarchaeology), which is a paraphrase of the title of one of J.-C. Gardin's books (1979): "Pour une archéologie théorique" (For a Theoretical Archaeology), in that it sums up the very essence of an ethnoarchaeological theory upheld by A. Gallay from the 1980s (Gallay, 1980, 1986), i.e., a theory founded on the epistemological principles of logicism advocated by J.-C. Gardin.

I shall first recall these principles before discussing the theoretical framework A. Gallay has developed.

The logicist program is the 20-year-old term given to an ensemble of research aiming to clarify the mechanisms and foundations of the reasoning that organizes our scientific constructs (Gardin, 1979). The program proposes a method for bringing out the logico-semantic structure of interpretative constructs found in the archaeological literature. The basic assumption is that our theoretical constructs can be expressed in terms of a "calculus," in the computational sense of the word, i.e., a database + rewrite formulas "(If) P, (then) Q" expressing the steps observed in written discourse as an author goes from one set of propositions {Pi} to another set {Pj} (Gardin et al., 1987). The logicist program entails rearranging the constituents of our construct in a primitive logical form and proposing a schematization that helps to apprehend the overall organization of the interpretation process and to consult readily some of its parts without having to go through lengthy presentations in standard archaeological discourse (Gardin, 2002). At the same time, the program reveals the foundation of our interpretations and thus the differences from one construct to the other in the conflict of interpretations (Gardin, 1979, 2001, 2006).

In relation to ethnoarchaeology, the logicist rewriting of our archaeological constructs highlights two major points. Firstly, our interpretation of archaeological facts results necessarily from reasoning by analogy. Archaeological facts are compared with facts observed in a domain of reference. If the two sets of facts are considered analogous, then the attributes of the facts belonging to the domain of reference are transferred onto the archaeological facts (Gardin, 1979; Fig. 2.1). Often, interpretations do not explicitly call upon reference data. "They go without saying," which amounts to saying that they implicitly call upon "our common sense," i.e., "our own ethnography." Secondly, artefacts are polysemic. In this regard, interpretations are very much context-dependent. It follows that when comparing archaeological data with reference data, it is not enough to observe analogous features for transferring the interpretative attribute. The context of observation should be taken into account in order to decide whether the transfer of the attribute is acceptable. In other words, such a context is determinant for validating the transfer of attributes.

This question of the conditions for using actualist data in the interpretative process is at the heart of the theory elaborated by A. Gallay (1980, 1990, 1995, 2002, 2011). This theory, strongly rooted in the logicist program, which advocates a

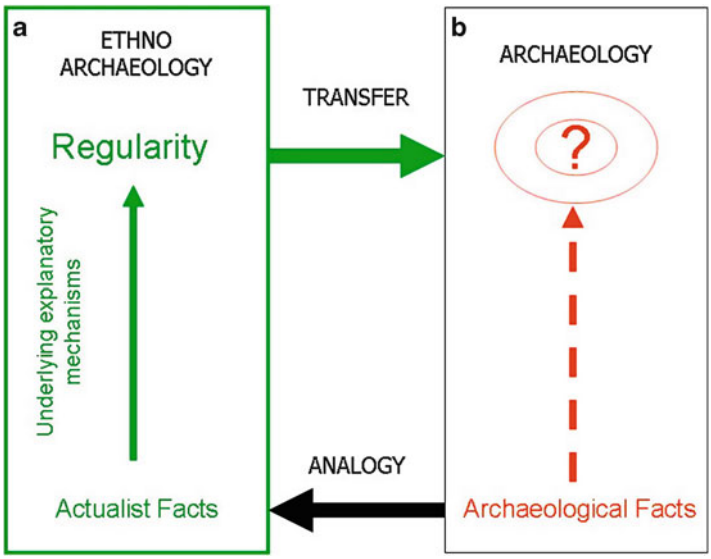

Fig. 2.1 Interpretation represented as the transfer of regularities to archaeological data given: (**a**) an analogy between archaeological and actualist facts and (**b**) mechanisms specifying the conditions of application of the regularity to the archaeological data (after Gardin, 1979)

uniform reasoning in human and natural sciences, is an integral part of a unified view of science articulating the different components that participate in the understanding of the phenomena studied in archaeology (Fig. 2.2). These components are: (a) the historical scenarios witnessed by the archaeological data, (b) the regularities/models that enable us to interpret the archaeological data, and (c) the mechanisms explaining the regularities.

The historical scenarios are by essence descriptive, based on a lacunar documentation and requiring, therefore, models for drawing a picture of the past. The scenarios are contingent and non-predictable since there are no laws of history. They follow dynamics that are not necessarily linear. The dynamic approach, also known as the emergence theory, is one of the theories expressing the complexity of the factors intervening in the historical scenarios (Roux 2003a, 2003b). According to this approach, historical scenarios are viewed as emerging from a complex set of interactions among internal properties and self-organizing over time. They are initiated by particular historical factors, but are actualised in contexts that may act as regularities.

The term "regularity" was coined by A. Gallay (1986). Regularities express correlates linking artefacts or patterns of artefacts with attributes. They are the models necessary to interpret the archaeological data through analogical reasoning. They are mainly highlighted in the actualist domain and are based on empirical observations. However, regularities can also be highlighted in archaeology when we are studying the context of actualisation of past scenarios. In any case, they belong to the anthropological domain. They do not integrate the factor "time", as opposed to

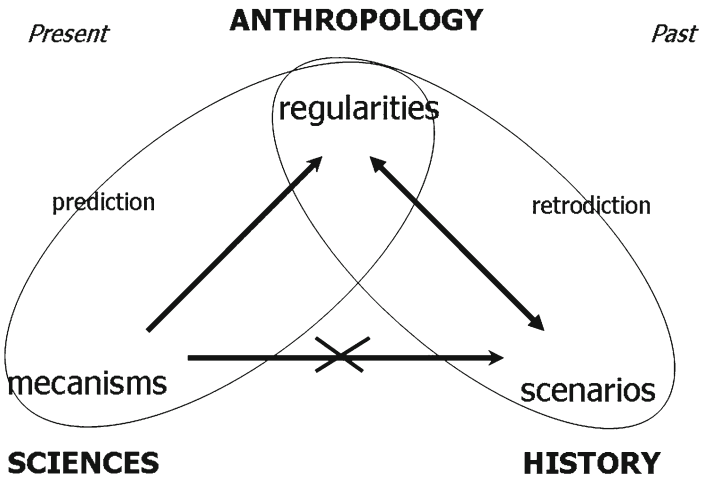

Fig. 2.2 A schematisation of our interpretative procedure (after Gallay, 2011:180). The regularities are highlighted in the domain of anthropology. They are based on their explanatory mechanisms and enable us to interpret the archaeological data and reconstruct the historical scenarios. The mechanisms cannot predict the historical scenarios, which are, by definition, contingent. The mechanisms can predict regularities only

the historical scenarios. They can take different forms, either mathematical or verbal. In the logicist perspective, these regularities are expressed under the form "IF {P}, THEN {Q}" (e.g., IF an object has characteristics P, THEN attribute Q). Their context of validity is defined either by the context in which they take place "In C, IF {P}, THEN {Q}" or by their explanatory mechanisms. Mechanisms call upon different sciences. Their study aims at explaining the foundation of the regularities for defining their context of application and pushing them up to the rank of general laws. Ethnoarchaeology is based on the axis linking regularities and mechanisms, since its scope is to highlight correlates between artefacts and attributes and define their context of validity, either by specifying the context in which they take place or by studying their foundation and therefore their explanatory mechanisms.

Ethnoarchaeological researches conducted by Gallay (1988, 1991, 1992b, 2007), Roux (1985, 2000), Roux & Corbetta (1989), and Gelbert (2003) are examples of the researches conducted in a logicist perspective; that is, endeavouring to define the conditions for using the regularities that are highlighted empirically.

Among the different researches led by A. Gallay, we have chosen to summarize the one that took place in Mali and which provides a model allowing the demarcation of the geographic space occupied by ethnic groups on the basis of their archaeological traces (Gallay, 2007; Gallay & de Ceuninck, 1998). This model is based on the observation that there exist in the considered zone perfectly distinctive ceramic traditions, whose material components enable two concentric zones to be defined: one, that of decorated ceramics, which can be superimposed on the area occupied by the ethnic group, while the other, wider zone, concerns the common ceramics and is characteristic of the distribution networks relating to an economy with a

peripheral market. The demonstration is made up of four parts. First, the context of observation is characterised in techno-economic and social terms. This context situates the context of application or actualisation of the model proposed. Second, the mechanisms assuring the supply of a concession with richly decorated ceramics are investigated. It is shown that richly decorated pottery items consist mainly of gifts acquired at weddings, that they are never sold at markets, that wedding pottery is given to a bride by her mother, that it comes from the bride's ethnic group and is owned by the bride. It follows that richly decorated pots from a potters' compound always come from a place less than 38.67 km away from the potters' compound and pots from a farmers' compound always come from a place that is less than 56.08 km away from the farmers' compound. This pattern of circulation allows the defining of a zone of limited extension as the production zone of the ceramic tradition in question. Third, the mechanisms assuring the diffusion of the common ceramics in the production zone are considered. It is shown at this level that the combined effect of the potters' and buyers' movements on the markets is the origin of a zone of diffusion of the tradition spreading beyond the potters' production zone. Fourth, a general pattern characteristic of the geographic insertion of an ethnic population is proposed to archaeologists.

The ethnoarchaeological model highlighted by A. Gallay has been used for identifying ancient ethno-linguistic groups and for reconstructing historical scenarios in West Africa (Mayor, 2010a, 2010b). More precisely, the spatial distribution of ceramic fashioning techniques and decorative motifs has been interpreted as expressing ethno-linguistic groups by reference to the regularities highlighted by A. Gallay and which state that: (a) the shaping techniques and aesthetic properties of pottery define the traditions that reflect the identity of the producers, (b) the ceramic receptacles in a household compound reflect the identity of the inhabitants, (c) the sizes of the ceramic receptacles reflect their functions, and (d) the spatial distribution of a ceramic tradition reflects the settlement structure of the producing group (Mayor, 2010b: 96).

In the same perspective, V. Roux has worked in Mauritania and India on regularities linking objects (grinding material, wheel-thrown vessels, and stone beads, Roux, 1985; Roux & Corbetta, 1989; Roux, 2000) with different attributes: techniques, skills, techno-systems, and organisation of production. These regularities have been highlighted through empirical observations, while the study of their explanatory mechanisms has entailed field experiments in collaboration with researchers from different disciplines. Field experimentation constitutes a compromise between laboratory experimentation and the observation of daily life situations. It involves the construction of an experimental situation that is based on tasks and environments that are familiar to the subject. The methodology, which is inspired by experimental psychology, must allow rigorous control of the parameters involved. It must permit a resolution of the dilemma presented by the combination of laboratory analysis and the natural context. In the first case, the following question is asked: to what degree can we generalize the results obtained from simple tasks that are completely devoid of all cultural meaning to real situations in daily life? In the second case, the daily life situations are characterized by the great

diversity of factors involved. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to individualize the different underlying mechanisms through observation alone. The goal of field experimentation is thus to associate the advantages of the two types of situations (field and experimentation), while trying to minimize the disadvantages and biases. Thus, the study of the regularities linking wheel-throwing and stone-knapping with skills has consisted in characterizing objects in terms of the duration of the apprenticeship, while the generality of this duration has been studied through field experiments in collaboration with researchers in sciences of movement (Bril, Roux, & Dietrich, 2000; Roux & Corbetta, 1989). As a result, it has been possible to distinguish between the cultural and the bio-behavioural constraints and to understand why, in any culture, wheel-throwing and stone bead-knapping of objects of any shapes and sizes take around 10 years of apprenticeship. This duration seems to be a golden rule for mastering any category of motor and/or cognitive activity (Ericson & Lehman, 1996). The subsequent regularity has followed: "IF long apprenticeship, THEN craft specialization" (Roux & Corbetta, 1989). However, its context of validity had to be restricted given the bio-behavioural constraints playing on the number of tasks an individual can learn. The regularity has consequently been reformulated as follows: "IN Context with multiple techno-economic tasks, IF there are crafts long to learn, THEN these crafts are specialized" (Roux, 1990). Other regularities have been proposed linking the elementary operations involved in the manufacturing process of stone beads with time for manufacturing, and consumption of goods (tools, fuel, etc.). Again, explanations in terms of bio-behavioural constraints have enabled us to consider them as universals and to propose a model for reconstructing original ancient techno-systems (Roux & Matarasso, 2000).

The regularities elaborated for stone beads, and touching upon techniques, skills and techno-systems, have been used for reconstructing ancient modalities of carnelian bead production and the related exchange networks in India and South East Asia (Bellina, 2007; D'Errico, Dumont, & Roux, 2000). They have also been used to characterize the skills involved in ancient stone-knapping (Roux & Bril, 2005).

This endeavour to highlight regularities along with their context of validity is also visible in A. Gelbert's research (2003) in the Senegal River Valley on ceramic borrowings. Her research draws on the "dynamic system approach" (Roux, 2003a), according to which the borrowing process is viewed as a complex historical phenomenon emerging from the interactions between the components forming the technical system (the task-environment-subject nexus). A. Gelbert has analysed borrowings of ceramic fashioning, finishing and decorative techniques, as well as tempering and firing fuel along this line. Then, she examined the conditions of actualisation of these borrowings in order to highlight regularities linking pottery borrowings and the relationships between potters. She showed that, depending on the nature of the technical trait, the conditions of actualisation of the borrowing varied. Thus, she showed that the adoption of the moulding technique by potters usually practising the modelling technique was observed in a large-scale production context by potters having at least indirect contacts, whereas the adoption of a corncob decoration was also observed in a large-scale production context, but this decoration was performed only by artisans who experienced immersion in the area of the

exogenous tradition. The proposed regularities state that: In the Context of large-scale production, IF there is borrowing of a fashioning technique implying no motor difficulties, THEN it signals indirect contacts, or IF there is borrowing of decorative techniques, THEN it signals immersion of the artisans in the exogenous tradition. In the case of the first regularity, an explanation is given that calls upon productivity. In the second case, the explanation given calls upon adaptation of the demand to the clientele. Assessing the validity of these regularities would require applying them in different cultural contexts.

To summarize, the ethnoarchaeological researches conducted within A. Gallay's theoretical framework aim clearly at both highlighting regularities and defining their context of application to archaeological data by characterizing their context of actualisation. This strong epistemological position aims to propose models/regularities whose validity can be tested: (a) either by transposing them in different cultural contexts and accordingly by progressively extending or restricting their context of application; (b) or by studying experimentally the universality of their context of application. The approach in (b) aims to demonstrate that the observed regularity will not vary depending on the cultural context, given the universal constraints directly affecting the features under study (e.g., bio-behavioural constraints implying a necessary progressive acquisition of the skills involved in wheel-throwing or stone-knapping or the mechanical performance affecting the surface features of stones or ceramics).

Ethnoarchaeology and Typological Regularities

We bring here together the ethnoarchaeological studies that propose "typological regularities" (so named by Gallay, 1992a) linking material traits with different domains. These regularities distinguish between: (a) the ones whose context of application is transcultural given variables that are not cultural, but "natural" (environmental, physico-chemical, mechanical), (b) and the ones whose context of application requires an analogy of context, both geographical, socio-economic and/or historical. In both cases, the focus is on regularities rather than on the explanatory mechanisms.

The first category of regularities entails settlement studies and technological studies. The former studies are well exemplified by A.-M and P. Pétrequin's studies published in the early 1980s (1984). The objective was to answer the lingering question about the palafitte settlements and their functional aspect. For this purpose, A.-M and P. Pétrequin investigated the Toffin habitat in Bénin. They studied the relationships between the different types of habitat and their position in relation to the lake. Given that the processes of fossilisation vary according to these two parameters, they were able to propose a model determined by processes of sedimentation and physical determinism independent of climate and socio-economic factors (Pétrequin and Pétrequin, 2006). These authors applied this model to palafitte

settlements and were able to interpret the archaeological remains in terms of the type of habitat. They thus solved a long-standing debate.

Technological studies in the actualist context represent the most numerous ethnoarchaeological studies. They consist in both recording present-day *chaînes opératoires* (manufacturing chains) related to traditional activities and in highlighting the attributes diagnostic of these *chaînes opératoires*. Such studies are in line with the methodology developed by experimental archaeology in the late 1960s. One of the major actors in this respect was Tixier (1967), who contributed greatly to revisiting lithic assemblages by reference to experimental data. The strength of his approach was in using experimentation, not for replicating the lithic tools, but for highlighting the attributes diagnostic of the production process. For this purpose, he insisted upon designing experimental protocols that enabled control of the variability of attributes, by having one parameter varying at a time. It is in this perspective that prehistorians have conducted ethnoarcheological research, taking advantage of the diversity of ethnographic situations for making the parameters vary. It was also an opportunity to control the parameter "skill", by having trained artisans to perform the craft and/or the experiments.

Technological studies carried out in actualist situations are varied. They bear on hide-working; butchering; animal, milk, cereal and plant processing; object manufacturing processes; the functions and duration of the life of the objects; and manufacturing times. The examples given below do not provide an exhaustive list but are meant to illustrate the variety of situations that have been investigated.

Let us first mention S. Beyries' extensive investigations (2008) on the working of hides in Siberia and Canada and which entail comparisons between contrasting situations. Beyries analyzed the *chaînes opératoires* and the related tools used by groups living in different environmental and socio-economic contexts. This enabled her to highlight the attributes diagnostic of the function of the stone tools used in the process of leather-working, the positioning of the hide when it was worked, the shape of the handle of the tool used, the grasp of the tool, and the gestures of the craftsman. Applied to prehistoric tools, she was then able to characterize different leather-working processes (Audouze & Beyries, 2007; Beyries & Rots, 2010).

In the same perspective as Beyries' extensive investigations and based on the same methodological principles, the following somehow more focused studies have been conducted: reindeer carcass processing in Siberia and the related cut marks and spatial configurations (David, Karlin & Diachenko, 2010; Costamagno & David, 2009), salmon processing in Canada and the related spatial configurations (Beyries, 1995), milk processing in the Middle East and the forms of the related ceramic containers used (Gouin, 1994), the harvesting process in the Near East and the related wear on stone tools (Anderson, 2003), cereal processing in Greece (grinding of barley grains that are not dehusked) and the related wear on grinding materials (Procopiou, 2003), vessel manufacturing processes in Crete (Pierret, 2001) and in Senegal (Gelbert, 2003) and the related diagnostic surface features, the different functions of vessels and the related morphometric features (Ceuninck, 1994), the duration of life of vessels and their function (Mayor, 1994), the rate of ceramic production and the degree of standardization of the vessels in Spain and in India

(Arcelin-Pradelle & Laubenheimer, 1982; Roux, 2003b), and stone bead finishing processes in India and in Yemen and their significant attributes (D'Errico et al., 2000, Inizan, Jazim, & Mermier, 1992).

In all these studies, as in experimental archaeology, functional activities and related "material" features are considered. The diagnostic attributes are highlighted through correlations as they appear in crosstabs. The mechanisms explaining their relevance and their univocal character are not necessarily delved into, except in some cases, which then enable the authors to consider the highlighted correlations as universals.

There are also typological regularities that have been used to try to link architectural features with the social domain. As an example, A. Coudart (1992), in New Guinea, tried to understand whether the evolution of Danubian Neolithic architectural traits was to be interpreted in terms of the evolution of social cohesion, by reference to the degree of architectural variation and the social cohesion of the group in New Guinea. The proposed model was that the more the number of architectural traits with few typological variants dominated over the number of architectural traits with many typological variants, the stronger the group's social cohesion. However, the foundation of the model was not explained (why such a correlation?) and the study had no follow up.

The second category of regularities, the ones whose transfer to archaeological material requires an analogy of geographical and socio-economic context, is well exemplified by the ethnoarchaeological researches on a traditional habitat in the Near East conducted by O. Aurenche (2012; the book gathers all his articles pertaining to ethnoarchaeology). His aim was to better understand both the functions of Neolithic architectural remains and the evolutive dynamics of villages in a landscape occupied by both sedentary and nomadic populations. His collaboration with architects enabled him to provide detailed reference data for interpreting functional elements related to the habitat and for questioning the evolution of villages in terms of mode of life and demography. These architectural reference data are still used for understanding the functioning of ancient Near Eastern habitats as well as the modalities of sedentarisation of nomadic populations. Here, the reasons for sedentarisation are historical and may vary. However, its modalities follow regularities visible in the evolution of the habitat pattern. The implicit postulate was that geographical and socio-economic contexts produce constraints that can lead to similar behaviours. In other words, in similar geographical and socio-economic contexts (ancient and modern), if features are similar, then function is similar (in the broad sense of the word). It is according to this postulate that F. David and Cl. Karlin embarked on ethnoarchaeological researches in Siberia (Karlin, Tchesnokov, David, & Diachenko, 1997, David & Karlin 2003). Their objective was to better understand the Magdalenian "Reindeer culture." They considered that the modern reindeer cultures from Siberia could provide an in-depth understanding of the relationships between humans and reindeers, given an analogy of socio-economic symbiosis between humans and animals. Their observations helped them mainly in putting "flesh" on the archaeological pattern of Magdalenian camps by proposing functional and behavioural regularities proper to reindeer cultures (in other words, in similar

socio-economic contexts, if similar patterns of remains, then similar functions and behaviours).

When this similitude of context is not only geographical but also historical, ethnoarchaeological studies come within the "Direct Historical Approach". Such French studies were mainly carried out in Oceania and in Patagonia. Let us quote first the studies led by H. Guiot on the manufacturing of big ships in Polynesia. She proposes regularities under the form of attributes enabling us to interpret not only the manufacturing process, but also the related economic, social and ritual life given the historical continuity between past and present populations (Guiot, 2001). One can also quote the studies in Patagonia led by Legoupil (1989), who used ethnohistorical data to interpret archaeological camps of sea-mammal hunters.

Ethnoarchaeology and the "Anthropology of Techniques"

In the 1970s, in the continuation of A. Leroi-Gourhan, A.-G. Haudricourt and M. Mauss's works, a team of ethnologists led by R. Creswell was working on the description of technical processes and their place in society, advocating that techniques were as much technical as social facts (Creswell, 2010). The term "cultural technology" was born, as well as the journal, "Techniques & Culture" whose first issue dates from 1983 and which provides numerous technological studies carried out along this line. These studies were followed by two major books bringing together studies in cultural technology and archaeology: one edited by Lemonnier (1993), the other by Latour and Lemonnier (1994). They exemplify the lively dialogue which existed at that time between the two disciplines, ethnology and archaeology, and which had succeeded in getting over the cautionary tales about the social meaning of material culture supposedly not reachable by archaeologists. The fecundity of the dialogue between the two disciplines led to joint articles on the topic (Coudart & Lemonnier, 1984) as well as to prehistorians joining the editorial board of the journal "Techniques & Culture" (Cl. Karlin). But above all, this dialogue led to major ethnoarchaeological researches. These researches "essentially look for working hypotheses, models, to enrich and give a sense of direction at a given point in time to archaeological research" (Pétrequin & Pétrequin, 2006).

Among the major works conducted in this perspective, let us first mention P. Pétrequin and A.-M. Pétrequin's work in New Guinea on stone axes (Pétrequin & Pétrequin, 1993). Not only did they provide original data on the *chaînes opératoires* involved in the manufacturing and use of these axes, but they also provided data on their social dimension, from the *chaînes opératoires* with their utilitarian efficiency to the *chaînes opératoires* with great social value, manipulated by the men and dedicated to the spirits of the ancestors. On the basis of these data, these authors have built up models that they have applied to Neolithic societies in Jura. These models have played a major role in the formulation of hypotheses on the production, distribution and social manipulation of Neolithic axes, even though the authors note that the social model of stone axes had to be given up at a certain stage when it was

acknowledged that certain Neolithic societies were not egalitarian and that the explanatory hypotheses stemming from the New Guinean experience were not valid any more (Pétrequin & Pétrequin, 2006).

Nowadays the models that are the most studied pertain to culture change and the variability of technical and stylistic features in relation to the synchronic and diachronic variability of social boundaries. Thus, O. Gosselain's and L. Degoy's ethnoarchaeological studies have tackled the question of ceramic variability with a focus on the transmission process in order to better understand how technical and stylistic variability either endures or evolves. In this perspective, O. Gosselain first studied the variability of the technical traditions among potters from Cameroun (2000, 2002). He showed how pottery technology could be the locus of stylistic expression, distinguishing between different social groups. He then showed that some technical features were more likely to endure than others; for example, the fashioning stage, given the learning process and the subsequent embodiment of skills. He then extended his field researches to Southwestern Niger, where he found a very different situation (Gosselain, 2008). This led him to investigate the processes of borrowing and to consider craft traditions as situated practices "that are not just acquired at a precise moment but are continuously reassessed as people enter and characterize specific communities" (Gosselain, 2008:154). In a landscape where numerous potters relocate after learning the craft, mainly for matrimonial purposes, he acknowledges that transmission is only a part of the culture dynamics and that representations developed through practice and social interaction play a critical part in processes of change. In other words, O. Gosselain's study highlights the complexity of the mechanisms explaining culture dynamics by showing "that learning is constantly reassessed and readjusted as individuals engage in practice and interact with other individuals" (Gosselain, 2008:176), and therefore that it is not enough to consider transmission and contacts between individuals for understanding change. From this point of view, he insists on the fact that "all attempts at analysing cultural behaviour in universal terms will always restrict us to a crude level of understanding" (Gosselain, 2008:176). In other words, O. Gosselain is in line with archaeological questions but is not convinced by the possibility of highlighting regularity in the domain of culture change.

In the same perspective, Laure Degoy has investigated the anthropological meaning of pottery variability in Andhra Pradesh (India), exploring mechanisms that support techno-stylistic variability in pottery production (Degoy, 2006, 2008). She was able to show that variation in technical features was correlated either with functional factors, gender differentiation, matrimonial networks, or with dialectal, linguistic and/or historical boundaries depending on the nature of the technical feature: forming techniques, forming methods, forming tools and postures. Thus, variability in forming tools corresponded to dialectal and linguistic entities, whereas forming methods corresponded to matrimonial networks. In this regard, she was able to demonstrate, like O. Gosselain, that it was important "to employ multiple analytical, geographic, and sociological scales in the study of technological variation and cultural identity" (Degoy, 2008: 222). She was also able to demonstrate the importance of historical factors in the differential dynamics that affected the evolution of technical features.

Perspectives

To sum up, the three trends identified within French ethnoarchaeology do share a main common concern; that is, the concern to provide regularities/models based on empirical data in order to answer questions raised by archaeological interpretation. With this goal in mind, they all deal with case studies as reference situations for highlighting regularities and not as singular anthropological situations. The two approaches proposing logicist and typological regularities work on parts of the reality, leaving aside the "total social fact" as dealt with in ethnology. The approach close to the anthropology of techniques entails studies conducted on a large geographical scale in order to lead comparisons and highlight models representative of a simplified reality. Ultimately, all the approaches are concerned with the use of analogy and the conditions for applying the highlighted regularities to archaeological data.

This is particularly true for the studies of "simple correlates" in the domain of technology that link material culture with so-called static phenomena (Roux, 2007). The term "static phenomena" refers to the technical operations and gestures according to which an artifact has been made and used, the motor and cognitive skills involved in the making and use of the artifact, and the production system and the social group within which the technical tradition is transmitted. These regularities are, in a way,"without risk", since there is a control over the variables that are at play in the studied observables and since the variables are determined by "natural" constraints: i.e., environmental, physical, mechanical, chemical, and bio-behavioural constraints. The universality of these constraints is not always studied, but when it is, it leads to powerful regularities. Let us here quote as an example an ethnoarchaeological study conducted in Syria by a social anthropologist who examined environmental constraints in relation to the techno-economic behaviours of pastoral societies (D'Hont, 1994). This study led the author to highlight a well-founded regularity about pastoral settlements; and the validity of this regularity could be demonstrated when he rightly predicted the locations of ancient pastoral settlements. Such studies are exemplary, although rare. Thus, in the domain of technology, field experiments remain rare. Often, it is suggested that experiments could perturb ethnographic settings. Nonetheless they remain the best way to have the parameters varied, and therefore to validate the highlighted regularities.

In the studies done in line with the anthropology of techniques and which correspond most of the time to "complex correlates" linking material culture with dynamic phenomena (Roux, 2007), researchers deny the possibility of highlighting regularities. However, when studying the diversity of situations, they do point to regularities, given "universal" behaviours situated at the individual level (for example, in the learning process, the learner doing tasks in the same way as the teacher). Thus, when O. Gosselain observes a superimposition between ethnic groups and pottery traditions in situations of low production and low degree of interactions between groups, but not in open interaction situations of high production, he brings out data pointing to general conditions favourable or not favourable to borrowings, even though he insists on the particular histories of the borrowings he came across.

In the same way, when O. Gosselain and A. Gelbert observe the same technical phenomenon (borrowing of the moulding technique) actualised in different conditions (both in low and high production contexts), they do not contradict each other, but supplement, through a comparative perspective, the conditions in which such a phenomenon occurs. In other words, when the diversity of ethnographic situations is considered as the particular expression of general behaviours, and when the contexts of actualisation of these situations are compared, then it is possible to apply to dynamic correlates the same approach as that applied for simple correlates. This is what can be expected in the future no matter the epistemological position of the researchers given the strength of the methodology formalised by A. Gallay indicating that there is a distinction to be made between the particular situations (the "historical" scenarios), the regularities (and their context of actualisation) and the underlying explanatory mechanisms found at the individual level (the invariants).

Conclusions

The ultimate goal of ethnoarchaeology is to participate in a better accumulation of knowledge. The lack of the accumulation of knowledge is manifest when looking at the diversity of the rules of inferences used by archaeologists when interpreting their data; for example, in the terms "ethnic group," "craft specialization", and "borrowing". When A. Gallay proposes a unified theory of ethnoarchaeology, the aim is to provide us with interpretative models that contribute directly to a shared knowledge between archaeologists.

Studies proposing regularities are inevitably complex and ponderous, since they require bringing out the invariant components of the processes under study. As a result, and despite the crucial role of ethnoarchaeology for developing the models/regularities necessary for interpreting the archaeological data and reconstructing historical scenarios, ethnoarchaeological studies are still too few. Meanwhile our world is changing fast and reference data for understanding past social behaviours are vanishing before our eyes. Recently there have been calls for projects on craft transmission mechanisms (French National Agency for Research, project CULT, edition 2012). Let us hope that such projects will promote the development of new comparative ethnoarchaeological studies for a better understanding of the evolution of past societies.

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Chapter 3
Ethnoarchaeology in Italy

Francesca Lugli

Introduction

Although the term "ethnoarchaeology" has been used with the same meaning since the beginning of the twentieth century (David & Kramer, 2001:6), it is well known that between the 1950s and 1970s the term began to spread, and with it the discipline itself. Several major projects developed, and therefore there was also a development of the theoretical discussion on the use of analogy in archaeological interpretation and relationships that could and/or should connect the historical, archaeological, anthropological, ethnological and ethnographic approaches of the past (David & Kramer, 2001:14).

Originally ethnoarchaeology intended to apply ethnoarchaeological research to have a better understanding of the past, using field studies, which, above all analysed, or almost exclusively analysed, issues related to the formation of archaeological deposits (obviously including the artifacts) (Binford, 1971, 1978).

Archaeology, especially in relation to the study of prehistory, has known an unstoppable debate about the essence of the discipline; the methodological, theoretical and practical approaches, its limits, the role of the individual and society, and the position of scholars and their language (Hodder, 1982, 2009a, 2009b).

The theoretical discussion has gradually become more complex and is indispensable even for archaeology to be practiced properly. It is currently possible to say that ethnoarchaeology, initially used only to aid archeology, has embraced the issues under discussion and other issues have been added. Given the nature of the discipline, ethnoarchaeology also takes into account the ethnological, anthropological, archaeological and ethnoarcheological problems that relate to the study of contemporary realities (Gallay, 2011).

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_3,

It is well known that ethnoarchaeology, its diffusion and its theoretical discussions belong substantially to the English-, and partly the French-speaking world. However, in Italy research has also taken place, but it has often remained confined within national borders, for historical, cultural and linguistic reasons. In this country despite the almost deafening "institutional silence" and the skepticism of "academic establishments" towards ethnoarchaeology, part of the Italian prehistoric scientific community has shown remarkable curiosity towards this "subaltern" discipline and its possible applications in the field of archeology. Until the 1990s ethnoarchaeology was not a recognised subject at universities and therefore it was almost impossible to write a thesis about ethnoarchaeology. Theses that discussed material culture and its typology were considered more important and more formative for student education, as analogies between the situation at the time and prehistory were not widely accepted. Students and scholars were forced to conduct ethnoarchaeological research outside of the academic world. Over the years, the validity of ethnoarchaeology has been established and a lively discussion in the country has been consolidated.

Before discussing the situation of ethnoarchaeological studies in Italy it is useful to briefly outline a few key moments in prehistoric studies in order to illustrate the historical background and the genesis of Italian Ethnoarchaeology.

An Overview of Italian Prehistoric Studies

Italy has a long and important tradition of archaeological studies, especially in relation to the Roman and pre-Roman periods. During the *Humanism* in the fifteenth century, in fact, with the increasing interest in the Latin and Greek world, powerful families collected ancient remains. Many important collections were created and many painters were inspired by directly observing ancient art. At the same time as this artistic passion occurred, curiosity about the past developed and some authors started to write about archaeological sites. In the following centuries the interest in antiquities grew. Italian archaeological studies evolved in parallel with the evolution of philosophical thought, and for a long time classical studies were linked to the concept of beauty in art.

Therefore, despite Italy being a forerunner in archaeology, in this country this discipline was conditioned by the artistic approach of classical studies and prehistory, and unfortunately, the discipline has always suffered from this comparison. In fact, also in recent times, public funds have favored classical archeology to the detriment of prehistory.

In the nineteenth century positivist thought influenced and promoted the scientific approach in historical and social studies. A different historiographical approach developed and social and environmental factors were considered to create a framework in order to better understand the events of human history in their entirety. In this perspective the philosopher and historian Carlo Cattaneo said that it is necessary to study the facts and not the faculties of mind/being, in contrast to Descartes, who

with the *cogito*, intended to separate thoughts from nature and society; and Roberto Ardigò wrote that the true nature of reality is the transition from l'*indistinct* to the *distinct*, which is the basis of the present system of philosophy in its complexity of the unity of the universe (Adorno, Gregory & Verra, 1979: 356–358).

In this philosophical dynamism the interest in prehistory and primitive peoples allowed an optimal situation to develop and many important research studies were conducted in the second half of the nineteenth century, which were increasingly distant from the viewpoint of collecting that had essentially characterized previous studies. Among the scholars of this period, Luigi Pigorini is one of the most influential. He had many important public responsibilities: he was Director of the Prehistoric and Ethnographic Museum of Rome (now called the National Prehistoric and Ethnographic Pigorini Museum), he was the first professor of Palethnology at the University of Rome and remained so for 40 years. In 1912 he became a senator and from 1919 until his death he was the vice-president of the Italian Senate; he was therefore able to influence prehistoric studies at that time and, consequently, the future of prehistory and, indirectly, also that of ethnoarchaeology. With Luigi Pigorini, in fact, the documentation of the discovery of each object became systematic and he gave an interpretation of the past that represents the development in historical terms, and with a long-term perspective, of archaeological data. In 1876 he inaugurated the museum "Regio Museo Preistorico ed Etnografico di Roma", in which Italian, and not only Italian, items from recent prehistoric research were collected and exhibited, according to the age division of the theory of evolution, together with items of "primitive peoples" from different regions of the world. Pigorini stressed the importance of ethnographic observation for prehistoric studies and the need to use all the available data to interpret human history correctly. The museum can be considered an important step in the acceptance of the validity of the use of ethnographic analogy in prehistory.

At the beginning of his career Pigorini was innovative in many ways, in what concerns the methodology of excavation, i.e., the use of photography, the use of the entirety of the available data and the concept of the museum.

Afterwards, however, he became an obstacle to the development of prehistoric research.[1] He was often dictatorial and did not easily accept different opinions; many scholars, such as Innocenzo Dall'Osso, had a difficult career trying to express their different interpretations. Thus new theoretical approaches and methodologies were often hampered by Pigorini and his disciples. Of course it is difficult to establish a direct connection between the use of Pigorini's power and the later development of ethnoarchaeology, but it can be said that if he, and his scholars, had been more open-minded, perhaps also the future academic establishment would have been quite different and possibly less narrow-minded.

[1] For example, Margherita Mussi, at the XLVI scientific conference of the Italian Institute of Prehistory and Protohistory "150 anni di Preistoria e Protostoria in Italia" (23–26 Novembre 2011, Roma), stressed the position that Pigorini held against the possibility of paleolithic art in many Italian prehistoric sites.

Nevertheless, thanks to Pigorini and his school, after the unification of Italy and the consequent spread of positivism throughout the new state, at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, until the First World War, prehistoric studies multiplied and many important discoveries and discussions occurred. Giuseppe Angelo Colini, Paolo Orsi, Giacomo Boni, Dante Vaglieri, Adolfo Cozza, Gherdo Ghirardini and many others actively contributed to create the framework of Italian prehistory and protohistory, which for a long time constituted the reference point for all future studies. In fact, although the interpretations of these studies are sometimes inexact, primarily due to the lack of information, they are still exemplary examples of field research.

After the First World War, with the advent of fascism and the Second World War, Italian pre-protohistory went through a dark period, because of the well-known historical difficulties and because of the new ideology, which was only proud of the Roman period and which did not consider prehistory.

Great importance was given to the study and classification of materials, often according to a very important but extremely limiting "typological" tradition. This "decadence" (Peroni, 1992: 55), however, had its origins in the previous period, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, when *Idealism* gained the upper hand in Italian culture. The most important exponent of this culture was the philosopher Benedetto Croce, who did not agree with scientific methods being applied to human sciences, nor did he recognise the value of prehistory and protohistory (Croce 1917, in Galasso, 2001).

It can be said that *Idealism* formed the basis of the subsequent lack of interest in prehistory and protohistory shown by universities, museums and the Italian Parliament and the Senate, and this is important, as without the support of these public institutions, working in this field was impossible.

During this period the abundance of activities relating to prehistory and protohistory, and the positivistic approach of Italian pre-protohistory of the nineteenth century decreased and only a few scholars were able to undertake prehistoric and protohistoric excavations. As a result of the "idealism of Benedetto Croce", in addition to the development of fascism and racism and the race concept, ethnology and ethnography also went through a dark period and the previous level of interaction with prehistory and protohistory faded almost completely.

During the fascist period classical archaeology therefore prevailed over prehistoric and protohistoric studies. Nevertheless, there were important archaeologists (such as Gian Alberto Blanc, Paolo Graziosi, Luigi Bernabò Brea and Massimo Pallottino) who conducted important research, despite the restrictive setting of Italian culture at the time which did not allow them to freely express their philosophical "credo" about their interest in prehistoric cultures and did not let them evolve their theoretical basis. This is evident when comparing the setting of Italian archaeologists with that of their contemporary French and British colleagues who followed functionalist positions, and had a geographical and anthropological approach (Guidi, 2001).

After the Second World War, the end of fascism and the beginning of the Italian Republic marked a turning point and the resumption of prehistoric studies. During this period Luigi Bernabò Brea, who had a cultural-historic approach, conducted

excavations at the Arene Candide site (Liguria), which was a fundamental step in Italian prehistory. The author recognized the sequence of different Neolithic levels, which is still the point of reference of the mediterranean Neolithic (Bernabò Brea, 1956).

During this period, in Italy after 1946 two different schools of prehistoric and protohistoric studies were consolidated: the Anglo-Saxon approach of Salvatore Maria Puglisi, close to the position of Gordon Child; and the Central European tradition approach of Renato Peroni. The first had a wide anthropological view and the second had a typological one.

These two approaches have never interacted and consequently a theoretical discussion about the methods and the goals of prehistory and protohistory has never developed.

Although the school of Renato Peroni is very important, certainly Salvatore Maria Puglisi provided a fresh outlook on Italian prehistory and protohistory. It is especially important to recall his interdisciplinary approach of "*La civiltà appenninica*" (1959), in which he reconstructed the Italian Bronze Age through environmental, subsistence, social and economic studies. It is important also to underline his interest in ethnography and ethnology and his consequent use of analogy in archaeological explanations; for example, his interpretation of a typical Bronze Age pot as a kettle, based on the observation of modern shepherds in the mountains of the Italian Apennines.

It is possible to say that Puglisi was the first Italian scholar who had an interest in ethnoarchaeology, but, unfortunately, his school has rarely demonstrated his passion for the contemporary study of traditional lifestyles.

The period immediately after the Second World War can be considered a dynamic and important one for prehistoric studies, but, as has often been the case in Italian archeology, after a lively and propulsive phase a centralization of power followed, by those who had been innovators, and the wave of novelty faded.

In the 1960s and 1970s in Italy a significant movement of student and youth protests occurred which intended to overthrow the political setting of the Italian state.

The influence of these movements came into universities and ignited endless philosophical discussions by students and scholars, as well as archaeologists, especially archaeologists of prehistory. In those years students translated many foreign texts and some courses were managed by professors who tried to improve theoretical debates about economic anthropology and substantivist and neo-positivistic approaches, about Marxian thought, as well as about neoevolutionism and the New Archaeology, in order to open the students' eyes to the rest of the world.

Archaeologists and anthropologists tried to communicate with each other and, in general, at universities many students and some professors attempted to abandon the traditional Italian historicist approach.

It is useful to say that despite the debate of Anglo-Saxon derivation being mostly conducted by people within a socialist and communist cultural matrix, it was precisely the Italian left who partially hindered these discussions because they considered neo-positivistic developments, especially American ones, a result of bourgeois thought.

In this context, although the universities were flooded by these theoretical debates, except for a few sporadic attempts, Italian prehistory did not improve its theoretical-philosophical setting. The Anglo-Saxon anthropological approach of Puglisi was accepted by many scholars but without an interest to evolve it towards a specific Italian debate. The typological approach of Peroni was assimilated by many pre-protohistorians, often losing sight of one of the main Marxian goals of Renato Peroni: to try to understand the context that had produced a prehistoric culture. It can be argued, however, that in this situation a new Italian Archaeology, not only one of Anglo-Saxon derivation, was commencing. The article by A.M. Bietti Sestieri in *Dialoghi di Archeologia* (1976–1977) about the validity of the substantivist approach in Italian pre-protohistory can be considered an attempt in this direction, as can the articles by Renato Peroni (1969, 1976–1977), where he put forward a socio-political interpretation of Italian protohistory, in spite of his strict typological background.

At the same time, however, from a historical point of view, the climate that produced the "lead years"[2] in the 1970s and 1980s was developing. As a consequence the armed struggle against power began. The state reacted strongly against terrorism and used it as a pretext to crush opposition and youth movements.

To silence the generations that had fomented the dissent, a law was passed in 1977, which even the communist party agreed with, to recruit youth into the state. Museums and ministries were invaded by people who often occupied public offices without having the necessary experience or qualifications.

The "rebellious" generation was appeased and the protests gradually trailed off. This same generation ended up using their new power with detrimental outcomes, which has partly caused the changes in the status of Italian archaeology, and policy, today.

In the universities theoretical discussions were dampened down, the courses returned to normal and the echo of *New Archaeology* and other innovative thoughts diminished.

As Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri has noted (2001:215), Italian archaeology finds it difficult to accept and to assimilate important changes due to the strong vision which it has of itself. Having said that, some important changes had already taken place in Italian prehistory and protohistory, and some Italian scholars continued to encourage an "open" archaeological approach.

As Alessandro Guidi wrote (2001:10–11), it is possible to identify different approaches in Italian prehistory from the 1970s to the present day: in addition to the typological and anthropological approaches, there is, generally speaking, a pragmatic approach with a strong interest in field research and in naturalistic data; a processualist approach; and a post-processualist approach. It is important to recall

[2] The 1970s and 1980s in Italy are called the"lead years", using the title of the movie by Margarethe Von Trotta "Die Zeit Bleierne" (1981), in which the director described the contemporary and analogous situation in West Germany.

that the Anglo-Saxon approaches have been interpreted by Italian scholars who have a strong and important historical-cultural point of view of the past.

Therefore although Italian pre-protohistorians often prefer to emphasise the study of archaeological material, there are also scholars who are interested in different interpretative methodologies; for example, Giovanni Leonardi (1992, 2002) and Armando De Guio (1997) from the Paduan school, who are especially interested in the comprehension of the archaeological record and the relationship between archaeological sites, human activities and the territory, considering temporal, latitudinal and climatic variations. Maurizio Tosi (1975, 1984), and his school, who originally had a Marxian approach, has had a consistent interest in human beings and social implications, and has proposed a reappraisal and a revision of Marx's thinking on state formation problems.[3] Massimo Vidale, who has a personal view which derives from both the Paduan school and the Marxian approach, is particularly interested in archaeological stratigraphy and craft technology, production and organization, as a tool for a better comprehension of social complexity (1992, 2002, 2007), as well as the formation of states and political complexities from prehistory until the early states (2002, 2010). Alberto Cazzella (1992, 2000, 2011) combines a historical-anthropological approach with his strong interest in typological complexity.

Unfortunately, there has not been a fruitful debate about the theoretical and methodological issues among these scholars and it is possible to say that each "school" has evolved independently from the other.

This lack of fruitful debate was evident during the already cited XLVI scientific conference by the Italian Institute of Prehistory and Protohistory "150 years of Prehistory and Protohistory in Italy" (23rd–26th November 2011, Rome), where the presentations were largely about individual scholars and only in a few cases about the development of prehistoric thought in Italy.

Ethnoarchaeology in Italy: A Difficult but Productive Path

Of course Italian ethnoarchaeology mirrors the situation of prehistoric studies and, in general, archaeological studies: despite the great theoretical and philosophical basis of many scholars, the typological tradition, or the classification of archaeological material, is very strong and consequently ethnoarchaeology has encountered many obstacles.

Before the 1990s the ethnoarchaeological approach had rarely been used in a systematic way by Italian archaeologists[4] and only a few scholars had primarily tried to define the intent and application of ethnoarchaeology (Gianni, 1985, 1988),

[3] Particularly he re-discusses the organization of material production and he is interested in bringing a conceptual framework that "might allow for future correlation with locational studies of settlement hierarchy" (Tosi, 1984:22).

[4] This was mainly due to the skepticism of the academic establishment as noted above.

although ethnoarchaeological research was already present in Italy (Angle & Dottarelli, 1990), especially with Massimo Vidale (1992; 2000), who proposed an overview of ethnoarchaeological studies and applications and presented a case study about agate workers in Gujarat (India), which focused on the different material and social aspects of craft production and their visibility in archaeological records.

In Italy some ethnographic research studies had been conducted before this period, but, albeit their scientific merit, they were not important from an ethnoarchaeological point of view and, on the contrary, the ethnographic setting of Italian ethnology did not aid in developing the ethnoarchaeological perspective in Italy.

Furthermore, it is important to recall the presence of foreign scholars who have studied traditional Italian lifestyles in order to have a better understanding of the past. First of all there is Graeme Barker with his research based on "human landscapes', the relations, both short-and long-term, between people and environment in the past." He spent many years studying several pastoralist communities in the Italian Apennine mountains and carried out an analytic study of the history of the long-term settlement in the Biferno Valley, "analyzing the symbiotic relationship of its landscape and its inhabitants" (1998).

Although studies carried out by foreigners in Italy have had an extraordinary importance for the reconstruction of Italian prehistory and for ethnoarchaeological reasearch, they have not created one definitive Italian school.

In Italy since the end of the 1990s ethnoarchaeological research has increased and ethnoarchaeological studies have been conducted more and more frequently. Ethnoarchaeologists, and scholars interested in ethnoarchaeology, have had the possibility to meet, to present their research and to debate about the role of the discipline at ethnoarchaeological conferences that have been regularly promoted by the Italian Ethnoarchaeological Association; events that the scientific communities both in Italy and abroad are enthusiastic about, as in 2010 these conferences became international. These events have therefore enabled exchanges between colleagues, and the spread and consolidation of ethnoarchaeology in Italy and abroad (Lugli, Stoppiello & Vidale, 2000:17–19; Barogi & Lugli (eds), 2004; Lugli & Stoppiello (eds), 2008; Lugli, Stoppiello & Biagetti (eds), 2011, 2013).[5]

Italian pre-protohistorians have demonstrated a significant interest in the potential of ethnoarchaeological research. More than 95 % of the 150 presentations at the five conferences were presented by pre-protohistorians, half of which were by Orientalists and Africanists.[6] The last five meetings of the Italian Ethnoarchaeological

[5] The International Ethnoarchaeological Conference "The Intangible Elements of the Culture in the Ethnoarchaeologica Research" was held in Rome on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of November 2012.

[6] At the 1st Conference (Roma 1998) there were presentations by 13 pre-protohistorians, 1 Orientalist, 1 Islamist, 1 medievalist, 1 ethnologist and 1 historian. At the 2nd Conference (Mondaino 2001): there were presentations by 26 pre-protohistorians; 1 medievalist, 2 ethnologists, 4 classicists; 2 Americanists; and 1 historian. At the 3rd Conference (Mondaino 2004); there were presentations by 22 pre-protohistorians; 1 ethnologist; 3 classicists; and 1 Americanist. At the 4th Conference "Ethnoarchaeology and formational processes" (Roma 2006): there were presentations by 32 pre-protohistorians; 5 classicists; 2 medievalists; 1 Americanist, and 1 historian. At the 5th Conference "Ethnoarchaeology: current research and field methods" (Roma 2010): there were

Association have therefore demonstrated a reliable picture of the state of ethnoarchaeology in Italy since 1998.

Having said that, it has been possible to recognise that there have been three core approaches since the first conference, which was held in 1998. The first approach considers ethnoarchaeological research in order to observe and document the relationship between human behavior and the archaeological record (often closely related to the genesis of the archaeological record), and to observe and document functional and formational processes; the second approach links the set of relationships between ethno-anthropology and prehistoric archaeology; and the third approach, which is linked to the study of materials and their production with a strong ethnographic perspective, can be referred back to the typological perspective that has characterized, for better or worse, Italian prehistoric and archaeological studies.

Certainly over the years scholars have moved away from a particular interest in craft production, formational processes and the archaeological record in its general complexity, to a wide interpretation of ethnoarchaeology as a research strategy; and studies with a wide ethnographic setting have been abandoned.

From this perspective it is useful to observe that whereas at the first Conference in 1998, there were six presentations about the archaeological record, one about craft production and archaeological implications and five with a marked ethnographic setting (Lugli et al., 2000:18), at the fifth, there were six presentations about formational processes and the genesis of the archaeological record; two about craft production and archaeological problems; one with a strict ethnographic setting; and nine with a wide view of human variability and its implications in an archaeological context. These last nine presentations were partly influenced by a post-processual approach, in order to reach a broad vision of the discipline, with a focus on the tangible and intangible mechanisms that regulate human choices.

Therefore it is clear that the ethnographic approach has almost disappeared and the other two approaches, whilst still being different from each other, have now been given more importance.

More than 150 scholars have participated in the ethnoarchaeological conferences in Italy, and among these it is possible to identify emblematic scholars who have consistently contributed to the development of the discipline in Italy, with their different theoretical and practical approaches, not only within the conferences.

Massimo Vidale, who has already been mentioned, with his books “Protohistoric craft production. Ethnoarchaeology and Archaeology” (1992) and “What is Ethnoarchaeology?” (2004), can be considered one of the referent points for Italian ethnoarchaeologists. In these two texts the author provides an overview of ethnoarchaeological studies and their different approaches and shows by means of his research in Italy and in the East his interpretation of the discipline. He believes that ethnoarchaelogy “indicates that a few of its essential actors in non-industrialized

44 presentations 18 by foreigners and 24 by Italians of whom there were 34 pre-protohistorians, 1 Americanist, 2 classicists, and 1 historian.

societies, such as women and children, still remain invisible from an archaeological point of view and that an archaeological theory which is able to interpret the enormous repertory of formation phenomena, evolution, and destruction or buildings and layers which can be encountered in reality is still distant." He argues that "we could start by understanding how we ourselves produce similar constructions and deposits" (2004:67). Thus, his interest is focused on formation processes and the archaeological record, as well on the different segments that make up human life.

Due to Vidale's interest in these segments of life he thinks that, like ethnology and anthropology, ethnoarchaeology makes the observer and the observed recite two complementary parts of a real tragedy, which follows the unconscious but generalized process of the assimilation of traditional cultures, for the benefit of western cultures (Massimo Vidale, 2004:121).

The role of scholars and their theoretical and behavioral settings in relation to the studied and observed present life is a condition of the final result. Consequently it is important to acquire more mental patterns in order to obtain a varied view of human complexity.

Vidale has stressed the importance of the comprehension of the formational processes in order to have a better understanding of the data of the archaeological record, and over the years has been moving towards an approach that is increasingly interested in a wider view of human variability. From this perspective, his paper at the fifth ethnoarchaeological conference titled: "Chain Letters: Fast evolving Material Culture," in which he considers the chain letter from an evolutionistic point of view, using it as an example of human handiwork that is subjected to particularly accelerated rates of mutation, can be considered his most recent interpretative boundary.

In a different but not opposite direction there is the approach of Armando De Guio, who, with his disciples, in addition to showing interest in formational processes and the archaeological record and their relationship with human behavior, and an interest in the biophysical and anthropogenic factors that interact with different cycles and present-day conditions, focuses on the concept of "long term" applied to landscapes and pastoralism, and to its productive realities, (De Guio & Bressan, 2000; De Guio & Cavicchioli, 2011). De Guio's analysis uses an ethnoarchaeological approach joined with modern technological means. From this perspective the scholar has passed from the study of particular cases such as housing structures, craft production and productive structures, to research about "the warscape" (De Guio & Betto, 2008: 129) examined in a paradigmatic way "from a large number of heuristic and managerial analytic perspectives (in particular Archaeology of the War and Archaeology through the War, conjunctural, long durée, pre-, sin-, post-abandonement Formation Processes, environmental impact, social actor theories, action-based Geographic Information System, Risk and Uncertainty Management, and Eco-Cultural Resource Management)" (De Guio, 2008: 129). Consequently, always from a "long durée" point of view, De Guio has also studied in depth the concept of the ethnoarchaeology of "frontiers and boundaries" and "Ethnoarchaeology of boundaries: the case of Vezzana (Trento, Italy)," he claims that it is possible to identify "meaningful connections with a number of 'liminal'

entities from the Late Bronze Age smelting activity from the past-to present 'malghe' and connective networks" (De Guio & Bovolato, 2011:234).

Therefore these two scholars, Vidale and De Guio, in different ways, each present individual and personal approaches that combine different joint settings (an interest in the archaeological record in its entirety and in the data complex seen as a result of the combination of the ethnoanthropological and archaeological points of view), and that have widely influenced Italian ethnoarchaeological research. The studies of craft specialization by Vidale have certainly inspired the research of his disciples about Gypsy itinerant metallurgists (Rebuffel, 2004) and "The Contemporary Archaeological Record of Ornaments Manufacturing and Sale of Beads in the Rione Esquilino" presented at the 5th Conference "Ethnoarchaeology: current research and field methods" (Rome 2010). And as regards De Guio, in the papers presented at the Conference "Highlands project: stories and archaeology of mountains" (in Luserna the 20th December 2005), his disciples presented different papers about landscapes, about *long durée* and and about production (of which the following are examples: Bressan, Padovan "Ethnoarchaeological and experimental research strategies"; Betto; Bressan; Padovan "Excavation of the charcoal pit of Croiere"; Bovolato "Frontiers and border: from the Bronze and Iron Age to us").

Another important scholar who has made a significant contribution to Italian Ethnoarchaeology is Gaetano Forni, who has joined naturalistic settings to the importance of the comprehension of human behavior, through the study of agriculture also from an anthropological point of view. He has always stressed the impossibility of interpreting agriculture and agricultural phenomena with a dogmatic outcome. It is necessary to identify the limits of human knowledge. In this view it is important, according to this scholar, to understand how the landscape has been modified by agriculture and by human activity. Forni wrote that it is important to identify Archetypal Logic and Ethology as a conceptual base for ethnoarchaeology (2004, 2008, 2011) and to correctly interpret the use and the meaning of agricultural tools, such as the plough, whilst bearing in mind the plurality of the possible interpretations, using different approaches and disciplines.

The research of Gaetano Forni has considered agricultural phenomena from preprotohistoric times until the present day. In his approach historical and ethnohistorical data are very important, as well as the correct use of classical sources. The approach of Forni shows that ethnoarchaeology offers interesting applications not only for prehistory and protohistory but also for historical periods.

On the other hand Alberto Cazzella (2000, 2011) has mainly offered theoretical thinking about ethnoarchaeology and its theoretical debate. This scholar has principally stressed the dichotomy of the discipline in which two main approaches exist: the ethnoarchaeology that primarily intends to have a better understanding of archaeological deposit formation, and the ethnoarchaeology that considers the relationship between ethno-anthropology and archaeology to be indispensable. His approach is closer to the first type, but he also argues that ethnoarchaeology in both its interpretations is a valid tool for reaching a deeper knowledge of the past. In particular he claims that human relationship phenomena are not uniform and need to be interpreted in context.

Over the years, in addition to the authors already mentioned, many other scholars have examined different issues according to their own settings and interests.

A topic widely discussed is the genesis of the formational processes of the archaeological record in relation to human behavior. For example, Claudio Moffa (2008) conducted a research project in the south of Senegal about raw earth domestic architecture, in order to interpret the archaeological remains of Broglio di Trebisacce, an important Bronze Age site in Calabria. Maurizio Cattani (2011) has analyzed modern subterranean dwelling structures in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, and ancient remains, and he has suggested interpreting them as an efficient result of the adaptability of the nomadic populations of Central Asia.

The study of formational processes, applied to "productive structures" and their interpretation in prehistory and protohistory, has been investigated by many scholars. Bianchetti, Guida and Vidale (2004) examined the formational processes of Nepalese Terai iron metallurgy and its slags, in order to interpret protohistoric iron production and its archaeological record in Northern Italy; and Gatti et al. (2000), who were interested in the Bronze Age metallurgy of southern Italy, examined the formational processes of a modern abandoned forge to interpret the archaeological record connected to the metallurgy of Broglio di Trebisacce in Calabria.

In a wider view that considers different approaches and more variables, Alessandra Assunta Stoppiello (2008) has analyzed the production of glass beads in Cameroon, and their trade and diffusion, in order to understand their symbolic and aesthetic value in the present and in the past. Stefano Biagetti (2008, 2011) has stressed the concept of "variability" applied in Central African campsites, in prehistory and nowadays, and the importance of using an ethnoarchaeological strategy, and ethno-anthropological data, to have a more "humanized narrative of the past" (2011:224) of the past. Giansimone Poggi (2011), with a similar point of view, in his paper on hunter-gatherers' fire structures, has proposed an ethno-anthropological approach joined with a prehistoric issue, and he has outlined the relation between mobile groups and fire, suggesting that it is necessary to try to link prehistoric fireplaces to the cultural identity of nomadic groups.

The study of different materials and their production, using ethnographic data, has had an important role from a typological and technological point of view. Claudio Giardino (2008) studied the activity of a coppersmith in Central Italy (Roccagorga, Latina) in order to have a better understanding of the typology of tools and protohistoric metallic production. Francesco di Gennaro and Anna Depalmas (2004, 2008) studied modern Tunisian pottery from Barrama in order to establish an analogy with the typology of Italian Bronze Age pottery.

The wide theoretical approaches of these scholars are not universally accepted in Italy, and in recent years research has been conducted in a more "descriptive" and partially ethnographic approach. This is the case, for example, both in the exhaustive study about the villages and the huts in the Lepini mountains, in which Vincenzo Padiglione (2012) applied the archaeological strategy of research to ethnographic evidence, and in the research carried out in Val Camonica by Ausilio Priuli (2010), who considered the archaeological and ethnographic evidence of the valley, with an openness towards an anthropological and historical interpretation of landscape.

Nevertheless, in recent years Italian ethnoarchaeology has essentially evolved from a vision that was mainly based on the observation and analysis of "material culture" and the results of its archaeological context, to increasingly accept a vision that takes into account other aspects, such as the individual, their behavior in all its completeness and complexity, and their material and immaterial relations with the society to which they belong. Therefore, according to this view, the mechanisms and dynamics of human relationships both within the society and in relation to what surrounds the individual are what provide the perception of reality by an individual or a society. In other words, in Italian studies, an anthropological point of view, in the proper sense of the observation of the complex mechanisms that regulate, direct and influence the individual, on both a material and an immaterial level, has gradually been accepted.

Moreover, as some foreign authors claim (Gallay, 1991, 1995, 2011; Pétrequin & Pétrequin, 2006), ethnoarchaeology is often justly considered a universal reference of the entire archaeological discipline, especially of prehistory, and more and more Italian scholars agree with the position of Nicholas David and Carol Kramer, who argue that ethnoarchaeology is a strategy intervention that can save information on fading societies (2001:2).

Although ethnoarchaeology in Italy is not universally widespread and accepted, it has had an important role in both the development of prehistory and protohistory. It can be said that it has actively contributed to a greater diffusion of the Anglo-Saxon theoretical debate in pre-protohistory. In fact the concept of analogy is already often accepted, even among the scholars of a typological tradition,[7] as well as the interest in processualism and post-processualism and in the possibility of a "pluralistic" approach, (Manacorda, 2000:6). Italian ethnoarchaeology has demonstrated in its own country the validity of ethnoarchaeological research both for what concerns pre-protohistory and as a valid strategy to study threatened cultures. Consequently, at present even if there are not many ethnoarchaeology courses at Italian universities, the courses on prehistory and protohistory usually have a part of them dedicated to ethnoarchaeology and to its possible practical applications. Many Italian archaeological missions abroad, especially the pre-protohistoric ones, consider it important to spend part of their money, and time, on ethnoarchaeological field research. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Ministry of Public Education, finance (albeit modestly) ethnoarchaeological research and missions.

It can be said that ethnoarchaeology has become part of Italian prehistory and has forced scholars to reconsider its validity and also the need to improve a theoretical approach to their own discipline.[8] It is also important to stress that Italian ethnoarchaeology, which is based primarily on the Anglo-Saxon tradition, has not shared its processualism/post-processualism debate, and, being a "new discipline", Italian ethnoarchaeology mainly started at the end of the debate and at present is trying to have a pluralistic point of view.

[7] For example, the research by Peroni's disciples, mentioned above, such as C. Giardino, F. di Gennaro and C. Moffa.

[8] As Vidale, De Guio and Cazzella, mentioned above, have demonstrated.

Nomadism, an Opportunity for Ethnoarchaeological Research

Many scholars currently consider ethnoarchaeology to be a valuable tool in understanding many phenomena and aspects of human culture. In particular, the validity of an ethnoarcheological approach has been repeatedly emphasized regarding the study of nomadic peoples who, from an archaeological point of view, leave few traces (Cribb, 1991; David & Kramer, 2001; Van Wolputte, 2003:25).

It can be argued that nomadism in general, and not only pastoralism, provides an exceptional opportunity for ethnoarcheological observation.

Populations, or parts of populations, that move with the seasons either for their subsistence and/or for their livelihoods, along traditional well-defined routes, have often, since the dawn of time, represented an important part of human culture. A part whose knowledge is essential for the comprehension of human history, therefore offering interesting insights into the reconstruction of important aspects of human history.

In the ethnoarchaeological research carried out by Lugli since the 1990s, two different types of nomadism have been concentrated on: firstly, the itinerant activity of charcoal makers in Italy and later, Mongolian pastoralism, in order to identify, in these different and far-separated contexts, key aspects and processes of the use of landscape and to give interpretative models to archaeological remains on the basis of ethnoarchaeological research.

Charcoal makers have often been nomads due to the seasonality of their trade and because of the location of manufacturing in the forests. Charcoal[9] can be considered the oil of antiquity and, up until recently, people have made laws, strategies, policies, invasions and wars for it (Lugli & Pracchia, 1994).

From an archaeological and historical point of view, there is little information about this important productive sector of human activity. Archaeologically, this is due to the scarcity of evidence that charcoal pits and charcoal piles leave on the ground once removed.[10]

In Italy in the 1990s, it was still possible to study nomadic charcoal makers who were still active in some parts of the peninsula (Figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4); (Lugli 1998; Lugli & Pracchia, 1994).[11]

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[9] The knowledge of charcoal production in the various ages is important in order to understand the dynamics which have regulated a large part of human cultures since the beginning of the metal age until the industrial revolution and, in some cases, even after.

[10] Historically, this is because of the silence of any literary sources, as charcoal makers made up a sector of the population who were considered to be on the fringe of society. Consequently, there is no comprehensive data about the processes of manufacture, nor is there such data on the protagonists involved in the production.

[11] In the 1990s an ethnoarchaeological study took place to research the last Italian charcoal makers, with the support of the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Forestry. The research was conducted among some communities and documented their manufacturing activities and lifestyle, before their nomadic life was abandoned in favor of a sedentary way of life. Currently, few charcoal makers are still active in Italy and these few are mainly sedentary; although the traditional process of making charcoal continues, they have completely subverted all the dynamics that characterized their nomadic existence: their nomadic life conditioned by the seasons, temporary housing, traditional means of transport, sporadic relationships with the towns and relative cultural isolation.

Fig. 3.1 Charcoal makers' camp in Civitella Cesi (Viterbo) (1992). (Photo, F. Lugli)

Fig. 3.2 Charcoal maker disassembles a charcoal pile. Mongiana (Vibo Valentia). (Photo, F. Lugli)

Lugli and Pracchia, using ethnoarchaeological data and historical and ethnographic sources, have reconstructed the variability of the patterns of charcoal manufacturing in relation to areas of activity, areas of consumption, and transport and metallurgical activities, and also in regard to the different patterns of productive localization and the movement of activity areas in relation to the exploitation of forest resources.

Fig. 3.3 Transporting timber. Civitella Cesi (Viterbo) (1992). (Photo, F. Lugli)

Furthermore, the formation processes related to charcoal were reconstructed (Fig. 3.5); in order to understand how many people were involved in the manufacturing, and to find information about temporary housing and movements.[12]

These studies were carried out before important changes took place, and are thus extremely valuable and show how urgent it is to study threatened cultures.

In a similar way research has been conducted by Lugli in Mongolia since 2002. In fact a privileged point of view is provided by Mongolian pastoralism, which is an exceptional opportunity for ethnoarchaeological research, for the possibility of identifying the current mechanism of nomadic life of the steppes of ancient times, as well as the needs of current pastoralism.

In Mongolia at present about 32 % of the population still lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle, largely perpetuating patterns of environmental and cultural adaptation.[13] The study of the current situation can contribute significantly to the reconstruction of models of Mongolian pastoralism in the past, and in general those of of the Central Asian steppes (Figs. 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8). An archaeology of nomadism has not been fully developed in Mongolia, despite the important prehistoric and historic evidence that is being studied[14] (Lugli, 2008a, 2008b, 2011, 2013).

[12] Consequently, parameters were provided that could be used to understand the charcoal production in different periods, as well as useful stratigraphic comparisons for the excavation of ancient charcoal pits and piles.

[13] Although there is undoubtedly a historical change taking place.

[14] In 2002 the Italian Association of Ethnoarchaeology—Onlus, with the financial support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in collaboration with the National University of Ulaanbaatar, began an ethnoarchaeological study concerning nomadic camps in different regions of Mongolia, in order to verify differences and repetitions regarding the socio-cultural and/or environmental

Fig. 3.4 Charcoal makers weighing charcoal. Civitella Cesi (Viterbo) (1992). (Photo, F. Lugli)

The observation of Mongolian pastoralism today can therefore provide useful parameters and reference models for the reconstruction of micro and macro events of the past, and for archaeological and historical research, and certainly the observation of the current nomadic lifestyle can help us to understand land use in different regions and in different contexts.

The identification of the usual routes of the shepherds and the identification of the choices of camp sites are equally important, as are: the dynamics of the movements that occur when actual migration takes place from one region to another in search of good pasture; the location of the camps in different seasons; the logic and intangible elements that determine the choice of the site; winter camps and their potential to identify "archaeological" levels; the speed of movement in the

aspects of the camps. The project was directed by Francesca Lugli. The architect Graziano Capitini is responsible for the graphic documentation and photography.

Fig. 3.5 Reliefs of charcoal pile remains between "rifugio Speranza" and Fonte del Monaco. Mongiana (Vibo Valentia) (1995)

Fig. 3.6 Nomads moving towards their autumn camp. Western Mongolia (August 2006). (Photo, G. Capitini)

territory[15]; salt as a highly conditioning factor of human life in Mongolia; the relationship between nomads and their animals, which is another important intangible

[15] On the basis of data derived from the scientific literature, and according to ethnoarchaeological data, nomads normally move between 3 and 4 times a year and sometimes as many as 32–35 times,

Fig. 3.7 Winter camp. The Bulgan region (December 2011). (Photo, G. Capitini)

Fig. 3.8 Nomads returning to their camp (December 2011). (Photo, G. Capitini)

element thath can provide useful information that leads to a better understanding of animal domestication and the shepherd life of the past; family and friendly

depending on the region and the climate. The distance between the camps ranges from approximately 4/6 km up to 150 km, in the case of drought or other environmental problems.

relationships that generate different localization models of the camps; and aggregative situations that favor exchange and relationships.

These are, of course, only some of the issues that can be studied today in Mongolia, a country that still appears to provide an ideal ethno-anthropological and ethnoarcheological research opportunity for studying nomadic life in the steppes. All these elements combined contribute to understanding the wide variability of Mongolian nomadism in spite of its apparent monotony.

From a "practical" perspective of field research, the ethnoarchaeologist can substantially contribute to the study and documentation of threatened cultures that are unlikely to have a future.

Conclusions

Ethnoarchaeology is now accepted and widespread particularly among Italian scholars of prehistory; both for what concerns the theoretical discussion related to it, and for its practical applications. However, it is difficult to argue that Italian ethnoarchaeology has found a universally shared identity.

In spite of the proliferation of studies and the lively and fruitful theoretical discussions in Italy, there is neither a general acceptance of the discipline nor a general interpretation of its aims and methods of investigation in this country.

To summarize, it is possible to say that the discipline in Italy still suffers from a dichotomy that has been intrinsic since the very beginning. In other words, on one hand there is an ethnoarchaeology that primarily intends to collect data about the formational processes of the archaeological record, and on the other hand there is an ethnoarchaeology with a broader view that observes and interprets different realities, and embraces more complex issues, "using the local knowledge in an appropriate balance between an 'ethical' and an 'emic' approach" (Di Lernia, 2008:11–14).

Despite these difficulties and this dichotomy, ethnoarchaeology is becoming more and more accepted in Italy; some points are universally shared and for all Italian scholars it is clear that ethnoarchaeology is, above all, a field research discipline that implies the validity of analogy. It provides the opportunity to live in the present, and to study the present in relation to the past. In theory, ethnoarchaeology can document, study and generate models about the different moments of life of the studied subject. In other words, ethnoarchaeology can trace the *history* of the studied subject from a different angle to that of archaeology.

For Italian scholars it is clear that ethnoarchaeology is not simply the use of ethnographic comparisons, nor is it the study of the ancient world on the basis of ethnological perspectives, nor is it the archaeology of the present, nor is it ethnohistory, and nor is it experimental archeology.

The strategy of ethnoarchaeological research about the immaterial sphere is considered to be useful and fruitful. Dealing with realities that are rapidly changing and even disappearing, in Italian ethnoarchaeology it can be seen that the material

sphere cannot be separated from the immaterial one, which conditions and produces the material aspect of human life. The documentation of cultural complexity is therefore considered fundamentally important, as it leads to the observation of the material aspects of life, as long as its scholars bear in mind "local knowledge" and the cultural conditioning of the scholars themselves.

Italian ethnoarchaeology, is therefore now also directed towards issues unrelated to "material" documentation in the strict sense, and it analyses spheres of "intangible" culture, with great attention being paid to the balance between scientific documentation, local knowledge, and the background of the scholar doing the field research, willingly or unwillingly, being forced to live with the reality being studied.

It is urgent to study human cultures that are suffering from profound changes, or whose existence is seriously threatened. In fact fragments of a traditional life can still be observed in many regions of the planet and also in Italy, in spite of the modernity that advances at an unstoppable pace.

From this point of view ethnoarchaeology is therefore not only a tool to interpret the past by analogy with the present, but is a strategy of investigation that can observe and document important aspects of human culture. In Italy, for example, despite initial hostility from the scientific community, an ethnoarchaeological "conscience" has developed over the years and many important projects have been launched in Italy and abroad.

The interest in ethnoarchaeology in Italy is extremely lively, despite the initial indifference of the relevant institutions. Unfortunately these institutions do not often offer ethnoarchaeological research in the national cultural program. Nevertheless, Ministries and universities, in recent years, have started to finance ethnoarchaeological research and it seems that, despite the current economic crisis, Italian ethnoarchaeology can have a fruitful future.

It is in fact urgent to undertake ethnoarchaeological projects, also within Italy, to document and to study precious survivals of the past before their disappearance. Although theoretical debate about the validity of ethnoarchaeology has involved numerous scholars, especially in English-speaking countries, it is important to bear in mind that, often, interesting discussions have also taken place in countries where a different language is spoken.

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Chapter 4
German Ethnoarchaeological Traditions from a Theoretical and Conceptual Viewpoint: Past and Present

Ruth Struwe

Ethnoarchaeology as Understood Here

Ethnoarchaeology in a wider sense is seen as an archaeological way of reasoning, including knowledge and information attained heuristically through ethnological research, for the interpretation of archaeological evidence and finds from all periods and at different levels of archaeological interpretation. The term itself has its origin on the one side in the anthropology of the North American region and on the other in the ethnology of the Viennese ethnohistory (*Ethnohistorie*) emphasizing the application of archaeology in its concept. Analogies from ethnology are important by providing cases or models and by widening the horizon in archaeological reasoning. The areas of application of ethnoarchaeological investigations reach from the functional analysis of prehistoric tools to the reconstruction of economic relationships or the understanding of social structures or ideological systems. In archaeological fieldwork, systematic observations and the analysis of processes and actions in the living reality, which lead to certain archaeological evidence, are used in archaeological interpretation.

The German ethnoarchaeology tradition developed from an eclectic use of ethnological or historical analogies to interpret archaeological finds and evidence in the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, to a theoretically based approach in applying ethnological information in archaeology from the second half of the twentieth century onwards.

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_4,

Prehistoric Archaeology under the Influence of a Developing Ethnology

Research on stilt houses (*Pfahlbauten*) in the Swiss region in the nineteenth century illustrates superbly the effort to interpret archaeological features in Europe by using observations made by explorers overseas. In 1854 Ferdinand Keller explained posts exposed in the lakes at the foot of the Alps as substructures of houses (Keller, 1854). His idea that, in the Swiss lakes, villages had been erected on platforms was inspired by the stilt houses in New Guinea and sites in the Southeast Asian archipelago described by the explorer Jules Dumont d'Urville. In 1860 Keller wrote about an ancient people who had preferred to settle on lakes. From the animal bones found he drew the conclusion that the people came from Asia; the domesticated animals followed them from the east (Trachsel, 2004:51–52). This idea about the stilt houses[1] of pre-Roman times captivated many European investigators, including Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902), the founder and early organizer of German prehistory research. He was involved with observations in a peat bog near Wismar and in 1865 he investigated a settlement in Lübtow, Pomerania, with the hope of discovering stilt houses there (see Bertram, 1987:13–14). It is evident that in the nineteenth century ethnographic discoveries throughout the world greatly stimulated the theories of European prehistoric ways of life. The foundation for this approach was laid in the Enlightenment epoch by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1717–1786), suggesting a pure originality of primeval people, and later in Germany, particularly by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) interpreting poems from several periods and peoples and implying that the spirit of a people is to be seen as essential and that it would last through time (Gramsch, 2006:6).

In the mid-nineteenth century the first societies dedicated to subjects of the forming disciplines of anthropology, ethnology and prehistory emerged. In 1865 the *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique* was founded, in which French and Italian scholars were dominant. Because of the prevailing political climate and the concern that German research was not receiving adequate attention Virchow founded the "*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*" in 1870 (Sommer, 2005:373). It was preceded, in 1869, by the "*Berliner Anthropologische Gesellschaft*", later to become the "*Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*". Ethnologist Adolf Bastian, botanist Alexander Braun and Virchow were founding members. There were no interdisciplinary topics attempted at that time as the relevant disciplines were still in the process of being established (Eggert, 1995:33). The members of these societies were mostly medical doctors who applied their scientific knowledge to prehistory, ethnology and physical anthropology, a fact which is explicitly true in the case of

[1] Marc-Antoine Kaeser pointed out that the early investigations of stilt houses—together with the first Danish commission for the investigation of *kjökkenmödings* in 1849—is to be seen as the foundation event for the prehistory discipline, because Swiss scholars initiated the first cooperation of scientists and antiquarians; Kaeser (2004, 136 and note 16).

the founding father Virchow. They were engaged in these fields out of eminent interest rather than as professionals, the members of these societies contributed decisively to the constitution of topics relevant to these disciplines in Germany. Prehistoric archaeology and ethnology in Germany separated in general only after Virchow's death in 1902 (Eggert, 1995:33).

The development in Austria was similar. The "*Anthropologische Gesellschaft*" in Vienna was founded at the beginning of 1870 under the medical doctor Carl von Rokitansky (1804–1875) with the aim of investigating humans of all periods up to the present time and of all regions on earth (Toldt 1920, quoted in Wernhart, 1995/1996:2). From 1899 prehistory was represented at the Vienna University as an independent discipline by Moriz Hoernes (1852–1917). His book "*Grundlinien einer Systematik der prähistorischen Archäologie*", published in 1893, exhibits a cautious distance between archaeology and anthropology and a closeness between archaeology and ethnology because of its available written sources. Hoernes tried to incorporate prehistory into a wider range of neighboring disciplines (Fetten, 1998:87). Frank G. Fetten cites Hoernes with his remark that prehistorians, rather than trying to convert prehistoric matters into history, seek to understand them anthropologically, and thus culture-historically, by applying a "genetic method" and not by working regressively from the Middle Ages with a historical method (Fetten, 1998:88). The next stage of development in Vienna was decisively influenced by Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954).

The culture-historical school was linked with theories developed in particular by geographical disciplines. The anthropologist-geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904) used the term "areas of forms" (*Formenkreise*) and worked out the role of the diffusion of culture elements, which he primarily associated with migration. At the turn of the twentieth century this term was widened by Leo Frobenius (1873–1838) to 'cultural areas' (*Kulturkreise*), in which, for instance, a certain type of house appeared together with certain implements or other types of objects. Fritz Graebner (1874–1934) and Bernhard Ankermann (1859–1943) developed the culture-historical method by bringing cultural areas and cultural layers into chronological order (Sellnow, 1961:59; Hachmann, 1987:20). Along with this development a new direction within the relevant related disciplines was initiated that replaced the spirit of evolution in the ethnology of the nineteenth century and which greatly determined prehistoric research, in particular for the Palaeolithic period.[2]

Wilhelm Schmidt, ordained as a priest in 1891, is considered to be the founder of the culture-historical school of ethnology–the *Wiener Schule*. He developed the concept of a primeval culture (*Urkultur*) in which, based on his theological convictions, monogenesis, monogamy and monotheism existed. Liberalism and biological evolution were not compatible with this idea (Wernhart, 1995/1996:4). In the end, this approach meant that investigations into the prehistory of (primeval) people undertaken in the sense of a universal history of culture could be carried out by using ethnological methods.

[2] Hugo Obermaier and Oswald Menghin were crucial protagonists; furthermore, the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, published by Max Ebert, 1924–1929, is also an important reference.

A Paradigm in German Prehistoric Research

In Germany the further development differed from the course of thinking in Vienna. Although the antiquarian method of German archaeology was evidently influenced by the culture-historical school, racist tendencies within Europe resulted in a rejection of universal-historical principles. Traditionally, German prehistory had a closer connection to history, philology and ancient history than to ethnology or to social sciences. This explains why the specialist in Germanic Studies and librarian Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931) was appointed extraordinary professor at the Berlin University within the Seminar of Germanic Studies in 1902; the discipline was established for the first time at a German university as German Archaeology (*Deutsche Archäologie*). Kossinna developed the so-called settlement archaeological method and deliberately drew a boundary to ethnology (outside of Europe). His equation of (Germanic) people, language and culture is, however, to be seen in the context of the culture-historical method that was widely applied in archaeology in his time; thereby Kossinna created a paradigm in archaeological research in Europe (Veit, 1984:note 41, 1994).[3] The antiquarian and typological orientation of the discipline was further developed by this method and the term "archaeological culture" was coined. The supposed settlement-archaeological method considered the distribution of the so-called culture provinces to be equal to tribal areas and served in the end as a retrospective argument for regional claims using evidence drawn from prehistory. Exponents of this argument, e.g. Werner Radig (1903–1985), postulated the existence of ethnologically determined regions of certain house types in Central Europe from Bronze Age to the pre-Roman Iron Age (on Radig see Leube, 2004:100).

The Neolithic site Köln-Lindenthal is an example of applying the observations of dwelling types in contemporary villages of southeast Europe to interpret excavated features. Early in the 1930s a Linear Pottery (*Bandkeramik*) settlement was excavated for the first time on a large scale under Werner Buttler and Waldemar Haberey (1936). Only after several years was the interpretation acquired that the typical longhouses were places for dwelling and the pit complexes were pits for storage or refuse (see O. Paret, 1946; compare also Lüning, 2000). On study trips to several countries in Southeast Europe the archaeologist Werner Buttler (1907–1940) had observed sunken-floor houses which inspired him to interpret the excavated pits as dwellings, so-called curve-complex buildings (*Kurvokomplexbauten*), and the pole houses as storehouses or barns. In Buttler's and Haberey's publication of 1936 (cited above) the supposed ethnographic parallels from Hungary and Romania (Transylvania) are documented in photos and drawings. This approach indicates a relatively naive use of ethnographic analogies, as was common at that time.

[3] For details on Kossinna as a forerunner of national socialist ideology see Grünert (2002), in particular 339–342.

From *Kulturkreislehre* to *Ethnohistorie*

In Viennese ethnological research circles the term "ethnohistory" (*Ethnohistorie*)—as opposed to the doctrine of cultural areas or culture-history put forward by Josef Haekel (1907–1973) (Haekel, 1956)—was introduced by Fritz Röck (in a publication of 1932; Wernhart, 1995/1996:5). The analysis of historical sources for the investigation of ethnologic data and processes was carried out according to the ideas of United States scholars (Steward, 1942: "direct historical approach") and in so doing established "a basis of historical reality" (Wernhart, 1994:328; translation by R. S.). Thereby the ethno-historical working method was brought together with research results acquired by archaeology (Wernhart, 1997:5). From 1962 onward Walter Hirschberg (1904–1996) intentionally developed this research direction: ethnohistory as a cultural history of Africa, working like an historian. This direction is hardly to be seen as ethnoarchaeology, of interest here, but rather as an actual cultural history of the relevant region. A student of Karl W. Wernhart (chair in ethnology at the Vienna University 1980–2002), Alexander Gronner, applied the term "ethno-archaeology" (*Ethno-Archäologie*) to clarify its position as a research area within historical ethnology (Gronner, 1970). According to Wernhart (1994:329) "ethno-archaeology" deals with analyzing and describing a culture that is manifested within a limited area and time and is characteristic of a certain ethnic group, while prehistory, as a discipline dealing with the earliest period, is to be placed before "ethno-archaeology". It is clear that, in this context, the term "archaeology" is used in a wider culture-historical sense and is not related to the discipline as such,[4] although Wernhart (1994:330) points out conditions of cooperation; namely, adherence to the historical method and to unity of space and time, as well as adherence to an exact chronology. However, archaeology in general and especially its ethnoarchaeological approach seem to be understood in a narrow sense. This concept of ethnoarchaeology is obviously aimed at protohistoric archaeology; it is, however, applied in particular to ethnic groups that traditionally belong to the research field of non-European ethnology.

The focus of Austrian research in prehistory in relation to this problem was put forward by Richard Pittioni (1906–1985) at symposia organized at Burg Wartenstein in 1958 and 1959, which were dedicated to the cooperation of the anthropological disciplines and were inspired and funded by the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Pittioni outlined prehistoric archaeology as a discipline assisted by several supporting disciplines; however, he did not include ethnology among them. He considered the latter discipline as an illustrating one, for which prehistory is a precondition, being chronologically positioned before it (Pittioni, Breitinger, & Haekel, 1961; compare arguments by Guhr, 1966). He differentiated between disciplines on the basis of their sources, probably on the one hand as a

[4] A remark by U. Köhler (1995, 32, note 7) is probably to be understood in this way—"Häufiger ist allerdings in neuerer Zeit bei Prähistorikern die Tendenz, auf eigene Faust ethnographische Forschung zu betreiben, auch auf die Gefahr hin, dabei zu dilettieren." ("In recent times, however, there is a tendency among prehistorians to carry out ethnographical research of their own accordant, regardless of the danger of being seen to be amateurish" – translation by R. S.)

reaction to being monopolized by the culture-historical school, and on the other hand because of the development of new methods within archaeological practice.

More carefully, but in a similar way, Wilhelm Angeli (1981) expressed his opinion that prehistoric archaeology is a historical discipline in a limited setting, because it is an empirical one and is based on verifiable experiences. In archaeological analysis the interpretation of finds is "well" placed. Ethnohistory starts from an ethnos source and in carrying out research it stays empirically attached to its subject (Angeli, 1981:4). Accordingly, Angeli was unable at the time to bridge ethnology and prehistory, although he was willing to follow the approach of ethnohistory.

In West German prehistoric archaeology after 1950 the results of research in ethnology and cultural sociology and those in sociology and cultural anthropology were hardly perceivable. An exception was Karl J. Narr (1921–2009), an important protagonist of prehistoric research in which ethnology and archaeology were combined to understand universal history. In the manual "*Handbuch der Urgeschichte*" volume I, that he conceived and edited, it becomes clear by his use of ethnological terms as main chapter headings[5] how important the cooperation of ethnology and prehistoric archaeology was to him. Prehistory is regarded as the history of those periods and regions that cannot be elucidated by written sources; this applies also to illiterate "native people", who are dealt with by ethnology and are used as a basis for culture-historical reconstructions (see introduction: Narr, 1966:7). Under the heading of "comparative methods" Narr quotes experimenting "with such matters" (translation R. S.) as a way to understand functional relations, or using observations as a research subject of ethnology (Narr, 1966:11). Particularly in techno-economic fields ethnological parallels are justified, with cult objects the use of parallels implies in most cases a contextual addition to the analogy, concluding from the partial (exterior) conformity to complete concordance, including the spiritual content (Narr, 1966:11). Narr says one can assume a strong tendency of persistence in the economic mode and way of life of "native peoples" to retain the basic structures of their society. Even in the belief structure such a connection should be kept in mind. However, the analogy is not about individual parallels but about general traits and achieving an understanding that means achieving a "more universal" prehistory. Analogous reactions are to be based on a uniform psychic and biological basis in comparable situations (Narr, 1966:12–14). Narr emphasizes: If in history only independent actions made through freedom of choice are assumed this approach is not supported.

Narr's universalistic approach and his main convictions were obviously influenced by the Viennese School of culture-historical ethnology, which, after 1950 went through fundamental changes, as discussed above (see also Veit, 2000:79).[6]

[5] "Urtümliche Jäger und Sammler (Wildbeuter)" for the Lower Palaeolithic and Middle Palaeolithic and "Heutige einfache Wildbeuter" for the aborigines of Australia, for those of the southernmost and northernmost parts of the Americas, and groups of South and East Africa—written by R. Schott and J. Haekel—as examples; "Entfaltetes Jäger- und Sammlertum" for the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic with recent examples from North Asia and North America—written by J. Haekel.

[6] In Veit's opinion this could have prevented Narr's perceptions from becoming a school of thought.

Narr's culture-anthropological stance was continued in German prehistoric research (see below).[7] Evidently however, the cultural anthropological approach of Narr and others in the Federal Republic of Germany was mainly restricted to the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic—that is to the field of hunter-gatherer societies—while, according to Ulrich Veit (1990:195), the Neolithic and the Metal Ages came under a one-sided "historical" paradigm.

Prehistoric Archaeology and Ethnology from the 1950s to the 1980s in East Germany

After World War II a strong influence of the occupying force, the Soviet Union, was evident. Marxism-Leninism was the officially demanded and supported worldview. Only from 1953 was the discipline pre- and protohistory re-established at the East Berlin university, under Karl-Heinz Otto (1915–1989) (Struwe & Biermann, 2010:363).

Primeval society as a formation in the sense of historical materialism had occasionally been a subject of discussion by materialistic-orientated authors, such as Heinrich Eildermann (1921) and Heinrich Cunow (1926), in the first decades of the twentieth century. Additionally, the publications of V. Gordon Childe served, no doubt, as substantiation of a Marxist approach at this time (see on Childe: Veit, 1984:333–336).

In a fundamental article by the chair of the department of pre- and protohistory, professor Otto, the ethnologist Günter Guhr and the former's successor to the chair, Heinz Grünert (1927–2010), the authors outlined the direction of research in pre- and protohistory to be followed; namely, a holistic approach in an interdisciplinary combination of archaeology and ethnology.[8] Only this would enable the investigation of pre- and protohistory in a Marxist sense from primeval society to feudalism in a local, regional and worldwide setting (Guhr, Otto, & Grünert, 1962). The common aim of archaeology and ethnology/ethnography[9] in investigating ancient society would enable the evaluation of the specific sources of each discipline—on the one side the material inheritance of past societies, on the other side the life expressions of illiterate peoples. Seeing both as historical disciplines, the subject is comprehensive and directed towards the whole society by achieving historical results extending from the local to the universal. Ethnological insights into primeval society range from types of economy, archaeologically untraceable kinship organizations,

[7] G. Mante detailed Narr's basic philosophical attitude in the light of his paper "Der Mensch als Natur und Geisteswesen" ("Man as a natural and intellectual being"; 1956), in which he clearly disassociates himself from evolutionism and materialism; Mante (2007:137–139).

[8] Evidence for this intention is the publication of the series "Ethnographisch-Archäologische Forschungen" (1953–1959). The journal "Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift" was edited from 1960 at the Institutes of Pre- and Protohistory and of Ethnography at Humboldt-University Berlin and up to its 50th volume the journal was published at this university—since 1992 it has been published only by the Chair of Pre- and Protohistory.

[9] The term 'ethnography' is preferred by the authors and is used synonymously for 'ethnology'.

and ownership relations to questions of the origin of religion. With these insights, the search for causes on an economic basis could be carried out according to laws of society that could be abstracted from local developments. Archaeology cannot draw any further conclusions on mental or social areas without ethnographic parallels (Guhr, 1979:83–86).[10]

An early example of applying this methodological framework was presented by Otto with his analysis of the early Bronze Age group *Leubinger Kultur*. According to Otto, interpretations of the social organization of groups are made possible by comparing archaeologically deduced groups from early written sources and ethnological research results (Otto, 1955).[11] By comparing evidence from a Chinese excavation site in Hsiatun of the late Shang-Yin period, Otto characterized the society as a "military democracy" (*Militärische Demokratie*), using Lewis H. Morgan's term in "Ancient Society" (1877). Ethnologist Irmgard Sellnow (1961) endeavoured to divide prehistory universally into periods by applying ethnological theories and examples.[12]

Retrospectively, it is remarkable that Joachim Herrmann (1932–2010), a renowned student of Otto's in the 1950s, in his theoretical contributions never explicitly referred to ethnology in the outlined sense.[13] On the other hand Grünert followed these principles laid out in the early 1960s in his publications for a long time; however, in 1982 he mentioned that the potential of ethnology to be used for investigations in prehistory and the general history of ancient societies had not yet been considered comprehensively (Grünert, 1982, 52, in the chapter "*Die Urgeschichtsforschung im Rahmen der Erforschung der Universalgeschichte*"– "Prehistoric research in the framework of investigations into universal history"; translation R. S.). As an example of including all relevant natural and humanistic disciplines, the working group "Problems of hominization" at the *Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie* at the *Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR* should be mentioned, in which ethnologists also participated.[14] In general, one can

[10] "Die grundlegende Methode der Ethnographie zur Bestimmung des urgeschichtlichen Vor- und Nacheinanders der einzelnen Kulturerscheinungen und der ganzen Kulturzustände ist die dialektische Entwicklung, die vom Niederen zum Höheren verläuft"; ("The fundamental method of ethnography to determine the prehistoric before and after in the succession of certain cultural phenomena and all cultural conditions is a dialectic evolution that proceeds from lower to higher states of development" – translation by R. S.) (Guhr, 1979:84). On the other hand, according to Guhr, it is possible to deduce the relative age from the extent of a cultural phenomenon. This idea has the approval of the culture-historical school; the Austrian ethnographical-archaeological dispute was critiqued by Guhr (1966).

[11] Compare Guidi (2002, 356): "… an impressively early application of 'mortuary analysis' in the famous study on the Leubingen graveyards …".

[12] Guhr (1979, 88) criticizes an unjustified simplification of her ideas on ancient society, although Sellnow herself presented several stages of a gentile society which conform to ethnographic facts.

[13] Herrmann (1965): on archaeological culture and socio-economic areas; the same author (1978) on possibilities and limits of historical statements from archaeological sources. Herrmann was a recognized specialist in the field of protohistory and medieval archaeology.

[14] The publication "*Menschwerdung*", edited by J. Herrmann and H. Ullrich (Berlin 1991) demonstrates the collaboration of the ethnologists G. Guhr, J. Jelinek, F. Rose and I. Sellnow as authors or reviewers of the manuscripts.

say that this Marxist concept using ethnological analogy to interpret archaeological sources and achieve insight into the past beyond material evidence only had a small impact on archaeological practice in East Germany.[15]

Point of View of Cultural Anthropology

In West Germany archaeological research was mostly dealt with in the antiquarian way; however, Hans Jürgen Eggers (1909–1975) commented differently in respect to neighbouring disciplines in his 1959 manual "*Einführung in die Vorgeschichte*", ("Introduction into prehistory") which was well-used by generations of students. He predicted that prehistory would come closer to ethnology in the second half of the twentieth century or that the two disciplines would even partly amalgamate (Eggers, 1959:23), which, however, did not eventuate. Günter Smolla (1919–2006) was one of the few archaeologists who pointed out the importance of ethnological information to enlighten archaeological "dead goods" (after Eggers) (Smolla, 1964:34–35).[16] The analogous conclusion in archaeological reasoning was thereby important, although usually applied in an unsystematic way, but Smolla thought this conclusion should be critically evaluated in its ethnological or historical context, as the archaeological source critique is of importance. Smolla, like Narr, was influenced by the tradition of culture-historical ethnology (Veit, 2000:81, 1990).

The prehistorian K. J. Narr strove, in a universally historical sense, as shown above, to include ethnological analogies, which is explained by his broad understanding of culture: Culture includes everything that humans through their intellect create out of themselves and out of their surroundings or what they add to nature (Narr, 1953:345). Therefore, culture is not restricted to the material remains discovered and analyzed by archaeologists, but from these it is possible to recreate human lives by the inclusion of analogously recognizable ethnological conditions.

Rolf Hachmann, an expert in the Neolithic and Metal Age at the Saarbrücken University (professorship from 1959 to 1985) also derived a holistic concept of culture by seeing culture as a dynamic matter within a complicated functional interrelationship, whereby he preferred the term "culture history" (Hachmann, 1987:26). He wrote about pre- and protohistory as a culture-historical discipline within a comprehensive cultural history of which it constitutes the first stage.

In the Tübingen institute on Palaeolithic research (*Jägerische Archäologie*) at the Tübingen University Hansjürgen Müller-Beck, chair from 1969 to 1995, steadily

[15] This seems to have been the case also in the former Soviet Union, about which L. M. Koryakova (2002) comes to the conclusion that theoretical discussions were regarded by many archaeologists as rather scholastic. Also J. Rassamakin's explanations of theories in archaeology in the Ukraine show theoretical efforts comparable to those in East Germany; Rassamakin, 2002, in particular 274–277 on V. F. Gening and L. S. Klejn.

[16] In a later publication discussing the developments within archaeology in the German Federal Republic Smolla (1979/1980) used the term "*Kossinna-Syndrom*".

tried to find explanations for archaeological phenomena within the field of ethnology, in particular in hunter-gatherer groups of the circumpolar regions. To him, analogies were especially dependent on comparable ecologic conditions. In this way, analogies, particularly for the Magdalenian culture, were sought mainly in the northern regions inhabited by Indigenous Americans, e.g., the Inuit.[17] All spheres of life were included; for instance, when referring to the production or function of stone implements, to the way of life or to the interpretation of Upper Palaeolithic art (for example Müller-Beck, 1983/1984, 1987, 1991, 2001).[18] The influence of North American ethnoarchaeology is evident here.

The efforts of Manfred K. H. Eggert—the youngest among those to be mentioned here—are different from the others insofar as Eggert clearly postulates a dependence of pre- and protohistoric archaeology on comprehensively understood cultural anthropology. After detailed studies of the concept of New Archaeology in which he saw deficiencies, he criticized the lack of an anthropological perspective within German-phone archaeology and demanded a re-awareness of it by his discipline, prehistoric archaeology (Eggert, 1978:146). He promoted the fundamentals and conditions for archaeological reasoning and interpretation in order to keep up with the exceptionally high standard of German field archaeology (Eggert, 1994:16).

The retreat of the discipline to a pragmatic understanding of the investigated subject identified with the relevant sources, is, however, more problematic in respect to a theory of archaeology, as U. Veit[19] has commented, because the anthropological dimension of the effort to understand the archaeologically documented past would be lost. The result would be a restriction of the discipline to itself, as well as an inability to communicate with other social and anthropological neighbour disciplines (Veit, 1990:197).[20]

Yet at the same time identity changes within ethnology as a discipline are taking place because, increasingly, the discipline is considered to be ethnosociology respectively social ethnology. As a result, its scholars are hardly able to deal with a discipline orientated to the study of ancient cultures through their material artifacts (Eggert, 1995:35). According to Georg Pfeffer (1995:21) ethnology investigates spiritual structures that provide different cultures with confidence in order and orientation; these structures are expressed in the material and immaterial spheres.

[17] Research done by his students L. R. Owen (1992, for instance) and G.-Chr. Weniger (1982, see 141–154) give examples.

[18] See also the opinion of Mante (2007), 140–141.

[19] In 1989 U. Veit received his doctorate degree under K. J. Narr and his Dr habil. in 1999 at the Tübingen University. Since 2011 he has occupied the chair of Pre- and Protohistory at Leipzig University.

[20] In this contribution Veit discusses the differing contents of the terms anthropology, cultural anthropology and social anthropology within their historical and regional scientific context to then elaborate on the culture-anthropological perspective of prehistoric archaeology in a theoretical sense of the discipline.

The material culture is therefore losing its dominant position as a passive carrier of information and as a mirror of objective societal matters.

An explicit precursor of ethnoarchaeology in German-phone countries is research by the ethnologist Rüdiger Vossen. Influenced by developments in American research he defined ethnoarchaeology as a discipline that, on the one hand, as "living archaeology" (*lebendige Archäologie*)—a term applied independently by the North American archaeologist R. A. Gould (1968) at about the same time—deals in an archaeological sense with ethnologically documented objects and ethnological fieldwork in order to answer archaeological questions (Vossen, 1969:73). Whereas, on the other hand, the field of research is experimental archaeology, in which the main aim is to recreate methodically the modes of work and production as well as the behavior of prehistoric humans (Lucke, 1988:128, quoted by Vossen, 1992:5). This is obviously a parallel and interconnected approach similar to the one undertaken in Vienna under Wernhart and others. Vossen carried out investigations of traditional pottery in Morocco in the above-mentioned ethnological sense to trace local technological dialects and regional languages orientated by linguistically defined slang and language terms (Vossen, 1992:10; see also Vossen & Ebert, 1980), not to explain socio-economic relations but to draw hypothetical lines of descent of ethnic groups.

In the 1980s debates between supporters of processual as against postprocessual archaeology in the Anglophone world also reflected these changes (for example Binford, 1987; Hodder, 1989), which initially were hardly present in German-phone archaeology. However, the term "analogy" received appropriate attention in the discourse in its general meaning for archaeological reasoning (as in Sangmeister, 1967:201 and 231, or Smolla, 1990; also Fischer, 1990:41), as well as in respect of its application to ethnological analogies (for example Narr, 1966:11–14; Eggert, 1976). The reception in Germany of the discourse in theories led by Anglo-American colleagues eventually took place when younger scholars were influenced by the few advocates of this school of thought in German archaeology mentioned above, or were inspired by studies at British universities.[21] Gradually efforts increased to publish methodologies and theoretical foundations. Indications for this can be seen in the following period, particularly regarding ethnoarchaeological research in German-speaking countries. No doubt ethnoarchaeology in the sense of Vossen was influenced by developments in Anglophone countries whenever this field of research systematically connected material and immaterial questions, thereby becoming a strong pillar for theory-conscious archaeology (Eggert, 1995:36). In comparison, no systematic research in ethnoarchaeology evolved in German archaeology,[22] although some efforts were made.

[21] As an example Sabine Wolfram (1986), co-founder of the working group in theory "Theorie-AG" in 1991.

[22] Helmut Ziegert at the Hamburg University is in a certain sense an exception to this; compare Ziegert (1964, 1994).

Ethnoarchaeology in Germany Since the 1990s

Several graduates from universities that have integrated a culture-anthropological perspective into their archaeology teaching—Münster, Hamburg, Tübingen, Berlin—have sought to join the theoretical discourse about ethnoarchaeology taking place in Anglophone areas since the late 1960s.[23] Consequently, on Gerd-Chr. Weniger's suggestion, this group of young archaeologists met to found the working group "*AG Ethnoarchäologie*" early in 1992. Questionnaires were sent out beforehand, with responses received from 35 supporters, among them four ethnologists. The evaluation of the forms showed a predominant interest in hunter-gatherer and early farmer societies, and in systematic studies of publications; a small group indicated having had experience in fieldwork regarding pottery studies in Western Africa.

The first symposium on the topic "Ethnoarchaeology—approaches in German-speaking countries" followed soon afterwards, in June 1993, with 40 participants—also from neighbouring countries—of whom nearly three-quarters were archaeologists and one-quarter, ethnologists. Most papers presented were given by archaeologists; they dealt with theoretical positioning and ethnoarchaeological studies in West Africa, Southeast Asia and New Guinea, with models for ecosystems, artifact analysis, and interpretation created by applying ethnological knowledge (Struwe & Wolf, 1993).[24] An introduction to European prehistory and ethnographic comparisons by U. Veit indicated the problems with assessing the potential for recognition of archaeological evidence in a European perspective and the different conclusions of ethnologic-historical comparisons when assessing archaeological features. In formulating the essentials of a concept for comparisons Veit followed the historian Paul Veyne: (1) approach an interpretation by applying an analogy; (2) compare facts from different regions and periods for heuristic purposes, and (3) compare without considering a unity of space and time. Veit (1993:139) regarded archaeology as a historical discipline. M. K. H. Eggert argued for a "soft" ethnoarchaeology with either a culture-comparing structural perspective or a cultural anthropological one. In essence he gives reasons for concentrating on the fundamentals of archaeological interpretation; namely, linking the material with the immaterial; he was, however, skeptical about whether a methodological system could be achieved which would be necessary for a theory in ethnoarchaeology (Eggert, 1993:148–149).

In the discussion there was consensus that there can be no uniform method in ethnoachaeology and that it would take a long time before obtaining, for instance, a theory on material culture. A clear division between data collection and interpretive application was seen as necessary. Participants were vaguely optimistic to skeptical

[23] Proof for this is a contribution by F. G. Fetten und E. Noll, which first sums up the state of research and then attempts to interpret ethnoarchaeologically an example of burials in mollusc middens; Fetten and Noll (1992).

[24] Nearly all 21 contributions were published in the journal Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift 34, 1993; see there also for introductory remarks by Struwe and Weniger (1993).

about a future for ethnoarchaeology. It was agreed that the problem of selective or accidental descriptions of single cases from the field of ethnology could only be solved by broadening the database to achieve a theory of material culture.

This promising start led to a further meeting[25], during which, again, the general issue was ethnoarchaeology, and several ways to proceed ethnoarchaeologically were discussed in the attempt to reach a wide circle of archaeologists (report on session: Noll, 1994). The themes of the papers presented corresponded to what was initiated in the founding meeting of the working group: Besides theoretical and methodological questions, further attempts at socio-cultural and ritual interpretation of the archaeological past were presented which went beyond hunter-gatherer and early farming communities by also including European protohistorical burial features. The understanding of ethnoarchaeology varied considerably, as expected, but it indicated that this direction of investigation was being widely adopted by the representatives of archaeology.

The second symposium of the working group[26] took place in 1997 at Mettmann, on the topic of "Burial features in an ethnoarchaeological perspective" (report on the conference: Struwe, 1997). This theme addressed the question of to what extent ethnoarchaeology can contribute to an evaluation and interpretation of archaeologically acquired burial features. The contributors were mainly archaeologists who applied ethnoarchaeology or were interested in it, as well as anthropologists and ethnologists. Besides a few important contributions in methodology, a somewhat heterogeneous program was put together, 21 presentations in total, in which results and questions of investigations concerning several archaeological periods were discussed. Most of the contributions belong to three complexes: interpretation of burial furnishings; burial rites; and burial rites in respect to socio-economic and ideological-religious context. The introduction by U. Veit "Cult of the dead and burial practice in a cultural comparison: ethnoarchaeological perspectives of an 'archaeology of death'" made evident that the topic of the conference should be taken beyond the category of grave features to a cultural anthropological context. In the discussion critical questions were asked as to what extent ethnoarchaeology is to be seen as a sub-discipline or did it depend solely on the attitude of archaeologists interested in it. Several contributions dealt with the interpretation of gender roles and thereby opened the field to a contemporary socio-cultural approach. Martin Porr and Elisabeth Noll endeavoured to demonstrate that burial practice, with all its complexities in hunter-gatherer-fisher

[25] The invitation to the meeting was made on behalf of the *AG Ethnoarchäologie* by the *Theorie-AG,* which was already established within the traditional associations of antiquity (*Altertumsverbände*) in Germany. They also organized a session at the annual meeting of the Western and Southern German Association in Hanau in May 1994; about ten presentations were given, two of them by ethnologists; most contributions were published in Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift 35, 1994.

[26] In the meantime more than 100 specialists in archaeology, ethnology, anthropology and ecology had put their names on the list of the working group.

communities, can lead to generalizations for each of those communities to explain the occurrence of very specific burial areas.[27]

Apart from the above-mentioned activities of the working group, Linda R. Owen and Martin Porr organized an international conference in Tübingen on the topic "Ethno-analogy and the reconstruction of prehistoric artifact use and production" in 1997. Their goal was to bring together archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnoarchaeologists and use-wear analysts to present papers and discuss recent theoretical and methodological developments in the study of material culture and their relevance for the understanding of archaeological evidence and reasoning (report see Owen & Porr, 1997). In his introduction Porr argued that material culture must be viewed in terms of social actions and processes. Archaeology must focus on people and their relationship to things and not just focus on the things alone. The term 'ethno-analogy' was meant as a reminder that specialists are always dealing with specific peoples, both in the past and the present. In his paper Porr gives a short review of analogical reasoning in archaeology. He concludes that analogical reasoning, or the comparison between case studies, is justified if studies are viewed in relation to a social framework, in relation to a practice theory that enables the exploration of causalities in each case (Porr, 1999:10). These contributions provide a critical integration of analogies in artifact use and production mostly in hunter-gatherer or early farmer societies from nearly all continents.

Partly for personnel reasons, but also symptomatic of an understanding of, and the further development within archaeology, the working group 'ethnoarchaeology' ceased its work. The efforts of some supporters, in particular Eggert and Veit, contributed from the beginning to a widening of the perspective, and their aim was to realize an archaeology that was orientated towards cultural anthropology.

Against the background outlined above, it is no coincidence that some activists in this field got together to arrange an international conference; this was titled: "From birth to death. Individual and social dimensions of age and gender in prehistory" and took place in 2004. L. R. Owen, M. Porr and R. Struwe organized this interdisciplinary conference in Berlin which brought together specialists in archaeology, physical anthropology, ethnology and other social disciplines and sciences. True to the theme of the conference, the speakers, in addition to the general introductory papers, met the expectations by particularly referring to social issues relevant to archaeological evidence covering the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age.[28]

[27] The contributions were all published in Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift 38, 1997:285–594 as issues 3–4.

[28] For a report on the conference see: Rauchfuß (2003); the contributions are published in Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift 45, 2004:141–520.

"Widening the Circle"

Developments in both the neighbouring disciplines of ethnology and archaeology have led to a decrease in the importance of ethnoarchaeology in a narrow sense, and correspondingly, the claim to be a sub-discipline has been given up completely. On the other hand, a growing interest in the history of archaeological research, as well as a growing interest in theory and the participation of scholars in theoretical discourses have led to a widening of the perspective in respect of culture-historical questions in German-phone pre- and protohistoric archaeology and have promoted an implicit cultural anthropological approach. This approach was inherently integrated into English and French-phone developments, the latter being widely influenced in this period by the social-historic school *Annales* in the humanities and social sciences.[29]

According to Eggert, a continued discourse on applying analogies in archaeology led to the use of analogies that were cultural-anthropologically inspired.[30] Archaeology and analogy form an indivisible unity of theoretical reasoning. Processual archaeology tried methodologically to interpret in a scientific way, instead of explaining or understanding in a hermeneutical way (*analogisches Deuten*; Eggert, 1998:121). Applying an analogy should take in both culture and space, and should lead deliberately to a comparative interpretation. The previously mentioned working group *Theorie-AG* (see footnote 21) brought out a publication on comparisons as an archaeological method, to show that this subject is a heterogeneous field of questions to be asked and analyses to be carried out (Gramsch, 2000a:7).[31] Alexander Gramsch (2000b:154) argued that "ancient European" cultures should be understood as foreign and that a preference for an inner-European comparison is to be seen as Euro-centrism.

Demanding a theory on material culture, as Eggert does, i.e. concentrating on a topic fundamental to the archaeological interpretation of combining the material with the immaterial (Eggert, 1993:146, 2001:352) requires, however, a discussion of the term "culture" as used in ethnology. This makes it evident that the protagonists of some of its trends exclude the material from the term and restrict "culture" to thought, which is expressed in behaviour and can become evident in materialized

[29] See Knapp (1992) and the controversial arguments about ethnographic parallels (e.g. Ucko, 1969) or the application of analogies (e.g. Hodder, 1982, 9: "All archaeology is based on analogy"; Wylie, 1985: "The reaction against analogy").

[30] See under the heading "Archäologie und kulturanthropologisch inspirierte Analogien" and Hallstattzeit examples: Eggert (2001), 330–338.

[31] Some of the papers delivered at a meeting at Plau am See in 1996 were published in Gramsch (ed.) (2000c). Gramsch (2000a) also points out the aspect of distance to the strange which is bridged by an analogy. See also Biehl (1996), Gramsch (1996), Noll (1996).

artifacts (Brumann, 2007:32).[32] According to Christoph Brumann—a protagonist of the term "culture" in ethnology—culture in archaeology is also to be defined as a socially acquired and shared pattern of thinking and behaviour. At present, however, ethnology is unable to explain how much similarity or difference in material culture is to be expected in other areas as well; for instance, in cosmology. So far, Eggert's demand has been difficult to fulfill. If the term "culture", as defined by Brumann, is to be shared with ethnology, it would be necessary to consider other actual areas of archaeological research, such as ecological conditions, population density, subsistence strategies and the like. These areas could determine characteristic associations of archaeological finds—apart from the cultural component. It would make sense to compare ethnologically defined cultural regions that have similar conditions in ecology, population density and survival strategies with those archaeologically determined ones (Brumann, 2007:38–39).

U. Veit[33] (2000:83) gives examples from Germany that prove an increasing trend to a cultural-anthropological dimension in archaeological research within the past decades. He has referred, among others, to his own attempt at an archaeology of death (Veit 1996), to Reinhard Bernbeck's and Johannes Müller's publication on the question of reconstructing and interpreting pre- and protohistoric social systems (Müller & Bernbeck, 1996), and to a new evaluation of cannibalism by H. Peter-Röcher (1994). In addition, A. Gramsch's analysis of a cemetery of the Lausitz Culture should be mentioned, in which the funeral ritual is understood as a series of actions that communicate ideas about the social identity of the deceased (Gramsch, 2010). Svend Hansen, in his work on anthropomorphic figures of the Neolithic and the Copper Age in Southeastern Europe, interprets these representations according to criteria of cultural anthropology, including ethnology, whereby he convincingly argues against a narrow interpretation of all statuettes as ritual objects of female fertility (Hansen, 2007; see also Hansen, 2003 on archaeology of religion).

An article by Dirk Krauße (1998) on the problem of infanticide is also mentioned by Veit. However, Krauße approached the question clearly from the viewpoint of human socio-biology and stated that light could be shed on fundamental aspects of parent–child relationships in archaeological cultures with the help of evolutionary ecology. It is questionable whether such an attempt is compatible with a cultural-anthropological approach. Rather, a natural scientific socio-biology with its diverse directions has the explicit task, in the above-mentioned sense, to recognize and "filter out" biotic-ecological factors. Nonetheless, Krauße's arguments are worth considering, as these trends provide knowledge of the fundamental structural

[32] Nevertheless, Brumann points out that no serious ethnologist would dispute a close interaction between thinking, behaviour and artifacts and that everybody takes all three aspects into consideration. Nearly all theoretical courses in the past 75 years have tried to regard holism, i.e. to systematically bring together the different, perhaps at first unconnected, areas of culture (Brumann, 2007:32–33). According to Brumann, culture comprises what is socially acquired and shared among humans; he defends the term "culture" against all influences to give it up.

[33] Since 2011 U. Veit has held the professorship of Pre- and Protohistory at Leipzig University. Editing of the journal Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift is now being undertaken by this professorship. See homepage at Leipzig University.

conditions of human existence and thereby can support the dismantling of an ethnocentrist view of the world (Krauße, 1998:344). Such a methodological approach allows an interdisciplinary investigation under which humans are seen as a biocultural entity (Krauße, 1998:414).[34] However, this approach leads away from the questions dealt with here of an ethnological-archaeological or humanitarian perspective.

Problems in connection with ethnonymic interpretations used to trace historically recorded ethnic groups that have been investigated throughout the history of research right up to recent efforts have deliberately not been considered here. A conference at Leipzig University in 2000 was dedicated to the general questions of ethnicity and identity. The intention was to reveal the historical context of ideologically loaded terms such as "tribe", "ancestry", "race" or "ethnos" and to analyze their use, intended meaning or ideological risk. In particular, the term "culture" was to be considered. The term has long been replaced by the terms "identity" or "ethnicity" in cultural and social disciplines (Rieckhoff, 2007:9–10).[35] It was discussed in what way such an approach makes sense in modern archaeological research (for instance Zimmermann, 2007). The result was that it was agreed that attempts to compare the remarkable distributions of finds investigated by modern archaeological methods with sociological and ethnological insights are worthwhile; that is; it is worthwhile to interpret these distributions in a culture-anthropological way.

Conclusions

The history and practice of research in German-phone Central Europe show a clear tradition of archaeologists finding and using ways of applying ethnology in their discipline. Proponents of such arrangements have recognized the overlap of the research subjects of archaeology and ethnology. They have endeavoured to overcome the limitations of the specificity of their sources and to advance to cultural-anthropological or culture-historical fields of research. As the acquisition of immaterial knowledge from material sources is only possible by theoretical extension via analogical procedures, ethnology and archaeology are complementary disciplines, although the "restricted" discipline of archaeology, which depends fully on its sources, seems to be rather a seeking and taking discipline. Within the framework of cultural anthropology in a broad sense this limitation can be cancelled out.

Acknowledgements I am very grateful to Sabine Wolfram for commenting on an earlier version of this contribution. I would also like to thank Sonja Lenz and Kevin McCue, who improved the first English draft.

[34] Krauße's interpretation of Narr's strong request for an anthropological approach in prehistory research (Krauße, 1998:345) is in this case, in my opinion, an obvious misunderstanding.

[35] Brumann's paper (see footnote 32) was delivered at this conference and is published in the conference proceedings: Rieckhoff and Sommer (editors) (2007).

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Chapter 5
Włodzimierz Hołubowicz: Pioneer of the Ethnoarchaeology of Pottery-Making

Zbigniew Kobyliński

The forerunner of Polish archaeology in the nineteenth century, Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski (1784–1825), could be equally well called an ethnographer as an archaeologist, since, in his attempts to describe the culture and history of the early Slavs, he used both archaeological and ethnographical evidence (Abramowicz, 1991: 11–45). What is particularly well visible in his famous and influential work *O Sławiańszczyźnie przed chrześcijaństwem* [On Slavdom before Christianity] (Dołęga- Chodakowski, 1818) is his explicit attempt to use ethnographical data—ethnoarcheology—for the interpretation of archaeological remains. However this approach represented only a short episode in Polish academic archaeology, which has its origins in the Austrian and German traditions, strongly connecting this discipline with history and the history of art (Kobyliński, 2006). However, ethnoarchaeological researches, which were in many aspects pioneering, were led in the late 1930s and in 1950s by Włodzimierz Hołubowicz.

Włodzimierz Hołubowicz (Fig. 5.1) was born on the 20th of June 1908 in Jekaterynodar (later Krasnodar) on the Kuban River in the northern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains; he died on the 7th of April 1962 in Stockholm in Sweden, where he had been subject to heart surgery. He graduated from a high school in 1928 in Wilno (present Vilnius, capital of Lithuania; the city and its region in the years 1922–1939 belonged to Poland) and enrolled there at the Stefan Batory (Stephen Báthory) University, where initially he studied law, and then ethnography at the Humanities Department, but he did not finish his studies at this university. It is probable that he also attended lectures in archaeology, which were given by Włodzimierz Antoniewicz (1893–1973) as a visiting professor until 1934 (Kobyliński, 2006: 214; Kozłowski, 2009: 95). Antoniewicz, one of the leading figures in the history of Polish archaeology, frequently attempted to combine archaeological evidence with

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_5,

Fig. 5.1 Włodzimierz Hołubowicz (1908–1962). After Lech (1997–1998): fig. 25

ethnographical data (Kozłowski, 2009: 75–76), and this could have been one of the sources of inspiration for the methodology later used by Hołubowicz. From 1932 onwards, Hołubowicz worked at the Archaeological Museum of the Wilno University, and in the years 1938–1939 he volunteered as an assistant at the University. During World War II, when the city, now called Vilnius, was given over by the Soviet Red Army to Lithuania, he stayed there, conducted research in the Vilnius Region (years 1940–1941) and participated in the excavations on Castle Hill in Vilnius (the results were published by him in Lithuanian). During this period he was associated with the local newspaper and worked for the Museum of Arts.

After the occupation of Vilnius by the Germans in 1941, he remained, until 1943, in one of the neighbouring villages, from where he was sent to forced labour in Vienna, where he worked as a labourer in the prehistoric section of the *Naturhistorisches Museum* (Museum of Natural History). After the War, from a Soviet "filtration camp" in Austria he was directed by the NKVD (the Soviet State Security Service) to work at the Academy of Sciences of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in Minsk. On behalf of this institution he then participated in excavations in Minsk and Grodno.

He moved to Poland in 1946 on the orders of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers Party and finished his studies in archaeology in 1947 in Poznań at Adam Mickiewicz University; then he worked until 1950 at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, where he received a doctoral degree in 1948 (Małecka-Kukawka & Przewoźna-Armon, 2007: 128–129).

In 1950 he moved to Wrocław, where he became an energetic organizer of the archaeological milieu, becoming the Chair of the Archaeology of Poland at the university and director of the Department of Archaeology of Poland of the Institute of History of Material Culture (now the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology) of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

From 1949 he was the leader of various excavations in Lower Silesia, in south-western Poland: among others on Ślęża Mountain, on Ostrówek Island in Opole (results published in his *Opole w wiekach X-XIII,* Hołubowicz, 1956), and in Niemcza until 1961 (Gediga, 1962; Różycka, 1964).

Especially great importance is attached to the work of Włodzimierz Hołubowicz in the field of the methodology and methods of archaeological research. In this area he published a number of pioneering works, which greatly contributed to the methodological reconstruction of Polish archeology that has taken place in the postwar years. Particularly worth mentioning in this context are his books: *Studia nad metodami badań warstw kulturowych w prehistorii polskiej [Studies on research methods of cultural layers in Polish prehistory]* (Hołubowicz, 1948), and *Jak publikować źródła archeologiczne [How to publish archaeological sources]* (Hołubowicz, 1961), as well as his paper *O metodzie wykopaliskowej [On the method of excavation]* (Hołubowicz, 1959). The break in Polish archaeological fieldwork caused by the War meant that there was an urgent need to rethink the methodological problems. Talk about this started up shortly after resumption of the issuance of the Polish archaeological journals. Most of the protagonists of Polish archeology took part in these discussions, which were frequently very heated, and in which people were looking for ways to improve methods of excavation. Hołubowicz was probably the first to understand, already in 1948, the complex nature of multi-layered archaeological sites and the importance of every stratigraphical unit for the reconstruction of the history of such sites. In particular, he opposed the use of the *planum* method (excavation by removing horizontal soil spits of predetermined thickness) and strongly advocated a method of excavation of single contexts defined by natural criteria, as well as the detailed three-dimensional recording of the position of every find. These ideas had been independently and successfully put forward in British archaeology, especially since the 1960s, initiated mostly by Martin Biddle's excavation in Winchester (Urbańczyk, 2000: 53–58). In Poland, however, Hołubowicz's publications were strongly criticized by such leading figures of Polish postwar archaeology as Konrad Jażdżewski (1948) and Witold Hensel (1949), and his ideas were rediscovered only in the late 1970s, thanks mainly to the discussion of the *Principles of archaeological stratigraphy* by Edward C. Harris (1979, Polish edition—1989).

Soon a new impetus to pursue these considerations led topreparations for an enormous state-sponsored research project on the origins of the Polish state, the so-called "Millennial Project" (Lech, 1997–1998: 65–78). Discussion focused on the study of multi-strata sites, including, in particular, the Early Medieval strongholds and Medieval towns. The initiator of this discussion was Włodzimierz Hołubowicz. Unfortunately, his suggestions on the need for precise excavation and documentation were abandoned due to the large scale of the "Millennial Project", which forced Polish archaeologists to accept the selection of ceramic finds and to limit the level of detail in the documentation of stratigraphy.

Assessment of Hołubowicz's achievements in this and other areas is difficult because of the controversial personality of the author and his mixing of science with ideology and politics, which, in the Polish postwar conditions, especially during the Stalinist terror and the Communist-era intensified ideological offensive (1948–1956; cf. Kobyliński, 1998: 225–226; Lech, 1997–1998: 59), might have been associated with dangerous consequences for his adversaries (cf. Prinke, 2011). Hołubowicz, an avowed communist, spoke arrogantly, with uncompromising

opinions; he attracted criticism, but also provoked discussion (cf. Abramowicz, 1991: 149–150). On the other hand, as a student of the University of Wilno, Hołubowicz ignored and did not appreciate the achievements of prewar Polish archaeological methodology, which was primarily associated with the academic center in Poznań and with Professor Józef Kostrzewski (a person with views far different from Marxism, views especially alien to Hołubowicz); Hołubowicz artificially created a barrier between prewar and postwar archeology, suggesting the need to start all over again, and ignoring important experiences gained, for example, during the excavation at Biskupin in the 1930s (Urbańczyk, 1980, 2000: 15–21, 2007: 412–413).

Already before the War, in the years 1937–1939, Włodzimierz Hołubowicz had conducted ethnographic observations of pottery-making in the rural areas of north-eastern Poland (which, after the War, belonged administratively to Soviet republics, and now belong to independent countries: mostly to Belarus and partly to Lithuania). In 1950 he published, in Toruń, a book: *Garncarstwo wiejskie zachodnich terenów Białorusi [Rural pottery-making in the western regions of Belarus]* (Hołubowicz, 1950) on the subject. He continued ethnographic observations of pottery-making in Albania in 1952 and published the results a couple of years later in the form of an extensive article: *Garncarstwo wiejskie Albanii [Rural pottery-making in Albania]* (Hołubowicz, 1957). In this way he became an unquestionable, but unfortunately largely unknown, European pioneer of the idea of archaeologists conducting field ethnographical observations in the context of still-existing traditional rural communities in order to gain information valuable for the interpretation of archaeological remains, an approach that much later became well known as ethnoarchaeology.

It must be stressed that the ethnoarchaeological approach favoured by Hołubowicz had quite different inspirations from American ethnoarchaeology, which was based on the idea of ethnographical participant observations, popularized mostly by the works of Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942), but actually initiated already at the end of the nineteenth century by Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857–1900) and his living with the Zuni from 1879 to 1884. Both Cushing, and his successor Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850–1930), should be considered both ethnologists and archaeologists (Stiles, 1977: 89). Contrary to the American tradition of including archaeology in the group of anthropological sciences, in the opinion of Polish archaeologists this discipline has always functioned in close relation to history. What could then be the inspirations of the ethnoarchaeological approach of Hołubowicz? It seems that we can search for these inspirations in the idea of the history of material culture, which dominated Polish archaeology in the 1950s. In this period a special research institution of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Institute of History of Material Culture, was established (after the collapse of Communism the name was changed to the Institute of Archeology and Ethnology), and a special university training course was organized in the history of material culture, which replaced—until 1956—studies in archaeology or prehistory. Hołubowicz was the author of the programme for these studies, in which over one-third of the teaching hours were devoted to ideological subjects (Kozłowski, 2009: 181). This new discipline combined prehistory, classical archaeology and the archaeology of the Near East with ethnography and some areas

of historical studies (Lech, 1997–1998: 62). The idea underlying the creation of this discipline was in full agreement with Marxist historical materialism, in which it was assumed that the material conditions of life determine social relations and social consciousness. However, it must also be noted that the inspirations for studies on material culture in the Polish academic milieu could also have come from another source, independently of the imposed Marxism: already before the War some economic historians, such as Jan Rutkowski (1886–1949) and art historians, such as Jerzy Kulczycki (1898–1974), had put forward ideas of studying things in order to understand processes. Jan Rutkowski, to whose works the propagators of the new discipline alluded particularly willingly, had, since 1918, lectured and written on economic history, stressing the role of the material conditions of everyday life of peasants in long-term historical processes. This can—at least partly—explain why historical materialism initially had a favourable reception by many archaeologists.

In the case of Włodzimierz Hołubowicz, who conducted his early fieldwork clearly before the introduction of Marxist ideology in Poland, his obvious sympathies for historical materialism also went hand-in-hand with his early experiences gained during studying ethnography in Wilno. Anyway, it is worth noting that both his ethnoarchaeological works contain practically no reference to Marxism, while his ethnoarchaeological aims were conscious and explicit: "I would like to emphasize that as an archaeologist, I collect materials in the field of contemporary folk pottery in order to obtain material for comparative studies of archaeological ceramics" he wrote in 1957 (Hołubowicz, 1957: 9). Consequently, he interviewed potters (in Albania with help from a local translator), observed their activities and recorded in detail "those aspects of the potters' work, which were of special importance for an archaeologist"; namely, "functions of various tools and techniques of pottery-making" (Hołubowicz, 1950: 10).

Despite these programmatic statements, Hołubowicz in fact recorded much more during his ethnoarchaeological observations. His publications contain information on raw materials used by the potters: criteria for the selection of clay; methods of its excavation, transportation and treatment, such as soaking, kneading and wedging; and information on mineral tempering admixtures: their purposes, kinds, amounts, and methods of mixing them with clay to obtain ceramic pastes (Fig. 5.2). Moreover, in each case he attempted to identify mutual relationships between clays and temperings, and pottery-making techniques, vessel forms and their functions (Hołubowicz, 1950: 31–36, 1957: 13–14, 30, 37, 55). Much attention was given by Hołubowicz to various tools used by potters, especially to potter's wheels and their constructions (Figs. 5.3 and 5.4). He not only described various types of wheels used in the areas of his research, but also attempted to reconstruct evolutionary schemes of the development of these tools (Fig. 5.5), hypothetically ascribing particular types of wheels to Prehistoric and Early Medieval stages of pottery-making (Hołubowicz, 1950: 51–124, 1957: 14–16, 31, 43, 45–52). The next aspects of the pottery-making process analyzed and recorded by Hołubowicz were the techniques of forming ceramic vessels: pinching from a solid ball of ceramic paste, hand-building by coiling (with many variants using coils that were round in section or flattened strips of ceramic paste; Fig. 5.6), the slide-band technique with turning the

Fig. 5.2 Village of Varkë (now Farkë), near Tirana, central Albania. The potter tramples clay with sand on the cotton canvas. Photo: Włodzimierz Hołubowicz 1952. After Hołubowicz, 1957: fig. 10

Fig. 5.3 Village of Ładzieniki near Nowogródek (now Navahrudak in Belarus). The potter demonstrates the way of sitting during the shaping of a vessel. Photo: Włodzimierz Hołubowicz 1937–1939. After Hołubowicz (1950): photo 15

vessel on a slow-moving wheel, and wheel-throwing with the use of a rapidly moving wheel. Again, Hołubowicz attempted to identify these techniques in the archaeological material based on some peculiar technological characteristics of pottery sherds found during excavations (Hołubowicz, 1950: 125–183, 1957: 16–23, 31–34, 52–55).

Fig. 5.4 Village of Bucewicze, commune of Komaje (now Bucaviči near Kamai, Belarus). Ceramic vessel on the potter's wheel. Photo: Włodzimierz Hołubowicz 1937–1939. After Hołubowicz (1950): photo 16

The last aspect of the pottery-making process observed and recorded by Hołubowicz was the drying, firing and decorating of vessels (Hołubowicz, 1950: 221–227, 1957: 21, 25–27, 35).

Although the precisely and comprehensively described and photographically documented results of Hołubowicz's fieldwork clearly have important value for ethnographers and ethnologists, he was all the time conscious of his archaeological aims and of asking questions about how the past reality of prehistoric and early historic pottery-making could be reconstructed on the basis of the archaeologically visible technological features of the fragmented vessels found during excavations, especially those of Early Medieval and Medieval sites. He described photographically recorded traces left by various techniques used by the potters (e.g., Hołubowicz, 1957: 22 and Fig. 65) and compared them with those on archaeological pottery sherds. His Marxist evolutionary outlook, typical for the studies of material culture in the 1950s (Lozny, 2011: 199) allowed him to propose schemes of technological development, which are still used in Polish Early Medieval archaeological studies of pottery (cf. Buko, 1990: 105–110).

However, Hołubowicz did not limit himself to the observation of the technological aspects of subsequent stages of pottery manufacture only. His works include innovative data on the social dimensions of pottery-making, such as the social

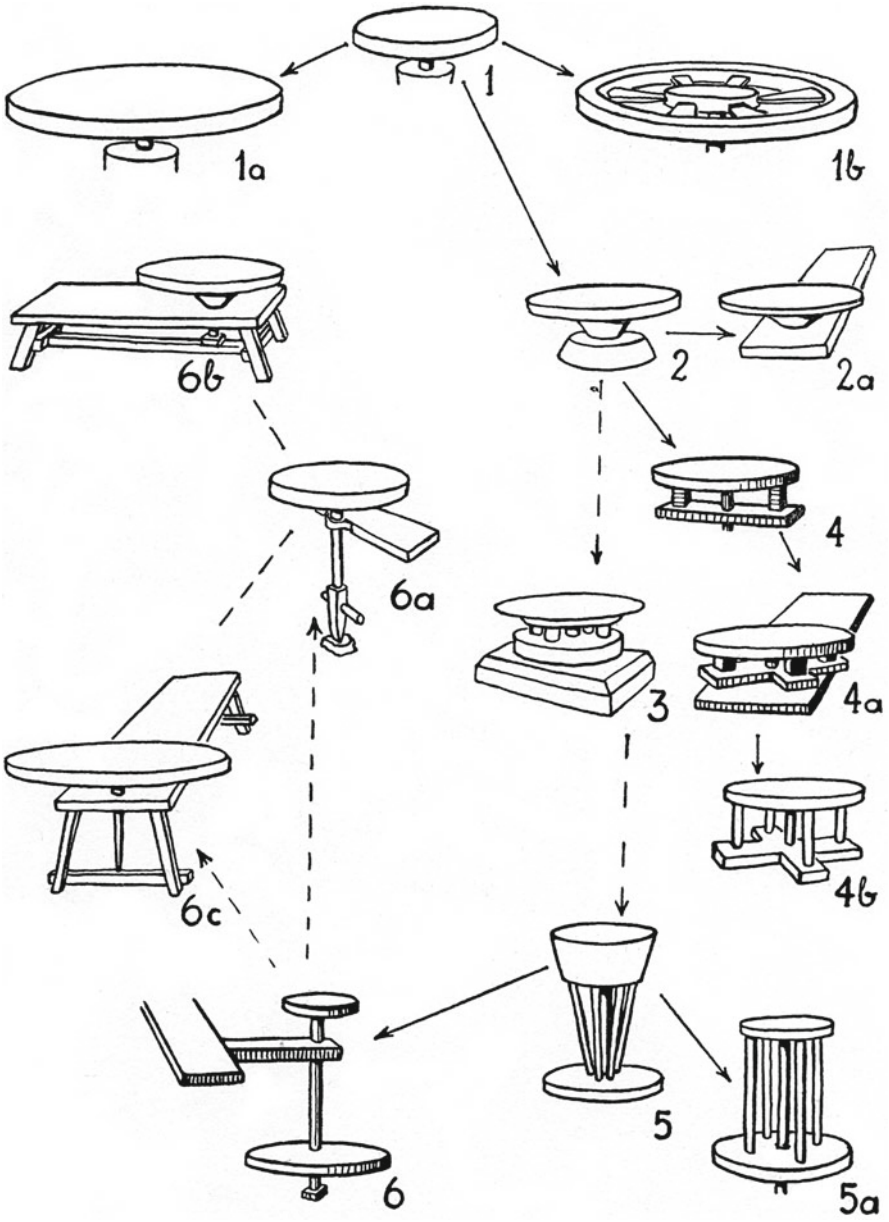

Fig. 5.5 Evolution of the potter's wheel according to Włodzimierz Hołubowicz. After Hołubowicz (1957): fig. 9

position of potters, the mechanisms of the transfer of technological knowledge and skills (by this he anticipated later works of American "ceramic sociology" (cf. Kobylińska, 1980), the seasonality of the potter's work, the sedentary and itinerant

Fig. 5.6 Village of Zamosze, commune of Wołkołata (now Zamošša, Belarus). The potter attaches a second coil of ceramic paste. Photo: Włodzimierz Hołubowicz 1937–1939. After Hołubowicz (1950): photo 30

schemes of the potter's craft, the effort and efficiency of pottery manufacture, the price of vessels and the income of potters. It is worth noting that these aspects, while recorded already during his early 1937–1939 fieldwork (Hołubowicz, 1950: 232–233), became much more interesting for him later, during his research in Albania in 1952 (Hołubowicz, 1957: 11–13, 23, 28–30, 34–38). Finally, it is necessary to stress that Hołubowicz also recorded the non-tangible, spiritual aspects of pottery-making (Hołubowicz, 1950: 232).

Hołubowicz not only published the results of his fieldwork, but he also used to share with students his extensive knowledge and pottery-making skills acquired during his ethnoarchaeological observations. He participated in the famous summer field courses, called Biskupin Archaeological Training Camps, which became the most important element of studying archaeology in Poland in the 1950s and 1960s, and practically demonstrated various techniques of pottery manufacture (Fig. 5.7).

Unfortunately, although both ethnoarchaeological works by Hołubowicz have summaries in foreign languages (Hołubowicz, 1950—French, and 1957—German), his achievements remain completely unknown abroad, and they had no influence on the development of similar studies elsewhere. From the perspective of contemporary ethnoarchaeology certainly his works lack behavioural observations: he did not record either the ways of use of ceramic vessels, or reasons for their breakage and the ways of disposing of the broken pots. The reason for this lack of behavioural observations is that he concentrated on the potters and not on the users of the pots. This is obviously a pity, since quite soon ceramic vessels were replaced by metal pots, and these data, so important for archaeologists to interpret their sites, were not able to be gained in this part of Europe anymore.

The reception of Włodzimierz Hołubowicz's innovative ethnoarchaeological work in Polish archaeology was ambiguous. On the one hand, his description of the

Fig. 5.7 Biskupin, Bydgoszcz province. The second archaeological training camp 1952. Professor Włodzimierz Hołubowicz demonstrates the technique of making pottery by hand. After Lech (1997–1998): fig. 26

traditional folk technology of pottery-making has been highly appreciated and it would be difficult to find any publication on Early Medieval pottery without reference to his 1950 book. His evolutionary schemes, proposed on basis of his ethnoarchaeological observations, evidently inspired later general works on periodisation in the Early Medieval period in the territory of Poland (such as the influential paper by Zofia Kurnatowska, 1973). He himself successfully used the results of his observations in his major work on the Early Medieval pottery of the Slavs (published posthumously as Hołubowicz, 1965). On the other hand, one can hardly identify any continuation of Hołubowicz's ethnoarchaeological approach in Polish postwar research on pottery manufacture and use (eventual isolated exceptions could be the works of Polish expeditions to Mali in Africa: Filipowiak, 1971; Szerniewicz, 1979; summarized recently Filipowiak, 2007; and to Peru in South America: Krzanowska & Krzanowski, 1976). This lack of continuation is difficult to explain in the context of the widely dispersed activities of Polish archaeologists and ethnographers in almost all the continents. One reason for this lack could be the high quality and completeness of Hołubowicz's work, which resulted in an established opinion that all the questions important to archaeologists have been already answered. Another reason could be the controversial personality of Hołubowicz, which did not encourage Polish archaeologists, especially after 1956, to follow his ideas of research. However, the most important reason I would, paradoxically, tend to see is the institutional forced marriage of archaeology and ethnography within university studies in the 1950s and—for much longer—within the leading research institution—the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Contrary to what could be expected, these reluctantly entered bonds did not result in the

integration of the disciplines, but just the opposite: since ethnography in the 1950s was understood as a subdiscipline of history, as soon as it became possible to ignore the recording of material culture, Polish ethnographers avoided studying it, considering such recording uninteresting and non-scientific, and they drove their discipline towards more "ethnological" interests, focusing rather on spiritual and social culture. This process unfortunately made cooperation between archaeology and ethnography practically impossible (Kobyliński, 1998: 228–229). Inspiration for renewed interest in an ethnoarchaeological approach came to Polish archaeology from the American New Archaeology and its aftermath only at the end of the 1970s (Kobyliński, 1981, 1989, 2012; Kobylińska & Kobyliński, 1981), but this still remains a theoretical opportunity rather than practice. Still, therefore, Włodzimierz Hołubowicz remains the outstanding and lonely pioneer of Polish ethnoarchaeology, and his intellectual inspirations for field research wait for a time when they will befully understood and practically realized. We can only hope that it is still not too late for this.

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Chapter 6
Ethnoarchaeology in the Balkans. A View from Bulgaria

Petar Zidarov and Małgorzata Grębska-Kulow

Introduction

Some of the most influential ethnoarchaeological studies (Binford, 1978; Hodder, 1982) can be seen as standard ethnographic research practised by anthropologists with a keen interest in the "social life of things", i.e. the production, function and the role of objects in daily life as a correlate for informing interpretative models in archaeology (Eggert, 2012). Ethnoarchaeology under this heading has never happened in many places in the Balkans, for numerous reasons, such as the traditional chronological "fault line" (ca. 1800 CE) separating archaeological from ethnographic research and, lately, due to the replacement of ethnographic field studies through sociological enquiries as the traditional life-ways in many places have given way to globalizing trends. Still, there are relevant "old-fashioned" ethnographic studies that could both enrich the interpretative potential of archaeological field studies and inform theoretical models. Even though these studies were often published decades ago, and are relevant to the closing decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they are very useful, since traditional village life was first threatened by economic and demographic processes following the emancipation of Balkan nations and the gradual flight of the Turkish population and administration from its European territories. Furthermore, the traditional lifestyle was once again severely affected by deliberate efforts to profoundly change village life in the Stalinist era in the former socialist countries (e.g. Gruev, 2009; Kligman & Verdery, 2011). So, understanding the historic processes is fundamental to understanding the empirical ethnoarchaeological data.

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_6,

There are a few projects with an ethnoarchaeological focus that have taken place here and there in the region, but the general lack of overlapping study cases, except for pottery studies and transhumant practices, has had a prohibitive effect on a possible comparative analysis of ethnoarchaeological research across the region. Instead, one is left with the impression of complementary case studies documenting the last remains of common Balkan heritage stemming arguably from the common prehistoric and ancient origins, and less arguably, from the shared co-existence in empire states under Roman, Byzantine and especially Ottoman rule. Paradoxically, the latter is the least studied archaeologically and is historically not appreciated, but it is certainly of immense importance both for the introduction of new elements and the consolidation of the surviving ancient ones.

Therefore, to get an idea about the formative background of the modern ethnographic traditions one should be aware that the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest was characterized by the reorganization of settlement patterns in the Balkans related to the abandonment, rebuilding and founding of new settlements by dynamic processes of the immigration, emigration and diffusion of a plethora of ethnic groups, with different languages and with different religion denominations providing study cases on all possible identity combinations (Bintliff, 2012; Galaty, 2002; Kiel, 2005). Incipient research on regional demographic processes during the Ottoman period is able to show how local sedentary populations managed to preserve and develop their pre-Ottoman cultural heritage (Boykov, 2009; Galaty, 2002, 116; Kiel, 1991; Kiel, 2005), and that even mobile transhumant pastoralists speaking Greek (karakachan/sarakatsan) and a variation of provincial Latin (Vlakhs and related groups), and known at least since the eleventh century, not only managed to cope with competition, over basically the same eco-social niche, with immigrant Turkic nomads (yorouk) but even to outlive them since the latter retreated to Asia Minor after the collapse of the Ottoman empire. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw the stabilization of these social and demographic processes and the start of the most dynamic economic growth leading to ultimate craft specialization making the best of local knowledge and traditions and providing the most spectacular objects for modern ethnographic exhibitions in the region. One of the consequences of the emancipation of the Balkan nation states and the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire—a process starting with the Russo-Turkish wars in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries and ending with the Balkan wars in 1912–1913—was the collapse of its common market, followed by the non-regulated import of cheap industrial production from the West and the shift from a crafts- and stockbreeding-based economy to agricultural and industrial production, followed by dislocation of the population and the rapid abandonment of the traditional rural way of life and the related crafts in many regions on the peninsula. Due to the rapid nature of this process in many places today one could visit entire museum towns that have preserved their nineteenth century appearance as if in a stop motion. What we are left with today in Bulgaria, for instance, is ethnographic artefacts and archives from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries and the "relict use" of certain crafts producing mostly souvenirs for tourists, and this is becoming a common theme at the annual conferences held at the ethnographic complex Etara near Gabrovo since 2005. Nevertheless, both the Christian and the Muslim inhabitants of remote mountainous villages across the peninsula had

managed to maintain the social cohesion on which traditions thrive well until the 1990s, when civil wars in the western part of the peninsula, as well as mass economic-driven emigration in the mountainous area of Southern Bulgaria, posed another challenge to the survival of age-old traditions.

The reader of this text should be aware that drawing overviews of anthropological research in the Balkans is almost inevitably biased by the difficult task of having to command a dozen national and international languages to cope with the literature, so a survey like this can be representative only of the most internationally visible trends. A more detailed regional review would be achievable only through collective efforts in the framework of conferences or special issues including informed native speakers of all regions. Therefore the following pages form but an introduction to the main trends in field studies today, indicating the use of ethnographic data in archaeological reasoning, and advancing a proposal for an agenda for future research with implications for archaeological theory in general.

On the History of Research

Even though L. Binford, arguably, may not have been the first or the best practitioner of ethnoarchaeology (Klejn, 2011), he will be remembered in the collective memory of most Anglophone archaeologists as the most influential proponent of this field during its formative period (Renfrew et al., 2011). Dissatisfied with the framework of cultural history-derived archaeology, Binford initiated not only an innovative fieldwork program among the Nunamiut Eskimos (Binford, 1978) but also discussed a method and theory that started a "revolutionary" movement shaping the practice of archaeology today. It cannot be coincidental that such debates commenced and flourished in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States exactly alongside other social movements that aimed to challenge and change the political *status quo* in that country at that time, and probably due to the excellent timing, found a particularly receptive audience there. In the very same period, similarly revolutionary social and political movements started on the other side of the Iron Curtain in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, but they were brutally smashed in a most clear demonstration of what could be expected by those who would dare to challenge the *status quo* in the Soviet bloc, as it was then. So, it is not surprising that orthodox ideologically laden Marxist theory was hardly discussed or questioned in most of the Balkan countries with socialist governments (i.e. Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and the former Yugoslavia) until 1989. A point in case is the history of the famous Russian archaeologist L. S. Klejn, who claimed to have written a review of Binford's "New Archaeology" movement already in the late 1970s, but not only did the book not make it to the printing house until 2010 (Klejn, 2010), but this writing led to his arrest and imprisonment in the GULAG instead.[1] Among the most acceptable alternatives was not engaging with theoretical work at all (Galaty &

[1] According to a statement on L. S. Klejn's personal website (http://klejn.archaeology.ru/rus/Klejn_a_7.html).

Watkinson, 2005). So, apart from Greece, it took more than a decade after the fall of the Berlin wall until western scholarship and joint projects started advocating the systematic use of ethnographic parallels in archaeological projects and the launch of ethnoarchaeological projects in the former socialist countries in the Balkans (Alexianu, Weller, & Brigand, 2012; Djordjević, 2013). Notable exceptions are the studies of J. Nandris and R. Carlton in the former Yugoslavia (Carlton, 1988; Nandris, 1988).

Even though Greece was following a different political trajectory from that of most of the remaining Balkan countries, Greek archaeologists seem to have focused on studies of their rich archaeological heritage (Hamilakis, 2007) and ethnoarchaeology projects were carried out for the most by foreign teams. Ethnoarchaeology enjoyed considerable attention in Turkey due both to local developmens fostered in the beginning by the authoritative figure of Hamit Zübeyr Koşay—a leading Turkish folklorist, ethnographer, and archaeologist—and later by numerous international projects related in the beginning to salvage excavations on the Euphrates dam projects and lately to major international projects such as those at Çatalhöyük and Troy (Bocher, 2006, 387–398; Takaoğlu, 2004).

In spite of these diverging trajectories of Balkan archaeologies, the following overview will try to demonstrate that there seems to be a common trend towards the integration of ethnographic observations and archaeological field studies in attempts to explain what looks like a continuity of ancient practices into the ethnographic record, as well as to inform archaeology on the possible patterns of exploitation and consumption of natural resources and the topography of ritual behaviour. Rather often, due to the lack of domestic written sources on larger parts of their historic development, the young Balkan nations, looking for means to support their territorial claims, have not avoided the pitfall of linking material remains and even biometric anthropological studies to ethnicity, expecting archaeology and ethnography to provide hard proof of the ethnogenesis of various modern and ancient Balkan nations (Atakuman, 2008; Galaty & Watkinson, 2005).

This somewhat lengthy prelude was intended to justify some of the reasons why ethnoarchaeology under this heading has not been practised in the Balkans. Our investigations to date show the almost total absence of such a term in the scientific literature in regional languages (particularly in the Bulgarian language), as well as the almost total absence of the mention of most Balkan states (save for Greece and Turkey) as fieldwork areas in the titles of studies of a similar nature in the most extensive bibliography on ethnoarchaeology (David & Kramer, 2001). Last but not least, there was and still is an explicit formal upper chronological limit for professional archaeologists working in Bulgaria to consider cultural development no later than the eighteenth century, and this can still be found as the main mission of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences at its official website (http://www.naim.bg/en/home). Under these circumstances, the responsibility of studying the material remains of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries for the past nearly 200 years has been mostly in the hands of ethnographers; moreover, until quite recently Bulgarian scholars had very limited access to official Ottoman archives, and the sources on the formative period of the ethnographic heritage have mostly come from oral history and folk mythology,

without a clear account of the historic processes. The interest in Bulgarian ethnographic traditions dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century, and the use of information from ancient Latin and Greek sources to explain their origin initiated a tradition of hermeneutic attempts to disclose diachronic historical layers in the heritage of the traditional Bulgarian society through ethnographic observations (Kanitz, 1882 *here* Figs. 6.1 and 6.2). Ethnographic arguments reinforced by biometric measurements were also among the main arguments for regarding the Thracians as a participating substratum in the formation of the Bulgarian nation (Angelov, 1971, 42–44). Similar trends are observed in all Balkan nations, leading to potential (Illyrians as Albanian and Bosnian ancestors) and actual sources of international conflict; for example, the fierce disputes between contemporary Greek and FYROM institutions about their ancient Macedonian ancestries. However, not only archaeologists have attempted to apply ethnographic parallels as interpretative means—some have even tried to (re)construct the "ethnology of the Thracians" (Georgieva et al., 1999)—but also Bulgarian ethnographers have deliberately sought archaeological evidence as arguments for the great antiquity of the elements of material culture that they studied (Marinov, 1982; Vakarelski, 1977, 17).

Ethnoarchaeology in the Balkans. A Short Overview

The early twenty-first century saw a marked increase in the use of ethnoarchaeology to inform interpretative frameworks of excavation results. There could be distinguished two main trends—descriptive field studies and an analytical approach towards integrating ethnographic data in archaeological reasoning. These trends will be presented along the typical archaeological cognitive pattern referred to as *chaîne opératoire*—raw material exploitation, manufacturing technologies, utilitarian functions (studied through use wear and ethnographic observations), and social contexts of their use. These studies extend from single artefact types to vernacular architecture and from settlement patterns to communication networks.

Exploitation of Raw Materials

One of the most ambitious current field projects was triggered by the discovery of some of the earliest traces of salt exploitation from brine sources by Early Neolithic communities in the Eastern Carpathians and the observation of poorly documented ongoing primitive exploitation of the same brine sources by the local population (Weller & Dumitroaia, 2005). Given the abundant data for Bronze Age exploitation of similar sources in the region, the research team decided to perform thorough documentation of the contemporary modes of exploitation as a reference that might provide the best possible parallel for understanding the prehistoric exploitation and distribution network under basically the same geographic constraints (Alexianu et al., 2012). This research draws on previous fieldwork by some of the team

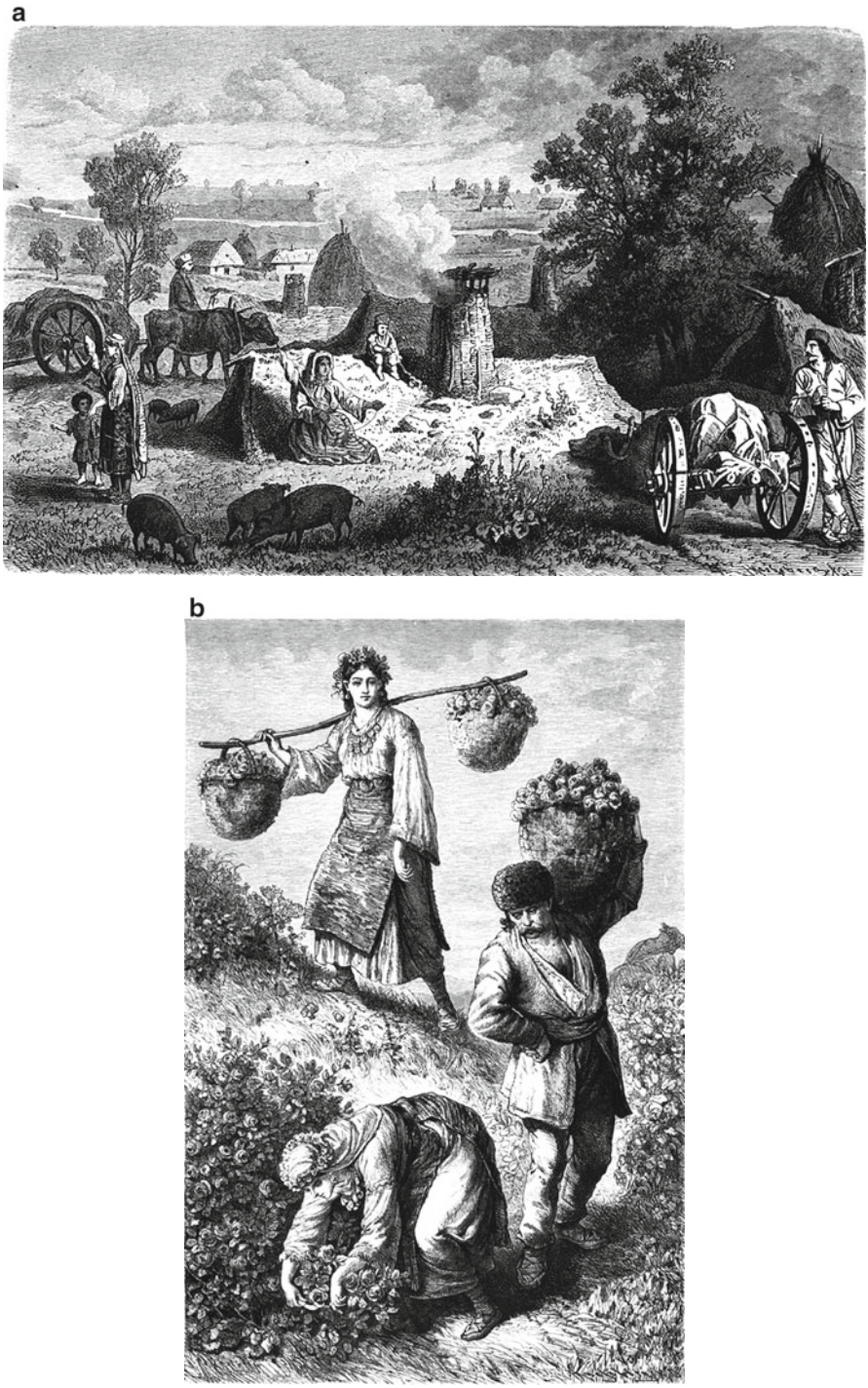


Fig. 6.1 Ethnographic impressions from late nineteenth century Bulgaria (after Kanitz 1882)

Fig. 6.1 (continued)

members on salt exploitation and distribution patterns among the indigenous population in Papua New Guinea (Pétrequin et al., 2001), and so the comparative knowledge of distant societies operating in different social and geographic conditions will, it is hoped, bring much-needed insight to the study of the prehistoric

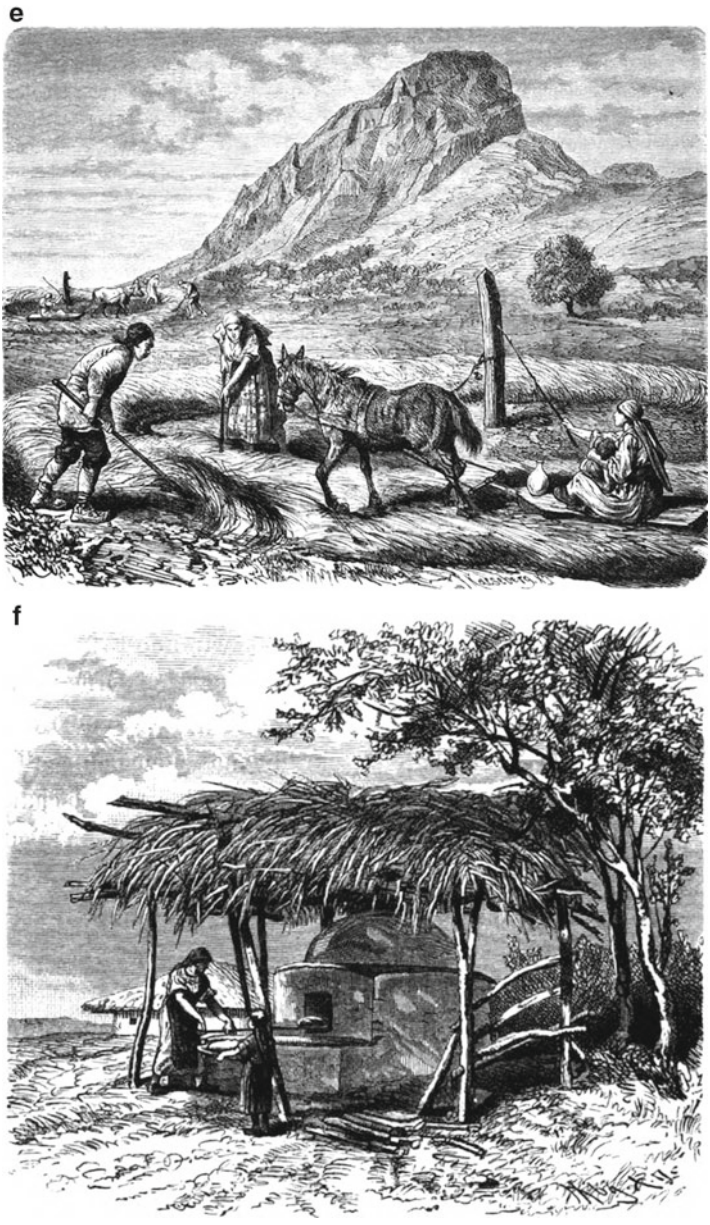


Fig. 6.1 (continued)

(and historic) procurement and distribution of salt on either side of the Carpathians. We note also that the mining of flint or metallic ores is discussed in archaeological records and even more by geologists, but not so much in ethnographic records, whereas the production of charcoal, lime and tar has left insignificant traces in the archaeological context to provide comparable data.

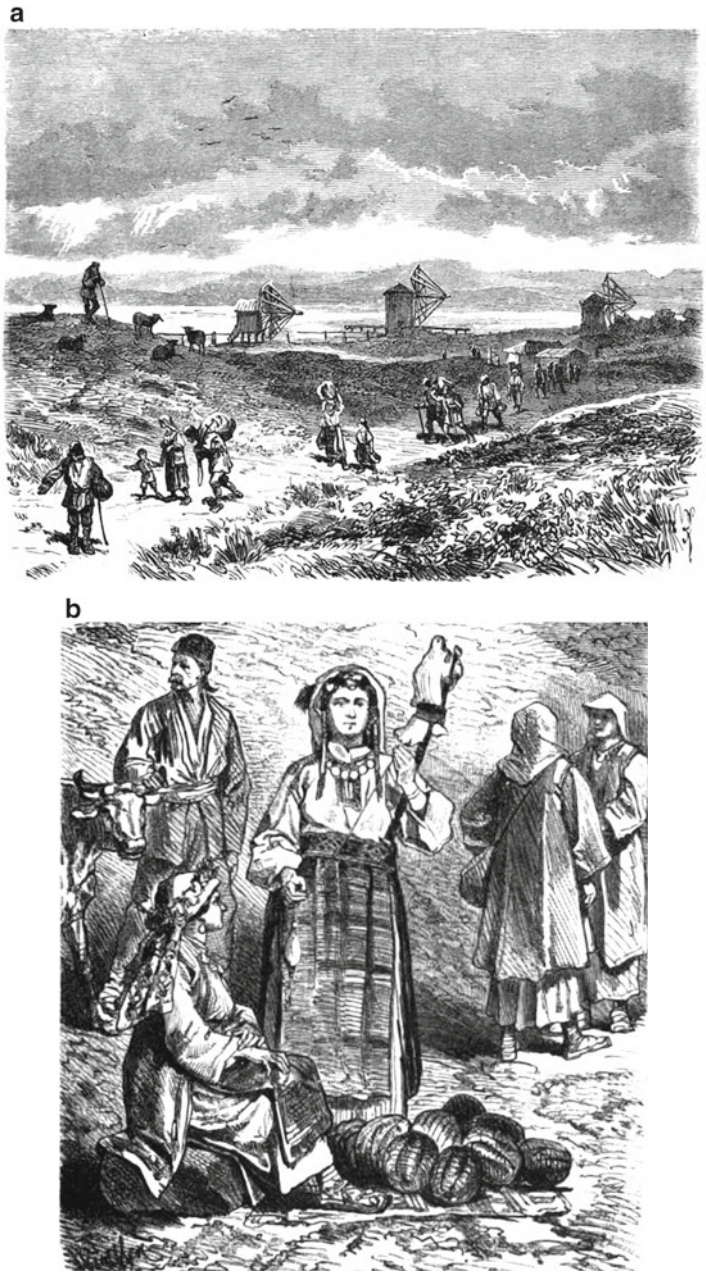
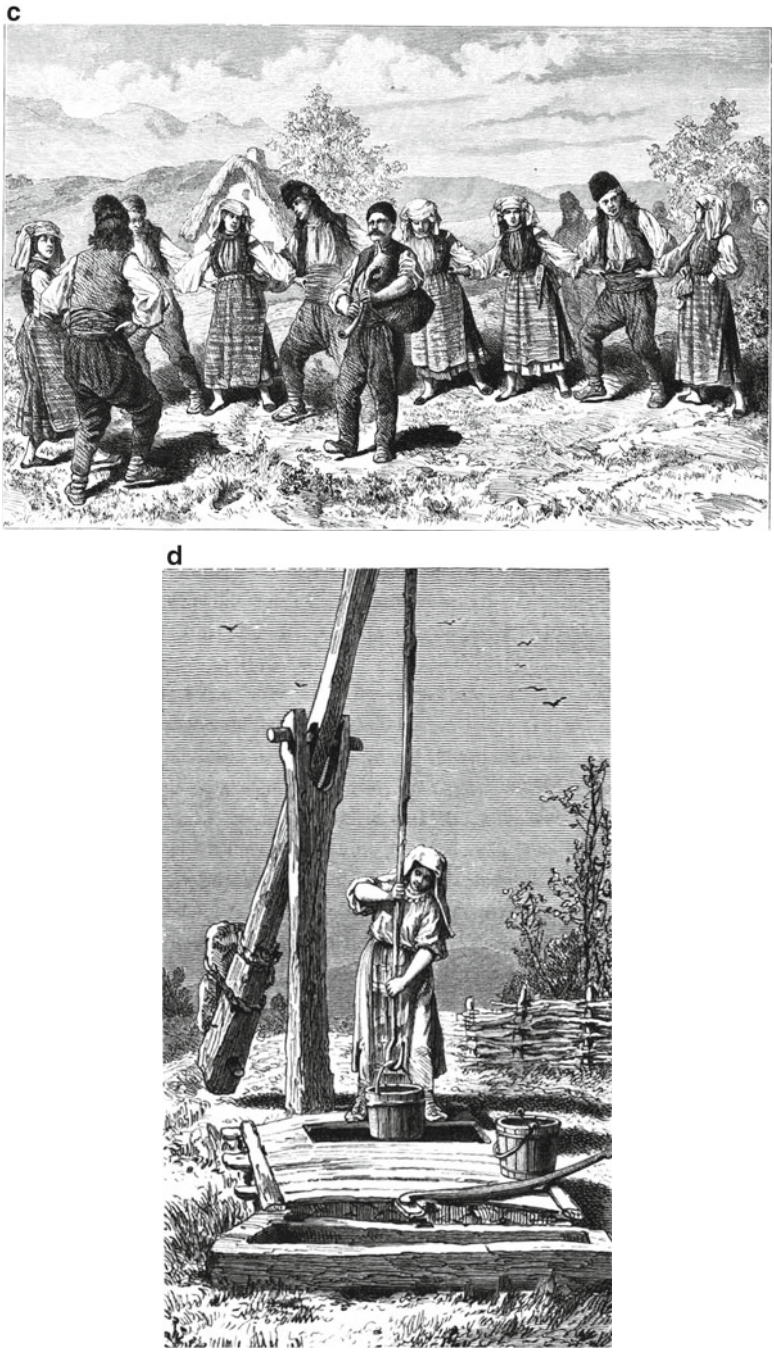


Fig. 6.2 Ethnographic impressions from late nineteenth century Bulgaria (after Kanitz 1882)



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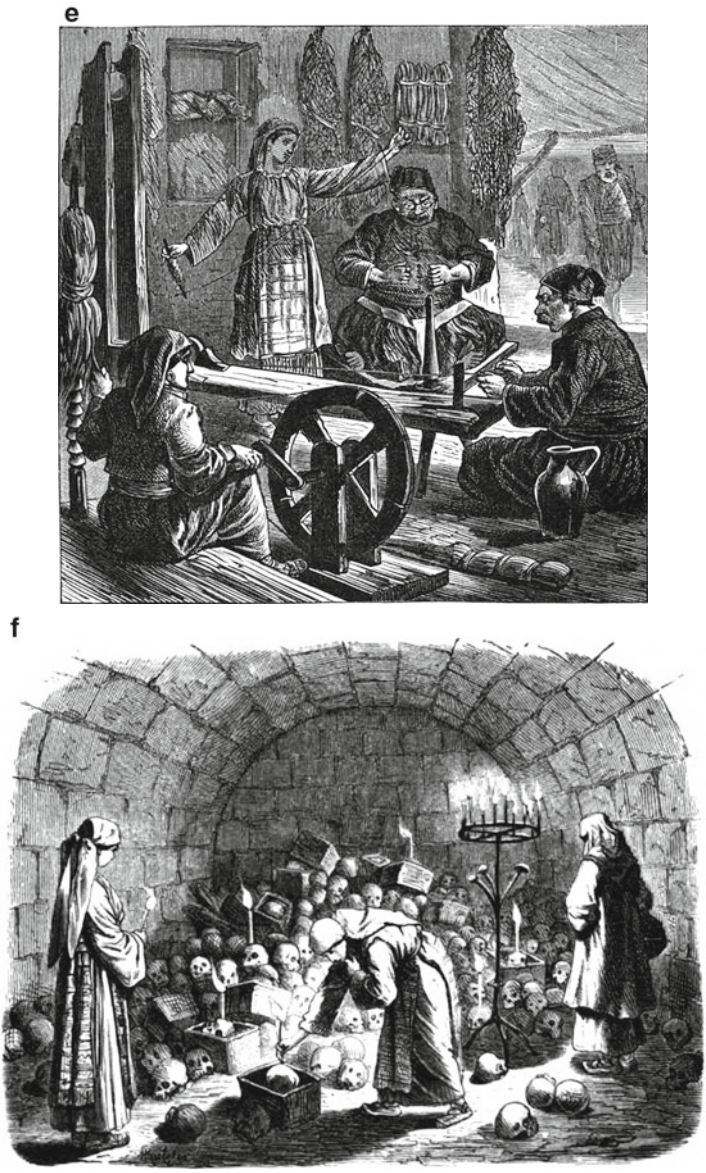

Fig. 6.2 (continued)

Crafts and Manufacturing Technologies

Pottery studies have built the backbone of traditional descriptive archaeology, so it is no wonder that the studies of surviving modern practices have enjoyed particular interest. Since the 1980s R. Carlton has been carrying out extensive comparative studies on still-functioning traditional ceramic workshops in the Western Balkans

and Romania, where he has documented the use and gradual abuse of hand- and foot-wheel techniques (Carlton, 1988, 2008, 2012). Interesting insights on the production of large ceramic storage vessels and on itinerant potters have been documented in Greece and its islands (Hampe & Winter, 1962). In Bulgaria, V. Nikolov has paid attention to traditional cooking pots with large diameters (30–40 cm), shaped in moulds and furnished with lids and triangular handles, using ethnographic information on their use mode to infer criteria for distinguishing function based on shapes and dimensions (Nikolov, 1987, 33–34). Recently, F.A. Tencariu has made ample use of ethnographic parallels on the bonfire and pit-firing of pottery from across the world to illustrate arguments for the technological variation of Neolithic and Chalcolithic pyrotechnology in the Eastern Carpathians, whereas R. Carlton provided information on modern practices of pottery-firing in the Western Balkans (Carlton, 2004; Tencariu, 2010).

B. Tekkök also provides interesting insights into the family businesses of two contemporary ceramic workshops—one located on the European, the other on the Anatolian side of the Dardanelles (Tekkök-Biçken, 2000; Tekkök, 2004). She clearly demonstrates the potential of comparing the knowledge gained on technology (procurement of clay, turning and casting vessel elements in moulds) and the division of labour with examples from classical antiquity, but she demonstrates as well the economic conditions leading the latter workshop to close operations and the degree of adaptation and change of technology that it took for the former workshop to stay in business.

Recently B. Djordjević has started a project focused on the study of traditional pottery production that is still practised in the village of Zlokusa in Western Serbia. Even though the tradition is gradually being abandoned, the entire pottery-making process (the manual extraction of raw materials; the use of a hand-turned wooden wheel; firing in an open fire) is still accessible to observation and has been diligently documented (Djordjević, 2013). Gradually pottery ethnoarchaeology in the Balkans has gained momentum and the first conference on ceramic ethnoarchaeology took place in Belgrade, Serbia, in 2011. The proceedings of this conference are expected to provide the most up-to-date research in the countries of the former Yugoslavia and Northern Greece.

Whereas most studies focus on technology there are also attempts to consider the economic challenges, status and gender relations of the craftsmen. Vakarelski (1977) informs us that in late nineteenth to early twentieth century Bulgaria there was a sharp gender divide in pottery production—women made domestic handmade utensils (and ovens!), whereas the men prepared exclusively wheel-thrown production for sale. This trend seemingly transcends cultural/religious differences, since among Muslim Bosnians, wheel-made pottery is, again, an exclusively male business (Carlton, 2008), whereas in Turkey unglazed ware for domestic use was made by women in Akköy and the mass production of glazed ware and souvenirs in Eceabat was mostly done by men (Tekkök-Biçken, 2000; Tekkök, 2004). Several studies show how the deliberate decisions of how the acceptance of and resistance to technological innovations in ceramic production predestined the survival or disappearance of local ceramic schools and enterprises (Tekkök, 2004).

Functional Studies

Whereas pottery is still meaningful in our society, there are a number of prehistoric artefacts that make sense only in their original context. Flint flakes and blades are arguably among these, and a combination of use-wear and ethnoarchaeological observations is the most reliable way of disclosing their function. The most popular traditional role of flint blades in the ethnographic context in the Balkans is their use as inserts in threshing sledges. Unlike in Cyprus and the Middle East, there are currently no known producers of threshing sledges, since the related practice of threshing wheat in most places had been practically abandoned already in the 1950s. In the past two decades M. Gurova has continuously been observing ethnographic examples under high magnification in order to define the characteristic microscopic use-wear and to compare it as a correlate with archaeological samples (Gurova, 2001, 2011). She has distinguished three criteria related to morphometry, typology and microscopic use-wear (Gurova, 2001) and applied these criteria both to ethnographic and archaeological collections from Bulgaria (Gurova, 2001). F. Kanitz (1882; cf. Fig. 6.1a) had already wondered about the age of the practice of using threshing sledges in Bulgaria, since the practice was noted already in the Bible and in Roman literature. M. Gurova's studies demonstrated that the earliest possible use of flint flakes in threshing sledges could be dated as early as the Late Neolithic period at Pomoshtitsa in Northern Bulgaria, whereas the most irrefutable data for the existence of these devices are from the Late Chalcolithic period (4500–4250 BCE) at Drama-Merdzhumekya in Southeastern Bulgaria (Gurova, 2001, 16). So far, there is no evidence for the continuous use of threshing sledges from prehistory to modernity, so these implements could have been reintroduced from anywhere in the Mediterranean or the Near East again (and again?) in Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman times.

Bone tools are also mostly to be found in the prehistoric departments of archaeological museums, but it has turned out that sometimes it is not necessary to go beyond the city limits to find arenas for ethnoarchaeological studies. A. Choyke reported prehistoric-looking (although once industrially produced and used) leather folders made from cattle bone still in use in an urban context (shoemaker's workshop) in modern Sofia, as well as bone combs that had been handed down the generations in the Carpathians, providing a first-hand opportunity to study wear patterns, together with personal statements from their owners on the combs' biography (Choyke, 2006). The tradition of comb-making from osseous materials in the region is long-lasting and well documented in the Mediaeval period as well as in the Ottoman period (Choyke & Kováts, 2010).

Ritual Performances

Even though traditional music, ritual performances and carnivals are among the most remarkable trademarks of traditional societies today, very little of these phenomena remain for archaeologists, and so little attention is paid to them in the

ethnoarchaeological literature. Subtle yet indirect evidence for the great antiquity of masked performances such as those of *kukeri* in Western Bulgaria, characterized by the wearing of elaborate masks with elements of various animal parts—birds' heads and wings, rams' heads and horns among others—could be inferred from archaeological finds from the neighboring Near East, e.g. in Neolithic Çatalhöyük in Turkey (Russell & McGowan, 2002) and Hellenistic Tell Beydar in Syria (van Neer & Cupere, 2012). Arguably, such traits may even be recognized in masked clay figurines, notably the Neolithic examples from Damyanitsa in southwest Bulgaria (Grębska-Kulow, in press).

In particular, the ritual performances of (*a*) *nestinari* (fire-dancers) and (b) *kukeri* (mummers) in Bulgaria and Northern Greece, as well as the traditional ritual performances at rock-hewn monuments in the mountains of Strandzha, Sakar, Rhodopes and Stara planina, no matter how modified, provide the only hint for understanding the outdoor ritual activities described in ancient sources and possibly handed down the generations in orally transmitted culture (Arnaudov, 1920; Raychevski & Fol, 1993). Accordingly, these performances have been systematically used by some as means for reconstructions of Iron Age ceremonies (Fol, 1994, 2001). Surprisingly less explored is the ritual sacrifice ('qurban) of lambs that is still practised by both rural Christian and Muslim communities with reference to Abraham/Ibrahim's offering, but including local pagan traits (Blagoev, 2004, 221). No doubt, there is a lot more to be expected from remote mountainous regions across the whole peninsula and especially in the Carpathians, Epirus and Albania.

Agropastoral Economy and Mobile Settlement Patterns

There is already a decade-long tradition of studying transhumance patterns in continuous attempts to define the diversity of these practices, their possible visibility in the archaeological record, their possible age and their implications for studying prehistoric communities (Nandris, 1985, 1988; Chang, 1993, Arnold & Greenfield, 2006). Reviewing the various evidence for possible Neolithic through Bronze Age origins, J. Bintliff raises the point that the excess of dairy products and wool produced through transhumant pastoralism needs an adequate exchange network to justify the related excessive labour (Bintliff, 2012). Such an economy was certainly at work during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods when transhumance has been historically attested (Nandris, 1985; Popovic, 2012). Circumstantial arguments, such as the parallel development of pottery styles during the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age in Yunatsite and Sitagroi on either side of the Western Rhodope mountains (Todorova, 2006), as well as the topographic coincidence of a thin-layered Late Bronze Age site at Zaportite Sai near Chirpan (Ivanova and Todorova, in press) being situated next to a Karakachan (also known as Sarakatsan) camp that was in use until the 1950s, are suggestive of the possible prehistoric date of transhumant practices in Bulgaria. The fact that only insignificant numbers of artefacts have been registered at the latter site can be explained by the deliberate

abandonment of the settlement, a phenomenon which concurs with the ethnographic observations made at seasonally inhabited camps of transhumance populations (Yakar, 1998: 817). Even though Chang and Tourtellotte (Chang, 1993; Chang & Tourtellotte, 1993) did their best to establish objective criteria for recognizing transhumant camps based on architectural and artefactual remains, we hope that future studies will also consider the presence of stable isotopes of strontium, carbon and oxygen in the skeletal remains of domestic animals; such studies could provide useful hints on the rates of mobility of transhumance flocks and could prove the possible great antiquity of the transhumance economy in the region, even though, if there had been such an economy, it would not have escaped the attention of the Greek, Roman and Early Byzantine chronists.

P. Halstead and V. Isaakidou have been continuously providing insightful research on more short-ranging farming practices, including ploughing and gardening with cows and rearing pigs in the woods (Halstead & Isaakidou, 2011; Isaakidou, 2011). Boroffka (2005) and Atanassov (2011) make detailed comparisons between ethnographic data and studies of faunal remains to refute the hypothetical nomadism of the inhabitants of the temperate part of the Balkans during the Late Bronze Age, and reach a consensus that the constant presence of pig bones (i.e. pig husbandry) is counter-indicative of a mobile lifestyle. In search of reliable models for reconstructing the Neolithic wattle-and-daub architecture at the Neolithic Aşağı Pınar in the European part of Turkey (Karul and Eres 2003), Z. Eres undertook a scrupulous recording of existing traditional architecture pertaining not only to houses but also to animal pens and the use of open spaces between the two (Eres, 2003).

Comparative Cross-Cultural Studies

Beyond the advantages for setting archaeological evidence in similar geographic conditions and the realization that possibly not all (pre-)historic phenomena may have adequate ethnographic parallels (Kohl 2007, 11), some authors have attempted to make use of first-hand observations and anthropological records from traditional societies located in geographic regions as distant as Ghana, Papua New Guinea and the Southern Pacific.

In her study on prehistoric fortified settlements in the Balkans, Anatolia and the Aegean, M. Ivanova examined the social development of chiefdom societies in the Southern Pacific, in order to justify the systematic use of ethnographic analogies for understanding possible warfare patterns in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age (Ivanova, 2008). P. Pétrequin and his collaborators studied the manufacture and distribution patterns of polished stone axes in Papua New Guinea and systematically extended their observations to explain the variability and spatial distribution of Neolithic polished jade axes across Europe, including the Balkans (Pétrequin et al. 2012a and Pétrequin et al. 2012b). In the first publication on the Telish-Lîga excavations, I. Merkyte used ethnographic parallels from Benin and Ghana to explain the

possible social context of clay figurines (Merkyte, 2005, 99–100), whereas in a more recent study she suggests that activity areas are not limited to the settlement confines but extend to the landscape surrounding them (Merkyte & Albek, 2012). P. Zidarov (2009) identified possible tattooing implements in the Chalcolithic Pietrele on the Lower Danube and compared them to abundant ornamented figurines across the Balkans, pointing to possible implications that could be inferred through comparison with ethnographic examples from New Zealand and the Southern Pacific. H. Greenfield discussed the phenomenon of *Spondylus* distribution across Europe and the possible implications of the cautious comparisons with the Kula-ring exchange network in Melanesia (Greenfield, 1991). Recently Windler, Thiele, and Müller (2013) used ethnographically derived algorithms and indices (Lorenz curve, Gini and Generalized Enthropy Measures (GEM) indices) to estimate the development of social inequality over time on the basis of the excavation of grave goods from the Durankulak necropolis.

Communication Networks and Migration: The Struma Valley

Ethnoarchaeological research can be used not only to support archaeological hypotheses but also to refute some as unlikely. For instance, the Struma river valley, which naturally links the Aegean and the Central Balkan Peninsula, is sometimes believed to have played an important role in the initial spread of Neolithic life ways from the Near East to the Balkans and further to Central Europe (e.g. Nikolov, 1990). The argument is concerned with an idealized route connecting the north–south direction of the Struma valley and its connection to the valleys of the Iskar and Morava, without examining the real conditions before the construction of the modern asphalt road and bridges. A review of ethnographic and ethno-historical data indicates that until the beginning of the twentieth century the road network in the Struma and Mesta valleys differed significantly from the current network (Kolev, 1983, 142–170) and other means for transportation were in use, e.g. caravans with pack animals (horses, mules, camels and donkey) or simply transportation by foot. Sophisticated transportation means, such as carts and chariots, were less popular due to specific geographical conditions (Kolev, 1980, 368–375) and were practically possible only during the summer and early autumn, whereas during the rest of the year the traffic was very limited and practically suspended (Grębska-Kulow, 2013).

The Boeotian project of J. Bintliff has spanned several decades of fieldwork (since the 1970s) and has applied a complex approach to understand the interplay of all the historical events that took place in this study region, through a combination of ethnographic enquiry and archaeological survey (Bintliff, 2012), seeking to find the relevance of ethnographic studies for elucidating remote practices in prehistory and ancient times according to a process referred to as the *longue durée,* following the French Annales school. One of the most important outcomes of the project was the realization reached by Bintliff that the contemporary Boeotian population and its settlement pattern are not so much rooted in Classical Antiquity or even in the

Byzantine period but have been rather profoundly shaped by late mediaeval Albanian colonization, as observed today, through what he calls passive identity (Bintliff, 2003). So, even though the local population has blended in perfectly with modern Greek society this case study reminds us that all actualistic studies based on ethnographic observations should be made with the utmost caution.

Towards an Analytic Ethnoarchaeology in the Balkans

A majority of the studies presented here illustrate individual, or at best regional, case studies that could perfectly well be used as parallels in comparative studies. But is the actual potential of ethnoarchaeology so limited and what is the big difference between this field and the methods of cultural history? Was not Binfords' original purpose actually a desire to seek explanations of the spatial patterns of variability?

We believe that the monograph "Ethnography of Bulgaria" by H. Vakarelski (1977) offers a great chance for a generalized overview of basically ethnoarchaeological observations on a national scale. Faced with the challenge to provide a spatial overview of the data collected on the typologies of vernacular architecture (Fig. 6.3a), animal pens (Fig. 6.3e), farming implements (Fig. 6.3d, f), and textile devices (Fig. 6.4c, d), Vakarelski intuitively used one of the favorite tools of analytical archeology—distribution maps. With their help Vakarelski clearly presents overall spatial patterns of the variability of material elements of culture (architecture, tools and devices), and the elements that are more intangible and usually less familiar to archaeologists, such as traditional peasant costumes (Fig. 6.4a, b). The original edition also included distribution maps of different types of harrows, threshing floors, horse and cattle carts, musical instruments and masked rituals (Vakarelski, 1977: 109, 119, 293). These distribution maps could certainly be further complemented and refined through similar studies. However, even though the examples selected and included here do, it is hoped, show clearly enough a very complex picture, it is a picture in which there is no concordance in the distribution of any type of artefact or cultural phenomenon, let alone in their complexity.

A comparison between the distribution map of the types of dwellings for which one can assume a long formative period (Fig. 6.3a) and that of mechanical grain mills, which probably developed over a considerably shorter period as a technical innovation in response to specific socio-economic conditions (Fig. 6.3b), shows the extent to which geographic factors influenced the spread of both architectural forms. Even though the proportional prevalence of either wind- or watermills was no doubt a function of certain geographic features, these hardly affected the spatial distribution of residential architecture types, even of the most primitive semi-subterranean house type (Fig. 6.1a). Further, it seems logical to assume that the spatial distribution of various agricultural practices, ranging from horticulture tools (Fig. 6.3b) to intensive forms of agriculture represented by various ploughing devices (Figs. 6.1d and 6.3d) and the subsequent use of threshing devices in grain production (Figs. 6.1e

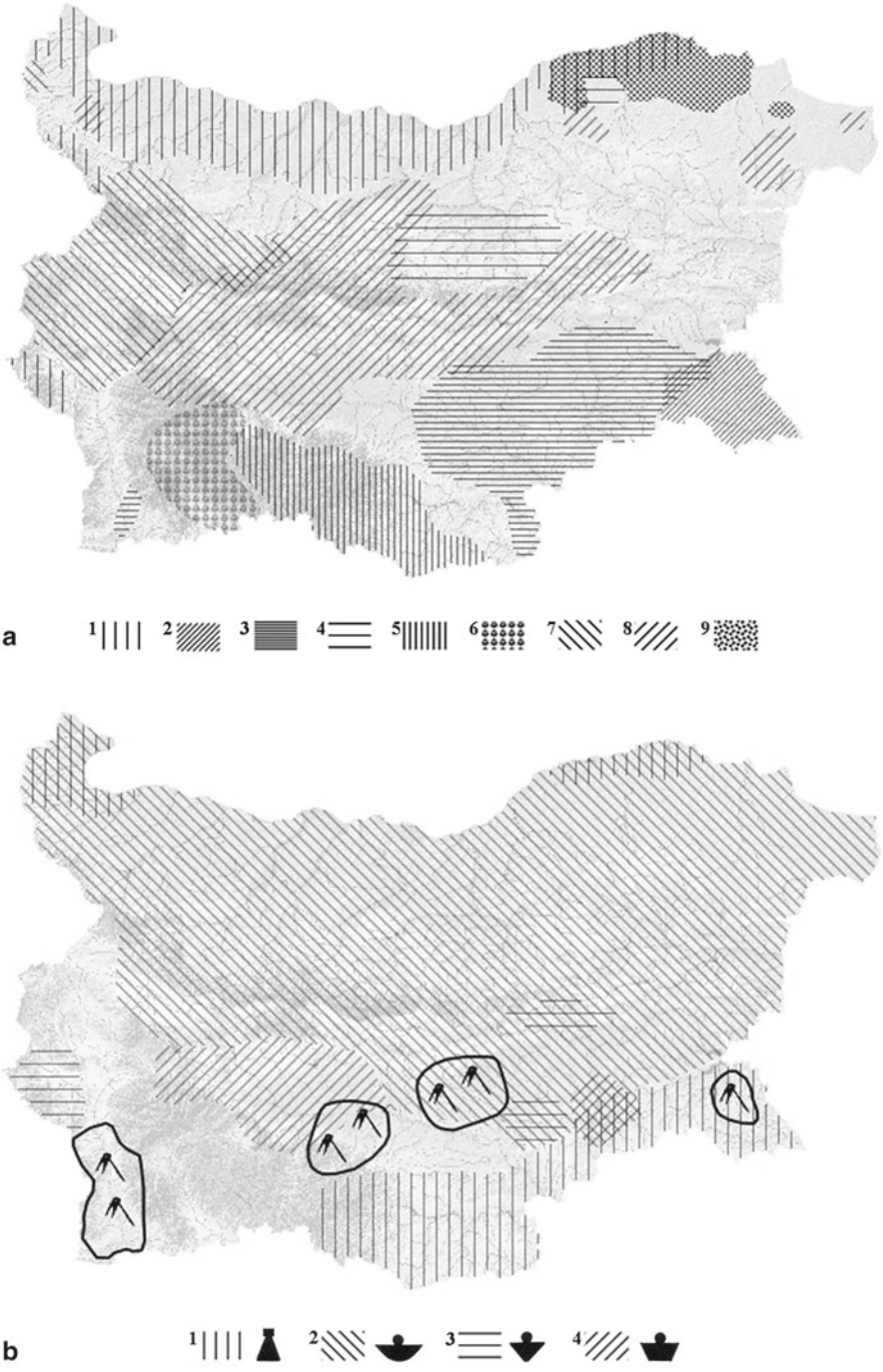

Fig. 6.3 (**a**) Vernacular house types: (1) Uzem (semi subterranean house), (2) Strandzha house, (3) Thracian house, (4) Balkan house, (5) Central Rhodopean house, (6) Pirin house, (7) Shopska

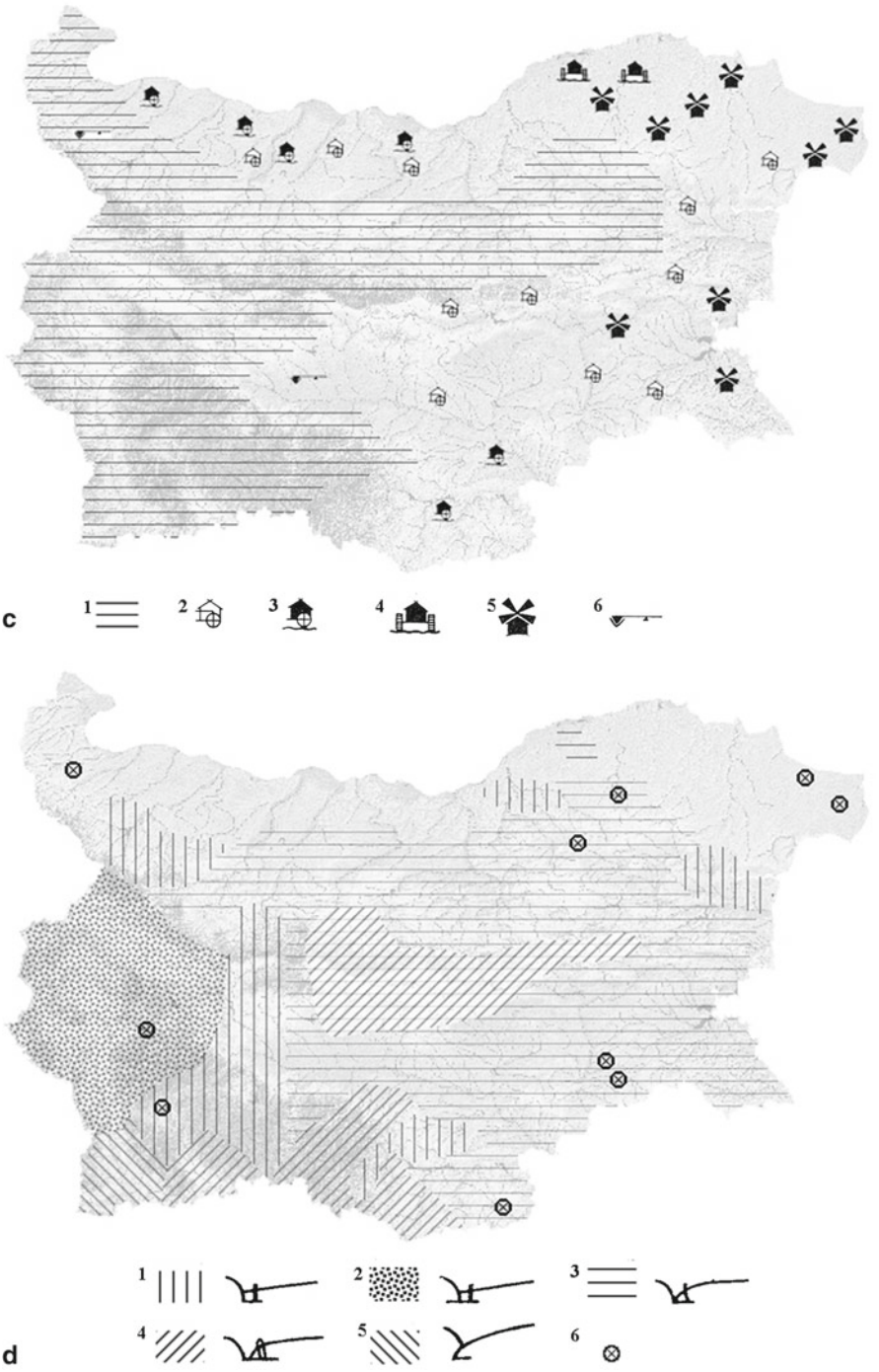

Fig. 6.3 (continued)

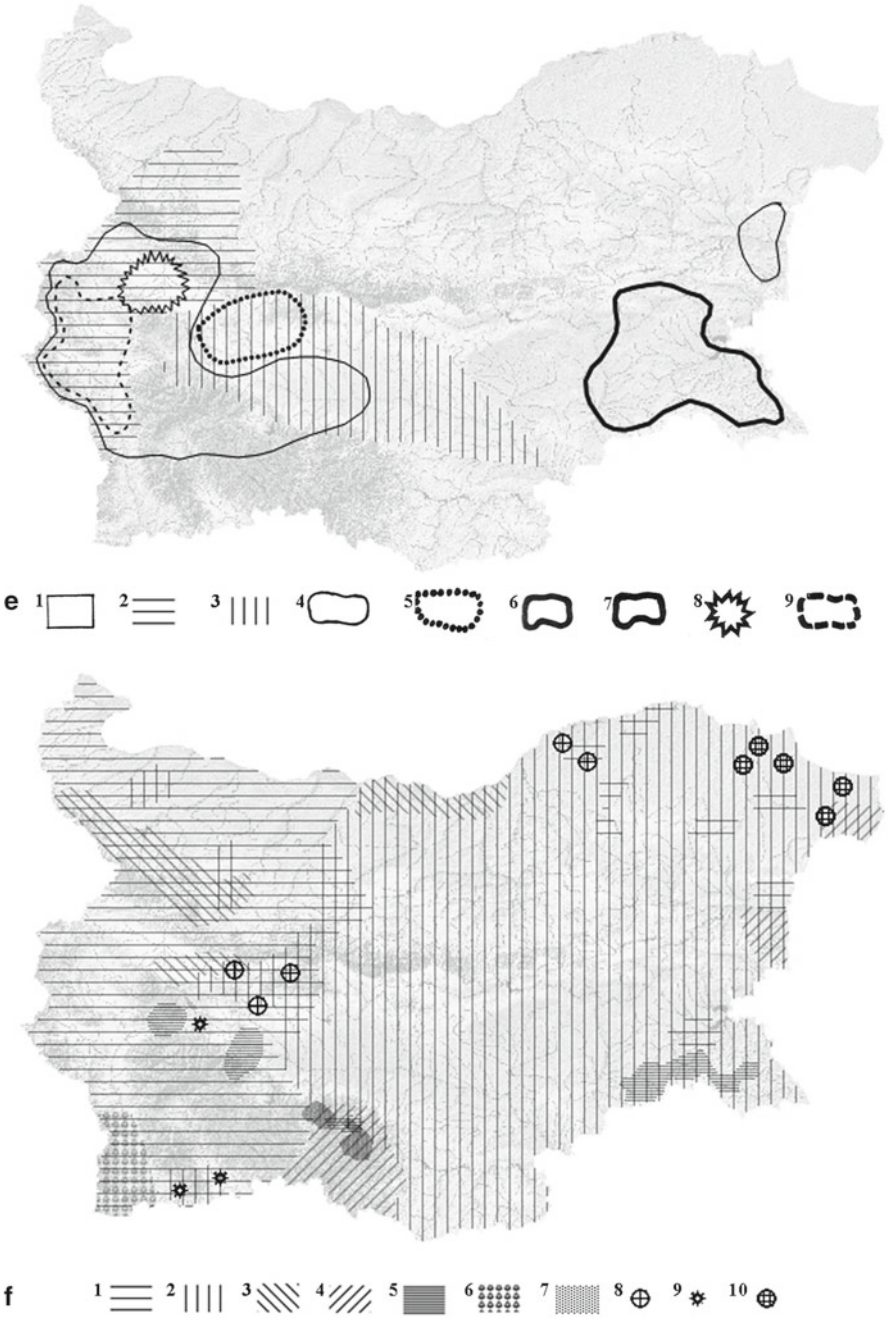

Fig. 6.3 (continued)

and 6.3f), would be affected mostly by certain geographical factors such as the distribution of different soil types, as well as levels of precipitation and altitude zones, but even a cursory look at the relevant distribution maps (Fig. 6.3b, d, f) shows that the agricultural knowledge and skills of the local population were obviously capable of compensating for the deficiencies. Therefore, many of the differences seem to have depended rather on technological know-how and opportunities for mobilizing socio-economic resources than on geographical factors. Probably, the absence of a spatial relationship between the mapped characteristics of agriculture and stock-breeding concepts could be explained along a similar line (Fig. 6.3b, d–f), the latter no doubt being influenced and regulated also by co-existence with transhumant Vlakh, Karakachan and Yorouk groups not rendered in this map.

The profound differences in the synchronous distribution of the casual dress of Bulgarian men and women in the late nineteenth century are worth considering as well (Fig. 6.4a, b). Seemingly, the higher intensity of contacts between Bulgarian men and representatives of other cultures and ethnic groups (particularly Turks), in southern and northeastern Bulgaria, may explain the domination of the elements of oriental costume (dark colors, trousers, etc.), whereas the wearing of predominantly white apparel and characteristic tight pants among men in the Bulgarian northwest links them closer to other Balkan communities in the Western Balkans and Romania. Such a conclusion concurs well with the observations of K. Jireček that most Bulgarians living in eastern Bulgaria freely communicated in Turkish, while in western Bulgaria that was not the case (Jireček, 1899).

Contrastingly, the homemade elements of women's costumes seem to be much more conservative, exhibiting considerably higher regional variability. Luxurious ornamental elements, such as belt buckles and bracelets, on the contrary, were made in specialized goldsmith's workshops that were open to the influences of fanciful models from the capitals of the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian empires, and from the major cities on the Adriatic coast, and so these items mirror, rather, international trends. Quite intriguing is the lack of coincidence between the maps of the homemade clothing (Fig. 6.4a and especially b) and the various devices used for its production (Figs. 6.2b, e and 6.3d, f). Notable also are the differences between the distribution of traditional carnivals and the accompanying musical instruments (Vakarelski, 1977, Figs. XVXVI). Careful inspection of all maps leaves the impression that geographic variability has in fact diachronic dimensions and is related to the varying timing of cultural responses in dynamic intercultural communication, much like a space-time continuum. This observation could have general application in archaeology if we could produce similar and more detailed distribution maps of

Fig. 6.3 (continued) house, (8) Central Bulgarian house, (9) Dobrudzha house (modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. X). (**b**) Variability in hoe morphology (modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. II) (**c**). Mill types: (1) Zherka/karadzheika, (2) Dulap with upper rotation, (3) Dulap with lower rotation, (4) Ponton mill, (5) Windmill, (6) Dinka (modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. XII). (**d**). Plough types (modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. III). (**e**). Terminological variability of animal pens (modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. VII). (**f**). Variability in threshing technology, e.g. with horses (1, 4, 10), with tribulum (2), rollers (9), clubs (6), etc. (modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. V)

Fig. 6.4 (**a**) Spatial distribution of traditional male peasant costumes with special focus on *white* (1) versus *black* (2) costumes and varieties of shepherds' raincoats (7a–e, modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. VIII). (**b**). Spatial distribution of traditional female peasant costumes with special focus on one (7) as opposed to two apron (1)-based costumes, etc. (modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. IX). (**c**). Horizontal looms with different constructions—horizontal frame (2) as opposed to *forward*- (3) and *backward*-positioned (1) frame (modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. XIV). (**d**). Variability in distaff morphology (modified after Vakarelski, 1977, Fig. XIII)

Fig. 6.4 (continued)

the same elements at certain intervals backwards in time to disclose the formative mechanisms at work, because what we do not see on these maps is the synchronous presence of other ethnic groups that were considered minorities by the time these maps were compiled, notwithstanding the fact that they could have been, in fact, majorities in certain regions during the formative periods of some of the regarded phenomena. This omission is understandable in regard to the time of the publication and the imperative practice of the Soviet system to erase ethnic borders and to create homogenous societies (Stefanovich, 2003). Since the early 1990s there has been increased interest in studying and documenting the ethnography of minority groups, and these achievements should be used cautiously in future research on this topic.

It seems that just as each artefact has a biography and should be considered in this context, so the formation of cultural phenomena should be considered as a continuum, determined by different dynamics of development and varying rates of permeability to external influences. So actually these distribution maps are an illustration of the synchronous co-existence of a variety of cultural phenomena that inherently reflect diachronic processes and different spatial-temporal continuums for which the relief of the socio-cultural landscape plays a much more important role than the geographical features. Thus, the analysis of such complex cultural landscapes shows that to understand the nature of identity-defining "symbols in action" one should investigate their diachronic development, thereby reconciling the early confrontation of ethnoarchaeological research with methods shared with cultural history. In our opinion such investigation seems fully justified, as the common goal is a deeper understanding of the history of humankind.

Conclusions

Most of the ethnoarchaeological studies presented here deal mainly with descriptions of individual case studies recorded in recent times, such as observations of the production cycles in ceramic workshops. Much more rarely, mainly in Greece and Turkey, the focus is on a systematic analysis of an entire community within the confines of a village closest to archaeological excavations, and even more rarely, the focus is on a micro-regional level. Understandably the difference is often due to limitations in the length of the research period and to difficulties in securing the long-term funding of interdisciplinary research. However, there is a danger that most of these case studies may remain irrelevant to most archaeologists if they are not directly related to interpretative reasoning. In this article we have argued, rather, that meaningful ethnoarchaeological studies could be performed not only among contemporary communities but in museums and archives as well, as long as they are secured with contextual information.

As we have tried to demonstrate, taking Bulgarian ethnographic studies for example, there is considerable potential for generalizations–using this wealth of empirical data–to upgrade ethnoarchaeology to a more analytical level where direct analogies should be preceded by a systematic analysis revealing the degree of

complexity of a given society (socio-economic, cultural and religious conditions). This degree of complexity may differ significantly in detail—in the cases of ethnic/religious minorities or professional guilds—from the conditions in which the majority and the privileged social classes live and develop in stratified societies. Luckily for the future ethnoarchaeologist, in some countries like Bulgaria most of the ethnographically documented system collapsed rapidly at its apogee and many of its characteristic elements are preserved both in situ and in museums, whereas in other parts of the Balkans the system was properly documented in due time (Hampe & Winter, 1982; Carlton, 1988) and in other parts of the Balkans characteristic elements are still rather preserved and mature for ethnoarchaeological studies.

In conclusion, we believe that both approaches—the cautious use of local sources of the pre-industrial era from the Balkans, and the use of sources from more remote areas—considerably improves the interpretive possibilities of the study of archaeological monuments and so is preferable to mere intellectual conclusions emanating from the social and economic, and cultural and religious contexts of the twenty-first century. However, we must not fall into the extreme view of believing that history and ethnography have already documented all forms of social development. As for the potential development of ethnoarchaeology in countries like Bulgaria, so far the initiative has been mainly in the field of ethnography. Following the logic of demographic processes in modern Bulgaria, in the next one to two decades, more than 70 % of Bulgarian villages will be completely deserted (at least by the Bulgarian population), which would virtually prohibit ethnographic field research; the only possible source of new information on rural life from the recent past will then remain the archaeological excavations (the so-called *urgent ethnoarchaeology*) of such sites. Thus, the balance between the two disciplines—ethnography and archaeology—could be changed in large parts of the country. Until then students of ethnoarchaeology will likely have the opportunity to describe the process of the disintegration of complete settlement systems and compare it with past events. Even though similar processes are on the rise in many of the neighbouring countries, so far it seems that the demographic situation in their rural areas is considerably better than that in Bulgaria, but it could change very rapidly (as it did during the wars in the Western Balkans). So every new project is timely and welcome.

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Chapter 7
Evaluating and Establishing Ethnoarchaeological Theory for Anatolia

Nurcan Yalman

Introduction

It is a matter of accepted fact that ethnoarchaeology came rather late to Turkey but it is less clear why and even how it arrived in Turkey. A discussion of the reasons for this late arrival, as well as an historical review within the context of Turkish archaeology, will be the core parts of this chapter.

Ethnoarchaeology needs a sophisticated perspective to be able to nascence properly and it requires a background woven with philosophical thought, as well as a high level of consciousness in the aim of understanding the past.

The endeavour to know about past societies in the world has a history as old as prehistoric times. During this long time in the history of archaeology, the differing destinations of this subject have caused variations in perspectives and methodologies. But the major developments have appeared when the aim has been changed from "*to know*" to "*to understand*". Since it has been understood that the unidentified objects found on or under the earth belong to the people who lived in the very distant past, the value of these objects has been changed for contemporary people during the centuries. Recently, the new question of "what was the value of these objects or existences for those who made them (rather than for us?)" has given birth to a brand new perspective which is called "cognitive archaeology" today, as described by Renfrew and Bahn (1996:369). Therefore researchers have tried various ways to approach the endless questions of the unknown past that are the results of the long-term accumulation of information, controversies, debates and criticism. Once researchers started wanting to do interpretations of their data, ethnoarchaeology appeared as a sub-discipline. In David and Kramer's book "Ethnoarchaeology in Action" (2001) it says:

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_7,

> "Archaeological interpretation is founded and ultimately depends upon analogy..... Archaeologists draw upon their lives and upon everything they have read, heard about or seen in the search for possible analogies to the fragmentary remains they seek to interpret." (David & Kramer, 2001:1)

These sentences summarize ethnoarchaeology as a debated, theorized and systematic way of making analogies, but to be able to perceive a "need" for ethnoarchaeological analogy, first you should have an archaeological perception that contains an "interpretation". In this respect, the status of ethnoarchaeology is quite related to the status of archaeology, or in more general terms, the way the country looks at its own past.

The History of Archaeology and Perception of the Past in Turkey

The generation of archaeology outside of Turkey needs to be remembered at this point, because this will help us to understand the differences between Turkey and western countries in terms of the processes of archaeological thought.

Scientific archaeology is based on a long history that goes back to Renaissance scholars who were interested in their Graeco-Roman precedents to justify the political innovations that took place when feudalism ended in the fourteenth century. This regard for Graeco-Roman precedents was a challenge to the doctrine in which the civilizations of Greece and Rome had been regarded as culturally degenerated since medieval times. The interest in these periods of time expanded from literature to material remains (Trigger, 1989: 35-36). Therefore, among the aristocracy, the possession of such material remains became prestigious in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. The numbers of items collected by the aristocratic class led to moves to classify these objects, and created an awareness of differences in styles, raw materials and time periods at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Trigger, 1989:73).

Subsequently, the western system of thought developed two different approaches. One of these two approaches, used in the nineteenth century during the dissolution of the Holy Roman-German Empire, had a political rationale and aimed to prove the past roots of particular nations with tangible evidence, or, in other words, it was an endeavour to link an existing culture or nation to a past culture. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Biblical Archaeology emerged as another school of thought, which sought concrete evidence for the Bible, and although this approach also had a political rationale, it opened the door of the Near Eastern past and its rich cultures to the west. Meanwhile, the industrial revolution, which required the development of the geosciences in its need for more raw material, resulted in an enormous increase in the knowledge of the span of geological time. This important information changed all the perceptions of the past and carried the concept of *change through time* by reference to geology to a global scale. The concept of an "evolving past" appeared as the second of the two western systems of thought (Özdoğan, 2011a). Therefore global-scale research questions

started earlier for western academics than anywhere else, resulting in an appropriation of the past in the name of the world culture by European and American academics. This period coincided with the *imperial period* and scientific and political appropriations were mixed with each other (Özdoğan, 2011a), as exemplified by the archaeological and political efforts of A.H. Layard (1817–1894) in Mesopotamia.

When we look at the history of archaeological thought in Turkey, we see a different pathway from that taken in Europe. We should try to understand the perspective and approach to ancient times and cultures in the history of the Turks. It would be helpful to look at their understanding of the material cultures or art that are formed by humans, or more generally the depictions of art in two and three dimensions. The Turks shifted from depictive art to decorative art after the introduction of Islam. Although Fatih Sultan Mehmet (1432–1481) had an Italian painter to draw his portrait in the fifteenth century, there were not many personal depictions, or at least these were avoided in the Ottoman period, because it was still accepted as a sin to depict the human figure, according to Islamic beliefs. Therefore, in the Ottoman Empire, we do not see any behaviour comparable to that of the collection of antiquities carried out among the European aristocracy which triggered the interest in ancient remains. Conversely, neither the core area of the Ottoman Empire nor the large lands under its rule could develop a tradition of collecting paintings or specifically any kind of sculpture either contemporary or ancient. There was a total disregard of art in this regard, The art of the Ottoman Empire was restricted to miniatures, floral and faunal and geometric decorations, and the use of precious stones, textiles, and ceramics; in architecture and architectural decorations there were no depictions of the human figure. The first Sultan of the Ottoman Empire who had his own depiction in sculpture was Sultan Abdulaziz in 1871, and even in the nineteenth century doing so was heavily criticized. Furthermore, any relics older than those of the Islamic period which might have been related to the "*pagan period*" were often ignored even though they did not directly depict the human figure.

Consequently the Ottomans' distance from any pagan depictions in general had created an unawareness of archaeological remains until the end of the nineteenth century. The Ottoman rulers could not relate themselves to these ancient remains; in other words, they ignored their existence. In this respect, it is not surprising that the Ottomans did not embrace the countless archaeological remains that had lain visibly on the earth for centuries in Egypt, Greece, the Balkans, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. According to Özdoğan (2011b), traditional societies, in general, do not feel the need for a time scale nor do they query the past because the tendency is just to *believe in,* and everything about the past is explained by legendary information. Özdoğan describes the Ottomans as a traditional society (Özdoğan, 2011b:185) to explain why the Ottoman Empire was not interested in its visually very rich archaeological remains. Thus, when the Europeans discovered the value of archaeological remains and started collecting these precious pieces for their museums, even the very large ones with great expenditure of money and labour, the reaction of the Ottomans was to leave these "bizarre Europeans" to take whatever they wanted and to see these objects as goods given in charity by a very rich empire.

In the second half of the nineteenth century in the *Imperial Age* the general trend among Europeans was to stake a claim to civilizations almost all around the world. In the same period occurred the awakening of the Ottomans about their ancient properties, as we can understand from the laws about the protection of archaeological materials and restrictions on taking them away, starting from 1869 and continuing with many additions in 1874, 1884 and 1906 (Bahrani et al., 2011: 16; Çelik, 2011:446). The awakening of the Ottomans about their ancient values was a reaction to the ideology of the Europeans, which can be summarized as a mission of *archaeological stewardship*. The request of the Ottomans to take ownership of the past was partly a kind of reaction to Europeans, who related the wretchedness of the ancient ruins to the fall of this great empire (Çelik, 2011:447); this concept was not only a quite different concept from the one held at the beginning of European archaeology but also related to the use of the Ottomans' heritage for building a new identity of the empire (Bahrani et al., 2011:32). Furthermore, the interest in archaeology shown by Ottoman intellectuals during the westernisation period was accepted as a package of the conditions necessary for modernization (Özdoğan, 2006). The westernisation period in the history of the Ottoman Period between 1839 and 1876 is also known as *Tanzimat* and is characterized by various attempts of modernization. The main objective of the reform was to empower the Ottoman Empire, which faced desperation in the face of European military, technological and economical developments, and to establish the idea of citizenship and equality among the Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman populations. Obviously the interest in archaeology in this period placed it in a process of finding its own identity, or at least redefining itself. This process came to its highest point with the declaration of the First Constitution Period in 1876 and the second Constitution Period in 1908.

Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910), who is well known today as the first museum director of the Istanbul Archaeology Museum and a famous painter, exerted great efforts in making the laws mentioned above. He was a member of an elite Ottoman family and had studied in France. In 1881, when he became a director of a small museum in Istanbul, he also did archaeological research and discovered ruins of the Kommagene Kingdom on top of the high Nemrut Mountain in Southeastern Anatolia. His most famous discovery was the Sidon necropolis in the Southern Ottoman lands—today the Lebanon—and he brought the very well-preserved so-called sarcophagus of Alexander to Istanbul in 1887 and opened the first archaeology museum (Muse-i Humayun) in 1891. He also inspected the site of Troy while Schliemann was excavating there. These 10 years from 1881 to1891 definitely showed a very important change in the perceptions of the Ottomans regarding archaeology and the Europeans' activities in this field. But the Europeans' demands for rights regarding the ancient remains did not stop, and adversely for the Ottomans, increased (Eldem, 2011:281).

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the early twentieth century saw the institutionalisation of archaeology with the specific efforts of M. K. Atatürk. He thought that archaeology was crucial for the creation of the new state, in terms of establishing a national identity, and building up confidence by letting the people 'internalize' their land by linking them to their past (Özdoğan, 2011b:195). This phenomenon is comparable to the institutionalisation of archaeology in Europe in

the late nineteenth century towards the end of the age of Napoleon III. The French Emperor ordered large-scale excavations to be done between 1861 and 1865 at the sites where Julius Caesar had revealed the material culture of the Celtic inhabitants of France in the first century BCE (Trigger, 1989:148). Ethnicity appeared to be the central issue in archaeology, especially in Eastern Europe during the destruction of empires and the establishment of a series of nation states; archaeology played an important role in the unification of Germany in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, prehistoric research served as a way of reaction for Danish people to prevent territorial losses to more powerful neighbours (Trigger, 1989:149). But in such respects there was a very big difference between Atatürk's ideology and the Europeans'; Atatürk's objective was to link the population of the Republic of Turkey to Anatolia rather than linking the population to an *ethnicity of Turks,* which is rooted in Middle Asia. The idea of a PanTurkist approach propounds uniting the various Turkic peoples living both within and without the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire or subsequently the Republic of Turkey (Landau, 1995:1). Ataturk took a very clear stand against ethnocentrism and supported the concept of "citizenship" to provide equality and unity among the various ethnic groups who lived in Anatolia; it is remarkable that at the same time Europeans were following ethnic- or even race-centric ways. In the new republic of Turkey Ataturk's ideology was called *Anatolism* (Özdoğan, 2008:36). This ideology encompassed and put forward the acceptance of all the cultures of the peoples who lived in Anatolia as the heritage of the people of the new republic (Özdoğan, 2006: 53). Therefore the perception of the past changed quite a bit from that of the Ottomans to that of the Republic of Turkey.

Archaeology was imported to the Ottomans from Europe after the completion of its initial development (Özdoğan, 2006 :31). But in the new Republic of Turkey, the intention of "understanding and internalizing" the past cultures has create the interest in ethnographic information and in the appropriation of the original and local colours of cultures in Anatolia.

The Emergence of Interest in Living Communities

Ethnographic studies in the Ottoman Period started almost as early as the awareness of archaeological remains emerged in the Second Constitutional Period in 1908. A famous thinker of the time, Ziya Gökalp, who is very well known for his nationalistic approach to Turkish ethnicity, was the first researcher working on the ethnographic and folkloric data of Turkey in the Ottoman Period. But the main interest in ethnography in the new state started in 1924 right after the establishment of the new Republic of Turkey in 1923 (Erdentug, 1970:65).

These studies were mostly about recording the folkloric and material cultures in the rural areas and took place unsystematically; for instance, A. Rıza Yalman-Yalkın conducted a very detailed and informative research project on Southern Turkey with the title *Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları* (Turkmen Clans in the South), but it is more like a diary of a traveller because of its unorganized data presentation. This research describes various characteristics of the Turkmen tribes in the South of Anatolia. It

was published in eight volumes between 1931 and 1939 (Emir, 1977: xiii-xiv, Erdentug, 1970) with details of both folkloric and material culture as well as architecture being presented.

The establishment of Turkey's first Ethnography Museum, in 1930 in Ankara, was followed by the establishment of such museums in many other cities, which showed the interest of the new state in this field of knowledge. A series of monographs, and a periodic journal named *Türk Tarih Arkeoloğya ve Etnografya Dergisi* (The Journal of Turkish History, Archaeology and Ethnography) had been published since 1932 and then after 1956 the journal was separated into several journals, and one of them became *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* (The Journal of Turkish Ethnography). The subjects reported on in this journal were mostly regarding the material culture of the living communities in Anatolia, ranging from old Turkish houses and their indoors, hearths, utensils, copper objects, horse-riding equipment, old vehicles, and traditional clothes, to information about traditional food preparation and many crafts (Erdentug, 1970:66). Although Ethnography and Ethnology started to be taught as selective lectures at Istanbul University, in the Faculty of Political Sciences by Satı Bey 1908 and in the Faculty of Literature by Maszarosh 1917, scientific Ethnography and Ethnology—which means relatively systematic data collection and interpretation of the data—research had been started in 1935 at Ankara University Faculty of Languages, History and Geography by Nail Pertev Boratav, with the title of "Folkloric Literature" in the Cultural Anthropology Department (Erdentug, 1970:67; Yüce, 2011:21–22). The academic level of the folkloric studies has improved and brand-new perspectives that contain the theoretical background advocated by Boratav have been put on the agenda. While all the other attempts before Boratav in that sense walked over political and cultural ground, he used a new methodology that was theory-based using European references. According to him, folklorism or ethnology is not a fossilized concept, but in contrast, it is dynamic; also it is not a romantic idea but a modern discipline, and in this perspective his school put forward the idea of the internationalism and inter-culturalism of ethnology or folklorism, rather than it being national (Yüce, 2011:23). This point of view in these years could have acted as a very strong foundation for ethnology and maybe later for ethnoarchaeology, because this was the first time an inspiring way of looking at living cultures with cross-cultural interaction and parallelism had been considered and there was a level of discipline in the compilation of the data, while the amateur nature of the work moved away from a romantic view. Unfortunately this process did not continue successfully. Because this theoretical approach included class consciousness in its agenda, the effort to constitute a department of folkloric research with this approach was hindered by the political authorities. Later on, Nermin Erdentuğ came to Ankara University Faculty of Languages, History and Geography with her perspective, adapted from Malinowski's functionalist approach and Radcliff-Brown's structural functionalism. Consequently, a theoretical background based on the British school found a place in Turkish universities (Yüce, 2011) and the field started to come closer to Cultural Anthropology. Nermin Erdentuğ gave lectures on "the material cultures of primitives", "Religion and Magic", and "Social Organization of the primitives" in the Ethnology sub-discipline in the Anthropology Department.

Later on ethnology was developed as a new department both in the Ankara Ethnology Department and Istanbul University Anthropology Department, focussing on Anatolian ethnology (Erdentug, 1970:68).

The approaches in ethnology and social anthropology are the ones that mentioned before, adapted from British and/or European schools could not go further to link with archaeology in Turkey. Archaeology, ethnology and social anthropology were like separate wagons of the same train. So none of these attempts to nurture ethnological/social anthropological theories could be used for archaeological questions or in ethnoarchaeology. This was probably caused by the attitude of limiting ethnology by the level of documentation rather than by underlining the ethnic differentiation among Turkish citizens at the very beginning of the Republic of Turkey, as mentioned above. The relation between ethnology/social anthropology and archaeology did not appear in any of research projects carried out before the beginning of the twentieth century, and even at that time, ethnoarchaeology was practiced only by some individual archaeologists at a very basic level (see below). It seems to be clear that these attempts could not generate a theoretical foundation for ethnoarchaeology.

In Turkey archaeology was a *technical* or *recording* science and, being formalist, was separated from the humanities. The forms and categorization of archaeological remains became the major objective of the field. Therefore, artistic characterization came to prominence. This objective is evident even from the names of the academic sections at the universities. The title of *Archaeology and Art History Departments* had been used until quite recent times and this label reveals the perception of archaeology in Turkey. Apparently, education and research on ethnography at the academic level also had some problems; it never had a defined and clear position in Turkey. Ethnography was sometimes studied in Sociology Departments, sometimes in Anthropology or Folklore Departments, and sometimes it was studied only in additional lectures in these large departments. Besides the unstandardized terminology, the content was also undefined (Ülkütaşir, 1973).

In the second half of the twentieth century, the New Archaeology was introduced to Turkish archaeology by the works of Robert Braidwood (1907–2003), especially via the Çayönü Excavation Project. Professor Braidwood, from the Chicago Oriental Institute, had questions about the early farming communities in the Near East and he worked with an interdisciplinary team that consisted of various specialists, including ethnoarchaeologists. He also had very intense collaborations with Istanbul University Prehistory Department and thereby he introduced many terms and concepts based on anthropology in archaeology (Esin, 2004:23).

The Use of Ethnographic Data for Archaeology

Studies under the title of *ethnoarchaeology* in Anatolia go back merely 10–15 years. The idea of the use of ethnography for archaeology and recording folkloric culture, however, had appeared in the early twentieth century. These efforts date back to the

early years of the Republic of Turkey–the 1930s. The pioneer scholar who claimed that archaeologists should not neglect living cultures if they wanted to understand the past cultures was Hamit Zubeyr Koşay (1897–1984). Koşay had a very broad perspective in social sciences, with high qualifications as an ethnographer and as a specialist in Turkish folkloric culture and language and Turcology; he was also a writer and studied pedagogy and was one of the first archaeologists in the new Republic of Turkey. He was the General Director of Antique Works and Museums, a board member of the Culture Training Department, and for a second time Director of the Ethnography Museum. In an age when archaeology was represented by sensational discoveries, he demonstrated the importance of broken pieces of ceramic sherds, refuse bone fragments and the chemical analysis of metal objects, besides being the first academic who linked ethnology and archaeology. He expressed his thoughts with these words:

> "The excavator is obliged to have detailed thoughts about the data on the colour, the form and the reason. While the archaeological levels were investigated which became cradle and grave for the existing and disappearing communities, if the living ones were neglected the task cannot be accepted as it is completed. The people who live under the bright sun, might be the descendants or at least inheritors of the people who lie under the ruins" (Koşay, 1951:1).

Koşay was aware of the unmethodical way ethnographic and folkloric research was practiced in Turkey and he touched on this issue by pointing out the danger of considering the *uniformity* of the local cultures during the development of Turkey. He meant that the recent developments in Turkey could have made geographical niches less remote and that this process may cause interference among original cultures. What he described about this problem and its processes is valid for and fits perfectly into today's *globalism danger*, which threatens the original/local cultural variety.

Koşay suggested the systematic surveying and collection of daily utensils, items of every kind, such as old traditional clothes, tools, and musical instruments and so on before they are taken over by antique dealers. He also warned that the mere collection of these items may cause false understandings and loss of information, and that therefore the collection should have a documentation program such as photos, sketch plans and the recording of oral stories and as many samples as possible of the usages of the items. Although this suggestion contained traces of a kind of naive panicking, he proposed a very original idea and elaborated on it by adding these words:

> "To possess a national vocabulary which contains a hundred thousand words, we should direct ourselves towards our people together with the aid of the historical language resources" (Koşay, 1951:4).

What makes Koşay very important for Turkish archaeology can be summarized in three ways:

- Having a broad perspective about the idea of *heritage* and including the protection of intangible culture.

- Being aware of the threat of uniformity on the originality of cultures and designing preventive strategies to meet this threat.
- Having a broad perspective of social sciences and being the first person who combined them (ethnology, folklore, archaeology, language) to work with the aim of "documenting, understanding, interpreting".

In this respect Koşay started to record ethnographic data in the region where he excavated Alacahöyük, an Early Bronze Age site in North Central Anatolia. His endeavour on that subject continued at the Pulur site and all the other excavations that were carried on within the Keban Dam Rescue Project in the 1970s in Eastern Turkey (Koşay, 1977).

Although Koşay brings a newness to Turkish archaeology, his contributions to the field look similar to what the New Archaeology has said (Binford, 1962), but they were made slightly earlier and were possibly inspired by the Anatolism of Atatürk and in relation to the *History Thesis* developed by the Turkish Historical Society, which was founded in 1931 (Koşay 1935; 1939). According to the *History Thesis* there is a cultural continuity between the present and the past populations of Anatolia, more importantly a cultural continuity with a pre-Ottoman Anatolia (Takaoğlu, 2004:17).

From the perspective of "understanding and interpreting" the past cultures, and in doing so, Koşay provided a background for *ethnoarchaeology* in Turkey in the 1950s to the 1970s without using the term. His approach was followed by some of the colleagues, especially in the Keban Project rescue excavation projects, as explained below, but unfortunately the background built by Koşay more or less stayed at the same stage for many years.

In the same period as Koşay's work, between the 1950s and especially the 1970s, an era of Turkish archaeology started with the introduction of many new methods and perspectives, including increasing numbers of interdisciplinary projects. Some of the ethnographical and anthropological researches in this period were not yet linked to archaeology, but it is still possible to place them in a period of transition towards ethnoarchaeological research; examples are: *Bizim Köy (Our Village)* (Makal, 1950), *Anadolu'nun Etnografya ve Folkloruna Dair Malzeme I: Alacahöyük. Das Dorf Alaca Höyük. Materialien zur Ethnographie und Volkskunde von Anatolien* (Ethnographic and Folkloric Material of Anatolia 1: Alacahoyuk) (Koşay, 1951), *Turkey'de eski medeniyetlerin maddi kültürde temadisi* (The continuation of the past civilization in material culture in Turkey) (Koşay, 1952), *Hal Köyü'nün Etnolojik Tetkiki* (The investigations of Hal Village) (Erdentug, 1956), *Tradition, Season, and Change in a Turkish Village* (Kolars, 1963), *Life in a Turkish Village* (Pierce, 1964), *Anadolu'da iptidai çanak-çömlekçilik* (The primitive pottery making in Anatolia) (Koşay & Ülkü, 1964), *Turkish Village* (Stirling, 1965), *Yassıhöyük, A Village Study* (Kuran, 1965), *Alacahöyük, Ethnographische Skizzeneines Anatolischen Dorfes* (Dostal, 1971), *Household Composition in a Turkish Village* (Özertuğ, 1973) and *Pulur Etnografya ve Folklor Araştırmaları* (Pulur. Ethnographic and folkloric research) (Koşay, 1977).

Since 1950 the 13th edition of Mahmut Makal's book "Our Village" has been published, and it has been very popular among archaeologists. It is very important

to show the need of archaeologists for such a new perspective which contains the insights of a settlement within its own context and includes the social dimension.

There are also many other studies conducted by architects in rural Anatolia that have also been utilized by archaeologists. The 1970s Keban Rescue Excavation Projects in Eastern Turkey brought about collaborative projects including ethnographers, architects and archaeologists. This caused different fields to become much closer to each other and provided brand-new research questions that had never existed before. Some of these studies can be juxtaposed, such as: *Village Architecture in the Keban Dam Region* (Kuban, 1970; Alpöge, 1971; Ödekan & Alpöge, 1972), *The Mudbrick Houses in Altınova* (Peters, 1972), *A trial on an investigation of a house in Elazığ Munzuroğlu Village* in ethno-historical perspective (Koyunlu, 1976), *Food storage in vernacular architecture in Altınova* (Peters, 1979; Stirling, 1979), and *Folkloric Research in Keban Dam Region* (Günay, 1980).

Although these studies provided excellent data on the vernacular architecture and general recordings on ethnography in Eastern Anatolia between the 1960s and the 1970s, they were all descriptive and did not have on the functional, formational and cultural processes. The reason for this lack might have been a shortage of time and the necessity for recording details on as many villages as possible in a limited time (Kuban, 1970:171; Alpöge, 1971:131).

Ethnoarchaeological Studies in Turkey

The period between the 1960s and the 1990s was the time when *ethnoarchaeology* was practiced predominantly by non-Turkish archaeologists who worked in Anatolia. This period can easily be related to the golden age of the Anglo-American New Archaeology. These non-Turkish colleagues needed the ethnographical data to compare modern and archaeological objects to be able to explain the functional and formational processes (Bordaz, 1965, 1969; Gebel, 1987; Crane, 1988). There are studies which give us a broader perspective, such as those of Peters, Hall and Aurence. Peters tried to establish proof of an evolutionary progress in the growth of the buildings via a structuralist perspective (Peters, 1972:164–167). He also did some cross-cultural comparisons, besides recording details of storage facilities and storage vessels (Peters, 1979) and he underlined some of the similarities that he observed between the modern and the archaeological ones (Peters, 1972:165). The study undertaken by Hall and his friends on architecture in Aşvan Village in the Keban Dam Rescue Project contains some insights about social organization. Hall scrutinized the relation between the social organization and its material reflection on settlement formation (Hall et al., 1973). This research tells us a lot about the subjects, such as the processes of destruction in a semi-abandoned village, the phases of a living settlement and the continuation of architectural traditions and their formational results, and so on. Most importantly, this study has a contextual approach and it is slightly different from the direct analogy approach. We should include Aurenche and his team in this category (Aurenche et al., 1997). The

ethnoarchaeological research done by this team in the Euphrates Valley was done in seven villages and hamlets close to Cafer Höyük, an aceramic Neolithic site where they excavated. In this research they focused on subjects such as the relationships between land ownership, water sources, economy and settlements; and the differences or similarities among these settlements; they observed very interesting details, such as how social organization created clusters of groups within a settlement. Unfortunately it is hard to claim that these studies were influenced by Turkish ethnology or ethnoarchaeology rather than by the New Archaeology school. Koşay's efforts seemed to remain at the point where he started and were not discussed or further developed by subsequent Turkish archaeologists and ethnologists for a long time.

During and after these cooperative research experiences, many Turkish researchers noticed the importance of recording the vernacular architecture and ethnographical information in the process of understanding archaeological remains. This period has continued progressively until today and the foundation of ethnoarchaeology in Turkey.

It is only since the 1980s that studies focused on ethnographical data, which are more directly related to archaeological questions, have been embraced by Turkish archaeologists. This is also the period in which we see "ethnoarchaeology" as an existing terminology in Turkey (Dittemore, 1983; Aurenche, 1984; Weinstein, 1973; Çevik, 1995). Although Yakar was closer to direct comparison as a methodology, he seemed to find a soft way to link ethnography and archaeology. He studied various relationships between the material residue and the subsistence economy by looking at nomads and peasant societies in a comparative perspective with clearly defined archaeological questions. He also included historical data in his research (2000, 2006).

The development of the methodology of archaeology has changed the qualifications for data collection; the interdisciplinary research has created new questions and problems and, consequently, the number of "*problem-oriented*" excavations has increased (Özdoğan, 2011a:85–86). All of this progress has motivated archaeologists (especially prehistorians) to look at their sites in more detail. The effort of understanding the internal dynamics of a past community at an archaeological site gave birth to a real need for ethnographical data. In this process, archaeology is inclined to have more characteristics of a social science than a technical recording science.

Consequently, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, ethnoarchaeology has become relatively more popular than it was before, although it is still embraced by a very limited number of colleagues. However, because this interest could not create a weighed and debated framework, most of the studies have still concentrated on specific comparisons of materials, production processes such as pottery-making, architectural technologies and traditional economy models (Angle & Dottarelli, 1990; Yakar, 2000; Dittemore, 2002; Blum, 2003; Eres, 2003; Bakir, 2004; Ertug, 2004; Tekkök, 2004; Gündoğdu, 2004). There have also been some observations of modern settlements where archaeologists have excavated nearby that suggest a cultural continuity between the archaeological site and the nearest village (Aurenche

et al., 1997; Gürsan-Salzaman, 1997; Yakar, 1998; Hopkins, 2003; Aslan & Blum, 2004). Many Turkish and non-Turkish colleagues who work in Turkey are comparing the archaeological evidence with findings in the villages next to their archaeological site, and this process is practiced merely by visiting the villagers to ask for specific answers to questions.

Most of these works are being done in the Anatolian territories, but unfortunately they lack a theoretical basis. Two major aspects of these works are the documentation of modern rural settlements and the seeking of similar material cultures between the past and present. The only objective of all these works has been presenting the results of some direct comparisons, but the question of "how we are going to use this information" to explain archaeological questions has been left mute.

This situation is no different at the educational level; since ethnoarcheology became a course at archaeology departments in several universities in Turkey, most of the time the essays for students require only observations and recordings of various production processes of craftspeople such as potters, metal-workers, felt-producers and so on.

The trend of case-recording in traditional archaeology has actually continued in the field of ethnoarchaeology as well, and although this was an original idea for Koşay's times, it is a bit disappointing for the twenty-first century.

In archaeological studies, human behaviour is often neglected, but physical and chemical processes, raw materials, decay processes and functions of similar materials can be observed and the general tendency is to use ethnoarchaeology as a tool in this respect. By doing so, Turkish archaeologists thought, wrongly, that establishing direct analogical correlations between the old and the new was a sufficient application of ethnoarchaeology and the New Archaeology.

Although the development of ethnoarchaeological studies in the archaeological perspective should be taken as a reason for the increase in these studies, we should also accept the late but unavoidable wind of New Archaeology in this country. But unfortunately, very similarly to the entrance of the field of archaeology in Turkey in the twentieth century, ethnoarchaeology is also an imported field which has probably been seen only as a necessity for being able to do "modern archaeology" or just as a new tool to be more like the "New Archaeology".

Recent Perspectives and a Sample Research

Anatolia—because of its geographical, economical, ethnic and cultural diversity—offers excellent opportunities to obtain insights about the *variation* (spatial) and *change* (temporal) dimensions of human existence the two major concepts directing archaeological questions. The land connects the east to the west, and it has served for a very long period of time–thousands of years–as a bridge between the various communities.

In my ethnoarchaeological research I have focused on relational and contextual analogy by knowing the historical continuity between the prehistoric and modern

samples is not appropriate in ethnographic analogy. Therefore the research I have done differs very much from Koşay's tradition and from that of some of the colleagues mentioned above, because the ethnographic and the archaeological samples in my studies were examined within their own contexts and the relational results were used as comparative tools rather than the materials themselves. My archaeological questions have been derived from the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük in Central Anatolia where I have been working for a long time. The main study aim focuses on the understanding of how a settlement takes shape and how this system works in relation to various actors playing to determine that shape. The other aim is to make archaeologists more imaginative when they approach their sites. This work does not offer a formula but intends to confer an understanding of the formation processes of settlements in a cause-and-effect relationship. Therefore, while ethnographic samples are evaluated in their own contexts, it is suggested to do the same when archaeologists would like to use the information for archaeological interpretation. These separate units (ethnographical and archaeological) should be considered to be comparable conceptually in their own contexts. The main question in a region like Anatolia that has geographical and ethnic variation is: "why are settlement shapes different?" The second important question would be "why are settlement shapes different even if they are located in close-by regions, and the inhabitants have the same religion, language and ethnicity? Therefore, I looked at three differently formed villages in Central Anatolia. All of their communities are Muslim and Sunni and Turkish-speaking, and the inhabitants of the villages were previously semi-nomadic and have recently become agriculturist.

- A flat plain village with dispersed compounds with very distinct boundaries.
- A high plain village with a nuclear shape and adjacent houses along the streets with indistinct boundaries.
- A terraced hill slope village with a radial outline and houses with mostly bonded roofs connecting them.

The reason for considering similarity in general characteristics such as ethnic origin, region, and religion is to be able to do the comparisons by focusing more on other agents rather than on general characteristics. Otherwise, it would be misleading to examine the reasons for differentiation to see whether religion, ethnic origin or region are the main reasons. To keep these general characteristics as static parameters allows us to see the variables more clearly. The study has considered not only the architecture or form of the settlement in relation to environmental characteristics such as natural sources, topography, climate and soil quality in an economic context, but it has also considered the community structure, the communities' perceptions of themselves and territoriality, memory, proxemic relations, and regional and local histories. The comparisons have been done firstly among the internal components of each settlement and then among the different settlements. These settlements have been evaluated on two scales: change (temporal scale) and variation (spatial scale).

The consideration of ethnographic samples within these relationships led to a series of data based on various comparable concepts. A relational analogy can only

be made after these evaluations have been done. The expectations from this study are the exploration of relational concepts and also finding the reasons for differences rather than finding basic material similarities. The conclusions and discussions are presumed to be based on concepts rather than on specific material similarities. For this purpose, I have examined the three ethnographic sites according to three size scales:

- Large scale (general layout of settlement, the local and regional history of the community, the foundation of the site),
- Medium scale (quarters or clusters and their pattern within the settlement, lineage and their economical and social relationships),
- Small scale (compounds that generate quarters and clusters, household structure).

By doing this I have examined each settlement in that order—from bottom to top—in its own context by examining the social, economic, historical and geographical settings. In other words, to be able to read "the settlement logic", I analysed each agent in its own context. Only in this way would the research results be useful to interpret the archaeological data.

This research showed that although general characteristics (religion, ethnicity and subsistence economy) were shared by these groups, one of the biggest differences among the settlement forms was caused by the *individual historical background of the population of these settlements*; i.e. whether it is a *settlement-based community* or a *community-based settlement*. What I mean by a *settlement-based community* is that people from different lineages and roots got together in time and generated a settlement together; therefore, the identity of the community depended on the existing settlement. But in a community-based settlement, the people had already generated a community before they founded the village, so their identity is not dependent on their settlement (Yalman, 2005, 2010). This information can be very useful to generate new research questions to interpret archaeological sites of which we know the general settlement layouts and to make comparisons between different-shaped settlements, by checking other details such as the identity indicators. Thus, shared or individual components might make more sense in the light of this ethnoarchaeological study.

The most important difference between this study and other studies conducted in Turkey is that a theoretical foundation was constructed at the beginning of the research. This foundation was the priority of contextual analysis of the ethnographic case in terms of variables such as human behaviour, historical processes, economic inputs and environmental factors, although the research was based on archaeological questions. In this study, both the Anglo-Saxon theories as well as the Processual and the Post-Processual debate have been taken into consideration. For instance, while the contextual relations were evaluated for variation and change through time in regard to the ethnographic case, the possibility of making generalizations for the sake of solving archaeological problems was not excluded. During the investigation of the formational processes of the material world, the observation of variations was freely permitted for redirecting the research, instead of engaging in an effort to

prove any particular thesis. Therefore, the link between "cause and effect" was constantly maintained. The main objective was to help archaeologists–while they are designing their research and excavation strategies–not only to interpret their sites but also to provide them with possible options that can be observable only in a living society.

Most of the time, the ethnoarchaeological approach in Turkey has been mixed with the "documentation of the material entities" of the old traditions. But actually ethnoarchaeology should concentrate on the relationship between material results and the living world, whether the materials are traditional or modern. And the research objectives should go very much further than documenting and comparing by using basic similarities, because this point of view can be dangerously misleading for ethnoarchaeological reasoning. The foundation of my study can also be summarized in the following statements:

- There can be more than one formation agent.
- There can be more than one function of a formation.
- There can be different variations of the same functional entity.

These are some of the reasons that there are numerous variations in the living world and its material results. The material world itself also continues to change over time; this fact should ensure optimism about the situation instead of despair, and again, instead of making simple comparisons, we as archaeologists should learn how to reach insights of this complexity. And ethnoarchaeology is the perfect tool with which to reach that goal.

Conclusions

As we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the viability of ethnoarchaeology as a field is dependent on the perspectives of archaeology and archaeological questions. The perception of an archaeological site, on a macro and micro scale with its context, produces *wide-ranging questions* and *the need to interpret*; it is only after this step is taken that relational analogies are required. What is more to the point, ethnoarchaeological observations improve the quality of the questions on the perception of the archaeological site, and using relational analogy has a mutually positive effect on archaeology and ethnoarchaeology.

I can suggest that the lack or deficiency of the theoretical foundation of Turkish archaeology and the conservative structure of the institutional basis of the field in Turkey hinder archaeology itself from finding its own way for interpreting the past within its own philosophical background. Archaeology can only develop via new theories and questions and endeavours to find answers to these questions. This is actually not the aim for a final result but a process of doing archaeology, or in other words, a process for understanding human beings and their past.

Ethnoarchaeology is a nourishing source for archaeologists to build up theories and to produce new perspectives and questions. There are various reasons that have led archaeological questions away from fruitful theories in Turkey:

- The constricted budgets and limited time available, especially in the dam rescue excavation projects, have directed archaeologists to conduct mostly vertical excavations, which reveal only stratigraphical changes in narrow areas, especially in mound excavations. Therefore, it has been difficult to examine an archaeological site horizontally, which would provide a better understanding of the spatial pattern and perception of the site contextually.
- Most of the postgraduate dissertations in Turkey concentrate on the classification and comparison of archaeological material and therefore do not leave much time for young colleagues to debate a theoretical approach.
- The conservative structure of many universities does not allow younger generations to produce new theories and perspectives.
- There is a continuing distance between archaeology and anthropology or archaeology and ethnology.

In summary, at the beginning of ethnoarcheological research, direct analogy was seen as a magic wand to flesh out the bones of the past, and this is still widely the case today. Turkish archaeology is still devoid of the theoretical aspects of archaeology. The culture-historical approach has been incorporated with some parts of the New Archaeology as a methodology in Turkey, and this incorporation is generally seen as important for archaeometric analysis generally without placing the approach in contextual perspective. Therefore, explanations of material cultures and people who produce them, made with a holistic approach, do not exist except for a few colleague or project. The only way to prevent methodological faults is to have a theoretical background that will enable us to debate and criticize various approaches. Debate and criticism help to avoid false reasoning, but neither of these tools of discussion is common in traditional Turkish archaeology. Wylie says that: "carelessly done ethnoarchaeology could produce not only incomplete information but also erroneous" (Wylie, 2002). We note that ethnoarchaeology is still in its initial stages in Turkey.

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Chapter 8
The Development of Ethnoarchaeological Thought in Russian Archaeology

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Introduction

Archeology, like any historical discipline, is oriented, above all, on the reconstruction of historical reality. However, archeological facts do not consist of symbols, words or concepts but rather of elements of the material culture, which are too fragmentary to fully and convincingly represent the past reality. To extract information from material evidence, archeology has developed its own specific methods, involving a great variety of data from areas beyond archeology itself.

The development of Russian archeology (in the broadest sense of the term) has differed to a certain degree from similar processes in other countries. This had to do with several circumstances: the necessity for archeological and ethnographic studies of extremely large territories, the isolation of Russian scientists from their colleagues abroad, and strong political influence on the development of science. As regards methodology, most Russian archeologists focus on the chronology of the cultural development of different areas, classification, dating and many other directions of archeological research, including ethnoarcheology. Generally speaking, Russian archeology is extremely diversified and multifaceted.

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_8,

What often prevents archeologists from creating a reliable historical reconstruction is the lack of knowledge of the mechanisms and laws influencing the transformation of a "living" culture into a "dead" one, the past action into its material residues and traces. In the pursuit of these mechanisms, archeologists have already been consulting ethnography for many years. This has worked in many different ways at the various stages of development of Russian science. At the end of the nineteenth century, thanks to the development of the theory of evolution, archeological materials were interpreted by drawing direct ethnographic analogies without any critical analysis whatever. In the 1930s–1950s, Soviet archeologists turned to searching for a more accurate application of ethnographic analogies and they advanced to the level of the ethnogenetic use of ethnography.

For a long period of time, the use of ethnographic data for illustrative purposes, giving life to archeological facts, was typical of Russian archeology. In the 1960s–1970s, when attempting to make effective use of ethnography for archeological reconstructions, Russian science began to systematically recognize cultural-economic and ecological variables for the purpose of archeological-ethnographic studies, while continuing to focus on the ethnogenetic approach.

In recent decades, Russian archaeologists have begun to make active use of the term "ethnoarcheology" (of American origin). The term is most commonly used in the context of complex ethnographic-archeological or archeological-ethnographic studies (depending on their focus).

Status of Russian Pre-revolutionary Archeology

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Russian archeology was only taking the first steps on the path to becoming a professional discipline. It was practiced by archeology enthusiasts, and the first society of archeologists was constituted on a "family-domestic" basis (Glushkov, 1996:3). As a rule, when determining the tasks and methods of archeology, the nineteenth century scholars only indirectly referred to the possible methods of reconstruction of daily life based on excavated materials.

I. P. Sakharov was one of the first to turn his attention to archeology as a science aimed at restoring the past. In the first volume of the *Proceedings of the Department of Russian and Slavonic Archeology of the Russian Archeological Society*, he wrote that "archeology of vanished peoples searches for traces of ancient ideas and national beliefs, compiles its history… from the fragments of past centuries" (Sakharov, 1851: 4). That is, archeology can achieve this goal by using written sources in addition to material evidence. Despite the naïve simplicity of such views, the very fact that the author did not limit the tasks of archeology only to source-based analysis had great significance for the archeological theory of that time.

A similar attitude was expressed by many researchers at the third Archeological Conference held in 1874 in Kiev. In general terms, historicity has always been peculiar to Russian science. The incorporation of archeology in history curricula by itself signifies an acknowledgement of some degree of the complementariness of

these two disciplines. The leader of Russian archeology in the second half of the nineteenth century, Count A. S. Uvarov, did not separate the subject of archeology from that of history, believing that they were both essentially branches of one and the same discipline devoted to the "description of the customs of peoples" (Uvarov, 1878: 30). Archeology, Uvarov wrote, should be understood as a "science investigating the ancient customs of peoples based on the study of all kinds of monuments of the ancient life of every people" (Uvarov, 1878: 31). This view was supported by D. I. Ilovaiskii, who remarked, however, that it is necessary to specify "precisely which aspects of everyday life archeology is called upon to discover" (Ilovaiskii, 1878: 21). By pointing to the single subject of history and archeology, Uvarov attempted to identify a unique "archeological method," with the aid of which the discipline of archaeology would achieve its goals. "The archeological method," Uvarov wrote, "is focused not only, and not predominantly, on the material monuments (artifacts) but also searches in every source, both written and oral, for that special aspect of it that reveals the details, which may, even if minor, be so important to us that they seem to constitute living traces of ancient customs that still look alive to us" (Uvarov, 1878: 31). This definition emphasizes the methodological significance of the methods aimed at extracting information from different sources; at the same time the definition does not yet differentiate between various types of sources to a necessary degree and does not specify the special status of material evidence. The method of archeology is not believed to be a unique method of a specific science but rather a unique method for extracting information about the historical past. This was the first and only a hesitant attempt to establish an independent method of archeology. Even today, this idea of Uvarov does not seem to belong to historiography alone. Contemporary archeology is uniquely characterized by the fact that all the methods used (or borrowed) by it are aimed at recovering archeological and historical information. These methods form the essence of the archeological technique or the archeological method, i.e. the method of extraction of historical information.

But archeology, as understood by the nineteenth century scholars, did not only seek to resolve general historical problems. Humans, in the broadest context of their relationships with the environment, stood at its very center.

The view of I. E. Zabelin needs to be particularly stressed in this respect. Although it is not expressed as clearly as that of Uvarov, certain aspects of his approach are focused upon the way of life in the past. In Zabelin's view, all disciplines deal with "creative life," anthropology enjoying a central position among them. On the one hand, anthropology studies humans as part of the natural world, which brings it closer to the natural sciences. On the other hand, this disciplineinvestigates human creativity in all its forms. A special significance is ascribed to the history of culture, which, in the author's words, "is, in essence, archeology." Zabelin classifies human creativity into "solitary" and "generic" categories. Archeology studies the "individual creativity of man in numerous different types of monuments, both material and spiritual," while history recreates "social creativity." For Zabelin, the task of archeology consists "in discovering and explaining the laws of individual creativity, in uncovering and explicating the paths along which individual creativity reconstructs

generic or social, i.e. historical creativity, in the discovery and explanation of that continuous and indestructible bond in which one finds the creativity of the individual and the creativity of an entire tribe or people" (Zabelin, 1878: 17).

Generally speaking, one should note that despite the clear awareness by many mid-nineteenth century scholars of the peculiarities of archeological records and the methods of their study, they are all unified in defining archeology as a science capable of discovering various aspects of the social customs of the past, even when these aspects are not identified strictly and definitively; such aspects include the "slice-of-life description of ancient peoples," "the laws of individual creativity," etc.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, disciplines studying the past of humanity underwent major changes due to the publication of Charles Darwin's works and the recognition that the history of humanity is part of natural history, and due to the expansion of evolutionary theory into all areas of scientific knowledge.

Archeology came to be considered a discipline of natural history, and the study of the ancient history of humanity became the pursuit of anthropologists, biologists, geographers, etc. who actively introduced the methods of their disciplines into archeology (this was especially the case for Stone Age archeology). This led to the development of two basic methods in archeology: typological and comparative (Gorodtsov, 1908: 11). The latter played an important role in the reconstruction of social relationships in the past. It was based on the ideas of the American ethnologist L. Morgan and the Englishman E. Taylor, the founders of the evolutionary theory of primeval history.

In defending his concept of the gradual development of human society from the "savagery" to the "civilization" stage, in his fundamental work *Ancient Society*, Morgan wrote, "It should be noted that the development of humanity took place in almost the same manner everywhere, that human needs under similar conditions were in essence the same and that the manifestations of intellectual activity, by virtue of the specific identity of the brain of all human races were of the same kind" (Morgan, 1934: 8). Morgan developed his idea further and introduced, for facilitating the study of different categories of facts, the notion of "ethnic periods," each representing a certain state of society and being characterized by a mode of life peculiar to the period in question (Morgan, 1934: 8). Morgan held that all humanity passes through the same stages of cultural development regardless of any external factors. "Progress is, in essence, identical in its content in tribes and nations living on different and even separated continents and situated at the same stage" (Morgan, 1934: 13).

As the author of the "holdover interpretation," E. Taylor believed that "backward peoples" constituted the most promising empirical ground for the reconstruction of primitive history. He noted that the data assisting in charting the actual course of civilization contained an extensive class of facts, such as ceremonies, customs, views/opinions, etc. (i.e. everything that goes into a way of life—A.K.), being transferred from one stage of culture (to which they are really peculiar) to another, which later serves as living proof of the past (Tailor, 1989: 28).

Evolutionary theory thus opened up broad opportunities for establishing a comparative method in archeology. In particular, it permitted the use of extensive

ethnographic material for archeological reconstructions, although this material was used practically without any critical analysis. B. S. Zhukov, for example, considered the "erasing, in the course of interpretation, of the formal boundaries between buried and contemporary peoples and the recognition of differences only in the technique of gathering material on these cultures, particularly, in the methods of field analysis of facts at the time of their discovery" as a success of Russian science (Zhukov, 1927: 15). He further believed the basic criteria of the comparative method should be found in the typical and quantitative features (ibid. p. 34).

In advocating the significance of the comparative method for archeology, V. A. Gorodtsov emphasized that this method acquires the greatest importance precisely in this part of archeology, which includes the reconstruction of the events of the past (Gorodtsov, 1923: 19). In his 1908 lectures on primitive archeology, Gorodtsov noted that the comparative method is used "when it is necessary to guess the meaning and purpose of puzzling artifacts… [T]his method requires comparison of the ancient artifacts with each other, or with the artifacts of the contemporary primitive peoples, or with the holdovers of the past found in the culture of modern civilized nations" (Gorodtsov, 1908: 11–12). But later, in 1923, in his fundamental work *Arkheologiya* [*Archeology*], Gorodtsov, based on the law of industrial evolution and causality that he introduced, noted that the comparative method consists in comparing similar phenomena and in explaining the causes of similarities and differences in their origin and purpose. The main purpose of the method in archeology is "the clarification of the cultural currents and mutual influences of the tribes and peoples." By using this method, ancient cultural phenomena are compared with each other and with the corresponding cultural phenomena in the life of contemporary peoples (Gorodtsov, 1923: 15). According to Gorodtsov, quantitative measures form the basis of the comparative method. He believed that gaining objectivity of information required the accumulation of an extremely large amount of data "from all world cultures and from all the periods of their history" (ibid. p. 20).

Generally speaking, one should acknowledge that, because of the dominance, in pre-revolutionary Russian archeology, of "sheer empiricism and materialism" (as the classical writers of the 1920s–1930s would put it), the methods for reconstruction of ancient socio-cultural systems were very weakly developed, or even not developed at all. However, a number of works do refer to certain principles of comparison of archeological and ethnographic data. In particular, Zhukov and Gorodtsov pointed out that comparable features should be typical and quantitative, i.e. measurable and commonly appearing.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when Gorodtsov developed a series of lectures in archeology, the section on the methods of archeological research was limited to only two pages (Gening, 1983: 47). Among these methods, only the comparative approach had to do with the reconstruction of the way of life, the rest dealing with archeological field research techniques and with the systematization and classification of the material. And when it came to reconstruction, the researchers were more concerned with dating the subsequent stages and the typological series, which were conceptualized in the spirit of evolutionism. Pursuing distinctly archeological goals was limited and had other defects reflected in the development of

research procedures. As noted by V. F. Gening, archeology was taking only the first steps in the development of its subject and object, of its methods and language; it is therefore quite natural that scholars were more concerned with the issues related to the accumulation and systematization of the data and their identification, and they were less concerned, and only in a very preliminary way, with the functional significance of the artifacts (Gening, 1983: 53–54).

Empiricism, which dominated Russian pre-revolutionary archeology, evoked a reaction on the part of young archeologists of the Marxist school, who intended, in the second quarter of the twentieth century, to apply the new materialistic methodology to archeology and to place special emphasis on the reconstruction of social relationships.

Theoretical Discussions at the End of the 1920s and in the First Half of the 1930s in Soviet Archeology and Their Influence on the Development of Ethnoarcheological Research

The second half of the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s are noted as showing a "surge" of theoretical thought in Soviet archeology that was related to the wide adoption of the methodology of dialectical and historical materialism in the social sciences (Glushkov, 1983: 3; Pryakhin, 1986: 108; Gening, 1982: 98). Soviet historiography describes this time as witnessing "the birth of modern archeology armed with the conceptions of dialectical and historical materialism and constituting an indispensable component of the science of history" (Pryakhin, 1986: 109). The new Marxist-Leninist foundation determined the subsequent development of the theory and methodology of archeological science. Much of the research was dictated by the ideological trend, since archeology was actively involved in the fight against bourgeois historical concepts (Pryakhin, 1986: 109).

At the same time, the adoption of Marxism and the general sociological turn in the historical sciences played, somewhat paradoxically, a positive role in changing the focus of archeology from "pure science" to socio-economic reconstruction. In the words of A. V. Artsikhovskii, "archeology has a right to existence only insofar as it is aimed at the reconstruction of socio-economic formations based on the monuments of material culture. Systematics for the sake of systematics is not needed" (Artsikhovskii, 1929: 137).

One can identify two trends during this historiographic period that were preoccupied with developing methods for the reconstruction of ancient social relationships. These were associated with two major academic centers of that time, the Institute of Material Culture in Moscow and the State Academy of Material Culture in Leningrad.

Contemporary historiography refers to the first approach as the "new direction" (Glushkov, 1989: 32). It was represented by young Moscow archeologists who were students of Gorodtsov: A. V. Artsikhovskii, A. Ya. Bryusov, S. V. Kiselev, and A. P. Smirnov. In 1928 they gave a talk entitled "New methods in archeology" at the

conference of the Marxist Historian Society in which they put forward the ideas and methods of reconstruction of socio-economic variables based upon the archeological material. Starting with the main objective of archeology, the reconstruction of socio-economic formations on the basis of working tools, the champions of "new archeology" advanced a method that became known as the "ascent method" (Artsikhovskii, 1929: 37).

In the opinion of Bryusov, "the ascent from working tools and material objects monuments in general to socio-economic formations must be corrected by reverse conclusion from last to first" (Bryusov, 1928: 14).

Having used, as the basic principle, the Marxist theory of the dependence of the relations of production on the productive forces and working tools, the representatives of the "new direction" reduced the subject of archeology to the reconstruction of socio-economic formations. According to Artsikhovskii, archeology can "recover … the ancient system of productive forces. But if so, then from here we can ascend to the system of productive relationships since the dependence of productive forces and relations of production is established by Marxism" (Artsikhovskii, 1929: 137–138). The Marxist sociological modus operandi had the form of axioms proving the proposed reconstructions.

Gorodtsov's ideas—in particular, his "law of industrial causality"—had a substantial effect on the development of the "ascent method": "The labor tools are levers that allow man to perfect culture. The smarter the levers, the further the culture is advanced to perfection. One can conclude from this that the later improvement of labor tools signifies the improvement of all customs, home management, clothing and food, and all of this is linked to the improvement of reason and cultivation of the spiritual activity in general" (Gorodtsov, 1923: 148).

All these theoretical principles permitted the authors of the "new direction" to conclude that since archeology deals with the tools of production, which determine the productive forces, it is possible to evaluate the methods and scales of labor activity based on the tools and production products. Furthermore, from the quantity and quality of agricultural equipment, and also from the crop remains, it is possible to reconstruct the agricultural system and its role in the economy (Artsikhovskii, 1929: 137). The same approach was also proposed for the reconstruction of animal husbandry based on the analysis of faunal material. In turn, the faunal material and the variety of weapons, in the opinion of Artsikhovskii, made it possible to reconstruct the stages and forms of hunting. By moving along and analyzing the evidence of housing, villages, mines, etc.; by separating them according to types (temporary residences, workshops, trade stations, city, etc.); and also by studying the types of burials, it was claimed that the number of people engaged in different economic activities could be determined (Artsikhovskii, 1929: 137). With the aid of this research procedure, the partisans of the "new direction" proposed to restore the ancient system of productive forces and then to reconstruct the system of the relations of production. In order for the reconstructions to appear more convincing, Artsikhovskii recommended studying the techniques of a wide range of social groups, as opposed to studying one or several homogeneous social groups defined by the term "culture" (Artsikhovskii, 1929: 138). In other words, the advocates of

the "restoration method," like the evolutionists, were interested in general "formational" laws and not in the details and the peculiar nature of the culture of separate groups. In his report, Artsikhovskii made it explicit that cultures should be studied not piecemeal, but in their totality, using typological analogies and diffusion (Artsikhovskii, 1929: 139).

One should note a peculiar interpretation of the term "socio-economic formation" by the champions of the "new direction." In Glushkov's opinion, they were speaking not of a "philosophical abstraction" from Marxism but only of the economic structure (Glushkov, 1983: 5–6) fully reflecting the way of life. Attempting to combine Marxist sociology with "Gorodtsov's philosophy of archeology," the young investigators tried to rethink the legacy of pre-revolutionary archeology and to develop theoretical principles for Soviet archeology where the "real definition of the subject of archeology has found a false reflection in the methods of reconstruction" (Glushkov, 1983: 7). Nevertheless, as noted by V. M. Masson, the ideas of the Moscow scientists had great significance for the understanding of the possibilities of archeological records to provide insight into the economy and social structure of an ancient population (Masson, 1980: 19).

Being partisans of the independence of archeology, which was capable of reconstructing the past by its own means, the "new archeologists" totally ruled out the possibility of using the data of ethnography in archeological studies. "We reject the application of ethnographic specificities in archeology," declared Artsikhovskii, "therein lies the main danger for our science" (Artsikhovskii, 1929: 14). Instead of ethnography, the authors proposed turning to sociology. According to S. V. Kiselev, case studies from ethnography may serve only as hypothetical illustrations; compared with sociology, they are too narrow in scope. This approach was advocated in his paper "The disintegration of the tribe on the Yenisei river" [1933], where Kiselev analyzed all archeological data from the standpoint of sociology. However, by the standards of contemporary historiography, the "strict limitation of the content of basic methods only to those of archeology, on the one hand, and only to sociology, on the other, without invoking the data of other sciences, makes this method defective" (Glushkov, 1983: 9).

The misuse of a sociological framework in the archeology of the 1930s was noted by local scholars more than once (Gening, 1982: 190–196; Pryakhin, 1986: 134–135). Some scholars consider sociological schematism as a natural reaction to bourgeois consumer science and as an affirmation of a unified Marxist concept of history (Gening, 1982: 180).

During the debate at the beginning of the 1930s, similar views were subjected to harsh criticism by the representatives of the Leningrad school. The basic blow was directed at the thesis of the independence of archeology and the denial of the use of data from other disciplines. These discussions resulted in the recognition of archeology as part of history by the advocates of the "resurrection method." In 1932, the *Proceedings of the National Academy of the History of Material Culture* (GAIMK) published an article where the proponents of the "new direction" regretted their errors and acknowledged that they had underestimated the importance of linguistic and ethnographic materials for historical reconstruction (Artsikhovskii, Kiselev, & Smirnov, 1932: 47).

The second approach, which was developed by the State Academy of History of Material Culture in Leningrad, is linked to the name of the linguist N. Ya. Marr. His idea of "stages" had a serious effect on such scholars as V. I. Ravdonikas, I. I. Smirnov, I. I. Meshchaninov, and others. Having gained a leading position in the archeology of that time, the Leningrad school skillfully speculated on the ideological bias in science. Many methodological and theoretical developments were based not so much on science but rather were dictated by social and political pressure. In the assessment of G. S. Lebedev, "assertion of a new methodology took place under the conditions of harsh and unequal ideological conflict extending far beyond the limits of archeology" (Lebedev, 1992: 429). This conflict became so extreme that many Marxist ideas had to be imposed by force. "To those who cannot think in Marxist terms," wrote S. N. Bykovskii, "one should apply methods of stimulation that are stronger than explanation and more convincing" (Bykovskii, 1931: 21).

Having applied Marr's doctrine to archeology, the young scientists concluded that archeological cultures reflect a particular stage of social development, and that change in these cultures is nothing but a revolution precipitated by the internal development of the society. Consequently, the possibilities of mutual influence and migrations of cultures were ruled out. These concepts were largely banished from archeology. Changes in culture were explained by "leaps" in socio-economic development (Lebedev, 1992: 430). In the discussions of the 1930s, the theory of "progress in stages" became dogmatic, and with the publication, in the early 1950s, of I. V. Stalin's "Marxism and problems of linguistics", Marr's theory was rejected (Artsikhovskii, 1953: 51–69; Boriskovskii & Okladnikov, 1953: 70–93).

Nevertheless, one cannot deny that this theory contributed in a positive way to the general development of Soviet science and archeology in particular. As some scholars noted, "Marr's role in the development of Marxist methodology of the primeval history was great despite all his errors. The need for the reconstruction of the primeval society based on a comprehensive approach was a major guiding principle for the Leningrad archeologists. This was a characteristic feature of the Leningrad school that facilitated the development of the history of material culture in the future" (Glushkov, 1983: 13).

One of the most active promoters of Marr's ideas in archeology was an outstanding Soviet archeologist, V. I. Ravdonikas. An advocate of the comprehensive method, he called for the use of ethnographic material in archeological reconstructions of social systems of the past. "Without ethnography," he wrote, "one cannot animate the material skeleton of a long-dead society with the flesh of the social whole" (Ravdonikas, 1930: 21). According to Ravdonikas, the basic principle of the comprehensive method lies in utilizing the bulk of the material and not in studying isolated and rare phenomena. In this case, the basic unit of historical-archeological investigations comprised the so-called "cultural complexes," which represent the entire material culture of a given society at a given moment of its development, in its specific peculiarity, in the inter-connectedness of its individual elements with each other and with all social phenomena that could possibly be taken into account (Ravdonikas, 1930: 30). For this, Ravdonikas proposed the use of a wide range of data (from cemeteries, settlements, written and ethnographic sources). "Within the framework of the cultural complex segments identified in this way, the substantive material is studied

for the purpose of evaluating its social significance in groups united by social-functional features. All types of products that existed in a given geographic environment are resurrected, the finest details of the customs are revealed, all manifestations of ideology deciphered, and the 'relationships of production' reconstructed, etc. until the material-cultural complex is understood as a living part of a living social totality. Various techniques must be used in such a complicated work, including the comparative method, the paleontology of speech, the customs, and the natural interpretation of the cultural residues" (Ravdonikas, 1930: 31).

One important element of Ravdonikas' theory was the notion of the objectification of human activity. "The rapprochement of archeology and ethnography," he notes, "should be understood not in the sense of ethnologizing archeology, which is an erroneous guiding principle of contemporary paleo-ethnology, but rather in the sense of sociologization. The problem does not lie in giving ethnic definitions to a number of archeological discoveries but rather is the following: If the elements of a society, e.g. its productive basis and the superstructure, stand in a regular relation to each other then having identified the specific forms of this relationship by studying the life of contemporary backward societies we can set out, starting with the discovered archeological data, especially such important data as the tools of labor and production technology, to reconstruct the main features of the ancient socio-economic formation in its entirety" (Ravdonikas, 1931: 6). Unfortunately, no one paid proper attention to this idea of Ravdonikas' at that time. The author himself did not develop it either. But it was precisely this idea that was most promising for the development of the theory and methodology of reconstruction of the past way of life. In Glushkov's words, the advantage of such an approach consists in the refinement of sociological reconstructions, since "the interpretation of archeological complexes takes place, on the one hand, on the basis of knowledge of the general sociological regularities, and on the other, on the basis of the regularities established by the ethnography of specific societies" (Glushkov, 1983: 14). In essence, Ravdonikas proposed ethnographic modeling for the purpose of archeological reconstruction, i.e. he proposed a methodological principle that characterizes contemporary ethnoarcheology. Unfortunately, this important methodological principle did not find a practical application and, as a consequence, it remained a mere declaration.

At the beginning of the 1930s, A.V. Shmidt advocated the idea of using ethnographic analogies for archeological reconstruction within the framework of evolutionary theory. He identified three criteria of archeological-ethnographic parallels. The first, and, from his point of view, the most important one, is the principle of stability. Shmidt noted that before using ethnographic material, one should decide whether it corresponds to the artifacts being studied from the stage-theoretical perspective. This decision in this regard should be guided by the general historical-materialistic version of evolution. The second principle comprises the natural-geographical correspondence, i.e. reconstructions will be most accurate if one draws analogies from similar ecological conditions. As the third principle, the author proposed the presence of a genetic relationship between archeological and ethnographic cultures. Little has changed since then in Russian science, in terms of developing criteria for the comparison of archeological and ethnographic materials.

Evolutionary theory is still used to compare the data of both disciplines, thus confirming the "unity" of the socio-economic level, the similarity of geographical conditions, and the genetic relationship (Matyushchenko, 1976; Gracheva & Khlobystin, 1981). However, doubtless to say this evolutionary framework is no longer heuristically viable and cannot contribute to the advancement of knowledge. However correctly the comparison was made, criteria for the verification of the models have not been provided.

At the same time, the use of a comprehensive method in the study of primitive communal history and the application of data from different disciplines, as well as the specification of certain criteria for the correlation of archeological material with ethnographic observations marked serious steps in developing a reconstructive theory in archeology. When assessing the theoretical discussions of those years from the standpoint of contemporary science, it must be noted that the historical-materialistic concept of Marxism had become a political tool, and despite its undeniable contribution to the development of archeology, the definition of its subject, and the methods of its investigation, had failed to accommodate the theoretical complexity of the discipline and prevented many fruitful ideas from being developed.

Beginning in the mid-1930s, Soviet archeology experienced a dramatic drop in theoretical deliberations and this period marked a transition to empirical generalizations (Klein, 1977: 14; Glushkov, 1989: 31–39). According to some scholars, this was triggered by an external cause in the form of the decree issued by the Sovnarkom (The Council of People's Commissars) and the CC VKPb (The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks) on 16 May 1934, which was directed against the sociologization of civil history, and which seriously affected the development of archeology (Glushkov, 1983: 33; Lebedev, 1992: 141).

The Stalin repressions and then World War II took the lives of many talented archeologists of the young Soviet generation. In many ways, the focus of archeological-ethnographic comparisons also changed. The results of archeological research were subjected to severe ethnologization, which was related both to circumstances external to science (social pressure) and also to the development of archeology itself (the trend toward historicism). In the latter case, the ethnologization was advocated in the framework of the same evolutionary theory and using the same criteria as those proposed by Shmidt. The only difference from Shmidt's work was in a focus on genetic relationships, which was manifested in numerous ethnogenetic projects.

The Development of Ethnoarcheological Research in Soviet Archeology in the 1940s–1980s

"The renewal of archeological work and historical research in the post-war years in response to the demands of public self-awareness, repeatedly intensified by official praise and propaganda of patriotism, was accompanied by increasing attention to ethnic problems, as well as the questions of the origin and ethnic history of the peoples of the Soviet Union" (Lebedev, 1992: 431).

The discussions in archaeology in the 1920s—early 1930s focused on issues of the theory and methodology of science, and were conducted in the spirit of Marxism, and the historical-materialistic version of social development was strongly advocated.

Soviet archeology became part of historical science. In the first issue of the journal *Soviet Archeology* (1936), the following definition was given: "Archeology is a historical science whose task is to collect, organize and study material monuments as historical sources. For the history of the more ancient primitive communistic age, when phonetic literacy did not yet exist, the material artifacts often constitute the only source for the reconstruction and study of the historical process, with consideration of the data of ethnography, linguistics and folklore" (*SA* 1, p. 1). Reconstruction of social relationships in the past became one of the most important goals of archeology. In reality, however, archeological materials were used as illustrations of the sociological theory of social development. Interestingly, the term "interpretation" was used in the archeological literature of this period more often than "reconstruction."

Nevertheless, despite the "monolithic unity" of Soviet archeology of that time, one can discern several independent approaches, whose proponents attempted to develop their own methods of reconstruction of the past way of life.

Ethnogenetic Approach

As already noted, at the end of the 1930s and beginning of the 1940s, Soviet archeology was assigned the task of combating the chauvinistic constructions of German scholars, as well as justifying the idea of historical laws in constructing a new historical society—"Soviet people." In these circumstances, the issue of ethnogenesis and the ties between archeological culture and contemporary ethnos and peoples gained significant popularity. "In the success of our science in dealing with ethnogenetic problems," wrote M. M. Artamonov, "a substantial role was played by the Great Partiotic War (i.e. WWII). Soviet science has to struggle with fascistic 'historical constructions.' Ethnogenetic problems gained acute political urgency" (Artamonov, 1948: 4). After that time, many archeologists started to associate a mandatory set of ethnic features with the concept of "archeological culture". Thus, Bryusov wrote: "The unity of archeological cultures … reflects the uniqueness of techniques, economy, customs and other aspects of life of a given ethnic group of related tribes" (Bryusov, 1952: 20). M. Yu. Braichevskii put this idea even more strongly: "By archeological cultures, we mean collections of archeological phenomena corresponding to certain ethnic entities. A culture that does not conform to a particular ethnic group is, in our view, not a culture" (Braichevskii, 1965: 31).

Therefore, if the term "archeological culture" implies an obligatory set of ethnic variables then it becomes possible to relate these cultures to other living ethnoses organized in a similar vein. And this, in turn, allows reconstructing the way of life of excavated cultures on the basis of an entire complex of the culture of a given ethnos. The real issue was to determine which features could reflect the ethnic specificity most convincingly. There was no agreement on this among local archeologists.

M. E. Foss argued that pottery decoration could be the only possible criterion for determining the ethnic identity of an archeological complex, as all other artifacts reflect, for the most part, not ethnic, but geographic characteristics" (Foss, 1952: 66, 69).

A. A. Formozov, while not agreeing with such a categorical statement, attempted to justify the idea that stone tools could also serve to identify cultural ethnicity. In his detailed analysis of stone tools, supported by the extensive use of ethnographic material, Formozov arrived at the conclusion that "although differences in the occupation are reflected in the production inventory of the Stone Age, nevertheless, the tools of production may serve as a material indicator of ethnic history. The greatest significance is ascribed to the study of the details of the tools that are not directly related to production and the discovery of similar tools scattered in various regions but performing identical functions" (Formozov, 1957: 47).

Besides the above-mentioned variables, it was suggested that pottery production (Kozhin, 1964: 53–58), and house architecture and burial practices (Tret'yakov, 1962: 36–44; Artamonov, 1948: 133; Krupnov, 1957: 69), as well as other variables, could also be used for identifying ethnic identity.

At the same time, M. I. Artamonov noted that "it was not possible to identify a single general principle as the basis for selecting the ethnographically significant features from the archeological data" (Artamonov, 1948: 11). In each particular case, the archeologist must decide to what extent the features at their disposal can serve for ethnic interpretation. "Both the quantity and the quality of observations are important," writes Artamonov, "the whole problem lies in discovering the relevant features and interpreting them" (Artamonov, 1948: 12). Therefore, extreme subjectivism was brought into the research procedure. The conclusions were not verifiable, and reliance on authority played an increasingly important role.

The ethnogenetic principle placed at the basis of archeological reconstructions led archeologists to make "methodologically and methodically unjustified sharp transitions from archeological cultures to ethnos" (Glushkov, 1993: 63) and vice versa.

Based on these principles, A. P. Okladnikov, as early as in 1934–1938, attempted to reconstruct the economic and social life of the ancient populations of the Baikal region and the Amur basin, based on their relationships with the modern Evenki, Nivkhi, Ulchi, Nanai and Ainy (Okladnikov, 1938). The anthropological similarity found by G. F. Debets and Ya. Ya. Roginskii (Debets, 1930, 1941) served as a solid confirmation of a genetic link of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age populations with modern ethnos. Below is a good example of the typical approach used at that time to establish ethnogenetic relationships, which served as the basis for further archeological-ethnographic comparisons.

"If in the culture of contemporary Tunguska tribes," wrote Okladnikov, "one finds any common features with a culture of the ancient population of the Baikal region, then due to their anthropological proximity, a direct ethnogenetic relationship between contemporary Tungus peoples and the Neolithic population of the Baikal region is actually an 'ethnographic reality'; in other words, the contemporary Tungus tribesmen indeed preserved in a stable manner both their physical

characteristics and the unique culture of their ancestors who settled in this territory several thousand years ago" (Okladnikov, 1950b: 40).

Summing up the characteristic features of the economy, material culture, social organization, art, and ideology of contemporary ethnos groups, the author concludes: "One should acknowledge that the basic features of this ethnographic complex, which is typical of the Tungus tribes of the Baikal region and their anthropological type, were present in this territory in an almost unchanged fashion as early as in the Glazkov period, i.e. about three to four thousand years ago" (Okladnikov, 1950a, 1950b: 44).

Ethnogenetic studies contributed significantly to "Ancient Histories" prepared within the classical evolutionary (stage-like) framework. Similar works were written by V. N. Chernetsov ("Ancient history of the Lower Ob Basin"), Bryusov ("Outlines of history of the tribes of the European part of the USSR in the Neolithic epoch"), Foss ("Remote ancient history of the Northern European part of the USSR"), and other scholars (Chernetsov, 1953; Bryusov, 1952; Foss, 1952; Kiselev, 1949). All these works had a similar format comprising a description of the archeological material, a classification and chronology, and an outline of the economy, social structure, and spiritual culture.

A major shortcoming of these works is the absence of any theoretical and methodological justification of the ethnographic analogies, with the exception of the external similarity. The shift from the archeological culture to ethnos and back was justified by the expansion of the subject of archeology to that of history and also by the fact that: "at the end of the 1940s to the beginning of the 1950s, the system of archeological facts was built on the basis of knowledge of the common regular patterns of historical development established by sociology" (Glushkov, 1989: 36).

In the 1960s–1970s, the political urgency of the subject of ethnogenesis declined significantly. At the same time, the interest in the theoretical justification of ethnogenetic constructions increased, in particular the relationship between the concepts of "archeological culture" and "ethnos" (Zakharuk, 1964; Mongait, 1967; Artamonov, Arutyunov, & Khazanov, 1979).

The discussion on the ethnogenetic relationship of archeological and ethnographic cultures mainly focused on the importance of studies of the primeval history of Western Siberia, since the ethnic groups of this region are preserved and maintain the traditional archaic way of life. For many scholars, the genetic relationship of contemporary ethnos groups with ancient cultures has become a basis for drawing archeological-ethnographic parallels. The comprehensive nature of the archeological-ethnographic studies was intensively discussed at many regional conferences and meetings. However, despite the calls by archeologists and ethnographers for stricter and more objective approaches to the use of ethnographic information in archeological reconstructions, no substantial results were achieved.

According to the statement made by V. I. Matyushchenko at the Tomsk archeological-ethnographic conference in 1976, "Soviet archeology, aimed at studying the history of the primeval society and reconstructing its social organization, is guided by the basic methodological principles of the theory of Marxism concerning the development of society, in particular, the development of the forms

of social organization of the primeval communal formation" (Matyushchenko, 1976: 5). Therefore, at the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s, the Marxist framework continued to define the main agenda of the theoretical and methodological work in Soviet archeology.

In defining the basic principles of ethnographic analogies for use in archeological reconstructions, G. N. Gracheva and L. P. Khlobystin proposed the following: "…in all cases, analogies must be based on the materials of the culture of peoples: (a) dwelling under natural conditions close to the ecological conditions of the ancient group, (b) located on the same or similar level of development of productive forces, (c) [having] a possible origin in the ancient society under study or one close to it. Particular attention should be given to the traditional, archaic features of the culture of the people with which the comparison is made" (Gracheva & Khlobystin, 1981: 135). Similar views were also held by other archeologists.

It is hardly justified to speak of the novelty of such proposals, as the same principles were formulated in the early 1930s by A. V. Shmidt. The methodological blind alley in this comparison of archeological and ethnographic materials led to the absolutization of the personalities of the scholars and their habits and opinions.

The authority and professional quality of scholars served as the basic criterion of objectivity. As noted by M. F. Kosarev, "knowing how to find and objectively analyze archeological-ethnographic parallels during reconstruction" is one of the most important conditions of meeting the historical demands of archeological research (Kosarev, 1984).

Since the mid-1990s, a group of Omsk archeologists and ethnographers under the leadership of N. A. Tomilov (1996) have been engaged in the development of a new direction at the interface of archeology and ethnography. Their studies are based on the so-called "ethnographico-archeological" or "archeologo-ethnographic" complexes (EAC), using a retrospective method. These complexes are defined on the basis of "ethnically determined archeological materials of later monuments enriched by ethnographic information" (Tomilov, 1993: 40). In addition to the ethnographic data, this work makes wide use of written sources. In order to increase the reliability and content of their reconstructions, the authors of the EAC approach propose either expanding the range of possible ethnographic, linguistic, anthropological and other parallels into large territories (Tomilov 1995, 1996), or narrowing the range down to the study of small ethno-local groups, while broadening its source base (Mel'nikov, 1996: 26).

Such studies are also based on the ethnogenetic principle, and the criteria used to evaluate the reliability of the proposed reconstructions are also based on the recognized competence of scholars and the belief in their professionalism. In Tomilov's words, "a significant effect can be achieved when work is done by highly educated specialists with experience both in archeology and ethnography" (Tomilov, 1993: 38).

Training, scientific intuition and experience undoubtedly play an important role in research, but they can hardly serve as arguments in support of particular scientific reconstructions. One should look for independent ways of testing hypotheses about the past. Archeological research should be based on such an approach.

Ecological Approach

The representatives of the paleoethnological approach were the first among Russian archeologists to discuss, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, the ecological context of the origin and growth of culture. The development of this approach is linked to the name of the outstanding Russian geographer D. N. Anuchin. In his work in anthropology, he considered geographical factors to be closely connected with the development of human activity (Gening, 1982: 78). His successor and the leader of the Moscow school of paleoethnography in the 1920s, B. S. Zhukov, while generally following the comprehensive method in his study of primeval history, also put emphasis on natural factors in relation to the geographic landscape (Gening, 1982: 80).

However, due to the sociological and Marxist orientation imposed on archeology at the end of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s, the ideas of paleoethnologists were subjected to harsh criticism and suppressed; and with their demise, the focus on natural geographic factors has also lost its significance.

It was only in recent decades, due to the increasing ecological crisis and interest in the interaction between human culture and the natural environment, that the popularity of the ecological approach grew significantly. This is now one of the most promising approaches in ethnology and archeology in terms of its reconstructive and explanatory value.

The adaptive understanding of culture, which began to be advocated in the American anthropology of the 1950s–1960s in the framework of the neo-evolutionary ideas of L. White and J. Steward, was adopted in Russian science thanks to the works of E. S. Markaryan, who considered "adaptation" to be a fundamental property of self-regulating systems (Markaryan, 1981: 96). He emphasized that the study of social life from the "adaptive point of view", which is differs in terms two interrelated methodological procedures, highlighted its important differences from the processes of bio-evolution These differences have to do, first, with an integral interpretation of these qualitatively differing paths in the development of life, an interpretation which is needed to identify their invariant features, and, secondly, with the discovery of the fundamental specific manifestations of human society as an adaptive system (Markaryan, 1981: 97).

Noting that western science, despite its prolonged use of the concept of "adaptation," had failed to find an acceptable formula capable of clearly defining a qualitatively distinct class of human society as an adaptive system, Markaryan proposed to solve this problem within the framework of the historical-materialistic worldview. He relates human society to a special class of "universal adaptive-adapting systems" where the adaptational effect is achieved, not by genetic restructuring, as advocated in bio-evolution, but by the material transformation of nature" (Markaryan, 1981: 98). Within the scope of this theoretical approach, the author laid down two research agendas, a "local-ecological" program and a "formational-ecological" one. Markaryan believed that combining these two agendas would allow investigators not only to discover the concrete local characteristics of adaptive systems, but "to

establish general features peculiar to different modes of human existence" (Markaryan, 1981: 105). Markaryan's ideas attracted the attention of many Soviet ethnologists and some archeologists.

In his work *Western Siberia in Antiquity*, published in 1984, M. F. Kosarev attempted to boost the explanatory power of archeology by using ecological concepts. Having emphasized the obvious disproportion between the source-based and interpretation levels of archeological research, Kosarev wrote: "One can say, without exaggeration, that outside of the "ecological paradigm" of archeological science one cannot fruitfully work on such important problems of the ancient history of Siberia as the factors involved in the economic change (in particular, the prerequisites of a productive economy), the causes of flourishing and decline of ancient cultures, the conditions of nonuniformity in the historical development of the populations of different regions, the regional characteristics of the material and spiritual culture of the primitive societies, the causes, content and social consequences of ancient migrations, etc." (Kosarev, 1984: 25).

Kosarev applies two theoretical approaches to understanding social processes of the past. The first is the ecological approach, which assumes the existence of common regional and diachronic laws of adaptation of human collectives to the environment. The second approach emerges from observations made by L. Binford and is endorsed by specialists in ecology; it relies on the assumption that "primitive people were not inclined to improve the economy and the tools of labor until it was necessitated by changes in the environment" (Kosarev, 1984: 4, 49).

Kosarev identified three aspects of the ecological approach to archeological reconstructions: (1) the study of migration processes, since it is precisely in them that the pathways of adaptation of human collectives to different natural-geographic, socio-economic and ethnocultural environments are most clearly represented; (2) the study of transitional historical-archeological periods; and (3) the study of the facts and manifestations of the non-uniformity of socio-economic development (Kosarev, 1988: 4, 7, 9).

Recognizing that archeological material does not give direct information on socio-cultural relationships in the past, Kosarev recommended, besides using the ecological approach, using the traditional paleoethnographic (ethnoarcheological) and comparative-historical approaches. This aspect of Kosarev's concept appears to be the weakest element in his approach, as these methods remained methodologically unfounded in Soviet science. They were based on the obsolete historico-empirical conception of reconstructions, where preference is given to the professional qualities and intuition of the researcher and not to the independent verification of hypotheses about the past. "The tactics of paleo-ethnographic approach," writes Kosarev, "consist in choosing the most suitable ethnographic model of the reconstructed archeological phenomenon" (Kosarev, 1988: 12). But the author says nothing about the construction of ethnographic models themselves, which would describe the relationship between human activity and its material reflection. In his opinion, "any ethnographic parallel indicating the ecological cause of the archeological phenomenon and, hence, its reality also serves as a model of this phenomenon and a basis for its reconstruction" (Kosarev, 1988: 13). It would appear that the

ecological dimension of any phenomenon is not sufficient for an archeological reconstruction of the socio-cultural processes of antiquity. A broader method of constructing a theory of the objectification of human activity is needed that would apply to any conditions and at different levels. This approach would allow the discovery of universal laws of human behavior, expressed in the properties and distribution of residual material artifacts.

One can hardly agree with Kosarev about the prospects for developing rigid mechanisms of archeologo-ethnographic reconstructions that would allow the archeologist to arrive at correct and undisputable conclusions (Kosarev, 1984: 21). To be sure, deriving a formula for undisputed reconstructions is very complicated, but the development of mechanisms for testing different hypotheses and limiting the imagination and subjectivism of the researcher by established facts is entirely possible.

Recent Developments in Russian Ethnoarchaeology

Ethnoarchaeological studies have not been a high priority for the majority of Russian scientists in recent years. An internet search for "Russian ethnoarcheology" returns several dozen hits. But the number of special groups working in this area is small. One comes across a reference to the Department of Ethnoarcheology of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology (now the Center of Eurasian Archeology) and to the Department of History and Ethnoarcheology at the Tatar State University of Humanities and Education (in the city of Kazan), but upon its merger with the Kazan (Privolzhskii) Federal University, the department of that name has vanished. Moreover, the work of these two departments focused not so much on ethnoarcheology as on issues in ethnic history.

Ethnoarcheology has been most intensively pursued by a group of researchers from the Omsk Division of the Institute of Archeology and Ethnography of the Siberian Branch of RAS (The Russian Academy of Sciences), and from the F. M. Dostoevsky Omsk State University. The group, directed by N. A. Tomilov, is made up of archeologists and ethnographers. Since 1991 the members of the group have been focusing on the ethnography of the Siberian Tatars and Russian Siberians, and on the archeological monuments of their likely historical ancestors. The group organizes and holds annual symposiums on "Integration of archeological and ethnographic studies". Altogether 15 forums have been held in Omsk, Novosibirsk, Ufa, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Krasnoyarsk, Nal'chik, Vladivostok and other cities in Russia and also in Ukraine (Odessa) and in Kazakhstan (Almaty) since 1995. This research group publishes the scientific series *Ethnographic-Archeological Complexes*: *Cultural and Social Issues*. A total of 11 volumes have been published to date. The research group also collaborates with colleagues from many cities in Russia and with some foreign scientists. The members of this group may be the only specialists in Russia who teach the course "Introduction to Ethnoarcheology" to archeology

and ethnography students (see a textbook written for this course—Zhuk, Tikhonov, and Tomilov 2003). Similar courses do not exist in the curricula of other institutions of higher education. This research group constitutes the core of a growing community of researchers who are increasingly drawing attention to issues of ethnoarcheology.

The term "ethnoarcheology" is understood by Russian scholars in a number of different ways, reflecting the intellectual history of the discipline: (a) a special approach to scientific research using archeological and ethnographic materials, (b) a sub-discipline of archeology, and (c) a sub-discipline of ethnology.

We would argue that ethnoarcheology, as a scientific discipline emerging from a synthesis of archeology and ethnography, gives scientists the tools for solving the problems involved in the study of social history and culture, by using the materials, methods and methodologies of several disciplines. According to the Omsk group, the goal of ethnoarcheology is to study socio-cultural systems, along with their complicated structures and relationships, which are modeled and reconstructed by integrating archeological and ethnographic data and knowledge. Accordingly, the subject matter of ethnoarcheology has to do with the ability of these systems to reflect historical reality and processes, and to combine these phenomena into a single system allowing one to model and reconstruct socio-cultural systems of the past, their internal functional relationships, and their relations with other systems (Tomilov, 1995). Practically speaking, ethnoarcheologists may study any phenomenon of the past basing themselves on predominantly archeological data and utilizing the integrated methodologies of archeological and ethnographic research.

There are three major methodologies applied in ethnoarchaeological studies in Russia. The first major methodology, the systemic approach, originated from the works of Ludwig von Bertalanffy and his followers (e.g. van Bertalanffy 1962). It aims to study different elements, their internal relationships and the structure of both contemporary and ancient cultures of peoples, as well as analyze their interdependence and organization.

The second major methodology is based on the concept of self-developing systems, which was initially developed by Hermann Haken (1983) and I. R. Prigogine & Stengers (1984) and then by their Russian colleague S. P. Kurdyumov (e.g. Kurdyumov & Knyazevia, 2007). Important for ethnoarcheological studies is the advocated openness, non-linearity, and dissipativity of a complex self-developing system, as well as reference to the presence of bifurcation and fluctuation points at which the system can undergo significant changes triggered by minimal stimuli.

The third major methodology comprises the incompleteness theorem of Kurt Gödel (1992), a well-known mathematician, logician and philosopher of science. The theorem has hardly been applied in the humanities. However, the theorem makes it possible to use the data of contiguous disciplines for the purpose of the proof of different claims. The theorem can also be adapted to ethnoarcheology as a powerful methodological principle. Its application requires the development of a system of axioms for archeology and a strict work algorithm.

Ethnoarcheology, therefore, may comprise rather diverse studies pertaining both to the empirical sources and the methodologies of these two sciences. A wide range of approaches, which differently define these relations, can be discerned.

Comparison of Archaeological and Ethnographic Data

The comparison of archaeological and ethnographic data is clearly the simplest and most widely used ethnoarcheological method, both in the past and today. This method has been and continues to be practiced by many Russian researchers who compare the collected data, e.g., from the study of medieval monuments of the presumed ancestors of the Tatars, Mansi, Selkups, Khants, Evenks and other peoples of Siberia and the Far East with the data about the culture of the same peoples at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, when they, and this is accepted as undisputed fact, had still totally preserved their ethnic traditions. This approach is well manifested in e.g. the works by A. I. Bobrova (Tomsk); S. F. Koksharov and L. P. Zykov (Ekaterinburg); A. V. Kharinskii (Irkutsk), M. A. Korusenko, S. F. Tataurov, and S. S. Tikhonov (Omsk); and A. V. Kenig (Khanty-Mansiisk). The possibility of such a juxtaposition of data is based on the assumption that the cultures of the fishermen, hunters, and cattle-herders of the taiga of Siberia and the Far East were traditional, based, as they were, on a stable economy, and arguably existed for a long period of time practically without any changes. Therefore some types of contemporary working tools and equipment, weapons and ornaments are almost totally identical with the materials known from archaeological excavations.

A more complex variant of this comparison is the study of phenomena that are widely spread throughout vast distances, e.g. communication routes. These issues were investigated by A. V. Matveev, S. F. Tataurov, and S. S. Tikhonov (Omsk); P. A. Korchagin (Perm); and O. V. D'yakova (Vladivostok). It is indisputable that communication routes, especially in remote and difficult-to-access regions, preserved their basic features for several centuries, while contemporary transregional routes and regional and local roads began to be formed at least in the Bronze Age. This comparative method is also used in relation to widespread and universal phenomena such as the demographic characteristics of a population living under normal conditions (no wars or epidemics); the dietary structure of peoples enjoying a traditional economic lifestyle, and their social and economic structure; as well as the settlement patterns of indigenous communities living in the basins of the major Siberian rivers (Irtysh, Ob', Yenisei, Lena). These issues have been investigated by O. A. Kuznetsov (Chita), G. N. Zhuravleva (Izhevsk), Ya. A. Shchetenko (St. Petersburg), N. P. Matveeva (Tyumen), A. M. Ilyushin (Kemerovo), and P. A. Kosintsev (Ekaterinburg), and other scholars.

This approach to archaeological and ethnographic data remains very popular with many Russian scholars, who, unfortunately, do not always realistically evaluate the correctness of comparing the data of archeology with that of ethnography, e.g. in terms of the time or location of the relevant phenomena, and who very rarely assess the reliability of the results of their studies.

Binfordian Ethnoarchaeology

The Binfordian type of ethnoarchaeology was actively pursued by the group of scholars led by I. G. Glushkov (Surgut). One should mention here the work of A. V. Kenig *Ethnoarkheologiya kak metod arkhkeologicheskikh rekonstruktsii* [*Ethnoarcheology as a method of archeological reconstruction*] (2010). This author examined the state of ethnoarcheology in Russia and abroad, pointed out the possibilities of experimental simulation in archeology and developed ethnoarcheological models based on the materials obtained in excavations of settlements, as well as examining ethnographic data on the Selkups of the Taz river. It is also worth mentioning other scholars, such as O. A. Kuznetsov (Chita) and I. Yu. Ponkratova (Magadan), who are trying to implement this approach in their works.

A somewhat different aspect of the interaction of archeological and ethnographic data is described by another member of I. G. Glushkov's group, S. V. Dudkina. In she successfully interpreted, from the standpoint of ethnoarcheology, the phenomenon of the use of cloth/fabric in the burial practices of the taiga population of Western Siberia.

It is worth stressing that studies adhering to the classical approach are possible where there are peoples who have retained their traditional culture and way of life. In Russia, such peoples live in the northern taiga and tundra regions (Khants, Mansi, northern Selkups, Enets, Nenets, Evenks, Koryaks, Itelmens, Chukchi), i.e. where the organization of expeditions and the execution of research projects involve major difficulties (remoteness and poor accessibility of the regions, harsh climatic conditions and only a brief 2–3 week summer period when the soil gets warmed in August, an underdeveloped network of communication routes and sometimes their total absence, etc.). These circumstances prevent scholars from carrying out large-scale full-value research projects in these regions.

Experimental Archaeology

Experimental archaeology aims at combining archeology and ethnography on a practical level. This involves the production of replicas of tools and other labor and everyday artifacts, the construction of objects essential in the past (dwellings, workshops) and the building of structures (settlements or cities). Many Russian archeologists, especially those studying the Stone Age, have made efforts to learn the ancient methods of production (fabrication and use of stone, bronze, iron and bone working tools, of everyday objects, molding clay vessels, etc.). There is no need here to go into any detail thanks to the monograph published in 2008 by P. V. Volkov, titled *Fenomen Adama* [*The Adam Phenomenon*: *Experimental Archeology of the Antediluvian Man*]. The author is a distinguished experimental scholar who provides a stimulating account of both the history of experimental archeology and its current status.

In the area of experimental archeology, much work has been done at the Arkaim site (Chelyabinsk Region) by G. B. Zdanovich. He led the reconstruction of a

fragment of the Arkaim palace, which dates from the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.E., and the creation of a museum of stoves that served the palace residents. This work also comprised a natural-size reconstruction of the Temir kurgan of the Early Iron Age, the recreation of a medieval cult side and the recreation of a series of residential dwellings from the Neolithic to the medieval periods.

One should mention here a block of exhibits in the open-air exposition at the Tomskaya Pisanitsa Museum Preserve (Kemerovo), devoted to experimental archeology. This exposition consists of a series of models of residential buildings of archeological cultures from different periods in their natural size and it was produced under the leadership of A. I. Martynov.

I. G. Glushkov (Surgut) and his colleagues are also known for their interesting experimental work on the production and use of ceramics. They molded vessels, observed their use and studied how ceramics were distributed. Another aspect of Glushkov's studies comprised the construction of Bronze Age residential dwellings, which he began in the Omsk region and completed in the Khanty-Mansia district. His friend and colleague A. P. Borodovskii (Novosibirsk) studied the technology of producing objects from bone and horn dating back to the Scythian period, as well as stone statues.

Integrative Ethnographic-Archaeological Studies

Integrative ethnographic-archaeological studies, such as those of the peoples of Siberia carried out by the Omsk group, belong to the strongest and the most pronounced research avenues in Russia. The archeological complexes of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries serve as a testing ground for this kind of research. These complexes are believed to have been left behind by possible ancestors of the modern Ayalyn Tatars (one of the groups of Siberian Tatars), whose descendants live in the Omsk region—in the Middle Irtysh river area and along its tributaries the Tara, Uy and Osha.

The research agenda comprises the use of contemporary data, collected by ethnographers from the Ayalyn Tatars, on a broad range of subjects to interpret the archeological materials in settlements and burial sites. Its ultimate goal is to construct an ethnographic-archeological complex (EAC) of the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. When the theoretical concepts, methods and approaches become sufficiently developed, based on the material of the EAC of the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, it may be possible to apply them to the study of earlier archeological complexes.

During this kind of project, new protocols for collecting materials were developed. These included questionnaires and research programs on many subjects, which initially allowed for the possible integration of archeological and ethnographic data on many topics, including the economy, historical traditions, housebuilding, burial customs, religious concepts, food, customary objects, and many others. Maps of a number of contemporary cemeteries and villages (yurts) were

produced in order to facilitate a more detailed study of ethnographic objects. In many cases, the areas surrounding these populated sites were described and examined in detail. In more general terms, the scholars investigated several "micro-oecumenes" in which local communities of Ayalyn Tatars now live. Simultaneously, archaeological works at the settlements and burial grounds of the possible historical ancestors of the Ayalyn Tatars were carried out.

Interesting insights into EAC-related issues emerged during the work with archeological and ethnographic materials on the Tar Tatars. These debates arguably led to clarifying and broadening N. A. Tomilov's definition of an EAC without substantially changing its essence. These debates made if possible to define an ethnographic-archeological complex (EAC):

- A compact complex of archeological monuments and ethnographic objects situated in certain environmental conditions;
- These objects are used to study and reconstruct the elements of the culture of a given group and of its ancestors (i.e., the material, spiritual, social and normative, and environmental elements, as well as those pertaining to survival);
- These objects are left behind by a given group and its immediate ancestors, who had gained economic control over this territory;
- The research protocol involves, for the most part, the study of archeological monuments located in the complex;
- These works are supplemented by ethnographic and, if necessary, by historical, geographical, biological and other data.

At present, the following aspects of the ethnographic-archeological complexes are being actively investigated: funeral customs and burial complexes (M. A. Korusenko), the settlement system (S. S. Tikhonov), house-building (S. F. Tataurov, M. A. Garkusha, and K. N. Tikhomirov), the management of natural resources and the use of land (S. F. Tataurov and M. A. Korusenko), communication routes (A. V. Matveev), food (M. N. Tikhomirova), and ethnic history and genealogy (S. N. Korusenko).

Another group who have been intensively investigated within the framework of ethnographic-archeological complexes comprises the Russian Siberians. They are being studied by M. L. Berezhnova (ethnographer) and L. V. Tataurov (archeologist) using the same methodology and producing similar results.

It is worth mentioning that these empirical studies are being supplemented by theoretical, methodological and historical developments. This work is being conducted by A. V. Zhuk, N. A. Tomilov and S. S. Tikhonov.

Final Remarks

The history of ethnoarcheology in Russia has not yet been written. Its definition is not easy either, as the term has been used in different theoretical settings over the past century or so. If such an overview is prepared in the future, it should include

four interconnected aspects: the development of the method of analogy, the emergence of experimental archeology, the introduction and development of processual archeology, and the introduction of a new area of study focused on ethnographic-archeological complexes.

The overview presented here has revealed that, over the course of the development of archeology as an independent science in Russia for more than a century, different scholars have attempted to develop theoretical and methodological principles for the use of ethnographic information in archeological interpretations. In the second half of the nineteenth century, with the advent of Darwin's theory of evolution and the definition of human history as part of natural history, it became possible for the first time to use ethnographic material for archeological reconstructions. However, the majority of scholars have used the ethnographic data rather uncritically.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, specific methods of archeological analysis were introduced; in particular, the comparative method, which was used for comparing archeological and ethnographic materials. The Russian archeologists B. S. Zhukov and V. A. Gorodtsov were among the first to point out that when the data originating from both disciplines are compared, the elements under investigation should be measurable and unchangeable. This is a prerequisite condition for the objective reconstruction of the past.

In the 1920s to 1930s, with the adoption of Marxism, the problem of socio-economic reconstruction came to the forefront of Soviet archeology. A great number of solutions were proposed for the reconstruction of socio-economic relationships in ancient societies. The idea of using ethnographic analogies for archeological reconstructions in the framework of evolutionary theory was put forward by A. V. Shmidt. He identified three basic criteria for archeologo-ethnographic parallels: the principle of stages and the principles of genetic and ecological correspondence. In subsequent years in the development of Soviet archeology, these principles remained dominant. They were used in virtually all archeologo-ethnographic reconstructions. This was especially characteristic of Siberian archeology, since the territory of Siberia has been populated, until the present time, by peoples who have preserved many of the features of their archaic way of life, providing a unique source of archeologo-ethnographic parallels.

In the late 1980s and early1990s, the growth of the source base and the crisis of Marxist methodology dramatically changed the attitude of Russian archeologists toward the problem of ethnographic analogies. It became perfectly clear that the previous theoretical-methodological framework had lost its heuristic potential. Russian researchers used predominantly ethnographic parallels, a method that was more illustrative than explanatory. Many projects were united by a desire to bring archeology and ethnography together in a broadly historical context.

The developments of the past few decades have made it clear that Russian ethno-archeology has a number of distinct features and differs somewhat from the ethno-archeology of Europe, America, Africa or Australia. Its definite advantage is founded upon the presence of peoples that preserve their traditional culture and customs, are characterized by a profound historical memory, have not lost the knowledge of their own origin, and know the place where their ancestors dwelt.

Considering the fact that since the end of the sixteenth century there has been a significant growth in the corpus of written and cartographic sources describing these peoples, one should acknowledge that there is a future for the development of ethnoarcheology in Russia. However, it should be noted that, due to many circumstances, the Russian approach is practically unknown to the international scientific community. We hope that this chapter will improve this situation.

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Chapter 9
Ethnoarchaeology in China

Ling Yuan Kong

The Original Concept of Ethnoarchaeology in China

Although ethnoarchaeology is a new branch of archaeology that only emerged in the 1960s in America and Europe, it has its own academic tradition in China. Centuries earlier, Chinese scholars already used similar methods to study the society of ancient times. As early as in Confucius' times, some Chinese scholars had used a similar method to study history. Confucius himself said that "rituals that have been lost can still be found in rural areas" and wanted to settle among the "Nine Wild Tribes of the East" because he surmised that they maintained ancient political systems praised by him but already lost in the Central Plains area (cf. *The Analects*; *Zihan chapter*).

In ancient times, many other Chinese scholars too sought to explain older ritual systems of the Central Plains area by reference to the customs of ethnic groups of their own time. For example, when Zheng Xuan annotated the *Zhou Ritual* (the Zhou Li), the *Ceremony and Ritual* (the Yi Li) and the *Records of Ritual* (Li Ji); and when Du Yu annotated the *Zuo Zhuan*, they already used such methods (Dunyuan, 1982).

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_9,

The History of Ethnoarchaeology in China

In more recent times, Cai Yuanpei, an early president of Beijing University, suggested that if we want to know the use and purpose of archaeological materials, they should be compared and confirmed in ethnological materials. He used ethnographic observations of Native Americans to compare the legendary use in ancient China of ropes to make knots to record events, as well as the method of drilling wood to make fire (Yuanpei, 1929). At the same time, Gu Jiegang, a famous historian, used customs from minority ethnic groups in northwestern and southwestern China to corroborate ancient customs and ritual systems. He wrote a series of papers, later edited into a book (Jiegang, 1963). We can say that this text is one of the foundations of modern Chinese ethnoarchaeology. But it is not yet true ethnoarchaeology. We can call it the use of ethnographical parallels or ethnographic analogy.

More recently still, during the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, the Chinese government organized large-scale ethnographic investigations, and some scholars began to use those plentiful ethnographic materials to address unresolved questions in Chinese prehistoric archaeology. In fact, when the New Archaeology emerged in America beginning in the 1960s, some Chinese scholars had already done similar research, despite their very isolated situation. We can say that this was the beginning of true Chinese ethnoarchaeology (Kui, 1992; Ningsheng, 1987a, 1987b).

Wang Ningsheng is one of the key figures in the development of Chinese ethnoarchaeology. In his early article "The Sheep Scapula Oracle of the Talu People and a Study on the Oracle Bone Custom of Ancient China" (Ningsheng, 1964), Wang investigated the oracle tradition of the Talu people of Yunnan, who used a sheep scapula as an oracle bone, and Wang found that their tradition is similar, in many aspects, to the tradition of ancient China. He suggested that the origin of the oracle-bone customs in China may lie with ancient tribes in the southwestern region.

In his article "The Sheep Scapula Oracles of the Yi and Naxi Nationalities; with a Further Study on the Oracle Bone Customs of Ancient China" (Ningsheng, 1986), Wang investigated the oracle tradition using sheep scapula practiced by the Yi (Lolo) people of Sichuan and the Naxi of Yunnan, and discussed problems concerning the oracle-bone customs of ancient China.

In "Fire-Making Methods of Minorities in Yunnan, with a Study on Ancient Chinese Fire-Making" (Ningsheng, 1984), Wang described primitive fire-making methods such as drilling, striking-a-light and the fire pistol methods still used by minority ethnic groups of Yunnan Province in their daily life, as well as in ceremonies. The primitive fire-making of ancient China was then discussed with comparisons to these primitive methods.

Internationally, the word 'ethnoarchaeology' emerged in the early 1900s, but as an academic subject it came into being only by the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, in America and Europe (Hodder, 1982, pp. 31–40; Stiles, 1977, pp. 87–89), Given how ethnoarchaeology was developed in the isolated situation of China in that time, we can say it was also developed independently in China.

Chinese ethnoarchaeologists focused on topics such as pottery-making (Ningsheng, 2003; Yangsong, 1959), fire-making (Ningsheng, 1980, 1984),

architecture (Ningsheng, 1983; Zhaolin, 1964a, 1964b), burial customs (Zhaolin, 1964a, 1964b), the invention of writing systems (Ningsheng, 1981), auspication (Sheng, 1963, 1964), and the usage of some articles unearthed by archaeologists (Yuqin, 1991, 1995; Yuqin et al., 1993).

From the 1960s to the 1980s, Wang Ningsheng conducted ethnoarchaeological fieldwork on contemporary Dai pottery-making in 12 villages in Yunnan province. In his work *An Ethnoarchaeological Study on the Pottery-Making of the Dai People in Yunnan* (Ningsheng, 2003) he combined participation in pottery-making activities with interviewing potters, inventorying their tools and other pottery-related objects, and observing the distribution and burying of discarded pots and sherds on the ground and in garbage pits near pottery-making households, markets, and firing places or kilns.

According to Wang Ningsheng's investigation, the Dai pottery-making can be classified into four categories: (a) a simple coiling method, with open-air firing; (b) coiling on a potter's wheel by the potter's feet, with firing in a fuel oven (dung oven); (c) small vessels made by a throwing force using a quick rotation of the potter's wheel and fired in a roofless earth kiln. All three of these categories of pottery are made by women in their spare time. The final method comprises (d) coiling on a small potter's wheel turned by the potter's hand, with firing in a roofed brick kiln. Full-time male craft specialists control the work in this case.

In this project the six major issues of pottery studies in archaeology were discussed: (a) producers and users; (b) distribution and exchange; (c) specialization; (d) standardization; (e) pottery and ethnic identification; and (f) pottery and social change.

In his article "Large houses discovered in archaeological excavations in China" (Ningsheng, 1983), Wang stressed that the building of large houses was quite a common practice in remote antiquity. Such houses might have had many different functions, such as communal houses, meeting houses, men's houses, women's houses, tribal chief's houses, etc. However, we cannot take any of them as indicating the characteristic architecture distinguishing any particular culture or ethnic group. Wang has also analyzed the use of several large houses discovered at prehistoric archaeological sites in China during recent years, with reference to the uses of various types of such large houses among minority ethnic groups both inside and outside China. Wang concluded that the original house built on House Foundation No.1 at the Neolithic site of Banpo in Xi'an and that of House Foundation No. 201 at Quanhucun in Huaxian county were used as meeting houses; that the five large houses at Jiangzhai in Lintong County, Shaanxi Province, were possibly used either as men's houses or as meeting houses; that the house on House Foundation No. 6 at Qinglongquan in Yunxian county, Hubei Province, was possibly a chief's house; and the large houses found at Hemudu in Yuyao county, Zhejiang Province, as well as at Dahecun village in Zhengzhou, Henan Province, at Haimenkou in Jianchuan County, Yunnan Province, and at Maojiazui in Qichun, Hubei Province, were all used as communal residences; namely, the so-called longhouses known from ethnology. In the current studies of primitive society in China such large houses are often interpreted as being a symbol of a certain kind of social organization; namely, the communal houses of a matriarchal clan, but this may be incorrect.

In another study, "From primitive record-keeping to the invention of writing" (Ningsheng, 1981), Wang pointed out that once there were many kinds of primitive record-keeping methods, and these could be grouped into three major categories: drawing pictures; making symbols through knot-tying or wood-notching; and using material objects to suggest the shape of certain things, or suggest the sound of the thing's name or the meaning implied. This third method was often neglected previously in studies of the origins of writing. Basing his account on archaeological findings and the primitive record-keeping methods that some of the Chinese minority nationalities have used until recent times, Wang presented some of the materials from his own investigations, adding to the interest and appeal of his account. Recent archaeological findings have included marks and designs on pottery; engravings on wood; totem images on bronze artefacts; and the images seen in cliff paintings in Yunnan, Guangxi and Sichuan Provinces and also the images seen in cliff carvings in the Xinjiang Uyghur and Inner Mongolian Autonomous regions, as well as those from Gansu Province (Ningsheng, 2008).

Identifying a general principle in the evolution of writing, Wang holds the idea of writing developed from the drawing of pictures is neither accurate nor comprehensive; rather, he believes that writing is derived from all the three of the above record-keeping methods. For instance, some ideographic characters and numbers probably evolved from marks carved in wood.

Wang has also maintained that certain principles of writing were engendered by the record-keeping method making use of material objects. He is of the opinion that there has been a long period of continuous development from primitive record-keeping to the invention of writing; but only those marks that became phonic symbols and were recognized and understood by a fairly large number of people could properly be called writing. Wang insists that it is this very form of writing, and not the irregular simple marks or drawings that were used as memory aids, that marks mankind's transformation into civilization.

In his work "From primitive measures to the formation of length, volume, and weight systems" (Ningsheng, 1987a, 1987b), which was completed on the basis of information gathered from primitive measures that are still being used among primitive minority nationalities, as well as on the basis of data from ancient documents and oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, Wang Ningsheng pointed out that the formation of length-volume-weight systems was preceded by a very lengthy evolution of primitive measures from which later measuring systems gradually developed. The three elements of measurement; namely, length, volume and weight, were not devised and developed simultaneously. Generally speaking, length-measuring came first and was followed by the emergence of capacity and weight measurements. Primitive people measured by length what should have been measured by volume or weight before such measurements were invented. The earliest units of measurement were associated with various parts of the human body. For example, the ancient standard units of length are the lengths of some human body parts, or the distance between them.

Certain standard units of volume were derived from the holding capacity of the palm of the human hand and, similarly, some units of weight were first derived from

the weight an average man could carry on his shoulder, or in the hands. Because these parts of the human body are limited in size or strength, units of length, volume or weight based on them might be limited; even so, most of them were in common use in later periods. All the later multitudinous larger and smaller units were added to these basic ones one by one, as time went on.

Some special small units of weight that appeared early in Chinese historical times, such as the *lue* and *zhu*, equal to six *liang* and 1/24 of one *liang,* respectively (the *liang* is the Chinese weight unit corresponding to the British ounce), were created to meet the need to weigh precious metals such as gold, silver, etc. On the other hand, as the primitive units of measurement were based on various parts of the human body, they had no fixed proportion in relation to one another. Moreover, in ancient times there were no specially designed devices for measurement. With the development of exchange, certain fixed measuring devices came into being; after the emergence of the state, the government introduced legal instruments for length, volume and weight measurements.

Ethnoarchaeological Methodology in China

Professor Wang Ningsheng has pointed out that the methodology of ethnoarchaeology can be divided into three steps: analogy, hypothesis, and testing (experimentation), the last being an important link (Ningsheng, 1987a, 1987b). Wang's own research mainly relied on his investigations in southwestern China, over several decades. He also used many materials from other ethnographic sources, both from China and other countries, to compare them with the objects found in archaeological sites (Ningsheng, 2008: 237–242; 243–250). For example, he made reference to Inuit women's knives to explain the use of triangle stone knives found in China's Neolithic sites (Ningsheng, 2008: 237–242). He also referred to Native American turtle shell percussion musical instruments to explain the turtle shell instruments found in the Dawenkou site in Shandong Province (Ningsheng, 2008, 243–250).

Wang Ningsheng has advocated the general comparative analogy method in ethnoarchaeology. The materials drawn on for the analogy might be obtained from any place and from any society. But he also insisted that while referring these results to prehistory and ancient society, the analogy had better be made with objects from pre-industrial societies. In contrast, some Western scholars have studied the formation of city rubbish dumps in contemporary societies to explain the formation of archaeological sites; other scholars have drawn on the phenomena of rapidly changing "hippies' or punk clothes, to explain the style changes in ancient objects excavated from archaeological sites (Hodder, 1982: 196–209). Wang Ningsheng disagreed with such analogies, indicating that the relation between the objects drawn on for the analogy was arguably too weak (Ningsheng, 1987a, 1987b).

Although it is true that ethnoarchaeology should pay more attention to prehistoric societies and the cultural remains that reflect them, in historically recorded

civilizations there are also problems that demand the use of ethnoarchaeological methods for solving them. China has a long history that is very rich in documents. Almost all of the 24 historical dynasties' histories include records of the so-called barbarian tribes. China also preserves many early books that specifically address minority ethnic groups in border areas. Although these materials cannot be directly used for the purposes of ethnoarchaeological analogy, they can still provide some clues that may be helpful in field ethnography. They could also be used as reference materials to explain or confirm archaeological finds. This is why Chinese ethnoarchaeologists are always quoting historical documents in their research. Some scholars have suggested that the ethnography recorded in historical documents belongs to ethnohistory, and that ethnoarchaeologists should avoid relying on such documents (Lixin, 2009). However, it would be unwise to avoid using historical documents entirely while studying China's archaeology, and the use of historical documents remains an important characteristic of Chinese ethnoarchaeology.

When obtaining materials for use in the form of ethnoarchaeological analogy, most Chinese archaeologists have focused on archaeological sites in the Central Plains, the center and origin of ancient China's civilization. Although some ancient customs still survive even there, and might conceivably be used to pursue analogies, most of these areas have long since entered modern society. Thus, scholars have had to use materials from southwestern minority ethnic groups, even though these, in turn, may have no direct relationship with the Central Plains peoples of ancient times.

Western ethnoarchaeologists have recognized two different kinds of analogy. One is the direct historical approach, which means that the materials on which an analogy is based should be derived from the ethnic groups which have inherited the original culture. The other is a general comparative analogy. This means that you can use any materials from any ethnic groups, anywhere. Scholars have engaged in protracted discussions of such methods (Chang, 1967: 3; Kramer, 1979: 2–3; Longacre, 1991; 234–237). Most Chinese ethnoarchaeologists have used general comparative analogy, and this is similar to the mainstream of Western ethnoarchaeology. For example, to reveal Paleolithic European life, Binford did research among the North American Inuit (Binford, 1978). The idea was that you can use any materials from any ethnic group, anywhere. There has been intense discussion on these methods in Chinese ethnoarchaeology (Chang, 1967: 3), but it has not led to great successes.

The Contribution of Ethnoarchaeology to Archaeology in China

In the past, the scope of ethnoarchaeology research in China was overly limited to the use and meaning of excavated objects. Ethnoarchaeology has currently been widely applied in studies on technology, life styles, social systems, religion and art.

It has even contributed to the improvement of methodologies applied in Chinese archaeology. For example, in the past, the existence of a matrilineal society was treated as orthodoxy in archaeology. It was simply declared that matrilineal societies preceded patrilineal ones. But then Wang Ningsheng refuted most of the evidence for the existence of such a social stage in China's prehistory (Ningsheng, 1985–1987).

The theory of the "Yangshao matrilineal society" is mainly based on the discoveries of collective, secondary burials in Yangshao culture sites from Yuanjunmiao in Huaxian County, Jiangzhai in Lintong County, and Shijia in Weinan County, etc. Taking as an absolute truth L. H. Morgan's view, expressed in his work *Ancient Society*, that all persons related by blood would never be parted from one another even after death, many scholars in China believed that all the dead buried in a common, secondary burial must represent one and the same descent group, probably following the female line. But Wang Ningsheng studied the burial customs of people in less complex societies, such as the Ma'anyan in Borneo, the Merina in Madagascar, and the Iroquois and Huron among the North Native Americans and found that secondary burial was usually practiced by an entire village or community, and that the dead were not necessarily blood relatives. Thus there is no sound basis for regarding Yangshao culture secondary collective burials as a definite miniature display of a matrilineal kin group (Ningsheng, 1985–1987).

Judging from the number and size of dwellings discovered in some sites and the level of agricultural technological development at that time, consanguineous groups with large populations could not have existed in the Yangshao culture. Secondary, collective, burials discovered in the above-mentioned sites usually contained scores of skeletons, so it could hardly be said that they belonged to the dead of one family, or even one kin group. They must represent the dead of an entire village, accumulated over many years. Their skeletons had been collected together in a common ceremony of secondary burial.

Wang Ningsheng has also examined other assumptions regarding the theory of "Yangshao matrilineal society," such as how children and adult women were buried together. Statistical data showed that among nearly 1,000 Yangshao graves, there were only three such cases. But secondary collective graves typically included children and women, as well as men. Thus, he argued, there is no clear evidence to connect multi-person collective burials and secondary burials with a matrilineal family. He pointed out that too much emphasis was placed on collective burials, and that there were many problems associated with an analysis that posits a superior position of women based only on a small number of girls' graves with many burial goods. He pointed out that at least one rich grave of a male infant was also found (Grave M22 at Jiangzhai); and that many infant females did not receive preferential burial treatment. He further argued that rich grave goods in infant burials were not related to their sex, but to the status of their family (Ningsheng, 1985–1987). His argument was further reinforced by publications that challenged the accuracy of sex determination for infant skeletons.

In the opinion of Wang Ningsheng, some of the views about primitive society expressed by L. H. Morgan in his book *Ancient Society* have been disproven by an

overwhelming amount of evidence from anthropological research gathered over the past 100 years. From now on the study of the prehistory of China can only rely on the rich materials provided by new archaeological research. To provide new explanations, this study must not be hampered by any ready-made formulas.

The Case Study. Using Ethnographic Materials to Analyze the Original Meaning of Some Oracle-Bone and Bronze Inscriptions

Some scholars use ethnographical materials to provide analogies aimed at discussing unsolved issues in China's history, including analysis of the original meaning of certain oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions. Wang Ningsheng also engaged in such investigations (Ningsheng, 2001). As the latter analysis does not mainly concern archaeology but history and paleography, the following example shows the general use of ethnoarchaeological methods in other domains.

The word "Chen": The character "Chen" (which means subject, or subordinate) was written on the oracle bones in the form of an eye, and its original meaning was to supervise. People named Chen were originally overseers, whose daily routine and duty was to keep watch over slaves. Figure 9.1 shows the use of the term 'Chen' in bronze inscriptions. This interpretation is corroborated by usage among the Dai people in Xishuangbanna, who have had similar overseers, "Nog-Da," which means Uncle "Eye". Similarly, in the Minoan script, "eye" also means supervisor (cf. Fig. 9.2).

The word "Xiaochen": Many ancient oracle bones and bronze vessel inscriptions refer to royal "aides-de-camp" ("Xiaochen"). Figure 9.3 shows "Xiaochen" as written in bronze inscriptions. Many scholars have sought to explain the role of these royal aides-de-camp. We may actually be able to understand their roles better if we compare the archeological findings certain ethnological investigations.

"Xiaochen" enjoyed very high status in Shang and Zhou Dynasty bureaucracy. We believe these "Xiaochen" were originally young slaves, or home-born-slaves. Growing up in their master's home and sometimes adopted by their masters, they enjoyed a superior standing relative to other slaves. The term "Xiao" (which means "small") refers only to their status and has no relation to their actual age. "Xiaochen" ranked as senior aides, and sometimes were members of the ministry of war, who served the king in his palace. Thus, generally speaking, the position of Xiaochen was still that of a servant or slave. Figure 9.4 shows an oracle-bone inscription in which a person named Xiaochen Qiang followed the king of Shang in a war, and achieved a big victory. We can find a comparable ethnographically observed phenomenon among the Wa people in Yunnan, China, as well as among North American Indian (Iroquois) society (Morgan, 1962).

The word "Xin": Some scholars have thought that the character for "Xin" represents a kind of knife used to carve marks on a criminal's face, and thus it carries the

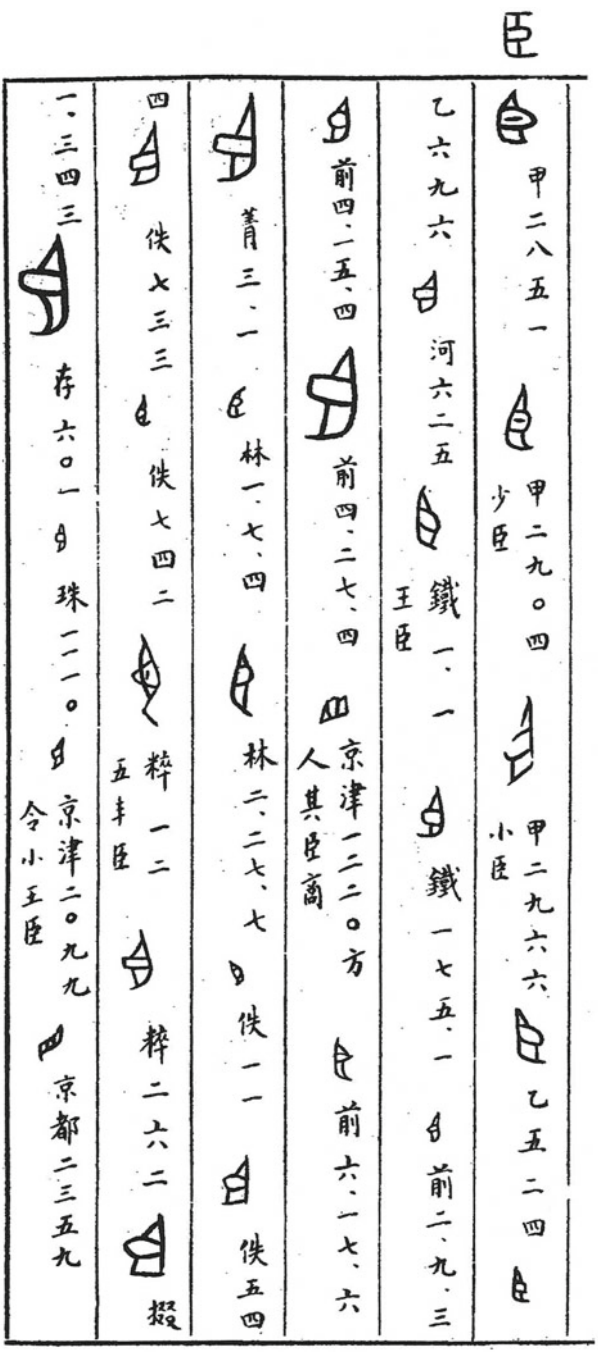

Fig. 9.1 The use of "Chen" in bronze inscriptions

Fig. 9.2 In Minoan script, "eye" also means supervisor

meaning of sorrow and hardship. But when comparing certain ethnographic materials, we realize that the original meaning must have been that of a slave. The character depicted a person standing on his head to suggest a man who was a captive. As he lost his freedom, his stature was made to resemble that of a dead person—thus the ancients used the depiction of death to indicate enslavement. (Figure 9.5 shows examples of the use of the word "Xin" in bronze inscriptions). Interestingly, there is a rock painting in the Great Lakes area of Canada that depicts a person standing on his head to suggest he had drowned (cf. Fig. 9.6).

Although the original meaning of the character "Xin" was lost for a long time, it can be recovered in other characters containing "Xin." For example, in the following characters, the original meaning of "Qie" is a female slave; "Tong" originally meant a child slave; and "Zai" originally meant a slave working as a chamberlain.

This short overview of a couple of cases indicates that ethnoarchaeology can also be of help in understanding the original meaning of ancient Chinese scripts.

The Future of Ethnoarchaeology in China

It may seem that China's ethnoarchaeology started not too late, but nevertheless still remains at the introductory level. In the Western world, up to now, numerous ethnoarchaeology books have been published and almost every archaeology textbook has a chapter introducing ethnoarchaeology. Some universities offer ethnoarchaeology courses; there is also an increasing number of ethnoarchaeology journals. Ethnoarchaeologists hold frequent meetings to discuss their field works, as well as theoretical and methodological issues. But until very recently in China, only several dozen articles about ethnoarchaeology have been published, and there is no specialized ethnoarchaeologial journal. Few scholars teach ethnoarchaeology as a part of general archaeology courses at universities.

Only scholars at Zhongshan University pay considerable attention to ethnoarchaeology. In fact, it was these scholars who first introduced the term *ethnoarchaeology* in China (Zhaotao & Shouqi, 1983). A monograph on the field has been

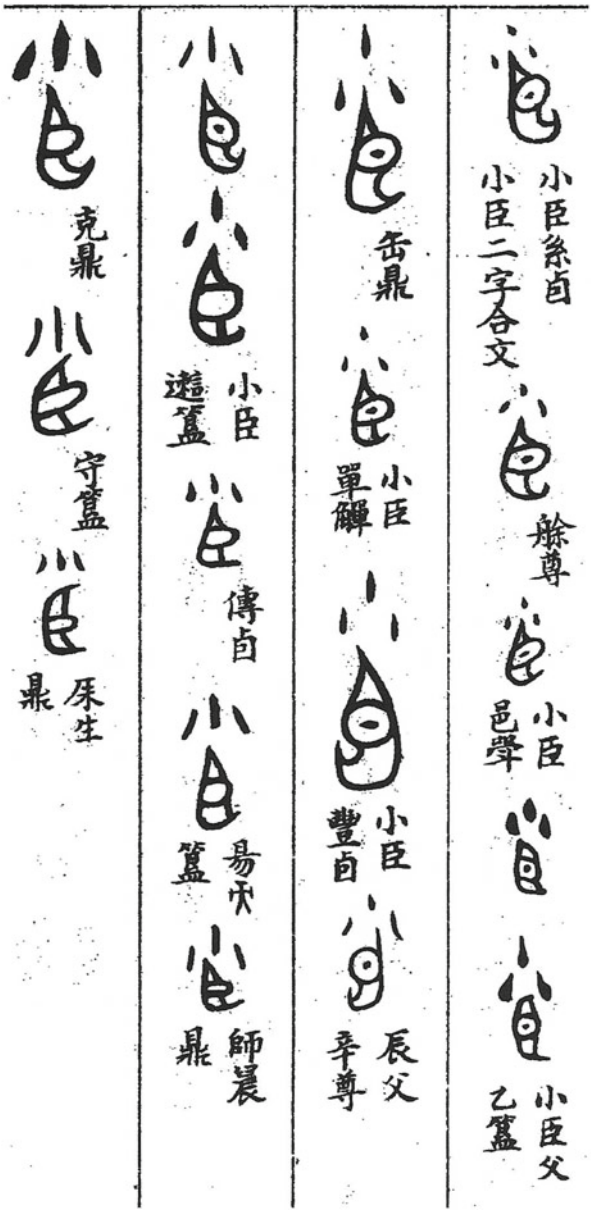

Fig. 9.3 "Xiaochen" as written in bronze inscriptions

published (Guanqing et al., 1992) and one foreign book has been translated (Lixin, 2009). However, unfortunately, even at Zhongshan University, scholars have rarely had a chance to do field work in ethnoarchaeology.

If Chinese archaeologists pay more attention to the methodology of ethnoarchaeology, progress will certainly be made in the debates over the origin of civilization and the formation of early states. Given the large amount of data available in Chinese

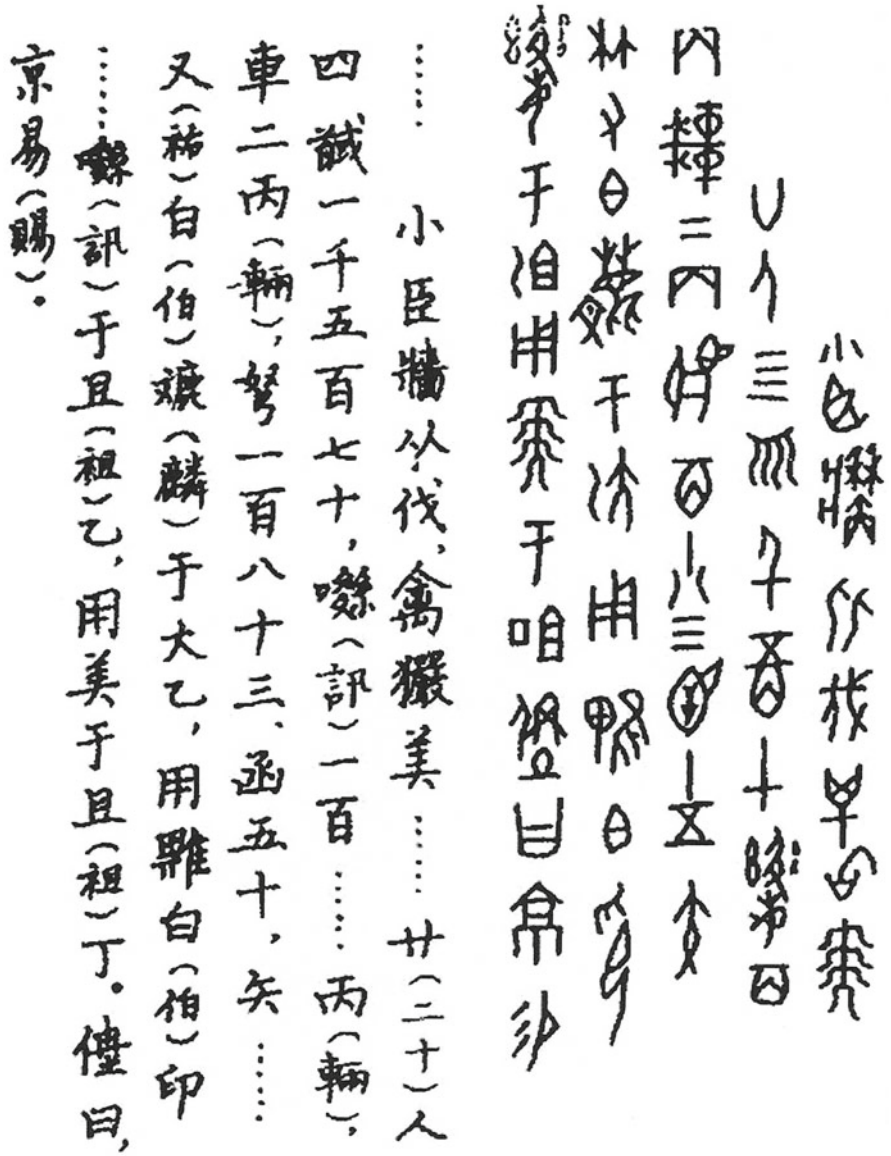

Fig. 9.4 An oracle-bone inscription where a person named "Xiaochen Qiang" followed the king of Shang in a war, achieving a big victory

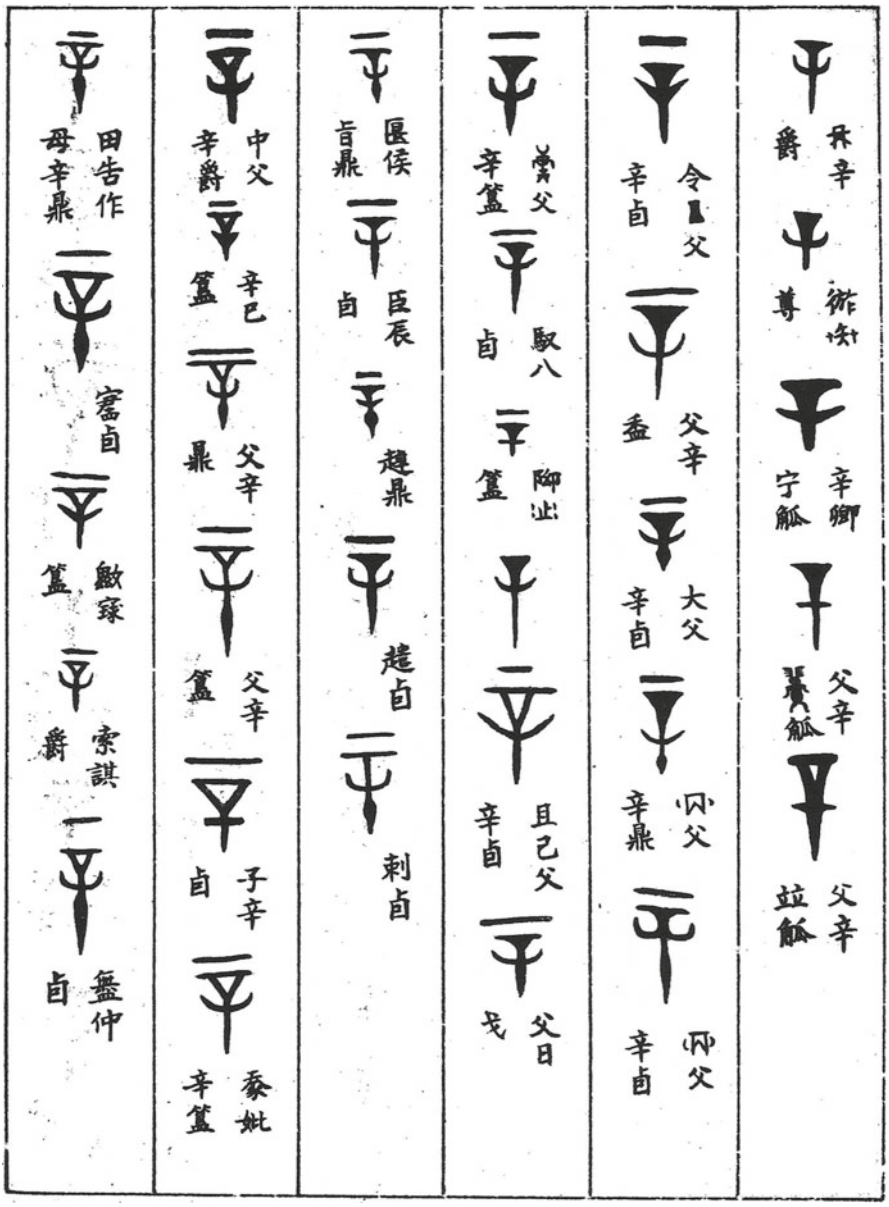

Fig. 9.5 Examples of the use of the word “Xin” in bronze inscriptions

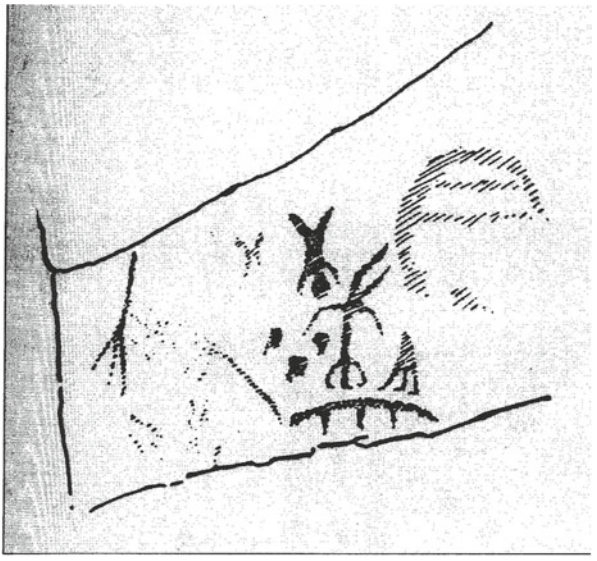

Fig. 9.6 A rock painting in the Great Lakes area of Canada, portraying a person standing on his head to suggest a person who has drowned

archaeology and the fact that some of the nation's minorities still live as hunters and gatherers, or as swidden farmers, thereby providing potential comparative materials, I believe that ethnoarchaeology will have a very brilliant future in China.

Acknowledgements I want to show my great appreciation to Professor Magnus Fiskesjö, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University, who helped me to revise this article.

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Part II
Significance of Ethnoarchaeology of the Twenty-First Century

Chapter 10
The Relevance of Ethnoarchaeology: An Egyptian Perspective

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Ethnoarchaeology has been considered a discipline, a method and a research strategy, the purpose of which is to study present-day society from archaeological research questions (David & Kramer, 2001). Ethnoarchaeological theory, although rarely outlined explicitly, is a form of material culture theory used to interpret the relation between observations that all take place in the present, but focus on a living society, an archaeological context, and the interpretation of the latter by the comparison of the two. Such an interpretation of archaeology from the study of modern society is based on presuppositions varying from seeking historical continuity to understanding world-wide variations of human behavior. Most interpretations are based on analogous reasoning that presumes a correspondence between material traces and a particular type of activities and attitudes. Note that I am very careful to speak about the comparison of *archaeological* and *modern* (material) culture: ethnoarchaeology is not a comparison between present and past, but between present (archaeological record) and present (current active society). The analogies that are made, depending on the research question, the theoretical foundation, and the general attitude of the researcher might take very different forms. A direct relation between an action and its material traces provides building blocks for interpreting aspects of the archaeological record, which, when put together enables a broader interpretation of the archaeology. Often such a direct relation is tenuous at best, and a range of possible interpretations can be used to prevent too simplistic an explanation. Comparing similar traces in the archaeological and modern material culture even leads researchers to draw conclusions about concerns and cognition in the past (Schlanger, 1994). The approaches that presume a direct historical relationship between past and a present often work from the same type of analogical reasoning, but do so implicitly, because they perceive a (regional) culture as one long-lived, unchanging, still ongoing tradition.

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_10,

Analogous reasoning is different from a direct relation, and has to be done with great care, within its proper context (Hodder, 1982). Even if they acknowledge this, ethnoarchaeologists usually prefer to study "traditional" technology over "modern" technology. The rationale is that the "traditional" technologies are closer, more alike to those of the past as perceived through archaeological remains. For academics who have not been apprenticed for many years to learn certain techniques, the observation of and participation in making things is a vital part of their understanding of the production process, including the options, problems and solutions that are an integral part of the technological processes. The argument can be made that particular questions may actually benefit as much, or more, from a study of phenomena that clearly did *not* exist in the time under study, such as Lave and Wenger's analysis of informal learning within a community of practice among present-day insurance claims processors (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This certainly might help to prevent "easy analogies," which do not transcend the anecdotal. Usually, however, the study of a glass blower can be expected to provide more useful information on e.g., Roman glass technology than the study of a beer bottle factory.

Ethnoarchaeology in Egypt

Considering that large-scale modernization and industrialization have not yet penetrated many of the rural areas of Egypt, it is perhaps surprising that ethnoarchaeology is not widely used in that country. An explanation for this may be that the Egyptian archaeological record presents a wealth of well-preserved archaeological materials, as well as textual and iconographic sources. Compared with ethnoarchaeological work done elsewhere in the world, only a limited number of approaches come to the fore, mostly with a technological emphasis. In addition there are several ethnographies with ample attention for material culture that have been used by archaeologists.

Several, mostly Egyptian, authors emphasize the cultural continuity between Pharaonic Egypt and present-day rural society. Sometimes an unspoken presupposition reverberates through the texts that, in particular, the Coptic traditional farmers are closest to the Egyptians from Pharaonic times. The Coptic language, still used as a liturgical language and script in the Coptic Church, is the latest phase of the ancient Egyptian language, while Egyptian Arabic, even though it retains some words with very old roots, is not directly related. The conviction that Egypt's rural communities have preserved the traditional ways of life is expressed implicitly in sentences using terms such as "still today," "surviving," and "for centuries." The Egyptologist Fayza Haikal and several of her students have stressed the continuation, for instance, of expressions used in ancient Egyptian and Egyptian Arabic (Haikal, 1994), of ancient Egyptian and present-day Islamic funerary rituals (el-Shohoumi, 2002), and of the veneration of the daughter of the Prophet Mohamed, el-Sayyida Zaynab, and the cult expressions for the goddess Isis (Abu Zahra, 2002). In her approach Haikal is well aware that even though there are

striking similarities between ancient Egyptian and present-day Egyptian expressions, customs and techniques, change is constant. In a foreword to a popular book on ancient Egyptian terms and expressions in present-day Coptic and Arabic (Youssef, 2003), Haikal stresses how old, pre-monotheistic traditions have been reinterpreted, absorbed and included in new religious festivals.

The most explicit link between ancient and modern Egypt was made by Winifred Blackman in a book titled *The fellahin of Upper Egypt*, *their religious*, *social and industrial life to-day with special reference to survivals from ancient times* (1927). Blackman was an exceptional woman. Born in 1872, the daughter of a clergyman in Victorian-era Oxford, she studied anthropology as an affiliated student at a time when only very few women studied at Oxford University. From 1913 to 1920 she worked at the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford and her task was to make a catalogue of a world-wide collection of amulets, a task which perhaps formed her keen interest in the complex of religious-magical-medical practices, texts and related material culture. She first visited Egypt in 1920–1921 and stayed in the camp (actually a Pharaonic tomb in Meir, Middle Egypt) of her younger brother, the archaeologist Aylward M. Blackman. From 1922 to 1926 she was funded by the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund to direct anthropological expeditions to Egypt for a duration of 6 months each year, learning Arabic and staying mostly for lengthy periods of time in a number of villages in Middle Egypt and the Fayum. She had a keen interest in both tangible and intangible aspects of the local culture, with a focus on medico-magical interventions, myths, rituals and related material culture. Compared with the many articles in professional journals, her 1927 book is the most accessible: a semi-popular publication, with a narrative focus on case histories. A list of her publications and a more extensive biography are incorporated in the excellent introduction to a recent reprint of the book (Ikram, 2000).

The chapters of Blackwell's book focus on the villages and their inhabitants, with a very generalizing description of the character, spatial lay-out and use of space within the villages, followed by chapters on the women and children; personal decoration and ornaments; birth and childhood; marriage and divorce; fertility rites; death and funerary ceremonies; inter-village fights; industries and markets; agriculture and harvest rituals; magicians and magic; the village medicine-man; superstitions; a separate chapter on *afarit* (ghosts); Muslim sheikhs and Coptic saints; annual festivals; and the village story teller. In the final chapter, titled "Ancient Egyptian Analogies" she makes explicit comparisons between village material culture, rituals, professions and stories and a number of archaeological sources, ranging from objects to tomb paintings and ancient texts. These comparisons are at times striking, but they are also mostly anecdotal and unsystematic. A consideration of the context in both the modern, but even more so in the ancient parallels is largely missing. The descriptions of the "fellahin" (peasants) are based on observations from different villages and different professions. This generalizing approach takes objects or phenomena out of their spatial, social and historical context. Granted, this is a semi-popular account, and part of a long tradition of generalizations of "the ancient Egyptians" and in this case also "the (modern) Egyptian peasants" that plague many such publications even today. Not taking into account

that ancient Egyptian culture spans some 5,000 years and has seen a continuous development and change presents the same fundamental interpretative problems as considering present-day culture as an unchanging continuation of the past (Wendrich, 2010). Nevertheless, the accounts represent many valuable aspects of a world that no longer exists, and Blackman's descriptions provide a wealth of information that is of great use in suggesting interpretations of some of the archaeological assemblages and textual references, interpretations which help us to go beyond the merely descriptive. Apart from the last, explicitly analogous chapter, Blackwell's book should probably be considered an ethnographical, rather than an ethnoarchaeological endeavor.

Two years after the publication of Blackman's book, Mohamed Ghallab published his thesis (Ph.D. at the University of Lyons) with the title *Les survivances de l'Égypte antique dans le folklore égyptien modern*, which also drew a direct line between ancient and modern Egypt (1929). The book's title is misleading, because his approach is based on comparing literary sources, such as ancient Egyptian stories and those of the 1,001 Nights. This comparison is done without taking into account the context, tradition, audience, and purpose of the very varied texts he employs. Most of his sources are secondary: publications of famous early French Egyptologists. There is no reference to material culture or results from excavations.

Despite its generalizing tendencies, Blackman's book (more so than Ghallab's) provides important insights into the relation between the different phenomena described and photographed in detail. In that respect it comes somewhat close to what Lemonnier argues that ethnoarchaeologists should ideally do, especially if they focus on the symbolic meaning of material culture: study the society as a systemic whole, rather than focus in isolation on a particular aspect, such as decoration, that is thought to carry meaning (Lemonnier, 1992, 98).

Encompassing descriptions of village life are found in the ethnographies of two Egyptian villages, Balat and Mari Girgis. Balat is a village in the Dakhla Oasis of Egypt's western desert (Hivernel, 1996). The author of the study does not refer to historic comparisons and the chapter titles (Place and Sociability; Environment and Habitat; Economic Life; Kinship System; Political Power and Economic Perspectives) indicate that his concern is with the social, economic and political relations in the village and within the national and international networks the village is part of. Although there are some drawings of water and grain mills, the focus is not on material culture. In contrast, the ethnology of Mari Girgis, a village in Upper Egypt with mostly Coptic, rather than Muslim, inhabitants has a very strong emphasis on material culture. The study was done by Nessim Henein (2001), an author based at the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo, who was trained as an architect, and who has been involved in several excavations. His most important works are beautifully and effectively illustrated ethnographic accounts. The description of the village of Mari Girgis is the result of several months-long sojourns. His focus, as is clear from the chapter titles (Village and Habitat; Material Life; Ages of Life; Religion and the Supernatural; Society and Popular Culture) is directed to the inner workings of the village, rather than its relations with the rest of the world. Ceres Wissa-Wassef published a description of Coptic ritual and alimentary

practices in which she draws direct parallels with published Egyptological accounts on ancient Egyptian religion and daily life, such as the veneration of the Nile, protection of children and the consumption of particular foodstuffs (1971).

Study Objectives

Cultural phenomena never exist in isolation, a realization that lies at the basis of Lemonnier's plea for a broad approach to ethnographic studies by ethnoarchaeologists (1992). Especially when studying the "meaning" of material culture, it is not sufficient to only concentrate on specific aspects of one material culture group, say, for instance, pottery decoration. The "meaning" carried by decorated pottery should be studied in the broader social and cultural context, and may be closely related to the shape, material, and decoration of other aspects of material culture, such as baskets, textiles, or house entrances. There may be relations to age, beliefs, social position, or gender. Lemonnier's approach to an ethnographic study that encompasses as many aspects of society as possible seems to be in conflict with ethnoarchaeological research projects that are more limited in scope and focus on one particular material or artefact group. In fact it is not. The broad ethnographic studies of Henein and Hivernel cited above are both ethnographic descriptions of "an Egyptian village," but the interests of the authors, and the (mostly implicit) research questions that underlie these, result in two very different ethnographies: the first mostly concentrating on social relations, the second with an emphasis on material culture. The argument that Lemonnier makes is valid also for more limited ethnoarchaeological research projects: even if the research focus is on a particular aspect of pottery production, the researcher should never consider this aspect in isolation, but always in the broader context of the society at large.

Traditional subjects approached through ethnoarchaeological research are the formation of archaeological sites or assemblages; the social and symbolic use of space; artefact technologies and craft specialization; artefact categorization and stylistic variation (David & Kramer, 2001; Lane, 2006) and expansions or variations of the latter, such as the study of apprenticeship (Wendrich, 2006, 2013) and cognitive categories (Schlanger, 1994). There is a good reason for this segmentation. To understand archaeological and modern phenomena in their context requires a deep knowledge of, for instance, a production process. The production of ceramics, perhaps the most widely studied technology using ethnoarchaeological research, can focus on many different aspects, ranging from clay composition and preparation to a broad emphasis on social organization or market networks. It really depends on the purpose and focus of the researcher how much contextual research is appropriate. To enable sufficient depth, perhaps some of the breadth of the study may need to be sacrificed, although it is without doubt that a contextual approach is vital to understand to what extent, or even whether "phenomena" are truly comparable. I will use the broad categorization above to present an overview of ethnoarchaeological field work and interpretation performed in Egypt.

Formation of the Archaeological Record

Studying depositional and post-depositional processes includes recording discard and loss, garbage processing, the location and shape of wind-blown deposits, and the collapse of buildings. Most of these aspects have received some attention in Egypt, particularly during archaeological field schools to clarify to students how the archaeological record may have been formed, and how the archaeological excavation and recording methods are geared to tease that information out. René Cappers, an archaeobotanical specialist, has made a consistent study of the deposition of organic materials to understand how we are to interpret the archaeobotanical remains from excavations if we want to go beyond providing a list of species (2002, 2006). By recording how botanical remains are blown in from the fields and in which parts of buildings they are trapped, either before or after abandonment of the building, an inventory can be made of the depositional mechanisms of the plant remains found during excavation. In addition, this research has given startling insights into the enormous danger of the contamination of plant samples with modern material, as well as the loss of lighter fractions of ancient plant remains during excavation. Thus, even slightly windy circumstances during excavation can cause the loss of important data, such as the tiny seeds of weeds growing in between domesticated plants, which give information on ancient harvesting methods. Thus, ethnoarchaeological research resulted in a change in the method of sampling the concentrations of botanical macro-remains at the Greco-Roman site of Karanis. It also led to the initiation of a research projects on the organic inclusions in mud bricks tempered with organic materials. This research not only gave insights into mud-brick production, but also into threshing and harvesting methods, because the composition of the inclusions pointed unequivocally to the addition of threshing remains, including field weeds. The mud bricks served as a protection against contamination with modern material (Cappers, 2006).

Garbage studies are perhaps the most well-known form of researching depositional and post-depositional processes, and Rathje's "The Garbage Project" is the most famous of these (Rathje, 1985; Rathje & Murphy, 2001). Nevertheless, David and Kramer do not consider the excavation of modern garbage dumps as ethnoarchaeology (2001, 11). Garbage research gives, however, extremely important insights into additional questions that go beyond the fundamental study of depositional and post-depositional processes, for instance inquiries pertaining to the cultural evaluation of garbage and values of (un)cleanliness. Such important questions go beyond the somewhat limited research design of some of the traditional garbage projects have been based.

In 1997 a group of students studying at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo embarked on several targeted ethnoarchaeological research projects in the Luxor region in Upper Egypt. The results of these projects have never been published, and I will present a summary in the following pages. One of the projects addressed garbage disposal in both a rural and an urban Luxor household. The research was focused on how garbage was disposed of; what part of the garbage consisted of organic or inorganic materials; what type of deposition might result in the long-term preservation of

these materials; how the state of the deposition area would change over time (post-depositional processes); how the objects would appear in an excavation; and how the objects related to the material culture in the households from which they were derived. The project started with a question that should precede all of these: what was considered garbage by the household members and what part of the material culture, which from our perspective should perhaps be considered garbage, was not. Since this was a learning situation, an important part of the project was focused on discovering our own presuppositions and biases, and on discussing how to account for these. The results of this two-week project gave the students a wealth of information, some of which confirmed expected outcomes, while other parts presented real surprises. The ratio of the reuse of garbage was much higher in the rural than in the urban household. Remains of food preparation and consumption, including the water in which the pots, pans and dishes were cleaned, were given to the animals (cows, sheep and a donkey). Paper, plastic, baskets, wood and textiles were burnt in the bread oven, located in the courtyard, or in a dedicated room. This oven was fired approximately once a fortnight and often several neighbors would bring their bread and share the firing. The ashes, which also contained added fuel, mostly cane, were then taken to the fields as fertilizer. In the two weeks the project lasted no other things were thrown away. The house had a section on the roof where things were kept that might come in handy at some point in the future, such as old tires, and bits of mysterious agricultural (?) mechanisms that could not be identified by any of the household members either. This collection of things was referred to as *karakeeb* (probably best translated as "clutter"). The urban household made use of several services to rid itself of unwanted materials. Paper and wood, however, were used to fire the bread ovens, which many houses had on their roofs. Several times a week a man with a donkey cart would pass through the street to collect "robebekia" (from the Italian *robe vecchia*, "old stuff"). Garbage, mostly organic materials such as food (preparation) debris, but also plastic bottles, cans, and old leather, was collected by a privately organized garbage collection service. We were able to meet with one of the families involved in the garbage collection and were shown what they did subsequently with the garbage. They were Coptic Christians, as were most of the families involved in the trade, although some Muslim families were in the same business. The Coptic garbage workers kept pigs and goats, which were fed the food scraps, and the workers were, similar to their much more famous colleagues in Cairo, simply known as *zabaleen*, "they of the garbage" (Medina, 2007, 212–228). The garbage dump of Luxor is located in a valley in the Eastern Desert and is an apocalyptic place, with fires burning everywhere and smoke-obscured mountains of refuse through which people move to select anything that can be reused or recycled. The pride of the community was a machine that turned plastic into compact pellets, which were then sold to the plastic industry.

Our visit took place just a few weeks after the Luxor shooting of 17 November 1997, at Deir el-Bahari, where 62 persons were killed by terrorists. Tourism collapsed, and this influenced the economy of Luxor, with severe effects on all levels of society. The garbage collectors were perhaps the most hard-hit, because they much depended on the food scraps–obtained from the many hotels–to feed their pigs and goats. This was an outcome of this research project that had no direct relation to archaeology, but showed how, at present, all levels of society are economically interdependent.

Social and Symbolic Use of Space

It is generally accepted that space and landscapes can be imbued with meaning (Knapp & Ashmore, 1999). Ethnoarchaeological research has focused on lay-out, natural and homogenic markers, lines of sight, style, decoration and use wear marks. To start with the latter: well-trodden paths in either built space or landscapes provide an understanding of routing and focus points along the way. Indications of long periods of time spent in one place are, for instance, gaming boards scratched in the stones of temple steps (Bell, 2007).

One of the student projects in Luxor in 1997 focused on the routes that believers used at a Coptic church in Luxor. During all days of the week people come into the church, sometimes to sit or kneel and pray, but mostly they walk along the walls of the church to specific icons, which are frequently touched. While they do so they may be quietly saying a short prayer as well. At a few icons small pieces of paper with requests from the depicted saint were left. During one week, the routes that visitors took through the church were noted on a plan, and a tally was made of which icons were touched and how long, approximately, people spent with each. This tally was divided into gender and age groups. The students also looked at each of the stopping places to see if there was recognizable use wear as a result of the repeated touching. It appeared that there was great variation in visitor behavior, with women spending more time and touching more icons in one visit than men, who mostly walked through the middle aisle of the church directly to the curtain that separates the main body of the church from the altar space (which is hidden). Without exception, every visitor touched the curtain and many visitors also kissed the middle of the curtain. This curtain, made of a heavy dark red velvet material, did not show signs of wear, but the center was sewn over with a large patch of plastic, such as is also sometimes used for furniture covers. The placement of the plastic cover showed that the church caretakers were aware of the repeated touching and took measurements to prevent of wear and soiling. The wooden frames of the icons showed clear signs of many hands touching, especially in the two lower corners. An icon that was protected with glass was a particular focal point where messages and requests were left for the depicted saint, in the form of small pieces of paper pushed through the seams between the glass plates. It was unclear whether the glass had been installed to protect the icon from these written pleas, or whether the glass casing invited the deposition of the paper requests. The students also took into account which saints were depicted, but the focus of the research was on the wear marks, rather than on the religious details of the icons. However, a full research project should include observations as well as interviews, to understand why certain saints were preferred by individual visitors. It is imperative to understand the present-day context which, likely, is quite different from that off the past.

Another of the Luxor student projects focused on the use of space on the river bank, and specifically the areas that were selected for doing laundry. From a brief survey it was clear that there were particular places where women would go to wash clothing or dishes. The research question, which was quite limited due to the short time available to do this project, focused on the properties of places on the

river bank deemed suitable for these tasks. Were there specific aspects that made these spots attractive? Shallow water? Big stones? As it turned out, the most important criterion was accessibility. As long as the bank was not too steep, and there was some space to sit, it could be used for any of these tasks. In some areas the laundry was dried at the river bank, which required space to lay out the garments. In other areas where this space was lacking women would take the wet laundry home to hang from clothing lines. Interviews with the women using these washing places did not reveal any other important requirements, although in the past safety from crocodiles certainly would have been a major one. After the building of the Aswan High Dam in the 1960s the danger from crocodiles and hippopotami is no longer an issue. The parallels with the past are tenuous at best. Past information on washing at the riverbank only references professionals. Tomb paintings and informal texts always refer to laundry men (McDowell, 1999). A satirical text from the Middle Kingdom illustrates how pitiful the profession is, by stating that men have to wash women's clothing (Lichtheim, 1973, 89)

By focusing on the material traces of washing locations, the student team overlooked perhaps the most important aspect of the selection of a place to do the laundry, which became apparent when one of the women invited the team to her house for a cup of tea. In her kitchen stood a very new fully automatic washing machine, neatly covered with a flowery plastic dust protector. Upon the expressions of surprise at why she would go to the river bank while she had a functioning washing machine at home, she explained that she preferred to go to the river, because it gave her the opportunity to be outside and talk to others. It appeared that for her doing the laundry was in large part a social event.

Artefact Technologies and Craft Specialization

Most ethnoarchaeological research projects in Egypt focus on some aspect of technology, with ceramic studies being by far the most common. Within those studies of pottery production there is a great variation of research approaches (Brissaud, 1982; Golvin, Thiriot, & Zakariya, 1982; Henein & Montmollin, 1997; Nicholson & Patterson, 1985a, 1985b; Nicholson & Wendrich, 1995). The purpose of most of these studies was to provide an ethnographic description of a disappearing craft in a research tradition that was particularly strong in the 1970s and 1980s at the French archaeological institute in Cairo. Only a few studies cite explicit links to archaeological practice: Nicholson and Patterson created a detailed report on the ceramic production center in Ballas (1985a, 1985b) to explore questions of production and organization. They refer to the long tradition of marl clay vessel production in this area, but take the modern economic needs of the potters and how that influences the production into full account. Their aim is explicitly stated as "to record the industry in detail, preferably with a full photographic record, and to examine its archaeological correlates" (Nicholson & Patterson, 1985a, 224). The study follows the process of clay mining, which is done by families who are not related to the potters and who

claim to have been in this profession for thousands of years. In each section of the production sequence the archaeologists address the traces that would potentially be left by the activities described:

To the archaeologist, the mine itself would be obvious, given that it had not completely collapsed, but traces of the miners would be far less evident. Each group of miners would have kept what few tools they possessed in underground camps, along with spare lamps, fuel, and tea-making accessories. Upon abandonement these would probably be removed and it is therefore, unlikely that any tools would remain to be found at the camps. The location and function of the camps might be detected by traces of cooking fires, or scatters of food preparation debris (1985a, 225).

The section on clay mining is followed by segments on two phases of clay preparation (outdoor and indoor) and two phases of vessel-forming, as well as a segment on kiln firing; these activities are all illustrated with plans, and with cross sections of the workshops and kilns. A paragraph on distribution and marketing is followed by a detailed description of the vessels (form, size and coloration) in relation to firing temperatures in different parts of the kiln.

Several reports have been written on the potters' community in Fustat in the southern, oldest part of Cairo (Duistermaat & Groot, 2008; Golvin et al., 1982; Wendrich, 2002), and on pottery communities in Middle Egypt (Nicholson, 2002; Nicholson & Wendrich, 1995), upper Egypt (Brissaud, 1982) and the Dakhla Oasis in the Western Desert of Egypt (Henein & Montmollin, 1997). Most of these reports, however, do not draw the explicit relations with archaeology as outlined in the study of the Ballas pottery cited above.

Apart from Henein's work on the village and ceramics, he has also published detailed studies of bird-catching (2003), fishing (2010), and the relation between material culture and proverbs in Egyptian Arabic (1992). His work on glass production (1974) focused on the same workshop in Cairo as that under study almost 40 years later in 2010 and 2012, by Susak Pitzer and Nicholson. As part of an ongoing research project studying the glass of the Greco-Roman town of Karanis, Susak Pitzer and Nicholson studied contemporary glass workers in Cairo to aid the interpretation of the recovered glass from an archaeological context. X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) analysis has suggested that some Roman glass from Karanis was recycled by re-melting cullet to form new vessels (Susak Pitzer, unpublished). Since these contemporary Cairene workshops also recycle broken glass by remelting it to produce new glass objects, studying the effect that recycling has on the properties and quality of their finished products may help in identifying and understanding the glass recycling that took place during the Roman Period. The Cairene workshops also typically use traditional kilns, offering the unique opportunity to investigate the entire glass production process using the *chaîne opératoire* approach (see below), as well as offering the opportunity to examine changes in the industry and its market over time (Angela Susak Pitzer, personal communication, August 2012).

The decisive moments in a technological practice can be identified by understanding production processes as a *chaîne opératoire*, a series of activities leading from (collecting) raw materials to the finished product (Leroi-Gourhan, 1964). The *chaîne opératoire* is an idealized representation of the sequence, because in reality the production process is often less organized and messier than the cognitive template used

by producers and analysts alike. Using video to record the process helps in analyzing which actions are actually carried out and how these contribute to the work of the producer (Lemonnier, 1992; Wendrich, 1999, 2002, 2010). This does not imply that activities which are not directly related to the production process do not have a function in the process. Taking a break, attending to customers or chatting with neighbors all have their own function in the effectiveness and sustainability of the work. My own work on basketry includes a video recording of several basket-makers and an analysis of their actions, movements, working rhythm, work position and work space. The book and video files are freely available online at http://escholarship.org/uc/item/6n42w0rg (video under the tab "supporting material").

Breaking down an ongoing process into a sequence of production stages allows one to analyze each in detail, and determine variations in approach, choice of materials and movements. These all represent moments of choice in which the agency of the producer comes to the fore. By timing the working rhythm of basket-makers, a correlation can be found with different skill levels, which is reflected in the basket itself. Skilled producers have a very steady working rhythm when performing a large number of repetitive actions while forming the main body of the basket. This rhythm is only disturbed when specific interventions are needed, such actions occurring, for instance, at the start of the basket-making, every time a new length of material is inserted, at the transition from base to side, and at the rim. Unskilled basket-makers do not maintain a steady working rhythm. Baskets produced in a steady rhythm have a very regular appearance, in contrast with those of unskilled producers. It is in the micro-variation of production processes that we can trace ongoing traditions, or innovating breaks with conventions or habits. This brings us to the question of style.

Artefact Categorization and Stylistic Variation

The iconic Ballas water jars, with their characteristic bag-like shape, also feature in a very interesting comparison of the enormous regional variation in the forms and style of water jars in Egypt (Henein, 1992, 78). The broad variety of shapes and fabrics is a good illustration of what Lemonnier, in his discussion of style and function, calls "arbitrariness in technologies". The diversity of appearance, is based on traits that carry meaning, but are divided into those that are essential for an object's function, and those that are secondary. Even the essential traits (e.g., permeability) can have several technological alternatives. According to Lemonier, determining which aspects carry meaning requires us to concentrate on the variation of both essential and secondary traits, rather than to just focus on the obvious non-essential traits such as decoration (1992, 51–77). However, considering decoration as non-essential or secondary already carries an assessment that may be incorrect, because the function of a vessel can be, in the first place, to signify relationships. In basketry, the center, rim, insertion of new lengths of material, and decorations, in short both "essential" and "non-essential" traits in show most variation between villages, or sometimes even producers in the same village.

In ongoing research into micro-variation in pottery production, Gupta-Agarwal has worked with potters in Egypt and India, looking into individual variations of pottery production. By combining observations of present-day potters with precise measurements of the products and in-depth interviews with the potters, she has established that potters from different workshops, who create the same type of standardized pot, are able to tell apart each other's work. This recognition can be reproduced by measuring the micro-variation of, for instance, neck and rim sizes in contexts outside of the workshops. By going to households and precisely measuring the same pot types used in the kitchen, Gupta-Agarwal was actually able to successfully tell the owner of the pot at which of the local workshops she had bought it. This same method, then, can be used to measure micro-variations in archaeological ceramic sherds from one type of cooking pot. By comparing measurements taken from ceramics retrieved through a surface survey with excavated materials from kiln areas she was able to reconstruct the economic range of particular workshops in the Greco-Roman town of Karanis. Time depth is accounted for because in this analysis it does not matter whether different producers worked in a certain area simultaneously or subsequently. Looking at micro-variation within a type in the short term actually helps in generating separate "types" in the long term, giving more insight into continuity, change and typology (Gupta-Agarwal, personal communication, August 2012). Micro-variation helps archaeologists to understand and trace traditions and the transfer of knowledge between generations, by locating production in a community of practice (Wendrich, 2013).

Ethnoarchaeology is also of great use in understanding the range of possible explanations of phenomena that may look similar in the archaeological record, especially when interpreting forms of social interaction. Interpersonal relations are an important drive of human behavior, but are very difficult to interpret from material remains alone. A close compatibility and unity of style of, for instance, ceramics, points at a strong local tradition within a community of practice. The form this takes does not necessarily imply training in this tradition from early childhood on. Communities in countries as far apart as Cameroon and New Mexico provide examples of fully trained potters who were taught by their mothers, and who then received very stringent retraining by their mothers-in-law in a different tradition, when moving to their husband's village (Wallaert, 2013). Starting with chores, as if they are little children who know nothing, these young women resocialize through their training in their new surroundings. What they have to learn is not how to make a pot, but how to be a human being in their new social context. This process would hardly be recognizable in the archaeological record.

Because an ethnoarchaeologist can ask questions of present-day people, the depth of information from ethnoarchaeological research is much greater than it can ever be from archaeology. Understanding "emic" classifications is a field where discussing what belongs together, and what is considered different, can be teased out through carefully formulated queries. At some point in my research of ancient Egyptian basketry, I made inventories of basketry items in present-day Egyptian households, to see whether such inventories were in any way comparable to what has been found in the ancient Egyptian contexts, both domestic and funerary.

To have people show me all their baskets was quite complicated, because in Arabic there is no such term as "basketry." Asking for one type of basket would lead people to only bring out that particular type and I therefore had to ask by name for each separate kind of basket and matting (all the while wondering if there were other kinds hidden in the house, which did not come to light because I did not think of mentioning them). At some point someone understood what I was after and said: "Oh you are looking for *chuz* (everything made of palm leaf)". And indeed, this was the term for the material that brought out all the items I was looking for. It was a vivid illustration of the importance of understanding different classifications, and also of not presuming that ancient and modern classifications are similar. Ancient Egyptian as a script has in fact a built in classificatory system. In order to disambiguate words that are spelled with the same consonants (Egyptian does not use vowels), words have a separate symbol at the end that indicates the class the word belongs to. Thus, items made of wood are followed by the sign of a branch, metals and minerals are followed by three kernels, while abstract concepts are signified by a book roll. This classificatory sign is called the "determinative" by Egyptologists. We can, therefore, tell which words seem to be terms for basketry (or possibly terms equivalent to what is comprised in *chuz*), because certain words for which the basket type has been identified belong to this group. That leaves a number of unknown terms for which we can roughly indicate that they are probably a basket, or probably made of palm leaf, without being able to identify them with particular objects known from excavations.

Out and About

An advantage of archaeologists being involved in ethnoarchaeology is that they leave the dig compound, too often still a bastion of foreignness in the Egyptian countryside, and interact with people who live around them. In Egypt the involvement of the local population, other than as workmen on the excavation, is not much pursued. This is partly due to a long history of quite colonial dealings with "the locals"; interaction with the local population is often also discouraged by the antiquities officials, who are sometimes in an antagonistic relation with villagers who live near archaeological sites, and possibly involved in looting. Much work is to be done here to improve local involvement and, ethnoarchaeology can actually be a bridge to clarify why foreign archaeologists are interested in studying ancient Egypt. Honesty and taking ample time to explain carefully what my purpose and methods are and why I want to get certain information was, I found, the only way that ethnoarchaeological work could be successful. Ideally one should spend at least several months within a community, but sometimes that is not quite feasible; however, it is still possible to do useful work in a shorter timespan. I mentioned the two-week foray in Luxor above. The project that I thought would be most challenging was the one concentrating on garbage disposal. I was afraid that our informants would be ashamed of showing their waste and what they were typically doing with it. By explaining that archaeologists often excavate garbage deposits to understand questions about diet and household refuse and

that we, therefore, wanted to understand better how trash was deposited at present, our informants turned into counterparts. Both the rural and the urban families became very enthusiastic, coming up with yet other aspects of what they did with their garbage, dragging us from stables to the fields, and from the roof-top ovens to the great Luxor garbage dump. We received thoughtful answers to our serious questions. This successful interaction, but even more my initial trepidations, provided yet another very important result of ethnoarchaeological research: awareness of our own biases. We should always try to take into account the deeply ingrained values and expectations arising from our own cultural background, most of which we are not even aware of. I would not like to show my garbage, or hang out the dirty laundry, while for our Egyptian counterparts this was not even an issue. Explaining our purpose had something to do with it, but a different attitude towards garbage and waste was certainly part of it as well. Such insights take a long time to grow, and are another reason why ethnoarchaeological work cannot be a short-term affair.

Ethnoarchaeology is an important part of the field school I teach to Egyptian inspectors of the Ministry of Antiquities. In contrast to American field school students, who have to concentrate on observation, because they do not speak Arabic, the Egyptian students tend to immediately ask hundreds of questions. I usually tell them that if they visit a potters' community they are only allowed to introduce themselves, but they are not allowed to ask any questions, or to speak at all for the first two hours. Their task is to just watch, look at the surroundings, try to understand the process and think whether there are any questions in addition to the questionnaire they have prepared beforehand. Then after two hours the conversation starts. In every Egyptian field school group there are a number of students with whom ethnoarchaeology really reverberates. Some participants remember how things were done in their grandparents' house or village and all of a sudden they perceive a value to knowledge they did not even realize they possessed. Others react a bit more skeptically to why studying backward rural habits would be useful in a time when archaeology uses scientific methods, computers, advanced survey equipment and geographic information systems (GIS). Reactions and interests vary, but often the adagio is that the further removed from traditional society, the greater the fascination. I found a similar relation in a project with the Ababda nomads from the Egyptian Eastern Desert, where the older members of society, who still lived a nomadic life, or had recently given it up, were interested in preserving knowledge about the culture, but members of the younger generation, living all their lives settled in villages in the Nile Valley, were fascinated with the stories, the habits, the knowledge and the material culture. Without formal training, and without ever having read an ethnography, one of them, Mustafa Abdel-Qadr, took the initiative to interview a number of elders with questions regarding the origins and traditions of the Ababda (Abdel-Qadr, Wendrich, Kosc, & Barnard, 2012).

In order to get the proper rapport and a fruitful working relationship it is very important to feel and express respect for the persons you interact with. Engaging as a pupil, rather than as an authority, has great advantages, because it brings value to the subject under study and provides a natural environment for asking questions. It is what Henein expressed in his introduction to *Mari Girgis*: "I enrolled

in the school that was the village and I observed" (Henein, 2001, x). Here too, explanation of why you want to know certain things, especially sensitive information such as salaries and prices, or religious convictions, is of the utmost importance. The basket-maker who taught me most took his task very seriously. He gave me homework, including a date palm branch to prepare my raw materials and patiently tried to get me to improve my slightly crooked baskets and the slow pace at which I produced them. I finally gathered that he had understood that I wanted to learn the trade in Egypt in order to become a professional basket-maker back home (which was at that point The Netherlands, which has a decided lack of palm trees). It was then that I realized that I had told him about, but not shown him the remains of the ancient baskets I was working on at the nearby excavation. This was a clear oversight on my part, especially because the feedback of a specialist producer regarding the work of an ancient basket-maker is often very insightful.

Past and Future

Ethnoarchaeological research in Egypt is not ubiquitous. The few publications outlined above either provide an ethnographic description of a village or an ethnoarchaeological foray into a particular subject. Ethnoarchaeological research projects that focus on specific research questions use present-day Egyptian society as a kind of laboratory to find information that is in addition to and in comparison with what archaeology provides. In this way archaeology and ethnoarchaeology each provide information, without one being ancillary to the other. Some of the publications follow a direct historical approach, with a strong emphasis on continuity. The potential problem with this approach is that it tends to negate that change takes place in any society. A comparison made within the same region requires the same rigorous contextual approach as comparing things on a world-wide scale. Thus context is important when we study the present, but also when we consider the past: ancient Egyptian sources tend to present society as never changing, even if it is clear that although the form of representation stays the same, the meaning changes over time. This high value of tradition, even if it is reinvented, can be observed in ancient Egyptian sources. Texts of the Book of the Dead regularly include clarifying comments in red ink to explain (or rather redefine) meaning that has been lost or become unclear. An incomprehensible text is thus not abandoned and replaced, but reinterpreted. This mechanism of continuous change, hidden behind a façade of continuity, is what makes "ancient Egypt" appear to be unchanging, a myth that carries over to present-day Egypt. The opposite should be considered with healthy criticism as well. Whenever an author stresses the "radical break" between Pharaonic and post-Pharaonic culture, or between Late Roman/Byzantine/Coptic and Islamic Egypt then usually this reflects a particular agenda. A sound ethnoarchaeological approach requires assessing both continuity and change explicitly and in their own contexts, to ensure a valid analogy.

Ethnoarchaeology has been criticized for being too far removed from archaeological practice and for having no bearing on archaeological work, mostly serving to "evaluate assumptions used by archaeologists (…) in a style of argumentation that has come to be known as 'cautionary tales'" (Simms, 1992, 186). It is debatable how useful such a corrective function is, but for positivist archaeologists it is unsatisfactory, because it does not contribute to "the exploration of ultimate causation found only in general theory" (Simms, 1992, 187). Such focus on causal argumentation barely relates to the research interests of the past 20 years, which emphasize intangible aspects of archaeology such as networks, (symbolic) meaning, gender studies and agency. We should indeed consider what the value is of ethnoarchaeology and archaeology as two parallel research avenues that often do not seem to intersect in any directly traceable way. The change from an emphasis on "laws" of human behavior to a context-dependent focus provides ethnoarchaeology with a very different value from that of archeology. The expectation of what ethnoarchaeology can contribute has changed from that of providing a rigorous framework of explanation to enabling a broad range of interpretations some of which are equally valid based on the archaeological evidence. Ethnoarchaeology should never limit interpretation; its task is to expand the range of possible explanations and entice the archaeologist to also propose constructions for which no ethnographic parallels are known.

Lemonier argues against a limited approach to ethnoarchaeological research, especially in complicated society-wide subjects such as meaning. Although his approach seems to contrast with a method that is based on an explicit research question, in fact that is not the case. Even if the research has a limited focus, it can never be separated or isolated from studying its social and cultural context. Furthermore, it is an illusion to think that it is possible to grasp all aspects of a culture. This became very clear when Gerrit van der Kooij and I, both trained in ethnoarchaeological work, compared notes after visiting the same two pottery production sites (Wendrich, 2002). Apart from the very obvious things (raw materials, production process, layout of the production space, types and names of products) our notes were quite different. Observations, interviews and participation can focus on many different things: economic networks, the movements of the producer, the timing and order of the production process, the quantification of volumes, kiln temperatures, social relations, gender roles, the consistency of standardized production, learning, tradition and innovation, to name a few. It is, therefore, important to be very explicit and clarify how ethnoarchaeology is used within a specific research context, what the major question is, and how results from ethnoarchaeological fieldwork are incorporated into the interpretation of archaeological research results.

Having just made a plea for question-based ethnoarchaeology, I also strongly want to argue for launching as many broad-based ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological projects as possible. We really should be doing both as a matter of preservation. The 1978 ethnographic study on bread preparation in the Delta province of Sharqia notes modestly that its purpose is to just provide a description in order to preserve knowledge of this aspect of Egyptian culture before it disappears forever (Rizqallah & Rizqallah, 1978, viii). This particular study was published under the

motivation and inspiration of Serge Sauneron, the then director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, who describes, in an annual report of 1972–1973, that the rapid population growth, and the changes in composition of the inhabitants of Egyptian villages bring about major changes in the traditional characteristics of the Egyptian countryside: in craft production, agricultural techniques, irrigation, and house construction. This brings about a loss of knowledge and vocabulary that cannot be halted, but should be recorded (Sauneron, 1973, 139). Forty years later I want to echo this concern, but would like to expand it with a call to also record relations, attitudes, and approaches that are related to the traditional knowledge. The urgency to record traditional Egyptian societies is high, because of the rapid rate of change that is leading to a loss of the tangible and intangible heritage, a loss that is rarely bemoaned or even realized. I would claim that recording the relations, attitudes, and approaches that are related to traditional knowledge is even more urgent than studying archaeological sites (as long as they are protected), because the window of opportunity is rapidly closing. That present-day villages have probably changed dramatically since the time of Sauneron's insightful remarks does not matter. Studying change is actually beneficial for ethnoarchaeologists, because it offers an important reminder that "tradition" is not a constant, but is characterized by constant modifications and adaptations.

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Chapter 11
The Saturated Model: A First Application in World and Romanian Ethnoarchaeology

Marius Alexianu

Introduction

Ethnoarchaeology is a discipline that inevitably makes its scholars consider whether they possess all the data required for the constriction of a well-grounded discourse. In particular, its scholars are required to judge whether they have the archaeological, ethnographic and ethnological data. Indeed, is the syntagm "all data" warranted? Or what are the conditions to make one satisfied by the syntagms "sufficient data" or "sufficient parameters?" The application of the saturated model, in ethnoarchaeology and beyond, can specify the epistemic position of a specialist at any given moment; this fact has particularly significant implications for the conditions in which the research will be conducted.

This chapter propounds, for the first time in the dedicated literature, the application of the saturated model in ethnoarchaeological research. This is a preliminary attempt, which will be undertaken at the global level as well as at the level of one country—Romania.

The saturated model is a logical-mathematical model (Sacks, 2010) that has been borrowed by various humanistic disciplines in which it its applicative potency has been proven. In an easily accessible definition, we can speak of the existence of the saturated model when for knowing an object, phenomenon or process we take into consideration all the existing parameters. Only then does knowledge acquire a saturated structure. It is important to underline that these parameters are not infinite, but that they belong to a finite array. Likewise, we can speak of the saturated model when there are enough parameters for adequately defining the investigated object, phenomenon or process. Similarly, the saturated model will be understood as one in which there are as many estimated parameters as data points.

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_11,

To be more explicit, this chapter will discuss an example of ethnoarchaeological research that focused on the oldest exploitation of a salt spring attested in Europe and perhaps worldwide. After the results of the field archaeological investigation were published (Dumitroaia, 1994), the subsequent steps involved absolute chronological dating (Weller & Dumitroaia, 2005) and paleo-environmental analyses (Weller et al., 2008), while the determination of the technological parameters of the briquetage vessels is currently under investigation. One, nonetheless, cannot speak here of a complete set of archaeological data, since the area around the salt springs has not been fully investigated, and because the attention of the archaeologists involved in the project concentrated on the remains of the activities of saline water exploitation during the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods, while the investigation of the remains that belonged to later chronological segments was overlooked. Owing to the fact that the spring is still exploited today, an ethnoarchaeological project was launched (Alexianu & Weller, 2009), and this project has delivered a large number of hypotheses concerning various aspects of salt-spring exploitation during prehistory (Alexianu et al., 2011). As ethnographic studies have expanded to larger areas, the questionnaires used have been covering increasingly more diversified and detailed issues. However, the practice of the collection and use of salt that was naturally recrystallized around the salt spring—a practice which offered the key for understanding the innovations achieved by prehistoric humans in recrystallizing salt at the expense of the direct use of saline water—was recognized and grasped only after 7 campaigns of ethnoarchaeological field work (Alexianu et al., 2011). This aspect was ascertained only by chance, since the peasants from the area considered this behaviour to be a mark of extreme poverty. Subsequent inquiries conclusively confirmed this situation, as the subjects realised that we are aware of this taboo. This episode made us realise that ethnographic enquiry, despite its systematic character, is often deprived of the essential information required for the implementation of a genuine saturated approach.

Saturated Model and World Ethnoarchaeology

The employment of the saturated model in ethnoarchaeology within the field of archaeology poses several fundamental hurdles and is subject to setbacks. Given the presumption, on a general scale, that the epistemic endeavour specific to ethnoarchaeology involves background ethnographic and archaeological knowledge, we can raise the question of the degree to which current knowledge can satisfy the preliminary conditions concerning the imperative/requirement of knowing all the parameters. This question is valid at the level of the entire humankind and at the level of any ethnic, cultural, territorial or political entity.

With respect to the global level, the above-mentioned conditions of the saturated model have apparently been met. Consider the large number of works published, for example, in archaeology (Peregrine & Embar, 2003) and ethnography (Selin, 2008) from around the world.

But is the significantly increasing number of archaeological, ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological publications sufficient for the claim that ethnoarchaeological issues have been satisfactorily resolved? If we consider only the archaeological component, the answer can be only partially encouraging. It suffices to mention just some elements here. The first thoughts that pass through our minds are the major (or minor) natural calamities. Some of them have had, paradoxically, a surprising preservation effect. We would have been short of fully knowing a Roman city without the eruption of Vesuvius; we would lack detailed knowledge of the day-to-day life of a Minoan fishing village if the Santorini eruption had never occurred, etc. The expansion of great civilisations has always been accompanied, if not by the destruction of the previous civilisations, at least by their disturbance to an unsettling degree. And this is valid not only for the distant past, but also for the contemporary era, when we have amassed the necessary knowledge (and expressed it through legislative measures) for protecting and safeguarding the archaeological heritage of any place and any time. These issues are well known and the list of examples would be too numerous to be even selectively iterated in these pages. But we can note a distinction between specific cases in which a civilisation destroyed a previous civilisation(s), only to be destroyed in its turn by another, in a repetitive cycle that inflicted untold damage to our knowledge of the past, and cases in which phenomena set in motion by definite positive end goals (e.g. human well-being), of a regional, international or world amplitude, have led, directly, but often also indirectly, to the destruction of the archaeological heritage. In this regard, we do not believe that, on a worldwide scale, there has been a more devastating phenomenon than globalisation, even if advanced societies have put in place clear legislative measures to protect the archaeological heritage and have ensured, to a large degree, the necessary financial means for putting them into practice. What can then be said about the states that, despite having satisfactory legislation for such protection, lack the financial means?

But, when speaking of archaeological artefacts, what is the situation like from the perspective of the saturated model? Let us take, for example, ceramic ware, archaeology's guiding artefact. A ceramic object article contains by itself all the parameters that define it. But knowing these parameters depends on the evolution of archaeological research and that of the investigation trajectories. Although in the early days of archaeology, the approach was of a purely descriptive character, and it continued to be so during the first half of the twentieth century, today common techniques involve laboratory analyses such as electron-probe microanalysis, inductively coupled plasma-atomic emission spectrometry, X-ray diffraction analysis, and atomic absorption spectrometry, etc. Generally speaking, there are currently impressive numbers of methods concerning site formation, exploration and examination; post-excavation analysis; and data management (Ellis, 2000). There is no doubt that the number of such methods will increase in the future. In such instances, the requirement of knowing all the parameters seems to have been reached. Yet we should not forget that these methods cannot be more than what modern science and industry allow. We would argue that the future will reveal other parameters that at the moment appear to be unimaginable. Therefore, although the

number of parameters ascribed to a simple ceramic object is finite, our knowledge of them is, arguably, infinite. On the other hand, it is sufficient to iterate just the names of the chapters in a work dedicated to the history of American archaeology (Willey & Sabloff, 1980) in order to realise the degree to which perspectives have shifted during less than two centuries, with a constant increase in the number of parameters: *the Speculative Period* (1492–1840); *the Classificatory/Descriptive Period* (1840/1914); *the Classificatory-Historical Period*: *the Concern with Chronology* (1914–1940); *the Classificatory-Historical Period*: *the Concern with Context and Function* (1940/1960); *the Explanatory Period*: *Beginnings* (the 1960s); *the Explanatory Period*: *New Data and Interpretations* (the 1960s and 1970s); and *the Explanatory Period*: *Continuing Methodological and Theoretical Innovations* (the 1970s).

This approach at a macro level has made it clear that the losses from past destructions are irremediable, and that these losses can be compensated for only through sustained efforts in rescuing and safeguarding the archaeological heritage in an increasingly globalising world. Conversely, at a micro level, the perspectives are optimistic, in the sense that all acquired artefacts preserve in themselves an entire universe, which has yet to be fully revealed.

As regards ethnographic or ethnological studies, we can only salute everything that has been achieved to date. We return to the question of whether all the required conditions for knowing all the parameters for the saturated model are met. The answer is clearly a resounding "no". We will briefly articulate the reasons behind this verdict. First of all, it is obvious that the very transition from the status of a *living society* to that of a *dead society*, particularly for oral cultures, has led to a great loss of information. Then, in "exotic" locations where research worthy of the label "ethnographic" has been performed, we must bring attention to the losses, often irrecoverable, caused by the background (anthropological or ethnographical) of the scholars, who focused solely on certain aspects that interested them. In many instances, a holistic approach was not implemented and the goals of ethnographic studies remained unspecified, which is not surprising considering that anthropology and ethnography began to be interested in this dimension only in the second half of the twentieth century.

On the other hand, we must not forget that ethnographic studies have not captured many aspects that are of interest to archaeological inquiry, since the ethnographers' sphere of interest differs from that of archaeologists. Fortunately, many of the living societies that are of interest to archaeologists have survived to this day, even if, in one way or another, they have not been exempted from the pernicious effects of globalisation (Lapegna, 2009). But their peculiarity—their resiliency, at different stages of intensity, in the modern world—makes them apt for fruitful ethnographic or ethnoarchaeological research. A positive side is that, fortunately, there are still cultural areas that have been very weakly affected by globalisation. These areas, above all, must become the primary points of focus for ethnoarchaeological research. There is also the question of ethnographic or ethnological works that are published in languages that are not used internationally, this aspect practically undermining their visibility. We can only guess the wealth of information harboured in these

works, some of which, we are certain, are essential for the dedicated literature. But the positive side is that, fortunately, these works exist, even though capitalising on these precious resources rescued from oblivion still remains a question of haphazard chance.

One of the main issues in the analysis that we have advocated (i.e. the saturated model of ethnoarchaeology) comprises the use of ethnographic analogies in archaeological discourse. It is easily noticeable that, generally speaking, archaeological discourses manifest a fundamental scepticism towards ethnoarchaeology; the reasons, justifiable in our opinion, pertain to the chronotopical differences between the investigated archaeological culture and the ethnographic culture used for extracting the ethnographic analogies. But is it really possible to articulate an archaeological discourse entirely devoid of ethnographic analogies? Starting from this question, we believe that archaeological studies can be divided into three categories, those that:

1. Do not explicitly include the ethnographic component; this is only apparently so, since the very defining of an artefact as a tool, for example, involves an ethnographic analogy of which the archaeologist is unaware.
2. Use ethnographic analogy in an intuitive manner, without the archaeologist fully acknowledging, often because of their versatile academic background, that they practise an ethnographic approach, albeit fortuitously or anecdotally.
3. Do proper ethnoarchaeological research relying on an adequate academic underpinning and on an explicit ethnoarchaeological agenda.

If we were to determine the number of studies according to this classification, it is obvious that the vast majority would belong to the first category. The second category would, likewise, be represented by a large number of published works, though the number would be far less than that of the first category. Unfortunately, the last category is the least common, and, despite including some interesting projects, it has seemed to be in decline in the past few decades. This situation is almost inexplicable, considering the inevitable disappearance or transformation and alteration of these living societies. We suggest that the tremendous resources at the disposal of contemporary archaeology should also be used for ethnoarchaeological studies.

From the perspective of the saturated model, the original definition of an ethnoarchaeologist (Fewkes, 1900) constituted, *per se*, a rigid limitation, since the object of investigation could only be those living societies that were found to be in a state of full convergence between the archaeological time and the ethnographic time. This rigid theoretical framework, the spectacular results obtained, and the prestige of some scholars have practically annihilated any other conceived method of ethnoarchaeological research. To our knowledge, Europe is devoid of examples of ethnic continuity between the distant past and the present, though it is justified to speak of demographic continuity in some areas but only for certain time periods. Faced with this situation, researchers made use of analogies that originated from remote areas approaches which generated extremely critical positions. A considerable time had to pass before the scientific community became aware of the idiographic character of these approaches and of the theoretical impossibility of

applying the resulting "exotic" models to an archaeological context by considering the inherent inadequacy of the "exotic" models to distinguish eco-cultural parameters. What has been overlooked, however, is that various areas in Europe still harbour true islands of resiliency. It is obvious that, for an ethnographic analogy to be made, spatial congruency increases its chances of credibility. Nonetheless, in certain cases (e.g. in the manufacturing processes of the artefacts used as tools or weapons, or in the practice of certain crafts) we can admit that the appropriate "exotic" models harboured a conspicuous universal potential.

The Saturated Model and Ethnoarchaeology in Romania

A considerable time had to pass before the pioneers of other kinds of ethnoarchaeological research came onto the scene, including the scene in Europe. Scholars from Western Europe—where centuries-old industrialisation has practically erased the traditional rural societies—discovered, diffidently and quite tardily, the ethnoarchaeological potential of some European areas, particularly those of South-Eastern Europe, even though it is especially here where we cannot speak of ethnic continuity. But, unquestionably, these scholars have the merit of broadcasting the opportunities offered by these resilient areas for developing ethnoarchaeological work. This has also been the case for Romania.

The characteristic feature of Romanian archaeology before 1989 was in accord with the situation in other communist countries, as described for Poland by Marciniak: "…the dominant paradigm of Polish archaeology was a specific version of the culture-history approach. It comprised inductionism, empiricism, typological methods, relative chronology modelling, description and cataloguing of empirical material, diffusion and migration (the so-called influences) as the major causative factors of culture changes. It focused on archaeological cultures and their origins and cultural diffusion, as well as spatial and cultural relations with other cultures. This perspective was further supplemented by interests in paleoenvironment, settlement studies and, to a limited degree, ethnohistory" (Marciniak, 2011, 181). Nonetheless, Romanian archaeologists, even though they were not familiar with the principles of ethnoarchaeology, quite often employed ethnographic analogies for understanding certain production processes and functions of artefacts. Indeed, the social landscape of Romania during the past century was, despite an increasing synchronisation with western models of development, of a predominantly traditional rural character. This situation has strongly influenced the development of the humanities and social sciences, having been "all, without exception, strongly ethnographicised" (Herseni, 1974–1978, 25). Even the introduction of the Soviet-inspired kolkhoz system only partially destroyed the ethnographic fabric of the rural Romanian communities, since this system was inapplicable in the mountainous areas of the country that lacked large surfaces suitable for agriculture. After the changes in the political and economic system in Romania in 1989, private initiatives

in the rural areas developed as the process of reconveying the lands subjected to collectivisation was in full swing. Independent from the great agricultural exploitations, individuals and families still possessed small farms with a pronounced autarchic character, based on agricultural production and animal husbandry. Even today, although they benefit from modern amenities and facilities (good roads, mobile phones, electricity, television, etc.), the majority of Romanian villages still practise an ancestral form of subsistence economy, sometimes even employing caballine and bovine methods for agricultural work or transportation. These particularities of the Romanian villages clearly set them apart from those of Western Europe, with the Romanian villages maintaining direct, organic relations with the natural environment. This phenomenon of the organic integration of the villages with the environment led to a resurgence of traditional behaviour and the practices of direct exploitation of all the available ecological resources. There is, however, a natural element, which, even when found on private property, is accessible to the entire community: salt springs or salt mountains/cliffs are considered to be a "gift from God." In a certain sense, one can speak oxymoronically about an unprovoked ethnoarchaeological experiment taking place, as the presence of such community access offers the possibility of investigating at first hand resurrected traditional behaviours and practices that supply all the elements necessary for the proper functioning of an autarchic economy. In other words, we are witnessing a phenomenon of resiliency unfolding as we speak, which, in a certain way, is somewhat atypical. Ethnographic and ethnological research has become increasingly more popular since the 1970s (cf. synthesis works such as Vlăduţiu, 1973 or Butură, 1978), as shown by the publication of several dedicated volumes (Vulcănescu, 1980) that also include theoretical discussions on the relationship between archaeology and ethnology (Bucur, 1981; Vulpe, 1980). One has also noticed the emergence of a synonym for "ethnoarchaeology" in the term "paleoethnology," as noticed in an ethnology dictionary (Vulcănescu, 1979, 214). Studies with a pronounced ethnographical underpinning were also conducted during this time period, paradoxically by a linguist (Dumistrăcel, 1989, 1990) and an ethnographer (Ghinoiu, 1990). A similarly valuable research avenue was also opened by a linguist with a penchant for folklore and archaeology (Poruciuc, 1995, 2010).

The researcher who broke free from ethnoarchaeological investigations that had gravitated around remote areas, far distant from the Old World, was John Nandris. He is a scholar of the Romanian past specializing in the European Neolithic, who led a project which investigated the exploitation of high-altitude regions in Southeastern Europe where shepherding, albeit slightly declining, is still an omnipresent practice in favourable areas. It worth stressing that he is one of the first scholars to have used the syntagm "European Ethnoarchaeology" to refer to the capitalisation of the European archaeological heritage from the viewpoint of the European ethnographic/ethnological legacy, albeit that this legacy is in an advanced state of dissolution. A substantive work of his was dedicated to the role of ethnoarchaeology in understanding the famous Cucuteni civilisation (Nandris, 1987); this work refers to the work of the only archaeologist that was at that time

interested in transhumance in Greece (Kilian, 1973). The ethnoarchaeological investigations were focused upon functional specialisation, salt, seasonality, redistribution, functional interpretation and tattooing (Nandris, 1987, 208–214). One would need to stress that Nandris advocates that ethnographic analogies are legitimate when the area with archaeological remains coincides with that of the living society, even if we cannot speak of an uninterrupted continuity. In this situation, the emphasis is not as focused on artefacts as much as it is on behaviours and processes specific to certain ecological niches.

Paradoxically, it was not Nandris's published works that were the most influential in Romania (due to the limited access to foreign scientific literature during the communist period), but his fieldwork in various areas of the country. His ethnoarchaeological project, performed in collaboration with the archaeologist Gheorghe Lazarovici from Transylvania in 1982–1986, 1999, 2001, and 2003–2000 (Kalmar, Bagotski & Lazarovici, 1987; Lazarovici & Kalmar, 1987–1988; Lazarovici & Facko, 1989–1993; Lazarovici, Meşter & Dascălu, 1995), on life patterns in high-altitude areas resulted in a monograph that is soon to be published. Other outcomes of the project comprised a series of symposiums dedicated to ethnoarchaeology during the period when this discipline was absent from the curricula of Romanian universities. In Moldavia, Nandris collaborated with Dan Monah (a specialist on the Southeastern European Neolithic and on the Cucuteni culture) and with the author of this present chapter, who was profoundly influenced by this type of research, which was hardly known at that time in Romania. Together with Dan Monah and the ethnographer Elena Florescu, we conducted several ethnographic field surveys in the years 1987–1988. The collaboration with another archaeologist, Gheorghe Dumitroaia, who specializes in traditional practices from the ethnographic region of central Subcarpathian Moldavia, and the gradual familiarization with the theoretical foundations of ethnoarchaeology (to the extent this literature was available in Romania), resulted in the publication of the first ethnoarchaeological study in Romania. This comprised a study of the exploitation of the salt springs in Moldavia, which was enthusiastically welcomed by the archaeological community in Romania. Despite being published in Romanian, with a French abstract, this article (Alexianu, Dumitroaia & Monah, 1992) also received positive comments from foreign specialists.

Special attention needs to be paid to the first theoretical work published in Romania dedicated expressly to ethnoarchaeological issues (Maxim-Alaiba, 1994). Its author, after presenting a brief discussion on the development of the concept of ethnoarchaeology and ethnoarchaeological projects conducted around the world, attempts to bridge the frail Romanian initiatives in this domain to their European counterparts. She has to be credited, in the Romanian archaeological milieu, for bringing to the fore the need for theoretical training, which is required in order to diminish the reliance on the intuitive, empirical, and unsystematic approaches that originated mainly from historians, linguists, ethnographers, ethnologists, and anthropologists, and, lastly, and paradoxically, from archaeologists (Maxim-Alaiba, 1994, 396).

Ethnoarchaeology of Salt in Romania

A milestone of ethnoarchaeological research in Romania, focused on the exploitation of saline water, was the collaboration of a Romanian team with Olivier Weller, a young French archaeologist and ethnologist who had been a participant in numerous ethnoarchaeological projects in New Guinea led by P. Petrequin. From the very beginning, the collaboration had a formal character and comprised an ethnoarchaeological study of the entire area characterised by addressing the very same issues as those addressed by the ethnoarchaeological projects in New Guinea, while taking into consideration local peculiarities. Weller acquainted the Romanian partners with methods of spatial analysis, which were applied both at archaeological and ethnographic-ethnological levels. The French team, including Weller himself and the young French archaeologist Robin Brigand, was also responsible for systematizing the knowledge on the materiality of salt-spring exploitation, both in archaeological time and today. At the same time, the Romanian team was responsible for the systematic investigation of the intangible heritage related to salt exploitation. The collaboration was executed at all steps of the ethnoarchaeological project.

This collaboration was intensified and strengthened thanks to a range of research grants made by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which have been awarded uninterruptedly since 2003. The Romanian scholars who accompanied Weller during the fieldwork gradually gained the required theoretical background and practical skills specific to this discipline. The ethnoarchaeological studies on this topic were additionally strengthened thanks to two large research grants from the Romanian Government through the National Research Council (CNCS); in particular, the projects: *The salt springs of Moldavia*: *ethnoarchaeology of a polyvalent natural resource* (2007–2010), and *The ethnoarchaeology of salt springs and salt mountains from the extra-Carpathian area of Romania* (2011–2014), both directed by M. Alexianu.

The main objectives of the Ethnoarchaeology of Salt project are:

1. To determine the non-industrial use of salt originating from salt springs and salt mountains/cliffs in the historical present (*i.e*. the past century);
2. To determine the distribution area of non-industrially exploited salt springs and salt mountains/cliffs;
3. To critically apply an ethnographic analogy in order to explain the archaeological situations and phenomena in the extra-Carpathian areas of Romania;
4. To model the distribution network of salt water (spatial information concerning the distribution of salt arising from salt springs and salt mountains); and
5. To develop a synthesis of the implications of the project's results on the economic and social domain.

This project benefited from a particularly useful tool, in the form of an original questionnaire that combined the traditional ethnographic approach with the archaeological perspective. The point of departure was the definition of a set of issues to be investigated, which, however, remained open to further clarification.

The questionnaire's authors (O. Weller, M. Alexianu, and L. Nuninger—a French specialist in spatial analysis) rightly predicted that such polyvalent practices as salt processing involve an uncountable number of associations that go beyond any theoretical model. Indeed, the ethnographic studies, entirely unexpectedly, revealed several fundamental facets of the relationship between humans and this edible mineral substance that has played, either directly or indirectly, an essential (we have no hesitation in using this term) role in the history of humanity.

At present, the questionnaire addresses the following issues: (1) the identification of salt springs (exploited or abandoned); (2) spatial analysis (having as a starting point the settlements that exploit salt springs); (3) transport (methods of transportation, transport time management); (4) use (personal, collective or commercial consumption; cheese, meat or vegetable preservation; adjuvant for animal forage; halotherapy); (5) hunting; (6) methods of recrystallization of salt from salt springs; (7) the frequency of brine supplying; (8) trade and exchange; (9) behaviours/ethnoscience; (10) the symbolism of salt and (11) any other issues.

After the collection of nearly 200 completed questionnaires, the project found the results of around 50 % of them to be entirely surprising. We discovered the existence of a genuine universe revolving around salt, one which archaeologists could have never imagined. This ethnoarchaeological project on salt is a worldwide first, both from a methodological perspective and in terms of the area systematically investigated. We need to continue this type of research, also taking into account the imminent disappearance of the older generations that hold first-hand information regarding non-industrial salt exploitation during the past century. We underline the fact that, for the first time in the field of ethnoarchaeology, the correlations between the exploitation of salt springs and that of salt mountains/cliffs will be systematically analysed. We thus create the premises for fully substantiating interpretative models that are impossible to achieve anywhere else in Europe. It is obvious that the modelling based on such a consistent database maximizes the credibility of using the ethnographic analogy to understand the various contexts in archaeological periods. We therefore assume that the different sub-models provided by this project will be used as a reference for areas—anywhere in the world—with evidence of salt exploitation in archaeological, but not ethnographic, periods. We also mention that the tendency to build potentially universal models will not exclude the emphasis on the idiographic aspects illustrating the uniqueness of human behaviour in particular situations.

Among the specific methods employed in this project, we are using ethnographic investigations (done with the original and new questionnaires) of the salt springs and salt mountains/cliffs, performed at the sites of the salt springs and salt mountains/cliffs, at the seasonal animal-breeding settlements, and in the localities that exploit the salt springs and salt mountains/cliffs. The questionnaires address complex themes: the localization of the salt springs and salt mountains/cliffs and the identification of the exploitation settings, transport, use, frequency, (re)distribution networks, trade and barter transactions, gifts, hunting, extracting methods, symbolism, ethno-science, ethno-gastronomy, behaviour, toponymy and anthroponomy related to salt. Other specific methods comprise: the geo-referential localization of

the salt springs and salt mountains/cliffs through global positioning systems (GPS); the spatial analysis method applied to the salt springs and salt mountains/cliffs-habitat implementation relationship (Weller et al. 2011); an archaeological survey in the areas surrounding the salt water springs, encompassing a range of 500 m around the salt springs; and the use of a chorographic method related to the concentration of the human habitation areas around the salt springs and salt mountains/cliffs in archaeological and ethnographical time frames.

The collected data, thoroughly modelled and interpreted, will provide a solid reference for similar studies anywhere around the globe where archaeological traces of salt exploitation are available, but where currently there are no traditional practices of salt exploitation. Thanks to this project, the term "European Archaeology" will be given a particularly solid meaning. At least in Romania, we observe that this research enterprise has led to the implementation of similar ethnoarchaeological studies of salt in other parts of the country (Cavruc & Chiricescu, 2006; Buzea & Chiricescu-Deák, 2008; Roman et al. 2008, Mircea & Alexianu, 2007), and to such studies of certain salt-related issues, such as halotherapy (Curcă, 2007; Sandu, Poruciuc, Alexianu, Curcă & Weller, 2010) or the onomastics of salt (Alexianu, 2011).

Romanian Ethnoarchaeology in Progress

At present, the main universities in Romania teach ethnoarchaeology courses. Archaeology students are then informed about the considerable ethnographic potential of Romania, still waiting to be fully unlocked (Anghelinu, 2003). Since 1991, national seminars on ethnoarchaeology have been organised on an annual basis at various locations throughout the Romanian historical region of Transylvania (Maxim, 2006). The first ethnoarchaeological book in Romania was published in 2007; the volume focused on the exploitation of the salt springs from the piedmont areas of Eastern Romania (Alexianu, Weller & Brigand, 2007). Some young scholars with a solid theoretical background have begun receiving grants for projects focusing on ethnoarchaeological issues (e.g. Felix Tencariu, *The pottery of the Cucuteni culture. Ethnoar-chaeological, ecologic-cultural, and experimental perspectives*, 2010), while others have become involved in interesting studies such as the ethnoarchaeology of coins (Sonoc, 2007). Other scholars have used the ethnographic analogy on a systematic basis (Alaiba, 2008). Sometimes ethnoarchaeological studies lead to surprising results (Alexianu, Sandu & Curcă, 2012; Alexianu et al. 2012). A clear indicator of the increasing interest in ethnoarchaeology is the dedication of special sections on ethnoarchaeology and experimental archaeology in some works published recently in England (Alexianu et al., 2011, 7–24; Monah, Dumitroaia & Nicola, 2011, 25–34; Ciobanu, 2011, 35–36; Cotiugă & Caliniuc, 2012).

This development of ethnoarchaeological studies is commendable, but we must not forget that since Romania joined the European Union, the wider globalisation process has continued to leave its marks in an increasingly aggressive manner.

For example, the practice of traditional crafts has almost disappeared, and the practice has become limited to a few resilient enclaves in isolated mountainous or lowland areas. It is obvious that the practice of these crafts for touristic purposes detaches them from their primordial functionalities. To a certain extent, there is compensatory comfort in the fact that a rich bibliographical resource has taken shape during the past century. Particularly important in this respect is the recent publication of a number of volumes of the monumental Romanian Ethnographic Atlas (Ghinoiu, 2003), prepared by the "I. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore. We must nonetheless not forget that the perspective of an ethnoarchaeologist only partially overlaps with that of the ethnographer or ethnologist. The next two decades will pose tremendous challenges for Romanian ethnography, for it is during this time, perhaps, that it will be its last chance to come to prominence through careful and minute field research of a mainly ethnographic and/or ethnologic nature. The warning issued by Nandris about certain Aromanian communities from Southeastern Europe is more relevant and poignant today than it was three decades ago: "[the] failure to comprehend the complex ethnoarchaeology of these groups, or the relationships of their behaviour to the material, constitutes the rejection of a living laboratory of vanishing material" (Nandris, 1985, 260). In this sense, the assessment of the situation from the perspective of the saturated model constitutes a powerful catalyst for practical applications. And this is valid not only for Romania.

The application of the saturated model to Romanian ethnoarchaeology, defined as a kind of atypical evolution, is particularly relevant, as it facilitates various specialized studies, both on the micro and the macro scale. New and previously neglected aspects have been acknowledged in the course of the completion of the project outlined above. Consequently, this saturated model should challenge any kind of "holistic approach" that offers methodologies that are too simplistic and inadequate, as proven by many previous projects that have used a holistic approach. Hence, we would strongly advocate the saturated model as being more appropriate for empirical projects of this kind.

Final Remarks

The application of the saturated model in ethnoarchaeology has significant implications for gnoseology and methodology and the strategic research outlook. In particular, the appeal of this model acknowledges the limits of any ethnoarchaeological venture. This apprehension of the model's limits, which naturally involves a negative side, has *per se* the merit of galvanizing heuristic efforts. Secondly, the development of ethnoarchaeological research from the perspective of the saturated model addresses the syntagm "holistic view," which many projects adopt perhaps too liberally. This syntagm displays a semantic dynamic that includes the current level reached by the methods and techniques used for investigating archaeological artefacts, phenomena or processes, as well as the nature and amplitude of

ethnographic and ethnological research on various scales. Finally, the application of this model in ethnoarchaeology presents notable implications for the strategies of research. Given that the vast majority of human communities for which the classification "living societies" is appropriate are currently strongly aggressed, with some quickly heading towards extinction, the inescapable conclusion is that in ethnoarchaeological research the priority should focus upon the ethnographic and ethnological facets. The archaeological heritage that has not been systematically investigated is, arguably, and paradoxically, not as threatened as the ethnographic/ethnological one, obviously inasmuch as contemporary societies will have the good judgement and the financial means to take the necessary measures for preserving it.

Acknowledgements This work was made possible with the financial support of the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research, Youth and Sport (Exploratory research project PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0825, *The Ethnoarchaeology of Salt Springs and Salt Mountains of the extra-Carpathian zone of Romania*, no. 219/05.10.2011, Project Manager: Dr. Marius Alexianu). The author would like to thank the editors for their insightful critical comments and suggestions.

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Chapter 12
The Living Ottoman Past: Rethinking Ethnoarchaeology in Turkey

Turan Takaoğlu

Introduction

The potential significance of benefiting from the archaeological remains of the Ottoman Empire has long been underestimated in ethnoarchaeological research in Turkey and in the former dominions of the Ottoman Empire. Although the Ottoman Empire with its rich material legacy left deep imprints on a vast geographic area stretching from East Central Europe to the south of the Arabian Peninsula, and most parts of North Africa (Fig. 12.1), Ottoman archaeology as a term is a recent construction outside of Turkey, with roots only in the 1990s. The reason why Ottoman archaeology long held a marginal position within the wider discipline of archaeology in Turkey was in part due to the fact that the material remains from the Ottoman past were mainly viewed as irrelevant for archaeological research, as its historical sources were plentiful and the task of studying the archaeological remains of the Ottoman Empire was traditionally undertaken by art historians rather than by specialists trained specifically in archaeology departments (Arık, 1999; Takaoğlu, 2007a, 2007b). These factors eventually prevented the development of a field of Ottoman archaeology with its own theory and method within the general discipline of archaeology in Turkey.

In countries formerly ruled by the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, there was a general scholarly neglect because of national biases against the Ottoman dominion, since mention of this dominion often evoked unpopular and unwelcome memories in such countries (Zarinebaff et al., 2005: 2; Runnels & Murray, 2007: 245; Bintliff, 2007: 221). Due to the negative image of the Ottoman Empire, which mainly stemmed from its final period of social, cultural and economic decline in the

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A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0_12,

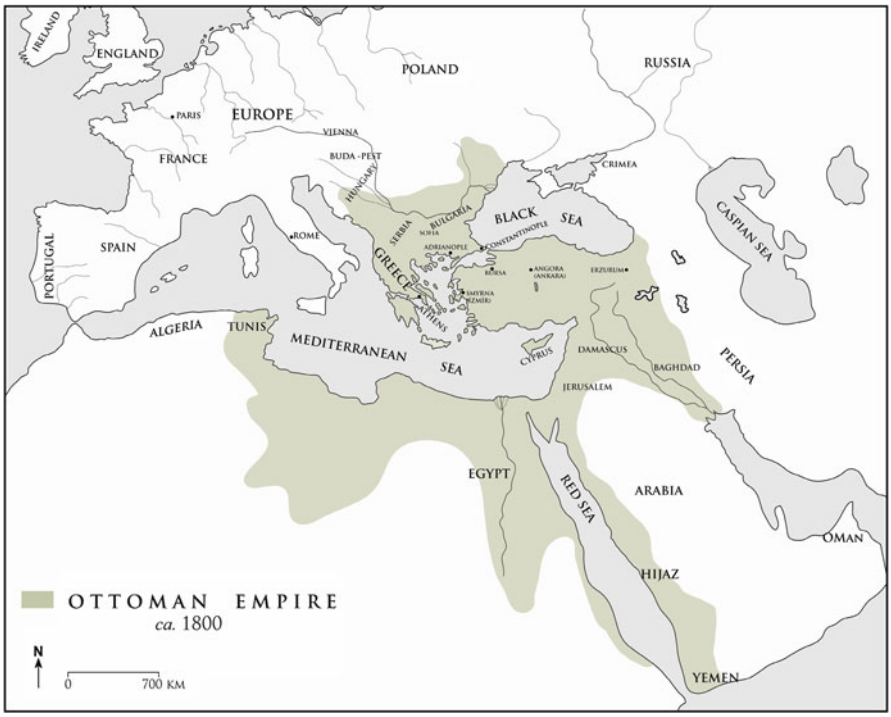

Fig. 12.1 Ottoman Empire ca. 1800

nineteenth century, the Ottoman period had long remained an unpopular period of archaeological study until certain pioneering foreign archaeologists, working in countries such as Greece and Israel, began to underline the need for a systematic study of the material culture of the Ottoman Empire in relation to its rich historical sources (e.g., Siberman, 1989; Davis, 1991; Vionis, 2006; Bintliff, 2007). Such valuable studies laid the ground for the acknowledgement of the material culture of the Ottoman Empire as ethnography (e.g., Baram & Carroll, 2000: 21). The material culture representing the late stages of the Empire indeed reaps a rich harvest of valuable ethnographic data for archaeological interpretation, since the architectural landscape of present-day Turkey is full of the late Ottoman remains of abandoned isolated field houses, farms, rural villages, small towns, and many kinds of special activity areas such as animal folds, threshing floors and dumps. Such features are also attested to in certain former dominions of the Ottoman Empire as well. These recent past remains that are scattered across the landscape of Turkey, and are either abandoned or being re-used at present, can be accepted as the living Ottoman past, as they still yield useful information on various aspects of human activity. This information is not restricted to issues related to settlements and agrarian land use (e. g., site location decisions, site abandonment and discard behavior, the structure

of settlements, village organization, and pastoralism) but also include techniques related to agricultural pursuits, domestic building methods, and craftsmanship, as well as traditional trade and barter. When combined with related Ottoman historical records, European travelers' notes and oral history, the information derived from the examinations of the late Ottoman material culture as ethnography can be used in elucidating the processes that shaped the material record. The study of late Ottoman material culture/ethnographic data in association with related textual records in this sense could enhance the interpretative value of the sub-discipline of ethnoarchaeology not only in Turkey but also in countries where the Ottoman Empire left its rich material vestiges.

In Search of an Identity for Ottoman Archaeology

The archaeology of the Ottoman Empire became one of the rapidly growing subfields within the wider discipline of archaeology in the 1990s (Yenişehirlioğlu, 2005). Prior to this time, there was not such a separate term denoting the sub-discipline of Ottoman archaeology in Turkey, although the study of the archaeological remains of the Ottoman Empire has an indigenous development of its own with a history of nearly 70 years. Archaeology was long deemed unnecessary in Turkey in the study of the Ottoman Empire, because its historical records were abundant and its main political events were well known. This led most archaeologists to view the remains of the Ottoman period as being of little archaeological value. The well-preserved nature of Ottoman remains such as the mosques, palaces, bridges, and bazaars and the wealth of textual sources documenting them made it unnecessary to undertake archaeological research focused on such remains. Excluding several casual excavations of Turkish sites based on clearing and obtaining their plans and details in the 1940s, there was not much archaeological study involving the Ottoman past until the 1960s. It was, indeed, only in decade of the 1960s that Turkish scholars began to shift their emphasis to the informative values that could be drawn from the Ottoman archaeological remains (Takaoğlu, 2007a, 2007b).

The general lack of Turkish archaeologists' interest in the Ottoman material legacy led to art historians undertaking the task of studying its archaeological remains in the 1960s. The excavation of the famous Ottoman tile kilns at İznik by Istanbul University's Oktay Aslanapa, a leading figure in the discipline of art history in Turkey, was probably the most notable work that first integrated the excavation techniques and methods developed in the excavation of a historical site in Turkey (Aslanapa et al., 1989). The meticulous excavations at İznik shed new light on the long-existing problems of chronology, as well as shedding new light on the production and exchange of architectural tiles and pottery, as İznik had achieved a reputation as a center for the manufacture of tiles and pottery in Ottoman times.

The archaeological remains of the Ottoman Empire that were studied in Turkey were not studied within the main trends of the historical archaeology of North America. In other words, the archaeological studies conducted in Turkey did not

pay much attention to the archaeological remains from the recent period, as the main interest had mainly been directed towards the antiquities of the Greek and Roman civilizations, ever since the days of Osman Hamdi Bey, a leading figure in archaeological endeavors in Ottoman Turkey between 1881 and 1910. However, in general, historical archaeology theoretically underlines the potential importance of studying all cultures, even those of recent historical periods that have been extensively documented by textual sources. The fact that archaeological approaches to the Ottoman Empire did not follow these trends in the historical archaeology of North America is also reflected in the terminology adapted in Turkey. Those local art historians dealing with the archaeological remains of Turkish civilizations such as those of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey preferred to use the terms "Medieval archaeology" and/or "Post-Medieval archaeology", following their European counterparts. This was to a large extent due to the fact that the impact of Europe on Turkish academics was apparently more intensive than that of North America, since the so-called Vienna School played a major role in the institutionalization of the field of Art History in the Turkish educational system. The Austrian art historians Ernst Diez at İstanbul University in 1947 and Katharina Otto-Dorn at Ankara University in 1954 helped in the shaping of the discipline of art history in Turkey (Arık, 1999: 44). As a result, since the 1960s, the archaeological study of historical Turkish civilizations such as those of the Seljuk State and the Ottoman Empire has been undertaken by specialists trained in art history departments. Nevertheless, the establishment of divisions of "Turkish World and Archaeology of Medieval Cultures" within the art history departments in the decade of the 2000s represents a modest attempt to include the archaeological study of the Ottoman Empire, although art historians have been employed in these divisions instead of specialists trained in archaeology departments. Recent attempts to establish divisions of "Medieval Archaeology" in archaeology departments in several Turkish universities have, unfortunately, also failed.

The long-lasting debate on whether art historians or archaeologists should be the practitioners of the archaeology of the Ottoman Empire has evidently prevented the establishment of an independent branch of archaeology, dealing with Turkish cultures such as those of the Seljuks and Ottomans in Turkey, with its own theory, methods and objectives within the main trends of global historical archaeology (Takaoğlu, 2007a, 2007b). Theoretically, until recent decades, the archaeological study of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey did not follow an evolutionary line paralleling the historical archaeology occurring in North America and Western Europe. Although the tradition of art historians practicing the archaeology of the Ottoman Empire will probably continue in the near future and there will be no independent branch of archaeology dealing predominantly with the Ottoman Empire in Turkey, one can note that some local art historians are gradually adopting the newly emerging trends in global historical archaeology.

Some of the barriers towards the establishment of Ottoman archaeology were first broken down in Greece and in the Middle East starting in the late 1980s. An increasing number of archaeologists, ethnographers and cultural anthropologists began to pay special attention to the material culture and textual sources of the

Ottoman Empire in several important regional archaeological survey projects conducted in Greece. Both local and foreign scholars based in Greece and working in interdisciplinary regional survey projects began to consult the rich Ottoman archival sources and material culture for information that was particularly relevant for reconstructing the settlement history and patterns of land use that were found in some regions of Greece during the time of Ottoman domination. These regional archaeological survey projects, which included the reconstruction and explanation of the Ottoman period in Greece in their research designs in the 1990s, began to include experts in Ottoman historiography and material culture. These regional archaeological surveys developed a strategy based on the collection of the material remains of all periods of the past, including the Ottoman era. Such a methodology, which involved the diachronic study of settlement patterns and agrarian land use integrating Ottoman material culture and archival sources, led to the inclusion of qualified historians in these regional archaeological studies. For instance, as an intensive archaeological survey of all periods from the Neolithic to the present, the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, conducted in the province of Messenia in southern Greece between 1991 and 1995, was one of the most important endeavors that brought together Ottomanists and field archaeologists in regional archaeological studies (e.g., Zarinebaff et al., 2005). The inclusion of the Ottoman period in the regional studies conducted in Greece apparently served as an important step for the acknowledgement of the archaeological potential of the material remains and historical sources of the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, the survey of rural deserted villages of the post-Medieval period in the region of Boeotia represents another important project conducted in Greece (Vionis, 2006; Bintliff, 2007).

Besides the archaeological studies conducted in Greece, archaeological studies conducted in Israel also underlined the possibility of benefiting from the archaeology of the Ottoman Empire (Siberman, 1989; Baram, 2002; Bethany, 2009). Neil Asher Siberman (1989: 237) is one of those pioneering scholars who first criticized the neglect of the Ottoman material record in archaeological studies in the Middle East by pointing out that archaeological excavations had underestimated the informative value of the Ottoman artifacts such as pots and tobacco pipes commonly found in the archaeological sites of the Middle East. It was thought to be important to reconstruct the histories of people who had not entered the archaeological record. Siberman (1989: 233) rightly pointed out that "…And as long as the material culture of the Ottoman period lay beyond the interest and expertise of most archaeologists working in the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean, its ruins would remain shrouded in painful memories." In this context, the conference organized at Binghamton University in 1996 by Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, entitled *Breaking New Grounds for an Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire*: *A Prologue and a Dialogue*, served as one of those endeavors that helped to rehabilitate the conventional negative image of the Ottomans among scholars and encouraged them to benefit from the archaeological potential of the material culture and historical sources of the Ottoman Empire. The need to organize such a conference was apparently triggered by the accumulation of the wealth of archaeological materials recovered from excavations and kept at excavation depots for analysis.

As well as the above conference that introduced the archaeology of the Ottoman Empire to a wider scholarly audience, there have been other significant endeavors that have helped to counter prejudices against the Ottoman presence in the former dominions of the empire, including the book entitled *An Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece*: *The Southwestern Morea in the Early 18th Century* (2005) and the conference organized under the title of *Between Venice and Istanbul*: *Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece ca. 1500–1800 A.D.* in 2003 (Davies & Davis, 2007; Runnels & Murray, 2007; Bintliff, 2007). The present status of research on Ottoman archaeology is so far satisfying, as the potential of the material remains and textual sources of the Ottoman Empire has been recognized and many avenues have emerged from archaeological projects conducted in Greece and Israel.

Ottoman Material Culture as Ethnography

The formation of the notion of Ottoman archaeology appears to have much to contribute to the development of ethnoarchaeological research in Turkey from both methodological and theoretical points view. The contributions of viewing the late Ottoman material record as ethnography are manifold for ethnoarcheological research. The equation of the late Ottoman material record with ethnography has made it possible for ethnoarchaeologists to examine the material manifestations of late Ottoman human behavior, at places such as isolated rural field houses and animal-related structures, seasonal rural campsites, farms, rural villages (Fig. 12.2),

Fig. 12.2 An abandoned nineteenth century rural village typical of those commonly encountered in the countryside of central-western Turkey. The dates carved on these structures in Greek and Ottoman Turkish show that both Turkish and Greek populations of the Ottoman Empire occupied such villages

and small towns found across the landscape of Turkey, in relation to behaviors such as agrarian land use, site location decisions, settlement organization, site functions, and the structure of settlements. These places may be either abandoned or are still being re-used by modern populations in a way similar to that of their late Ottoman predecessors. Here one has to move with the rationale that these abandoned sites are still dynamic landscapes where information on past behavioral patterns can be drawn through ethnoarchaeology.

The methodology based on ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological surveys of abandoned remains from the recent past mentioned here evidently owes much to the modern site surveys conducted in Greece. The main purpose of modern site surveys, which became an established technique of archaeological research with the initiation of the Stanford University Archaeological and Environmental Survey in the southern Argolid in 1982, is to collect a body of data that could form the basis of hypotheses to explain the functions of archaeological sites (Murray & Kardulias, 1986, 2000). Such surveys have highlighted the importance of studying modern structures and their associated features as if they were archaeological sites. In these modern site surveys conducted with archaeological questions in mind, the material remains of both those structures presently in use and those structures falling into disuse–such as field houses, farmsteads, storehouses, animal folds, garbage dumps, threshing floors, mills, wells, and kilns–are recorded in relation to location, size, and material content. This new research design undertaken in Greece has helped to reconstruct the recent culture history of the study area and to hypothesize the past site functions that might have once existed in the same district in the past (Jacobsen, 1985: 97).

There are valuable studies that have been undertaken in Greece that clearly demonstrate the need for archaeologists, historians, ethnographers, and cultural anthropologists to acquaint themselves with the material culture and historical records from the late Ottoman past. A regional survey conducted in the Methana Peninsula in the Argolid (Forbes, 1997) and another conducted in the Vrokastro area in eastern Crete (Brumfiel, 2000) are important projects confronting the late Ottoman material culture and supporting archival sources. These projects placed emphasis upon the settlement patterns and functions of rural sites, such as isolated field houses and rural agricultural installations and their associated features, through the survey of their material remains. A similar ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological survey examining the patterns of agriculture and subsistence in the late Ottoman period was also carried out in the Mesara Plain of southern Crete with archaeological questions in mind (Blitzer, 2004).

The number of ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies on the late Ottoman material record has also seen yearly increases in Turkey. Such studies provide archaeologists with useful perspectives about the aspects of continuity and change in material culture. A recent study carried out at the island of Bozcaada (ancient Tenedos) at the mouth of the Dardanelles Strait in the northeast Aegean is an example in this case. An ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological survey of modern agrarian sites such as field houses, animal folds and other activity areas belonging to the late Ottoman period was conducted for the purpose of exploring some relationships

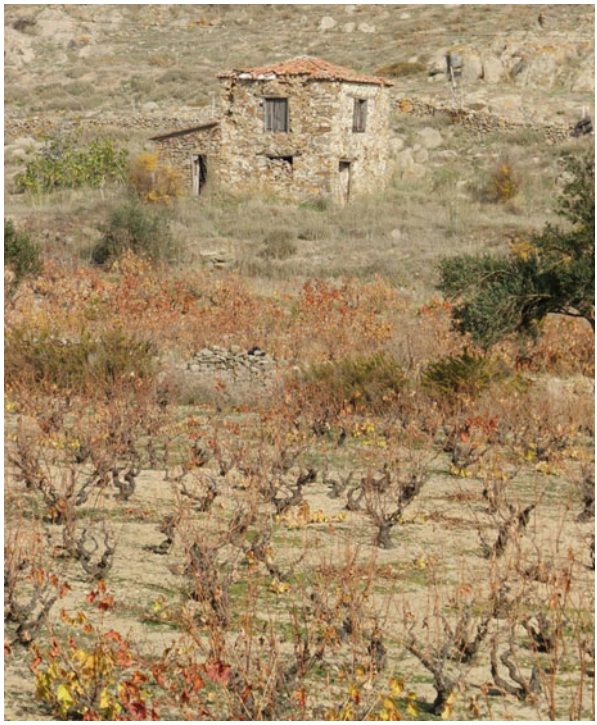

Fig. 12.3 An abandoned late Ottoman field house in a vineyard on the island of Bozcaada (Tenedos). Once an important part of rural life on the island, such structures, dating to the nineteenth century, serve as an important source of information for archaeological interpretation

between land use, agricultural potential, site location decisions, and settlement size and distribution on the island (Takaoğlu & Bamyacı, 2005). The data obtained from the survey was used to help understand the past behavioral patterns that gave shape and form to the material culture of the island. The Ottoman archival sources are also informative about the demography and settlement distribution, as well as the number of rural sites used in grape-growing and animal-keeping (Takaoğlu & Bamyacı, 2005: Table 1). Because structures such as the field houses noted above were once an integral part of the late Ottoman rural economy, an examination of the activities that took place around these field houses–which were used in grape-growing (Fig. 12.3)–as well as an examination of animal-related structures, could contribute to a reconstruction of the region's agrarian land use patterns. According to an Ottoman census dating to the fifteenth century, there were 71 field houses and 5 herders' sites on the island. Among these structures of agrarian character, 57 of the 71 field houses were used by the Turks, while the remaining 14 belonged to Greek families. The document further records five herders' sites, four of which were used for sheep-keeping and the other for housing goats. The ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological survey identified such year-round-used animal-related structures on the southern part of the island(where the stony soil is not suitable for tilling) as well as identifying seasonal field houses in the central and northern part of the island (where the land and climate is optimal for grape-growing). A historically informed

ethnoarchaeological study of the late Ottoman data in this case helped to document the aspects of continuity and change in the patterns of settlement and aspects of agrarian land use on this island.

The late Ottoman material culture/ethnographic data is also of great interest for archaeologists working on the formation of the archaeological record, patterns of site abandonment, re-use of structures, and discard behavior. The question of how archaeological remains are influenced by different anthropogenic factors is testable through ethnoarchaeological studies of the late Ottoman material record. Several valuable ethnoarchaeological studies were undertaken in abandoned villages in northwest Turkey to understand how and why settlements were abandoned, how structures were re-used, and what was the direct effect of people on the material culture when leaving a settlement (Blum, 2003; Aslan & Blum, 2004; Blum, 2005). Such studies utilizing evidence from the recent late Ottoman past serve as a necessary step in understanding the formation of the archaeological record. In this methodology, direct observation, informant interviews, and archival sources provide the basis of arguments regarding the re-use, abandonment, and decay of settlements. Dendrochronological studies have also become a supporting tool in establishing the chronological frameworks of the late Ottoman material record (Kuniholm, 2000; Dittemore, 2007: 131).

Another important avenue of ethnoarchaeological research employing late Ottoman material culture is the study of pastoralism in the rural landscape of Turkey. The late Ottoman material culture yields considerable insights into human activities such as pastoral transhumance and village pastoralism. Although pastoralism is one neglected area of study, it is a practice that ethnographically can best be documented in various remote pasts of Turkey. For example, the seasonal pastoral transhumance that involved the movement of flocks between villages occupied in winters and encampments with pastures used in summers is still active in the uplands of northeastern Turkey that face the Black Sea. This contemporary behavior, projecting well back, displays a pattern of a strong continuity that has endured for centuries, as the environment does not allow populations to develop different subsistence strategies. The landscape of the uplands of the Black Sea region in Turkey is full of late Ottoman human activity areas such as seasonal field houses and their associated features used exclusively in maintaining livestock. How pastoral transhumance operated in this region with lands marginal for farming can be documented by observing the late Ottoman ethnographic data reflected in modern behavior. Oral history, interviews with elderly farmers and present-day landowners, and material remains from past centuries clearly show that traditional patterns of pastoral transhumance did not change much until the late 1970s in the remote villages and uplands of the region. Thus, one can note that such remote areas covered by dispersed and nucleated abandoned or re-used late Ottoman agricultural sites are still dynamic landscapes full of information with interpretative value for ethnoarchaeological research. Thus, the Black Sea region of northwestern Turkey is one of the few areas where one can conduct ethnoarchaeological research on various aspects of pastoral transhumance, since there is an observable pattern of continuity in environmental and subsistence patterns there.

Fig. 12.4 A typical late Ottoman re-used stone-built animal fold in northwest Anatolia. Such field complexes used in village pastoralism are commonly identified in remote areas

Late Ottoman material culture is also rich in evidence regarding the form of pastoralism that involves the use of animal folds far from the villages on a year-round basis. One area to best document such structures is northwestern Turkey, where there is an observable continuity in the patterns of village pastoralism (Fig. 12.4). The use of late Ottoman material culture evidence on pastoralism can thus help to frame specific questions about this poorly understood past rural production activity, including questions on how pastoralists used the barren landscapes and how humans interacted with the land in lands unsuitable for farming activities through time.

Conclusions

It is still a continuing challenge to integrate the historically informed material record of the later stages of the Ottoman Empire into ethnoarchaeological studies in Turkey. The failure to establish the notion of Ottoman archaeology prior to the 1990s led to the sub-discipline of ethnoarchaeology in Turkey falling behind global theoretical and methodological developments. However, the potential significance of the late Ottoman material record or ethnography began to be acknowledged with attempts to develop Ottoman archaeology in the 1990s and onwards. Rural life in Turkey indeed preserves rich traces of late Ottoman human activities of direct relevance to the study of prehistoric and early historic cultures. Here one needs to

move with the rationale that the late Ottoman period human activities are dynamic systems still living in contemporary behavior. This is to say that the contemporary ethnographic data documented in rural areas of Turkey is a direct reflection of the late Ottoman past. This assertion could be an acceptable one if continuity can be determined in environmental and subsistence pursuits. One must also be cautious in using direct analogy, which sometimes can be misleading even in countries like Turkey, where there is a direct historical continuity from the late Ottoman period to the present.

The examples mentioned above, which show some of the cases where the late Ottoman material world as ethnography provides considerable insights into ethnoarchaeology, serve to indicate some of the ways that the study of the late Ottoman material culture may contribute significantly to ethnoarchaeological studies. The description of late Ottoman remains representing human activities is an important step to be taken before a relationship can be inferred between modern behavior and the material correlates that resulted from that behavior. The recording of late Ottoman material culture and its extensions in the contemporary world (all of which are rapidly disappearing from the ethnography of rural Turkey) in ethnoarchaeological studies should rise above simply particularistic descriptions of detail, since it is also important to demonstrate how the information can be used to interpret archaeological data. Ethnoarchaeology is still a nascent sub-discipline within the wider field of archaeology in Turkey. A historically informed ethnoarchaeological approach to the late Ottoman material world is a new path that may help to better our interpretation of the past.

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Chapter 13
Non-anglophone Ethnoarchaeologies

H. Martin Wobst

The national case studies of ethnoarchaeological practice and its history on three continents in this volume invite reflection in many different directions. Here I do not want to repeat what has been richly detailed in the preceding chapters, nor do I want to summarize the contents. Most of the kinds of artifacts and dimensions that are encountered in most excavations have attracted ethnoarchaeological attention in the countries covered in this book, and the ongoing discussions there about the theory and method of ethnoarchaeological practice are as lively as anywhere else in the world. Instead, I will focus on the dimensions that have helped me put the contents of this volume into perspective. In doing so, I want to help other readers appreciate what has been accomplished and help them to think about what might need to be done next, either in the regions covered or elsewhere.

The Areas Grouped Together in the Volume

Readers might conclude that it is rather arbitrary to group, on the topic of ethnoarchaeology, countries as different as France and China, Germany and Turkey, and Italy, Russia, and Egypt. For me, this grouping was one of the exciting contributions of this volume. For one, the ethnographic record of the countries thus combined allows us to consider issues in sharper detail what would be significantly harder to discuss with other samples of countries. Grouping Russia, China,

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and Turkey and even Egypt together with Europe makes lots of geographic sense. After all, Europe is just a small appendix of the Afro-Asian continents. In the European histories that ultimately are reflected in the archaeological and ethnographic records that ethnoarchaeology helps to bridge, invasions from the borderlands of China in Central Asia are frequent, as are the periodic invasions of China from the same source areas. Similarly, the Egyptian, Roman, Arab, and Ottoman empires were significant factors in structuring European archaeology, history, ethnographies, and material records, and a number of present nation states in Europe owe their existence to these interregional and intercontinental relationships. Over this vast stretch of real estate, the cultural ecologies that ethnographers observe and archaeologists attempt to excavate are linked in multiple and complex ways, and in ways that often are difficult to intuit when one tries to make sense of one's data that, as a rule, derive from small spaces, archaeologically or ethnographically.

The chapters in this volume delimit the histories of ethnoarchaeological practice within nation states. By reading them in succession, the relevance of the national boundaries to those histories appears somewhat diminished. Instead, one discovers that nation states are relatively arbitrary as a universe of ethnoarchaeological practice. Much of what pushes and pulls on the ethnographic and archaeological data and on the ethnoarchaeologists and other social scientists and historians who interact with these data are processes that are interregional and international in character, a conclusion that is easily overlooked in the deeply local and thoroughly contextual research that characterizes much ethnoarchaeological practice. Foreign invasions, political transformations, market interactions, technological transformations, and the dynamics of fashion and style all are reflected in how the ethnographic data look at a given time, how the archaeologists in question interact with them, and what can be learned from them in dealing with archaeological data.

Very few of the questions ethnoarchaeologists address are easily confined within the national and other boundaries that nation states and their administrators would like their ethnographic subjects and their scientists to respect and help reinforce. By dealing with nations along international spatial transects, as in this volume, it becomes easier to see that the given nation is relatively incidental to the ethnoarchaeological topics of the day and that, often, similar conclusions would have been reached if ethnoarchaeology's history had been discussed in broader geographic, historic, or politico-economic regions. In other words, while all ethnoarchaeologists work within the boundaries of nation states, and their scientific results are generated, administered, and accumulated within nation states, the concept of the nation is often relatively incidental, if not detrimental, to what ethnoarchaeological science actually achieves. Conversely, by addressing the history of ethnoarchaeology in a number of countries side by side (none of them Anglophone), it becomes clear to what extent the actual work of ethnoarchaeologists is affected by the concerns and priorities of their respective national administrations.

Anglophone and Non-anglophone Archaeologies

In the Anglophone archaeological literature, one can easily get the impression that nothing of interest is ever published that is not in English; that has not been published or edited in North America, Australia and New Zealand, or Anglophone Europe; or that has not been written by authors residing in those parts of the world. This kind of archaeological monolingualism is not just a trivial linguistic factoid. Instead, over the past 50 years, it has frequently affected the advances of archaeological theory and method, and of understanding the archaeological record in all of its many dimensions. For example, it took decades before the geographic theory and method (often, a kind of ethnoarchaeology of material variables in space) that had developed in central Europe and Scandinavia caught the attention of the Anglophone archaeological epicenters (for example, Christaller 1933, Hägerstrand 1953). More than 30 years passed before the experimental archaeology of the Soviet Union was acknowledged by Anglophone archaeologists (Semenov 1964), and lots of time went by before the impressive Paleolithic open air sites of central and eastern Europe had been fully internalized by Anglophone archaeologists (KlÍma 1954).

Particularly during the past 60 years, scientific communication in archaeology between the Anglophone countries and the non-Anglophone world has become more and more centripetal yet and more focused on the Anglophone world. Archaeologists swarm out from there in all directions for their research, and investigators from the rest of the world come to the Anglophone countries to report their research results to the "international" community. As well, computer-searchable databases in archaeology and ethnography are primarily Anglophone, as for example, Anthropology Plus, which joined the Harvard and Royal Anthropological Institute databases for archaeology; and the Human Relations Area Files, a database for the contents of largely Anglophone ethnography, administered by Yale University).

The community of scholars that is thus created, in the diversity of information that they exchange, in their research goals, and in their publications thus create a greater sense of homogeneity, universal agreement and unity than if people from all parts of the world, including the Anglophone one, were forced to report their results in Esperanto (that is, a language equally foreign to *all* of the practitioners). We would then know that the archaeological record is significantly richer and more multivariate, and that the history of the discipline has been significantly more dynamic and multi-stranded than what we are accustomed to expect when we resolve our problems with the proverbial Tower of Babel by all of us switching to English as our common language.

One also wonders, in terms of the previous section, how the idea of the nation reverberates across ethnoarchaeological practice in the *Anglophone* world. Has it affected the dimensions that Anglophone archaeologists have ended up addressing, and the answers to the questions that they have obtained at given times in their histories as strongly as in the countries that are covered in this volume? And why has this not been an interesting question in the discussions of Anglophone ethnoarchaeological histories?

The Histories of Ethnoarchaeology

This volume explicitly foregrounds archaeologists in countries that traditionally have not been part of the Anglophone world, in Western, Central and Eastern Europe; Asia Minor; North Africa; and the Far East. And it does this on the topic of ethnoarchaeology, a field that many Anglophone archaeologists perceive to be a particularly Anglophone preoccupation, with a shallow history outside of that world. And even fewer Anglophone archaeologists have considered ethnoarchaeology's history to be relevant to archaeology's goals. Such a conclusion is understandable given that ethnoarchaeologists explicitly choose to deal with the "present" to throw light on the "past". The chapters in this volume show that it would be foolish to overlook the pasts of ethnoarchaeology. Its histories are long, deep, and rich. The way it has developed and has been practiced in the different countries covered here has been massively affected by that history, and that history has significantly helped to structure the ethnographic data that constitute the ethnoarchaeological testing ground in those countries today.

In the chapters covered in this volume, ethnoarchaeology's time depth varies, from that of China at one extreme (see Chap. 9 by Kong, this volume), its logical forerunners dating back several millennia, to that of Turkey at the other (see Chap. 7 by Yalman, this volume), where the development of ethnoarchaeology had to wait for the Ottoman empire to wane. The histories thus chronicled diverge from those in the Anglophone world and from each other, with pushes and pulls on them that are significantly different from those in most countries of the Anglophone world. For example, many of the countries covered here were affected by empires different from those that affected the Anglophone realms of the world, among them the Ottoman, Russian and Chinese ones, or the central European powers. The ethnographical realities that these empires encountered and transformed eventually created the decolonizing momentum and the postcolonial processes that were the starting point for an interest in the pre-colonial history and archaeology of many of the countries, as well as creating the distinctive ethnographies that constitute the data with which to evaluate ethnoarchaeological logics, and answer ethnoarcheological questions.

Ethnoarchaeology arose in the fields of tension between the emerging nationalism of the empires' banner carriers, and the emerging battles for a postcolonial world engaged in by those under their control. For this reason, within the European countries covered here, groups of what we would call today ethnographers, and other social scientists and humanists, very often observed and collected at home. They searched for and observed what they considered to be the homegrown culture (not urban, not industrial, not "modern", or, if subjugated, not of the presumed occupier) and thus, the presumed logical core of the nations or incipient nations of the practitioners. As this presumed essential core of "traditional" culture was changing rapidly, to be of use to the emerging nations it had to be recorded, collected, curated, and systematized, if not kept alive to prevent its presumed soon-to-be disappearance. This process generated collections of contemporary

(and contemporaneous) material culture that are surprisingly systematic across space and, of interest to archaeologists, inclusive of the major dimensions of material culture.

American anthropologists in particular had loudly lamented the absence of systematic, controlled, and problem-directed observations of material culture in the Anglophone ethnographic record (see, for example, Wobst 1977). Thus, late by European standards, they saw themselves forced to run their own systematic material culture surveys in the present, as for example in the Work Projects Administration (WPA) culture element distribution studies (University of California 1935–1945). In contrast, in many areas of Europe, ethnographers and folklorists, among others, had already produced many quite comprehensive inventories of the spectrum of ethnographic material cultural categories in the regions of interest to them. The observations thus obtained, even today, constitute superb experimental data for advancing archaeological interpretation, and tools for fine-tuning how archaeological hypotheses reverberate across spatially distributed artifact form and structure. This process goes hand in hand with archaeological records that sample space significantly more systematically than the way in which this is done in the Anglophone settler societies of the Americas, Australia, and Africa, suggesting that many of the countries covered in this volume would provide significantly more sensitive contexts for the evaluation of the distribution of form in ethnographic and archaeological data, and thus, ethnoarchaeological theory, than many parts of the Anglophone world.

Ethnoarchaeology and Political History

In contrast to Anglophone archaeology, all of the European countries covered here have had to suffer the direct experience of Nazi dictatorships. Many of the same countries (China included) have also experienced decades of Soviet domination. In the direction of ethnoarchaeology, both of these ideologies short-circuited scientific contacts with the Anglophone world. They massively disrupted the evolution of archaeological institutions, the continuity of personnel, and the development of theory and method. Of course, they also massively transformed the ethnographic populations that ethnoarchaeologists depended on. Both of these ideologies explicitly politicized archaeological practice, and significantly narrowed the topical range and ideological breadth for the development of theory and method in ethnoarchaeology. Moreover, they very effectively inoculated archaeologists against contacts with their Anglophone colleagues. Conversely, Anglophone archaeologists could not carry out fieldwork in the same countries. Archaeology, ethnography and, thus, ethnoarchaeology had to go their ways as relatively closed systems.

On the other hand, communist ideology required an archaeology concerned with the means of production and material conditions. This sometimes created explicit spaces for ethnoarchaeological approaches in the scientific 5-Year Plans. For example, in a forced marriage, ethnography and archaeology were combined in the same

institutions. Thus, an Academy for the History of Material culture was founded in the Soviet Union shortly after the Russian revolution of 1917 (Institute 2003), a development that was copied in many of the Soviet satellites after the Second World War (such as the Instytut Historii Kultury Materialnej, in Warsaw). S. A. Semenov began publishing his experimental and ethnoarchaeological studies of stone tool usage in the Soviet Union beginning in the 1940s (see, for example, Semonov 1957). And in the German Democratic Republic the government sponsored an international ethnoarchaeological journal as early as 1953 (*Ethnographisch-Archaeologische Forschungen*, which then became *Ethnographisch-Archaeologische Zeitschrift* in 1960).

Disruption occurred again when the Nazi empire was defeated in the Second World War, and when Soviet imperialism collapsed toward the end of the twentieth century. The scientists who most emphatically had put to work or helped to shape Nazi or communist ideology in their archaeological (or ethnographic) practice, of course, lost their professional standing then. At the same time, those who had not taken strong theoretical positions did not lose their professional standing. In the post-World War Two era, this change infected the evolution of archaeological theory in this region with a considerable degree of scientific caution. Most archaeologists preferred to stay as close as possible to their data, and tended to be more skeptical about theory with social articulations than many of their Anglophone colleagues.

Interestingly, at a time when Anglophone archaeology was making its most rapid strides in ethnoarchaeological theory and method (in the 1960s and 1970s of the past century), many of the archaeological researchers in most of the countries covered in this volume instead preferred to stay closer to their data, systematically gathering, ordering, and describing material ethnographic data of relevance to the archaeological record, superficially acknowledging the political ideology at the time, rather than concerning themselves with helping to advance new theory and method in the ethnoarchaeological arena, a situation which has now been successfully overcome in many of the countries discussed in this book.

In the chapters of this volume there is an interesting silence about the relationship between ethnoarchaeology and material culture studies as it has developed in the Anglophone world beginning in the 1990s (the *Journal of Material Culture* was founded only in 1996). Some of this silence might be explained by the lasting distaste for the Soviet-inspired forced marriage between ethnography and archaeology. On the other hand, material culture studies explicitly focus on human materiality in the present, on the roles of artifacts within culture; the ways in which artifacts help to constitute people, actions, social personae, positions and institutions; and change and continuity. It is in material culture studies that the development of a theory and method of an "ethnoarchaeological" kind (that is, a theory and method to help explain variation in artifact form, distribution and structure through space and time), has been particularly dynamic in the Anglophone world. All of this should be exciting to archaeologists who have often blamed ethnographers for completely overlooking how artifacts were integrated into the logic and functioning, but also the mundane world of daily survival.

The points that have been raised by the study of human materiality in the present are, of course, important in structuring archaeological records, too, and a renewed engagement with ethnographers (and the practitioners of material culture studies in other disciplines) about these issues should thus be encouraged. Given that archaeologists are sitting on human materiality in all of its historical and spatial versions, ethnographers stand to gain at least as much as archaeologists from this interaction.

This renewed interaction with material culture studies might make it easier for ethnoarchaeologists to at last terminate their "traditional" search for the "traditional"; "non-modern"; or, God forbid, "primitive" in the present. People do not use, make, or interact with "traditional" or "non-modern" artifacts because they always have actually done so, or because they have not yet been exposed to the virus of modernity and globalization. They do so because these artifacts help them in solving problems that they face today, and that satisfy the needs they feel today. Like all artifacts, these "traditional" artifacts (as well as the people's needs) change through time in dynamic ways. The reason the artifacts look the way they to do today cannot be unraveled without carefully controlling their history and context, in problem-directed research.

There are many examples in the ethnographic literature from the area covered in this volume, on artifacts, techniques, and processes that the ethnographic subjects, the scientific collectors and observers, and the ultimate curators had considered the most traditional and "always-have-beens", that actually had been borrowed from the subjects' sworn enemies not so long ago (see, for example Halpern 1957, for Serbia), or imported, in their constituent parts, from markets far way (see, for example, László Kűrti, personal communication, for Transylvanian Hungarians), or learned semi-instantaneously only a couple of generations ago (John W. Cole, Romania, personal communication).

If ethnoarchaeological interpretation, method, and theory were indeed primarily evaluated against data from what are thought to be the "least modern" people or the ones "least integrated into the modern world system", it is conceivable that we would end up with biased interpretations, biasing methods, or a rather non-universal ethnoarchaeological theory. Our theory might fit the marginal populations of any time, to the relative exclusion of the ones considered "the moderns" at a given time in the archaeological record.

Instead, we need to assess whether or not an ethnoarchaeological question can be resolved with the given set of data, with a carefully reasoned research design that assures our potential peer reviewers that the logic of its arguments is flawless. In country after country covered in this volume, early ethnoarchaeologists went to the present because it offered them an easy shortcut to fortify their interpretations of past contexts, only to learn over the past few decades that ethnoarchaeological research designs are anything but easy shortcuts, and that modern research designs in ethnoarchaeology, given their ambitious combobulation of time, space, and artifact form and distribution, require some of the most complex research designs in the ethnographic and archaeological universe!

Future Research Directions

In terms of future ethnoarchaeological projects, the region covered in this book is a rich reservoir of well-documented cases on the interaction between materiality and political ideology and on the ethnoarchaeology of nationalism and resistance, of religion and atheism, and of warfare and conflict. Within less than 100 years, a very shallow "ethnographic present" by the standards of ethnographic practice, the same country in this sample of countries may have undergone transformations from being part of the Ottoman Empire and/or Austro-Hungarian Empire, to a republic, to the Nazi period, to socialism, and back to capitalism, in a series of massive transformations between highly contrastive ideologies. Each of these transformations must have been massive in its reverberations on the potential ethnoarchaeological record. What aspects of the material cultural inventory help to make ideology visible? What aspects of the material cultural inventory hide the extant ideology? Ethnographically, many areas of the countries covered are palimpsests of populations with different religions, languages, ideologies and histories. For ethnoarchaeologists this should be an optimal area to explore methods and theory about material culture and ideology!

For that same time span, the region has been a repository of government action for bounding populations and, thus, it constitutes a living museum for the material signatures of administrative boundaries, as well as for the effectiveness and relative pervasiveness of government interference in, and interactions with, the observable dimensions of the material record that people generate. Given that much of our practice in prehistoric and historical archaeology is still taken up with generating boundaries among archaeological materials in time and space and form, what better place to ethnoarchaeologically assess the hypotheses about the material pervasiveness of cultural boundaries, when we know their exact locations, the administrative logics behind them, and the relative levels of popular support, subversion, and resistance?

In short, the region's ethnographic record provides a fertile testing ground for ethnoarchaeological theory and method, and a rich source of inference, in a number of important directions, not only in regard to "traditional" sub-cultures, and in regard to the standard components of archaeological collections, but across the entire realm of contemporaneous societies there. In this way, the region's ethnoarchaeology promises to contribute to a better understanding of the *world's* archaeological record, at least as forcefully as it contributes to a better understanding of the archaeology of the countries covered in this volume.

The ethnographic record of the countries covered here is rich, varied, dynamic, and well chronicled; and their archaeological records are awe-inspiring and well tended. It is not surprising that their ethnoarchaeological practice has been insightful and inspiring and, in spite of language barriers, quite accessible. I hope that the articles grouped in this volume will draw the attention of archaeologists, ethnographers, and ethnoarchaeologists elsewhere to increase their interaction with this part of the world and to reflect on their own countries' history of research, in the interests of better understanding our human material past and present everywhere and at any time.

Acknowledgments This article owes its completion to the patience of the editors and a lifetime of interest and admiration for the non-Anglophone parts of the Old World, for their ethnographies and archaeologies, and empathy with their difficult histories. Thanks also to Jude and Kutya, and to the many students at the University of Massachusetts with whom I have discussed the topics covered in this article.

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Index

A. Marciniak and N. Yalman (eds.), *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, One World Archaeology 7, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9117-0,