

An Essay on Material Culture

Some Concluding Reflections

Kristian Kristiansen

The concept of Culture has been a battlefield between different theoretical regimes in the history of anthropology and archaeology. Such debates are therefore also a historical barometer of the health and polemic vigour of the disciplines. So far they have often been framed within a conceptual strategy of oppositions, and several schemes have been produced over the years. Lewis Binford, Ian Hodder, Shanks and Tilley, John Barrett all employed this strategy in their polemic works. Some examples may suffice: idealism vs. materialism, normative ideas vs. social function, active meaning vs. passive symbol, practice vs. representation etc. (see Oestigaard, Figure 1, in this volume for yet another example). It has also demonstrated that these battles over the nature of material culture were linked to cyclical changes in dominant theoretical frameworks (Kristiansen 1998, Figure 14). As it was always the same pairs of opposition that were employed – only the positive and negative loading changed – it became increasingly clear that they probably referred to complementary properties of culture and society. From this realisation there has

during the 1990's and the early 2nd millennium emerged an increasing interest in coming to grips with the central property of the archaeological record: material culture.

From materialism to materiality. Questions of self, social identity and ethnic identity

We have over the last 20 years seen a development from a general concern with materialism as a theoretical point of departure to a more focused concern with the active role played by material culture in social practice. Agency has been mobilised as a vitalising ingredient in social strategies (Dobres and Robb 2000), counterbalanced and constrained by practice and tradition (Barrett 1994, I prefer *tradition* for *habitus*). The route towards a more theoretically integrated concern with materiality is marked by an increasing interdisciplinary integration, reflected in the *Journal of Material Culture*. As stated by Fahlander and Oestigaard: "The huge body of theoretical literature belongs not to a particular discipline anymore, but is shared knowledge among many actors on the scene of the social sciences" (Fahlander and Oestigaard: Introduction, p.5). This development is marked by a number of influential articles and works, such as De Marais, Castillo and Earle (1996). They introduced the concept of materialisation to account for the active role that material culture plays in social strategies and as an active framework in the formation and reproduction of institutions (also Kristiansen 1999, Renfrew 2001). Others have stressed the materiality of lived experiences, the role of bodily experience and expression (Treherne 1995, Sørensen 1997, Shanks 1999, Barrett 2000, Meskell and Joyce 2002).

We are here encountering the relationship between the formation of the self through a social identity and its dialectical relationship with collective identities (from social groups/classes to polities/ethnicity). These perspectives are explored in articles by Cornell and Johannesen in this volume. It is a welcome revival of an old concept in archaeology and social anthropology.

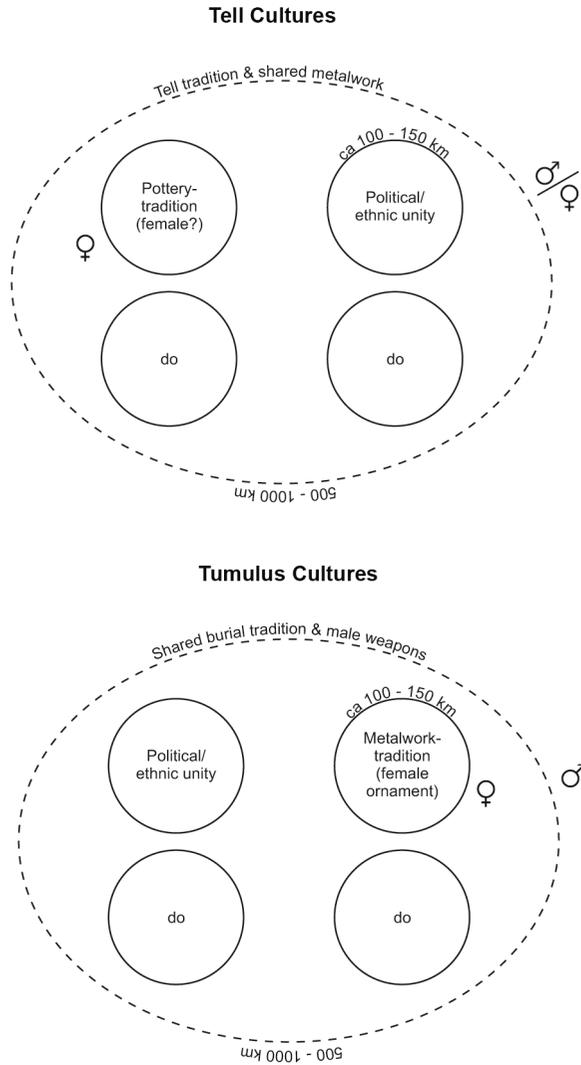


Fig 1. Model of overlapping cultural distributions and identities in Bronze Age Europe. A: The Carpathian Tell-Cultures. B: The Central and Northern European Tumulus Cultures.

While ethnicity undoubtedly played a central role in all human societies as part of a common origin and shared historical identity (tradition), its material expressions have been an underdeveloped field of study, since Hodder's seminal work (Hodder 1982). It occupies a domain of cultural regularities of a non-evolutionary nature, and is today the focus of theoretical and interpretative controversies. Evolutionary archaeology has adopted a Darwinian theoretical framework of inheritance, transmission and selection to explain behavioural regularities in the tradition of David Clarke (Shennan 2004). It treats culture as a behavioural product with its own identity, whose meaning is only interpreted after the analysis. Culture is thus given a predefined meaning according to the theoretical framework employed (critical discussion in Clark 2000). It further raises the possibility of creating arbitrary and constructed continuities with the potential of ideological and political exploitation in the present (discussed by Normark). In opposition to this historically decontextualised approach a majority of archaeologists wish to begin with a contextualised historical interpretation. Here it has become increasingly clear that material culture form part of complex and sometimes overlapping social and ethnic identities (Figure 1).

In the Carpathian tell cultures from the Bronze Age, strong traditions in pottery production distinguish different groups or polities from each other, but several of these ethnic groups, as it were, share a common tradition in metalwork and in the social tradition of tell settlements. How are we to interpret this complexity: it may refer to different levels of political and ethnic identities that can only be properly understood by a complete analysis and interpretation of the societies in their particular historical and cosmological setting. A similar pattern is found in the so-called Tumulus Culture from the Bronze Age in central and northern Europe. Here local identities are expressed in female ornaments, while such local groups share a common burial ritual, burials under a barrow, just as certain types of male weapons display the same interregional distribution. Again we are faced with a complex picture of different types of shared and non-

shared identities and traditions that also display different gender roles and traditions. Various types of interactions rooted in kinship and alliance systems may account for some part of the variation, while other parts are to be found in an understanding of shared symbolic meanings and a shared cosmological tradition, yet others in technological traditions and their role.

With these two brief examples I wish to stress, firstly: that any understanding of the possible nature of prehistoric cultural identities must begin with a careful analysis of patterns of material evidence in time and space. Secondly: such an understanding must be grounded in a contextualised interpretation of the institutions that were responsible for the reproduction of society. Finally, this interpretative framework must be considered against the role and meaning of tradition, including cosmology. These are areas of research that have been badly neglected during the last 20 years of practice and agency based interpretations, leading to a overplaying of creative variation, and a downplaying of shared traditions in a wider time-space framework and their modifying role. Self and social identity, agency and innovation can only be properly understood against a background of tradition and the socialising role of institutions.

Archeology as culture history. Reinstating a contextualised comparative approach.

In recent years we have seen a theoretical and interpretative development that favoured local variation at the expense of regional or interregional regularity. It went hand in hand with a critique of general interpretative frameworks and comparative ethnographic works that were considered to be rooted in a modern perception of the world, or even to be immoral (Gosden 1999:9).

This rather high-handed dismissal of ethnohistory and comparative culture history went hand in hand with a sympathetic quest for understanding the otherness of the past and a stressing of prehistoric people as knowledgeable agents, who were able to act

and negotiate their own destiny. It tended, however, to promote an idealistic western concept of autonomous individuals only governed by some divine force, called Being, borrowed from Heidegger. Paradoxically, modern sociology and philosophy of the most diverse kind were mobilised to support this civilisation critique of previous interpretations of the past for being universalistic. There is indeed quite a theoretical and ideological distance from Foucault and Bourdieu to Gadamer and Heidegger, but Julian Thomas employed them all, as did others (Thomas 1996:part one, also Gosden 1994, Karlsson 1998). More recently, however, Thomas has criticised the concept of autonomous agents (Thomas 2002) and presented a more historically informed view on archaeological interpretation (Thomas 2004).

The declared objective of the critique that we should be more open to the otherness or the unfamiliarity of the past is, of course, well taken. It was exemplified in Michael Shanks's book *Experiencing the Past* (Shanks 1992) and in a new phenomenological approach to interpretation that stressed human, bodily experience (Tilley 1994). Having abandoned comparative ethnohistory and anthropology, the limitation inherent in this de-culturised and individualised version of phenomenology was that the interpretative bodies were mostly western, middle-class males (Thomas 2004:24ff.). It found supplementary inspiration in the outcome of the thousands of excavations from commercial archaeology that revealed many new aspects of the prehistoric past in need of re-interpretation. In that I follow Thomas and Barrett in their critique of traditional interpretations that squeezed the evidence into conventional boxes (Thomas 1996 and Barrett 1996)

However, philosophies and theories are not free-floating commodities to be employed at will. They bring with them ideological and political agendas, and the employment of Heidegger and agency theory is linked to a modern discussion about the relation between society and the individual, about how one constitutes human perception, human intentionality and forces of change (Dobres and Robb 2000). In the end it comes down to an old schism between idealism and materialism,

between Marx and Hegel, dressed up in more advanced philosophical concepts.

The critique also overlooked the fact that much of the otherness one was looking for in the pre-modern world, such as different conceptions of time, what constitutes humans and their perception of the world, was already to be found in social anthropology (summarised in Ingold 2000). This was demonstrated by Gosden in a historically contextualised (and critical) return to social anthropology (Gosden 1994 and 1999, Rowlands 2004, also Fahlander's article in this volume). However, a comparative ethnohistory and ethno-archaeology were generally abandoned in the 1990's in favour of a belief in the interpretative, hermeneutic dialogue between the archaeologist and the material evidence as the primary road to knowledge about the past. This strategy privileged the archaeologists as the great interpreter with the (unintended?) consequence of leaving too much room for speculation due to the lack of comparative culture historical correctives.

The first question to ask is – do philosophical concepts and modern civilisation critique constitute relevant interpretative parameters for understanding an archaeological past? Rather than ethnohistorical evidence of the variety of ways in which humans have organised themselves and perceived the world throughout history? And do the two strategies need to be opposed? (see also Oestigaard's and Kyvik's articles in this volume)

Secondly, can we at all avoid employing universalistic concepts? Ian Hodder discusses this dilemma in his recent book, *The Archaeological Process* in which he recognises that general claims and universals are unavoidable. In many situations of political oppression they provide the basis for critique and resistance (Hodder 1999:205f.). In other situations, universals can be misused to promote interpretative hegemony. Once again, universals and generalisation are context dependent.

By abandoning comparative culture history and ethnohistory post-processual theory has lost a historical corrective to archaeological interpretation. It has privileged the interpretative role of

the archaeologists with the danger of developing interpretations rooted in a romantic modern perception of the past.

Solid meanings. The power of words and objects

The existence of cultural regularities linked to various forms of identity, ethnicity and cosmological traditions of a *longue durée*, has raised a renewed concern with the role of institutions and the meanings linked to their reproduction through material symbols and through ritual performance and oral tradition. It has become increasingly clear that solid meanings of strong temporal durability can be attached to words and things (Kristiansen 2004 and *in press*, Odner 2000, Rowlands 2004). It reopens an old discussion about the role and meaning of tradition and of what constitutes tradition (this position is thus in some opposition to part of Normark's article). But it also re-opens a debate about the role of material culture in transmitting memory and tradition, and in reproducing society (Rowlands 1993).

From ethnohistory we learn that words (oral tradition) and objects (symbolically loaded objects) had a much stronger social and religious impact in society than we can imagine (Gell 1998). Consequently they were also much less subject to change, and when changes occur it is a result of a social or religious change of meaning. While Ian Hodder demonstrated this symbolic capacity of meaning in material culture in his book *Symbols in Action* (Hodder 1982), such an approach has been slow to be taken onboard in archaeological case studies. This is regrettable; only archaeology can provide historical evidence of the persistence of long term traditions in social institutions and cosmology, as I shall demonstrate below with an example from the Nordic Bronze Age. Mary Helms has in several books demonstrated the integrated role of myth, wisdom and skilled crafting as constituting a necessary, but not sufficient background for achieving power in pre-state societies. It is well exemplified in her work on ancient Panama, *Chiefs in Search of Power* (Helms 1979).

To achieve wisdom in ancient Panama chiefdoms, including chanting, rituals, myths and other chiefly skills, took years of education at a master school. This was a prerequisite for becoming a local leader and belonging to the chiefly elite. And to become a master teacher and regional chief was an even longer process. Helms mentions an example of a regional chief and teacher, who stayed as a pupil with a master for years, and after 25 years of learning and travelling settled down to become himself a regional centre of learning sought by young students and aspiring chiefs from the whole region. Thus, learning networks can often be correlated with exchange networks, and regional centres were in contact with the most distant learning and exchange centres beyond the isthmus (Helms 1979:133,140).

In Celtic Europe, Caesar mentions that to become a Druid took 21 years, offering a parallel to ancient Panama. In non-literate ranked societies the maintenance of myth, legal rules and rituals was a main occupation for specialists, who had to master the whole corpus of texts backwards and forwards. It granted enormous prestige and power to the role of the religious learned Druid and Bard. The quality of their craft, or wisdom, made it possible to reproduce it unaltered during centuries or even a millennium, as demonstrated by the religious continuity in Nordic Bronze Age rituals and iconographic narratives, as demonstrated below, or by Nordic mythology (Hedeager 1998). The complexity of knowledge needed in ranked and chiefly societies is often underestimated and so are their travels and prolonged studies in distant centres. Priests and poets were often highly learned and in a world of oral wisdom master classes and centres of learning out there was part of the training and civilising process of becoming either a skilled artisan, priest, poet, chief or all in one. Elite cultures of this kind therefore presume a shared ideological value system and a system of learning covering wide regions, something we consider a defining criterion of Bronze Age chiefdoms as well. With this as a background we can begin to understand how and why precious goods – often foreign acquisitions – were powerful. Power over things became power over people.

According to this I maintain that in conditions of social and political continuity (or displaced continuity), oral tradition was persistent and able to transmit songs, hymns and myths over half a millennia or more without major changes, but rather adding detail from later periods to make the songs comprehensible. Oral tradition is in certain contexts more persistent than literary tradition, as it makes very high demands on correctness. The success of rituals depended on the correct wording of the hymns (Cavallin 2002:215), and bards and druids in pre-literate societies were consequently among the most learned people in history, their education taking up to 20-25 years, as described above. If changes were added to the songs and hymns they were deliberate, not due to lack of memory, which is a modern concept that would have been foreign to any learned druid or bard.¹ Dynastic changes may change the relative structure of heroes and their histories, evidenced in the Nordic realm, where early versions of sagas, such as *Beowulf*, that survived on the Nordic periphery in England maintained heroic tales that were later marginalised in the Scandinavian centres. The same is probably true of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* that were maintained, not on the Greek mainland, but at the courts where the fleeing elites survived (Bennet 1997).

Common to all societies is the recognition of origin, a beginning, which refers to a cosmological point of origin, such as the birth of Christ or Muhammad. It underlines a perception of cosmological continuity, a shared heritage, which may be broken only by exceptional circumstances of major historical disruptions and social transformations. In early state societies genealogical lists of kings and ancestors would constitute a time frame that linked mortals and gods together, supported by myth, such as the story of Gilgamesh, an early king of Uruk from the mid 3rd

¹ In Nepal recent work has demonstrated similar patterns of learning among shamans. They share with prehistoric druids and ethnohistoric wise men and great chiefs a learning period of up to 20 years and the subsequent ability to reproduce complex narratives word for word. Christopher Evans has recorded that oral reproductions of the same narratives in Nepal by different shamans are identical with a shared similarity of 99% (Evans *in press*).

millennium BC. His adventures (with his "twin" brother Enkidu) evolved into a heroic and mythological prototype about the relation between humans and gods, the meaning of life and how to become heroic and wise. It was translated and preserved for more than two thousand years throughout the Near East, as part of a common cultural heritage. It thus transcended its original cultural context and became part of a larger cosmological context that was shared by the societies of the Near East and the east Mediterranean during the Bronze Age and early Iron Age, who in turn incorporated part of it in their local myths and tales. It thereby exemplifies how shared traditions and local cultures coexisted during the Bronze Age, being part of what I have called the Bronze Age world system.

The beginning of a new cosmological time in the North was marked by a major social transformation around 1500 BC that introduced a new, shared, Nordic tradition in metalwork, a new chiefly culture that reshaped the landscape and the settlement and a building program of monumental barrows for the local chiefly elites (Kristiansen 1998). Within a brief period of 200 years it resulted in the construction of tens of thousands of barrows, which even today dominate the landscape in many regions in southern Scandinavia. The adoption of the spiral style was a conscious choice to signal that the ancestors of the Nordic Culture originated in Minoan and Mycenaean culture, whose institutions they had selectively adopted and recontextualized during the preceding generations. By 1500 BC, in an explosion of creativity, the new social order was materialised into a new cultural order that persisted for nearly a thousand years in unbroken tradition, yet incorporating new rituals and symbols along the way. Central among these was the institution of the Sun Maiden and her twin brothers, linked to and supporting the institution of twin rulers.

In the Nordic Bronze Age where oral traditions constituted the medium for preserving cosmological and mythical tradition, material culture helped to preserve memory. The barrows were gradually developing into mounds of chiefly ancestors, where selective members of the lineage would be buried in secondary

burials, sometimes with a continuity throughout the whole Bronze Age. Likewise farms and chiefly hamlets remained in the same locations during hundreds of years, often from the 15th to the 6th century BC, leaving behind dozens of farmsteads that had superseded each other in time. In the moors or in the sanctuaries, sacrifices and depositions of prestige goods and ritual gear took place from time to time, and the rock art of Sweden and Norway gave eternal life to myths and stories, accompanied by sacrifice and rituals. Thus there emerged a thoroughly ritualised, cosmological landscape of memory, where lineages and chiefly genealogies could be maintained and linked to specific barrows, where myths and rituals were retold and re-enacted in front of rock art panels and other means of memorising and preserving the old Nordic heritage. "People, houses, landscapes and portable objects all lived parallel lives and each of them would have provided a medium for human memory. Oral traditions were vitally important, but it was through an interplay between those accounts and the biographies of things that people without written documents were able to trace their histories" (Bradley 2002:81). And, of no less importance: through the highly sophisticated art and wisdom of bards and priests. They would transmit between the generations the hymns, songs and chiefly genealogies, maintaining them as unchanged as their material world, but adding to them the specific flavours and colours of local deeds, and the new names and symbols arriving from the outer world from their travels.

In such a social and cultural environment, with its emphasis on tradition, new rituals, myths and symbols were recontextualized and incorporated into the existing repertoire, as demonstrated in Figure 2. It demonstrates how the institution of the Divine Twins remained a central religious political institution during the whole of the Bronze Age, constituting an institutional *longue durée* from ca. 1600 BC to 600 BC, perhaps even longer. It is re-enforced by settlement continuity and ritual continuity in the continuous use of early Bronze Age barrows for secondary burials. The myths are further eternalized in rock art. This combination of continuity and

visualization had a strong stabilising effect, and made it easier to sustain heroic and religious memory as it was evidenced in the landscape.

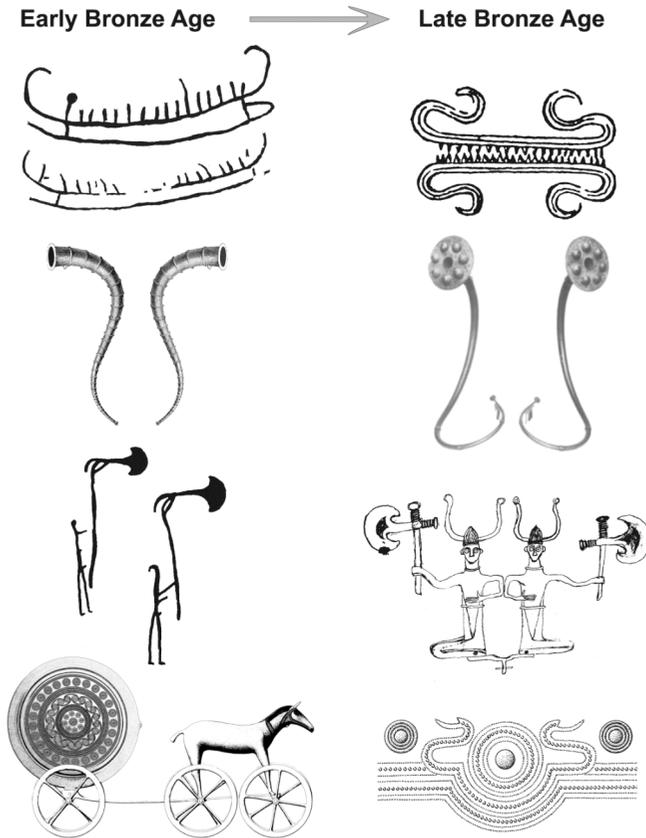


Fig 2. The symbolic materialisation of the institution of Divine Twins during the Nordic Bronze Age, lasting 1000 years.

Interpretative fields of meaning. Constructing conceptual relations

Following from this I propose that particular local practices can only be understood against an established background of shared traditions in time and space. To get there we need to unwrap contextual studies of their localised interpretative constraints. No society is an island. Furthermore, meaning can be established only by employing comparative culture-historical and ethnohistorical evidence. We cannot dream up new interpretations that we have no concepts for. No divine, interpretative Being can replace the theoretical labour needed to formulate interpretative concepts. It may help us to open a door to new perceptions of the past, but once the door is open, we realise that the room is empty. We therefore need to contextualise, theoretically and historically, our most commonly employed interpretative concepts each time we start a research project. We need to fill the room with interpretative furniture. As has indeed been done in several of the works mentioned. But, more often, concepts such as agency, memory or power, are applied in a rather unreflecting way, as if their meaning is already understood or will be revealed solely through archaeological interpretation. But each historical epoch and context, whether local or global, demands theoretical redefinition and conceptual adjustments to account for its historical and cosmological traditions and particularities. There is no universal Self or Being.

This is exemplified in Alfred Gell's book *Art and Agency* (Gell 1998). He defines agency as being social and relational. That includes also material objects and art, which are ascribed agency once they are immersed into social relationships. This is exemplified by case studies of religious idols and style. Animation, divinity and power can thus be ascribed to specific objects that have undergone special rituals and/or are decorated in a certain way. The observed practice of interchangeability of agency and power between humans, animals and objects in ethnohistorical contexts can be meaningfully understood only by applying a particular, contextualised definition of agency. In this way Gell

turns an abstract western concept of agency into a useful theoretical tool in a specific interpretative context. The transformation of ethnohistorical/anthropological knowledge about material culture into a modern western understanding thus demands a series of interpretative steps, which I exemplify below.

- A. Agency = abstract western concept of intentionality
- B. Symbolic meaning = contextualised western interpretation of material culture as meaningfully constituted.
- C. Sociomaterial relation = contextualised non-western interpretation of material culture as animated and empowered.

Agency can be said to be at work in both B and C, but in C it allows for a more holistic and historically more complete understanding of the relationship between the social and the material. It can probably not always be achieved, as it demands additional oral or textual information. However, social anthropology teaches us that material culture is more than symbolically loaded objects. Some objects can be ascribed with innate religious power and personality that acts back upon people. Therefore, we may assume from C to B, as a hypothesis, that symbolic meanings were embedded in similar interchangeable relations of meaning, power and agency between humans, animals and material culture in the archaeological past.

The task then becomes to construct conceptual relations that define new and relevant interpretative fields of meaning relevant to our inquiry. We must engage in a continuous theoretical labour of transforming knowledge into interpretative concepts. Theoretical concepts, it should be remembered, are always relational. Their meaning and interpretative direction derive from that. Secondly, theoretical concepts should always be historically contextualised. Although this may resemble Middle Range Theory (see Forslund's article in this volume), I prefer to consider the construction of conceptual relations as an exercise on its own, that can take place at all levels of inference. I shall exemplify this briefly in relation to the foregoing discussion (Figure 3).

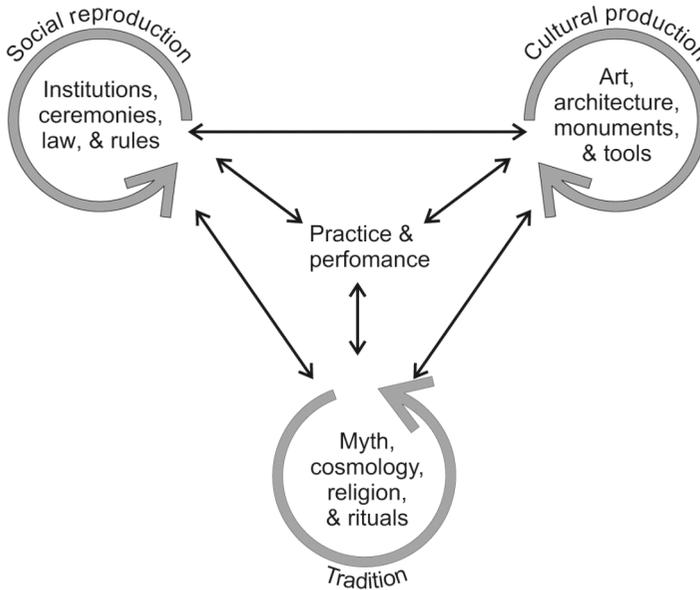


Fig 3. Conceptual relationship between practice and social institutions, traditions and material worlds.

In Figure 3, I have exemplified the dynamic relationship between those factors that should always be considered in a study of practice, performance and agency. It is more than a checklist though, as it suggests that the middle field of everyday routines, practices, performances and decisions are always in a dynamic relationship to tradition and institutions. And indeed, that these institutions themselves are constituted by practice. One can then in the continuing work develop more specific models, or return to Figure 3 in order to evaluate the impact of the three worlds of institutional practice, perhaps by adding some quantitative parameters if possible.

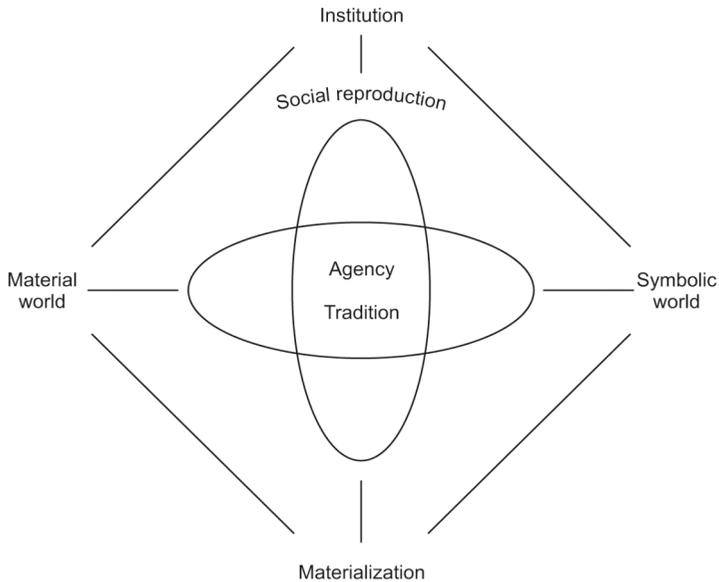


Fig 4. Integrated dynamic relationship between social institutions and tradition and their relation to material culture, symbolic meaning and its materialisation.

In figure 4, I have made an attempt to exemplify the dynamic and dialectic relationship between some of the concepts from Figure 3. This figure exemplifies the more specific relationship between institutions and their materialisation, and how traditions are mainly linked to the material world of symbolic meaning, while institutions and social practice are more closely linked. This is, of course, a hypothesis that can be developed only through further case studies. It suggests, however, that solid meanings of oral tradition and rituals and material meanings are intimately related, whereas institutions may employ these meanings in new ways to

support institutional changes. It further suggests that the relationship between structured meanings in the material record and their relationship to symbolic/stylistic meanings is an underdeveloped field of study that may not always be correlated. Or put otherwise: long-lived cosmological traditions may persist while institutional changes and their material culture change. And vice versa: new cosmological or religious traditions may be introduced in the symbolic language of material culture, while institutions remain stable.

I hope to have exemplified that a renewed interdisciplinary concern with material culture demands a re-opening of theoretical discussions of the relationship between those disciplines mostly engaged in such a study – archaeology, history/ethnohistory and social anthropology. It further demands a re-opening of theoretical discussions of once abandoned concepts of tradition and ethnicity, to mention two of the most central. Finally, it demands the development of new interpretative strategies through the construction of conceptual relations that define new contextualised fields of meaning irrespective of disciplinary boundaries. The articles in this book exemplify and discuss these new Post-disciplinary objectives.

References

- Barrett, J. 1998. The Politics of Scale and the Experience of Distance: The Bronze Age World System. *KVHAA Konferencer 40*, pp13-25. Stockholm.
- Barrett, J. 1994. *Fragments from Antiquity*. Blackwell.
- Barrett, J. 2000. A thesis on agency. In M.-A. Dobres & J. Robb, *Agency in Archaeology*. Routledge. London & New York, pp 61-68.
- Bennet, J. 1997. Homer and the Bronze Age. In I. Morris & B. Powell (eds.): *A New Companion to Homer*. 511-534. Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava. Brill. Leiden, New York, Köln.

- Bradley, R. 2002. *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*. Routledge. New York and London.
- Cavalin, C. 2002. *The Efficacy of Sacrifice. Correspondences in the Rgvedic Hrahmanas*. University of Göteborg.
- Clark, J. E. 2000. Towards a better explanation of hereditary inequality. A critical assesment of natural and historic human-agents. In M.-A. Dobres & J.E. Robb (eds.), *Agency in Archaeology*. Routledge. London & New York, pp92-113.
- DeMarrais, E., Castillo, L.J. & Earle, T. 1996. Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 37, No. 1.
- Dobres, M.-A. and Robb, J. (eds.) 2000. *Agency in Archaeology*. Routledge. London & New York.
- Evans, C. *in press*. Material and Oral Records: A Shamans Meeting in Pokhana.
- Gell, A. 1998. *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.
- Gosden, C. 1994. *Social Being and Time*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Gosden, C. 1999. *Anthropology & Archaeology. A changing relationship*. Routledge.
- Hedeager, Lotte 1998. Cosmological endurance: Pagan identities in early Christian Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology* 3, pp383-397.
- Helms, M. 1979. *Ancient Panama. Chiefs in Search of Power*. University of Texas Press.
- Hodder, I. 1999. *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction*. Blackwell.
- Hodder, I. 1982. *Symbols in Action*. Cambridge.
- Ingold, T. 2000. *The Perception of the Environment*. Essays in livelihood, dweilling and skill. Routledge. London and New York.
- Karlsson, H. 1998. *Re-Thinking Archaeology*. Göteborg, Dept of Archaeology. Gotarc Series.
- Kristiansen *in press*, Institutions and Material Culture. Towards an Inter-contextual Archaeology, In C. Renfrew & E. Demarais (Eds.).
- Kristiansen, K. 1998. *Europe Before History*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kristiansen, K. 1999. The theoretical cycle - a discussion of some universal oppositions in historical interpretation. In J. Goldhahn & P.

- Nordquist (eds.): *Marxistiska perspektiv inom skandinavisk arkeologi*. Arkeologiska studier vid Umeå universitet 5.
- Meskel, L. and Joyce, R. A. 2003. *Embodied Lives. Figuring Ancient maya and Egyptian Experience*. Routledge.
- Odner, K. 2000. *Tradition and Transmission. Bantu, Indo-European and Circumpolar Great Traditions*. Bergen Studies in Social Anthropology. Norse Publications Bergen.
- Renfrew, C. 2001. Commodification and Institution in Group-Oriented and Individualizing Societies. In W. G: Runciman (ed.), *The Origin of Human Social Institutions*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp93-119.
- Rowlands, M. 2004. Relating Anthropology and Archaeology. In J. Bintliff (ed.), *A Companion to Archaeology*. Blackwell Publishing, pp473-490.
- Rowlands, M. 1993. The role of memory in the transmission of culture. *World Archaeology* 25: 141-151.
- Shanks, M. 1992. *Experiencing the Past: On the Character of Archaeology*. Routledge.
- Shanks, M. 1999. *Art and the Early Greek State. An Interpretative Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Shennan, S. 2004. Analytical Archaeology. In J. Bintliff (ed.), *A Companion to Archaeology*. Blackwell Publishing, pp 3-21.
- Sørensen, M.L. S. 1997. Material Culture and Typology. *Current Swedish Archaeology*, Vol. 5: 179-192.
- Thomas, J. 1996. *Time, Culture and Identity: An Interpretative Archaeology*. Routledge.
- Thomas, J. 2004. The Great Dark Book: Archaeology, Experience and Interpretation. In J. Bintliff (ed), *A Companion to Archaeology*. Blackwell Publishing, pp21-37.
- Tilley, C. 1994. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments*. Berg, Oxford.
- Treherne, P. 1995. The warrior's beauty: the masculine body and self-identity in Bronze- Age Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology*, vol.3.1.