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## Defining Islamic Archaeology Some Preliminary Notes<sup>1</sup>

Islamic archaeology is a rapidly expanding area of study, with archaeological projects now being conducted from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia, in sub-Saharan and East Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and Indonesia.<sup>2</sup> The term 'archaeology' encompasses diverse activities including excavation, field survey, building archaeology, landscape archaeology, the analysis of satellite and aerial photography, as well as an array of post-excavation techniques ranging from conventional typological studies to the scientific analysis of manufactured

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<sup>1</sup> This article has been adapted from a lecture presented in February 2006 at the Aga Khan Program in Harvard University. The author is currently working on an introductory book of Islamic archaeology that will appear in the New Edinburgh Islamic Surveys series published by Edinburgh University Press. The research for this project has been greatly facilitated by fellowships held with the Aga Khan programs of MIT and Harvard University. I would like to thank Professors Nasser Rabbat and Gülrü Neçipoglu for their hospitality during the five months I spent in Cambridge MA in 2006.

<sup>2</sup> For a useful survey of current archaeological projects in different regions of the Islamic world, see the "Focus on Islam" series in the four issues of *Antiquity* 79, 2005.

objects, human and animal bones, carbonized seeds and pollen samples. Not only is Islamic archaeology studied as a subject in several institutions, but also courses in Islamic history and art history regularly employ the results of excavations and surveys. It is common for artifacts and buildings recovered in excavations to appear in survey texts on Islamic art. The growth of the discipline in recent decades is remarkable, but paradoxical in its demonstrating that it is easier to establish the range of activities involved in the contemporary practice of Islamic archaeology than to formulate the theoretical foundations underpinning the archaeological analysis of the Islamic past. In this short article I offer some preliminary observations on this problem. I also provide a sketch of the historiography of Islamic archaeology whereby I analyze the role of Islam as a structuring principle in the patterning of material culture and the extent to which it figures into contemporary archaeological practice. The final section of the paper addresses the relationship between interpretations of the Islamic past offered by archaeology and those of other historically-based disciplines.

Interest in the excavated remains of earlier historical periods in the Middle East predates the birth of modern archaeology. For example, in his chronicle, the *Kitab al-Suluk*, the fifteenth-century Egyptian scholar, Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Maqrizi (d. 1442) describes an intriguing archaeological episode. Recounting the events of the year 1342, he writes that a resident of Cairo had unearthed what he claimed to be an ancient mosque near a heap of refuse in the vicinity of Bab al-Luq. As news of the discovery spread, a man of ill-repute (*ba'd shayatin al-'amma*) by the name of Shu'ayb claimed to have received a vision in his sleep which revealed to him that the site was the burial place (*qabr*) of a companion of the Prophet Muhammad. Sure enough, following the excavation of the area by the people, a "shrine" came to light and this new attraction became the locus of popular pilgrimage and nightly celebrations. Al-Maqrizi tells us that, for a fee, the enterprising Shu'ayb offered guided tours to wealthy visitors that included the wives of prominent dignitaries in the city. When the prefect of the city investigated the site he found Shu'ayb had disappeared with all the money he had collected.

The “shrine” itself was found, of course, to be a fabrication.<sup>3</sup>

This event is discussed by Boaz Shoshan in his book, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* in relation to the growth of popular Sufi practices in Cairo during the Mamluk period (1250-1517); but al-Maqrizi’s account may also be read in another light. What he describes is an archaeological process by which material remains – in this case discovered as the result of excavation – are employed in the reconstruction of the Islamic past. While al-Maqrizi relates the story partly to reveal the credulity of those who were taken in by the fraud and the use of dream imagery as cause to excavate is hardly likely to become a major tool of current archaeological analysis, comparisons with the modern practice and reception of archaeology are not as far-fetched as they might first appear. Here we have the case of a chance discovery of architectural elements leading to the formation of a working hypothesis that is tested through digging. The provision of tours around an archaeological site is a regular duty on modern excavations and, as in al-Maqrizi’s example, major archaeological discoveries often become the focus of extensive media attention, even outpourings of religious or nationalist sentiment. The wider interpretation of archaeological remains is not under the sole control of those who unearth them; one might look to the attempts of modern Druids to appropriate “Sea Henge,” the pre-historic wooden structure discovered on the coast of Norfolk in the east of England, or the serious revision of historical events that accompanies the creation of what Neil Asher Silberman calls archaeological “theme parks” at sites like Masada in Israel.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Maqrizi was profoundly interested in the past events and cultures of the Islamic world. His *Kitab al-Mawa'iz wa'l-I'tibar bi-dhikr al-khitat wa'l-athar (Exhortations and Reflections on the History of Urban Quarters and Monuments)* is remarkable for its interest in archaeological

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<sup>3</sup> Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Maqrizi, *Kitab al-Suluk li-ma'rifat duwal al-muluk*, eds., M. Ziada and S. Ashour (Cairo: 1934-72): II.2: 249-50. See also Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 9.

<sup>4</sup> For contrasting perspectives on “Sea Henge”, see [www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/conWebDoc.3870](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/conWebDoc.3870) and [www.warband.org/seahenge.html](http://www.warband.org/seahenge.html)

For ancient sites in Israel, see Neil Asher Silberman, “Structuring the past: Israelis, Palestinians, and the symbolic authority of archaeological monuments,” in N. Silberman and D. Small, eds., *The Archaeology of Israel; Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 237 (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1997): 62-81.

issues such as phases of building construction, the role of architecture in the formation of the urban environment, and the location of areas of economic activity within the cities of Cairo and Fustat.<sup>5</sup> One can also find examples of other forms of engagement with the physical remains of past cultures. For instance, the tenth-century author, Hasan ibn Ahmad al-Hamdani's record of the pre-Islamic antiquities of southern Arabia, the *Kitab al-Iklil* contains numerous descriptions of ancient castles, palaces, dams and aqueducts, as well as vivid reconstructions of the opening of Himyarite tombs.<sup>6</sup> Clearly al-Hamdani's accounts are not to be read in an uncritical fashion – the didactic function of the text should be weighed against its role as entertainment and we have no way of knowing how many of the “excavations” he describes actually occurred – but his interpretations of unfamiliar texts and objects are perhaps not so different from the enthusiastic speculations of eighteenth-century antiquarians in Britain and continental Europe.<sup>7</sup>

My reason for citing these examples is twofold. First, and of less significance, is to emphasize the ambiguity in the term ‘Islamic archaeology.’ Just like signifiers used for other areas of specialism – such as Medieval or Roman archaeology – there seems to be nothing intrinsically “Islamic” in the current practice of Islamic archaeology. Nonetheless there are scholars, most prominently Timothy Insoll, who argue that Islamic archaeology needs to be constituted as a study of Islam, in the sense that the religion provides an underlying structure to human behavior that may be detected in all aspects of the archaeological record – from the explicitly sacred (physical spaces or objects associated with the practice of the faith) to what is

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<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of Maqrizi's aims and method in the composition of *al-Khitat*, see Nasser Rabbat, “Al-Maqrizi's *Khitat*, an Egyptian *lieu de mémoire*,” and Sabri Jarrar, “Al-Maqrizi's reinvention of Egyptian historiography through architectural history,” both in Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ed., *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim* (Cairo and New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2000): 17-30, 31-53.

<sup>6</sup> Hamdani, Hasan ibn Ahmad, *Kitab al-iklil*, vol. 8, ed. A. al-Karmali (Baghdad: Dar al-Salam, 1931). Translated by Nabih Amin Faris as: *The Antiquities of South Arabia*, Princeton Oriental Texts 3 (Princeton NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1938).

<sup>7</sup> For example, William Stukeley, *Itinerarium curiosum: Or, an Account of the Antiquities, and remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, observed in Travels through Great Britain*, 2 vols. (1724, reprinted; Farnborough: Gregg, 1969). For an appreciation of eighteenth-century archaeological literature, see Ian Hodder, “Writing archaeology: Site reports in context,” *Antiquity* 63, 1989: 268-74.

conventionally termed the secular realm (domestic occupation, economic activity, diet, and so on).<sup>8</sup> While Insoll's position seems unduly deterministic in its assertion that one can define the practice of Islam as a set of variables against which the patterning of artifacts or other archaeological data can be measured, it is certainly worth asking whether it is necessary to find methodologies for the interpretation of Islamic material culture that are distinct from those of other periods or geographical areas.

The second point is of greater importance in the present context. Simply, what distinguishes the activities of modern archaeologists from other types of intellectual engagement with the material remains of the Islamic past? Thinking about this question in a historical sense, it is necessary to find ways to differentiate between modern archaeological practice and that of al-Maqrizi or al-Hamdani. Furthermore, how does modern archaeology differ from the activities of nineteenth-century Orientalists like Daniel Fouquet or Stanley Lane-Poole at Fustat, or even early excavations of Islamic sites – Samarqand (1885), the Qal'a of the Beni Hammad in Algeria (1898-1909), Raqqa (1905-06 and 1908), and Cordoba (1910).<sup>9</sup> Clearly, it is impossible to isolate a moment when such a transition occurred and something that can be identified as "Islamic archaeology" was born, though one can point to significant events such as the first identification of Islamic occupation layers through stratigraphic excavation on a multi-period site at Tal al-Safiyya by Frederick Bliss and Robert MacAlister between 1899 and 1902, or the hugely influential publications by Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld of the 1910-1913 excavation seasons at Samarra.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Timothy Insoll, *The Archaeology of Islam* (Oxford and Malden Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1999). He has also developed these ideas in other publications including: T. Insoll, ed., *Archaeology and World Religion* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001); *idem*, *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*, Themes in Archaeology (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>9</sup> Daniel Fouquet, *Contribution à l'étude de la céramique orientale*, Extraits des mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien (Cairo: Institut Égyptien, 1900); Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1886). Bibliography for these early excavations can be found in J. Michael Rogers, *From Antiquarianism to Islamic Archaeology*, Quaderni dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura per la R.A.E. Nuova serie 2 (Cairo, 1974): 1-65; Stephen Vernoit, "The rise of Islamic archaeology," *Muqarnas* 14, 1997: 1-10. For the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa see now Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Raqqa revisited: Ceramics of Ayyubid Syria* (New Haven and London: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2006): 22-26, 192-93.

<sup>10</sup> Frederick Bliss and Robert MacAlister, *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898-1900* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902). For the Samarra excavations, see Alastair Northedge, "Ernst Herzfeld, Samarra, and

A number of scholars – including Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, Michael Rogers and Stephen Vernoit – have addressed the evolution of Islamic archaeology from its antiquarian roots through to the present, and while I do not want retrace the same ground here, it is worth making two general observations about these surveys.<sup>11</sup> First, the authors approach archaeology primarily as a means to explicate what may be characterized as art-historical issues concerning the historical context and stylistic evolution of architecture and portable artifacts. Little consideration is given to the wider roles of archaeology in the interpretation of questions such as settlement patterns, agricultural practices, industrial activity, and so on. Second, with the exception of Grabar, the authors make no attempt to define what archaeology or an archaeological approach might actually be. Aside from casual references to the business of digging, there appears to be an assumption that archaeology simply comprises modes of collecting and classifying data – the interpretation of this evidence (iconography, aesthetic qualities, historical significance) being left to others. Without this implicit judgment, it is difficult to see what it is that might hold together such diverse scholarly enterprises as Max van Berchem’s meticulous collection of monumental inscriptions, an architectural study by André Godard, and an eighteenth-century monograph on Islamic coin hoards in Scandinavia under the general heading of “archaeology.”

Grabar rightly separates the technical aspects of archaeology – procedures for the retrieval and ordering of artifacts or other forms of data – from the more abstract, interpretive dimensions of the discipline. He proposes a general definition of the archaeological enterprise as “an attempt to provide a complete description of the material culture of a time or place” before suggesting some broad distinctions in terms of goals and methodology. Grabar’s comments were written in 1976 and, predictably, theorists have moved the nature of archaeological interpretation in different directions away from the “ideal” of an apparently

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Islamic archaeology,” in A. Gunter and S. Hauser, eds., *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1900-1950* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005): 383-403.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Ettinghausen, “Islamic art and archaeology,” in T. C. Young, ed., *Near Eastern Culture and Society* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951): 17-47; Oleg Grabar, “Islamic art and archaeology,” in L. Binder, ed., *The Study of the Middle East: Research and Scholarship in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (New York: Wiley, 1976): 229-63; Rogers (1974); Vernoit (1997).

objective “complete description” of past time periods.<sup>12</sup> It is also notable that Grabar’s focus is on the material culture itself, rather than how the spatial and chronological patterning of archaeological artifacts may be employed to look at questions of social stratification, cultural and economic interaction, the performance of ritual, or the negotiation of group identity. Allowing for these reservations, one can agree that it is at the level of interpretation and not technique that Islamic archaeology as a historical discipline should be defined. This leads to the question of what distinguishes the understanding of the past formulated by archaeologists from that reconstructed by textual historians.

It is important to set realistic boundaries concerning what Islamic archaeology can potentially show us about past events and patterns of human behavior, but at the same time this process of definition should not be dictated by the requirements of other disciplines. The medieval archaeologist Timothy Champion has coined the phrase, “the tyranny of the historical record” to refer to the ways textual history has created an overarching narrative which has constricted the scope of archaeological research through the establishment of procession of significant events – changes of dynasty, wars, and so on – that may have little correlation with the excavated record.<sup>13</sup> Historians may come to excavation reports with expectations that are unlikely to be satisfied by the data presented in them. In his recent book, *Islamic Historiography*, Chase Robinson mentions the discovery and excavation of the dwellings of the Abbasid family at the southern Jordanian site of Humayma conducted by Rebecca Foote, John Olesen and others. Dating to the first half of the eighth century, the archaeological remains illuminate a critical phase in the decades prior to the demise of the Umayyad caliphate and the rise of the Abbasids. Robinson observes that, for all its intrinsic archaeological interest, the excavation of Humayma is unlikely to provide us with new information about the political

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<sup>12</sup> There is a vast literature on archaeological theory. For a useful survey of the main branches, see the essays in Ian Hodder *et al.*, eds., *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> Timothy Champion, “Medieval archaeology and the tyranny of the historical record,” in D. Austin and L. Alcock, eds., *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990): 79-95.

events leading up to Abbasid revolution.<sup>14</sup>

It is difficult to disagree with this statement to the extent that archaeology is not an indicator of individual thought processes or complex human actions that occur over a short time span, but one might criticize Robinson for asking the wrong questions of the available evidence. For instance, an archaeological interpretation could take into account the location of Humayma in relation to ancient *Via Nova Traiana*, and how this main route might have facilitated communication between the Abbasid family and their supporters in other regions.<sup>15</sup> Taking this further, the economic dimension of the eastward shift of the center of power under the Abbasids can be investigated through the study of land exploitation in Iraq from the late Sasanian period onward. Archaeology can place into its proper perspective the role of caliphal *fiat* in the creation of new cities such as Baghdad and Samarra by directing attention to the roles played by the provision of labor and resources from the agricultural hinterlands. A seminal study in this regard is the *Land Behind Baghdad* by Robert Adams.<sup>16</sup> Looking in another direction, recent archaeological work at Raqqa in northeast Syria has focused upon the development of the industrial district that supported the construction and subsequent occupation of the Abbasid city of Rafiqa in the last quarter of the eighth century.<sup>17</sup>

Another area where there appears to be a disjuncture between archaeology and conventional textual history is in the perception of the passage of time. As already noted, archaeology is generally not well suited to the interpretation of single events as they appear in

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<sup>14</sup> Chase Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, Themes in Islamic History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 53. For finds from the Abbasid complex at Humayma, see Rebecca Foote, "Frescoes and carved ivory from the Abbasid family homestead at Humeima," *Journal of the Roman Archaeology* 12.1, 1999: 423-28.

<sup>15</sup> David Graf, "The *Via Nova Traiana* in Arabia Petraea," in John Humphrey, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Near East; Some recent archaeological Research*, Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series 14 (Ann Arbor Mich., 1995): 241-68.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Adams, *Land behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965). For a critique of Adams' methods and conclusions, see Michael Morony, "Land use and settlement patterns in Late Sasanian and Early Islamic Iraq," in G. King and A. Cameron, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East II: Land Use and Settlement Patterns*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam I (Princeton NJ: Darwin Press, 1994): 221-29.

<sup>17</sup> For a recent survey of excavations of this industrial region, see Julian Henderson *et al.*, "Experiment and innovation: Early Islamic industry at al-Raqqa, Syria," *Antiquity* 79, 2005: 130-45.



annalistic chronicles, but a more profound distinction can also be made. The archaeologist and theorist Louis Binford noted that, with the exception of cataclysmic events such as earthquakes or the destruction of Pompeii, archaeology does not record practices of human deposition over the short-term. He astutely observes that the archaeological time periods that might be identified in the stratigraphic excavation of a building bear no direct relation to time as it was experienced by those who deposited the material in the first place.<sup>18</sup> Taking this further, archaeological studies of changing settlement patterns often deal in chronological phases that exist beyond the domains of both lived experience and contemporary historical or geographical writing. Given this elasticity of archaeological time, it is hardly surprising that archaeologists have been drawn to the reframing of historical process in the writings of the *Annales* school, most influentially Ferdinand Braudel though one might also point to the studies of long-term trading patterns in the Medieval Mediterranean by Maurice Lombard.<sup>19</sup> The concept of the *longue durée* has already been employed in Islamic archaeology.<sup>20</sup>

This ongoing dialogue with textual history is occurring in other fields of archaeological research, and in recent decades the term 'Historical Archaeology' has gained wider usage. Given the abundance of written sources available through most phases of Islamic history, it might seem rather obvious that Islamic archaeology would be classified as a branch of Historical Archaeology. In fact, there has been much disagreement among archaeologists as to how this term may be deployed, with many of those in North America adopting a narrower

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<sup>18</sup> Louis Binford, "Behavioral archaeology and the 'Pompeii premise,'" *Journal of Anthropological Research* 37, 1981: 195-208. See also discussion of these ideas in Michael Smith, "Braudel's temporal rhythms and chronology theory in archaeology," in A. Bernard Knapp, ed., *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*, New Directions in Archaeology (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 23-34 (see especially 26-27). For the conceptualization of long-term structures in archaeology, see also Ian Hodder, ed., *Archaeology as Long-Term History*, New Directions in Archaeology (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

<sup>19</sup> For an archaeological perspective on Lombard (and bibliography), see Andrew Sherratt, "What can archaeologists learn from the Annalistes?" in Knapp (1992): 135-42 (see 138).

<sup>20</sup> For example, Jeremy Johns, "The *Longue Durée*: state and settlement strategies in southern Transjordan across the Islamic centuries," in Eugene Rogan and Tariq Tell, eds., *Village, Steppe and State. The Social Origins of Modern Jordan* (London and New York: British Academic Press, 1995): 1-31; Insoll (1999).

interpretation that focuses solely upon developments after 1492.<sup>21</sup> It is telling that the recent *Encyclopedia of Historical Archaeology* contains one entry devoted specifically to the Islamic period, that of Ottoman Empire.<sup>22</sup> Drawing upon world systems theory, Historical Archaeology thus becomes the study of material culture during the era of the spread of capitalism and European colonial expansion. Counterarguments have criticized the excessively Euro-centric nature of this model. It may also be noted that, as Janet Abu Lughod has demonstrated, complex international trading systems certainly operated prior to the Early Modern period.<sup>23</sup>

Leaving these disputes aside, the principal value of having a category of Historical Archaeology is that it places in the foreground the need to develop and articulate methodologies concerning the integration of archaeological and textual data.<sup>24</sup> Some studies have looked at the ways in which researchers can evaluate the modes of transmission for both texts and artifacts in order to establish their relative independence as sources for study of the past. The production of texts and of branches of knowledge can themselves become an aspect of archaeological analysis. In addition, Historical Archaeology requires the researcher to establish those areas of inquiry into the past where archaeology can make a distinct contribution. For instance, with the growth of historical studies of non-elite groups, it is no longer sufficient to claim that archaeology is the only means to recreate the lives of the urban poor or the inhabitants of rural areas. Thus, the archaeologist needs to make clear what research problems an excavation or survey hopes to address.

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<sup>21</sup> For an evaluation of recent trends in Historical Archaeology, see Matthew Johnson, "Rethinking Historical Archaeology," in P. Funari, M. Hall and S. Jones, eds., *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge*, One World Archaeology (London and New York: Routledge, 1999): 23-36. For perspectives on Ottoman Archaeology, see Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, eds., *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking new Ground*. Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology (New York and Boston: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2000).

<sup>22</sup> Lynda Carroll, "Ottoman empire," in Charles Orser, ed., *Encyclopedia of Historical Archaeology* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002): 406-407.

<sup>23</sup> Janet Abu Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

<sup>24</sup> For instance, see contributions in David Small, ed., *Methods in the Mediterranean: Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology*, Bibliotheca Classica Batava (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1995).

A common complaint in earlier surveys of Islamic archaeology was that the paucity of published excavations made it difficult to move from the particulars of a given site to the sorts of wider generalizations that would be of interest to scholars in cognate disciplines. While it is certainly the case that the coverage of excavations and surveys is still poor in many regions of the Islamic world, and the backlog of unpublished projects remains a problem, it is not a lack of published field reports that stands in the way of archaeology making a more significant contribution to the study of past Islamic cultures.<sup>25</sup> The dry and technical character of excavation reports has drawn criticism from some prominent names in archaeological theory,<sup>26</sup> and this is no less true for the publication of Islamic sites. Beyond the matters of presentation and language, however, there are two priorities for Islamic archaeology if it is to increase its accessibility and relevance: first, the writing of accounts of specific regions or periods based on the synthesis of data from large numbers of excavations and surveys; and second, studies that focus upon the methods employed by archaeologists in the interpretation of data from Islamic sites. Several fine examples of the first type of text exist, but much more work is required to communicate the theory and practice of Islamic archaeology to a non-specialist audience.

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<sup>25</sup> For an illuminating demonstration of the problems involved in the synthesis of archaeological data, see the essay by Michael Morony and the response by Donald Whitcomb in Irene Bierman, ed., *Identity and Material Culture in the Early Islamic World*, UCLA Near East Center Colloquium Series (Los Angeles: Center for Near East Studies, 1995).

<sup>26</sup> For instance, Christopher Tilley, "Excavation as theatre," *Antiquity* 63, 1989: 275-80.