

CELTIC CONSTRUCTS

HERITAGE MEDIA, ARCHAEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE POLITICS OF CONSUMPTION IN 1990s BRITAIN

Angela A. Piccini

15 January 1999

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of Archaeology and Prehistory
University of Sheffield

ABSTRACT

Over the past ten years, the academic archaeological community has begun to come to terms with some of the implications of the archaeological 're-thinking the Celts'. Yet, what can we say about the ways in which images of an archaeo-historic Celtic cultural package are circulated in heritage media, and invested with meaning by the consumers (i.e. us all) of those media? Despite the academic critique of the potentially dangerous conflation of race and politics which characterizes Celticentric heritage media, very little work has been done on the forms that these media take, and on the actual mobilization of Celtic images in the everyday.

This dissertation represents an attempt to chart the landscapes of Celticentric heritage media in English-speaking Europe of the 1990s, and the ways in which those landscapes are mobilized in our lives. From in-depth interviews with visitors to two Welsh spaces of Celtic representation – Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica – I go on to suggest that while it is a mistake to reduce such consumption to a value-free leisure activity, neither should we uncritically assume that representations of the Celtic automatically reproduce racist and nationalist discourses via an unproblematic relationship between 'text' and 'reader'. Rather, we need to look at the specific circumstances of active visitor engagement in order to begin to understand the ways in which these physical representations of Celtic culture are 'good to think' the politics of identity in late-1990s Britain.

From this work I am able to suggest creative ways forward for those presenting media narratives of pastness. The key is to rethink our own professional attitudes towards monolithic notions of 'the public' and the meanings which are invested in the communal consumption of images of a Celtic past.

To ELISABETH and ENZO, and to memories of MABEL

CONTENTS

	<i>Abstract</i>	<i>i</i>
	<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>v</i>
	INTRODUCTION	1
PART I	TRAVELS THROUGH THE MISTS OF TIME	15
1	ORIGINS OF THE CELT AS TEXT	16
	Dominant Greek and Roman constructions	18
	Celt, Gaul, or Briton?	19
	Problematizing text	21
	Setting up the Briton/Celt conflation	24
2	ANTIQUARIANISM, ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE TEXTUAL CELT	26
	An emerging historical phenomenon	26
	Antiquarian articulations	29
	Unearthing the Celts	34
	Rethinking the Iron Age	40
PART II	NARRATING HERITAGE MEDIA	43
3	TELEVISION AND THE DOMESTICATED PAST	44
	Watching TV	53
	A few words about category	55
	Celtic grand narratives	56
	Archaeological practice in film	66
	Welsh Celts and Celtic Wales	69
	From prehistoric culture to cultural production	72
4	HERITAGE SPACES AND THE PUBLIC CONSUMPTION OF IDENTITY	77
	Historical background	79
	Theorizing the spaces of heritage	82
	The Celt on national display	86
	Welsh sites of Celtic representation	100
	The Andover Museum of the Iron Age	110
	Heterotopia and the encountering of heritage	116
	Moving through museum spaces and performing identities	120
	Conclusions	121
5	HERITAGE SHOPPING	123
	Introduction	123
	Consumption	124
	Tourism and a Celtic past	126
	Images of the past	136

	Supplying heritage	139
	Jewellery	143
	Miscellaneous objects	147
	Books	149
	Conclusions	154
6	LEARNING TO THINK WITH THE PAST	157
	Educational background	157
	Curricular development	160
	Archaeology in education	161
	English narratives of archaeo-history	164
	The curriculum in Wales	169
	Scotland	176
	Beyond the playground	179
	Education and identity	188
	Conclusions	190
PART III	VISITOR GAZES AND CONSUMING PASSIONS	192
7	CONSUMING CELTIC WALES	193
	Introduction	193
	The everyday of consuming heritage	194
	Wales and heritage consumption	197
	Speaking Celtic Wales	201
	Learning to think with the past	206
	Consumption as authentic experience	214
	Formulations of Welsh identity	219
	Conclusions	224
8	OF MEMORY AND THE PRESENT PAST	227
	Introduction	227
	Identity, ethnicity and race	229
	Ethnic nationalism	232
	Being and memory	235
	Where now?	238
APPENDIX	QUESTIONNAIRE TRANSCRIPTS	242
	<i>References</i>	356

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation owes its existence to the many people who have contributed to its coming into being. Firstly, without a Sheffield University Research Studentship and Overseas Research Scholarship I would not have been able to undertake this research in the first place.

Thanks go to the supportive academic community in the Archaeology Department at Sheffield University, in particular to my supervisors Mike Parker Pearson and John Moreland and to Mark Edmonds, for their tremendous help in the development of my arguments. Thanks are also due to Pyrs Gruffudd and David Herbert in the Geography Department of the University of Wales Swansea. Our Board of Celtic Studies funded *Social Construction of Heritage and its Meanings in Modern Wales* project provided a unique opportunity to extend certain aspects of my research.

The British Broadcasting Corporation, British Film Institute, Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, Channel 4, English Heritage, Historic Scotland, ITV, Ken Brassil of the National Museums & Galleries of Wales, Richard Warner in Northern Ireland, Phil Bennett of Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort, the staff at Celtica and the Museum of Welsh Life, Garry Brace of the Curriculum Council for Wales and many other professionals in the fields of heritage discourse have contributed incalculable assistance.

The many people who allowed me into moments of their lives to discuss issues of culture, archaeology and identity, are also owed a huge debt of thanks from me: Roger Butts, John Cynddylan, Bob Damerell, Bernard Deacon, Jan and Dick Gendall, Andrew George, Neil Kennedy, John and Jacqui Wood, staff at the Cornish Studies Institute, the many people I spoke with during the 1993 Pan-Celtic festival in Galway, the people of South Uist (Outer Hebrides), and the visitors to Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort, Celtica and the Celtic Village at The Museum of Welsh Life in Wales.

Particularly important have been the friendships of, and my discussions with, Bill Bevan, Adam Gearey, Emteaz Hussain, Kurtis Lesick, Malcolm Lillie, Karen Meadows, Jem Noble, Elisabeth Piccini, Alex Woolf and participants on both the Arch-theory and Celtic-I Internet discussion groups. They have had a hugely significant influence on my ways of thinking about heritage media. And without Jem Noble's support, in so many ways, this dissertation might never have seen the light of day.

However, the responsibility for the content of this dissertation lies, as is to be expected, with me alone.

Finally, but most importantly, I thank Elisabeth and Enzo for their infinite patience, support and love.

INTRODUCTION

I WAS A VICTIM OF A SERIES OF ACCIDENTS, AS ARE WE ALL.

(Unk's only explanation to the gathered crowd)
Kurt Vonnegut, *The Sirens of Titan*

Much as I loved the thrill of ancient history and arithmetic, summer was still a time to rejoice in quiet, sun-dappled, book-filled days spent away from all those children who found the prospect of someone who actually liked school just too difficult to comprehend.

Each year was marked by the epic road journey on which my mother and I would embark. A mad, two-day drive began it – down across the Canadian border and into the Washington and Oregon old-growth forests to emerge, blinking, in the sunshine of northern California. From there would begin the odyssey proper, our movements along the coastline marked in pen on the map, in the inky traces of oil from our car along the eroding coast highway, and with the dust of crumbling churches and 'ghost towns' on our clothes. It was on these journeys that I first acquired a taste for places whose walls seemed to contain the voices and movements of times past.

I suppose my first memories of spaces built long ago are of the Franciscan monasteries which punctuate the California coast route. San Juan de Capistrano was my favourite, for it was to its eaves and bellcots that the swallows would return every winter after having spent the summer months in my home province far to the north. We would wander along the monastery's cool corridors, through silent dormitories and kitchens all suffused with the odour of incense and flowers.

And, of course, we always bought whatever site leaflet or guidebook was on offer (and the occasional souvenir – but only if it was well-made) as they made for excellent reading material in our motel room, to be consumed along with our picnic suppers of olives, cheese and figs. These texts were eventually to fill up several shoe boxes stowed away in my wardrobe; every time we moved house I would open them up and sift through the bits of paper with their fading print and be magically transported back to the smells, sights, and sounds of those places and times. My shoe boxes became worlds and centuries of their own – with each book and pamphlet a distinct country and year. And even while deeply in the throes of adolescence, while I became a

rather truculent travelling companion I still enjoyed these visits to monasteries and museums. These activities had quite unconsciously become a necessary part of my being (if only on holiday).

We have all, at one time or another, by 'mistake' or by design, visited a museum or watched a television documentary about the past or bought (or been bought) the guidebook, commemorative tea-towel, mug, postcard or pen. Representations of a material, commodified past are very much a part of the landscapes of our everyday lives.

This dissertation marks my attempt to chart various heritage media which seek to represent an archaeo-historic Celtic cultural package, and to explore how we use these discourses of heritage in the narration of ourselves and our communities in Britain of the 1990s. It is very much a product of my own fascination-with-the-fascination-with the role of 'the Celts' in the British Isles, that distinct blend of images of mysticism, bravery, art and Golden Age, called upon over the past two millennia, which has become grounded in the materiality of archaeological practice. I intend to explore the intersection of Celticentric heritage spaces of representation and the meaningful everyday practice of those who engage with these spaces and to examine how this tessellates with issues of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1972; 1979). In other words, I will explore a particular mosaic of identity in Britain which is given form through the interlocking 'tiles' (notions) of archaeo-historic Celtic culture, the materiality of heritage media and questions of what it means to 'accumulate' cultural capital through the consumption of these cultural productions (Bourdieu, 1984; Samuel, 1994), with an understanding that:

the self-consciously selective accumulation of material objects in museums, their conservation in heritage sites, the storage of ideas in books and in other forms of mnemonic tradition and the communication of this information through formal and informal education do not preserve 'the' past; rather, each institution provides the structure (architectural and ideological) within which much more specific pasts are conceived, structured, reinforced and promulgated (Molyneux, 1994: 4).

Throughout this dissertation I take as a case study the production and consumption of a Celtic Iron Age in the heritage spaces of Wales in order to contextualize the general narratives of a British Celtic cultural package. Although I am not suggesting that the specific case of Wales should be extrapolated into some sort of British model of Celticentric consumption, what I do argue is that just as we need to look at specific Iron Ages in order to interrupt a monolithic Celtic Iron Age, we need to appreciate the specific roles that an overtly Celticized Iron Ages play in competing discourses of nation (Welsh and British), in perhaps differing politico-cultural agendas. In contextualizing these various heritage media we can begin to appreciate the complex

and often contradictory interweave of discourses of identity, of what it means to consume a Celtic past.

Archaeology makes pasts through its present mediation of materiality. As discourse it is the practice of translating material facts into ideas with which we make the present meaningful through our particular relationships to what we have defined as past (Bourdieu, 1977; Foucault, 1970; Shanks and Tilley, 1992: 91-93). The heritage industry is a facet of archaeological practice in that it, too, is in the business (*sic*) of translating objects in order to write pasts. In this dissertation I range widely across the ways in which the archaeological pasts represented in heritage spaces (museums, heritage centres, open-air reconstructions), on television, in the commodified material culture associated with the past, in national curricula – in other words in those official, ‘mass’ media designed within a context of an unquestioned belief in valuing the past – resonate through formulations of national and cultural identity in the particular setting of 1990s Britain. I am interested in the relationships among the material culture of heritage and perception: perceptions of the past, of one’s own identity, of others.

Discourses of heritage

The study of heritage in contemporary Britain has circulated around three related, yet distinct, arguments. Firstly, a liberal critique of assumed right-wing bias in the commodification of nostalgia, reminiscence and memory warned against the fixing of a parochial culture in the growing heritage industry of the 1980s (Ascherson, 1987; Hewison, 1987; Jenkins, 1992; Lowenthal, 1985). This was seen to be linked with what, at the end of the that decade, cultural theorists and philosophers came to refer to as the ‘logic of late capitalism’, that is, the hypercapitalism of the now-global market-driven economy, whereby image, object, authenticity and artifice are seemingly valued equally under the sign of the dollar, pound, or Euro (*cf.* Jameson, 1984; Shanks and Tilley, 1992).

Secondly, other writers have sought to explore the interplay between narratives of past and present and the role that constructed identities have always played in discourses of ethnicity and nationhood, most recently characterized as a ‘heritage industry’ (*cf.* Anderson, 1983; Bhabha, 1990a; b; Connerton, 1989; Daniels, 1993; the essays in Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Lunn, 1996: 86; Samuel, 1994; Shields, 1991; Smith, 1984; Urry, 1996; Wright, 1985). Such an approach paves the way towards dissolving the oppositions between ‘public’ and ‘academic author’, set up by the heritage ideologues (Shanks, 1992).

The publication of Raphael Samuel's *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (1994), marked an important shift in this direction for the study of 'heritage'. In it, aspects of the material culture of heritage – such as the 'authentic' handmade bricks which lend today's house an air of Victorian sensibility, and the startling translation of objects once associated with poverty into chic 'must-haves' – are discussed in the context of a commodification of heritage which signifies the democratization of writing what I term archaeo-history (a narrative of 'pastness' which relies on the various practices of archaeology). Samuel's aim has been to critique what he suggests are the elitist ideologies of writers such as Hewison (1987) and Lowenthal (1985), and to celebrate 'unofficial knowledges' – those myriad narratives of the past written through the production and consumption of heritage artefacts.

Thirdly, and most recently, 'consumption' – the creative appropriation of the world around us to our own situated subjectivity – has come to the fore as a particularly useful way of acknowledging both individuals' mapping of their lives (simultaneously a practice and a form of understanding) and that the structures which produce knowledges tend to be based on discourses of inequality (Miller, 1995a; Miller, 1995b: 30; Morley, 1992; Morley and Robbins, 1995). In the study of heritage, focus on consumption has taken the form of understanding heritage as media – that heritage embodies a 'public historical sphere' encompassing museums, heritage centres, television documentaries (Michael Bommers and Patrick Wright, 1982: 266 cited in Bennett, 1995: 132; Silverstone, 1989) – and of charting visitor readings of heritage sites in order to explore the ways in which people actually make sense of and use heritage narratives (Bagnall, 1996; Fyfe and Ross, 1996). This work suggests that it is not enough that we judge heritage representations in terms of 'accuracy', 'authenticity' and what visitors 'learn' (Prentice, 1993; 1995). Rather, we need to begin to understand the ways in which our engagements in the spaces of heritage impact on our own construction of politicized identities in the present.

I suggest, however, that a significant problem with much of the work written about heritage is that although the aim has been to begin to develop understandings of the ways in which a material culture of heritage circulates through our everyday lives, the focus has been on 'heritage' as a whole, such that MDF *faux* Victorian coving is equated with Arthurian fun fairs and 'living history' versions of industrial landscapes (*cf.* Eco, 1986). Even the important work being conducted into the ways in which people activate heritage discourses in their day-to-day lives (Bagnall, 1996; Fyfe and Ross, 1996) has not addressed the specific content of heritage media, nor how particular images associated with specific episodes in the story of Britain's past impact on the ways in which we think the past in the present. I suggest that we need this specific approach in order to fully illuminate the practice of archaeology as a fourfold hermeneutic – as a

social science within (1), yet also interrogating (2), the social whereby the pasts of 'alien' cultures (3) are made in the present (4) (Shanks and Tilley, 1992: 103–115).

The Celtic cultural package

In Part I, I set out a context within which to interrogate present representations of Celtic culture. I begin, in chapter one, with the Classical ethnographic formulations of those various Iron Age peoples living in western Europe. Taking my cue very much from Malcolm Chapman (1992) and Jane Webster (1995a; b), I look at how the oft-quoted observations about the Celts by the Greeks and Romans themselves represent situated artefacts which require critical contextualizing. It is not a question of somehow being able to 'purge' the obvious cultural biases displayed in the text to leave a perfect template for the understanding of the British Iron Age (Hill, 1989; Merriman, 1987). Rather, it is more useful, perhaps, to understand the ethnographic texts as heritage media in themselves, that what they uniquely signify is the material expression of the Greek or Roman community, an expression necessary for the reproduction of that community.

How those texts came to be appropriated over the past 500 years to a specifically (though not exclusively) British sense of community, is sketched out in chapter two. Though by no means a comprehensive history, chapter two is intended to point towards moments when people in Britain called up 'the Celts' – fast becoming a very messy encrustation of image and text – to represent aspects of a collective British past. I am not, however, suggesting that the present use of an archaeo-historic Celtic culture represents some causal progression from the Renaissance. If the past exists only in the present, then every age constructs a past which makes sense of the present. I am also not unaware that this refers also to the questions I pose here. Chapter two certainly represents my own historicized understanding of the role of that narrative in my making sense of today.

In chapter two I move from discussing the 'discovery' of Greek and Roman texts by Renaissance scholars through the birth of British empire and antiquarianism and on to the origins of Iron Age archaeology and the current deconstruction of a Celtic British Iron Age. Fabulous tales of animalistic peoples without writing appear to have struck a chord in sixteenth-century European elite society only just encountering and colonizing the 'savage' peoples of the Americas and Africa. Notions of the Celtic have been particularly resonant in Britain over these centuries, with the emergence of concrete associations between the ancient Celts of the texts and those peoples living on the 'fringes' of the British Isles – the Welsh, Scots, Irish and Cornish – to

create the Celt as a marker of race and culture in the Romantic invention of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Smiles, 1991; 1994).

Although twenty years ago writers such as Stuart Piggott were beginning to disentangle the Celtic from the druidic and to de-mythologize aspects of the archaeology of the Iron Age (1975), a continued underlying assumption that Celtic culture existed as some sort of culturally coherent whole from the Iron Age through to the medieval period and beyond, has marked mainstream archaeological inquiry (Cunliffe, 1990; Kruta, et al, 1991; Megaw and Megaw, 1994). Recent interest in different formulations of the British Iron Age may, perhaps, be traced to Nick Merriman's re-appraisal of the literary and antiquarian history of Britain and critique of the conflation of the British Iron Age with the Celtic (1987). Today archaeologists continue to grapple with writing different British Iron Ages, Iron Ages not defined by ideas of Celtic culture (cf. Bevan, 1997; 1999; forthcoming; Champion, 1987; Collis, 1994; 1995; 1997; Hill, 1989; 1992; 1995; Hill and Cumberpatch, 1995; Hingley, 1992; 1995; Meadows, 1994; Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994; Webster, 1995a; b). Although, to cite but one instance, the entrance orientations of Iron Age roundhouses in Britain show marked uniformity throughout Britain (Oswald, 1991), it is being increasingly recognized that we need to look beyond Celtic models in order to construct rigorous interpretations which may allow us to say something far more profound about how specific Iron Age communities may have apprehended their worlds than simple recourse to 'warrior cultures' has done so far (Collis, 1997).

Media(ted) Celts

To explore the ways in which a rather fluid Celtic cultural package runs through the *realpolitik* of British cultural production and its role in the reproduction of power/knowledge relations today I turn, in Part II, to discuss media which represent a specifically archaeo-historic Celtic culture: that is, those cultural productions whose images are circulated through the public spaces of broadcast television, heritage spaces (museums, heritage centres and open-air reconstructions), schools and the marketplace. Rather than attempt a fully comprehensive documentation of all representations of the Celtic in Britain (cf. Chapman, 1992 on the widespread cultural use of 'Celtic' as a social signifier) I focus on institutional, 'official' stories about archaeology. There is a nationwide distribution of Celtic images through televised archaeo-historical documentary; museums such as the British Museum, the National Museum of Wales,

the Royal Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh and the National Museum of Ireland¹; educational curricula; and heritage-related material culture: the Celtic mugs, tea-towels and do-it-yourself interlace books which are money-earners for increasingly financially strapped museums and heritage sites. These large, public spaces of heritage media continue to represent a belief that there is a past for us to discover and claim as our own. Importantly, these media broadcast the need for a collective commemoration of a Celtic past by which the collective as a whole is re-affirmed (cf. Anderson, 1983; Billig, 1995; Connerton, 1989). Once we begin to understand the positioning of these media within particular ways of being in the world, the 'politics of the past' (Gathercole and Lowenthal, 1990) become inescapable.

Television and the domesticated past

In chapter three, I suggest that archaeo-historic television documentaries comprise a significant medium through which we consume the past in a non-professional context. Certainly, television watching generally has been identified as a significant locus for the negotiation of our social roles, roles contextualized through what Pierre Bourdieu terms *habitus* (1984; 1990; 1991; 1992), our learned gestures to and unconscious ways of being in the community. Within the lived space of the domestic (whether in our own home, or in another's) we mediate relationships with ourselves, each other and the world around us. Television is a widely accepted participant within that domestic space and its narrative structure provides 'a secure framework for the representation and control of the unfamiliar or threatening' (Silverstone, 1994: 21). Although there is a growing body of literature on the production and consumption of television and its role in the mediation of everyday life (Morley, 1992; 1995; Morley and Robins, 1995; Silverstone, 1994; Silverstone and Hirsch, 1992), no serious attempt has been made to examine the ways in which the seemingly innocuous field of archaeo-historical programmes frame ways of seeing identity and nation.²

Over the course of my fieldwork I watched various previously televised archaeo-historical documentaries in the video facilities at the British Film Institute. Although my research capabilities were curtailed by prohibitive access regulations at the major television channels (the

¹ Although not part of the UK, I do include discussion about the Republic of Ireland's use of the Celtic partly because Ireland's history and its academic traditions have been so intimately tied to that of Britain's. Moreover, as will become clear in chapter two, the ways in which Ireland has been defined as Celtic over the past centuries bears close relation to England's relations with Wales and Scotland. There is, then, a certain English intellectual legacy that remains in Ireland that seems not to warrant ignoring the case of the Republic simply because of modern political boundaries.

² However, Patrick Wright (1985) recognized the need for an intermediate study of heritage, arguing that television and other media were as much a part of the heritage industry as museums.

BBC, for example, does not provide for any public access to its archives), the BFI contains many of the widely watched programmes about archaeology and the Celts. In chapter three I discuss some of these films in order to provide a context for how Celtic culture is structured for consumption within domestic spaces. Because the domestic space is a principle ground for the formulation and reproduction of ideas about the self and community, television representations of the past illustrated with material culture obviously have a role to play in how we conceive of both past and present.

Of particular note in television representations of the Celtic past is an emphasis on Romantic and overtly gendered images of Celtic culture (discussed in chapters one and two). The archaeo-historic documentaries I screened promised a certain unveiling of Celtic culture, but always concluded that mystery clung to this particular past (Piccini, 1996). Celts are 'tied to the earth' and 'worship rivers' (*The Isle is Full of Noises*, BBC 2 production for *Everyman*, 1992) and exhibit 'a mystical relationship...[with] their environment' (*The Celts*, BBC 1 production, 1987).

Museums and the public consumption of identity

In chapter four I move out from the domestic into the communal spaces of heritage in the form of museums and heritage centres, to explore the ways in which they spatialize Celtic pasts for 'a public'. I visited the major national museums which display a defined Celtic Iron Age and examined what was being presented and how. I also look at the narratives displayed at Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort (an open-air reconstruction and working excavation), Celtica (a privately run multi-media Celtic experience in mid-Wales), and the Celtic Village at the Museum of Welsh life (an open-air museum, part of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales) to examine the ways in which the national narratives of a Celtic Iron Age resonate through specifically Welsh spaces of heritage. I then turn to the Andover Museum of the Iron Age (a museum largely devoted to Iron Age Danebury) to discuss whether the archaeo-historic narrative displayed in a site-specific museum differs significantly from the generalized national stories.

I am intrigued by questions of what a museum represents, why we feel the continued need to build special spaces in which to display the past. Are museums simply three-dimensional texts, the making 'real' of what we read in books and see on television? Specifically, what is the significance of displaying this cultural entity called the Celts, an entity whose continuity into the present day is consistently asserted? Links between the museum and the fairground's carnivalesque (Bennett, 1996; Shields, 1991) tie in nicely with the ways in which the Celt has been cast as a grotesque, revered and reviled, reminding an ordered, masculinized English of the earthier pleasures of drink and bloodlust (*cf.* Evans, 1996: 34-36; Bakhtin, 1968; *cf.* Cairns and Richards, 1988).

Of course, the ways in which we consume the spaces of heritage are structured by the domestic contexts in which we live and have lived, and by the groupings, both domestically-centred and otherwise, in which we encounter these spaces. My concern here is to construct a textual and spatial analysis of the (often contradictory) Celtic within museums, a semiotic account of immanent meaning, in order to set the stage, so to speak, for chapter seven, in which I discuss resistance to and complicity with official versions of the past, in the light of ethnographic work I did in two spaces of Celtic heritage in Wales (*cf.* MacDonald, 1995; MacDonald and Fyfe, 1996; Silverstone, 1989 on the need for ethnographic approaches to museum visiting).

Heritage shopping

In chapter five I discuss the consumption of the past in the context of overtly monetary exchange, and its intimate connection with other heritage media (*cf.* Shields, 1992 and Miller, 1995 on the growing theoretical importance of consumption in cultural and media studies; Jackson and Thrift, 1995 on geographies of consumption). I contextualize this consumption of the material culture associated with the visiting of heritage spaces by looking at the texts of tourism in Wales in the middle of this century. I suggest that with the growth of tourism in the interwar period came the mass production of an associated material culture of heritage. Descriptions of Wales and the Welsh people centred around the constructions of Celtic culture discussed in chapter two and so set out this Celticcentric vision for consumption during the tourist visit; a specifically Celtic landscape came to characterize Wales as the most accessible Celtic fringe for the city-weary.

And it was with the influx of visitors that both came with, and inspired, the tour guides that the potential of the site shop came to the fore. Situated at points of entry and exit, the museum and heritage centre shop can be seen as transformative, as an elaborated entryway into the special spaces of the past (*cf.* Delaney, 1992 and Hetherington, 1996 on Foucault's idea of heterotopia; Oswald, 1991 and Piccini, 1992 on doorways and liminality in the past). I look at the purchasing of signifiers of Celtic culture as a significant element of our encounter with that past. Again, what does it mean that the contemporary material culture of Celtic heritage – the interlace jewellery, numerous books on Celtic gods, goddesses and symbols and anything emblazoned with late twentieth-century translations of spirals and interlace – is what sells best in these shops, even at museums which do not foreground Celtic culture as such? How does this tie in with the argument I develop that the Celtic is read as a sign of things past and is, thus, desirable? And in the context of my first two chapters on the history of the Celtic cultural package, what does it then mean that today we still desire the Celtic, that we continue to nurture the illusion that we move somehow closer to the 'real stuff' through buying a reproduction (Benjamin, 1992)?

My concern in chapter five, then, is to explore the ways in which notions of the Celtic tie in with the authenticity of experience and the need for some physical token of individual discourse with the past. Although the money spent in the museum shop is spent on something obviously not of the past, that which we buy are authentic objects and in purchasing them we signal an engagement with the past. Whether it is a self-conscious desire to show to the world our interests or a 'simple' aesthetic pleasure, the things that we buy are framed within our habits of being in the form of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1973; 1984; 1990).

Learning to think with the past

For many, their first engagements with heritage media have taken place, not in the domestic sphere, but through the medium of formal education. Just as heritage itself may be said to represent various media, in formal education aspects of performance, image, text and object are brought together in order to communicate social concepts *en masse*. Much has been written about the uses of education systems and curricula to reproduce dominant ideologies within *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984; Ferro, 1981; Fitzgerald, 1980; Harker, et al 1990; 1990; Willis, 1977). Certainly, I raise issues of the overtly technological and functional approach to teaching the Iron Age within the national curricula. However, if we accept the arguments within media and cultural studies that we are not cultural/political dupes, that we do not consume knowledge in predictable ways (de Certeau 1984; Fiske, 1989a; b; Miller, 1995; Morley, 1992: 1995; Morley and Robins, 1995), then we have to begin to look at formal education as a significant context within which we come to learn to 'think with the past'.

In chapter six, I explore articulations of the Celtic and the uses of archaeological knowledge in formal education.³ It is through the state that we begin to negotiate our relationships to the world outside of the domestic context. We bring to the classroom situation patterns of socialization and understanding learned within the 'home' (whatever that home may constitute) and in turn, our classroom interactions reverberate through the domestic context. Both contexts are, of course, profoundly political in that our encounters with stories of the past both at home and at school structure how we in turn conceptualize the past and then live our lives with reference to that past.

The National Curriculum in England refers to Celts only to set the stage for the Roman occupation. The National Curriculum in Wales, however, recommends that teachers spend time

³My work focuses on state education as a large, public institution. Although individual schools and teachers within those schools place differing emphases on a Celtic Iron Age, the national curricula for England and Wales and the Scottish Guidelines all set out basic statements about how the state views the relative importance of this period to schoolchildren, and the relationship this history has to the reproduction of communal identities in the name of the state.

actually teaching children about the Iron Age as it is seen to be more relevant to Welsh children (who are, in the 'popular mind', cultural descendants of the Celts) than to English children. The curricula generally teach this distant past at the beginning of the educational experience so that the Celts are among the first people children learn about in their encounter with history. Questions of race and gender are especially important in that through the explicit teaching of history to children the state sets out who, and what is important to the reproduction of that state.

Visitor gazes

In Part III I turn to look at aspects of the consumption of a Celtic Iron Age in Wales. In the light of my central argument that the production *and* consumption of contemporary media articulations of an archaeo-historic Celtic culture are central to, rather than symptomatic of, the reproduction of the community (*cf.* Anderson, 1983; Hall 1993), in chapter seven I set up interviews with visitors to two sites in Wales to discuss how these sites fit in with their own established sense of a Celtic Iron Age and a Celtic Wales. I was interested in illuminating specific, unrepeatably moments in which people articulate their perceptions of a Celtic past and, in so doing, indicate the position of that past in the politics of their everyday.

From lengthy interviews with over 100 visitors to Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort, Newport and Celtica in Machynlleth, I was able to chart the complex ways in which people activate discourses of a Celtic Iron Age in their varied ideas about self and other, past and present, male and female. I explore the ways in which people make sense of the different stories archaeologists and heritage centre managers tell them, through my own situated understanding of the transcripts of these interviews. My aim, however, is not to produce a set of generalized statistics about heritage consumption (Fyfe and Ross, 1996). Rather, I want to examine the ways in which the consumption of a Celtic Iron Age is interwoven in our seemingly most banal statements and gestures. These gestures, I suggest – from flippant remarks about Celtic adventure to a declared love of Celtic jewellery – combine to represent commemorative performances of one's sense of self within the community (Billig, 1995). I, therefore, disagree with MacDonald's concern that the consumer gaze has rendered the heritage space apolitical (MacDonald and Fyfe, 1996). Although it may appear that people are simply entering these spaces as something to do while on holiday, their active consumption of the material culture of heritage can not be seen as something wholly separate from discourses of nation.

I suggest in chapter eight that the heritage spaces of a constructed Celtic Iron Age are highly significant *loci* for the negotiation of the politics of identity. As Lunn suggests, 'we need to

recognize ... that national identity has always been a constructed identity and that we need to move beyond a simplistic evocation of historical identity to acknowledge the constancy of active formation and reformation' (1996: 86). Certainly, with the ideological focus on the effects of a specifically Celtic British Iron Age, the active role that Celticentric heritage media still play in the British cultural mosaic can be masked by an untested belief that there is a direct, causal relationship between the material of heritage and the way in which people understand the past (*cf.* Ruby, 1996). The ways in which people activate archaeo-historic narratives of a Celtic Iron Age would appear to suggest that the very consumption of heritage media constitutes the outward expression of identities which use 'the Past' as something significant in the present.

Finally, from the ways in which I was able to engage, albeit tentatively, with visitors to these heritage spaces in Wales, to set up contexts for critical investigations of the meanings of the past in the present, I suggest that it can be only through the narratives of the Celtic that we can begin to facilitate a broader questioning of its validity. In other words, if we, as professional archaeologists are responsible for the narratives that we generate, we have to look to actively engage with the consumers of these narratives in order facilitate multiple readings of text and to challenge the ideas about pastness with which they came to these moments. If managers and curators of the spaces of heritage can shift their focus to enable their volunteers and site interpreters to question the visitor, to challenge her established habits of seeing the past in the present, rather than simply provide answers to rare questions, and if archaeologists as film-makers realize the creative potential of broadcast media to produce alternative images of material culture, then perhaps we can begin to realize the rich potential of the materiality of heritage media.

A few words about theory and practice

There are numerous important theoretical issues implicated in a study of this kind. I range widely across a number of schools of thought which I suggest are particularly useful in making sense of a material Celtic cultural package. Although I acknowledge that the works I reference do not neatly fit together and certainly should not be conflated, I am not attempting to develop a grand theory of representations of the Celtic in media, but rather to explore the issues most pressing in the specific context of Britain in the late twentieth century.

Representing the Celtic in late twentieth-century Britain cross-cuts the crucial issues at stake in the formation and negotiation of identity at this time. Nationalism and identity (Anderson, 1983; Barth, 1969; Bhabha, 1990; Billig, 1995; Kedourie, 1960; Smith, 1984; 1990); post-

colonial issues of the Other (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Critchley, 1993; Fabian, 1990; Rogers, 1992; Rowlands, 1994); the role of memory and imagination in community and individual identity (Anderson, 1983; Appadurai, 1993; Connerton, 1989; Fischer, 1986; Urry, 1996); continuing debates on modernity and postmodernity (Billig, 1995; Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1991; Giddens, 1984; 1991; 1993; Harvey, 1989); specialist versus non-specialist knowledge and formulations of 'the public' (Morley, 1992; 1995; Morley and Robins, 1995; Spivak, 1993); class formation and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Merriman, 1989a; b; 1991); practices of the everyday (de Certeau, 1984; Fiske, 1989a; b); the reproduction of fixed notions of race and gender (Williams and Chrisman, 1993 edited volume); negotiations of the authentic (Baudrillard, 1983; Eco, 1986; Urry, 1990); consumption practices (Miller, 1987; 1995a); the constitution of space (Duncan and Ley, 1993; Gregory, 1993; LeFebvre, 1991; Shields, 1991); *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977; Harker, 1990) and structure (Bryant and Jary, 1991; Giddens, 1984; 1991; 1993) are all implicated in the communal consumption of heritage media.

It should be noted that I do not pretend that my interrogation of the production and consumption of these media is not both wide ranging and selective. To borrow from Shanks and Tilley, my 'framework is provisional, frail and flawed' (1992: 3). Yet, I suggest that the deliberate 'snapshots' I have composed of the production and consumption of Celticentric heritage media can be activated in creative approaches to narrating British Iron Ages, that they represent preliminary steps towards charting how representations of a contingent Celtic Iron Age circulate through broader questions of identity and nation in Britain today. My aim is to suggest new ways of representing different Iron Ages to people in such a way that will contextualize, rather than threaten, the still creative potential of a Celtic cultural package in the negotiation of the role of the past in the present.

Above all, I wish to make explicit that my dissertation is neither a call to erase the Celtic from popular memory, nor is it a plea to maintain the *status quo*. If the Celtic still has meaning for people today, then it is the height of intellectual arrogance to dismiss it purely on the grounds that it leads to the misrepresentation of the associated archaeology. This dissertation should perhaps be read as a response to Shanks' and Tilley's call to move beyond seeing the past as the palimpsest of heritage (1992: 258). It has been my experience throughout the process of the research and writing of this dissertation that many people place great stake in the 'authenticity' of the experience of valuing particular narratives of a Celtic Iron Age, and in so doing I suggest that they engage in the writing of the past in the present through an articulation of what they see as important (Samuel, 1994). It is perhaps through foregrounding our highly creative relationships

with heritage media that we may engagingly problematize the past as anything other than the continual negotiation of identities in the present and, in so doing, allow the consumers of archaeo-historic narratives to liberate the Iron Age from the Celtic 'mists of time'.

PART I

TRAVELS THROUGH THE MISTS OF TIME

Let us imagine then what kind of countrie this was in the time of the ancient Britons. By the nature of the soil, which is a sour woodsere land, very natural for the production of oakes especially, one may conclude that this North Division was a shady dismal wood: and the inhabitants almost as savage as the beasts whose skins were their only rayment. The language British, which for the honour of it was in those dayes spoken from the Orcades to Italie and Spain Their religion is at large described by Caesar. Their priests were Druids. Some of their temples I pretend to have restored, as Avebury, Stonehenge, &c., as also British sepulchres. Their waie of fighting is lively sett down by Caesar. Their camps with their way of meeting their antagonists I have sett down in another place. They know the use of iron. They were 2 or 3 degrees, I suppose, less savage than the Americans.

John Aubrey
(from the introduction to his *Essay Towards the Description
of the North Division of Wiltshire*, in Piggott, 1976: 8-9)

ORIGINS OF THE CELT AS TEXT

Celt /kelt/ *n.* a member of one of a group of western European peoples (including the ancient Gauls and Britons; see below); modern Bretons, Cornish, Gaels, Irish, Manx, Welsh). (*sic*) [f. L f. GK *Keltoi*]

The Celts occupied a large part of Europe in the Iron Age. Their unity is recognizable by common speech (see CELTIC) and common artistic tradition, but they did not constitute one race or group of tribes ethnologically. The origins of their culture can be traced back to the Bronze Age of the upper Danube in the 13th c. BC, with successive stages represented by the urnfield and Hallstatt cultures. Spreading over western and central Europe from perhaps as early as 900 BC, they reached the height of their power in the La Tène period of the 5th–1st c. BC. The ancients knew them as fierce fighters and superb horsemen, with savage religious rites conducted by the Druid priesthood. They were farmers, who cultivated fields on a regular basis with ox-drawn ploughs in place of manual implements, revolutionary changes which permanently affected people's way of life. But Celtic political sense was weak, and the numerous tribes, continually warring against each other, were crushed between the migratory Germans and the power of Rome, to be ejected or assimilated by the former or conquered outright by the latter.

The Oxford Reference Dictionary, 1986

Although written by one of the great antiquarians of the seventeenth century, the passage which opens Part I could almost be read as a modern account of those people who, over the centuries, have come to be known as the Celts. Contemporary popular views of the heterogeneous population of prehistoric and early historic Britain tend to ignore difference in favour of a Romantic construction of Celtic culture as timeless and uniform.¹ Although its specifics encompass alternative, often conflicting images of the Celt as warrior, artist, druid, freedom fighter, farmer and mystic, this construction none the less marks a closure characteristic of what may be seen as a Celtic cultural package. Thus, the British Iron Age is always already as we 'know' it because it is Celtic. However, interest in the Celts has a long and rich history that must be explored before the present situation can be understood and addressed. In this chapter I will outline how the Celts were written into existence by those who came to be known as the Classical ethnographers, for these writings came to form the core of the commodified Celtic package used for centuries in the social reproduction of the Cornish, English, Gaelic, Irish and Welsh speaking islands off the west coast of Europe.²

¹ Throughout this dissertation I make reference to the Romantic with an upper case 'R' to signify the historical pedigree of the term, rather than to a particular set of (nineteenth- and twentieth-century) human emotions. In other words, while I may enjoy a romantic, moon-lit walk with a friend, I might enjoy a Romantic view of Tintern Abbey or of Stonehenge.

²An interesting aspect of ethnography, and one that I will discuss more fully later, is its use in the construction of the Other. Especially in a situation where literate and non-literate societies meet face to face, as did the Romans and the heterogeneous populations of western Europe,

Arguably the earliest historical document to mention the Celts is the *Ora maritima* of Festus Rufus Avienus, proconsul of Africa in AD 366, which is thought to be based on a Greek original of the sixth century BC. The oldest part of the now lost and thus questionable Greek original is a detailed account of the coastal sailing route (*periplus*) from Cádiz to Marseilles and dates back to the period of the first expansions of Massaliot colonies in the early sixth century BC (Piggott, 1976: 56; Tierney, 1960: 193). The document has been used as early 'proof' of the existence of Celtic tribes because it mentions the *Celtae*, a latinized version of the Greek *keltoi*, and because it associates this name with tribes found along the North Sea, France and south-west Spain (Tierney, 1960). However, the earliest extant reference to the Celts is found in the sixth century BC writings of Hecataeus of Miletus (Dobesch, 1991: 35; Merriman, 1987: 111; Piggott, 1976: 56; Tierney, 1960: 194). Mentioned in the fifth century BC ethnographies of Herodotus, by the fourth century BC, the Celts increasingly appear in Greek texts. Dionysius of Syracuse is said to have engaged them as mercenaries to assist his Spartan allies against the Thebans; Asclepiades of Tragilos refers to a Celtic king Boreas and his daughter Cyparissa; and the geographer Pseudo-Scylax places a Celtic tribe between the Etruscans and the Veneti at the head of the Adriatic (Tierney, 1960: 194). Plato, too, confirms Classical interest in the Celts when he describes them as 'one of the six barbarian warlike peoples, who are given to drunkenness, as opposed to Spartan restraint' (Tierney, 1960: 194), whilst Aristotle focuses on their reckless bravery, a consistent theme in the Classical sources:

The man who goes to an extreme in fearlessness has no distinctive name. But we should call him mad or impervious to impressions, if he was afraid of nothing whatever – 'Nor trembling earth nor swelling seas' – which people say the Celts do not fear. (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* III, 7,7).

They are described as fighting in 'rage and spirit like wild beasts without reason' at the Battle of Thermopylae (Tierney, 1960: 196) and with 'vanity and bravado' at Telemon where their 'fighting naked, their head-hunting, their use of trumpets, their reckless courage and self-sacrifice in battle and their mass suicide on defeat' is marked (Tierney, 1960: 197; cf. Polybius, 2: 27-31). Celts are even implicated in the murder of Philip II of Macedonia – with a dagger of 'Celtic' shape or origin (Dobesch, 1991: 36).

Perhaps the best-known Greek or Roman commentator on the Celts, however, is Posidonius, described as a great Stoic philosopher, historian, geographer and ethnographer who wrote between 135 and 151 BC (Dobesch, 1991: 39). He is a somewhat mythic character because although none of his own writings survive, if they existed at all, it is argued that we can 'read' his second century BC work in passages from Athenaeus, Diordorus Siculus, Strabo

the Other, i.e. the Celt, becomes a victim through being written *at*, 'with literacy serving as a weapon of subjugation and discipline' (Fabian, 1990: 760). Moreover, in 'ethnography as we know it, the Other is displayed, and therefore contained, as an object of representation' (Fabian, 1990: 771; see also Tierney, 1960: 189-193 for a useful, if dated discussion of the conventions of Classical ethnography).

and Julius Caesar as actual quotation and distorted plagiarism (Dobesch, 1991; Tierney, 1960). Daphne Nash, however, (1976) puts forward the convincing argument that not only is the attempt at reconstruction of an 'original' through the comparison of other texts thought to have drawn from a lost author dubious, it is, moreover, ahistoric. Nevertheless, the images created in the surviving Classical texts have been, and still are used extensively to characterize the Celts, even though, Nash's arguments aside, we will never know how 'accurate' these accounts were. As I argue below, however, in line with, but not constrained by, some of the ideas which have come to be brought under the umbrella of postmodernism, that focus on accuracy, that desire to 'get the facts straight' often serves only to obfuscate, to deflect attention from some of the more interesting problems involved in constructing histories from the material traces of the past. It remains that much of what has been and is now taken to be representative of Celtic culture is defined by these contingent texts.

Dominant Greek and Roman constructions

Still the only collection, translation and discussion of the relevant passages from Athenaeus, Diodorus Siculus (*Library of History*), Strabo (*Geography*) and Julius Caesar (*Gallia War*) and their possible origins in the 'lost' writings of Posidonius, is J. J. Tierney's 'The Celtic ethnography of Posidonius' in the sixtieth volume of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Ellis Evans, 1991: 8). Although in need of reappraisal, it is a useful collection and standardized translation of the relevant passages used for centuries in the construction of Celtic culture. More recently, some of these passages (notably, the more heroic in nature) have been published in *The Celts* (1991), the weighty catalogue for the major 1991 exhibition at the Palazzo Grassi, Venice.

What is immediately notable is that all four are concerned with similar themes to those outlined above, namely Celtic appetites for food, wine and war. Athenaeus writes: 'The drink of the wealthy classes is wine imported from Italy or from the territory of Marseilles. This is unadulterated, but sometimes a little water is added' (Athenaeus, IV, 36, 1). Diodorus Siculus comments that the Gauls (*Galatai*) 'are exceedingly fond of wine and sate themselves with the unmixed wine imported by merchants; their desire makes them drink it greedily and when they become drunk they fall into a stupor or into a maniacal disposition' (Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* V, 26.3). Descriptions of eating focus mainly on feasts and hero's portions (Diodorus Siculus, V, 28 and Strabo, *Geography* IV, 4.3), but in an interesting aside which adds to this already vivid picture of a wild, unruly people Diodorus Siculus writes that 'when they are eating the moustache becomes entangled in the food, and when they are drinking the drink passes, as it were, through a sort of strainer' (Diodorus Siculus, V, 28).

Such eating and drinking of course could only lead to one thing: war. In Strabo's words the 'whole race, which is now called "Gallic" or "Galatic", is war-mad, and both high-spirited and quick for battle, but otherwise simple and not ill-mannered' (Strabo, IV, 4.2), whilst Diodorus Siculus describes Gaulish warriors as fearless enough to fight naked, save for a girdle (V, 29, 2), in common with Polybius' description of the Gaesatae fighting naked with 'nothing but their arms' (*Histories*, II, 28.7-8). Livy writes of Gauls 'standing up and holding their weapons in chariots and wagons, bore down on them with a fearful noise of horses' hooves and wheels, and terrified the Romans' horses with the unusual din' (Titus Livius, *History of Rome*, X, 28).

To Gallic 'frankness and high-spiritedness' Strabo adds the traits of 'childish boastfulness and love of decoration' and claims that it is this vanity which makes them 'unbearable in victory and so completely downcast in defeat' (IV, IV, 5). This is in reference to a custom both Strabo and Diodorus Siculus describe: the Gaulish practice of attaching the severed heads of enemies to the horses of Gaulish warriors (Strabo, IV, 4.5; Diodorus Siculus, V, 29):

When their enemies fall they cut off their heads and fasten them about the necks of their horses; and turning over to their attendants the arms of their opponents, all covered with blood, they carry them off as booty, singing a paean over them and striking up a song of victory, and these fruits of battle they fasten by nails upon their houses, just as men do, in certain kinds of hunting, with the heads of wild beasts they have mastered. (Diodorus Siculus, V, 29)

The most savage of the Gallic tribes, however, were 'those to the north and those which border on Scythia, and people say that some of them are cannibals, just as are the Britons who dwell on the island called Iris' (Diodorus Siculus, V, 32).

Celt, Gaul, or Briton?

Beyond war, food and wine, the Classical ethnographers were also fascinated with geography. It is in this area that the problem of what makes a Celt (*Keltoi*) different from a Gaul (*Galatas*) – or even a Briton is explored – (cf. Tierney, 1960). Diodorus Siculus, for example, associates the Celts with the Gauls, differentiating the two according to their origin. He claims that, whereas the Celts come from the interior of Gaul above Marseilles, from the Alps and from the French side of the Pyrenees, 'those who are settled above Celtica in the area stretching towards the north both in the region of the ocean and in that of the Hercynian mountain, and all the people beyond them as far as Scythia, are called Galatae' (Diodorus Siculus, V, 32). The Romans on the other hand, alternated between referring only to Gauls and differentiating between Gauls and Belgae, Belgae and Aedui (Diodorus Siculus, V, 32; Julius Caesar, *Gallic War*).

Strabo's writings highlight further confusion about what, if anything, differentiates a Gaul from a Celt in that Strabo refers to the whole of Gaul as *Celtica* (II, 5.28; IV, 1.1). As to exactly who is living where, he writes that three tribes, the Aquitani, Belgae and the Celtae, live in the Celtic country beyond the Alps (Strabo, IV, 1.1). The Aquitani were apparently completely different from the other two in that the Belgae and Celtae are Gaulish in appearance while the Aquitani resemble the Iberians (Strabo, IV, 1.1). Furthermore, all three have slightly different languages and social practices. Strabo then specifies that the Celtae live in the southern parts of the Pyrenees and down to the sea near Marseilles and Narbonne.

Earlier, Herodotus believed the *keltoi* lived in the north and west areas along the Danube to its source in the Pyrenees while Pindar and Aeschylus thought the Danube rose in Hypoborean territory (Chapman, 1992: 32; Piggott, 1968: 94-96). This in turn led to a conflation of Celts and Hypoboreans, a people thought to be worshippers of Apollo living beyond the 'North Wind'; the Celts were thus placed in the Elysian plains which added to their mythic character (Piggott, 1968). But as I hope to show, all these various explanations of who the Celts were, what they did and where they lived did not actually matter, as such, to the Greek and Roman writers; what was important was the 'knowledge' that the Celts were somehow different (Chapman, 1992). The Greek and Roman ethnographies all include fantastic descriptions of foreign landscapes which serve to mark, physically, difference as experienced during the ethnographer's travels, even where those travels themselves took place only within the writer's imagination (Rife, 1994; Reynolds, 1994; Smith, 1994). Geography was used in the construction of a psychomachia, in which different places and peoples could be subsumed to the official Greek and Roman world views and made to represent aspects of both the Greek and Roman psyches. In other words, Greek and Roman cultures were physicalized through their mapping out on a landscape of contact with difference.

Perhaps most relevant to the issues I am exploring here is the theme of oppositions between so-called Celtic and Classical social practices. These oppositions appear regularly throughout the writings of Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Julius Caesar, even in seemingly irrelevant asides. For example, in his delineation of gender-specific tasks, Strabo claims that the Celts go against 'natural' Classical ordering because they distribute their tasks 'in a way opposite to our custom' (Strabo, IV, 4.3). Diodorus Siculus describes how they sleep on the skins of wild animals to 'wallow among bedfellows on each side', presumably like wild animals themselves (Diodorus Siculus, V, 32.7). Furthermore, he notes the 'strange passion' the Celtic/Gaulish men have for the 'embraces of males' in preference to those of their wives' (V, 32.7), somewhat ironic in that the Greeks and Romans themselves were known for that predilection. This structure of opposition is also highlighted in some of the more obviously far-fetched passages. For example, Gallic children are described as being born with grey hair,

that it is only with age that their hair colour becomes that of their parents (Diodorus Siculus, V, 32.2).

In attempting to differentiate Celts/Gauls from other peoples, the ethnographers again focus on the seemingly arbitrary. However, when taken together, all the descriptions serve to fix ethnic identity from without. For example, Julius Caesar writes that 'nearly their [the Gauls] sole difference from other peoples [specifically the Germans] is that they do not allow their sons to approach them in public unless they have grown up to the age of military service, and they think it a disgrace for a boy under this age to sit in public within sight of his father' (VI, 18). Yet in the very next passage the Germans apparently do differ greatly from the Gauls in that they have no druids, nor do they offer as many sacrifices. In fact, what is actually the more important difference between the two peoples relates to their positioning within a Roman world view. Julius Caesar writes that there 'was a time in the past when the Gauls surpassed the Germans', but now that they 'live in the same need and poverty and hard conditions as the Germans they make use of the same food and practise the same physical hardness' (Julius Caesar VI, 24). Of course, this need and poverty resulted from the Roman conquest of Gaul. He then goes on to write, however, that 'the nearness of the Roman province and the knowledge of things imported from overseas contributes much to the Gauls as regards luxury and daily use; and becoming gradually accustomed to defeat, after being conquered in many battles they no longer regard themselves as equal in valour to the Germans' (ibid.). But of course, had Caesar not geographically differentiated Gauls and Germans along the Rhine, but had instead claimed that Gauls also lived east of the river, then he would not have been able to claim that Rome had defeated the Gauls (Chapman, 1992: 39; Merriman, 1987: 113).

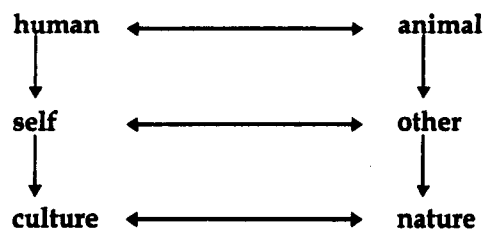
Strabo's account, too, is written from a position in which the Celts had been enslaved by the Romans and are living in peace under Roman rule. Moreover, Strabo explains that his description of the Celts before the Romans conquered them is based on his observations of the Germans who 'are similar and akin to one another both in their nature and in their citizen life' (IV, 4.2). Yet, earlier he wrote that '[m]any tribes occupy the Alps and all are Celtic except the Ligurians; they belong to a different race, but their way of life is similar to that of the Celts' (II, 5.28). So by what criteria are the Greek and Roman writers differentiating the various peoples of western Europe?

Problematizing text

I am beginning to paint a picture of Greek and Roman ethnography as problematic, as having possibly less to do with Celts and Gauls than with the Greeks and Romans themselves. Another area which calls for a more rigorous discussion is the widely referenced Celtic drunkenness. I suggest that this was of interest primarily because of its direct relation to

Greek and Roman attitudes toward drinking. What is generally noted is that, instead of mixing their wine with water as did the Greeks and Romans, the Celts drank it neat. With this meeting between the 'grape culture' of the Classical world and the 'grain culture' of the northern tribes, these Celts likely drank wine in the quantities in which they were used to drinking beer (Chapman, 1992: 166-170). This not only helps us to understand why these people were seen as drunkards, but serves to emphasize the perceived uncouthness of the 'uncivilized' Celts in the face of Classical society.

It would seem then that the relevant differences among non-Roman and Greek peoples were understood only within the context of their relationships to the Greeks and Romans themselves. As outlined above, the way in which the Classical world 'saw' the Celts was quite clearly structured as a system of oppositions:



However, by this I am not suggesting that we subject Classical ethnography to some sort of Saussurian or Lévi-Straussian structuralist interpretation. Rather, it seems as though these oppositions were used to construct the Celts as not merely another group of people, but as an 'Other' in direct contrast with the Classical world (cf. Fabian, 1990). As the Greeks and Romans travelled out of their own communities to encounter other peoples, they would have had to reconcile differing practices with their own naturalized world view. In seeking to make sense of difference, they appropriated and objectified it, and thus reaffirmed their own sense of community. Thus we cannot distil a Celtic essence from these writings, nor should that be our aim. The Greek and Roman texts necessarily reproduce dominant Greek and Roman social relationships: the Celts simply provided another avenue for their articulation.

I introduce this concept of the 'Other' cautiously here as it has been uncritically overused in socio-anthropological theory of late. It is an ambiguous term in that, as in the writings of Paul Ricoeur, I am encouraged to write the past in the sign of the Other, to make the past different (Valdés, 1991). Alternatively, Jacques Derrida argues that 'all humanity looks at me in the eyes of the Other' so that by fixing otherness as Other I objectify and deny difference (Critchley, 1992: 223; Derrida, 1976; 1986). However, I believe it is a useful, if shorthand way in/to describing certain relationships. It 'expresses the insight that the Other is never simply given, never just found or encountered, but *made*' and represents a 'tension between re-presentation and *presence*' (Fabian, 1990: 755). Of course, there is no singular Other, only various, often overlapping cultural constructions. What is characteristic, however, is the way in which that creating otherness both objectifies difference and appropriates it to

the definition of the self or community. This process, however, is not confined merely to how the Romans constructed the Celts. Almost all academic inquiry is implicated by way of distinguishing between the academic 'in here' and the subject 'out there', the seemingly unavoidable subject/object split. In ethnography 'the Other is displayed, and therefore contained, as an object of representation' (Fabian, 1990: 771). Or as Vincent Crapanzano argues, the ethnographer

aims at a solution to the problem of foreignness, and like the translator ... he must also communicate the very foreignness that his interpretations ... deny, at least in their claim to universality. He must render the foreign familiar and preserve its very foreignness at one and the same time. (1986: 52)

However, Greek and Roman descriptions of those they defined as both Celtic and Gallic, with all the attendant confusion and blurring between the two, cannot be reduced simplistically to a simple self :: other relationship. Particularly if we take into account the recent deconstruction of the image of the 'Classical' evident in the work of Paul Bernal (1987; 1994), we have to reassess our definition of the Greek and Roman world, too. I must be wary of uncritically reproducing the ahistoric link between 'Classical civilization' and the West by projecting modern racial/social relations into the past. Furthermore, in speaking of the Other, I run the risk of reaffirming the supremacy of the West as 'Subject' through which the world is understood (Spivak, 1993) and of appropriating the Classical world as essentially western. Although this is not the place to radicalize concepts of the Classical world, it is worth bearing in mind when trying to understand the configurations of the Celtic construct.

In a wider context, this construction of the Celt can be problematized further with respect to general Greek and Roman concepts of ethnicity and identity. Take, for example, the word 'foreigner'. Originally from the Latin *foras*, it means 'dwelling entrance' or 'threshold', and is linked to 'forest' and its associations with the wild and unknown (Chapman, 1992: 29; Le Goff, 1985). Consider, too, that entrances mark a point of becoming, a move from one state of being into another (Bourdieu, 1973; Lang, 1985; Oswald, 1991; Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994; Piccini, 1992). A foreigner is always someone you know to see, and is, therefore, on the threshold. However, because she has not yet moved through the door into the community, she remains a dangerous unknown. Interestingly enough, *keltoi* may be related to other Indo-European terms for 'foreigner' and 'enemy', while 'Celt' may be a cognate of the Old Norse *hildir*, meaning war (Chapman, 1992: 30). In fact, Chapman suggests that the names Celt and Gaul are more akin to racist epithets than anything else and that the equation of *keltoi/galatai* and *celtae/galli* are only the same in that they are cognate terms for 'barbarians of the north' (1992: 33-34; for an opposite view see Megaw and Megaw, 1994). Even the very concept of *ethnos* was originally used to describe undifferentiated groups of animals or warriors and had connotations of a 'throng' or 'swarm' and was, therefore, used to express the absence of structure (Chapman, 1992: 38). The Celt, then, is never asked his name

but is instead confined to always residing on the threshold of never quite being. Whilst it can be argued that most ethnic labels are imposed constructions, we do not often see so clearly these labels' roots in the unfamiliar.

That said, when did people begin self-defining as Celts? It seems likely that this came about with the acceleration of trade and increased communication between the Classical world and the barbarian, because just as material goods are imbued with value and meaning, so too are language and ideas (Chapman, 1992; Hodder, 1982). As the Greeks and Romans more intensively constructed these 'barbarians' to fit seamlessly into their world view, it may have been that those barbarians discovered certain advantages in adopting imposed ethnic labels. By calling themselves Celts, the heterogeneous peoples of the western seaboard of Europe may have developed new allegiances to aid in social reproduction through the trade of ideas and goods. In this way there could be a 'constant interplay between self-naming and naming of and by others' (Chapman, 1992: 56).

With the fading of Rome any mention of Celts in written documents came to an end. With Roman society no longer reproduced as an imperial power, geographies of identity shifted (Chapman, 1992). The most important question remains, however: why did Greek and Roman descriptions of the Celts resonate in England during the Renaissance with the 'rediscovery' of the Classical sources? An easy answer involves the 'self-centred perceptions of the Classical world' and the 'structure of academic historical enquiry in Europe since the Renaissance' (Chapman, 1992: 51), but this begs the question. Certainly the field of Celtic studies is based in the European Renaissance (Chapman, 1992: 55), but surely there must have been specific conditions in Britain at the time which fostered this rebirth of the Celts.

Setting up the Briton/Celt conflation

After the institutional Roman presence left Britain, the Romano-British population (and it should be remembered that the Britons were never referred to as Celts) likely continued living much as before. With the coming of the various Anglo-Saxon peoples and their social practices, however, there occurred several changes in British society. The originally relatively urban, 'cultured' and 'civilized' population of Britain, the Romano-British, were soon being pushed out (both literally and figuratively) to the fringes and constructed by Anglo-Saxon society as the *wealisc* (stranger/foreigner), in relation to the now dominant Anglo-Saxon socio-political group (Chapman, 1992: 62). Through being *wealisc*, or Welsh as it later came to be known, these Romano-British were soon marginalized as Other. The irony in this is that the Anglo-Saxons themselves were much closer to the Roman construction of Celtic Otherness than these Romano-British *wealisc* due to their links with the Germans and hence the Gauls (Chapman, 1992: 65).

This making other of the older British population also came to affect church customs in Britain because, although what the still-existing Romano-British population practised was originally Roman Christianity, the Church in Europe had changed in the intervening 300 or so years (Chapman, 1992). Once the Anglo-Saxon population had adopted Christianity it was rather different from that practised by the fringe populations, so different that the interface between the two sparked off numerous synods to discuss which church held the moral high ground in matters regarding the dating of Easter as well as the length and style of monks' haircuts. At the Synod of Whitby in AD 663 this essentially Roman church came to be defined as the Celtic Church (Chapman, 1992: 66), and it was at this point that it lost out to a more modern mainstream Christianity. What had once been considered to be the dominant form of Christianity had been transformed, like the Romano-British, into the *wealisc* – rural and strange. As Chapman suggests:

[t]he 'Celtic fringe', as historiographically constituted through its opposition to Anglo-Saxon England, remained a repository of older ideas and customs. The only thing Celtic about these, however, was that they were not 'Anglo-Saxon'. (1992: 68)

These people, therefore, became doubly marginalized so that what they and the Iron-Age *keltoi* have in common is not that 'the former are descended from the latter, but rather that both were fringe elements in the dominant historiographical traditions of Europe' (Chapman, 1992: 69). As I will argue in chapters two, seven and eight, any continuity between the prehistoric, historic and contemporary Celts lies in the continuity of 'symbolic opposition between a central defining power and its own fringes' (Chapman, 1992: 69).

ANTIQUARIANISM, ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE TEXTUAL CELT

All things Begin and End in Albion's Ancient Druid Rocky Shore

William Blake

I turn now to the Renaissance and the concomitant 'rediscovery' of the Greek and Roman texts, for it is really at this point that the story of the Celts as a definable cultural entity begins in Britain.¹ With the social and economic changes marking the end of feudalism in fourteenth-century northern Italy came an attempt by scholars to justify political change by calling up earlier precedents and images of the past (Trigger, 1989: 35). The Classical texts provided perfect models for emerging polities, in addition to supplying incidental information about the strange peoples with whom the Greeks and Romans interacted. The Celts and related Gauls were only two of the peoples mentioned, but they immediately captured the Renaissance imagination which was to have further implications for the relationship between England and its constructed fringes, and in the related emergence of antiquarianism and the practice of archaeology.

An emerging historical phenomenon

In 1498, Annius of Viterbo wrote the 'true history' of the peopling of the world after the Flood based on a misreading, and partial fabrication, of a third century BC Babylonian history by Berosus (Chapman, 1992: 201; Piggott, 1968: 133, Piggott, 1976: 58). His protagonists were the 'Celtic' kings Dryius, Bardus, Samoths and Celtae – descended from Noah and Japhet through the Kings Samoths and Bardus (Piggott, 1968: 133; 1976: 57). Annius of Viterbo's work was then circulated in Britain in 1548 and 1557 by John Bale, Bishop of Ossory (Piggott, 1976: 58) and taken up in the 1550s by Johns White of Basingstoke and Caius of Cambridge. They then combined it with the twelfth-century *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth and, through the confused association of the Cimbrians of North Jutland, the Cimmerians of the Greeks and the Gimirrai of the Assyrians, attempted to demonstrate that the Cymri of Britain were actually the *Celtae* of the Classical sources (Piggott, 1968; Piggott, 1976).

However, it was not until Fleming's 1576 translation of Aelian was published that the Celts were first mentioned by name in English: 'no Indian, no Celtan, no Aegyptian harboured so hellish an opinion' (Piggott, 1976: 57). Following this was the 1577 publication of

Holinshed's *Chronicle* with William Harrison's preface – inspired by Anniius of Viterbo – which read: '[i]n the diligent perusal of their treatises, who have written on the state of our island, I find that at first it seemed to be a parcell of the Celtike kingdom' (Piggott, 1976: 57). Then, in 1582, in his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* George Buchanan claimed that the British and Irish were descended from the continental Celts (Dillon, 1947: 245), although it was not until the latter part of the seventeenth century that the term 'Celtic' came to be widely applied to describe the commonalty among Welsh, Breton, Scots Gael and Irish Gaelic (Chapman, 1992: 205).

Together with textual descriptions came an interest in the Celts as a visual image. Perhaps the most famous illustration is de Heere's 1575 drawing (Figure 2.1), based on descriptions from Dio Cassius and Diodorus Siculus, of a 'couple of naked and melancholy Britons' (Piggott, 1976: 9). Of note, especially in the light of this Part I's introductory John Aubrey quotation, is the appearance of much the same image in John White's 1585 illustration of the Virginian Indians of North America (Figure 2.2), a work he later used to depict Britons and Picts on the title page of John Speed's 1611 *Historie* of Britain (Piggott, 1968: 137). This link between Celts and indigenous North Americans clearly has its origins in Britain's nascent colonial forays at the time and in how Britain conceived of that experience in the context of their own contingent understanding of the Classical texts. The Celtic Other in relation to the Roman world was reproduced in comparisons between indigenous North Americans and the Irish in relation to the colonizing English. For example, in 1612 Samuel Daniel drew a parallel between the tribal organization and warfare of indigenous North Americans and that of Celtic Britain (Piggott, 1976: 67). At the same time, indigenous North Americans were compared with the contemporary Irish. In the early seventeenth century, William Strachey wrote that 'indians' sleep 'start naked on the ground from six to twenty in a house, as do the Irish' and that in mourning 'many a briny tear, deep groan, and Irish-like howlings' are spent (Quinn, 1966: 24). This construction became more complex and invidious once a more explicit connection between these still mythic Celts and the Irish, Scots and Welsh was developed in the eighteenth and, more particularly, the nineteenth centuries during Britain's most intense period of imperialism and colonization.

¹Certainly Gerald of Wales constructed barbarous mystics living off roots and grasses in Wales and Ireland in the twelfth century, but these peoples were not associated with Celts until much later.



Figure 2.1 Drawings of Ancient Britons in war-paint, by Lucas de Heere, 1575(Piggott, 1975: 129).

Figure 2.2 Drawing of American Indian with body-paint, by John White, 1585 (Piggott,1975: 128).

Antiquarian articulations

During the centuries of British expansion interest in antiquarianism grew considerably and, in 1572, the Society of Antiquaries was founded (Trigger, 1989: 46; see Figure 2.3). Trigger argues that the stirrings of patriotism which led to the sixteenth-century Reformation also stimulated a new, secular interest in histories, whilst the Henrician dissolution and subsequent dispersal of books led to the recording of buildings by the growing leisured professional and administrative middle class (Trigger, 1989: 45–46). Moreover, the newly developed contacts with the New World which led to the construction of the conceptual association between Celts and indigenous North Americans also played a very important role in the development of archaeology, in that scholars began to recognize that stone tools previously found in Britain and attributed to natural processes (all called fossils), were in fact made by humans (Trigger, 1989: 53). Indeed, William Dugdale, Robert Plot and Edward Lhwyd all compared British flint arrow heads and axes with those in use at the time in America (Piggott, 1976: 67).

Through most of the seventeenth century reference to the Celts is irregular and not yet characteristic of a uniform Celtic cultural package. In 1604, Clement Edmonds translates the relevant passage in Caesar's *Gallic War* as 'the *Celtae*, whom we call the *Galli*' and by 1656 'Celt' is defined in Blount's dictionary as 'one born in Gaul' (Piggott, 1976: 57). However, no explicit link between these textual Celts and the original builders of the still visible traces of the past marking Britain's landscape at this time was made; a Celtic identity was not yet fixed. Stonehenge was seen as a work of the Britons, 'the rudeness it selfe perswades'. Edmund Bolton thought it the tomb of Boudica and John Aubrey, the first antiquarian to link the monument with a non-Roman people, argued that Stonehenge was a druidic temple (Piggott, 1968: 146).

These Britons and their now associated druids also took to the stage. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca* (based on Tacitus) of 1618, John Speed's *Stonehenge* and a 1637 version of *Bonduca* (Piggott, 1976: 14–15; Kendrick, 1927: 23) all point to the influence both the Classical texts and newly emerging antiquarian studies exerted on the social practices of the time. Of particular interest is the later *Bonduca* which portrayed the 'anti-Roman Briton or Druid, stoutly defending his island against the foreign invader' (Piggott, 1968: 139), an image which was to be taken up again during the Romantic period almost two centuries later.

BRITANNIA
ANTIQUA ILLUSTRATA:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF ANCIENT
BRITAIN,

Derived from the *Phœnicians* :

Wherein the Original Trade of this ISLAND is discovered, the Names of Places, Offices, Dignities, as likewise the Idolatry, Language, and Customs of the Primitive Inhabitants are clearly demonstrated from that Nation, many old Monuments illustrated, and the Commerce with that People, as well as the *Greeks*, plainly set forth and collected out of approved Greek and Latin Authors.

T O G E T H E R

With a CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY of this Kingdom, from the first Traditional Beginning, until the year of our Lord 800, when the Name of *BRITAIN* was changed into *ENGLAND*; Faithfully collected out of the best Authors, and disposed in a better Method than hitherto hath been done; with the Antiquities of the *Saxons*, as well as *Phœnicians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*.

The First Volume.

By *AYLETT SAMMES*, of *Christ's Colledge in Cambridge*.
Since, of the *Inner-Temple*.

— *Sic quid Novissis rectius istis*
Candidum imperti, si non, his utere mecum. Horatius.



L O N D O N

Printed by *Tbo. Roycroft*, for the Author, *MDCCLXXVI.*

Figure 2.3 Title page of Aylett Sammes' *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, 1676 (Piggott, 1975: 132).

With the theological disputes of the seventeenth century, a legacy of the Reformation, Christianity became something of an uncertainty (Piggott, 1968: 154). The instability characteristic of this period was met with a desire to find an acceptable scheme of religion in which all could find common ground. Deism, or Natural Religion, became popular as a religion which could transcend Protestant and Roman Catholic divisions, and was coupled with the Reformation's growing interest in the history of specific nations:

Great Nature's law, the law within the breast,
Formed by no art, and to no sect confined,
But stamped by Heaven upon th'unlettered mind.
Such, such of old the first born natives were
Who breathed the virtues of Britannia's air,
Their realm when mighty Caesar vainly sought
For mightier freedom against Caesar fought,
And rudely drove the famed invader home,
To tyrannize o'er polished – venal – Rome. (Piggott, 1968:155)

The Classical texts thus provided the information and inspiration for the construction of a past to legitimate present divisions in addition to providing an attractive alternative to mainstream Christianity (Chapman, 1992).

During the Enlightenment, however, questions of social progress came to the fore, coupled with notions of a 'psychic unity' of rational humans (Trigger, 1989: 57). In line with this, the eighteenth-century antiquarians transformed the druids of Stonehenge into the virtuous sages of ancient Britain (Piggott, 1968), a 'soft primitivism' which was to become more entrenched through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Figure 2.4). It is implicated in the renewed focus on a Golden Age of Man and 'came perhaps with a changed attitude of personal or social doubt and unease' (Piggott, 1968: 141). Moreover, with the intensification of New World colonialism, this Golden Age was coupled with the concept of the Noble Savage. 'Primitives' became less 'complex' and 'sophisticated', but that simplicity came to be seen as a 'virtue, preserving ancient and uncorrupted traditions of rugged integrity lost in the debasing and enervating complications of city life' (Piggott, 1968: 97). At the same time increasing contact with and interest in those indigenous peoples encountered through the colonial experience led to certain methodological advances being made in antiquarianism. In 1766, for example, Bishop Charles Lyttelton recognized that stone tools were made before metals were smelted and therefore, were made prior to the Roman conquest (Trigger, 1989: 53). With this, eighteenth-century scholars began to see antiquities as a source of information about the past.

Turning once again to the specific question of the construction of Britain's Celtic past, the first popular conflation of the Britons and Gauls as Celts is found in Paul-Yves Pezron's *The Antiquities of Nations, More Particularly of the Celtae or Gauls, Taken to be Originally the same People as our Ancient Britains* (1706) which set up the descent of Celts through the biblical

Gomer (Piggott, 1968: 152–53; 1976: 62). This publication, in addition to a burgeoning interest in antiquarianism generally, eventually led to the more common use of ‘Celt’ instead of ‘Briton’ and thus, for the first time, the French usage of the Gauls as symbols of the resistance of tyranny came to be partially adopted in Britain (Chapman, 1992: 204).

This period also saw the rise of one of the most famous and flamboyant English antiquarians, William Stukeley (1687–1765). Known as Chyndonax the Arch-Druid in his Society of Roman Knights, Stukeley was the first to recognize that crop marks represented buried features and was one of the earliest antiquarians to appreciate the possibility of a lengthy pre-Roman occupation of Britain (Trigger, 1989: 62). His first book of antiquarian tours, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1725), was a record of ancient monuments, with the use of ‘Celtic’ to describe everything prehistoric (Michell, 1982: 10; Piggott, 1985: 88). Stukeley spent several seasons surveying and drawing Stonehenge and Avebury but by the end of his career was caught up more with the mystical nature of druidic religion than with the monuments themselves (Piggott, 1968). Of Stonehenge he wrote that ‘it pleases like a magical spell’ whilst the druids ‘advanced their enquiries, under all disadvantages, to such heights as should make our moderns ashamed, to wink in the sunshine of learning and religion’ (Michell, 1982: 11–12).

During the late eighteenth century, with the perceived excesses of the French Revolution and concomitant disillusionment with science and rationalism, came a backlash against the Enlightenment. The notion that the present was somehow a corruption of the past was felt more strongly whilst the idea of a ‘psychic unity’ of humans disintegrated, replaced by more localized concepts of a more strictly national unity (Trigger, 1989: 65). The primitive and natural as ideals became linked with particular folk traditions which then fed into the growth of nationalism (see Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983: introduction; Smith, 1984; and for application in France, Rearick, 1974). The Celts, now associated with the fringes of Britain and their attendant folk tales and myths, provided the perfect image to evoke an earlier Golden Age for an increasingly powerful Britain through an implicit critique of the present. The growing popularity of this particular construct and its use in the ‘invention of tradition’ is illustrated by (to take only a few examples) Iolo Morganwg’s creation of the ‘ancient’ druidic *gorsedd* in 1819 (Morgan, 1983: 60); the 1820 founding of the Celtic Society of Edinburgh which promoted the wearing of Gaelic Highland dress in direct contrast with Edinburgh’s lowland Scots identity (Trevor-Roper, 1983: 29); and, perhaps most infamously, James McPherson’s 1807 published forgery of the Celtic Ossian poems (Figure 2.5).



Figure 2.4 *The Chief Druid from Henry Rowlands', Mona Antiqua Restaurata, 1723, derived from a drawing by Aylett Sammes which was made from a verbal description of statues found in Germany, believed to be of druids (Piggott, 1975: 163).*



Figure 2.5 *The gorsedd of druid-bards at the Welsh National Eisteddfod remains a focal point of the festival. Here Ron Davies, former Secretary State for Wales, is shown dressed in 'traditional' bardic garb following his inauguration into the gorsedd in 1997.*

Unearthing the Celts

In terms of antiquarianism and archaeology, 'the literary movement known as the Romantic Revolt clothed in attractive garments the British substitute for classical archaeology' (Glyn Daniel in Hudson, 1981: 69). Although there were advancements in excavation techniques and the understanding of stratigraphy, a chronology was not yet constructed and all of prehistory was seen still as generally contemporaneous (Trigger, 1989: 67). Yet, in the introduction to the first volume of *Archaeologia* in 1779 a desire for a more 'truthful' knowledge is evident:

The History and Antiquities of Nations and Societies have been objects of inquiry to curious persons in all ages, wither to separate falsehood from truth, and tradition from evidence, to establish what had probability for its basis, or to explode what rested only on the vanity of the inventors and propagators. (*Archaeologia*, 1779: 1)

Eighteenth-century rationalism and Cartesian logic had left their indelible mark. However, this approach was not necessarily characteristic of a general approach to archaeology at the time. In 1773, in his 'A Description of the Sepulchral Monument at *New Grange*, near *Drogheda*, in the County of *Meath*, in *Ireland*' Thomas Pownall provides a very interesting description of the succession of peoples on the island saying that the first people were the 'woodsmen' who were then supplanted by the landworkers; the Celts are fixed by Pownall as marginal woodspeople, mystical and magical (Pownall, 1773). The Revd Dr Haviland, on the other hand, describes the peopling of Britain by linking it once again to the story of Gomer:

They were invaded and subdued, and obliged to take the names of their conquerors, and to quit the original name of their family; which, being by the silence of History wholly lost, was absorbed in the appellation of Celts, Gauls, Gomerians, &c. who, having gotten possession of the country, afterwards assumed the claim to be the aborigines of it... (Haviland, 1779: 55)

By the 1820s, however, there was a developing understanding of the ancient monuments of these islands illustrated by Edward Daniel Clarke's 'Observations upon some Celtic Remains, lately discovered by the Public Road leading from London to Cambridge, near to the Village of Sawston, distant seven miles from the University':

All that relates to the aboriginal inhabitants of the north of Europe, would be involved in darkness but for the enquiries now instituted respecting *Celtic* sepulchres. (Clarke, 1817: 340)

Thus, although early nineteenth-century scholarship remained characterized by antiquarianism (cf. Finegan, 1812), there occurred gradual advancements in archaeological technique which fluoresced in the latter years of the century. Furthermore, with the first groan of machinery that sounded what came to be known as the Industrial Age, came a slow theoretical shift which resulted in an approach to prehistory and history characterized by images of the evolution of material culture and the general improvement of humankind's lot

(Trigger, 1989: 109). Of course Darwin's writings, themselves inspired by new British theories of geological time, sent shock waves through the academic establishment so that almost anything could be, and was, understood in terms of its evolution (Daniel and Renfrew, 1988: 47).

The belief that the West's future knew no bounds, coupled with the intensification of imperialism, resulted in a reversion to the construction of 'primitives' as savage and dirty, as something from which 'we' raised ourselves. John Lubbock's *Pre-historic Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages* and James Cruikshank Roger's 1884 *Celticism: a Myth* are both examples of the way in which academics at the time sought to downplay Britain's constructed Celtic past:

In short, the pure Celt, or primitive barbarian of the British Isles, naked as from the earth, save so much of his person as was concealed by a covering formed of the skins of wild animals, seems to have had absolutely nothing he could call his own. (Roger, 1884: 87)

This was a period when the Northmen were considered the spiritual ancestors of the British (Trigger, 1989), hardly surprising when it is remembered that Queen Victoria had consolidated ties with what became Germany and that there were mounting political troubles in Britain's Celtic fringes. This negative image of the Celts, and their associations with the Irish, dominated the popular media at this time, often in the form of numerous derogatory caricatures (Curtis, 1971; Snyder, 1920). Ironically, Queen Victoria herself was cast as Boudica, the Celtic queen; her statue can still be seen on Westminster Bridge, across from the Parliament Buildings. However, I argue that this merely illustrates the arbitrariness of the construction, in that Boudica was described as an Ancient Briton rather than as a Celt. Although Boudica fought the very Romans with whom nineteenth century Britain sought to identify itself, she nevertheless was seen to have protected the sanctity of the island.²

Notwithstanding, by the mid-nineteenth century, growing interest within the social sciences in cultural variation and diffusion led to the development of a specifically Celtic archaeology heralded by the discovery of finds at Hallstatt in between 1846 and 1862 and La Tène in 1858. Recurring items in material assemblages were recognized and their spatial distributions appreciated, leading to their identification with Celtic groups so that eventually, they were constructed as a discrete culture. In 1871, at the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology held in Bologna, Italy, Gabriel de Mortillet and Émile Desor drew connections between finds from the Etruscan site of Marzabotto and those

²Interestingly, in the National Portrait Gallery there is a slightly smaller than life-size bronze statue of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert as a medieval pair modelled on a Romantic Frankish image. This was a particularly effective way of legitimating Victoria's rule and bolstering her popularity. Through such artistic time travel Queen Victoria came to embody the past and her rule and both Britain and Europe through time became indistinguishable.

from La Tène, marking, for the first time, material culture being specifically ascribed to fourth century BC Celtic invaders (Kruta, 1991: 33).

In Britain, large numbers of archaeological finds were made with the construction of roads, railways and factories which led to a move away from a focus on the larger features such as hillforts and stone monuments to the construction of typologies and the determining of ethnic groups to discover national histories (Trigger, 1989: 148). In 1852, in his 'Account of some of the Celtic Antiquities of Orkney, including the Stones of Stenness, Tumuli, Pict-houses, &c.', F.W.L. Thomas felt able to firmly demarcate the 'geographical division of the Celtic Britons' (Thomas, 1852: 88) whilst in 1890 Arthur Evans saw fit to associate a late Celtic urnfield in Southeast England with the Belgae (Trigger, 1989: 155).³

During this same period, the British education system underwent major reforms. Although Classical scholarship had been of interest from the Renaissance, it now became elevated to the 'paradigm of humanistic studies', dominating school and university curricula (Champion, n.d.: 4). Furthermore, the associated growth of linguistics (Bynon, 1977) facilitated the linking of contemporary Celtic speaking peoples with a material culture belonging to the distant past. This emphasis on linguistics also contributed to a firmer association of the British Iron Age with the early medieval period. The Romans called the inhabitants of the island Britons; the Welsh had called themselves Britons in the texts; and both peoples spoke what came to be known as Celtic languages. Moreover, La Tène objects were seen to bear a resemblance to the carpet pages of early medieval Irish and Northumbrian manuscripts. In such a climate of racial determinism, past and present were constructed as one.

In the middle years of the nineteenth century two works were published which marked an apogee of Celtic image and myth making. First, Ernest Renan's *La Poesie des Races Celtiques* in 1854 and then Matthew Arnold's 1865-66 series of lectures 'The study of Celtic literature' clearly set out and fixed the series of oppositions between 'Celts' and the other European 'races' which had resonated so in earlier works (Sims-Williams, 1986). In his book Renan drew on emergent gender codifications to cast the Celt as feminine (spiritual, poetic, emotional, weak) in relation to the masculine (physical, prosaic, logical), and thus powerful, Teutons (Cairns and Richards, 1988: 46) while Arnold fleshed out the comparison with his Celts being 'spiritual, impractical, rural, natural, poetic' (read feminine) in contrast to the 'materialism, philistinism, utilitarianism, rationalism, artificiality and industrial urbanism' of

³ To quote Barry Cunliffe, 'it is not proposed in this chapter to indulge in an extensive and somewhat incestuous examination of the growth of Iron Age studies in Britain simply for the sake of conventional completeness' (1975: 1) as my goal is, rather, to examine the ways in which Celtic culture became inextricably tied to emerging concepts of an archaeological Iron Age. Hence, my outline is necessarily sketchy.

the Saxons (Sims-Williams, 1986: 72), thus naturalizing and legitimating the British political and military penetration of its weaker, now firmly Celtic fringes. This gendered opposition still very much characterizes the constructed relationship between the Celts and English today, and will be a theme upon which I continually expand.

Matthew Arnold's particular construction of Celticism was highly influential. Indeed, although he negated the present-day realities of people living in what came to be known as the Celtic fringes by focusing on supposed Celtic ineffectuality in politics and readiness to 'read against the despotism of fact' (Cairns 1988: 48), those involved in the struggle for Celtic national sovereignty, such as W.B. Yeats, owed much to his ideas (Sims-Williams 1986). The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries' growth of Irish nationalism, for example, saw the adoption of this image for overtly political purposes. Both the visual and verbal language of the struggle was to a great extent dependent on imagery which, over the centuries, had been conflated into a Celtic cultural package. The poetry of Yeats, plays of J. M. Synge and the image of Patrick Pearse as Christ-Cuchulain after the Easter Rising (cf. Sheehy, 1980 for details of Celtic influence in the arts of nineteenth-century Ireland) all circulate around the new congruence of myth and archaeology. Because they were seen, and saw themselves, as direct descendants of the Celts, the Irish could lay claim to all those qualities ascribed to the older society and thus assert moral superiority over the ruling British. Moreover, the Irish nationalists could point to the extensive history of the subjugation of their Celtic ancestors by the Vikings, Normans and finally the English. And in Wales, '[t]he Celts reflected the fantasies of the age, and...provided the constricted, pathetically small nation, which had little to commend it in its present state, with an unimaginably grandiose past, by way of consolation' (Morgan, 1983: 69). However it should be remembered that the Celtic culture with which both Ireland and Wales, and to a lesser extent Scotland, associated themselves was largely the construction of the English, the metropolitan ruling power itself.

Archaeological discourse, too, was affected by this new focus on Celtic artistic sensibilities. By the late nineteenth century writers in *Archaeologia* were expounding the details of specific artefacts. In her paper 'On Two Bronze Fragments of an unknown object, portions of the Petrie Collection, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin' Margaret Stokes concentrates on design: '[t]he ornament on the cone flows round and upwards in lines gradual and harmonious as the curves in ocean surf, meeting and parting only to meet again in lovelier forms of flowing motion' (Stokes, 1883: 475). However, this poetic view of archaeology which subsumed the material culture of the past to contingent, nineteenth-century notions of art was but one approach to archaeological enquiry at this time. Concern was growing with what was seen as the increasing mechanization and commodification of life, whilst the increasing hardship faced by those who were expected to benefit from industrialization drew fierce criticism, so that by the end of the nineteenth

century, enthusiasm for the 'benefits' of the Industrial Revolution waned. The constructed British world-view narrowed once again and in archaeology a new focus on ethnicity and racial origins arose.

With the intellectual move away from ideas of progress and new emphasis on racial doctrines to naturalize cultural success and failure, change came to be seen as somehow questionable (Trigger, 1989: 150). Thus, innovation was thought to occur only once. Because humans were not thought to be inherently creative, the appearance of similar material remains over wide areas was explained by the diffusion of peoples, thought to be carrying ideas and goods with them. This emphasis on diffusion had interesting consequences in terms of the reproduction of the British identity in the context of imperialism. Those in power argued that because of their hybrid nature (the result of successive indigenous peoples mixing with the 'best' of the invaders), the British were 'best in the world'. An interesting twist to the argument, however, was the added belief that those who came last were the best of the best. Hence, the Normans were associated with the aristocracy, the Saxons with the British as a whole, and the Celts, yet again, were firmly linked with the disenfranchised fringes (Trigger, 1989: 167-68).

It was very much this focus on ethnicity and race which gained ascendancy in archaeological practice through the earlier part of this century. The journals *Archaeologia* and *Antiquity* were both dominated by papers dealing with these questions. Georg Kraft's 'The Origin of the Kelts' is typical. In it he looks for the 'origin of every nation', and seeks to answer who were the first Celts in Britain (Kraft, 1929: 33). Together with this concern with racial origins came a focus on 'cultures', defined by V. Gordon Childe as 'certain types of remains – pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms – constantly recurring together' (Trigger, 1989: 170). Perhaps linked to Schliemann's codification of a Mycenaean 'civilization', and Evans' formalizing of a Minoan 'civilization' – rather than the study of 'periods' – Celtic culture, then, came to be defined by common groupings of material culture associated with the Iron Age (Daniel, 1981: 148). And partly because what survived best were the large hillforts and heavy iron swords and other weapons, the Celts came to be constructed as warriors. Furthermore, as Trigger argues, the culture history approach was related to nationalist archaeologies with their 'tendency to glorify "primitive vigour"' (1989: 174). With little or no acknowledgement of the ways in which the peoples of the British Iron Age may have used weapons in social reproduction beyond functional or deterministic explanations, these early twentieth-century archaeologists instead used this construction of Celtic culture, I suggest, to signify modern European society's fear of invasion and violence, following the devastation of the First World War.

Culture history, hyper-diffusionism and the quest for racial origins characterized archaeology for the better part of the first half of this century (Cunliffe, 1975: 2-6). With the

end of the Second World War, however, archaeologists largely abandoned this line of enquiry perhaps due, at least in part, to the widespread realization of the unspeakable consequences of the development of racial 'typologies'. A review of papers in *Antiquity* from the end of the war through to the early 1960s reveals that archaeologists moved away from writing about the Celts and their 'culture' in favour of attempts to understand settlement and social organization through a less engaged construction of elaborate hillfort and artefact typologies for their own sake. As Daniels and Renfrew claim, the early twentieth-century revolution in archaeological practice 'exorcised taste from archaeology' (1988: 65). Typical of this emphasis is Christopher Hawkes' famous 'The A B C of the British Iron Age', first developed in 1931 but elaborated in 1959 (Hawkes, 1931; 1959). Its confusing, and ultimately overly ambitious schema set out a system of ages and their subsets based on British Iron Age brooch typologies. It was assumed that brooch types followed a logical, set pattern of progression which directly corresponded with temporal periods. By concentrating on material remains divorced from their hugely complex roles in social reproduction, archaeologists hoped to avoid implicating themselves in contemporary political issues. Objectivity, the faith in facts rather than the stories of things, came to the fore.

Another articulation of the deferment of social responsibility evident in British archaeology at this time was the renewed interest in Celtic art. Through the war years only a relatively small number of papers discussing designs on British Iron Age material culture were published. With the end of the Second World War, however, Celtic art was again on the popular archaeological agenda having been appropriated by modernism and its related post-war 'crisis of meaning' (Guilbaut, 1984). By subsuming Iron Age material culture to articulate their own positions in a modern, western world, archaeologists (in addition to writers and artists) were able to divorce these remains from the social realities of the people who made them. Paul Jacobsthal's *Early Celtic Art* (1944), and Sir Cyril Fox's classic *Pattern and Purpose* (1958) construct the Celts as prehistoric Picassos, wildly 'rejecting' Classical calls for realistic, regimented art and celebrating freedom and infinite play through abstraction. Indeed, one of the more important events at this time was 'The Art and Culture of the Celts' exhibition at Schaffhausen in 1957 which Werner Kramer, in a review of T.G.E. Powell's *The Celts*, argued was the major inspiration behind this new focus on art (Kramer, 1959).

Related to this celebration of Celtic art as essentially spiritual and more imaginative than that of the Romans is the association, constructed in the 1950s, between the Celts and the Far East. Occidentalism met Orientalism (Said, 1978) with Myles Dillon's work on the ties between Celtic languages and Hindu and Sanskrit (McCone, 1990; see also for relevant discussion of construction of early medieval Irish texts). Both the Far East and Far West are, of course, timeless and unchanging and both were fantastic lands in the Classical texts (see chapter one). Because we, in the centre, as the definers of East and West, occupy neither

mental landscape, those on the fringes will always share more characteristics with each Other than with Us.

Rethinking the Iron Age

Since the late 1950s and early 1960s archaeology has witnessed an acceleration in the shifting of social paradigms. From the functionalism of 1960s New Archaeology with its emphasis on environmental determinism, through the contextual, structuralist and Marxist archaeologies of the late 1970s and 1980s and the post-processualism of the 1990s which owes much to postmodern openness to difference in the form of feminist, gendered and post-colonial or excluded archaeologies (to shamelessly simplify), archaeologists have come to acknowledge that both history and archaeology are contingently constructed.

Although there have been radical shifts in emphasis in the practice of Iron Age archaeology, the vast majority of work continues to view the Iron Age in terms of large scale trade and warfare, often interpreted through those same Greek and Roman texts I discussed in chapter one. One of the more influential texts was Kenneth Jackson's *The Oldest Irish Tradition: a Window on the Iron Age* (1964) which argued that the early medieval Irish tales are directly relevant to both British and European Iron Age archaeology. Thus, archaeology was to be made meaningful through text. Of course, this was yet another stage in the fixing of both Ireland (and by association Wales and Scotland) and the Celts as lost in the mists of time.

Of the many archaeologists who work within that textually informed framework, Barry Cunliffe is certainly the best known. Although rigorous, his work has, until very recently, reproduced a Celtic Iron Age as always already known (1975: 287-299; 301-309). Although Cunliffe brings together different types of evidence, they are used to paint the same picture which suggests timelessness and is 'created by scholarly practice which obstructs the writing of a different Iron Age' (Fitzpatrick, 1991: 126). Cunliffe is not alone in his approach, however, as much of what passes as Iron Age archaeology simply rehashes the 'tribal, familial, hierarchical' stereotype (this quotation is found in too many papers and books to be cited; but see De Paor, 1958) and takes as its premise the explanation of material culture through the medieval texts (see, for example, Megaw and Megaw, 1989; Wait, 1985). Here the emphasis is on the 'ritual' and mystic, the Celtic love of head-hunting and human sacrifice. Of course, the other dominant approach to Iron Age archaeology is treasure hunting, the glossing over smaller finds in favour of the 'exciting' and, again, that which has textual precedence (see in particular Stead, 1981; 1985; 1991).

Yet, the prospect of Iron Age archaeology is not altogether bleak. Since the 1980s a number of archaeologists have begun to look critically at the material remains, to excavate new sites and re-evaluate old ones. To name but a handful, Bill Bevan (1997), Tim Champion

(n.d.), John Collis (1984; 1994; 1995; 1997), J. D. Hill and Chris Cumberpatch (1995), J.D. Hill (1989; 1992; 1995), Richard Hingley (1992); Karen Meadows (1994), Nick Merriman (1987), Alastair Oswald (1991), Mike Parker Pearson (1994), Timothy Taylor (1991), and Jane Webster (1995a; b) have all questioned the categories of 'Celt' and 'Iron Age' through the history outlined above to conclude that the Iron Age in particular is veiled with layer upon layer of assumption and distorted sources, that perhaps the British Iron Age is not best understood as specifically Celtic. Instead, archaeologists are now looking at the ways in which identity may have been negotiated and the different strategies of social reproduction enacted by the heterogeneous peoples of these islands during the Iron Age. It may be that what has been defined as representative of Celtic material culture may, in fact, have more to do with the reproduction of class relations than ethnic relations.

However, as I suggest throughout this dissertation, the popular representation of Iron Age archaeology in heritage media remains characterized by an uncritical art historical approach (itself out of date within art history and more characteristic of nineteenth-century Romanticism) which asserts that the Celts somehow formed a 'kind of ancient European Community' (Megaw and Megaw, 1994: 292). It is this dominant view which was expressed in the sumptuous 1991 exhibition 'The Celts' at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice and which raises another important aspect of the contemporary reproduction of a Celtic cultural package: its use in the construction and legitimation of a central, white European identity stretching back into the long forgotten past. Indeed, the Megaws argue that the call for a reappraisal of the Iron Age/Celtic question is a product of the 'antipathy of both right and left in England to political involvement with Europe and the fear of fragmentation caused by internal nationalism' (Megaw and Megaw, 1994: 292), and that all 'ethnic' labels are constructs. However, I suggest that it is *because* all ethnic labels are constructs that we have a responsibility to look at each construct critically. Perhaps British academics of both political colours are wary of European Union. None the less, to limit our definition of 'European' to a people who have come to be defined as affluent white warrior-artists is racist, or, at the very least, profoundly ahistoric.

I have now argued that not only is the Celtic cultural package contingent, but also that its use as an explanatory model merely obfuscates the complexity and difference evident in the archaeology of the British Iron Age. I turn now to the next section in which I will explore the ways in which dominant constructions of Celtic culture are reproduced in the popular, non-academic arena. Media which are not geared towards a specifically academic audience, that is, popular history books, children's educational material, museum displays, heritage attractions and television documentaries – with all their associated material culture – are not neutral. They serve to reproduce certain, often conflicting aspects of British society in relation to the more specific social realities of Cornwall, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

Moreover, they implicate the academic establishment in a highly political construction and dissemination of information and 'knowledge'.

PART II

NARRATING HERITAGE MEDIA

... as if to fix it

(sine), that jubilant ego in the face of stone, of wind flocking grey wethers still gathered like (but not the same, not these) sarsens now in place, immutable from long time back. & front, weathered yes, in folds acquiring character we read in, clothed & prickling now along the hairless spine, a line meeting a circle, two in one so huge (small hill) barely visible at grass view, red windbreaker fleck a sea of green & climb some moat in his imagination scaled he calls me to: come & get me

the, all-powerful tickle,

gulp, wriggle gulping in the whole world hugged in ecstatic limit, breath's. nothing still, no duration now (a line) creeps through fields of (waves of) renewed green, cloud, light.

what was it they got? craniums & long bones in long barrows, construction tools from 4000 years back, antler picks, rakes & some ox shoulderblade shovels. what perspective from that elevation? matrix of chalk block walls arranged in the pattern of a spider's web around & over a mound of turves, grass still pliable though brown in colour ... beetles ... flying ants with their wings showed them buried late July of 2660 B. C. why?

the line hypothesized druid lore (in Christian times), today a collective need to endure winter to spring, when from his knoll ... / the Serpent will come from his hole/ on the Brown Day of Bride, singing, wave on wave emerging: & at centre, earth, only earth.

narrative is a strategy for survival. so it goes – transformative sinuous sentence emerging even circular, cyclic Avebury, April-May leaps winged from buried. shed lives, laps, folds, these identities, sine: fold of garment/ chord of an arc (active misreading). writing in monumental stones, open, not even capstone or sill, to sky (-change). she lives stands for nothing but this longstanding matter in the grass, settled hunks of mother crust, early Tertiary, bearing the rootholes of palms. they bring us up, in amongst stone-folds, to date: the enfolded present waits for us to have done with hiding-&-seeking terrors, territories, our obsession with the end of things.

how hug a stone (mother) except nose in to lithic fold, the old slow pulse beyond word become, under flesh, mutter of stone, stane, steing power.

excerpt from Daphne Marlatt, 'Avebury awi-speck, winged from buried (egg', in Sullivan, 1989: 184-85.

TELEVISION AND THE DOMESTICATED PAST

In chapters one and two I constructed a selective history of the more salient events in the formulation of British Celtic culture to provide a framework within which to explore how antiquarian and academically produced knowledge of a Celtic Iron Age is activated in heritage media and circulated through everyday social relations in the present. In this chapter I discuss a dominant medium through which we encounter and make meaning of the world around us: television (Figure 3.1). Television is a constant, trusted presence (both as object and as medium of communication) in our domestic geographies and its narrative structure provides 'a secure framework for the representation and control of the unfamiliar or threatening' (Silverstone, 1994: 21). Specifically, archaeo-historic programmes¹ which make reference to a Celtic past bring that past into the home and frame that past within a domestic context. It is the third most enjoyable way of finding out about the past, with 16% of museum visitors choosing it as their favourite way; and 25% of non-museum visitors choosing it (Merriman, 1989b). How these televised pasts are seen in our everyday lives is contingent upon specific *habitus* (the plural of *habitus*), in other words through the multiple and often conflicting patterns of perception, thought and action by which we apprehend the social world, patterns which, in turn, are produced through our internalizing of various social structures (Bourdieu, 1990: 130).

Bourdieu's theorizing of *habitus* is germane to any study of the ways in which media, specifically overtly 'knowledge' orientated media, resonates through our lives. In his attempt to transcend the opposition between 'physicalism and psychologism' – the objective/subjective debate which continues to hound theoretical writing in all disciplines – Bourdieu seeks to illuminate the strategies by which we continually negotiate and reproduce social structures as part of a never-ending cycle of identity formation (Bourdieu, 1990: 126). The socialized subjectivity of *habitus*, which is to say our reproduction of identity through structured social practice in terms of beings who 'make sense' of the world, allows us as agents to actively

¹ By 'archaeo-historic', I mean to delineate those programmes which use archaeological practice and production to illustrate historical themes. Therefore, my discussion is not limited to specifically archaeological programmes such as *Down to Earth* and *Time Team*. Rather, I look at broadcasts which make reference to Celtic culture and signal their themes with images of material culture which has been defined as Celtic by the antiquarian and archaeological practices outlined in chapter two.

determine our actions and practices on the basis of socially and historically constituted categories (Bourdieu and Wacquant Loic, 1992). This is not the material determinism of 'making our own histories in circumstances not of our own choosing', to paraphrase Marx, but is, instead, a dialectical relation between real structuring forces and agency, which necessarily involves active formulation and reproduction of those structures through our individual, meaningful actions, as agency in turn given shape by the particular habits through which we live.

Habitus has been criticized as being overly determinist, as not fully reconciling the artificial split between object and subject, between the 'real' and the social (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1991; Miller, 1995a; b). Bourdieu himself writes of the difficulty he finds in articulating clearly what, exactly, it is that he means by *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant Loic, 1992). His efforts to clarify are dogged by endless repetition and the danger that a simplifying the argument, it is diluted and emptied of meaning. His desire to understand the



anthropological films which document disappearing cultures (cf. Renoir, 1993a; b; c; Weiner, 1997 and Comment by Pychaj, 1997). Concern with televised pasts has been restricted largely to critical discussion of overly nationalized accounts - from *Roots* to *I Claudius* - with the question of authenticity, their historical veracity, central (Gane, 1979; Raloff, 1990; see also my introduction).

Figure 3.1 *The television at rest.*

There are, however, very real issues of power and politics in the production, broadcast and consumption of all television. In the context of formulating *habitus*, Bourdieu writes that we are tirelessly involved in the negotiation of identity; a typical way in which we do this is through retrospective media reconstructions of various pasts (1990: 135; cf. Schüssinger, 1991: 44).

determine our actions and practices on the basis of socially and historically constituted categories (Bourdieu and Wacquant Loïc, 1992). This is not the material determinism of 'making our own histories in circumstances not of our own choosing', to paraphrase Marx, but is, instead, a dialectical relation between real structuring forces and agency, which necessarily involves an active formulation and reproduction of those structures through our individual, meaningful actions, an agency in turn given shape by the particular *habitus* through which we live.

Habitus has been criticized as being overly determinist, as not fully reconciling the artificial split between object and subject, between the 'real' and the social (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1991; Miller, 1995a; b). Bourdieu himself writes of the difficulty he finds in articulating clearly what, exactly, it is that he means by *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant Loïc, 1992). His efforts to clarify are dogged by endless repetition and the danger that in simplifying the argument, it is diluted and emptied of meaning. His desire to understand the interplay of the object world and our being in that world (not necessarily in the strictly philosophical sense of Heideggerean *Dasein*), of our mediation of the 'real', reaches to the heart of this dissertation, in that the representation of the past carries with it an implicit understanding that there is something fixed to represent.

It is in this context that I wish to consider the implications of archaeo-historic documentary film, how it interweaves through contemporary British relations of gender, race, identity and nation. Although there is a growing body of literature on the production and consumption of television and its role in the mediation of everyday life (Morley, 1992; 1995a; b; Morley and Robbins, 1995; Silverstone, 1994), almost no attention has been paid to the ways in which archaeo-historic programmes frame ways of seeing and being and how, as cultural productions, they are given everyday meaning (Piccini, 1996). Critical discussion of documentary appears limited to the fictional non-fiction of historico-political programmes (I am thinking here of series such as *Panorama*, *Dispatches* and *World in Action* and the work done on these programmes in academic publications such as the *Culture, Media and Power* series) and anthropological films which document disappearing cultures (cf. Renov, 1993a; b; c; Weiner, 1997 and Comment by Piccini, 1997). Concern with televised pasts has been restricted largely to critical discussion of overtly fictionalized accounts, from *Roots* to *I Claudius*, with the question of authenticity, their historical veracity, central (Gane, 1979; Ralling, 1980; see also my introduction).

There are, however, very real issues of power and politics in the production, broadcast and consumption of all television. In the context of formulating *habitus*, Bourdieu writes that we are ceaselessly involved in the negotiation of identity; a typical way in which we do this is through retrospective media reconstructions of various pasts (1990: 135; cf. Schlesinger, 1991: 44).

Indeed, McCloone argues that in Britain and Ireland the 'thrust of broadcasting's role ... has been towards a denial of the complexities and dynamics of cultural identity' (1991: 9). Central to understanding these issues is the question of what it means that we construct the past as a subject of representation in the first place. Representation and subjectivity are situated practices deeply embedded in how dominant Western thought makes meaning in the world (Weiner, 1997). The represented subject has been focal in the Western academic tradition of theorizing the modern and postmodern from Charles Baudelaire's *flâneur*, who places before himself the spectacle of Paris (Clark, 1984), through to Walter Benjamin's interrogation of the mechanized reproduction of images (1992) and the writings of Victor Burgin (1986; 1992), Michel Foucault (*cf.* 1979), Emmanuel Levinas (*cf.* Critchley, 1993) Jean-François Lyotard (1989; 1992), Edward Said (1978; 1993) and Gaytri Chakravorty Spivak (1993), to name only a few. All engage with what it means to view other humans as 'other', as separate, as observable.

One of the most interesting workings of being-as-subject and the representation of that subject is Jean Baudrillard's problematizing of simulacra (1983) whereby he argues that through the twentieth century a particular emphasis on image has emerged such that specific representations become 'more real' than that which is represented. For Baudrillard representation takes precedence over being. More importantly, however, is the implicit recognition that phenomena exist in multiplicity, that there is no one fixed essence within the things and people around us. Yet what is at stake is not, as Baudrillard argues, the preceding of the real by the simulacrum, but the contemporary valuing of representations of things on a par with the 'authentic'. Although, as I detail in chapter seven's case study, people place value on viewing the 'real thing', many comfortably and often self-consciously enjoy the overtly fictional. It is this that the critics of heritage fail to come to terms with, deriding it as right-wing bread and circuses for the masses (Ascherson, 1987; 1992; Fowler, 1992; Hewison, 1987).

As highlighted through ethnographic studies of consumption practices (Lull, 1988; Miller, 1995; Morley and Silverstone, 1990; Silverstone, 1994; Silverstone and Hirsch, 1992), the importance of the authentic is not transmitted, as such, directly and evenly to all those who consume television pasts. How and why we watch archaeo-historic documentary is shaped by the specific *habitus* through which we live our lives and the cultural capital we seek to accumulate. In *Distinction* (1984) Pierre Bourdieu outlines the notion of cultural capital, the encoding of cultural productions such that those productions are understood in different ways by different social groups dependent on the codes people possess and reproduce by acting with reference to them. Cultural capital is most easily understood in terms of the practices people engage in: buying reproduction period furniture, eating sushi, listening to compact discs, wearing gold jewellery,

going on package holidays or travelling through 'pristine' landscapes are all examples of the different ways in which people signal the groups they identify with through the transformation of economic capital into something distinctive with which they can actively engage (cf. Samuel, 1994).

The role that cultural capital plays in consumption patterns is apparent in Bourdieu's detailed analyses of French museum visiting practices (1984) together with Heinich's follow-up work (1988) and Merriman's studies of British museum visiting (1989a; b; 1991) and can be teased out of the less exhaustive surveys of television viewers conducted by the television channels responsible for broadcasting specific archaeo-historic documentary films. At first glance, in common with Bourdieu's and Heinich's observations, the groups who watch archaeo-historic programmes fall primarily into what have been termed the 'professional classes', the AB and C1 categories of Ivan Reid's model of social groupings, based on market research classifications and still used extensively in social science surveys (1981).² For example, six episodes of *Down to Earth* (the now-defunct magazine-style archaeological current affairs programme broadcast in the early 1990s) broadcast on Channel 4 between 29 October 1991 and 3 December 1991 averaged 1.5 million viewers, 43% of whom were in the AB and C1 groups, 28% in C2 and 29% in DE (Robin Mack, Channel 4 Research) whilst the ambitiously titled *The Celts*, broadcast in 1987 by the BBC, averaged an audience of 1.9 million with 40% of viewers belonging to the AB and C1 groups, 23% to C2 and a surprisingly high 37% to DE (Susie McNiven, BBC Research); see Table 3.1. These AB and C1 groups comprise the majority of rail users (advertising poster at Swansea Station) and are Radio 4's primary listeners (*The Guardian*, January 20, 1997). In terms of cultural capital, their activities include reading *The Guardian*, *The Times* and *National Geographic* (cf. Gero and Root, 1990); they watch *Travelog*, *World in Action* and *The Gardener's Show*; prefer their holidays to be 'off the beaten track'; eat Brie and Stilton and drink freshly ground coffee; and holiday in France and Italy (TGI 1997, BMRB International in *The Guardian*, January 20, 1997).

² In *Social Class Differences in Britain* (Reid, 1981), group A is made up of higher managerial, professional or administrative workers; B of lower managerial, professional or administrative workers; as professionals of varying kinds; C1 of skilled non-manual labourers; C2 of skilled manual labourers; D of unskilled manual labourers; and E of all 'residuals', including pensioners and the unemployed. Such narrow groupings can never be genuinely representative although they do point towards the groups that designed them as terms such as 'skilled labourer' still have meaning for us and social weight. Most importantly, classifications such as these indicate how we define and value different social groupings.

	DOWN TO EARTH	THE CELTS
	<i>Average audience</i>	<i>Average audience</i>
Adults	29.10.91–03.12.91	21.05.87 & 18.06.87
16–24	6%	6%
25–34	13%	12%
35–44	16%	13%
45–54	18%	14%
55 +	33%	48%
Women	49%	51%
Men	51%	43%
ABC1	48%	40%
C2	25%	23%
DE	26%	37%

Table 3.1 *Averaged audience numbers and demographic profiles for Channel 4's Down to Earth and BBC's The Celts. Percentages for The Celts do not add up to 100% because numbers of children viewing are not included here. Information provided by Research Departments of Channel 4 (Robin Mack) and BBC (Susie McNiven).*

The figures in Table 3.1 do not speak for themselves, however. I suggest that when taken together the numbers indicate that non-professionals and the unemployed in fact constitute most of the viewing audience. This may reflect an association simply between television watching and the less economically advantaged who may spend more time within the home and more time watching television as a leisure pursuit, if Rupert Murdoch's construction of satellite TV for the 'working classes' is representative (Morley, 1995a: 186). It may then also be linked to what Bourdieu (1984) and Merriman (1991) describe as accumulating cultural capital through the consumption of images traditionally associated with those groups holding both economic and cultural power. As Silverstone argues, broadcast media are 'central in articulating a culture of, and for, suburbia: principally for the white middle classes and for those who could aspire to that status' (1994: 173). In this way it is associated, too, with urbanization and what Walsh describes as the:

consumption of superfluous commodities [as] part of a trend towards the construction of an image of self in the light of one's relationship to others, a construction of identity through the consumption of goods and services which has intensified throughout (post-) modernity (1992: 29).

Nonetheless, Richard Prentice has studied the use of multi-media presentations involving video at heritage attractions and their impact on how tourists learn (1993). He found that such presentations disproportionately enhanced the understanding of those tourists he argued are least likely to learn from on-site interpretative media, namely, what have been labelled as less-educated and general-interest tourists, and those from manual worker households. These are the very groups which, as I discuss in greater depth in chapter five, Nick Merriman and others have found to feel excluded from the museum environment (Tables 3.2 and 3.3). I suggest, then, that the ways in which broadcast archaeo-historic documentary circulates through British social relations are complex. Although traditional, museum-based encounters with contingent pasts appear to speak primarily to the well-educated and financially secure, television may democratize access to and control over those histories called on in the reproduction of identities.

Perhaps the most significant point to make at this juncture, however, and one that will become more meaningful in my own discussion of museum visiting is that half of all viewers for both series were aged fifty-five and over, an age group Merriman has identified as being infrequent/non-visitors to museums due, to a significant degree, to the physical and financial restrictions which befall our ageing population. On one level archaeo-historic documentary may simply provide access to the past for those who are interested but may not possess the resources – whether physically manifested economic means or a *habitus* which includes museum visiting as an accepted activity – to engage with the material past.

'Museums have nothing to do with our daily lives'							
<i>TYPE OF VISITOR</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Frequent	1	10	7	61	23	100	160
Regular	2	11	10	67	11	100	344
Occasional	2	27	15	47	9	100	132
Rare	6	32	9	50	3	100	126
Non-visitor	14	41	12	27	6	100	155
ALL	4	21	11	54	11	100	917

Table 3.2 Attitudes to the relevance of museums, by type of visitor (%)
(after Merriman, 1989: 157)

'Which of these things do museums remind you of most?'						
TYPE OF INSTITUTION %	TYPE OF VISITOR %					
	Frequent	Regular	Occasional	Rare	Non-visitor	ALL
Monument to the dead	17	28	43	48	47	34
Community centre	6	3	1	2	2	3
Church or temple	10	8	8	13	14	10
School	12	12	10	6	12	11
Library	44	40	32	23	24	35
Department store	4	--	--	1	--	1
Other	9	9	6	6	2	7
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(158)	(340)	(130)	(127)	(157)	(913)

Table 3.3 *Image of museums, by type of museum visitors (%)*
(after Merriman, 1989: 156).

It is the accessibility of television, the seemingly broad appeal of these programmes, which is so intriguing. Although the number of people watching series such as *The Celts* and *Down to Earth* was proportionally small,³ the fact that many of those people who feel alienated from museum pasts are drawn to archaeo-historic documentary film contextualizes more general studies of heritage and points to complex patterns of heritage consumption which cannot be reduced to a simple class-based power/knowledge relationship. However, it should be recognized that

³ If one considers the fact that Channel 4's *The Girlie Show*, a bad-taste feast of badly behaved women 'with attitude', shown late-night on Fridays in 1996 and 1997 averaged an audience of somewhere around three million in its first series (*The bad girls are back!*, pp. 4-5, G2, *The Guardian*, December 9, 1996), and that highly popular shows such as ITV's *Emmerdale Farm* and *Taggart* average 13 million viewers, the figures for prime-time archaeo-historic television appear insubstantial to say the least.

habitus produces practices and representations which are available for classification, which are objectively differentiated; but they are immediately perceived as such only in the case of agents who possess the code, the classificatory models necessary to understand their social meaning (Bourdieu, 1990: 131).

What is a mistake, as Bourdieu himself points out, is to translate social groupings on paper into fixed groups in 'real' life and hence to ignore the more interesting questions of how and who we are (1990: 128).

Watching TV

How, then, do I go about analysing television pasts? Taking my cue from Michael Renov, the key issues involved in critically engaging with archaeo-historic television are 'the ontological status of the image, the epistemological stakes of representation, the potentialities of historical discourse on film' (1993c: 1). My study of articulations of race, gender, identity and nationhood in television film centres on particular material understandings of Celtic culture and thus involves my closely reading the contingent poetics of the specific films I consider. I have to explore constructions of character, poetic language, narration, musical score and camera work in relation to the production context (i.e. who is saying what and why?) while I have to consider also the material limitations of broadcast television. Is it possible to make interesting, exciting and innovative film about the distant past, or is the most we can expect a prettily illustrated lecture? Simply, are we getting the archaeo-historic film (or even lack of it) that we deserve?

Beyond the study of film as text, what can be written about a filmed Celtic past? As I briefly referred to above, recent approaches to television have placed emphasis on consumption patterns. Theorizing relationships among human beings and 'the world' has led to a move away from ideologically based approaches to media. In the past, dominant understandings of the ways in which we made sense of television images and texts centred on the unspecified, but always 'other' audience which was at the mercy of the ruling *mentalité*. Theodor Adorno (cf. 1991) wrote of the dangers of media duping us into believing what those in power wished us to believe. Media studies through to the 1980s certainly were characterized by a focus on what was seen often as an ideologically binary content/reading relationship. Although the Leicester Centre for Mass Communications Research placed increasing emphasis on a 'uses and gratifications' approach during the 1960s, media studies continued to be dominated by a certain top-down approach with television media understood as either a system of signs (Stuart Hall at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies) or as text which positioned a viewing subject – the

theoretical focus of media journal *Screen* (Morley, 1995b). The widespread influence of these ideas continues to manifest itself in current tabloid and broadsheet debates about the influence of 'video nasties' on children's behaviour and former Conservative heritage minister Virginia Bottomley's pledge to curtail television violence.⁴

Writing the postmodern has foregrounded notions of difference and the absence of essential meaning in cultural productions. The specific ways in which individuals make sense of their media surroundings became a new concern within media studies, the disruptions and dislocations of intended messages celebrated, with increasing reference to de Certeau (1984), as the 'guerrilla tactics' of everyday life. John Fiske is perhaps one of the more well-known writers to argue for our ultimately creative engagement with television and advertising media through playful, polysemous readings of text and image (1989 a; b; 1990). More recently, David Morley's and Roger Silverstone's attempts at textured ethnographies of television consumption patterns have brought out the ways in which domestic relations interweave with television consumption patterns. This work has been important in coming to terms with what 'active' readings of text actually signify. It is not a question of whether or not viewers are active readers of televisual text; what is at stake is in what manner is that activity significant (Silverstone 1994: 153).

Although patterns of archaeo-historic documentary consumption are vital to our understanding of the ways in which these films resonate through the British culture of heritage, how can we construct this knowledge? The most significant problem with television viewer ethnographies is, of course, the presence of the ethnographer. How people watch television will change once they are made aware that their television watching practices are of interest to someone else, once their everyday practices are distilled as specialized activities. Furthermore, I am uncomfortable with relying on viewer accounts of meaning because so much of what is interesting, in terms of how we activate televisual knowledge, is complex and relational. We cannot *say* the role of television watching in our everyday lives because words, the linguistic translation of living, mask and often deny the doing. Indeed, any articulation evades what it is that is intended to be uttered; once it is said, I am no longer saying it (Critchley, 1992). As in the practice of archaeological interpretation of the past itself, what I need to do is to apprehend traces

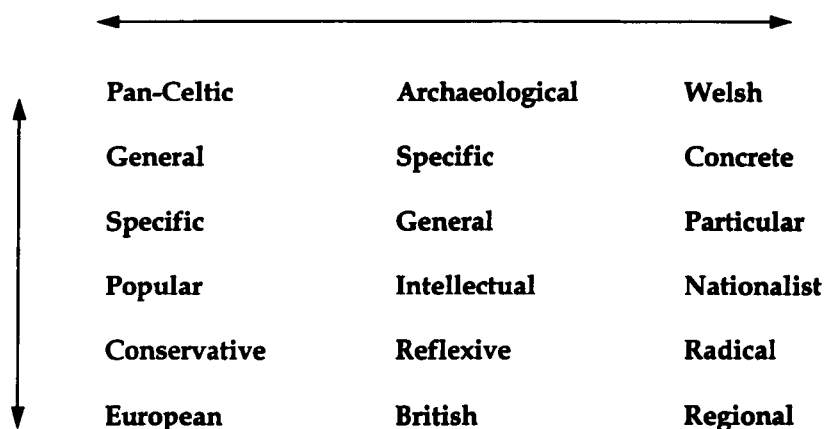
⁴ This debate was expressed most crassly in the Jamie Bulger murder case of the mid-1990s. Access to violent videos was cited as contributing to the actions of the two Merseyside children who were responsible for Bulger's death. More recently, (November 1996) David Cronenberg's film *Crash* has been in the headlines, condemned as sick and perverse because of its portrayal of obsession and social malaise. The tabloids have exploited the 'shock/horror' implications of people who associate car crashes and sexuality, resulting in the City of Westminster banning the film from its cinemas.

of use, to identify the imprints of Celtic culture-focused archaeo-historic documentary in British social relations.

First, I am concerned with outlining the ways in which specific films that convey an archaeological sense of Celtic culture reproduce or disrupt dominant discourses of British identity. Questions of ethnicity, gender and race can be raised through close readings of these films. Thus, in this chapter I look at what is on offer on our television screens. How we then activate these images and ideas is the subject of chapters seven and eight. There I argue that many of those who watch archaeo-historic films and also consume other heritage media do tend to approach this form of documentary as they would text.⁵

A few words about category

In order to explore identity issues within the archaeo-historic televising of that which is explicitly defined as being Celtic I need to differentiate the films in terms of their own, intended discourses:



The above diagram is intended to represent graphically some of the more characteristic themes I have identified in archaeo-historic documentary. Although it can be read both horizontally and vertically, I do not intend it to be strictly relational. The left-hand column represents programmes which purport to tell of Celtic culture from its origins at Hallstatt to

⁵ During fieldwork in Wales with the Board of Celtic Studies, which involved lengthy interviews with museum and heritage centre visitors in Wales, I asked people whether or not they watched television documentaries. Their replies suggested that such television watching was very different from their watching of the news or drama and comedy. The people who actively make an effort to watch archaeo-historic documentary appear to use it as a static, textual source. Chapters seven and eight expand on this theme.

present day storytelling on the Western edges of Britain and Ireland. A general picture, in that it conflates the whole of Western Europe within the Celtic trope, it is also specific in that it aims to tell only the story of the Celts, rather than of prehistory. Films which centre on notions of pan-Celticism are aimed at a wide audience and seek to entertain rather than to challenge. Their approaches to both archaeology and history are profoundly conservative, and the academics involved in the research tend to be well-established and uncontroversial.

Archaeological film which refers to a Celtic Iron Age (second column) may be general in that the focus is on archaeological practice and results, but are specific, also, in that the focus is on close examinations of material culture. Emphasis on the intellectual is conveyed through a continued allegiance to academic practice and an academic community. These films are about archaeologists telling us what they do. In this way they are also reflexive, as the actual stories of the past appear secondary to the academic practice of writing them.

The right hand column lists the characteristics of those archaeo-historic films which deal with Celtic Wales. The particular regional focus provides a concrete, contemporary context for nationalist histories which use the traditional Celtic trope to construct a radical politics. These films translate the conflated sameness of pan-Celticism into an important political difference through self-conscious cultural construction which owes much to, yet is not confined to, academic practice.

Celtic grand narratives

Archaeo-historic films which deal with the pan-Celtic, films such as *The Celts: in search of an illusive image* (made for the BBC in the late 1960s) from which the following photographs are taken, are the bigger productions, broadcast serially as well as in more traditional, hour-long documentary format, with funding available for varied location shots and specialized photography of museum-housed archaeological material (Figure 3.2). Known 'experts', filmed in an interview style tell different parts of the story, lend academic weight to the narration and provide a certain link between images of the past in the form of filmed material culture and the present day (Figures 3.3–3.5). The experts play starring roles in the drama framed by a choral narrator who ties the specific specialist knowledges together into linear narrative and is intended by *film-makers* to guarantee the truth and solemnity of the past (Piccini, 1993).

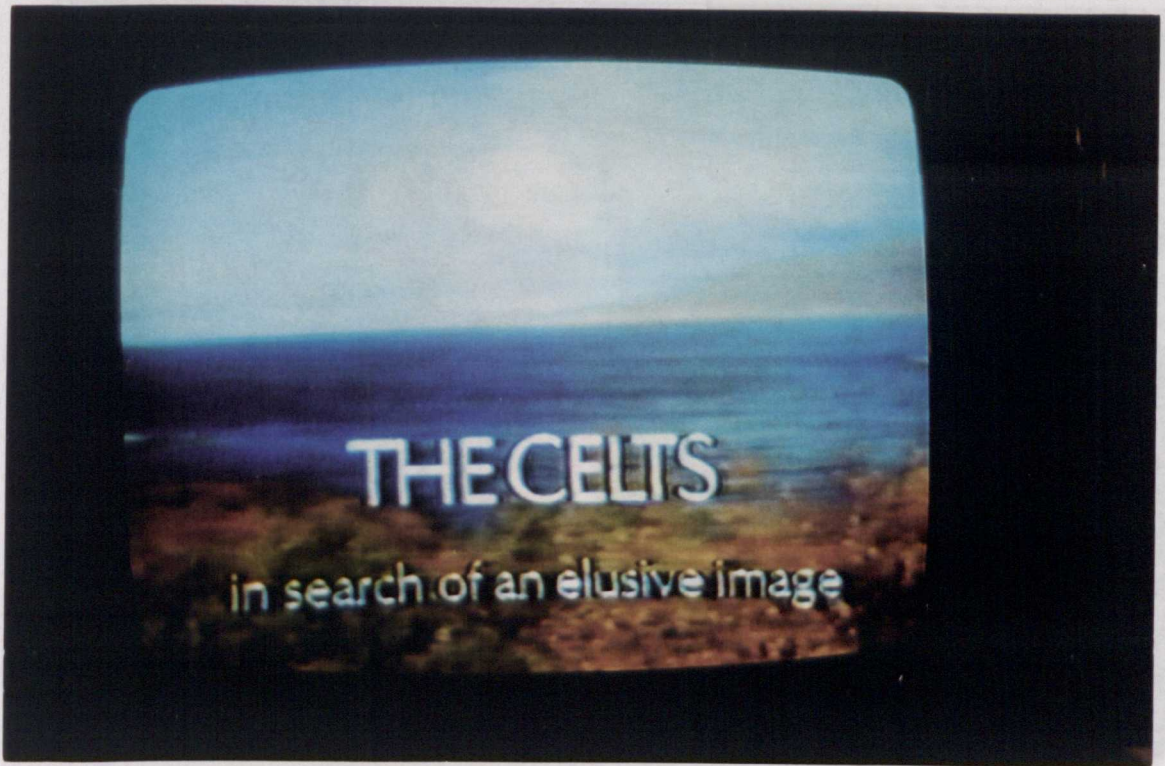
The stories that both the narrator and noted academics tell are illustrated by dramatically-filmed material culture, with starkly lit skeletons musically punctuated by minor chords (Figures 3.6 and 3.7) while European Classical music links the beauty of the Celtic spiral

with the popular myth of 'Western Civilization'. The evidence which confirms the truth of the story takes the form of filmed archaeological investigation: a mix of excavation (Figure 3.8) and hard science (Figures 3.9) Added to this is the linking of images used time and again in films about Celtic culture, cultural stereotypes whose origins lie in the earlier history of constructions of the Celtic outlined in chapters one and two. Horses gallop free across the *morfa* (Welsh for salt water marsh) (Figure 3.10), while swords flash across the screen illuminated by a fiery red (Figure 3.11) and contextualized by repeated reference to the cult of the severed head (*cf.* chapter one).

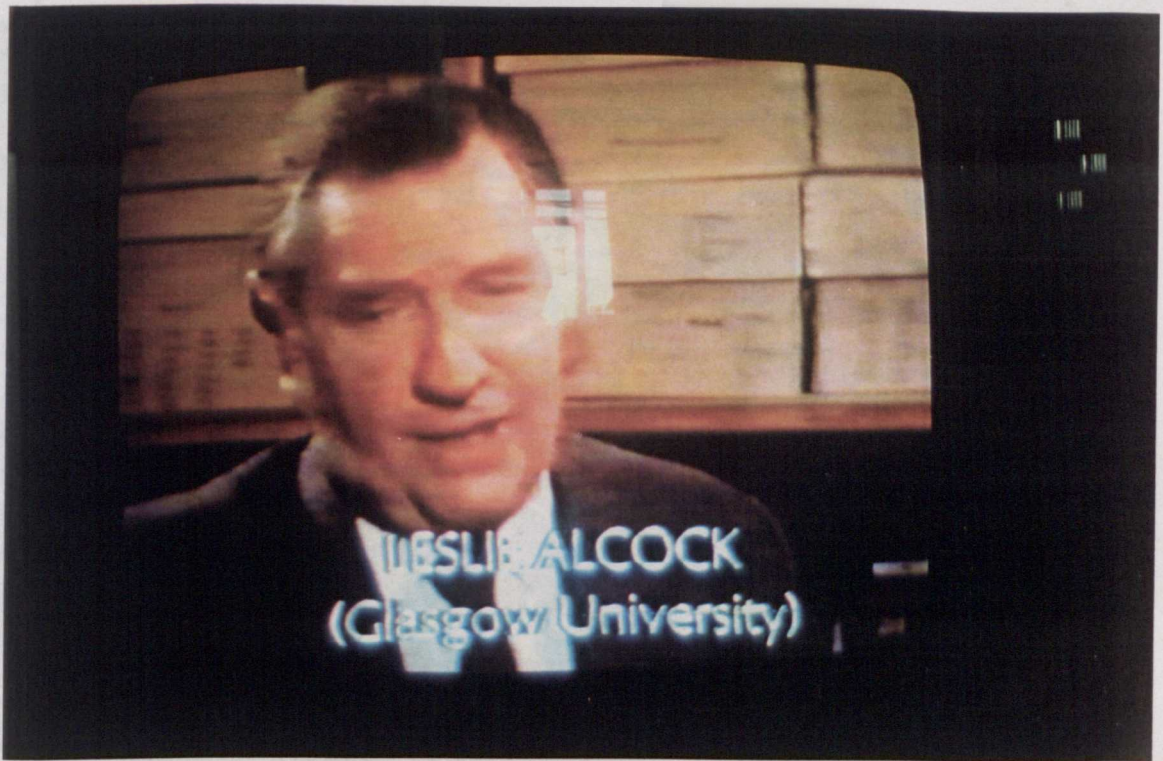
The pan-Celtic documentary can be characterized thus by its emotional appeals to the viewer through references to the collective spirit, vibrancy and magic of Celtic culture, all naturalized through repeated reference to the scientific foundations of such narratives. Although Trinh Minh-ha argues that, 'in a world of reification, [in which] truth is widely equated with fact, any explicit use of the magic, poetic, or irrational qualities specific to the film medium itself would have to be excluded *a priori* as nonfactual' (1993: 98), the uncritical use of Celtic mystery underpinned with scientific discourse simply reproduces the boundedness of Celtic stereotypes.

The Isle is Full of Noises, a 1992 BBC production for its theologically *orientated* Everyman series uses the magical to say something definite about the over-arching spirituality of the Celtic peoples. Pagans, earth mysteries specialists and popularly read archaeologists such as Anne Ross and Miranda Green⁶ are brought together to define a Celtic spiritual identity. Celts are 'tied with the earth', share a long-standing 'tradition of dreaming', 'worship rivers' and live in a 'dream world'. The producers of the programme make appeals to authority and the timelessness of this identity through assertions that Celts 'have always....'. At the same time writer Alan Garner speaks of the Celtic relationship with the 'other world', 'as close to us as the back of a shadow'. He claims that 'the wild wood is *always* at the back of our consciousness', a statement implicit in which is an assertion of continuity of belief, which causes a flattening out of both the past and present, creating a homogeneous empty time of the cultural community (Bhabha, 1990b: 311). Not only do they naturalize the Celt as Other, but Garner's words would seem to suggest also that a Celtic understanding of the world represents the primeval within all of us.

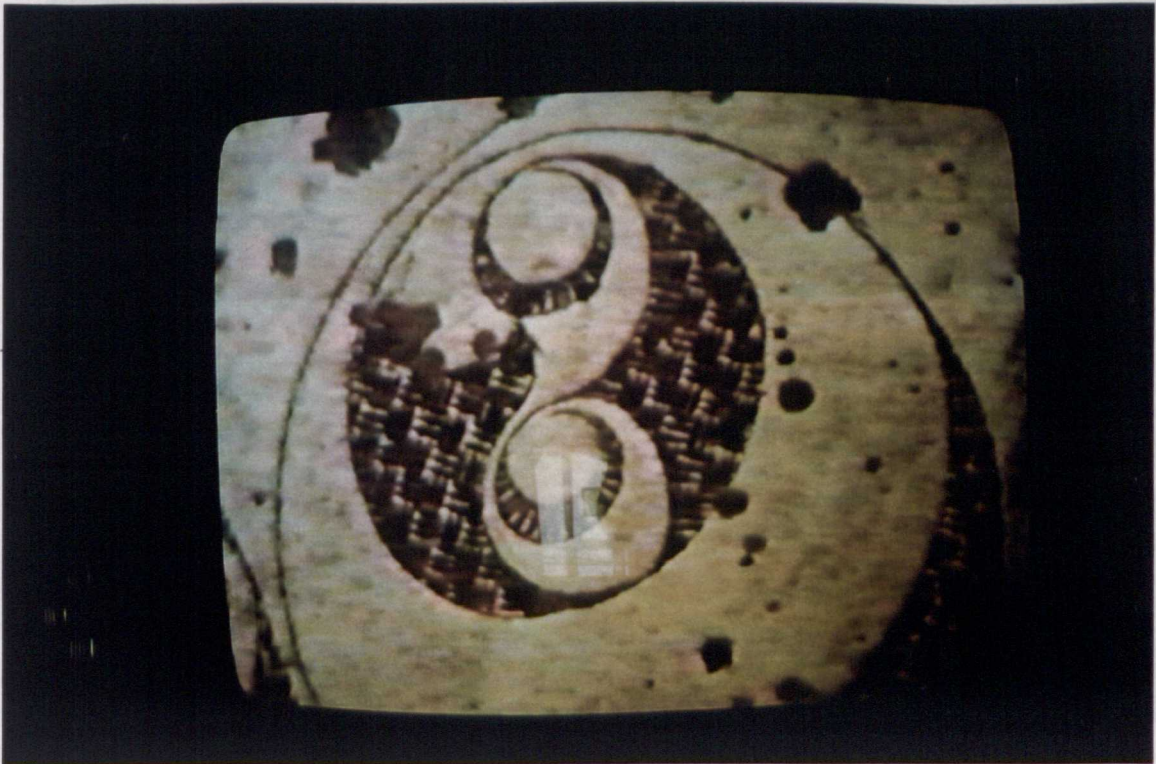
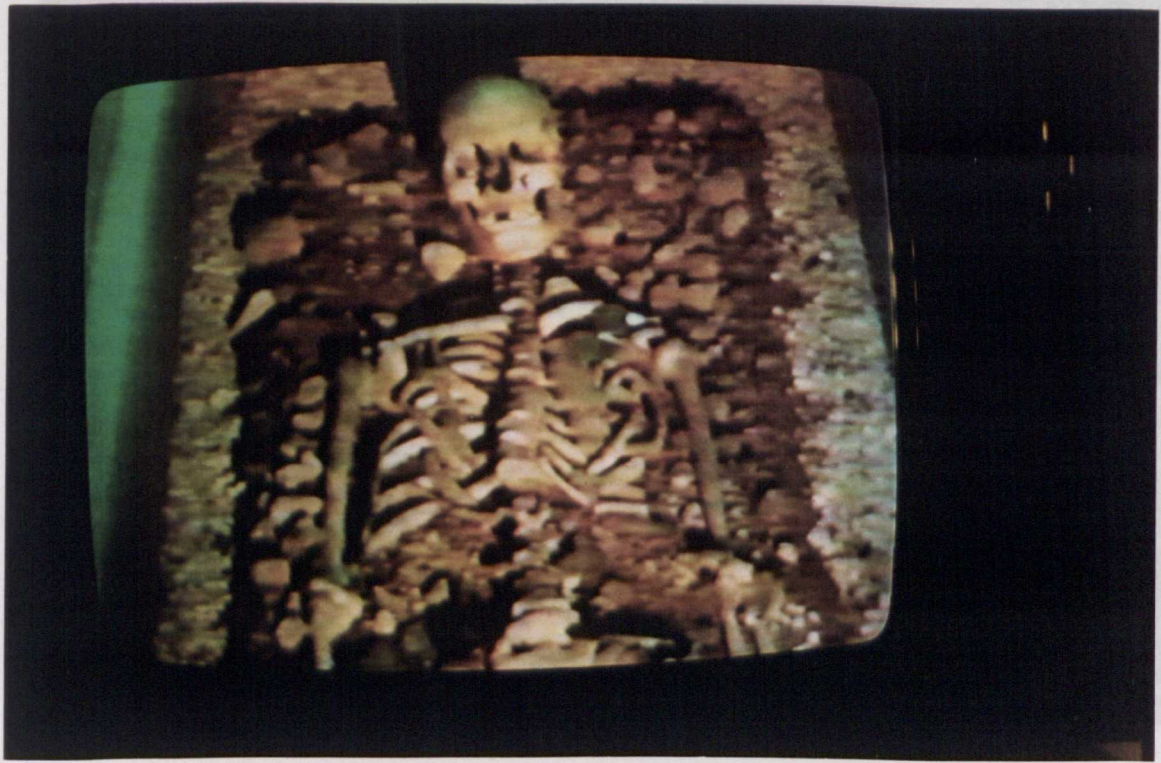
⁶ Both Anne Ross and Miranda Green are best-selling writers whose numerous books on archaeology, the Celts and spirituality feature prominently in museum shops. Their contributions to popularly consumed archaeologies is considered in chapter two.



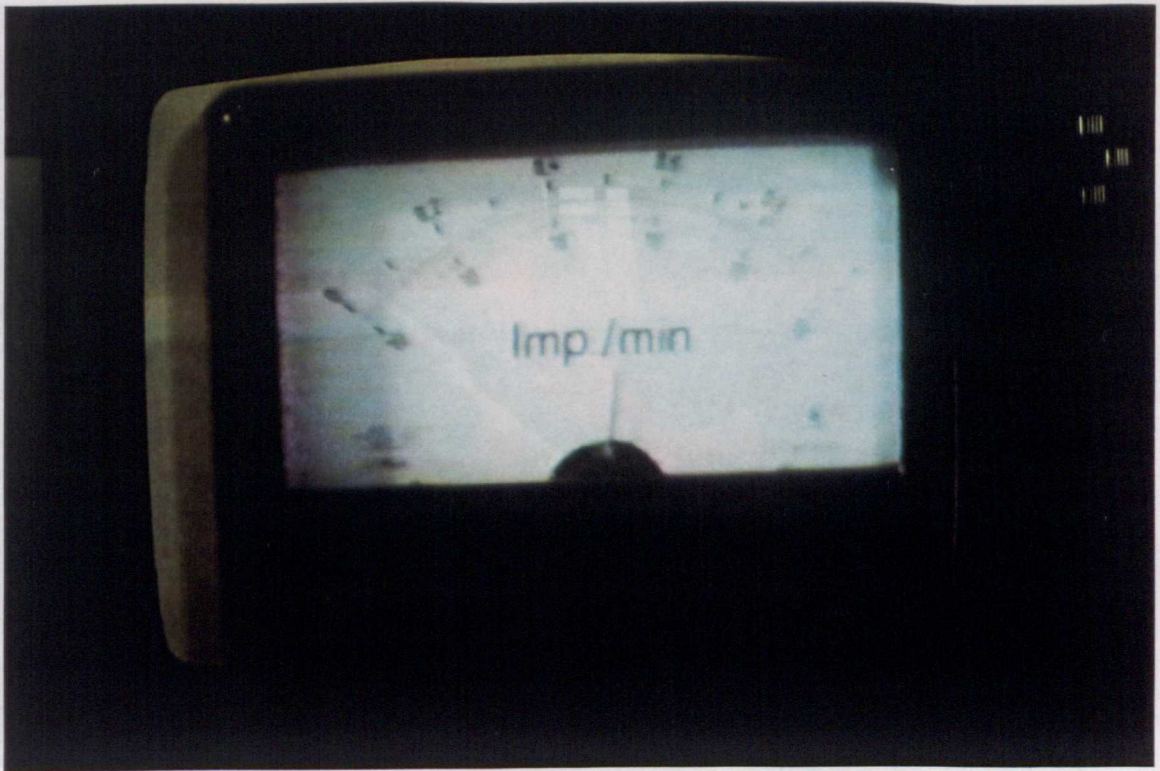
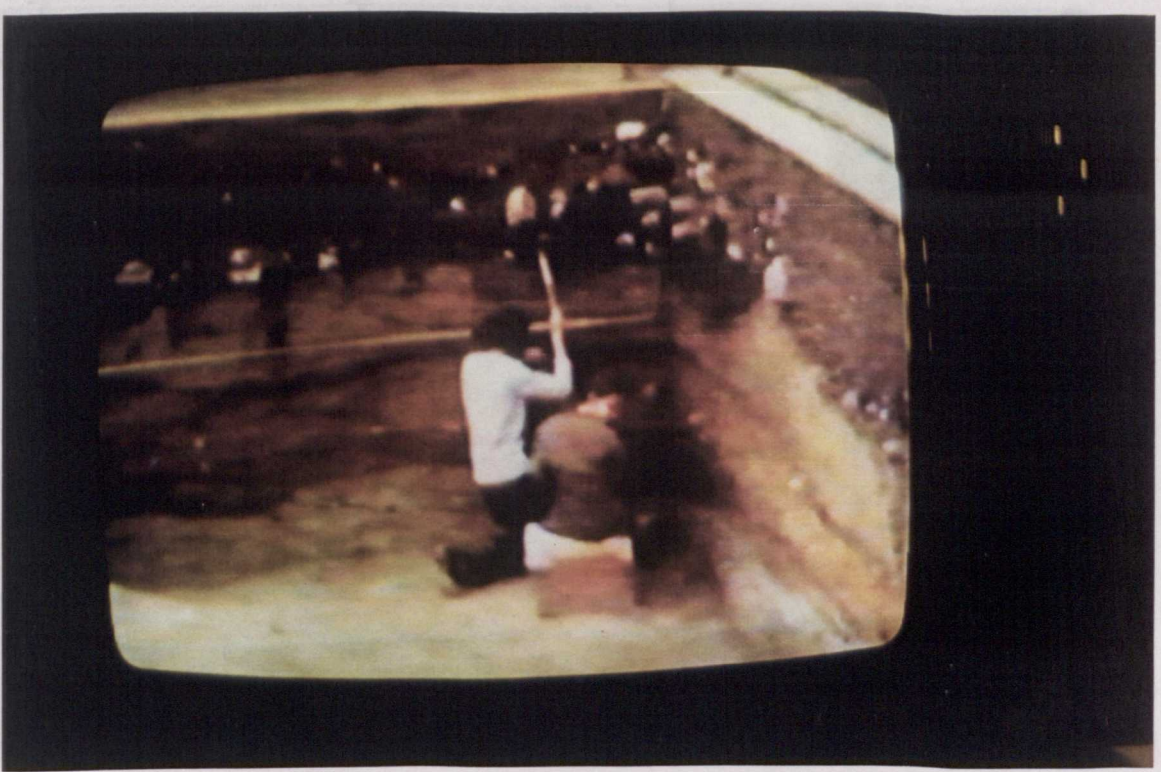
Figures 3.2 and 3.3 *Title sequence of The Celts: in search of an illusive image and Anne Ross, author of various books on 'pagan Celtic religion', in full swing, in The Celts: in search of an illusive image.*



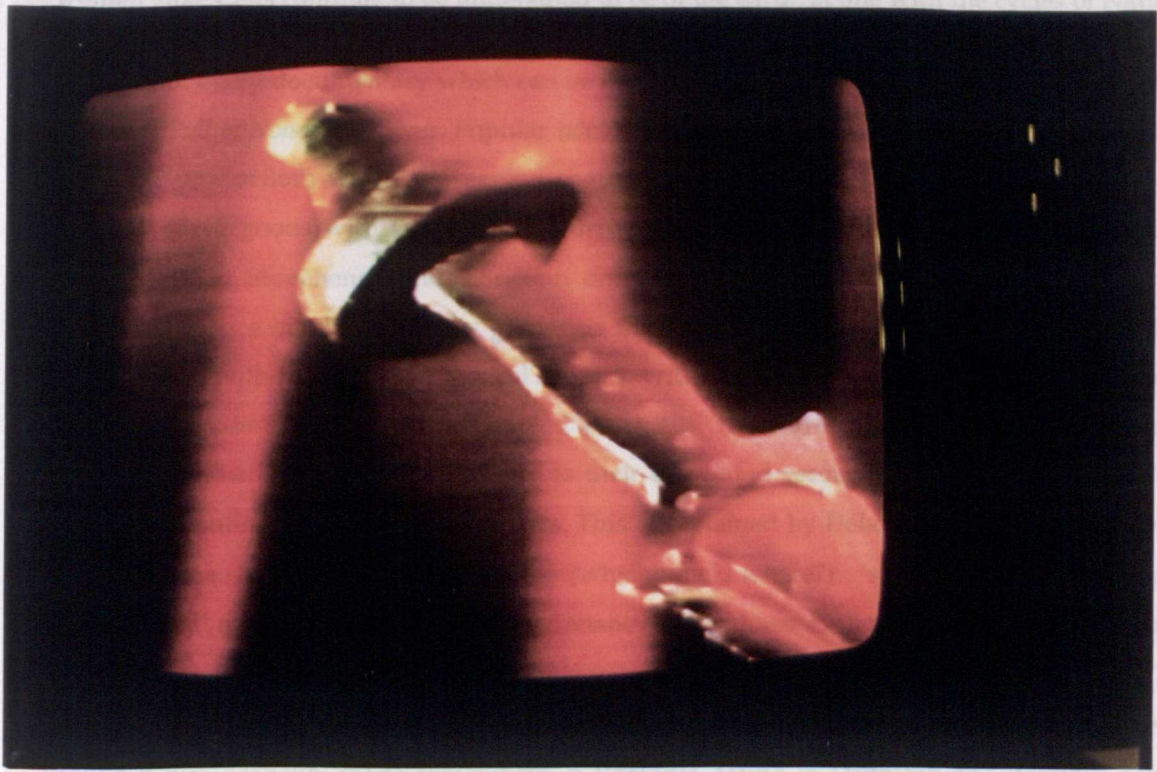
Figures 3.4 and 3.5 Leslie Alcock and Proinsias Mac Cana as they appear in *The Celts*: in search of an illusive image.



Figures 3.6 and 3.7 *Skeletal remains on display and a 'Celtic' spiral motif on a bronze mirror.*



Figures 3.8 and 3.9 *Archaeologists at work in their holes and a dramatic close-up of an unspecified scientific instrument.*



Figures 3.10 and 3.11 *Horses gallop across the morfa in an expression of Celtic freedom, while the angle and red glow of this sword hilt should leave us in no doubt as to Celtic warrior prowess.*

⁷ See De Paor (1996) for this famous description.

In visual terms there are repeated shots of a rushing river, filmed over a period of time and then sped up so that definition is lost and the river becomes a streak of froth which blurs the finer details of the passage of time. It is intriguing that these scenes provide such a rich visual metaphor for the traditional Romantic definition of Celtic culture: ever moving yet ever present and singular; familiar, yet strange. Verdant glades filled with bird-song re-iterate statements about Celtic oneness with the environment; greens and browns figure strongly in the shots. The contingent untamed landscape which is delineated mirrors Garner's claims about the 'wild wood'. Additionally, the women who participate in the documentary are filmed seated while Alan Garner, who speaks from the magical landscape of Alderly Edge in Cheshire – complete with 'ancient' carved wizard – stands. Perhaps this is coincidental, but I do find it interesting, especially in light of the gendered associations of the Celts discussed in chapters one and two, whereby from the Roman commentators through to Matthew Arnold, those peoples defined as Celtic were concomitantly defined as somehow feminine in relation to the masculine narrators: 'women', like Celts continue to be understood to be of the earth, at one with the cycles of Nature.

Not every documentary which can be described as pan-Celtic is as personally spiritual as *The Isle is Full of Noises*, however. Popular television historian Frank Delaney's series *The Celts* (a 1987 BBC production) with its sweeping spatial and temporal narrative effortlessly juxtaposes Hallstatt grave goods with the Book of Durrow with twentieth century druidic and touristic worshippers at Stonehenge and Christian ones at Croagh Patrick in Connemara. From the opening sequence in which Delaney guides us through the Hallstatt salt mines, where the finds are explained with reference to Classical sources written at least two hundred years later, we are then taken to a farm reconstruction peopled with Celts. These are not a specific people, however, belonging neither to one time nor place, as their associated reconstructed material culture is a pastiche of continental and British artefacts. This is explained by Delaney's uncritical description of Celts as a 'typical emergent nation' (which one? where?), 'showy, tribalist, glorifying individuality' (compared to whom?). But Delaney's breathless excitement and relative celebrity together with his confident pronouncements would appear to assert unquestionable Truth. The Gundestrup cauldron for example, 'summarizes the brilliance and skill of all Celtic culture', even though it was probably made somewhere in Romania, found in Denmark and possibly depicts tantric figures (Taylor, 1991). Celtic warriors and champions 'lived in their own epics and died in them' (who is defining the epic?). The 'tribal, familial and hierarchical' claim is cited once again, despite its applicability to any number of non-industrial societies across the globe and millennia.⁷

⁷ See De Paor (1958) for this famous description.

Although Delaney repeatedly speaks of the dangers of over-Romanticizing the Celts, he in fact reproduces that image by speaking of such things as a 'mystical relationship between the Celts and their environment' (are we to believe that these people, themselves understood this relationship to be 'mystical'?). Delaney dismisses one cultural construction to replace it with another, equally contingent view without acknowledging that he has appropriated many peoples, separated by both space and time, to his own situated perspective. Despite his own claim to Celtic heritage, he succeeds only in constructing the Celt as an appealing, market-friendly and apolitical, object for public consumption, a pan-European entity ripe for marketing the European Union as it did during the 1991 *The Celts, the Origins of Europe* exhibition at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice.

From the more strictly archaeological approach of the first instalment Delaney moves through episodes dealing with the history of the Celtic nations in Britain, mythology, so-called Celtic art, and contemporary Celtic identities. However, in the final episode Delaney warns us that in searching for Celtic inheritance we are 'pursuing an illusion' and that we must beware of 'reconstructing something for the sake of something colourful'. However, he claims, along with round table discussion participants Barry Cunliffe, Proinsias Mac Cana, Liam De Paor, and Peter Reynolds that Celticness is about 'feeling', about 'songs and stories', a 'passion for freedom' and a 'strength of community' – something which, increasingly, marks the desires of Western societies, expressed in Britain by the political demand for a return to what are vaguely termed 'family values'. In fact, what Delaney and his panel note are exactly those characteristics which are associated with small-scale, rural societies. Is it not the rural associations of Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Cornwall in the face of metropolitan monoculture that *The Celts* celebrates? Both Michael Hechter (1975) and Malcolm Chapman (1992) have written (albeit from opposing ideological perspectives) about the ways in which the economically marginalized areas of Britain came also to be culturally marginalized and then perceived to be the repositories of vernacular wisdom and authentic social relations. Local, rural ways of life in Britain and Ireland are constructed as a monolithic Other, reified and vilified in the same breath.

How do the formal qualities of Delaney's series correspond with the explicit textual content and how do they work together as film which reproduces a particular pan-Celtic approach to archaeo-historic documentary? The soundtrack, ethereal and swirling, attempts to marry traditional rhythms with harmonies borrowed from contemporary popular genres⁸,

⁸ The voice behind the film is that of Enya, former singer with Clannad. Since her work on *The Celts* she has become a powerful talisman for those identifying with Celtic culture in its more spiritual incarnation. For two years between December 1994 and October 1996 I participated in

possible only through the use of modern technological innovations which enable the recording and manipulation of sound. A striking parallel between this and the way in which river water was filmed for *The Isle is Full of Noises* can be drawn in that past and present blur, as do here and there, metropolitan production studio and rocky Connemara coast. Music, as sound which emotionally charges the visual, links text with image into a seamless whole but also serves to cue viewers as to how they are to make sense of what they see (Morley, 1995a: 174).

Visually and structurally *The Celts*, directed by David Richardson, appears strikingly innovative. Juxtaposed are supposedly archaeologically accurate reconstructions peopled by nubile, bare-breasted girl/women with bleached-blond dreadlocks fawning over rotund chieftains with Royal Shakespeare Company accents; newsreel-style footage to explain so-called Celtic migrations; a mock public school-room lesson to expand on Pictish and Scots invasions; and a 1980s disco scene to illustrate the Celtic underworld, Tir nan Og, the Land of Youth. Interspersed with these are the more usual shots of subtly lighted golden treasures and scenes of hurling, the National Eisteddfod and tweed-making on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides. Each section is busy with people, images, textures and sounds. It may appear that this thing called Celtic culture is heterogeneous to the point of de-construction, but what ties this story together is the central motif of magic and mystique.

Moreover, I suggest that the rather shallow, superficial use of such bricolage and so-called post-modern self-referentiality is a rather cynical appropriation of post-structuralist theory in order to claim authority. These radical techniques serve only to reify dominant pan-Celtic stereotypes, the quotations from modern British history suggest that the existence of the United Kingdom as a politically unified state is legitimated through cultural continuity. Contingent gender relations are naturalized (women are either fiercely dangerous or beautifully compliant) whilst dominant twentieth century interpretations of recent Western history are used to explicate the distant past.⁹ In fact, the attempts to make the Celts more 'meaningful' for the target viewer

both the Celtic-I and Nemeton-I Internet discussion groups. Enya's name and her music were the subject of several debates and celebrations and her most recent album release dominated three days on the Celtic-I list.

⁹ Interestingly, this particular approach to the past can highlight how problematic ethnoarchaeological approaches to the past can be. Although it displays a cultural specificity ignored by some of the more careless proponents of ethnoarchaeology, those who use twentieth century African tribes to gain insights into a European Iron Age, there are significant problems involved in equating present-day social relations with those of the past as it naturalizes cultural concepts of progression, linearity and continuity (cf Bradley, 1987; and Gould, 1980 on ethnoarchaeology).

subsume them within a specifically English media culture (centred on London)¹⁰ so that they are represented on the one hand as mysterious and residing on the fringes, while on the other, the specifics of the prehistoric and early medieval societies of western Europe are viewed through the lens of twentieth century English society. In other words, the Celts are presented as having moved across Europe in much the same way as did troops during the Second World War; the chieftain's entourage resemble a cross between the carnivalesque proceedings at a New Age travellers' festival and the dominant theatre set of London; and the specific early medieval construction of Tir nan Og is subsumed by 1980s youth culture.

Archaeological practice in film

My second category of archaeo-historic documentary concerns those broadcast films which deal, explicitly, with archaeological practice in Britain. Material in focus, these films are presented as transparent modes of communicating information. *Blood of the British*, *Down to Earth* and *Time Team* are about the present in archaeology, are about the writing of the past, and are structured around temporal periods and geographical regions rather than around the idea of all-embracing cultures. They emphasize methods, technology and, sometimes, competing schools of thought. Rather than foregrounding decontextualized material culture as do the pan-Celtic films, archaeologically-focused film shows archaeologists within the context of their practice and stresses the importance of contextualized material remains.

Blood of the British, written by archaeologist Catherine Hills, directed by Forbes Taylor and produced for Channel 4 in 1984, is a short series which looks at the archaeology of the British Isles. The episode entitled 'Civil defence' is about the Iron Age. Without a Celt in sight, this programme highlights defensive structures to argue that the Iron Age was characterized by aggression. Foregrounding archaeologists at work, this episode is a perfect example of archaeology taking the Iron Age seriously by making it finds orientated and functional.

The people of the Iron Age in *Blood of the British* are not romantic poet/artists, they are fighters, in keeping with dominant scientific archaeological discourses. However, there is no discussion of the ways in which warfare can be used at the level of signification. Defences and weapons are never about simply protecting oneself; the building of such structures says much

¹⁰ That Britain's televisual media industry should be so centred on London is, of course, a significant issue in itself but is one which cannot be fully addressed here.

about how a community sees itself in relation to others. Were such an approach to the material culture of warfare during the Iron Age taken, the film-makers would have foregrounded important links between the past and the present which did not conflate the two. It is not that the Iron Age prefigures the present because the people who lived then used warfare as a metaphor just as we do; rather, such a link would provide the space to question the ways in which so many of our social givens are naturalized by calling up functional explanations. Moreover, such an approach would construct an Iron Age that is relevant in the present rather than one which exists solely for rarefied, antiquarian interests.

The functional archaeological approach is affirmed by the transparent style of film-making used to mark its position as non-fiction. Because I see it 'as it is', it must be True. There is no explicit acknowledgement that film-making involves situated choice, what to film and how to film it. Moreover, the somewhat misguided sense of academic integrity implicit in a filmic style which forefronts the neutral reporter explaining sites appears, also, to alienate potential audiences as viewer numbers were less than impressive, with an average of only $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million people watching. The realist focus in archaeo-historic film expresses tensions within how we as archaeologists seek to represent ourselves and our practices with that representation contextualized by our own social positions and attitudes towards film, education, culture and class.

Although *Down to Earth* has not dealt in depth with anything they have identified as Celtic, I suggest that a discussion of the series is warranted in the context of materially focused archaeo-historic documentary as both have made reference to the Iron Age and to Celts. And while *Time Team* did have an episode where excavations were carried out at Tara, the series focuses, in the main, on site, rather than culturally, specific work. *Down to Earth*, now out of production, highlighted new developments within archaeology, calling attention to the discovery of the Ice Man and the destruction of sites and museums in former Yugoslavia. In one episode (29 October, 1991) Tim Taylor at Bradford argued that the Gundestrup cauldron is not the essence of Celtic culture but represents instead the concretization of influences ranging over both time and space (see also above discussion of Delaney's *The Celts*).

Time Team, in its fifth broadcast season, is structured around the device of a three-day intensive archaeological survey. It appears to foreground the decision-making processes and team work which are necessary components of any on the ground archaeological work. Mick Aston and his students at Bristol together with Carenza Lewis of the RCHME (Royal Commission for Historic Monuments, England) Phil Harding, Robin Bush, Victor Ambrose and actor Tony

Robinson (of *Blackadder* fame) in addition to assorted guests working within archaeology in Britain form the team who scour town and countryside for exciting places to explore while ostensibly faithfully representing archaeological practice. It has been criticized by myself and others (arch-theory@mailbase.ac.uk) for marginalizing both the work of women and of excavators and for presenting the interpretations arrived at as logical conclusions from the work. Furthermore, its fairly mainstream approach to archaeology reproduces the idea that there is a singular, apprehendable past. However, the production context of this series merits attention and serves to remind us that the manners in which individual imaginations come together to collaborate on specific cultural productions are as meaningfully constituted as that which they seek to represent. In grouping together various people working in the south-west of England, Mick Aston needed a team able to withstand not only the pressures of working as a group but one also able to negotiate the media vagaries of multiple scene shots, lighting and the need to captivate the audience.

Nonetheless, *Time Team* is the most popular archaeology programme ever shown on British television with viewer numbers upwards of three million (Aston, pers. comm.). And certainly, it is very successful in its intention to liberate televisual archaeology from the ivory tower and the 'truth' of specialists. Perhaps it is naive to demand that all archaeo-historic programmes problematize archaeological knowledge. The question that continues to go unasked, however, is why archaeologists do what they do. *Time Team* does little to challenge popular perceptions, extrapolated from Merriman's work on museums (1991), of archaeology as interesting, yet, at best, vaguely important or at worst, inherently meaningless. While archaeologists are no longer represented as boffins in tweed suits, the soundbite approach to excavation leaves little room for the process of storytelling. Although the ideas formulated about a site at the start of an episode may be proved wrong and discarded by the end, the pace of the programmes suggests that archaeological narratives are find-driven, rather than the reality that our understanding of the materials we encounter is contingent upon the meanings we invest in things. Furthermore, the telescoped representation of lived time means that each hour-long episode is an edited version of, on average, twenty-five hours of video footage (Aston, pers. comm.). What goes on behind the scenes is invisible. The meta-decision making process, the process by which decisions are made regarding which archaeological decisions to portray and which to leave in the editing room, is kept hidden. Aston, himself, has questioned this approach (as a guest lecturer in the Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield, March 1995) and the most recent series (with the frenetic 'live' summer of 1998 episode) has foregrounded more in the way of academic discourse as embodied in friendly argument.

However, the bigger budgets which come with increased popularity results in the increased use of living history actors and more reconstruction, all of which are relatively closed narratives of the past.

Welsh Celts and Celtic Wales

The final grouping of archaeo-historic documentary I will detail are those films which represent the past in Wales. An insistence on regionality, specificity and difference is communicated through emphasis on language, text and landscape, although the material culture used to illustrate the arguments are based on pan-Celtic definitions of the Iron Age. These films celebrate Wales as a distinct entity grounded in the past and discuss issues of Welsh identity with recourse to pan-Celtic culture. Because both films discussed below were written, filmed and produced in Wales, primarily for Welsh television viewers, by noted Welsh academics (in common with most archaeo-historic documentary that is specifically Welsh in focus), these articulations of Wales' past are linked concretely with the present, a present shaped through articulations of the Celtic which resonate through all aspects of Welsh social relations (chapter two).

The Dragon has Two Tongues is a series of films about the history of Wales written by the late Gwyn Williams and Wynford Vaughan Thomas, for HTV Wales (a regional branch of the ITN network) and also screened on Channel 4 in 1985. The episode 'When was Wales', which became Gwyn Williams's book of the same title (1985), is staged around a debate between the two in which Thomas and Williams dispute the dating of the construction of a specifically Welsh identity. They acknowledge that 'rightly or wrongly most modern Welshmen ... look back to that distant Celtic past for our national credentials'. What is striking is that Williams and Thomas have two very different views of history. Whereas Thomas refers to Celtic craftsmen as 'masters of the twisting curve' in contrast to the Romans who 'were a straight line people', Williams stresses the complex identity of those people living in what is now Wales during the Roman occupation. He sees it more as a spectrum of identities, rather than Celt versus Roman and recognizes the power of a backward-looking national past and the language of belonging rooted in that past, which Homhi Bhabha describes as marginalizing 'the present of the "modernity" of the national culture, rather like suggesting that history happens "outside" the centre and core' (1990a: 317). This is certainly at the root of many of the Celtic constructions explored in this chapter but has more explicit political import in any discussion of Wales' media representations of its legitimating past.

Visually, the 'When was Wales' episode of *The Dragon has Two Tongues* is conventional. Williams and Thomas are filmed straightforwardly, standing side by side on a wind-swept hill overlooking the Roman remains of Caerwent in south-east Wales. Each brings in archaeology to prove his point. To support his argument that the Britons – who later became *wealisc*, or 'foreigners' and then Welsh – never quite came to think of themselves as Roman, Thomas looks to Anglesey with its 'Celtic' roundhouses and smelting sites. In order to support his opposing contention that the Britons readily adopted Roman ways of life to increase their power and legitimate their continuing control over lands, Williams calls attention to a memorial pillar which commemorates in Latin a 'Celtic' prince buried along a Roman road, and to the settlers from Ireland who set up Celtic kingdoms using Latin on their ogham stones. These are not conveyed as arbitrary filmic images used only to signify the Celtic past for both presenters use place and object specifically in their arguments. Neither Thomas nor Williams are archaeologists and yet their approach fully embraces the role of material culture in making meaning from the material remains of past human activities. Furthermore, they foreground the ways in which different conclusions may be drawn from similar 'facts'.

The programme ends with Williams and Thomas agreeing to disagree, having formulated no concrete resolution. Both past and present have been problematized. More importantly, the ways in which competing histories are constructed is made tangible, accessible to the viewer, thus empowering her if only through a provision of alternative views, albeit situated choice. Indeed, the dragon does have two tongues. Beyond the linguistic tensions between English and Welsh, the discursive tensions within the narrative can serve as a broader metaphor for competing, yet concomitant, ideas about the past which in turn disrupts the fixed truth of the Celtic canon.

The final film series I wish to consider is *Outside Time*, a 1991 Ffilmiau Brynguen production for Channel 4/S4C (Sianel Pedwar Cymru) written by Emyr Humphries and directed by Sion Humphries. Each of the three episodes weaves together narration, a dramatized historical reconstruction and the dramatization of three stories, two from the *Mabinogion* and one based on the tales of Arthur. The narrator stands both within the story and in the present, contextualizing much of what goes on. She voices pan-Celtic Romanticism in the first episode, 'A Prince Goes Hunting' (broadcast on 13 August, 1991) which tells of Pryderi, Rhiannon and Manawyddan of the House of Llyr, by declaring that the stories are 'like stone circles and megalithic tombs' and that on the storyteller's lips the 'wealth of Celtic legend' is alive, 'stretching back into the mists of time'. Her words punctuate the dramatization of the historical context for the writing and telling of these tales, which, in 'The Making of Arthur' (27 August, 1991) is provided by scenes of two

monks (one a Norman Cistercian, the other a monk of the native Welsh *clas* system) involved in the struggle for power between the Normans and Britons. While one has no time for tales – arguing that ‘we live in the real world’ – the other replies that ‘these stories are like buried treasures’. Interestingly, the Cistercian takes on the voice of pragmatism as he provides the historical background and explains how over the ages people have taken stories to make histories to glorify the status quo and legitimize power whilst the Welsh monk disapproves of the Arthurian legend because it has been tainted through its use as tradition with which to hide the Normans’ ‘naked savagery’. Their stances appear to echo the familiar Arnoldian theme of the logical, reasoned Saxon (within which the Norman was subsumed for Arnold’s purposes) in opposition to the feminine Celt glorying in the wonder of authentic, apolitical myth.

Language, landscape and archaeology are central motifs around which the text is woven. The mythical protagonists speak Welsh to signify their difference. This forefronts the Exotic for English-speaking viewers while at the same time asserts both temporal and spatial specificity: only Welsh speakers are allowed to consume the whole story. Qualifying the specificity of place and culture, however, is the accordioneing of time through the use of reproductions of artefacts which have become synonymous with pan-Celticism. The narrator, wearing a medieval cowl, directly addresses her twentieth-century audience from a minimalist set with Book of Kells-style illustrations of men’s faces framed by their interlacing beards forming the backdrop. The actors in the *Mabinogion* stories all wear torques – in line with dominant readings of the archaeology, although there is no incontrovertible evidence that people, let alone Christian constructions of a pagan Welsh past,¹¹ ever wore these unwieldy pieces on a daily basis, nor are they in any way associated with the medieval period, for at that time the shining bands of gold lay hidden under Anglesey mud.¹²

The princes and their consorts walk through a misty, green landscape, past megalithic tombs and stone circles, linking Past as a unified, discrete entity with Place. In the context of dominant Welsh academic tradition, the specific association between prehistory and geography has been an important motif through this century. The writings of H.J. Fleure (1926; 1940;

¹¹See Kim McCone’s *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (1990). In it he problematizes nativist readings of the early medieval stories as ‘windows on the Iron Age’ (Jackson, 1964), by arguing that in doing so, nativists deny the specificity of the Hiberno-Christian cultural production of the past.

¹²Writing in the third century AD, Cassius Dio retrospectively describes Boudica as having ‘around her neck a large gold necklace’ (information panel explaining Snettisham Horde at the British Museum; see chapter four) whilst ‘The Dying Gaul holds a torque in his hand. It is clear that torques were meaningful for both Briton and Roman, but, perhaps, not as an everyday piece of clothing.

Gruffudd, 1994 a; b) on the ways in which both Wales' past and her people were shaped by their relationship with the landscape and the subsequent taking up of these ideas by archaeologist Sir Cyril Fox and folklorist Iowerth Peate, both influential scholars based at the National Museum of Wales at Cathays Park, have contributed to an ongoing insistence on the special connection between present-day Welsh people, the land and, through the land, the past. This theme will be taken up again, in more depth, in chapters four, seven and eight.

From prehistoric culture to cultural production

Mists of Time is now over a quarter of a century old and although the films discussed here may not be uniformly specifically Celtic in focus, they all feature dominant perceptions of a Celtic Iron Age as the construct around which to structure narratives of the past. With few exceptions, these films continue to portray their subject as unproblematic, coherent and undisputed. Even *The Dragon has Two Tongues* retains the idea that, originally, the Celts in Wales formed part of a European cultural grouping. Difference was activated only when Welsh Celts had to culturally negotiate the Roman presence.

The continuing reproduction of conventional representations of a Celtic Iron Age and of Celtic culture as legitimated through the use of predefined Celtic remains is not, in itself, the central issue. Rather, what the above televisual representations of archaeological practice suggest is that not only are specific British identities continuing to be constructed around Romantic definitions of Celtic culture, but also that some very twentieth-century concerns are being (literally) projected onto the Past in such a way as to suggest cultural continuity. Celts, both past and present, are grounded in untamed, picturesque landscapes (*cf.* Gilpin, 1792), interwoven with the cycles of 'Nature'. Men are warriors and women weave cloth or spells. Twentieth-century Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Cornwall are always brought in as the UK's authentic traditional regions, virtually untouched by industrialization except for the tragic failures, such as Aberfan, which appear to be used in order to suggest that the Celtic lands and her peoples were meant to live in forever-green utopias, unsullied by metropolitan capitalism. Although viewers make sense of what they see from the perspectives of the specific *habitūs* through which they live, the allure of continuity, the particular Western concern with progress and time (*cf.* Fabian, 1988; Gosden, 1994; Thompson, 1967) structures a unified past which, because apprehendable, is more real than the lived past which we can never 'see'. In other words, these televisual narratives rob the past of the multiple, unattainable 'presents' in which people lived.

At *Archeos 92*, the second international festival of European archaeological films, five days were devoted to the screening of films and discussions among archaeologists and film-makers (Piccini, 1993). An entire afternoon was entitled 'The Celts and Europe: a shared past?'. During the discussion period, however, instead of exploring how and why and for whom film has been used to construct and re-construct images of a pan-European Celtic warrior aristocracy, the speakers engaged in a simplistic debate over the problematic use of 'Celt' in Iron Age studies. Discussion was restricted primarily to questions of content accuracy and to the technical aspects of how little material a film-maker can include in an hour long programme: an average of fifteen minutes of dialogue. Such time constraints were cited to explain film-makers' reluctance to explore the many facets of any one history.

Katherine Everett, a BBC *Horizon* producer, defended the closed-narrative approach by arguing that television documentary must hold viewers' attentions and that with only one hour at most to play with, only one version of the past can be told. Certainly the financial requirements for most broadcast documentary television to be both entertaining and informative is clear, but does the film-maker have to sacrifice critical inquiry for a gripping story? Hywel Thomas, an independent television producer/director, argues that we cannot avoid the primacy of the daily physical and financial restrictions which constrain archaeo-historic film-making and that any critique of film which does not take into account the wider production context is meaningless (Thomas, 1996).

One response to film-making's pragmatic voice is to argue, as I have done above, that representations of the past, especially a Celtic past which is subsumed by present-day Celtic culture, are not neutral productions. Furthermore, in terms of viewability, 'in the desire to serve the needs of the unexpressed, there is, commonly enough, the urge to define them and their needs' (Trinh, 1993: 96). The televising of both the past and present in the UK through archaeological practice continues to operate according to the unquestioned belief that a specifically Celtic Iron Age and medieval period are the only ways in which to make the cultures of Wales, Scotland and Ireland meaningful for a wide audience. Now this may well be the case, but until we understand more about how people actually watch (or not) archaeo-historic documentary it seems that archaeologists do need to apply creative, intellectual rigour to their televised, as well as their published, productions, to look at television as another medium through which to engage with the object world. Nonetheless, Thomas and Everett do make an important point. It is of little use to disregard the constraints of the medium in a broadcast context. There is always the tension between the creative side of the production and those who are concerned in the main with saleability, that it keeps people watching. While conventional

images of Celtic culture continue to have immediate resonance in British culture, there is no need to experiment with a different model. A vast archive of evocative images and words built up over the centuries continues to hold sway over the dominant historical imagination as will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation.

Before budget, director, writer or ideological content, however, the bottom line is that all of these archaeo-historic documentaries bring a visual and aural story into the home (Morley, 1995a). That story may be listened to intently, or it simply may provide a soundtrack to unfolding events within the domestic context and when the gaze wanders, sound can re-establish viewers' attentions (Morley, 1995a: 172-173), although it should be remembered that people do not necessarily watch programmes from start to finish. Switching channels may contextualize the story of Iron Age settlement at Danebury, illustrated with La Tène-style scabbards, and associate it with, on one side, an advertisement for Fairy Liquid™ and, on the other, *The Smell of Reeves and Mortimer* (a popular, surreal British comedy series starring Vic Reeves and Bob Mortimer). We need to begin to understand how that impacts on our understandings of televised pasts. The easy way in which we can jump from *Eastenders* (BBC1's thrice-weekly evening soap opera) to the prehistory of west Wales may not, in practice, erase difference and it may not empty the past of meaning – as traditional approaches to media and heritage have argued (cf. Ascherson, 1987; Hewison, 1987).

Archaeologists who make archaeo-historic film for broadcast need to consider seriously the implications of the newer writings in media studies. If television does not perform the role of visual and textual narrative, we are left with the question of what, exactly, we want to do with our film-making practices. Perhaps with a better understanding of the television as an object within the home and, perhaps, as a liminal space which marks a boundary between outside and in, private and public (Morley, 1995a: 181) archaeologists will be better able to make engaging, different televised pasts.¹³

The position of film as cultural production needs also to be acknowledged. These films are not sites of archaeological representation, they *are* archaeological representation (cf. Weiner, 1997). In other words, they do not exist apart from 'serious' archaeology, they are part of our making meaning from material culture. We have to take account of the presence of these films as tangible products designed for mass consumption. Hence I have called attention to the formal qualities of the above broadcast films. Despite the differences in narrative focus and ideological

¹³The role of liminality in television watching is particularly intriguing when coupled with the role of Celtic culture as liminal, as discussed in chapters one and two.

perspective, all the films use standard images (the spirals, torques and severed heads) and turns of phrase ('the mists of time' being a particular favourite). These serve as a form of shorthand so that viewers have no need to pay close attention as they will be able to recognize images they have seen in book shops, souvenir shops, tourism promotions and any number of 'lifestyle' shops which sell the necessary *accoutrements* to complement the 'alternative' lifestyles of students and those who seek to identify themselves as somehow being outside the mainstream.

Although archaeo-historic documentaries may be meaningfully constituted by viewers in any number of ways, the central theme which encloses narrative remains a simple, fixed notion of Celtic culture which appears to be very difficult to get beyond. Further problematizing the continuing links between the cultural identities within the UK – those of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland (to refer only to the three most politically vocal countries) – and an uncritically reproduced Celtic past is the argument that '[q]uestions of cohesion, of territoriality and boundaries, of the tensions produced by the perception of an over-centralized super-state, are mediated through and possibly partially formed by television's representations' (Paterson, 1993: 6). These questions are marked on our domestic spaces through their presence on the television screen to become, literally, domesticated; the 'other is lost, in disintegrating time and space, but saved [on television]' (Clifford, 1986b: 112).

The real problem involves how we as academics approach the public presentation of archaeology. If television is a 'thing' as well as a medium through which we receive stories, a feature of the domestic geography that we use to make any number of statements about ourselves in relation to others, then we have to begin thinking creatively about the ways in which we can activate the past. We need to think visually and aurally, to approach television as we would other forms of archaeological practice. After all, if 42% of those surveyed in the 1980s (Hodder, 1985: 16) thought films such as *One Million Years BC* were accurate representations of prehistory, then we have a responsibility to acknowledge the fact that our academic discourses are part of a broader heritage media discourse and, thus, we cannot remain aloof from the production of media narratives. If television now resists being read as linear text and if its meaning is held more through its position mediating domestic social relations than as a singular node of communication within the home, then the archaeological focus on teaching people about the past is outdated and the 'common-sense' opposition between education and entertainment needs to be challenged seriously. What we have to acknowledge is the reality of the pleasure of the gaze (Samuel, 1994; Urry, 1990), that 'the interest of archaeology [for archaeo-historic television audiences] lies in a combination of the immediate contact with a specific bit of the past, and the way in which that small part contributes to a wider picture' (Hills, 1993: 223–224)

Continuing with the theme of balancing tensions between acknowledging television as both medium and material culture and the intellectual desire to problematize fixed, generalized accounts of culture I would suggest that the recent emphasis on regionality and specificity in academic archaeological practice (chapter two) is central to moving beyond both armchair critiques (Ruby, 1996) and disengaged claims that critique, as such, has no place in the study of television. Although discrete regions are as much modern constructs as are pan-European cultural identities, a focus on archaeological regionality in film is explicitly politically engaged with situated British social relations. It is, perhaps, this which contributes to the popularity of *Time Team*. Although I have outlined the ways in which it reproduces problematic definitions of archaeological practice, the specificity of place and object are enthusiastically celebrated. At a time when the UK is on the eve of Scottish and Welsh Assemblies, and for greater regional control in England, archaeologists have a responsibility to communicate the fact that their observations of past peoples which indicate that the ways in which humans have grouped themselves are not fixed in the past or by geography, but that we have always encountered the world around us as something to be made meaningful in specific contexts, and thus incorporated in our reproduction of social relations. I will return to the ramifications of this in chapter eight where I explore the possibilities of non-academic archaeological discourse. In the next chapter, however, I turn to museums and heritage centres, a move from the private, domestic sphere to the communal spaces of archaeological representation.

HERITAGE SPACES AND THE PUBLIC CONSUMPTION OF IDENTITY

...the man (sic) who no longer dares to trust himself, but, seeking counsel from history about his feelings, asks 'how am I to feel here', will, from timidity, gradually become an actor and play a role, mostly even many roles and therefore each so badly and superficially.

Nietzsche, 1980

The large-scale development of museums during the nineteenth century was governed by a view that it was possible to achieve 'by the ordered display of selected artefacts a total representation of human reality and history' (Donato, 1979: 221 quoted in Bennett, 1995: 126). Over the past three decades, however, the possibility of displaying the 'real stuff' of history has been called, increasingly, into question. Understandings of the contingency of curatorship, the ways in which social practices structure the ordering of our worlds (Foucault, 1970), and the operation of *habitus* and cultural capital (chapter three) in our consumption of images of the past have ruptured the seamless transparency of museum narratives. Yet museums remain 'good to think' – in the sense that Lévi-Strauss opined that food is not simply and functionally good to eat but is, also, good to think. The continuing importance in leisure, tourism and educational practices and the highly negative connotations they hold for those who avoid visiting them (Merriman, 1989 b; 1991) would suggest that regardless of recent claims that in the museum 'the past becomes the death mask of the present' (Shanks and Tilley, 1992: 97) museums are significant sites at which social relations are negotiated.

Like television, heritage – in this case, in the form of museums and heritage centres – is media, in that it embodies a particular set of mass communications which narrate society's attitudes toward 'the Past' (Silverstone, 1989; Wright, 1985). And like media, museums and heritage centres are linked, both implicitly and explicitly, with questions of identity – of nation, region and community. In this chapter I discuss the ways in which definitions of the Celtic are spatialized through their display in British museums and heritage centres, which I will collectively term 'heritage spaces'. Although we should not conflate museums and heritage centres – museums being, at least in some sense, spaces in which 'authentic' artefacts are collected with varying levels of interpretation, whereas heritage centres are spaces in which *tableaux* of the past are 'recreated', using a mix of 'authentic' artefacts and 'replica' items – both museums and heritage centres deal in narratives of a material past. I would go so far as to suggest that it is not helpful to distinguish the two as sharply as has been the case in so much writing on

this subject (Hewison, 1987; Uzzell, 1989; Wright, 1985; but see Samuel, 1994 for an opposing view). It might be remembered that both museums and heritage centres charge entry fees; both rely on archaeological practice in the writing of their narratives; both are spaces to which people come to engage in 'edutainment'; and both incorporate gift shops and cafes. Ultimately, both represent spatialized archaeological practice.

Heritage spaces become spaces of representation and are made meaningful through primary physical engagements (Lefebvre, 1991), by both visitors and staff. Such social spatialization is bound up in the creation of the 'coherent subjectivity of self, in the construction and legitimization of relationships between subjects and other subjects, subjects and social institutions (maintained partly by representations of the spatial), subjects and groups, and subjects and World' (Shields, 1991: 273-274). Because we live our lives in and around built environments, those environments become bound up with how we see ourselves and others. The explicit awareness of museums and heritage centres as spaces is important in that spatialization is a cultural formation embodied not in learned rules but in bodily gestures and trained postures in and toward the world which has relevance for the ways in which we, as a society, remember (Connerton, 1989). In other words, hermeneutic concerns with the textual content of museums and heritage centres follow from a primary ontological relationship with the heritage spaces as messy collections of experienced objects and space (*cf.* Gosden, 1994; Macdonald and Fyfe, 1996). I suggest, therefore, that we first have to understand museums and heritage centres as social spaces within which visitors perform numerous, often seemingly contradictory, identities, identities which will be discussed specifically in chapters seven and eight.

Before I deal explicitly with issues of spatialized identities, however, I will sketch the background of theoretical concerns about museum pasts specifically in order to delineate how museums have come to be defined academically. And because heritage centres can trace their lineage to the open-air reconstructions which, in Britain, emerged just after the Second World War, and which were felt to represent the 'progression' of traditional museum spaces, the intellectual legacy of debates about the role of museums may still be noted in the design and workings of the various heritage spaces. I then outline the different ways in which Celtic narratives are activated in various British heritage spaces. National museums such as the British Museum, the National Museum & Gallery in Cardiff and the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh are large institutions which hold sanctioned versions of national pasts. I will also discuss the National Museum of Ireland because, although no longer politically attached to Great Britain, the museum's history and Irish archaeology generally are implicated in past antiquarian practices conceived in a very broad sense as 'British'.

I then turn to alternative heritage spaces in Wales, to the Museum of Welsh Life (part of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales collective), Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica to explore the (not so) different Celtic Iron Ages represented as central to contemporary Welsh culture, after which I discuss the Andover Museum of the Iron Age which exhibits the material culture of Danebury. Although not a national museum as such, the Andover Museum displays the major work of Barry Cunliffe who is certainly the most well-known of British archaeologists working on the Iron Age. The Andover Museum of the Iron Age focuses specifically on the Iron Age archaeology of the Danebury area yet explains that period through a generalized Celtic narrative and provides a useful comparison between general, national institutions and the localized focus of the smaller museums and heritage centres in Wales. Furthermore, specific visitor surveys conducted at the museum will be used to interrogate the usefulness of quantitative research in the understanding of the museum's role in everyday life.

Historical background

Much has been written about the ways in which museums embodied the power that the ruling classes possessed to inculcate dominant values and thus demonstrate their cultural authority (Bennett, 1988: 64; Merriman, 1989: 165). Although as early as 1921, Sir Hercules Read writes of the British Museum in terms of being a symbolic space encompassing the achievements and conquests of the nation state, he also laments the fact that 'no thought would appear to be given to the collections as a direct means of education, or care taken that the planning of the galleries, and the resulting arrangement of the contents, have an obvious bearing on the functions of the institution' (Read, 1921: 174)¹. It was no longer enough that the museum display the wonders of Western civilization and the oddities of Britain's 'primitive' colonies. Modernist perceptions of the interconnectedness of space, architecture and social progress (*cf.* Gruffudd, 1994a; b; Le Corbusier, 1996) were beginning to be used to underwrite understandings of the past and the uses to which it could be put.

Of particular relevance here is the formation of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries in 1930-31, chaired by the Right Honourable Viscount D'Abernon (papers of the Standing Commission held at the Public Records Office, Kew). In the First Report to the Standing Commission in 1933 it was deemed

¹In fact, concern with the meanings of museum spaces is evident even earlier. In 1888 Pitt-Rivers made a proposal to the British Association for an anthropological rotunda to be constructed to give spatial realization to the relationship between progress and differentiation, to spatially trace the progress of history (Bennett, 1995: 182-183).

unfortunate that Museums and Galleries are sometimes associated in the public mind with the notion that they are the mere repositories of vast collections of objects, scientific, literary or artistic. It is too often forgotten that they form one of the principle means for the advancement of learning and for the inspiration of ideas; that a large number, probably the great majority, of the works of scholarship which are the ultimate basis of progress in popular education could not be produced unless the student had access to the great National libraries and collections...and that...the scientific institutions have played a considerable part in the creation of the national wealth (19).

This concern with interpretation is repeated in a letter dated 24 October, 1934 from George Hill of the British Museum to John Beresford, Secretary of the Standing Commission, that claims that many visitors have 'no use for the display of archaeological litter which is too often all that is placed before them' (papers of the Museums and Galleries Commission, 1933-1935).

Beyond questions of the educational impact of decontextualized material culture, the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries recognized early the important links to be made between museums and broadcast media. In 1931, John Beresford wrote to Cyril Fox at the National Museum of Wales at Cardiff (as it was then known) requesting that publicity information from the museum be sent to London for distribution by the commission. Fox contributed a transcript from his twenty-minute advertised address, broadcast on the local Cardiff BBC radio station (21 October, 1930) on 'The Interest and Importance of Fieldwork'. In it Fox expresses, perhaps unwittingly, the general concern about museums being, simply, spaces for the display of things:

to a number, perhaps the majority, of visitors a museum is a place where things ancient, interesting or important are preserved, labelled and exhibited but if a museum is to flourish ... it must actively engage in the acquisition of new knowledge.²

Concerns with publicity, viewer numbers and museum links with education were at the forefront of the activities of the Standing Commission. Document 25 in the 1933 set of papers calls for more comprehensive organization and better advertising; encourages the publication and marketing of material with wide appeal; and emphasizes the importance of publicly accessible photographs, lectures and late openings. However, in November of that year, George Hill of the British Museum circulated a minute which detailed the difficulties museums had in actually maintaining their positions in the public eye. Newspapers such as *The Times*, which employed its own archaeology and museums special correspondent, was as good a media response, it was believed, as could be expected. Hill argued that the real need lay in establishing better contact

² Fox also claims that 'one of the most interesting of all historical problems to those who dwell in South Wales is the first intrusion of the Celts into this part of the country', an early invocation of Celtic culture through broadcast media.

with educational authorities. He critiqued the rigid exam structure of the secondary schools because it precluded museum visits by school groups, a similar concern to that expressed over the past decade in the context of the prescriptions of the present National Curriculum (cf. Hooper-Greenhill, 1988a; Pearce, 1993). The relationships among archaeology, education and media continued to preoccupy archaeologists, however. In November of 1934, while pursuing the possible links to be forged between excavation and museums, Beresford contacted R. E. M. Wheeler, then working at Verulamium. Wheeler reported, in a letter dated 24 November, that:

These excavations ... attracted a considerable amount of attention in the Press, and some of the more hesitant members of the Corporation [St Albans] began to realize that even archaeology had its economic side. This factor, combined with a long and intensive process of what may best be called *blarney*, at last brought the Corporation to the point of realizing that something must be done to accommodate the immense mass of stuff which had by that time been excavated on its own property.

The second report of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, published in 1938, took concern with interpretation beyond the manner in which material culture was displayed to the public to recommend that entirely new forms of museums be developed. The Standing Commission called for a folk museum to be set up in Britain along the lines of that established at Skansen in 1891 (Bennett, 1995: 115), arguing that 'nothing else can possibly give so true and vivid an impression of the life of the people in by-gone generations' (Report to the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, 1938: 36). Interestingly, the National Museum of Wales had been involved in developing such a project since 1932 (papers of the National Museum of Wales, 1931-1963 held at the Public Records Office, Kew). Iowerth Peate, former student of H. J. Fleure at Aberystwyth (chapter three; Gruffudd, 1994a; b) and head of the sub-department of Folk Culture at the Cardiff site, was keen to set up a Welsh Folk Museum although he had to wait until 1948 for his dream to be opened to the public.

The first two reports of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries set the stage for nationally organized discussion on the form and function of Britain's museums. Issues of education, interpretation, space and the uses of the media in making material culture meaningful for a 'general' public were at the fore and delineated concerns which have dominated museum studies since.

Theorizing the spaces of heritage

Since the 1930s museum debates have tended to focus on either the functional implications of design and the need to attract visitors (*cf.* Bitgood and Loomis, 1993; Kaplan, Bardwell and Slakter, 1993; Talbot, Kaplan, Kuo and Kaplan, 1993; Miles, Alt, Gosling, Lewis and Tout, 1982) or on critiquing the very existence of these spaces for the display of material culture (Shanks and Tilley, 1987; 1992). Kenneth Hudson was one of the first writers to call into question the didactic museum approach asking 'is it right for museums to attempt to control people's responses?' (1975: 49). By problematizing the notion of 'the public' as a homogeneous unit Hudson suggested that it was pointless to continue to define the museum in terms of its needs (1975: 74). Hudson's ideas have had profound implications for those working in museums, for if there is no singular definable public, then museums and their displays need to be understood as significant, situated cultural productions – as media – rather than as educational narratives.

Through to the 1990s, however, writers continued to struggle with the notion that museums are not transparent means of social education: '[t]o an extent not hitherto suspected, we must face the possibility that, despite all our goodwill, the assumptions and biases that color our larger social and political views may also color our simplest and most basic acts of identification and classification' (Weil, 1989: 28). No act of museum ordering can be conceived of as being divorced somehow from the ways in which we perceive and order the world around us. Weil's argument appears to suggest that those who work in museums can erase bias in their practices, that identification and classification can exist separately from human beliefs, concerns and ideologies even though the very acts of identification and classification are socially constituted (*cf.* Foucault, 1970; Hetherington, 1996: 155). In fact, a central defining theme of the museum could be argued to be its bestowal of a 'socially coded visibility on the various pasts it organizes' (Bennett, 1995: 179). Thus, it is not a question of ideological bias, but one of the interweaving *habitus* of those who author, design and implement museum displays.

More recent debates about the function of museums from an administrative point of view acknowledge that representations of the past are about the present and signify attempts to convince visitors to share the curator's views about that present (Pearce, 1990). The curator's views are structured, in turn, by their own perceptions of what visitors will understand and thus 'have to be close enough to general experiences and assumptions to "make sense"' which, as Pearce argues, explains the common reliance on 'ideas about moral progress and the absolute value of technological change' (*ibid.*: 158).³ However, Pearce continues to write about the making

³This familiar linear approach to museum pasts is grounded in Hegel's historical concept of dialectical development, fundamental in the work of Marx (Pearce, 1990: 169; *cf.* Hegel, 1996; Marx and Engels,

of meaning from museum representations in terms of a monolithic visiting public. Because curators' pasts are bounded by their presents, Pearce argues that the only measure of a museum representation is its success with the public, its ability to attract visitors and maintain their attention: 'a successful archaeology display has to be one which, like a good television programme or book, keeps the visitor attracted until the show is finished..' (ibid.: 163). The purpose of keeping the visitor interested, she continues in the same passage, is to insure that she or he will exit the museum with a greater sense of knowledge. If museums, as central features of heritage, are media in that they present bounded stories which are consumed in any number of unpredictable ways (and certainly not in the linear sense in which a book is meant to be read), then the notion that to be 'good' museums must maintain visitors' attentions perhaps misses the point. Although she agrees that specific museum texts need not be agonized over because they can never convey the 'truth' of the past, Pearce uncritically concludes that as long as the museum display 'touches a chord with people' (ibid.: 169) it has succeeded.

Yet what does it mean that a display has touched 'a chord' and to whom does that display speak? The theorizing of cultural capital problematizes the possibility of museum pasts speaking to and for all (*cf.* chapter three; Bourdieu, 1984; Heinich, 1988; Horne, 1984: 249; Merriman, 1989 a; b; 1991). If it is counter-productive to discuss museums in terms of a one-to-one textual relationship between heritage space and visitor, then perhaps we need to engage with these sites as representational spaces of objects, first and foremost. Shanks and Tilley have critiqued the centrality of the object within museums, specifically within the British Museum, and the subsequent aestheticization of material culture such that museum objects are transformed into art objects and thus viewed through a specifically Western and, I would argue, modern tradition of understanding art (1987: 71-73; Bourdieu, 1968; *cf.* Harrison and Wood, 1992: Introduction). This transformation means that, as Gathercole argues, objects become commodities 'in that they have properties bestowed upon them by virtue of their museum existence' (1989: 74). Out of their find contexts artefacts become objects which curators use to demonstrate their own roles within certain power/knowledge relations (Gathercole, 1989: 74-75). This ideological focus on the relationships among curator, visitor and artefact is echoed by Crew and Sims who argue that 'the commodification of objects ... prevents our hearing their multiple authentic voices' (Crew and Sims, 1990: 160). Even historically orientated museums which focus more on describing the past than on displaying the archaeological artefact as art object are critiqued because 'objects are typically displayed with a view to rendering present and visible that which is absent and invisible' (Bennett, 1995: 166).

1996), and has important implications in terms of using museum representations in the teaching of history within the confines of the National Curriculum (*cf.* chapter six).

So how do we know that the material pasts of heritage spaces have such deleterious effects on the ways in which people can make meaning from what they see? In fact, how do we know that visitors actually see these spaces as having anything to do with how they understand the past in their everyday lives? Although some 55% of rare and non-visitors to museums, perhaps unsurprisingly, claim that museums have nothing to do with their daily lives (Merriman, 1989a: 157), the vast majority of people, both visitors and non-visitors, still believe that it is worth knowing about the past (Merriman, 1989a: 158). In order to usefully move beyond Merriman's important work on the general ways in which people perceive museum visiting (cf. Table 3.2 and 3.3 in the previous chapter), we need to understand first how those who do visit heritage spaces see themselves in specific relation to the objects and pasts they consume.

Fyfe and Ross's ethnography of museum-goers in the Stoke-on-Trent (Staffs.) area is a significant step towards understanding how museum visiting fits in with identity formation and reproduction (1996). They argue that the reliance on demographic approaches to understanding the dynamics of museum meanings must be questioned and they conduct their own ethnography in which class emerges 'not as univocal theme ... but out of different gendered class memories and personal experiences' (Fyfe and Ross, 1996: 132). I would suggest that they exhibit a more textured understanding of Bourdieu's theorizing of *habitus* than many of the archaeologically-focused discussions of museum pasts discussed above as they seek to explore the fluidity of class categories, the ways in which, although 'class is objective in that it is at any moment positioned differently to other classes', class is culturally constituted and mediated (ibid.: 133). They conclude from their ethnography of three households (a middle-class family with two secondary-school-aged children; a single, professional young woman; and an elderly couple from manual labour backgrounds) that 'museum visiting is not an attribute of individuals so much as a social relationship that is interwoven with dynamics of households, families and life-histories' (ibid.: 142).

Of particular relevance to the discussions of a Celtic past displayed and consumed in Britain's heritage spaces which follow below, Fyfe and Ross emphasize the importance of the ways in which museums construct place-bound knowledge which is actively used in identity formation. This use, they argue, often denies the validity of presented academic knowledge, relying instead on a Romantic gaze (cf. Urry, 1990) which, in fact, places a sense of authenticity, through a celebration of the surface of the object, at the centre of the visitor's understanding of historical reality (Fyfe and Ross, 1996: 146 ff.). To refer back to Crew and Sims' assertion that the commodification of objects within museums denies the authenticity of multivocality (1990: 160), I simply ask whose definition of the authentic is to be taken as more authentic?

The work of Fyfe and Ross appears to support earlier work by McManus (1989) in which she used discourse acts to explore the meanings made of science museums. In her analysis of 1,572 visitors she found that highly structured interpretation panels were not used, but that instead, museum visits appeared to be used as social experiences during which reference was made to presented information primarily in the context of the social relations circulating within visiting groups. Furthermore, McManus found that object-based displays tended to stimulate conversation more than didactic displays which appeared to be consumed without question. Her study has important ramifications for our understanding of Shanks' and Tilley's arguments against object-based display and have stimulating implications for my own thesis.

In chapters seven and eight I will take up McManus' thread in discussing the interview work I conducted with visitors to heritage spaces in Wales. At present, however, I wish to delineate the spaces in which visitors gather to perform aspects of identity, and to then discuss the ways in which identity may be formulated through the relationships among heritage, space and performance. This will enable me to begin to move beyond arguments which understand the meaning of the popularity of representations of the Celtic as simply having to do with the appeal of Romantic constructions which suggest the possibility of a better way of life in harmony with nature (*cf.* Piccini, 1996: S96 *ff.*).

The Celt on national display

The British Museum

As the national conservative institution in the UK (in terms of both ideology and the practice of conservation) the British Museum is a major site for the representation of Britain's past and present, and tells of several centuries of colonial expansion and antiquarian pursuit. In the summer of 1997 the newly designed Celtic Europe Gallery was opened to the public. However, from November 1992 through to November 1996, I made several visits to what were then the Prehistoric and Romano-British sections and to the Early Medieval Room. These rooms constituted the 'official' narrative of the Iron Age for over twenty years, and thus continue to be significant. I will compare the two British Museum visions of the Iron Age to see how they differ and how that might impact on visitors' consumption of the heritage narrative.

To get to the old galleries, I had to make my way past the security guards stationed at the main entrance to the museum to be confronted by hundreds of people milling about the central hall. These people are arranged variously into school groups, groups of tourists led by multilingual, flag-waving guides, art students carrying their portfolios and miscellaneous clutches of people, while only a few were like me, entering and exploring the museum alone. I was there specifically to see the Prehistoric Britain and Early Medieval galleries and so would make my way there by the seemingly most straightforward route up the grand staircase on my right. At the top, to the right of a reconstructed Romano-British mosaic from Hinton St. Mary, Dorset, was the technological sepulchre of Anne Ross' (*cf.* chapter three) Druid Prince, Lindow Man, a high profile exhibit which tended to be surrounded by adults and incredulous children loudly revelling in the prospect of gore. At this point I had a choice. I could continue straight ahead into the Romano-British displays or jog right slightly and proceed through the doors which would bring me face to face with Late Neolithic and LBA axe heads, beyond which lay objects from the Iron Age, discovered, purchased and brought here by a largely forgotten antiquarian aristocracy. I took what appeared to be the less popular route and entered prehistory.

British Museum: Room 37

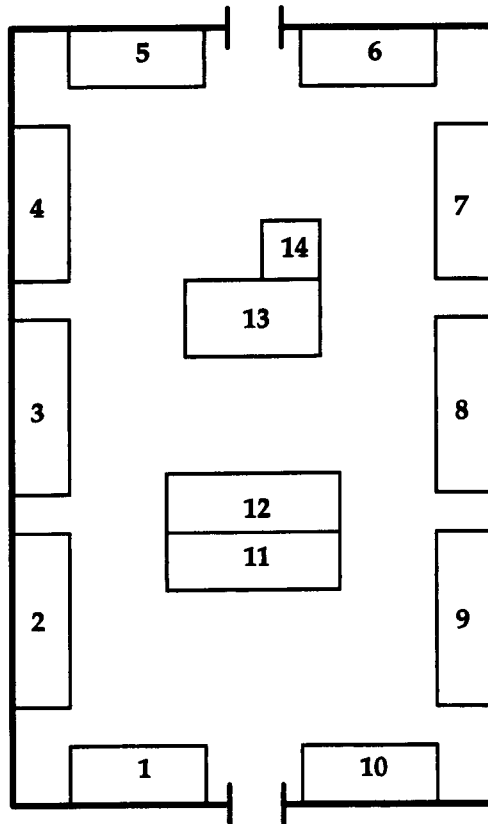


Figure 4.1 Schematic diagram of the former layout of Room 37 at the British Museum. Numbers in the diagram refer to case numbers mentioned in text (not to scale)

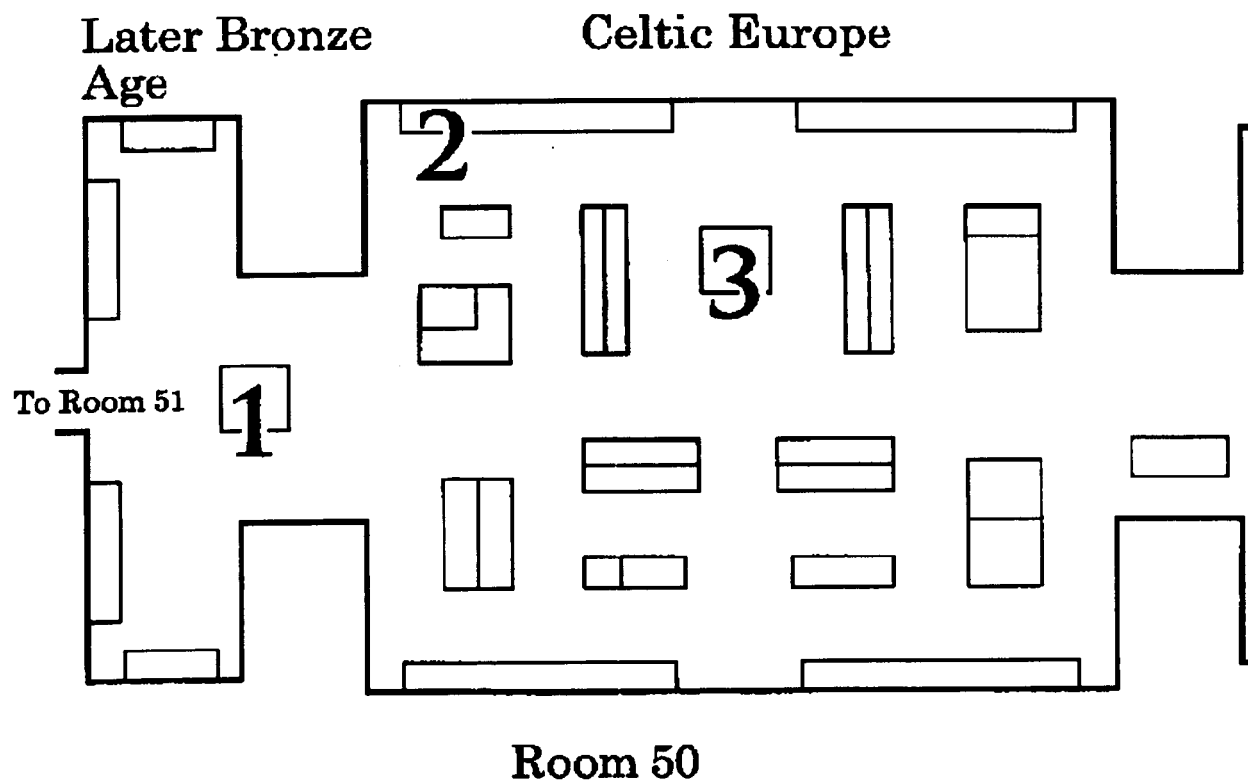


Figure 4.2 Schematic diagram of the new Weston Gallery of Roman Britain and the Late Bronze Age and Celtic Europe Galleries (from free pamphlet guide; not to scale)

In Room 37 (Figure 4.1) the interpretation panel in a case holding Hallstatt pottery read:

The Early Iron Age extends from the seventh century BC to the time of the Roman conquest, when much of Western and Central Europe was occupied by the Celts. Lacking their own literature, these peoples are known only from the Greek and Roman writers, and from the material culture recovered by archaeologists. To the Greeks and Romans the Celts were barbarians, but their material remains show advanced technological achievements in such crafts as pottery, metalwork and woodwork as well as a flourishing creative art.

For anyone who had not taken a previous interest in prehistory, this display set up the familiar opposition between the Classical world and the Celtic 'other' (cf. chapter one). Literacy, or the absence of it, was used to mark something essential about culture. References to the Celtic lack of letters contextualizes the display such that only the Greeks and Romans and modern archaeologists are sanctioned as having 'real' knowledge of these peoples. Finally, and this is a theme which will arise again and again, is the link between Celts and technology. The Celts' technological achievements mark their success, but they are also used to mark human progress along a linear historical timeline.⁴

In the present gallery, visitors may enter the Iron Age either from the Bronze Age Gallery or through the Weston Gallery of Roman Britain (Figure 4.2). Either way, they are confronted with a large interpretation panel which sets out a very abbreviated history of the Iron Age in terms of Hallstatt and La Tène although 'some of the peoples whose material culture is classified as "La Tène" were known as Celts to the Greeks'. The free leaflet to the three galleries which is available at the entrances to each space is more overt in its claims to the Celtic:

The people who lived in western Europe in the centuries before the Romans arrived are often called 'Celtic'. Their artistic skills reached great heights, especially in the field of metalwork. (free pamphlet guide to the Weston Gallery of Roman Britain and the Late Bronze Age and Celtic Europe Galleries, The British Museum, 1997)

And while seemingly a wholly new exhibition, curated by Val Rigby (with significant input by the former head of the Iron Age department, Ian Stead, and from Simon James, former education officer at the museum), I recognized the cases from the old galleries and also noted a continuing emphasis on the technological – an example is the elaborate 'Chronology and the Typological Evolution of Swords and Brooches' case which sets out the A B Cs of the Iron Age.

⁴ In my discussion in chapter six of the educational consumption of archaeological knowledge I point out the National Curriculum's (both England's and Wales') emphasis on technology in History attainment targets. This has been of some concern to archaeologists, too, who do not wish to see archaeology used only as a tool to facilitate the understanding of other disciplines.

In the old galleries, artistic practices were central to the narrative of the British Museum's representation of Celtic culture. The accompanying text to the Basse-Yutz flagons display (no. 14 on Figure 4.1) focused on Celtic material culture as creative art. The flagons 'provide the ideal introduction to early Celtic art, showing the initial mixture of classical, oriental and native elements'. Now, the Basse-Yutz panel simply describes the animal motifs and decoration. Indeed, discussion of so-called Celtic art has been gathered in a single display of 'Early Celtic Art' which, rather than explicitly address the question of what it means to terms some categories of material culture 'art', it simply conflates art with decorative techniques. Although much of the emotive language from the older exhibition has now been excised, we are, perhaps, left with a very stark late prehistory.

Before the new galleries opened, from the European Iron Age room I would move through to Room 38 which housed 'Masterpieces of early Celtic art in the British Isles' (Figure 4.3). Torcs, armlets and neckrings, mirror art, helmets, scabbards, the Aylesford Bucket and the Battersea and Witham Shields occupied cases in the centre of the room. The narrative focus was on prestige goods and their one-to-one relationship with social ranking, as the rarity of Celtic helmets 'suggests that they were worn only by chieftains'. Again, the finest of Celtic creations 'are amongst the greatest achievements of prehistoric art'. Interestingly, parallels between the ways in which artistic production has been used in modern Europe to control power/knowledge relations and the circulation of 'art' in the Iron Age are drawn: 'much of the art is concerned with display and warfare; some relates to personal ornaments and possessions; all bear witness to a stratified society in which the metalsmiths were serving the needs of a chieftain-class ...'. Unspoken is the way in which this interpretation of Celtic Iron Age society calls upon the early medieval texts of Wales and Ireland. Those texts provide the emotional impact of 'metalsmiths serving the needs of a chieftain-class' and are used to structure the cultural background of a highly stratified society. So far, the representation of Celtic culture based on the display of Iron Age objects, is perfectly in keeping with the mainstream academic pedigree outlined in chapter two and appears to support Shanks' and Tilley's critique of the museum's fetishization of artefact as art object.

British Museum: Room 38

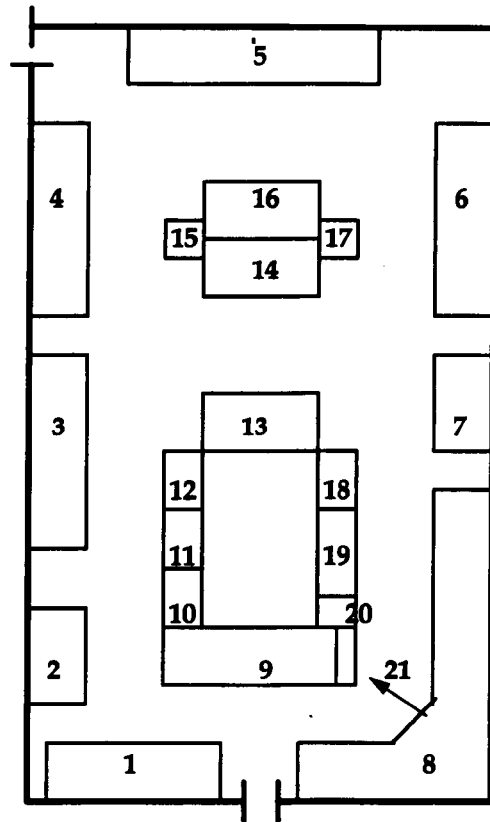


Figure 4.3 Schematic plan of the former display in Room 38 of the British Museum, which contained artefacts of the British Iron Age (not to scale).

The cases which lined the periphery of the gallery (nos. 1–8 on Figure 4.2) housed more explicitly didactic displays of material culture, organized so that the objects illustrated both technological and cultural development. On the right was a reconstruction of the Welwyn Garden City burial, and on the left were the less spectacular pieces of material culture, displayed *en masse* in order to represent a general picture of the material of the Iron Age. However, the general emphasis remained on speciality goods, objects which were used to paint a picture of people hoarding and discarding prestige items. Behind the first central case grouping was another display group which held more British weapons, animal art in Britain, and the Cordoba treasure; on the back wall of the gallery was a case containing the Snettisham treasure. However, of the Cordoba and Snettisham ‘treasure’, it remains to be asked: according to whom? Obviously, these finds represent archaeological treasure in that treasure connotes something actively hidden, coming from the Latin *thesaurus* (*Oxford Reference Dictionary*, 1986). Yet it is perhaps unlikely that the people who deposited these goods regarded them in such a way, in that it may be that it was the very disposability of the objects which made them valuable; they were not hidden, they were buried (*cf.* Bradley, 1990; Fitzpatrick, 1984; Wait, 1985).

Although the layout of the cases themselves suggested a linear, chronological approach to the narratives of display, the open space of Room 37 (Figure 4.1) allowed for a wide range of visitor movement which contradicts the diachronic archaeological narrative. Room 38 was more constricted and a neat comparison can be drawn between the physically peripheral (the cases on the outer walls) and what has been constructed as the culturally peripheral (settlement or the archaeology of the everyday). However, we cannot dictate that all museum visitors will necessarily have internalized the display layout in this way.⁵

Now, with the European and British Iron Age finds brought together, a very different picture emerges. The ‘prestige’ goods which Ian Stead was so keen to profile have been re-integrated into a chronologically and thematically structured European Iron Age in which Celts, as such, play only a minor role. Although the Witham Shield remains displayed in the case devoted to artistic production, other objects have been recontextualized with other artefacts and texts. The cases appear to be organized according to the technologies and economies in which

⁵Susan Pearce writes of museum space in terms of ‘depth’, ‘rings’ and ‘entropy’: ‘To put it rather crudely, exhibitions with strong axial structures, shallow depth and a low ring factor present knowledge as if it were the map of a well-known terrain where the relationship of each part to another, and all to the whole, is thoroughly understood; while exhibitions whose plans show a high degree of entropy (or a weaker structure), considerable depth and a high-ring factor show knowledge as a proposition which may stimulate further, or different, answering propositions’ (Pearce, 1990: 150). But again, she does not use ethnographic work to support these claims but rather accepts a one to one relationship between display and understanding.

they 'function': 'Foreign contacts', 'Making a living: the blacksmith'; 'Burials in Britain: cremation burial south of the Thames'; 'Regional developments: northern Britain'. There are tantalizing references to the possible burial rite of the 'ritual' killing of corpses in north-east Yorkshire and of the fashion for the late La Tène material culture of Gaul in Britain in an attempt to move away from reproducing an hermetic Celtic cultural package. However, it is perhaps only those visitors who have some knowledge of these debates who would recognize such attempts to disrupt the Celtic narrative.

Much of the meat of the Iron Age display remains the same, however. The Snettisham and Cordoba treasures are once more displayed as distinct entities, with the burial of silver and gold explained with reference to the market economy: 'Before the days of banks, the earth was regarded as the most secure hiding place for wealth'. In the light of the central role that national museums play in the reproduction of the values of the nation state, it somehow seems strangely appropriate that there should be this focus on banking and the accumulation of wealth in the British Museum. The Welwyn Garden City burial also remains as a reconstructed entity. In fact, it appeared to me that the most significant changes occurred in layout and, also, in the cutting down of interpretative text. Although Europe and Britain have been spatially brought together, I understood neither a sense of 'Celtic culture', nor a sense of the complex interrelationships which existed among the late prehistoric peoples of Europe.

Of course, we need to understand that the British Museum space, both past and present, is an authored space. And as former curator of this department of the British Museum, Ian Stead held an important position in the crafting of the national image of a Celtic Iron Age. Stead's involvement in the work on the mound- and cart-burial landscapes of north-east Yorkshire and, also, in some of the more spectacular finds from the Thames Valley was spatialized in the museum. It is perhaps not surprising that Stead's interest in the 'biggest and best' of Iron Age material culture should come to represent a much broader picture of the Iron Age. Even with the new display, Stead's legacy is obvious, if only because the museum is constrained by its material collections. And, of course, the particular politics of the museum organization also play a hugely important role in the development of displays and interpretation. How people work together and how they communicate their differing professional views all impacts on what the visitor sees. What is beginning to emerge is a sense of the ad hoc way in which control of knowledge is institutionalized, that we are victims of accident in terms of how we may, at any one time, understand truth.

Interestingly, given Ian Stead's research interest in burials and structured depositions, Iron Age settlement in Britain has not been a central theme of either museum display. However,

as a national institution, the British Museum embodies the nation state's control over narratives of the past by literally objectifying the past and offering it up for consumption in a ritual legitimization of the existence of the nation state. Although in archaeological terms these displays, though specific and contingent, say something about the Iron Age as a generality and may, as Shanks and Tilley suggest, silence an archaeological voice (Shanks and Tilley, 1987 a) we should take care to avoid falling into the trap of assuming that these pasts cannot be multivocal. Although there is little opportunity for a specifically archaeological understanding of the uses of material culture during the Iron Age, the museum's reliance on objects 'speaking for themselves' does foreground for the visitor the materiality of what is being displayed. The new gallery certainly seems more focused on the 'thingness' of things than the old display. The dislocated objects may, in fact, open up possibilities for visitors to draw their own comparisons between what they see in the glass case and what they have seen in the past, an argument which will be borne out in chapters seven and eight. However, there is also a commercial side to consider. Indeed, the curatorial team may have felt some pressure to not 'tell all' in the interpretation panels, as that might impact on the sales of guides and related books.⁶ Another explanation for the less than dramatic changes to the Iron Age display would involve it having to be designed in such a way that it does not jar excessively with the Early Medieval Room and its references to Celtic culture.

In the Early Medieval Room, case 39 displays 'Celtic' production (Figure 4.4). Despite the indisputable presence of Romano-British material culture in the museum, the three hundred years of various groups of Britons negotiating Roman administration is obviated in the early medieval room. It appears to be assumed that after the Romans 'left', the people on the fringes of Britain reverted back to their Celtic ways: 'Little is known historically about the Celtic population of Britain and Ireland during this period though the archaeological evidence shows that in the west and north of Britain as well as in Ireland, its culture prospered'. In fact, 'In Ireland, as in Scotland, Celtic culture flourished, and is particularly apparent in the splendid products of its metalworkers, whose use of curvilinear patterns, and enamel and millefiori inlays, is in marked contrast to the rigid zoomorphic style, and gilding and garnet inlay of the Anglo-Saxon metalworker'.

⁶ Certainly, this is the case within the national heritage organizations. At Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments there is constant tension between wanting to present information to visitors and having to perform as a commercial entity. If free leaflets and copious interpretation panels are on offer, it is felt that this might impact negatively on sales of guidebooks (Cadw management).

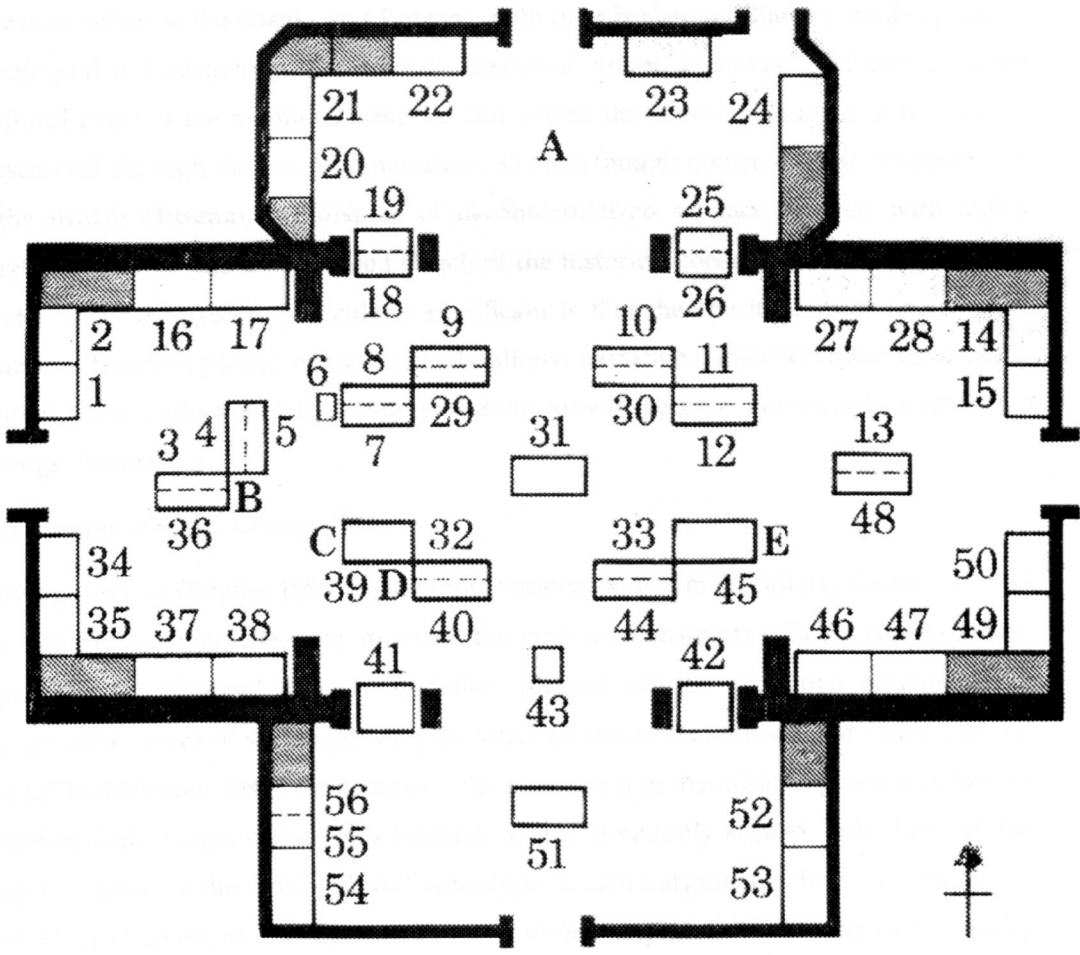


Figure 4.4 Floor plan of the Early Medieval Room at the British Museum
 (from free leaflet in gallery, 1985; not to scale)

Although the focus is again on artistic excellence, the early medieval treatment of Celtic art differs importantly from the focus in the two prehistoric rooms. In Rooms 37 and 38, Celtic culture is cast as 'other' to the Greeks and Romans, with their barbarian illiteracy made up for by their technological achievements. In the Early Medieval Room, however, Matthew Arnold's familiar cultural trope of the feminine, intuitive Celt versus the Saxon male logician (*cf.* chapter two) is constructed through the museum narrative. So even though archaeological explanation is scarce in the British Museum, the display of decontextualized artefact together with highly selective text becomes, in fact, a condensed sketch of the historical construction of Celtic culture. Again, what I would suggest is particularly significant is that the specific *habitus* of the small teams of curators becomes played out as a grand national narrative. However, these individuals remain hidden from visitors and their interpretations slowly become inextricably interwoven with the 'things' themselves.

The National Museum of Wales, Cathays Park

Moving west, in October 1994 I visited the National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff. There I spoke with Ken Brassil about the ways in which the museum constructs a Celtic past in Wales. Brassil argues that the National Museum & Gallery is faced with the particular problematic of negotiating sensitive issues of seemingly Anglo-centric historical revisionism and Celtic cultural nationalism (*cf.* Hutchinson, 1987). Furthermore, the museum is in the difficult position of having to attract visitors with images of the Celts because, as it is commonly argued, only then can the museum begin to question the Celtic cultural stereotype. Brassil's arguments, however, repeat the received knowledge that dictates that people can only understand the past in Wales as defined by Celtic culture.. Nevertheless, it is clear that museum curators and administrators – not to mention heritage managers and tourist boards (*cf.* chapter five) – continue to rely on the Celts as money-makers, as somehow attractive to people.

The operations of the National Museum of Wales is structured in much the same way as is the British Museum (Ken Brassil, pers. comm.) and, like the British Museum, the display focus is on certain symbols of power and burial reconstruction. In the centre of the large Iron Age gallery is a free-standing case containing a reconstruction of the Brymbo Beaker Burial. Through the case's perspex cover we view, not the scene that the people burying the body might have viewed, but, rather, the archaeologist's view of an excavated grave. Reconstruction drawings of hillforts peopled by Celtic warriors painted with woad and aerial photographs of hillforts support the text which describes the role of hillforts in Iron Age society in functional terms of defence. An adjoining room displays a number of coins explained in the context of their use in the reproduction of power relations.

The gallery space in which this Iron Age is displayed is open plan, with glass cases built into the peripheral walls. Although there is no clearly defined physical path which the visitor is encouraged to take, the historical narrative, depicted as an illustrated time line along the upper walls, suggests that what is displayed in this room is tied into a logical progression. It is tempting to relate the physical marginalization of the coin room, entered by way of an understated doorway, to the way in which the museum has marginalized themes of social reproduction in the making of meaning from material culture. And although we should perhaps expect that the coming of the Romans would figure more prominently in the museum, I suggest that their relatively low profile corresponds with an official Welsh emphasis on nativism, the resiliency of Celtic culture in Wales, that has characterized much Welsh academic production through the twentieth century (*cf.* Evans, 1968; Ewing, 1968; Fleure, 1923a; b; 1926; Fox, 1932; Gruffudd, 1989; 1994a; Morgan, 1983; Williams, 1985; on the nativist trend in Ireland, *cf.* Dillon, 1947 and McCone, 1990). It should be remembered, too, the present space is the legacy of the work of Cyril Fox and Iowerth Peate, who held representative power in the museum and were involved in promoting the restorative powers of Celtic culture for a depression-era Wales.

When I spoke with Ken Brassil in 1994 there were plans for capital expenditure on the redesigning of the Iron Age galleries. In the interim, however, the National Museums and Galleries 'corporation' has focused its attention on obtaining Millennium funds with which to build a new museum space at Cardiff Bay complete with Imax cinema and marine display. Hence the Cathays Park site has frozen all funds available to archaeology and several keepers have resigned with no plans to replace them. Now that the Cardiff Bay museum-site proposal has fallen through, the National Museums and Galleries of Wales corporation may decide to put in a capital bid for the improvement of the archaeological galleries at Cathays Park. At one time a central focus of Welsh cultural life – during the 1930s Cyril Fox hosted weekly performances by the Welsh Symphony Orchestra at the museum for radio broadcast (papers of the National Museum of Wales 1931–1963 held at the Public Records Office, Kew) – the museum's focus has switched from archaeology to art, with the museum's fine art gallery vying for more funding and gallery space. Brassil himself has been moved from Cathays Park to St. Fagans where he now heads Archaeological Interpretation in Education, with Adam Gwilt (see below).

The Museum of Antiquities

Like the archaeological wing of the National Museum of Wales, the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh was designed to contain and represent the archaeology of a particular area bounded by modern political borders. Since 1994, the contents of the Museum of Antiquities (officially closed in April 1996) have been slowly removed for conservation in preparation for

being housed at a new site, which opened in late November, 1998.⁷ The galleries containing the material culture of Scotland's Iron Age were a prime example of 'glass case' museumship (Merriman, 1991) with haphazardly displayed objects explained with yellowing, hand-typed cards which invoked the racist focus in prehistory advocated by H. J. Fleure and Cyril Fox during Britain's interwar years:

In southern Britain the beginning of the Iron Age is accompanied by the appearance of a new type of man, with a moderately long, relatively low head and narrow face. The degree of resemblance between these people and the later Anglo-Saxons and Norsemen indicates that they were a variety of the North European stock, so that they may have tended towards a fair or ruddy colouring.

Celts, as such, did not appear in these displays as the focus was on different ages: Neolithic, Bronze and Iron. Only the historic period is associated with people. Romans, Picts and Vikings all appear in the galleries in which their material remains were displayed, having been redesigned in the recent past with an aim towards historical instruction. Celts did have a high profile in the museum shop and elsewhere in Scotland's marketplace, however, but this will be taken up in more depth in chapter five. At present it is worth noting that of all the national museums discussed hitherto, the Museum of Antiquities had the least to do with Celtic culture and appears to resemble more closely than either the British Museum or the National Museum of Wales at Cathays Park a display, first and foremost, of archaeological artefacts. This is, of course, intimately connected with the practice of archaeology in Scotland, the major personality behind which for the better part of this century has been Stuart Piggott (best known for his early attempts at demystifying druids). There are no stunningly framed 'masterpieces of Celtic art'. Instead, spindle whorls, bits of brooch and arrow heads are all valued because of their relation to the past, their roles in the timeline of typology and invasion (*cf.* chapter two).

The National Museum of Ireland

The National Museum of Ireland, like the British Museum, represents the control the nation state exerts over narratives of the past. It is of interest in this chapter because its role, originally, was once more akin to that of the National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff and the

⁷ I discussed the plans for the new museum with David Clarke, Keeper of Archaeology, while we attended the 'Archaeology and Nationalism' conference held in Edinburgh in April, 1992. It was his intention that the museum would move away from chronologically orientated displays to focus, instead, on particular themes of prehistory such as food, religion, death, and conflict. Although this sounds as if the new displays may repeat the concerns of a stereotyped Iron Age revolving around war and art, the material culture of different periods of prehistory is to be displayed together so that relationships among various peoples through time will be foregrounded in an effort to deny discrete historical periods which begin and end. Just as this disseration is going to print, the new museum in Edinburgh is being opened. It is, reputedly, a very bold statement of Scottish nationhood, a flagship for the new Scottish Assembly.

Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh in that it was a provincial symbol of an overarching state apparatus dedicated to educating and bettering the public according to the ideas of such cultural reformers as John Ruskin and Sir Henry Cole (Bennett, 1996: 20; Ruskin, 1849). The museum was opened to the public in 1890, at the end of the great period of public museum building (Bennett, 1996: 92-95), after material held at the Royal Irish Academy was transferred to the present site in the centre of Dublin. During the early years of the twentieth century, when the Republic was still a member of the UK, several items, including the Broughter Hoard, were signed over by legal decree to the museum from the British Museum (Felicity Devlin, Education Officer, National Museum of Ireland, pers. comm.).

Some Iron Age pieces can be found in the central Treasury gallery, opened in 1986, which holds Bronze Age and Early Iron Age gold artefacts. Specifically identified Celtic culture, however, is displayed in two traditionally ordered galleries based around glass cases. 'The Celts and Colonization' describes the latter years of prehistory:

The Celts...dominated Europe beyond the Mediterranean immediately prior to the northward expansion of the Roman Empire in the century or so before the birth of Christ.

The earliest Celtic civilization, known as the *Hallstatt* culture, played a role in the development of later Bronze Age society in Ireland. It is possible that the arrival in Ireland of Hallstatt Celts around 650 BC may have played a role in the mysterious demise of the native culture. The Celtic language may have been first introduced to Ireland at that time.

...Only with the appearance of objects bearing La Tène designs, can we be certain of the presence of Celtic peoples in Ireland...

By the time Christianity had been introduced in the fifth century AD a Celtic civilization had been consolidated in Ireland and this continued to develop until the collapse of Gaelic society at the end of the Middle Ages.

Here the Celts dominate the museum narrative with the Iron Age completely subsumed by descriptions of Celtic culture. Remnants of traditional diffusionist approaches to the past linger in the conflation of material culture and people, bringing to mind the image of beakers on little feet marching their way across Europe to the western seaboard. Finally, the nativist strand in interpreting the past in Ireland is repeated through the suggestion that Irish Gaelic society existed as a developing unified cultural entity until the next wave of invaders, the Normans, destroyed it (cf. De Paor, 1958; Dillon, 1947). Obviously this neglects the tremendous influence of both the monastic structures and Viking settlements on Ireland (cf. Bradley, 1984; Doherty, 1985; Edwards, 1990; Mytum, 1992; Piccini, 1992; Swan, 1983; Warner, 1988) and sets up an understanding of Ireland's past based on its having been subject to the unwelcome control by its neighbours across the Irish Sea who were, in turn, responsible for the demise of Ireland's 'authentic' culture.

All four of the large national museums, the British Museum, the National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff, the Museum of Antiquities in Scotland and the National Museum of Ireland are buildings designed according to similar principles. Although the individual galleries containing Iron Age and early medieval artefacts have now changed greatly since the early days of the national museums, both in thematic focus and through the ways in which the spaces are organized and delineated, all share a related history of museological development. And yet, the individual museums all embody, to some extent, the individual personalities and research interests of the curators who developed the collections, and the interrelationships among curator, organization and visitor. These heritage spaces embody the cultural productions of the curators; they are the media with which she or he represents particular pasts. And if we accept Anderson's suggestion that such cultural productions are central to, rather than simply symptomatic of, the workings of the nation (1983), then individual curatorial practices are implicated in the reproduction of the complex weave of relationships which make up the nation state.

Welsh sites of Celtic representation

I turn now to museums in Wales which concern themselves with representing a certain concrete picture of life during a Celtic Iron Age. The Celtic village at the Museum of Welsh Life at St. Fagans outside Cardiff (a member of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales collective), Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort in north Pembrokeshire and Celtica in Machynlleth are all heritage spaces in Wales which seek to make explicit the links between the landscapes of Wales today and a Celtic past. None are traditional museums in the sense of 'glass cases'. Both the St. Fagans Celtic village and Castell Henllys are open-air reconstructions, the former a pastiche which exhibits roundhouses from different periods and locales, the latter an archaeologically focused on-site reconstruction of the Late Iron Age promontory fort.⁸ Celtica combines museum-style galleries with an audio-visual exhibition which combines film, sound, live actors and Iron Age scenes and contextualizes that history through reference to the whole of Wales' past.

⁸However, it should be noted that any open-air reconstruction can never be fully archaeologically authentic, if only because structures must comply with health and safety regulations if heritage centres are to avoid costly insurance bills or even, possibly, litigation. This means that, for example, doors must be securable (in the cases of the Celtic village at St. Fagans and at Castell Henllys) which necessitates particular ways of hanging doors in lintels which may not correspond archaeologically with the specific roundhouses. The impact of health and safety regulations on constructions of heritage is potentially a significant area for future study, especially in the light of continuing debates about the 'authenticity' of these representations.

In the 1992 summer edition of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales' corporate magazine *Amgueddfa*, Gerallt Nash describes the newly constructed Celtic village at St. Fagans and explains, with reference to Romantic tropes of the picturesque (*cf.* Gilpin, 1792), that the specific site was chosen because it was 'particularly emotive as it stands in an existing clearing in woodland some distance from most of the re-erected buildings in the open-air section of the Museum' and because 'the access path [which] passes through the trees ... rises gently towards the clearing providing a dramatic introduction to the settlement' (*Amgueddfa*, Summer 1992: 3). To make explicit possible links between past and present, Nash emphasizes that the houses, which are based on roundhouses from Moel y Gaer (Flintshire), Moel y Gerddi (Gwynedd) and Conderton (Worcestershire) (Figure 4.5), are built from local materials.

However, the on-site interpretative material does not explain the reasons for the spatial and temporal conflation involved in the juxtaposition of the roundhouses, not to mention the reason why it should be noted that the houses are made from local materials. In fact, explanation focuses on the functional:

This reconstruction of a Celtic settlement is intended to illustrate how people would have lived some 2,000 years ago. The structures depicted here are all based on excavated archaeological evidence from different parts of Wales and the Marches ...

The houses contain appropriate reproductions of Celtic furniture, household implements, agricultural tools and hunting equipment, together with weaving looms, fire dogs, querns (for grinding corn), skins, fleeces and textiles.

The settlement is surrounded by a ditch and earthen bank topped by a wattled palisade fence. It is thought that the purpose of this kind of fence was to keep livestock away from the buildings ...

Not only are the roundhouses based on the archaeology of different areas and times in both Wales (although nowhere near the St. Fagans site at Cardiff) and England, but the above-ground morphology is based on Peter Reynolds' Butser experiments in Hampshire. Thus, specific pasts are given form as generalized images based on theories shaped through a contemporary English intellectual exercise. The only other comparable reconstruction series at the museum is a set of terraced housing from a south Wales mining valley which seeks to represent an historical narrative through a linear, chronological progression from house to house which takes us from the living spaces of the late eighteenth century through to the present. However, these terraces are designed to tell the specific past of a mining community, whereas the Celtic village has been structured to give an impression of a 'general' Iron Age (G. Nash, pers. comm.).



Figures 4.5 and 4.6 *The roundhouses at St Fagans and the 'elaborated' doorway.*

Visitors enter the palisade-enclosed village through an elaborated gateway (Figure 4.6). The houses themselves are situated within only a few feet of each other atop gravel and dust. Inside the houses are assembled various examples of Iron Age material culture. Torcs, Witham shield replicas, beehive ovens, looms and triskele emblazoned articles are combined in order to paint a picture of Iron Age life for the visitor. However, each house is designed with a different purpose in mind. The stone roundhouse stands empty and dark, the curatorial emphasis being on structure. Across from it the smaller of the two wattle and daub roundhouses displays activities of the everyday; village interpreters demonstrate the spinning of wool separated from the loom and beehive oven which contextualizes their activity by a rope barrier. The large, central roundhouse has been designed as a 'meeting' house with rows of benches facing in to the centre where, again behind a rope barrier, still more replica examples of Iron Age material culture are displayed. Further site structures include a chicken coop, elevated granary, and daub pit used to show school children the principles of wattle and daub and the odd Soay sheep and chicken wander about as examples of Celtic animal husbandry.

As with the whole of the St. Fagans site, there is very little interpretation aside from the introductory interpretative panel quoted above. Visitors are left to wander in amongst the houses and make of the scene what they will before moving on to the next site. The Celtic village is used extensively by teachers and school groups from Wales, England and France (G. Nash, pers. comm.).⁹ It has been used to illustrate the British Iron Age, part of the Key Stage 1 history syllabus in both the National Curriculum for England and for Wales (*cf.* chapter six), although there has been recent criticism from schools concerning the usefulness of the village, which is surprising considering that in 1992 the village was hailed as an exciting new opportunity to bring the past alive for the half a million people who visit the Museum of Welsh Life each year (G. Nash, pers. comm.).¹⁰

⁹The use of Celtic culture to symbolize folk culture in France and the centrality of the 'folk' in France (*cf.* Dietler, 1994 and Orton and Pollock, 1980) has resulted in a massive influx of French students to British sites which represent the Iron Age and folk culture generally, with French school visits often outnumbering British visits by schools by up to 400% (Nash, pers. comm.). In Wales it is worth noting the similarities between the French focus on folk culture and the role of the *gwerin* (loosely translated as 'folk') in defining Welsh culture (*cf.* Lord, 1990).

¹⁰Ken Brassil, now head of Archaeological Interpretation in Education at St. Fagans, has discussed with me recently the difficulties the museum has in trying to open up the past for teachers, as well as children. He has attempted to problematize the specifically Celtic construction of the Iron Age and get teachers to think of the past as contingent and thus make, what is clearly a limited site, a useful construction through which to discuss the making of histories (*cf.* chapter six).

Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort

Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort is a heritage centre built on and around the remains of an inland promontory fort. Managed by Pembrokeshire National Park, Castell Henllys incorporates the reconstructed Late Iron Age site (Figure 4.7); an on-going excavation, headed by Harold Mytum at York, of the subsequent Romano-British settlement just to the north-west; an heritage trail illustrated by interpretative panels designed and written by the Dyfed Archaeological Trust in the late 1980s; areas for wild boar and Soay sheep in order to signal possible Iron Age animal husbandry, a shop and offices; and an architectural award-winning education centre for school groups.

Male druids, warriors and farmers and female weavers and cooks illustrate this contingent story of the past and literally frame visitors' movements. As fixed 'snapshots' of the Iron Age the panels enclose our movement along already marked paths and present suggested ways of seeing and reading specific places which are based on conventional, highly gendered accounts of Iron Age life. These static interpretative images are elaborated as visitors progress more deeply into the site to encounter both the working excavation and reconstructed animal pens and roundhouse grouping. The excavation grounds, and seemingly reiterates, the information presented on the heritage trail providing an intimate connection with the past in the shape and texture of layers of soil, scattered stones and bones and apparently random patches of dark earth. The roundhouses, again based on Peter Reynolds' Butser work, then take the story above ground, their interiors filled, like the Celtic village roundhouses at St. Fagans, with modern interpretations of Iron Age material culture based on finds from the whole of Britain neither specific to one place or time nor to any one occupation period of the Castell Henllys site. The grouping spatially represents much of the information contained in the interpretative panels, thus making concrete and three-dimensional a particular, linearly narrative textual past.

Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort is also an important educational site. School groups gather in the interpretative centre to be told the medieval Welsh adventures of Culwch and Olwen and are then lead up to the hillfort where they learn about wattle and daub, weaving, pot making and the alleged bravado of the warring Celts. Again, as with St. Fagans and in common with the narrative focus in many of the national museums, technology and its role in the Iron Age is used as a central theme to enable both an understanding of Celtic culture and to tie in with Key Stage 1 Attainment Targets for the development of simple technological skills in primary school age children (*cf.* chapter six).



Figure 4.7 In the reconstructed 'village' at Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort.

As open-air sites, both the Celtic village at St. Fagans and Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort are very different spaces to the generally ornate, institutional national museums. The Celtic village is a relatively small, bounded space contextualized by the bounded spaces of the other buildings on the site. In this way, the museum as a whole appears more as a series of museum galleries in the open air rather than as a cohesive outdoor space; the Celtic village is thus one gallery filled with houses/display cases. Castell Henllys, on the other hand, is a large, self-contained heritage site, ostensibly defined by a singular heritage theme. Most visitors can explore the site in ways not necessarily dictated by paths and signposts. However, the movement of school-groups is much more constrained as they have to remain in a group which follows particular paths. The ways in which schoolchildren are to make sense of these sites is, therefore, dictated by the wishes of curator and education officer although, again, these arguments will be qualified by the ethnographic approach of chapters seven and eight.

Celtica

Mid Wales' newest experience, *Celtica*, is not a reconstruction-focused site but is, instead, a multi-media museum-esque experience built into an eighteenth century house (Y Plas) in the heart of Machynlleth (Figure 4.8). The context of its being built with funds from Montgomeryshire county council and the European Union is significant in terms of what the centre itself comes to signify: its main remit with respect to funding is to provide local employment while its role as a representative space of the past is secondary. Yet, as a physical entity, it is a dominant architectural feature in the town and is highly visible as a self-defined container of Welsh heritage, even though, again, the textual content belongs to mainstream approaches to academic knowledge.

Celtica combines a multi-media show which takes headset-wearing visitors through a series of *tableaux* concerning the 'mysterious and magical world of the Celts' (site brochure) in Wales through the ages, with an interpretative centre consisting of reproduction material culture and dramatically formatted drawings, photographs and texts, augmented by a variety of general audience text books and information cards (Figures 4.9). It explicitly ties past to present in its attempt to show how 'today the descendants of those early Celts are still here in Wales, proud of their heritage and culture, and the survival of their native Welsh language'.

The three interlinked rooms of *Celtica*'s second floor interpretative centre shape a linear, chronological narrative of Celtic culture spanning from the Iron Age to the present. Although within the rooms information is designed so that each interpretative panel describes a single theme which does not need to be contextualized by adjacent panels, structurally implicit is that to understand fully the later chapters of pan-Celtic and Wales-specific history the visitor should

progress with a sense of chronological logic through the spaces. Punctuating this linear progress, however, is the presence of varied historical narratives available to the visitor. Popularly orientated archaeology books such as Barry Cunliffe's *Celtic World* (1990), in addition to general history texts and children's books which tie in with the National Curriculum for Wales are fixed to shelves and provide additional information for those visitors who are interested in finding out more about the Iron Age, pan-Celtic culture and Welsh history whilst laminated information cards describe what is on display in more depth.

Specifically Iron Age information is introduced as 'The Portrait of a Civilization: A People whose Roots lie Buried in the Past' and is organized into technological, architectural and craft themes, an interesting parallel to the focus of not only the two Welsh open-air sites discussed above, but also to the thematic structure of the national museums. The texts appear at first reading to disrupt traditional narratives of the Celtic Iron Age:

The Celts have traditionally been associated with the building of hillforts, which dominate the landscape of northern Europe. However, the first hillforts were made in the Bronze Age, and they continued to be occupied into the Roman period. The Iron Age Celtic population lived in these hillforts as well and in smaller settlements and farms. It seems like that the hillforts were centres of authority and power, since the labour needed to built them was immense. They may also have been used to store the community's grain supplies.

Although the martial definition of hillforts is obviated, a relationship between the ability to control 'man hours' and power is set up and naturalized through the closed, seemingly authorless archaeological discourse.

Downstairs, the Celtica experience consists of six different thematic areas which tell the story of Celtic culture from its 'origins' in The Foundry through to the Celtic mysticism of The Vortex in which Merlin shows a little boy the future of Celtic Wales through the use of animal totems. Visitors are equipped with infra-red headsets which interpret the experience in either Welsh or English, although other languages are to be made available in the future (Bill McCann, pers. comm.). In each 'room' we stand listening to the narrative and watching the light shows and videoed Celtic characters in The Roundhouse: the slave, the druid and the woman chieftain. The only person we encounter is an actor (a number of men and women take each shift in turn and tell a slightly different story) in the Celtic Settlement who takes on a Celtic persona and provides the by-now-familiar Celticentric descriptions of everyday Iron Age life based on fighting, head-hunting, poetry and drink.



Figure 4.8 *The exterior of Y Plas, Machynlleth, which houses Celtica.*

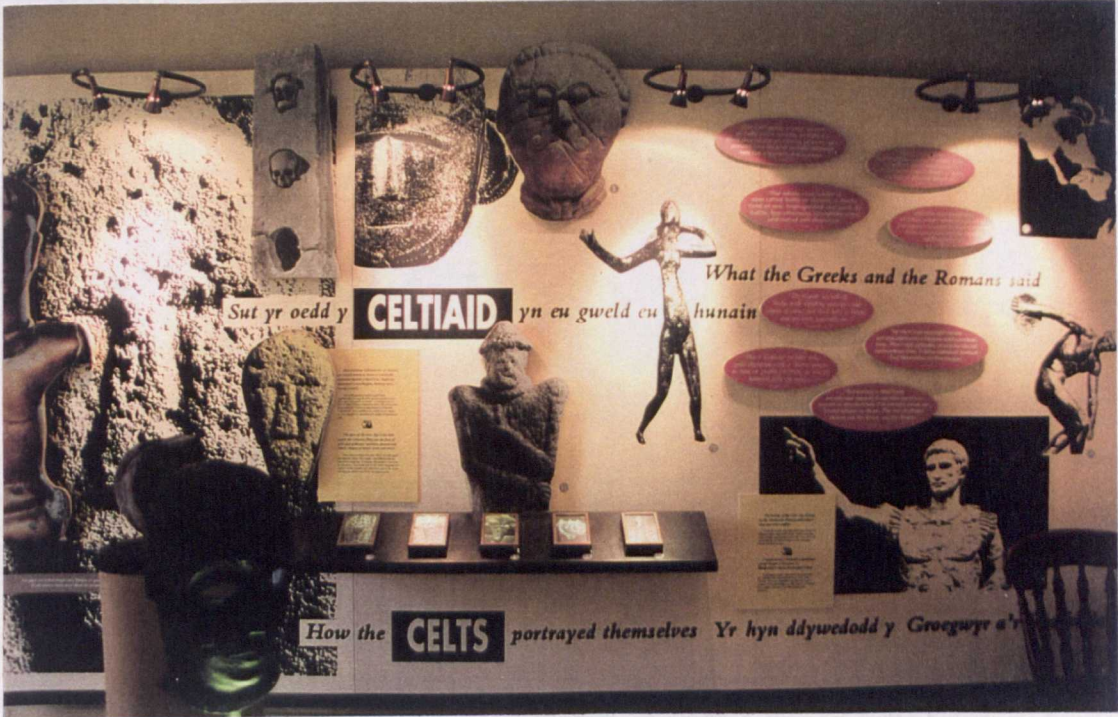


Figure 4.9 Scenes from the Celtica interpretative centre.

The Celtic constructions at Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort, Celtica and at the Celtic village at The Museum of Welsh Life in St. Fagans, all juxtapose specific images of the past to say something about that past and in doing so, spatialize the physical surroundings in which they are set as specifically Celtic Welsh landscapes. Although each site operates according to different agendas, with an aim to reproducing specifically Welsh heritage, all rely on certain assumptions about the Iron Age in order to describe a general *British* Iron Age. They mask difference and in that way construct a landscape by enclosing the Iron Age within the confines of images based on the familiar Late Iron Age material culture of southern England. From a strictly archaeological perspective, what we see reproduced is an academic bias towards the late prehistoric material culture of the Thames Valley.

The Andover Museum of the Iron Age

The Museum of the Iron Age at Andover was neither built during the nineteenth century, nor is it a heritage space which contains a wide assortment of material culture gathered over a history of antiquarian and archaeological pursuit. It is not a space synonymous with either place, country or contemporary cultural identity. Instead, it was designed specifically for the display of artefacts excavated at Danebury and was opened in 1986 by Barry Cunliffe. Its regional and thematic focus makes it similar to the Welsh museums discussed above, while its position displaying the finds from one of the more famous Iron Age sites, and its use of Danebury to represent a more general British Iron Age, makes it a significant national museum space. I want to discuss the museum at this juncture because it combines elements of both the big, old-fashioned national museums and newer subject-specific museums and heritage centres which have sprung up since the early 1980s. Furthermore, Hampshire County Council made available to me information from two museum surveys, one carried out in 1987 and the other in 1992. I will interrogate these statistics in order to begin to evaluate Fyfe and Ross's arguments, discussed above, that traditional quantitative surveys do not open up the questions we need to be addressing if we want to understand *how* museums 'mean' in everyday life. I argue that a basic failure to understand museums and heritage centres as media open to myriad readings has meant that museums and heritage centres continue to fail in their quest to make themselves more accessible and meaningful in people's lives.

I enter the first room of the Iron Age to find a plaque headed 'Aggression and defence' and am greeted by a reconstructed warrior clothed and decorated by the now familiar mix of British Iron Age material; he is painted with woad and carries a Witham/Wandsworth/Battersea shield pastiche. An interpretative placard states 'torqs were usually worn around the neck

because it was believed that they averted danger' while the Celts are described as 'war mad', and that 'warfare was endemic – it was a part of Celtic culture' (cf. chapter one). From the first, open-plan room with its Enya soundtrack (the identical soundtrack to that at Celtica) the visitor is guided through a narrow, timber-lined corridor and on to a description of the construction and function of Danebury's defences. This story is given aural substance through the sounds of horses' hooves and whinnying and of men stamping and shouting. From there the history is moved along textually and spatially into another large, semicircular room with a hearth and cauldron in the centre designed thus to represent a typical roundhouse. This gallery, described as 'The Community Within', is framed by a reconstructed doorway decorated with carved Celtic heads.

Unlike the national museums, but in common with the layout of the Celtica experience, the Andover Museum of the Iron Age is designed to move visitors through the space along a particular, singular path which carries the story forward.¹¹ From the public male space of warfare we are brought through the liminal doorway, its significance foregrounded by the self-conscious skull motif, to the private space of the household, made feminine through its emphasis on cooking and craft and the sound of Enya's high-pitched voice, the only specifically female presence in the heritage space. Beyond the domestic sphere we are taken through to the story of agriculture and the importance of cereals as argued by Cunliffe's particularly functional approach to the 'rubbish pits' which pockmark Danebury (cf. Hill, 1989). Although the way in which we are moved through the museum's first floor denies an easy chronological reading of the Iron Age, this thematic approach carries with it different problems. Quite apart from the questionable role of warfare as an everyday activity during the Iron Age, by displaying different activities as discrete social spheres, the ways in which domestic social relations structure and are structured by more publicly orientated practices is lost in the display. Also, the reliance on the way in which the visitor moves through the museum space to explain the material culture is as problematic as is the focus on allowing objects to 'speak for themselves' with which Shanks and Tilley take issue (1992).

Upstairs, the museum display takes the more traditional, glass-case approach, although the music of Enya continues to follow the visitor from the first floor. This gallery had not been re-designed at the time of my visit and the exhibits are arranged linearly with agricultural practice and craft production described in depth by large interpretative panels dominated by lines of

¹¹ The Robin Wade and Pat Read Design Partnership which designed the museum displays, is one of the bigger museum design groups. Robin Wade used to work with Roger Peers and Robin Wade Associates, which was one of the most important commercial firms in the museum business, (Pearce, 1990: 153).

text.¹² Craft production focuses on what is shown as women's work — spinning, dyeing and weaving — and represents the one space in which women have a role during the Iron Age, even though that role is one naturalized through recourse to modern divisions of labour. The voices of women are literally absent from the museum, however, and their presence in the everyday is marginalized: the recorded sounds relate only to what have been defined by the interpretation as the male domain — fighting, telling stories, building.

The visitor then moves through into the final gallery, similar in appearance to the displays on the museum's first floor, that deals with death and burial as the final communal act. In a dark, atmospheric room skulls take central position; 'the gods were everywhere in the Celtic world and they were all-powerful: it was essential that they should be placated'. And, of course, the gods were placated through Celtic head-hunting as the 'Celts believed that by possessing a head they possessed the power of the dead person'. Like the Iron Age displays at the British Museum, most of the textual explanation is quoted from the Greek and Roman writers discussed in chapter one, such that these museum Celts cannot exist apart from their being contextualized by these ethnographies in the way that the other cannot exist in isolation but is only given life through its written relation to the self (*cf.* chapter one; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Crapanzano, 1986; Critchley, 1992; Fabian, 1983; 1990; Rabinow, 1986). Here the difference of the Greek and Roman writers is denied in that they are subsumed within our writing of the past and the Celt is 'doubly othered'. The museum seeks to represent a Celtic culture which has been defined as other through centuries of cultural construction by dominant intellectual tradition but once in the museum we can then view that always already 'Celtic' Celt only through the lens of Classical texts.

However, as I have argued throughout this chapter, there is nothing to say that visitors to the museum necessarily read the Iron Age as being mainly about warfare and head-hunting simply because that is the way in which museum designers and curators design readings to be made. In 1987 and 1992 surveys were conducted of visitors to Andover in order to find out who was visiting the museum and why (Tables 4.1 and 4.2). What do these surveys tell us about the sense that museum visitors make of the Andover Museum of the Iron Age?

In keeping with Merriman's work (1989a; b; 1991), visitors to the museum tend to come from professional and non-manual labour backgrounds although in the 45–54 age group 42.5% of visitors were defined as C2, or as, broadly, manual workers. However, as the sample size comprised forty-one visitors only, these percentages may be an exception. To find out what

¹² In fact, Robin Wade took the museum to task because of what he argued was its over-emphasis on text (David Allen, pers. comm.)

visitors particularly liked about the museum, visitors were asked open questions face to face. The 39% of visitors who claimed to have enjoyed the display specifically express a general appreciation of what they have seen. However this may indicate, conversely, that the display itself does not allow for questioning and that the specifics of the display may be invisible, subsumed beneath a closed Iron Age narrative. Indeed, only a few people listed specific components of the museum as their 'particular like'. However, a large number of people also found the information presented to be clear and easy to understand, even though the museum has been criticized for being too wordy (see note 12). The only possible improvements that were suggested were that better links to Danebury be developed and that more exhibits be constructed. Of the twenty-one people who responded to questions about improvement, sixteen, or around 76% could not suggest anything, although this is in keeping with curator David Allen's comments that people tend not to question what they see in the museum, but only what they do not (pers. comm.).

The 1992 Hampshire County Council Museums Service Visitor Survey Report states its objectives as: 1) to collect basic facts about the types of people using the museums and 2) to test the effectiveness of publicity designed to encourage people to use the museums and to indicate how it may be improved in future. The survey was carried out using self-completion A5 survey cards. The typical visitor to the museum is between twenty-six and fifty-years-old; is accompanied by children; in the area on holiday; is a first time visitor who stays for about two hours; and reads the *Guardian*, *Independent*, *Observer* or *Sunday Times* (Table 4.3).

Visitors to Andover Museum of the Iron Age							
Socio-economic Group	Age						Total
	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
AB	0	1	5	1	3	4	14
	0.0%	16.7%	50.0%	14.3%	42.9%	66.7%	35.0%
C1	3	3	4	1	1	1	13
	75.0%	50.0%	40.0%	14.3%	14.3%	16.7%	32.5%
C2	1	1	1	3	1	0	7
	25.0%	16.7%	10.0%	42.9%	14.3%	0.0%	17.5%
DE	0	1	0	2	2	1	6
	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	28.6%	28.6%	16.7%	15.0%
Total	4	6	10	7	7	6	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4.1 Age/socio-economic profile of visitors to the Andover Museum of the Iron Age, Andover, Hampshire (Hampshire County Council Country Parks and Museums Site Research, 1987).

'Particular likes' of Andover visitors		
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Display	16	39%
Clarity of information	13	31.7%
Audio/visual display	6	14.6%
Specific exhibits	3	7.3%
Fossils	1	2.4%
Large models/reality	2	4.9%

Table 4.2 1987 survey of visitors' 'particular likes' at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age, from a total of 40 responses (Hampshire County Council).

Andover Museum of the Iron Age Visitor Profiles							
<i>Visitors</i>		<i>Age</i>		<i>Time of stay</i>		<i>Activity</i>	
Local	36%	0-16	14%	0-½ hr.	5%	on holiday	20%
Outside	61%	17-25	9%	½-1 hr.	48%	w/ friend	15%
Female	64%	26-35	23%	1-2 hrs.	42%	day off	21%
Male	54%	36-50	40%	2-3 hrs.	3%	in b'tween	1%
		51-60	12%			retired	17%
		60+	22%			unempl'd	1%
						w/ child	26%
TOTAL: 278 replies							

Table 4.3 Visitor profile for Museum of the Iron Age, Andover, based on 278 returned self-complete response cards circulated in the museum in 1992 (Hampshire County Council).

Of the average 10,500 visitors each year, one quarter are educational groups (David Allen, pers. comm.) who come to add a concrete, visual lesson to the history components of the National Curriculum. The above surveys do nothing to expose what, exactly, it is that school groups and other visitors take from their experience at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age. It is no longer surprising that most museum visitors come from professional backgrounds as both Bourdieu (1984) and Merriman (1989 a; b; 1991) have argued forcefully that museum visiting is an activity specific to particular *habitus* that work to define what we mean by the professional and non-manual labour social classes. However, as one of the prime directives of the 1987 survey was to determine ways in which to broaden the museum's appeal across the social classes, it would appear that the type of quantitative surveys carried out in both 1987 and 1992 fail to ask the right sorts of questions. Simply asking what visitors like about a museum out of any conversational context insures that answers are highly selective and not necessarily representative of how a visitor may actually think about the museum experience in part because of the pressure to supply easily categorizable answers. The two surveys thus tell me no more about the meaning of the museum to visitors (although they say much about the meaning of the museum to Hampshire County Council) than do the textual and spatial critiques of the museum narrative of the Iron Age. The focus on publicity by museums appears to be less than successful as visitor numbers at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age, in keeping with trends experienced by the heritage industry as a whole, are slowly falling over the course of the 1990s (Hampshire County Council).

Heterotopia and the encountering of heritage

Beyond a decontextualized critique of the uses of text and image at these heritage experiences, how can I speak of the activation of images of Celtic culture in the museums and heritage centres of the UK? I believe that Foucault's conceptualizing of heterotopia (singular: heterotopium), and its activation by Delaney in her study of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (1992), is a useful way into beginning to make sense of museum and heritage centre spaces. Heterotopia can be defined as 'sites of incongruous spatial relations that challenge the dominant space of representation within a society' whose 'meaning is derived from a process of similitude which produces, in an almost magical, uncertain space, monstrous anomalies that unsettle the flow of discourse' (Hetherington, 1996: 157-159). In other words, heterotopia are defined as those areas spatialized outside of the everyday, areas which frame possible dislocations of the social relations of the everyday through unusual juxtapositions of past and present, domestic and institutional, private and public.

Although Hetherington uses the utopics of Foucault's social ordering to make sense of Stonehenge as a museum without walls, I argue that the specific implications of a focus on the ritualized entry ways into heterotopia can begin to contextualize museums and heritage centres as spaces within which we perform and reproduce myriad, often conflicting, identities. Of particular interest is the way in which visitors enter heterotopia only by special permission and after they have made a certain number of gestures (*cf.* Delaney, 1992). Hooper-Greenhill also hints at this with her argument that "'Visitors" are present in a [museum] space by permission; they enter on alien space, akin to someone else's home' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 211). Museums and heritage centres tend to elaborately mark their entrances by combining shops, information desks and signs, multi-media display and specific images distilled from the collections as a whole in order to signal the experience waiting to be consumed once the visitor has been initiated into the space.

The four national museums discussed above all occupy large, institutional buildings built, in the main, during the nineteenth century with an emphasis on façade. Imposing columns, stairways and large doors signal the importance of the museum's public role. Although many writers have borrowed Foucault's ideas about control and surveillance to understand museums as exclusionary institutions, Bennett reminds his readers that in fact museums were built with the intention of their being open, civic spaces (1995). Thus, while it is easy now to see these ornate façades marking a barrier to public access in that the specific architectures correspond with elite spaces, it was intended that museums appear as officially sanctioned public spaces for the cementation of civic and national loyalties.

Although the National Museum of Wales at Cathays Park differs from the other three national museums in that it officially charges entry fees, the spatial logic of its entrance corresponds with that of the other large museums.¹³ As I noted with regard to the British Museum, the visitor enters into a liminal space which is not quite outside, but neither does it display the stuff of the 'insides' of museums. What creates order and meaning in these general, liminal spaces is the linking of nodes of specific consumption, the ubiquitous museum gift shop which 'displays' replica material culture, goods designed to resemble objects from the past and books, with specific information embodied by the information desk. These are distillations of the national museum experience as a whole during which we consume both images of the past in the form of decontextualized material culture and information in the form of interpretative panels,

¹³ It should be noted, however, that 1997 marked a significant point in the issue of entrance charges to the national museums. Present minister for Culture, Chris Smith, announced a last minute funding reprieve which allowed museums such as the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum to delay, at least, the introduction of formalized charges.

knowledge decontextualized from the objects on display. It is only once visitors have physically acknowledged these two loci of power/knowledge relations, those relations set up through capitalist exchange and the seemingly straightforward knowledge promised by the word 'information', that they are allowed into the museum proper to begin to construct and reproduce their own power/knowledge relations through their making individually meaningful contingent stories of the past.

At Celtica, the stress is not on initiating the visitor into a general museum experience but on bringing the visitor into spaces of the Celtic past. However, it is not immediately obvious upon entering the house in Machynlleth, Y Plas, where the spaces of the Celtic lie. The reception area resembles that of a comfortable hotel. The interpretative centre with its replicas and potted histories of the Celtic lands, again presenting the canonized story, is physically marginalized on the top floor whilst what the site brochure describes as the 'highly imaginative concepts and high-tech wizardry' of the exhibition are set off to the rear of the house, sequestered behind imposing black doors through which we can pass only once we have been issued with a specific technology, the infra-red headsets.

Celtica's foyer, however, resembles the liminal spaces of the national museums, although the theme of information as such is not foregrounded in the same way as at the national spaces of the past. This generalized public space forms the focal point of a tripartite construction with a shop and cafe flanking a reception desk so that we can immediately make sense of the experience through familiar nodes of consumption. Rather than inform us as to the contents of the space, the reception desk welcomes us and invites us to browse, to consume at leisure. Here the acquisition of cultural capital, from the buying of both New Age workings of the Celtic theme and academic archaeological tomes through to eating 'traditional' *bara brith* in the cafe¹⁴, is made an explicit goal of the heritage-visiting experience. Cultural capital plays an obvious role in the national museums, too, but there, as within the museums as a whole, different times, spaces and cultures are juxtaposed and offered up as equal consumer goods. At Celtica, because the shop is devoted to the selling of specifically Celtic culture orientated goods, the links between consumption and cultural identity are clearer and the Celtic is embedded in every gesture the visitor makes, although in what way depends, of course, on the individual visitor and whether she or he is visiting the site as a whole, or is just popping in for a gift.

At the open-air sites of Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and the Celtic village at the Museum of Welsh Life at St. Fagans, the entrances into heterotopia are clearly different.

Embodying and signaling our first encounter with the past at Castell Henllys is a life-size plastic mammoth erected by original site owner Hugh Foster (of London Dungeon fame). This sign of the very distant past in the form of a familiar elephant made strange can leave visitors in no doubt that they are about to consume something other. The space of Castell Henllys is complex, however. Although the mammoth marks our first point of entry, the visitor has to complete a number of different gestures at each stage of moving into the site. Once past the car park, visitors must check into the shop where they purchase their entry tickets. Beyond this lies the wood into which visitors must progress before they can reach the central space of the 'lived' Celtic in the reconstructed roundhouse grouping. Although there are a number of spaces devoted to displaying different aspects of life in the past, it is fair to say that the reconstructed domestic space is seen as the goal of the visit, it is what most visitors come to see such that the rest of the site is seen as secondary (*cf.* chapter seven).

At the Museum of Welsh Life, the Celtic village is situated in one of the more overgrown areas of the site, on the margins of a wood, separated from the sixteenth-century mills and modern south Walian terraces, all of which creates an image of 'natural' wildness, a seemingly appropriate environment in which to stage the distant past. Before I can enter the village, I am confronted with an interpretative panel. My engagement with the Celtic village is first framed, then, by the textual assertion that this is how people *would* have lived, a statement supported by the fact that the houses are based on archaeological *evidence*, even though, as I discussed above, that evidence comes from various settlements spread over a vast geographical area and the houses themselves are, at least structurally, so different.

The preliminary textual focus on function, however, is disrupted by the physicality of the village, most especially by the way in which the liminal point of entry is foregrounded as having to do with the ritual or spiritual world. The rubber skull impaled on the gate post marks the way into the site and ties that movement 'into' to its role as a visually simple but thematically rich symbol of everything the site contains. The grouping thus encloses a space in which to engage with many aspects of different Iron Ages yet at the same time reproduces constructions of non-specific Celtic culture.

¹⁴*Bara brith* is a form of fruit cake traditionally associated with Welsh folk life, even though important ingredients include raisins and tea which until the last century or so would have been luxury items, inaccessible to the *gwerin* or, of course, to any inhabitants of Iron Age inhabitants.

Moving through museum spaces and performing identities

National museums play an important role in the construction of both urban and national landscapes and are sites for the performing of visitors' myriad social relations. The importance of these museums to the tourism industry and in the education system, in addition to the ways in which museums are used to represent aspects of national identity suggests that they form landmarks in the wider geography of the heritage of city and nation state. The Museum of Welsh Life at St. Fagans also attempts to represent a coherent national identity, but it is one that exists within and, to an extent, in opposition to, the larger political unit of the UK. Both Celtica and Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort, on the other hand, occupy much smaller communities and thus take on more specific associations such that, at least for outsiders, places become synonymous with, and possibly subsumed by, constructed representations of the past. The subtleties and differences within this will be investigated in chapters seven and eight.

However, before we make intellectual connections which make these sites *meaningful* it is our actual presence in, and movements within, these spaces, our primary awareness of 'being there' in the sense of *Dasein* (Dilman, 1993: 20-27; Heidegger, 1996: 274-308), which embody and shape our identities which then allow us to make 'sense' of what we see. Thus the form and poetics of the museums and heritage centres discussed above, the walls, lighting, walkways and signs frame our experiences and allow us to create and mediate particular landscapes of the past. The physicality of heritage spaces, beyond a simplistic focus on the hegemony of floor plan, becomes the stage upon which we begin to perform an understanding of ourselves and others. Heritage spaces are stages also in the sense that they form spaces distilled out from the everyday, special spaces to which we come to create and negotiate certain social roles in the presence of others.

The notion of museums and heritage centres as theatre is not necessarily a new one, although the focus has been, generally, on the act of curatorial display as performance with visitors as audience. Shanks and Tilley argue that it 'is the rhetorical performance of the museum its *act* of interpretation and persuasive intention which opens up meaning' (1992: 95). More explicitly performance orientated is Crew and Sims assertion that in 'the exhibition site, as in the theater...[a] narrative is being constructed by the audience, whether the exhibition developers like it or not [such that the] space between the object and the label is an active one...' (Crew and Sims, 1990: 173).

The spaces between object and label and ourselves are also active, however. If we think of Proust's remembrance of things past initiated by the sight, smell and touch of the *madeleine*, it is clear that objects and spaces excite our gazes (Merriman, 1991: 110-111) as part of a process

through which we conceive of ourselves. Connerton writes of this in terms of the incorporating practices involved in the ways in which societies remember (1989) whilst Urry specifically foregrounds the role of performance in reminiscence (1996: 54). In fact, concepts of narrative, intelligibility and accountability 'presuppose the applicability of the concept of personal identity, just as it presupposes their applicability and just as indeed each of these three presupposes the applicability of the two others' (MacIntyre, 1996: 549). Put another way, embedded in the very concept of personal identity are elements of performance such that the ways in which heritage spaces are structured around narratives, intelligibility and accountability presuppose formulations of performed identities within the heritage space. As I hope to show in chapter seven, our very presence in the heritage space entails a way of understanding the world and the role of the past in that vision.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have sought to explore the ways in which Celtic culture is constructed and presented in various museums and heritage centres in the UK and Republic of Ireland in order to develop creative ways of understanding the presented past. As Hooper-Greenhill argues, the 'radical potential of material culture, of concrete objects, of real things, of primary sources, is the endless possibility of rereading' (1992: 215). Moreover, if 'a museum is a relationship of cultural interdependence and not a creature of class power' (Fyfe and Ross, 1996: 214) then we need to think beyond the specific texts of heritage to consider issues of space and performance if we are to critique usefully what we see in museums. This has important implications for the presentation of a Celtic past which has such clear ties to contemporary political, cultural and spiritual identities, identities reproduced through performing speech and action.

It is no longer good enough for academic archaeologists to bemoan the continued presentation in heritage spaces of mainstream articulations of a Celtic culture grounded in the Iron Age in terms of it closing down the meanings a lay public can construct from their heritage experiences. However, I do not argue by way of conclusion that we simply accept what we see in these spaces. Perhaps it is more useful to consider the issues separately. If we accept that what archaeologists do is to present the past – that implicit in presenting the past is making the past present – then museum work is as much archaeological practice as is the attempt to understand community relations through the creation of an archaeological record. There is, then, little excuse for museums to continue presenting (again in its double connotation) the material culture of prehistory as Celtic.

Standing in relation to, but not subsumed by, the practices of the producers of museum knowledges are the performances of identity which people enact within the spaces of heritage. Once we understand that museum visiting is a far more complex phenomenon than can be summed up by articulated desires to 'find out about the past', we can explore how people activate what they see and perhaps find better ways to creatively link production and consumption that avoid reducing the heritage experience to a simplistic top-down relationship.

In the next chapter I look at more overt forms of consuming the past as cultural capital – at the commercial, market-driven aspects of appropriating objects to our own subjectivity. Museum shops, outlets such as Past Times, bookshops and the like all market objects designed to signal some allegiance to the past and are intimately connected with the ways in which people use heritage to think with which carries the museum experience outside of the institutional spaces of performance into the everyday of the domestic, a transformation of the public into the private.

HERITAGE SHOPPING

Our location in the rugged, mysterious beauty of Orkney provides inspiration for our designers, who have created a completely new collection of Celtic jewellery. Based on authentic designs, our new Celtic Collection incorporates traditions rooted in the origins of Celtic art. These traditional designs were used as long ago as the 4th century, when Scotland was a predominantly Celtic nation.

Ortak Jewellery Brochure, 1994.

Instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing heritage, a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everybody is eager to sell, in particular those cultural institutions that can no longer rely on government funds as they did in the past.

Hewison, 1987: 9

Introduction

The transformation of economic capital into cultural capital is perhaps the most overt form of our consumption associated with our visiting of heritage spaces. Tourism and the buying of what can be loosely termed as 'souvenirs' are intimately connected with both archaeo-historical documentary television watching and with visiting the spaces and places of Celtic heritage. In this chapter I turn to the material culture of heritage and its relationship with notions of tourism and leisure in order to ask whether it is through the purchasing of postcards, books, jewellery and any number of miscellaneous articles which make visual reference to the past that people mark their presence in places to cement their consumption of images on television and in the spaces of heritage into a concrete, meaning-full, talisman, the acquisition of which is integral to identity formation (*cf.* Miller, 1995). By way of setting the scene for late twentieth-century 'heritage shopping' as part of the act of engaging with heritage media, I return to the specificity of Wales to detail the growth of heritage-related tourism there.

Some sense of archaeology is implicit in a plethora of tourist and leisure pursuits, and is acknowledged by tourism agencies as a vital factor in attracting visitors to areas and attractions. Here I discuss the material culture of heritage, the items and books sold every year at heritage sites, museums and commercial shops which deal in images of the past. Although 'this sort of shopping, a kind of atmospheric looting in search of magic and history, is not new [in that] heritage shopping and the souvenir trawl were essential components of the 18th century Grand Tour' (York, 1994: 2), it is only since the 1930s, with the advent of mass car ownership and the intensification of production in an increasingly global market that tourism and the souvenir industries have become broadly significant consumption practices. Interwar tourism and the

newly organized promotion of place and culture thus provide a useful context through which to interrogate contemporary heritage consumption practices.

Consumption

The shops in heritage spaces foreground the role of overt consumption in visitor engagements with the past. As a site at which the archaeo-cultural threads of the heritage experience come together, the shop contextualizes the informative components of the experience. It spatializes social relations involving attitudes towards the past, present, culture, ethnicity and the pursuit of both knowledge and leisure in the late twentieth century and transforms the heritage 'experience' into one of many, equal leisure pursuits.¹ These spaces are also significant spaces in which to negotiate identities through consumption practices (Jackson and Thrift, 1995: 229). The availability of replica material culture allows visitors some contact with the past, while at the same time it satisfies a desire to possess what was seen and to lay personal claim to the past through the pound.

Objects are three dimensional containers of socially constituted memory (*cf.* Samuel, 1994). Human cultures have always invested them, or, more specifically, the acquisition, possession and passing on of objects, with the power to reproduce or dislocate social relations. Although arguments over the functionality versus ritual import of objects continues to dog archaeological practice, numerous anthropological and archaeological writings have pointed to one of the few human universals: the meaningful constitution of the object world around us (*cf.* Appadurai, 1986; Braithwaite, 1982; Douglas, 1992; Mauss, 1954; Shanks and Tilley, 1987; 1992 and many others too numerous to mention.).

Daniel Miller has crystallized some of the more recent concerns regarding the importance of consumption in social relations by defining consumption as the vanguard of history, hailing it as a useful return to the grand narrative (1995a). I touched on consumption issues in chapter three in my discussion of archaeo-historic documentary but in this chapter I come up against actual objects which are consumed within overtly capitalist relations. Of specific relevance is Miller's statement that consumption 'is simply a process of objectification – that is, a use of goods and services in which the object or activity becomes simultaneously a practice in the world and a form in which we construct our understandings of ourselves in the world' (Miller, 1995a: 30). Of course, the consumption of goods in a system of monetary exchange is only one mode in which

we appropriate the world of things to our subjectivity. Heritage shopping is, thus, a different practice to the watching of television documentaries or to visiting the spaces of heritage, but it is also an intimately related complex act of consuming 'pastness'. Although this process is ambivalent and often contradictory, old arguments about the relative positive or negative nature of consumption fail to acknowledge that faith in some 'pure' self (that is, the possibility of a late twentieth-century Western self autonomous of contingent capitalist relations) is part of the lingering legacy of modernism (*cf.* Cahoon, 1996).

Consumption should not, then, be opposed to authenticity (Miller, 1995a: 24) for if there is no stable, distinct, interior self, then identity can be understood as being negotiated through relationships of surfaces, of which participation in the market place is but one aspect (*ibid.*: 25; *cf.* Gregory, 1993: 284-292). These surfaces bring the materiality of material culture back into focus to remind us of the 'thingness' of things within the reproduction of social relations. Yet in terms of the material culture of heritage, some idea of the authentic (beyond the mere authenticity of being) continues to circulate through consumption practices in that, as I will show below, marketing emphasis is always on fealty to past design traditions and the ways in which people in the past made use of things. This is especially so with jewellery, decorative objects and traditions outlined in books. This chapter's opening quotation from the Orkney catalogue uses the words 'authentic', 'traditions' and 'traditional' and its location in the Orkney Islands to suggest an overall cultural authenticity, although at the same time it foregrounds the newness of the collection. Tensions between claims to archaeo-historic authenticity and unproblematic appreciations of goods such as Celtic warrior embossed erasers and PVC money pouches or wool/acrylic mix Celtic socks are central to how we understand the past in the present. Focusing on the 'inauthenticity' of the heritage industry denies the validity of consumption and neglects to take into account the myriad uses people make of commodified pasts.

However, I am not asserting that hypercapitalism is, in essence, a particularly liberating pursuit, although Samuel makes much of the heritage industry democratizing access to the making of history and identity (1994). It is a question of how we consume, what meaning that consumption takes on and the relationships among circumstances of production and consumption. The 'acknowledgement of consumption need not detract from the critique of inequality and exploitation' (Miller 1995a: 21), as consumption and capitalism can not be conflated. Although the consuming of material images of the past allows visitors to lay claim to aspects of the past as their own, the possibilities are limited because that consumer 'choice' is,

¹ With the explosion of the heritage industry, more 'traditional' museums and heritage centres are facing competition from safari parks; even garden centres are now seen as valid destinations for

ultimately, determined by marketers and producers who make and promote only a restricted range of material culture, in the same way that the marketing of place is contingent. The consumer, as opposed to producer, has only a secondary relationship to goods (ibid.: 17). As a certain culmination of our engagement with the past within 'leisure pursuits', the shopping experience or, at the very least, the possibility of a shopping experience frames any meaningful encounter with material culture within a hyper-modern way of being.

Tourism and a Celtic past

Implicated in heritage-related consumption practices is the growth of tourism and the imagining and re-imagining of place (cf. Duncan and Ley, 1993; Goss, 1996). From George Borrow's nineteenth-century descriptions of Wild Wales (1862), often taken as the benchmark travel itinerary through to the late twentieth-century marketing of heritage by the Wales Tourist Board, a particularly archaeological landscape grounded in the sedimentary layering of a specifically Celtic antiquity has characterized the writing of Wales as a place to come to from the outside: a 'beautiful empty space' (Lord, 1994: 154). The Wales Tourist Board's policy document, *Tourism 2000* (1994) singles out heritage-related activities as the single-most important issue for prospective tourists, both domestic and foreign, and certainly, as evidenced in the previous two chapters, specifically Celtic heritage is foregrounded in Wales. Here I want to outline the intensification of tourism during the interwar period in Wales, its 'wild' hills traditionally seen as the domain of the Ancient Briton (cf. Borrow, 1862). Perceptions of landscape originating in the Picturesque movement of the eighteenth century became tied in with both travel and heritage (cf. Andrews, 1989), with the terrains of Wales and the Lake District in particular corresponding to William Gilpin's aesthetic strictures of appropriate scenes for Picturesque painting (1792). Gruffudd argues that travel writing came to mediate the relationship between artistic theory and the natural world and from thence aesthetic, moral and social virtues were conflated in a combination of awe inspiring beauty, nobility and tradition (1994b: 247-248).²

However, travel writing should not be understood solely as regressive Romanticism. As will become apparent, the Celticized archaeological gaze of many writers during this century certainly signalled an historical reproduction of ideas about the Celtic 'fringes' as being somehow

the proverbial day out as we shall see in chapter seven.

²In fact, during the late eighteenth century around fifty tour books of Wales were published and an article on Wales appeared in each issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* during the 1780s and 1790s, although previously the country's merits had attracted very little attention indeed (Gruffudd, 1994b: 248).

lost in the 'mists of time'. Clearly, however, travel writers themselves were and are situated within a broader, yet historically specific, complex of social relations within Britain as a whole. In fact, the interwar travel writers to be discussed below were actively engaged in, and inspired by, the geographies and archaeologies practised within the universities in Wales for the first half of this century, the legacy of which continues today. Eiluned and Peter Lewis went so far as to acknowledge the contributions of both H. J. Fleure and Sir Cyril Fox in their book *The Land of Wales* (1937). Fleure was an Aberystwyth-based geographer who developed influential theories of identity and race grounded in the landscape of Wales, ideas taken up enthusiastically by both Fox and Iowerth Peate at the National Museum in Cardiff. The influence of the Aberystwyth geographers was carried forward most notably by Emrys Bowen who arrived at the University College in 1920, joined the staff in 1929, and wrote at least two joint papers with Fleure (Bowen, 1976). Bowen began publishing his studies of the 'Celtic' saints in Wales in 1936 and drew these together in his influential book on the settlement of 'Celtic' saints (Bowen, 1954).

Hence, while it is possible to read in this century's travel writing about Wales near-identical descriptions of mysterious Welsh Celts inhabiting a landscape mapped by the remains of the ancestors, we need to move beyond simple excavation of these symbols of Welshness to practise an archaeology of sorts. If identity can be understood as being negotiated through relationships of surfaces (see above), then it is appropriate that I focus here on the terrain of Celticized dolmens and hillforts which punctuate the traveller's map of Wales, the physical manifestations of which are carried home as 'souvenirs'.

We can locate the origins of the widespread consumption of the material remains of Wales' past in the interwar growth of car ownership, the generalization of leisure, paid holidays and the birth of Butlins holiday camps in 1936. All of these changes allowed holidays in the 'Celtic West' to become more accessible to people throughout Britain (*cf.* Herbert and Jones, 1988).³ Also at this time, the geographical writings of H. J. Fleure became central to the active construction of a vision of a Celticized past that provided both an ancient pedigree for current myths of nation and an oddly modern blueprint for the future of Welsh cultural production (1923a; b; 1926). These 'moral geographies' developed by H. J. Fleure, Cyril Fox and Iowerth

³By 1938, there were 55,000 privately owned cars in south Wales and 21,000 in the north, numbers which greatly exceeded the number of families earning more than ten pounds a week, which suggests that even modestly middle class families were making allowances for car ownership and travel (Herbert and Jones, 1988: 57). Such increased tourism, although a cause for deep academic concern in Wales, suited the needs of the Government's Special Areas Commission which, with the declaration of Wales as a Special Area in 1934 under the Special Areas Act, sought ways in which to alleviate economic hardship by sponsoring plans for original business ventures. To this

Peate, and usefully explored elsewhere by Gruffudd (1994a; b; 1995), crystallized a modern Utopian Wales in an archaeological landscape embodying national culture.

Specific intersections of tourism, academic practice, and ideas of modernity in Wales, embodied in the automotive entering of archaeological spaces, served to reinforce the centrality of a Celticized Welsh landscape in 'official' Welsh culture.⁴ Upon asking the questions 'Where does Wales begin', English interwar travel writer, H. V. Morton, was told: 'your front wheels are in Wales ... and your back wheels are in England' (Morton, 1932: 16). Wales existed only through the marking of its roads with the inky traces of engine oil, whose own origins in the chthonic depths serve the story well. A sanctioned, 'official' Welsh culture was given form through this very modern mapping of its landscape. This charting of ineffable Welshness was to become an *aide mémoire* in the art of remembering the nation (Connerton, 1989).

Characterizing the narratives of travel to Wales (whether by rail or car) is a certain conflation of the temporal and spatial. Morton's geo-vehicular schizophrenia was reflected in his belief that the divide between Welsh and English cultures could become tangible in the moving form of the automobile. An echo of this sentiment comes in Eiluned and Peter Lewis's assertion that 'the traveller who buys a ticket at Paddington or Euston should be warned that he is about to travel backwards as well as westwards, for Wales is a storehouse of the past' (1937: 1-2). Such early references to the temporal and spatial travelling afforded by modernity (embodied by both rail and automobile) not only contextualize the story of Wales through the story of Wales through the physical means of moving between places, but also transform Wales into something to possess and transect. There is the suggestion of a certain belief in the ascendancy of modernity and of its capacity to define and contain the past. As the Lewises remark: 'probably the Britons whom Caesar saw gesticulating on the cliffs of Kent were using much the same vocabulary as the porters who to-day hurry to meet the excursion trains at holiday times in Wales' (ibid.: 5).

Mechanized travel foregrounds the tensions between past and present, between here and there: the 'juxtaposition of the leafy land and the railroad track concisely counterposes the natural and the technological and the garden and the machine (Seltzer, 1992: 17). While this also applies to the motor car, the distance between the traveller and the panoramic view differs in that situation. The visible stretch of tarmac ahead, together with the walls and hedges on either side of the car windows disrupts the simple binary relationship of garden and machine. None the less,

end, in 1937 the Commission spoke cautiously, but seriously, about encouraging tourism to the valleys, which had always been perceived as remote and inaccessible (Morgan, 1981: 226).

⁴ By official I mean here Welsh cultural expressions and productions with high public profile, including public- and private-sector funded arts, heritage, museum and tourism organizations operating, to some extent, in the name of Wales as a whole.

the panoramas in perspective seen through the glass frames of the windows of both the railway carriage and automobile 'reduce motion to the shift of the gaze, and the shift of the gaze reduces landscape to "scenery" and to the cinematographic illusionism of the *trompe l'oeil*' (ibid.: 18).

Some of these constructed tensions between nature and culture, between past and present and between the authentic and inauthentic have been recognized from early on. Eiluned and Peter Lewis had an ambivalent relationship with both the notion of travel in Wales and with issues of modernism. In a passage on cromlechs, they suggest the travellers 'motoring through any of the seaside counties, should abandon their cars and trudge across the wet fields to where these stone monsters crouch on the upland slopes' (Lewis and Lewis, 1937: 3). Although the automobile, by allowing access to the place, makes the experience possible, its juxtaposition with ancient monuments proved jarring and is, ultimately, rejected. I suggest that such tensions evident in early travel writing are central to the various ways in which we all consume the past. Both tourism and heritage shopping bring us uncomfortably close to having to acknowledge the real fluidity of narratives of archaeo-history and our own roles in writing those narratives.

Today, the marketing of Wales is ever increasingly focused around heritage-related activities which, in turn, are informed by academic practice. At the same time, tourism is still 'highly dependent on the motor car' (Wales Tourist Board, 1994: vi). The rural and the urban, the industrial and the pastoral and, indeed, ideas surrounding Celt and Saxon meet in the nexus of automotive travel; we penetrate this feminized landscape (feminized because it has been Celticized) with our cars, in all of their Freudian connotations and links with what Arnold described as the masculine logic of the Anglo-Saxons (*cf.* chapter two). I turn now to explore three important motifs in the travel writing of Wales before the foundation of the Wales Tourist Board in the mid-1960s, motifs which may still be identified in present-day travel narratives to all the so-called Celtic countries. Modern-day Celts are written into being as somehow existing in a time and space that is neither past nor present.

Ethnic Celts

One of the most prevalent images used in the literature of travel to Wales is that of the Welsh as 'tribal' – the well-worn, anthropological definition for the tribe being a 'group of (primitive) clans under a recognized chief and usually claiming common ancestors' (*The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1976). By 'ethnic Celts' I refer to the ways in which travel narratives employ the 'tribal' as a fixed, essential identity. A normative, biological definition of the tribe is activated whereby difference does not exist in the space between the writer and the written about, but in the subjects themselves. Celtic Wales becomes naturalized through being anthropologically described as a

place of difference. Through their reading and use of these texts, visitors to Wales remap the country in ethnic terms.

H. V. Morton's *In Search of* series was published by Methuen and originally serialized in the *Daily Herald*. Morton became one of the best known and most widely read travel writers in Britain. This was perhaps due in part to Morton's documented insistence that his book prices be kept low so that a wide audience would have access to them; certainly, by the early 1940s, Morton's *In Search of* series for England, Ireland and Scotland had sold over 280,000 copies (information provided by Methuen).

In Search of Wales was first published in 1932 and was reviewed in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Although Morton was criticized for not being 'fully alive to the differences between the Welshmen of North and South,...unlike other Englishmen who, of recent years, have described an itinerary in the Principality, Mr. Morton clearly visualizes the country as "tribal territory"' and 'he tries to eschew the English superficialities in Wales ... to concentrate upon its individuality as the last stronghold of the retreating Briton' (1932: 431). Indeed, rather than erase cultural differences between the English and the Welsh, Morton states categorically that 'I suppose the first thing to realize about the Welsh is that they are not really Welsh at all. They are the real Britons' (1932: 8). He goes on to argue that 'it is a general rule that in any country which has known invasion you will find the older races in the mountains and the younger and more vigorous races on the good, flat farmlands which they have stolen from the original owners' (ibid.). It is through the visualizing of the Welsh as tribal that Morton defines Wales as a place of difference and, more particularly, of antiquity: 'Snowdon is haunted by both Merlin and Arthur' (144); and one can 'recognize the hill-men of to-day as the tribal Britons of yesterday' (268); while the mountains serve as barriers to change and harbour 'old memories, old beliefs, old habits, and unaltered ways' (ibid.).

Morton's descriptions of the tribal Welsh are in striking parallel with H. J. Fleure's visualization of the uplands of Wales harbouring 'old ways and old types' (Fleure, 1923a: 233) and echo Fox's archaeological interpretation of Wales' prehistory in *The Personality of Britain* (1932). The English writer, Edmund Vale, writes of the 'short, dark type of Welshman' in whom we see the 'bright, flashing eyes, and singularly inscrutable smile' of the probable 'ancient owners of the land in honour of whose sires the cromlechs were erected (Vale, 1935: 160). However, the corollary of seeing in the landscape the roots of Welsh culture is that of seeing the construction of Wales as unchanging and timeless. Vale for example, conflates the cromlechs dotting the Welsh landscape with the people of Wales, arguing that the 'Celt does not alter within so brief a span in Celtic time as two millenniums (*sic*)' (168).

I suggest that visions of the timeless and unchanging Celtic tribe serve to naturalize what are defined as particularly Celtic cultural practices. Morton packages a telescoped past and present:

It is still surely a great romance that thousands of men, women and children use to-day words that would probably be understood by Boadicea and King Arthur (1932: 19).

And Lewis and Lewis write of the 'old Celtic spirit' welling up when the Welsh are confronted by visiting strangers: their 'love poetry and a tune, well-spoken words and talk of friends will keep [them] well content' (1937: 70). This grounding of a monolithic Welsh tribal culture in the tourist landscape was also employed to facilitate claims that the Celts were racially 'pure'. While climbing Dinas Brân Morton signals his familiarity with the contemporary geographical and archaeological discourses in a passage worth quoting at length:

A labourer passed me on his way down...he was a sallow, good-looking fellow...a pure-blooded Iberian, the very man who occupied England and Wales when the Romans came. I suppose the dark Welshman is the purest-bred individual in Great Britain (1932: 21).

The political potential of this supposed racial purity of the Welsh, openly articulated within the universities, drove the narratives of numerous travel writers throughout the interwar period and after. Rhys Davies echoes the political optimism of Fleure and Fox by addressing the awkward juxtaposition of Wales' past and present where:

A country which has never contained more than two and a half million people cannot be considered nowadays as of influential status in a political sense. Sewn on, so to speak, like a patch of different material to England's robe of state. Wales nevertheless has marvellously succeeded in retaining its own texture and colour. Indeed, the very fact that this country is too small to intrude very far into the world's affairs has been probably the means by which it has preserved its ancient traditions and individuality (Davies, 1943: 7).

Later, English writer, S. P. B. Mais, repeated the idea that despite its proximity to England, Wales is in essence wholly different: they 'remain a race apart in spite of the fact that, unlike Ireland, they have not yet achieved a separate Government' (Mais, 1949: 17).

Emphasis on racial purity is not straightforward, however, and should not be conflated with the eugenic fixation with pure race that contemporaneously typified far right views in politics. There was a continuing belief in Britain that what made the English great was in fact the mixing of blood and cultural characteristics through generations of invasion (Lowenthal, 1991: 208; Trigger, 1989: 167-68). Thus, in the popular narrative of British Empire, Celts were defined as inferior because of their relative purity. A further implication, of course, is that this inferiority

was also gendered as feminine in contrast to the masculine 'militarism, philistinism, utilitarianism, rationalism, artificiality and industrial urbanism' of the English (Sims-Williams, 1986: 72; see also chapter two of this dissertation). If, as Morton claimed, 'the mystic and poetic qualities of the Welsh have been engendered, and developed, by the changing moods of the mountains' (1932: 268), then I would suggest that the very geography of Wales becomes mapped as feminine (*cf.* Nash, 1993 on Ireland).

Thus we find that not only are the Welsh perceived to be Celts whose very nature is grounded in an archaeological landscape, but that the very purity which enables the travel writer to perceive the Welsh as distinct is also a purity which ensures that the Welsh are inferior. This inferiority is, in turn, reproduced by the always already gendering of Welsh culture as feminine. The price of Celtic purity in Wales is, thus, the loss of national free will for:

The Saxon mind will endure any amount of idealism as long as it ends in practical success. The Celtic mind, on the other hand, adores a sad ending to a story and is often liable to idealise failure (Morton, 1932: 35).

Yet this ancient race was not universally perceived as a storehouse of vital cultural energy as both Fleure and Fox had argued. S. P. B. Mais, for example writes:

...we overtook a very old man with leggings hobbling along with a walking stick in close conversation with a wizened old lady with a basket...Time seemed to stand still. We were on a height overlooking range upon range of burnished moorland. We could see about half of Wales but not the sign of a house, much less of a village. We came to an upland moorland that had been stripped of its old trees leaving only a bare scarecrow of a blasted oak here and there (1949: 75).

This seemingly sublime tableau of an ageing culture signals a sense of the past as holding no hope, no vitality. It is Fleure's and Fox's dream soured.

Passionate pasts

Whether celebrated as modern or cast as backward looking, an ethnic Wales rooted in the past was central to making Wales an attractive commodity for the traveller. Certainly, apparent gendered racial characteristics may easily be developed into a reading of the travel writer as desiring the 'unknown':

Wales is a beautiful and romantic land...Its people, like all Celts, are a queer, extreme mixture of idealism and materialism, of recklessness and caution, of vanity and humility. They are quick and sensitive, and passionate with a passion that is almost Latin (Morton, 1932: 268).

Vale also cites passion, bound up in notions of race and history, as a distinguishing characteristic of the Welsh in that they

believe in the past passionately. They love to think of it, and talk about it...It is quite clear that the Welsh have memory links with races of other tongues and nationalities who were in their country before them (Vale, 1935: 41).

This is later overtly connected with ideas surrounding the Celtic as the observed culture is seen to be the result of a 'profound mixture of sepulchre, sea, and sunset' (ibid.: 154). Similarly, Tudor Edwards writes of a contemporary painter that 'his opulent, robust colour, his symbolism and sensuousness of line are in the Celtic tradition' (1950: 60), highlighting the link between the emotions and images of a feminine, Celtic Wales.

Like Morton and Vale, Eiluned and Peter Lewis emphasize an archaeo-historic Wales which is tied into a particularly emotional response to the world, in which a sense of heritage and historicity provides an antidote for the modern industry which made this Celtic enclave accessible in the first place. The *Mabinogion* provides insights into the cromlechs, in that 'we catch a glimpse, through medieval eyes, of immensely remote events that happened long before they were written down, told with the wild beauty, the natural magic and teeming fancy of the Celtic mind' (Lewis and Lewis, 1937: 7-8), just under thirty years earlier than Jackson's suggestions for a 'window on the Iron Age' (Jackson, 1964). Rhys Davies claims that for the Welsh the 'fabulous presence of King Arthur ruled over their dreams' which were 'nourishment to fighters who, beyond their pauses into Celtic mysticism, never accepted defeat' (1943: 11) whilst the Lewises claim that to 'the Cymry and the pure Kelt the past is at their elbows continually' (Lewis and Lewis, 1937: 20).

The past is a foreign country

Morton's description above of an almost Latin Celtic passion not only conjures up Cyril Fox's descriptions of Spanish Silurians colonizing lowland Wales (1932), it is also telling in the light of Morton's frequent use of images of the 'foreign' with reference to Wales. He writes that these 'ancient Britons were ... much more foreign, even more dangerous, than Frenchmen or Italians' (1932: 105). The cockle women of Penclawdd on the Gower peninsula (Figure 5.1) are described as a 'Bedouin tribe' (ibid.: 231), while their daily harvesting of the shellfish is seen to take 'place in the dawn of history' (ibid.: 230). Again, time and space are telescoped, with the otherness of these women cast adrift and the specific realities of their everyday life-styles denied. Morton has to locate these cockle women within the familiar discourse of the 'exotic' in order to position his text within the genre of travel writing.



Figure 5.1 *The cockle women of Penclawdd (Morton, 1932).*

To ensure these women exist as a consumable image of pastness and foreignness, Morton develops the Oriental motifs whereby the cockle women become 'like Arabs on the hind-quarters of their patient steeds', protecting themselves from the wind 'just as the Arab protects himself from the sand of the desert'; later they return from their work in 'tribal disarray' (ibid.: 231-232).

Lewis and Lewis also draw parallels between the Celt and Oriental. They link cromlechs with the rock-cut tombs of the Mediterranean and megaliths of Africa, while describing 'the pure Kelt' as being 'hospitable to teach the Arab a lesson' (1937: 20). In fact, they argue that 'there is something eastern in the soul of Wales, something that came with the cromlechs and has lingered in the hills', that 'to listen to the preacher's *hwyl* in a Welsh chapel is to hear the echo of the muezzin from the minaret' (1937: 113). Vale's own reference to the 'singularly inscrutable smile' of the Welsh (Chinese, Japanese, Arab, and Indian) reinforces this conflation of the occidental and oriental 'other' (1935: 160).

The travel writing discussed above is relevant to this chapter in several ways. First, it should not have escaped the reader's attention that there is striking similarity between the writing of twentieth-century Welsh Celts and the Greek and Roman ethnographies discussed in chapter one. Indeed, the travel writing discussed here forms part of a long tradition of 'writing the other' (cf. Clifford and Marcus, 1986), of appropriating other peoples' differences to the situated subjectivity of the author and his or her readers. It is also further evidence of the violent subsuming of non-European cultures (specifically those of the east) to the Western intellect in what Said masterfully outlined as a project of Orientalism (1978).

Secondly, the mass consumption of travel writing which began in the interwar period represents just one aspect of 'heritage shopping'. Travel writing about Wales throughout the twentieth century has used ideas concerning Wales' Celtic antiquity as a structure around which to write best-selling books, books sold to people either before or after their own odysseys of archaeo-historic consumption. And the situation in Wales is not restricted only to Wales. Morton's *In Search of* series certainly shares many of the motifs discussed already. However, as the most accessible 'Celtic' country for the majority of the British population, their travels through Wales, their consumption of the travel guides and black and white postcards of cromlechs came to define, to an important extent, the leisure-orientated consumption of objectified archaeo-historic narratives (heritage media) throughout Britain.

Thirdly, and this is where I move on to discuss other forms of an overtly commodified consumption of heritage media, I suggest that these books were central to the transformation of the Welsh Celt of the Romantics into a mass-produced image to be printed on to T-shirts,

bookmarks and mugs. Certainly, many images in these books, such as the view of Harlech Castle overlooking Tremadog bay, were widely circulated as postcards, and later transferred on to every imaginable prosaic object big enough to be screen printed. Just as Thompson writes of 'the thrill of piecing history together from these pillars, abbeys, earthworks and prehistoric remains' (1937: 250), the physical remains of valuing that past – that material culture available for purchase at the now ubiquitous site shop – are also good to think.

Images of the past

During the 1960s, those in charge of the conservation and management of a variety of heritage spaces began to become more aware of the importance of consumption in heritage activities. In papers held at the Public Records Office at Kew, WORK 59-60 contain documents pertaining to ancient monuments and historic buildings. The *Reports on Sales and Attendances at Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings* indicates that by 1960 visitors were paying nearly as much for guidebooks and postcards as they paid in admission whilst in 1961, sales revenue doubled that taken from admission at Avebury Museum. And in the *Chief Information Officer's Report on Presentation Activities: Period 1st April-30th September, 1963* it is claimed that 'the demand for visitors to be able to buy some form of souvenir gets stronger each year'.

Of particular note is the importance of postcard sales at archaeo-historic heritage spaces. In 1959, 109,040 postcards were sold at Stonehenge alone, in third place behind Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London. An extensive correspondence between R. W. B. Howarth, Chief Information Officer for Ancient Monuments, and the General Post Office about the possibility of setting up post boxes and stamp machines at sites such as Stonehenge contextualizes this information. On 29 November, 1960, Howarth writes: 'I am sending you a list of our monuments giving the attendances for the past few years and you will see that at some of them the sale of postcards is really a very big business'. Although at this point the General Post Office felt that they could not adequately control postal deliveries and security, by 1963 they suggest making available special postmarks to encourage tourism. In a letter to Caerffili Council, they acknowledge Ancient Monuments as important 'tourist attractions'. By 1964 W. A. Shepherd of the Post Office had endorsed special postal markings arguing that it 'encourages the sale of postcards and spreads knowledge of our historical sites around the world'.

Unfortunately, due to the vast numbers sold, heritage spaces now tend not to keep track of the numbers and types of postcards sold in their shops, although perhaps this points to the ubiquitous position of postcards within tourism and leisure. Helen O'Sullivan, Sales Officer at

Celtica could tell me only that in the past year the centre had sold somewhere in the neighbourhood of 4,000 postcards and that the collection is split equally between postcards which show Machynlleth and the surrounding area and those which show features of the exhibition. Although the centre holds no data on individual cards, O'Sullivan told me that the most popular postcard in the exhibition series was one which showed the farmhouse, the one scene in the Celtica exhibition in which visitors are surrounded by reproductions of the everyday lives of Celts and have the scene explained to them by a live actor. Shop managers at the British Museum and National Museum of Wales Cathays Park however explained the absence of specific sales records with the statement that 'they're only postcards' and as such, are not considered important enough to keep track of.

However, I suggest that postcards are potentially rich sources of information about the ways in which images of the past are consumed. They are inexpensive markers of the visitor's presence in these spaces of the past and more generally, they mark the visitor's presence in the places in which heritage spaces are located. To more fully ascertain the role postcard buying and sending plays in the negotiation of identity we need to begin looking at whether or not most postcards are kept or posted and which images are more likely to fall in either group – at how people actually use them. Postcards allow for the possession of images of things seen inside the heritage space. They also mark the consumption and circulation of cultural capital, to signify to others what we enjoy doing on holiday and the sorts of activities that we value. On a very basic level, sending postcards says something about the sender, receiver and the relationship they share and the design of the postcard itself can be used to reproduce or dislocate that particular relationship.

The Andover Museum of the Iron Age (*cf.* chapter four) was the only museum I have researched to compile detailed sales figures that they were willing to make available to me. However, because the Andover Museum of the Iron Age focuses specifically on the archaeology of the Iron Age by using the high profile site of Danebury to describe a general British Iron Age, consumption practices there are unlikely to be clouded by the competing museum themes organized in the bigger national museums discussed in chapter four.

A total of 1,089 postcards were sold at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age gift shop over the period April 1993 through to April 1994 (Table 5.1). Postcards showing an aerial view of the Danebury site are the most popular, making up 23% of all postcard sales. The Celtic warrior, the official museum logo emblazoned on many of the goods for sale at the museum, follows at 17% whilst Iron Age coinage is the least popular postcard at only 3% of total sales. Although during the first three months of the fiscal year the 'Celtic field' postcards were not in stock, they

make up 14% of the postcard total and thus should be included in the group of the most popular postcards sold.

Andover Museum of the Iron Age <i>Postcard sales: April 1993–April 1994</i>		
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Celtic warrior	188	17%
Bone combs	98	9%
Street scene	62	6%
Burial room	62	6%
Celtic head	63	6%
Iron Age coins	31	3%
Celtic field	155	14%
Danebury (green)	177	16%
Danebury	253	23%
Total	1089	100%

Table 5.1 *Sales figures for postcards sold at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age, April 1993–April 1994.*

I would suggest that these postcard sales point to the importance of perceptions of bounded landscapes as place in the heritage/leisure experience. Landscapes as socialized, bounded visions of the world around us have been implicit in tourist practices ever since tourist practices became identifiable as such during the eighteenth century. Originally used solely in artistic contexts associated with Burke's theories of the Sublime and Gilpin's Picturesque (1792), landscapes, through the relationships between the growing popularity of landscape painting and the tourism which provided would-be artists with access to the Picturesque, came to be conflated with specific physical surroundings. Non-urban spaces were subsumed increasingly within an aesthetic sensibility, displacing experience with gaze (*cf.* Bender, 1994; Lowenthal, 1991:213 *ff.*; Shields, 1991; Urry, 1990).

Ideas of landscape are structured by the presupposition of a closed system, that a landscape is somehow whole and complete and says something through that, whereas clearly, we make our physical surroundings meaningful through delineating it as landscape. Tourist gazes (Urry, 1990) now construct 'views' which are contingent, bounded segments of the world and are reflected in the ubiquitous amateur 'snapshots' and in the 'views' which dominate postcard sales at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age. Could this mean that the specifics of the Iron Age are subsumed within more general tourist concerns of marking their practices by 'possessing' landscapes? What must also be considered are the links among artistic gazes, archaeology and the aerial photograph, so important in postcard views, especially those Andover best sellers. In particular, the artist Alan Sorrell (Figure 5.2), friend of archaeologists Cyril Fox and O. G. S. Crawford and contributor to Rhys Davies' *The Story of Wales* (1943), was heavily influenced by the flattening out of perspective in aerial photography which corresponded with modernism's dislocation of representation (cf. Mellor, 1987).

Supplying heritage

As Samuel has noted (cf. 1994), the marketing and consumption of consumer goods designed to call up images of the past has grown dramatically over the past quarter of a century. Crabtree and Evelyn's Victoriana soaps and powders and the commercial appeal of Ye Olde Sweete Shoppes and 'just like granny used to make' are familiar to the point of cliché. Based in Oxfordshire, Past Times (Historical Collections Group Plc) is a high profile chain of heritage-oriented shops which sells everything from 'Edwardian gnomes' to 'Baroque verdigris fountains' and 'Gothic garden furniture'. It is too easy to indulge in academic smugness when confronted with this sort of pastiche, however it should be considered that Past Times is a significant locale for the consumption of cultural capital. Set up almost a decade ago, in the past three years the company has nearly doubled its number of outlets, which now stands at sixty-five throughout the UK. The company is the major national outlet for 'fine and unusual historic gifts and garden accessories' and signifies its role by incorporating a penannular brooch in its logo (Figure 5.3).

Beyond archaeological plans which rely on historical evidence for their construction, the Past Times collection is categorized into specific historical periods: Celtic, Roman, Viking, Medieval, Tudor and Stuart, Georgian, Victorian, Arts and Crafts and the 20th century. The items



Figure 5.2 Alan Sorrell's imaginative reconstruction drawing of Caerwent, based on aerial photography.

Figure 5.3 Past Times logo.

Beyond miscellaneous goods which call on historically situated decorative motifs, the Past Times collection is categorized into specific historical periods: Celtic, Roman, Viking, Medieval, Tudor and Stuart, Georgian, Victorian, Arts and Crafts and Fin de Siècle. The Celtic section of the Summer 1994 catalogue offers a 'Celtic Cat' brooch and earrings; Celtic silver ring; Celtic wool jumper; Celtic mini cards; Celtic wool socks; Kells silver jewellery; Miniature Book of Kells; interlaced knotwork jewellery; and Celtic lion keyring (Figure 5.4). The text boxes which describe each photographed piece refer to 'the traditional Celtic motif of interlaced knotwork' and to the Celts as 'master metalworkers, marrying fluid natural forms to intricate geometric patterns' (Past Times, Summer 1994: 28–29). At the Edinburgh branch I visited (Frederick Street) I also found spiral motif mugs and bookmarks, Celtic appliqué books, Bob Stewart and John Matthew's *Legendary Britain* (1989), and Frank Delaney's *The Celts*, which is based on the archaeo-historic documentary discussed in chapter three.

In visual terms, what dominates the collection are a combination of spirals and interlace in a conflation of La Tène and early medieval British translations of Scandinavian animal art and knotwork. This conflation is made overt in the bringing together under the category of 'Celtic' of the Celtic lion ring based on 'the decoration on an early 6th century BC Celtic bronze cauldron' and the 'Celtic Cat' brooch whose 'unusual and appealing design' is 'taken from the handle of a bowl dating from the early 1st century AD, found on the slopes of Mount Snowdon'. It would also appear that items are marketed for women as the jewellery consists of earrings and brooches and the jumper and socks are listed in sizes for women.

However, in common with the practices of other commercial ventures I contacted, no specific sales figures or strategies were made available to me. Nonetheless, Senior Buyer Christina Harper did inform me in a letter dated 24 July 1994 that the Celtic range 'sells well in comparison to the over-all (*sic*) range'. According to Harper the general Past Times customer 'is female, middle-aged and middle class' and that 'from season to season different Celtic products perform better than others' although 'the jewellery is often at the top of the best sellers list'. This supports observations made of the gendered emphasis in the catalogue and corresponds neatly with profiles of museum and heritage centre visitors and archaeo-historic documentary viewers, although a more intriguing feature of this information is the apparently significant role of women in the construction of heritage through consumption.

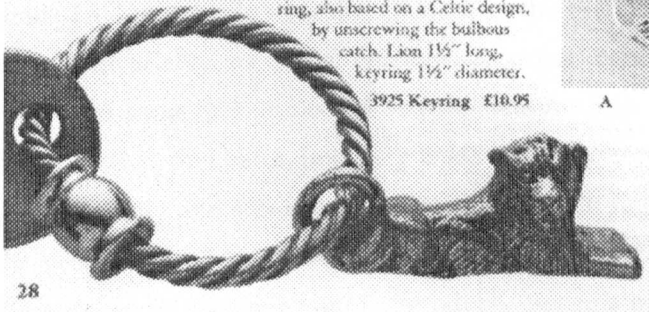
CELTIC

Figure 5.4 A selection of goods from the Celtic range at Past Times.

CELTIC LION KEYRING

An unusual gift for a man or woman, this solid brass lion is taken from the decoration on an early 6th century BC Celtic bronze cauldron. Keys are easily attached to the tone ring, also based on a Celtic design, by unscrewing the bulbous catch. Lion 1 3/8" long, keyring 1 1/2" diameter.

3925 Keyring £10.95



28

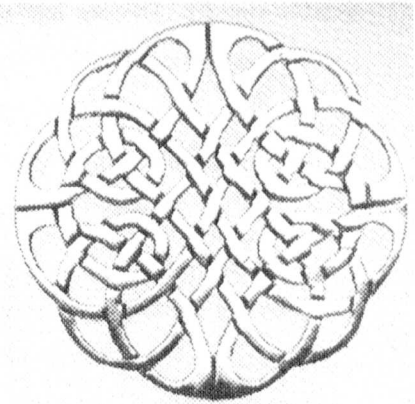


XL 41" - 40"



ORDER BY PHONE
0993
779444
24 HOURS 7 DAYS

envelopes.
5530 12 Cards
£3.95



CELTIC WOOL SOCKS

Knitted to match our Celtic jumpers, these socks have just the same intricacy of pattern and colour. In 69% cotton, 30% nylon, 1% elastane, to fit ladies' shoe sizes 4 - 7 (37 - 41).

- 4910 Russet Socks (Left) £4.95
- 4911 Blue Socks (Right) £4.95

P&P - see p2

Jewellery

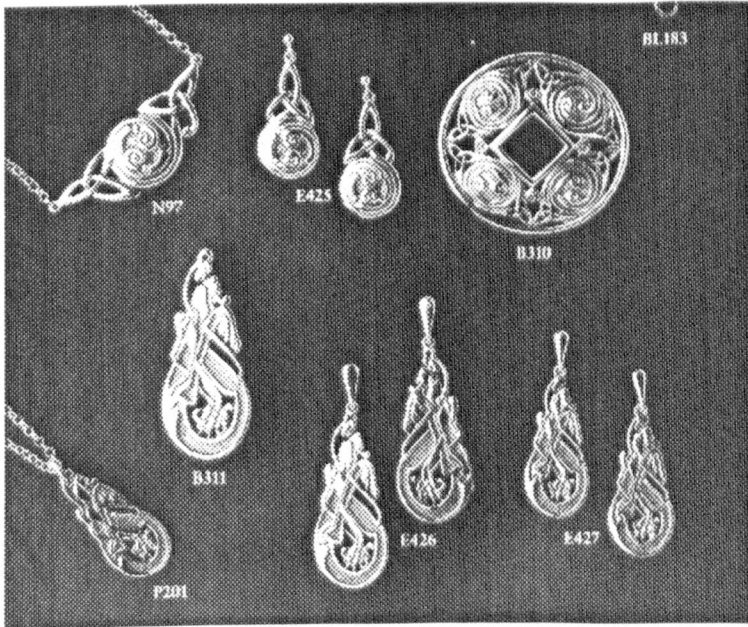
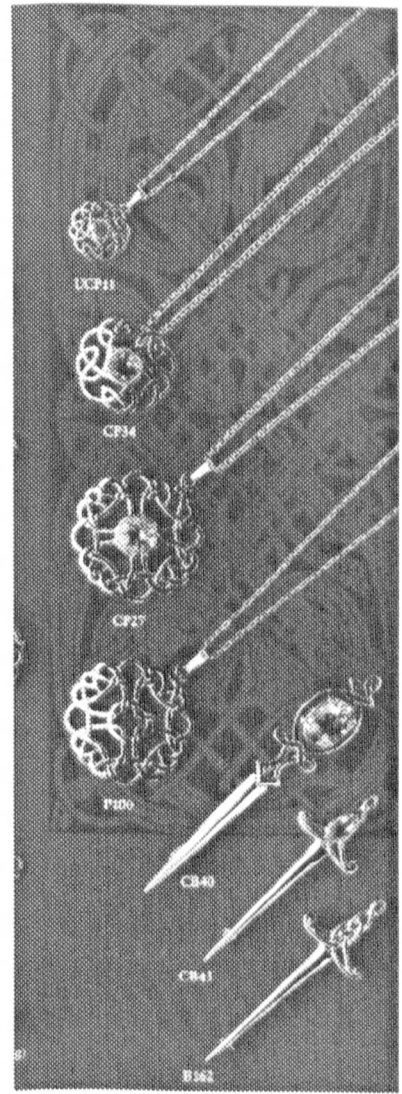
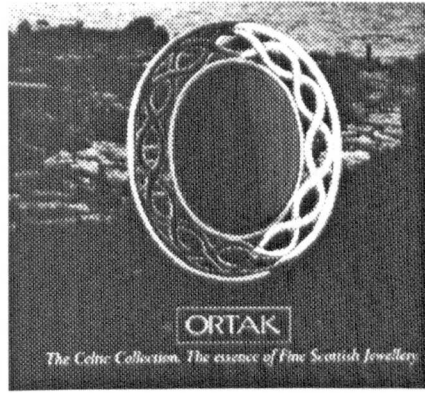
The impact of women in the heritage industry can also be seen in the production and consumption of 'heritage' jewellery designed to appeal somehow to 'women's tastes'.⁵ Jewellery is a significant commodity in shops such as Past Times and in museum and heritage centre outlets. The British Museum, Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, National Museum of Ireland, National Museum & Gallery in Cardiff, Andover Museum of the Iron Age, Museum of Welsh Life, Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica all prominently display jewellery. Designs combine La Tène motifs with the interlace of the Scandinavian/Anglo-Saxon tradition and are marketed, invariably, as Celtic. Earrings, brooches, pendants and rings are displayed in close proximity to shop cash desks for security reasons and to capitalize on the possibility of last minute customer purchases. Jewellery tends also to occupy some form of glass case which allows for both visibility and security and concomitantly, through association with the material culture in the glass cases of the museum space, the positioning of jewellery emphasizes its socialized position as a prestige good and reproduces essentialized definitions of an elite, artistically oriented Celtic culture.

In Scotland a major supplier of Celtic jewellery to museum shops, and operating a small number of outlets themselves, is Ortak Jewellery, based in Kirkwall in the Orkney Islands. The 1994 catalogue of Ortak's Celtic collection features a black and white photograph of an overcast Broch of Gurness and inside are twelve pages of jewellery photographed against a background of printed interlace designs (Figure 5.5). The 180 pieces are divided into twelve different categories, all of which are based on variations of interlace and knotwork motifs which range from the ornate to 'organic' abstractions in order to cater for differing tastes within a general inclination towards the Celtic. However, only three pieces (Figure 5.6) incorporate La Tène spirals. Two of these pieces, the brooch and earrings are supplied to Past Times as 'Kells Silver Jewellery' (see Figure 5.4). And like Past Times, Ortak refused to divulge any sales figures or demographic information. However, Director Alistair Gray wrote in a letter dated 27 May 1994 that 'What I can say is that certainly over the last two years there has been an enormous increase in sales of our traditional Celtic designs in comparison with our other jewellery ranges. The standard Ortak customer is normally a woman in the age range 24-40'.

⁵Of course when I speak of taste I am referring to those particular practices of appreciation which characterize *habitus*. For my discussion of *habitus* see chapter three.

Figure 5.5 Jewellery in the Ortak range (right).

Figure 5.6 La Tène designs at Ortak (below).



To begin exploring differing Celtic jewellery consumption practices I need to look at specific sales figures. Just over 100 pieces of jewellery were sold at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age gift shop (Table 5.2). The most popular individual items were the Padstow cross pendant (13% of sales), followed by Celtic spiral earrings (12%) and Celtic knot pendant (11%). With these individual pieces we again see emphasis on the motifs called up most often by archaeo-historic documentary film-makers, heritage marketers and those in the business of producing and marketing jewellery specifically. In a museum devoted to the archaeology of the Iron Age, people buy La Tène spirals and early Christian knots and crosses. Museum curator David Allen did commission a brooch design based on excavated examples from Danebury, but this, along with the carnelian centred brooch was the least favoured of the brooches on offer. Allen himself stated that designs such as those for sale at Past Times and produced by Ortak jewellers far outsell anything which attempts archaeological authenticity (pers. comm.).

Necklets are the least popular pieces sold in the museum, as would seem to be the brooches with their low individual percentages of sales. However, overall brooches make up 36% of the jewellery sold, second only to pendants which comprise 37%, even though the prices of brooches and pendants tend to be higher than earrings. In addition to stylistic concerns, then, I have to acknowledge the importance of specific jewellery categories in influencing sales figures. Could it be that brooches are associated with the Iron Age, that, in fact a fairly sophisticated understanding of archaeological typology has been internalized and then incorporated into consumption practices? That could explain the fairly even distribution of sales figures for brooches with the slight emphasis on spiral (Lindisfarne spiral) and knot (Endless knot) which corresponds with the overall popularity of these two motifs. Yet, as pendants sell best, I have also to acknowledge the importance of both selling price and taste in guiding consumer choices.

There certainly appears to be some connection between the middle class women who make up the major consumer groups of both Past Times and Ortak and the women who make up 64% of the Andover Museum of the Iron Age's visitor group (Table 4.1), especially bearing in mind that 90% of 35-44 year old visitors belong to the A, B and C1 (middle class) social class groupings (Table 4.3), and the popularity of spiral, interlace and knotwork in jewellery design. Past Times, however, sells only earrings, brooches and rings. Further work in this area could include ethnographic interviews of those who both visit museums and buy 'Celtic' jewellery in order to see how the consumption of brooches, in particular, relates to the consumption of archaeological knowledge. We also need to look at why people do not appear to choose the 'archaeologically' authentic. It could be a question of aesthetic taste, but I would suggest that it is

intimately connected with the historical construction of Celtic culture such that interlace might appear more authentically Celtic than a faithful La Tène reproduction.

Andover Museum of the Iron Age <i>Jewellery Sales Figures: April 1993–April 1994</i>			
		<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Brooch:	Endless knot	9	7%
	Two serpents	5	4%
	Celtic cross	4	3%
	Maze spiral	6	5%
	Carnelian centre	3	2%
	Danebury	2	2%
	Lindisfarne shield	5	4%
	Lindisfarne spiral	12	9%
	Pendant:	Padstow cross	17
Celtic		7	5%
Celtic knot		14	11%
Lannet/Bodmin		4	3%
Spiral/Triscal		6	5%
Necklet	Padstow cross	5	4%
	Spiral	2	2%
Earrings	Double lotus	3	2%
	Spiral design	15	12%
	Celtic cross	4	3%
Buckle strap junction		5	4%
Total:		128	100%

Table 5.2 Annual sales figures for jewellery sold at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age (C. North, Senior Museum Assistant).

Miscellaneous objects

A significant proportion of museum and heritage centre shop stock comprise the small, inexpensive miscellaneous objects such as pens, bookmarks, stickers and erasers which are marketed for the large numbers of school-age children who make up, on average, a quarter of yearly visits (Phil Bennett, pers comm.; David Allen, pers comm.; Gerallt Nash, pers comm.). From speaking with site managers, teachers and parents, it appears that it is an accepted component of the heritage space visit that children will purchase something at the shop to commemorate their heritage experience, and is recognized as contributing to the much-needed fund raising of the museum itself.

Again, sales figures for the Andover Museum of the Iron Age provide me with information about items sold in their gift shop (Table 5.3). From the items listed below, it would appear that many of the miscellaneous goods are aimed at children as all are imprinted with the museum's logo and 'Celtic warrior'. Moreover, that sales total 4,414 miscellaneous items appears to support anecdotal observations that children are significant consumers in museum and heritage centre shops.

Arguably more adult-oriented items such as keyrings, car stickers and white minipads sell in the lowest volume. The worst performers, however, were the Celtic bottles; only fourteen of these were sold over the fiscal year. However, these sales figures are not unproblematic as they do not account for price or purchasing demographics. It may be that these bottles are seen more as domestic decorative goods and thus perhaps have more to do with jewellery sales than with pencils and pens. If this is the case, then their low percentage in Table 5.3 may obscure their importance in visitors' consumption practices.

Erasers are the best selling items, commanding 16% of sales, followed by pens and coloured notepads. More expensive articles such as work packs (designed to correspond with various National Curriculum History Attainment Targets and Key Stages) and colouring pencils are much less popular. Other poor performers include cloth badges and the three sets of colouring cards.

Andover Museum of the Iron Age <i>Sales of Miscellaneous Objects April 1993–April 1994</i>		
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Bookmarks	254	5.8%
Coloured notepads	452	10.2%
White minipads	173	3.9%
Erasers	707	16.0%
Pencils	267	6.1%
Mini pens	457	10.4%
Pens	397	9.0%
Automatic pencils	358	8.1%
Warrior notepad	86	1.9%
Pencil sharpeners	346	7.8%
Keyrings	40	.9%
Celtic bottle	14	.3%
Colouring pencils	12	.3%
Celtic face pot	63	1.4%
Cloth badges	37	.8%
Car stickers	17	.4%
Work packs I	71	1.6%
Work packs II	154	3.5%
Work packs III	37	.8%
Celtic warrior colouring card	47	1.1%
Chariot colouring card	38	.9%
Iron Age farm colouring card	65	1.5%
Museum of the Iron Age badge (metal)	322	7.3%
Total:	4414	100%

Table 5.3 *Annual sales figures for miscellaneous items sold at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age, April 1993–April 1994 (courtesy C. North, Senior Museum Assistant).*

Again, it is very difficult to ascertain any specific meanings in this, although questions of taste obviously play a part, especially if it is noted that 322 metal badges were sold in comparison with 37 cloth badges, although the prices are comparable. Metal badges can be worn immediately whilst cloth badges have to be sewn on; metal badges stand out, are objects in their own right, independent of the clothing to which they are attached. There may also be issues of newness and modernity at stake. There is also a comparison to be made between the metal badges that children buy and the large number of brooches bought. Are we seeing museum visitors' desires to somehow mirror what they have seen, to mark the past on their own bodies? These badges and brooches are more visible than rings and less intimate than necklaces or earrings. They do not

encircle parts of the body as do other forms of jewellery. Both badges and brooches are foregrounded on the wearer and yet distanced from the body by clothes. However I do not mean to conflate badges and brooches. Although both may call up images of Celtic decoration, boys' and girls' uses of badges obviously differ markedly from the uses individual women make of them. Again, further ethnographic research into this area may be used to construct webs of relationship here.

Books

Another significant heritage oriented commodity are books sold at heritage spaces and in non-specialist bookshops such as the Dillon's and Waterstone's national chains. James Thin Booksellers in Edinburgh is the major bookseller in Scotland and was the only large chain to make sales figures available to me (1992-1994).⁶ In a note dated 20 May, 1994, I was informed that 'books on the Celts sell best in the Art Dept. then General Scottish with fewer sales in the Academic Dept.' (*sic* Allan Boyd, pers. comm.).

Table 5.4 indicates the incredible popularity of Celtic art books, the way in which the Celts are of interest primarily because of their art work. Bain's classic 'do-it-yourself' source book is by far the most popular, selling 133 copies. It is tempting to see in this the legacy of imposing a modernist aesthetic onto the material culture of the past and the 'primitive' such that material culture 'becomes' great art, and of the British Neo-Romantic movement of the 1930s and 1940s, discussed earlier.⁷ The seeming denial of representation afforded to modern eyes by La Tène spirals and early medieval interlace facilitates individual appropriation of image and object and the construction of cultural characteristics that the reader can make use of in her or his everyday lives, and it is in that use that the reader makes this archaeo-historic narrative meaningful.

⁶As with the commercial chain Past Times and Ortak jewellers, bookselling chains argued that they could not make sales figures public. The publishing houses Routledge, Constable and Thames and Hudson, who publish many non-specialist archaeo-historic books, also refused to answer my queries.

⁷Painters such as Pablo Picasso and the Surrealist Salvador Dalí are two of the better known painters who took an interest in African and Pacific North-west First Nations artefacts. Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger* in particular owes much to the flattening out of perspective characteristic of much non-European material culture.

James Thin Booksellers <i>Sales Figures: 1992-1994</i>			
	1992	1993	1994
G. Bain. 1977. <i>Celtic Art</i> . London: Constable	79	43	11
I. Bain. 1993. <i>Celtic Key Patterns</i> . London: Constable	0	2	0
P. Carr-Gomm. 1993. <i>The Druid Way</i> . Shaftesbury: Element	0	4	0
V. Crowley. 1989. <i>Wicca</i> . London: Aquarian	0	0	2
F. Delaney. 1993. <i>The Celts</i> . London: Harper Collins	-	8	9
F. Delaney. 1994. <i>Legends of the Celts</i> . London: Harper Collins	-	-	3
C. Eleure. 1992. <i>The Celts: First masters of Europe</i> . London: Thames and Hudson	0	7	3
P. Beresford Ellis. 1992. <i>Celtic Inheritance</i> . London: Constable	2	0	0
M. Green. 1992. <i>Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend</i> . London: Thames and Hudson	6	1	1
S. James. 1993. <i>Exploring the World of the Celts</i> . London: Thames and Hudson	-	6	7
V. Kruta (et. al.) 1991. <i>The Celts</i> . London: Thames and Hudson	0	3	3
L. and J. Laing. 1992. <i>Art of the Celts</i> . London: Thames and Hudson	18	5	2
J. Matthews. 1991. <i>The Celtic Shaman</i> . Shaftesbury: Element	11	16	3
A. Meehan. 1991. <i>Knotwork</i> . London: Thames and Hudson	40	16	7
A. Meehan. 1991. <i>A Beginner's Manual</i> . London: Thames and Hudson	40	12	4
M. Pearce. <i>Celtic Borders on Layout Grids</i> . Mineola: Dover	13	3	4
S. Piggott. 1967. <i>The Druids</i> . London: Thames and Hudson	6	8	1
T.G.E. Powell. <i>The Celts</i>	17	16	3
A. and B. Rees. <i>Celtic Heritage</i> . London: Thames and Hudson	16	4	1
A. Ross. 1967. <i>Pagan Celtic Britain</i> . London: Constable	0	5	3
C. Spinhoven. <i>Celtic Cut and Use Stencils</i> . Mineola: Dover	10	1	2

Table 5.4 Sales figures 1992-1994 for Celtic-oriented books sold at James Thin Books. Figures for 1994 were obtained in May of that year and so are not complete (Alan Boyd, 20.05.94).

The position of books which set out to teach readers how to make their 'own' Celtic art is intriguing. According to informal conversations I had with managers of various museum gift shops (including the British Museum and Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh) the Meehan series

in particular is extremely popular and tends to outsell other books about aspects of Celtic culture. It is becoming clear that the (post)modern material culture which references a Celtic past is definitely *not* about archaeo-historical inquiry. As with more general heritage consumption (Samuel, 1994), the focus is on the possession of the past and the appropriation of its images to the formulation of self in relation to others. Books which provide the means to make Celtic art ourselves inscribe our uses of the past on the body (often literally in the case of those who use the designs as tattoo patterns) through the gestures we make drawing. I should, however, also make reference to more prosaic concerns, such as the 'cost' of things. We need to look at how much people are prepared to pay for this engagement with the past and investigate what that says about the role of the past in our everyday lives. Again, the reasons why people choose or do not choose certain archaeo-historic narratives is addressed in chapter seven.

Books which cover 'New Age' subjects, the contemporary uses made of what is retroactively defined as Celtic spirituality, also allow us to mark our uses of the past. These are books which deal in ways of living and thinking about the world. Such books also sell well, often better than, the glossy, highly illustrated non-specialist books about Celtic culture, past and present. John Matthew's *The Celtic Shaman* is a top seller at James Thin. It describes the 'techniques and methods of Celtic Shamanism which, while it shows common elements with American, Australian and Siberian teachings, derives entirely from Celtic source material' (back cover). The squatting horned figure on the Gundestrup Cauldron is used to illustrate the preferred shaman's posture (Matthews, 1991: 99) and Matthews provides instructions on how to make Celtic shields, although he is suitably vague about the origins of his arguments.

Interestingly, popular books such as these frame their radical visions with appeals to authority and set up hierarchical power/knowledge relations. Advertised at the Wise Old Crone Cafe (the crone referring to one aspect of the tripartite 'Celtic' goddess) at Glastonbury Festival 1993 was John Matthew's course, 'Robin Hood and the Green Man: Exploring the Archetypes of the Greenwood'. In the course description Matthews is referred to as 'an internationally recognized expert on Celtic traditions for more than twenty years'. Although my concern is not with alternative uses of archaeo-historic discourses, this 'expert' knowledge is clearly linked in to the centrality of consumption in everyday life, increasing the value of the cultural capital both the book and practice of Celtic spirituality represent.

Although the Andover Museum of the Iron Age does not stock a particularly large number of books, certainly not in comparison with an outlet such as the British Museum, their

own focus on the Iron Age means that what books they do carry will be seen by both visitors and staff as being in some way explicitly connected with the Iron Age and Celtic culture (Table 5.5).⁸

Sales figures for books at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age appear to bear close relation to the marketing strategies of the museum. The two *Daneburys* (both written by Barry Cunliffe) and *Celtic Warriors* are the best selling titles (mirroring the popularity of the postcard scenes) with Hampshire County Council's booklet the most popular, accounting for seventy-seven percent of all books sold. This is perhaps most easily explained by its inexpensive format which makes it much more likely that large numbers of visitors will buy it than would purchase glossy hard-cover books. The English Heritage series which published Cunliffe's *Danebury* and Sharple's *Maiden Castle* are written for non-specialists and are also less expensive than the larger publications and are more accessible than more professionally oriented texts such as Collis' *The European Iron Age* (1984). *Celtic Warriors* is aimed at children and thus, in common with the miscellaneous items for children, sells comparatively well although actual numbers sold are still low.

Disregarding for a moment the 361 *Danebury* booklets sold, the 107 other volumes undersold even comparatively expensive items such as jewellery. It would appear that visitors to the Andover Museum of the Iron Age are not there to obtain information outside of what the museum provides, or at least are not prepared to pay for the privilege. Yet what of the sheer number of *Danebury* booklets purchased? The booklets repeat much of the museum's interpretative text and complement it with photographs and illustrations taken from the exhibition. Again the emphasis is on the Celtic warrior and defensive role of hillforts. Text thus reproduces the museum experience in two dimensions. What this signifies, however is not straightforward in that we need to know what uses visitors make of such pamphlets once purchased. It could be that these booklets serve similar functions as do the postcards, although they are more permanent, more textured examples of cultural capital.⁹ However, it may be also that the *Danebury* pamphlets are better to think with than are formalized archaeo-historic volumes, that they are more readily useful texts in people's social lives.

⁸ An examination of book sales at the British Museum, for example, would not necessarily lead to an illumination of the ways in which people consume the images and texts of the Iron Age because books there are organized according to geographical region and subject speciality rather than in terms of prehistoric periods.

⁹ However, as I will show in chapters seven and eight, archaeo-historic book reading and buying do not often feature in people's heritage-related practices outside of the museum or heritage centre.

Andover Museum of the Iron Age		
<i>Book sales: April 1993–April 1994</i>		
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
M. Green. <i>Celtic Mythology</i>	0	-
J. Collis. <i>The European Iron Age</i>	1	.2%
B. Cunliffe. <i>Danebury</i> . English Heritage	64	13.7%
B. Cunliffe. <i>Danebury</i> . Hampshire Co. Council	361	77.1%
<i>Dictionary of Myth and Legend</i>	1	.2%
F. Delaney. <i>The Celts</i>	4	.9%
<i>Celtic Warriors</i> . English Heritage	16	3.4%
N. Sharples. <i>Maiden Castle</i> . English Heritage	7	1.5%
I. Stead. <i>Celtic Art</i> . British Museum	9	1.9%
A. Meehan. <i>Knotwork</i>	1	.2%
<i>Maze Patterns</i>	2	.4%
<i>Illuminated Letters</i>	0	-
<i>Spiral Patterns</i>	1	.2%
<i>Beginners</i>	0	-
<i>Animal Patterns</i>	1	.2%
Total	468	99.9%

Table 5.5 Annual sales figures for books sold at the Andover Museum of the Iron Age, April 1993–April 1994 (courtesy C. North, Senior Museum Assistant).

Conclusions

It is clear that a study of the material culture of heritage is an archaeology of archaeology if we accept, as I argue throughout this dissertation, that archaeology carries with it always a creative act of representation. So far I have not mentioned Shanks and Tilley's study of Swedish and British beer cans (1992: 172-240) although it would appear to have relevance to the material culture discussed above. Their insistence on contextualizing the study of modern commodities through archaeological practice is useful in that it reminds us of the polyvalent materiality of both past and present. However, their focus on style as ideology (1992: 155) imposes a top-down relationship between producers and consumers of knowledge such that they 'read off' power structures from the media they examine and deny the complexities that exist between object and gaze.

Another significant problem with their study is that, although Shanks and Tilley critically discuss hermeneutics, they rely on the statistical abstractions of chi square tests to speak the meaning of contemporary material culture. If objects are 'good to think' then surely we have to construct patterns of consumption in addition to production. Shanks' and Tilley's categorization of beer cans bears little relation to how either producers or consumers categorize the images and text they see, although it indicates how Shanks and Tilley themselves understand the visual culture of beer cans. As Miller argues: 'Categorisation processes mediate and organize the social construction of reality, and may be our best means for understanding and interpreting the remains of material production' (1982: 23). Interesting issues could arise if differences among the categories that producers, consumers and critics construct were explored.

The most interesting conclusions to be made from my own study of Celticentric consumer goods have to do with the popularity of material culture which encloses perceptions of the past (landscape postcards and brooches for example) within easily apprehendable images, and those items which permit the active incorporation of the past within everyday life (do-it-yourself art books). Obviously heritage shopping is a far more complex phenomenon than either simply wanting to know about the past or conflating heritage oriented goods within general capitalist consumption. We need to develop ways to look at the specific circumstances of consumption. It may appear that certain items sell at higher volumes because they are inexpensive. But what does this say about our consumption on a broader level of the materiality of heritage media? Are the people who buy Celtic knotwork books the same people who purchase 'Celtic Cat' brooches? Now that we have some idea of what is available and the processes by which objects are entering in to the market-place, we can begin to look specifically to their consumption.

Speaking meaningfully beyond this (*cf.* Gregory, 1993) involves disrupting the vertiginous processes of abstraction and banal self-referentiality implicit in, for example, the manufacture of Celtic tea towels by underpaid and overworked girls and young women in China (not to mention political prisoners) and the consumption of these items by, in particular, Western women empowered through their own consumption practices to develop specific identities. What happens to the archaeological gaze within these global capitalist relations of tremendous inequality? Placing the manufacture of Celtic heritage within a global context adds another dimension to the argument that needs to be critically discussed but is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The things – tour guides, books, jewellery, erasers and postcards – for sale as part of Britain's heritage industry are used to make concrete our perceptions of the role of the past in our everyday lives. The meanings we make of the material culture of heritage are ambivalent, although I suggest that features of the consumption patterns that I have constructed fit loosely into Samuel's thesis of the democratization of the making of history (Samuel, 1994). The variety of things that people buy as part of their heritage experience surely says something, not necessarily about how they conceive of the past, but about how they view the role of their own consumption of the past as practice; 'consumption may be employed as central to the production of difference, as in framing off multiple and plural identities, but equally may be an act of totalization where individuals or groups locate themselves unambiguously in the semiotics of an object or commodity sign' (Miller, 1995a: 33). Certainly the variety of things on offer suggest different uses. Purchasing an aerial view postcard of Danbury is not the same as wearing interlace earrings (*cf.* Goss, 1993). The specific sets of circumstances in which these things were bought, and the way in which they will be used are myriad.

The social and economic consumption of the material culture of heritage that is defined as, and in turn defines, the Celtic is possibly the most important aspect of the heritage experience. Translating economic capital into the cultural capital of Celtic earrings, postcards and art books allows the non-specialist to reinscribe the past in a process of negotiating social boundaries and webs of relationships (*cf.* Anderson, 1983; Cohen, 1982). These things form the material remains of our own engagements in the spaces of heritage. Academic archaeologists may well bemoan the commercialization of our 'knowledge', but surely the questions lie in the gaps between heritage spaces and everyday life. If, as Miller argues, consumption is the central means by which we frame meaningful relations, then as archaeologists we need to engage with consumption in the present as well as the past. And if we recognize that consumption need not be conflated with

capitalism, then perhaps we can see a way around simply capitulating to the increasingly intense marketing of archaeo-historic pastiches.

The obvious ramifications of this line of reasoning is that what people are expressing through their heritage shopping is the failure of heritage spaces to frame material culture in such a way as to enable the past to play a role in non-market based consumption. The answer is certainly not to make museums more serious and to dig our archaeological heels in and refuse to participate in the marketing of the past in the hope that it will go away. Museums and heritage centres need funds, and a central means by which they can raise those funds is through heritage shopping. My analysis in chapters seven and eight of ethnographic interviews I have conducted in heritage spaces in Wales will go some way towards exploring the relationships between the economic relations of consumption and the role of consumption as cultural capital in the negotiation and reproduction of *habitus* with reference to the Celtic.

The production and consumption of goods which can be marketed through the heritage experience serves to remind us that discourses of the past are neither seamless nor uniform. Although it would appear that these goods have little to do with academic representations of the Iron Age, I argue that this practice must be viewed in the wider context of consuming images of the past on television and in museums and heritage centres. Furthermore, the dramatic expansion of the tourism industry since the 1930s and its increasingly close ties with the remains of the past within competing sets of capitalist relations has meant that the past has been contextualized as something concrete, to be experienced and consumed. In the next chapter I move on to discuss education in Britain and the ways in which national curricula intersect with the heritage industry through reproducing the past as something consumable. I will suggest that we begin to learn to think with the past, to make it meaningful in our everyday lives, through our primary engagements with formal curricula.

LEARNING TO THINK WITH THE PAST

'It seems to me that almost everything is a waste of time,' [Milo] remarked one day as he walked dejectedly home from school. 'I can't see the point in learning to solve useless problems, or subtracting turnips from turnips, or knowing where Ethiopia is or how to spell February.' And, since no one bothered to explain otherwise, he regarded the process of seeking knowledge as the greatest waste of time of all.

Norton Juster, *The Phantom Tollbooth*, 1961

We have seen already the important links among museum visiting, heritage shopping and children. School-age children are significant heritage consumers (Prentice, 1995). What precipitates many children's experiences of a represented Celtic culture is the traditional school visit; school groups represent anywhere between one tenth and one quarter of total visits to both museums and heritage centres. Of the five million visits to English Heritage properties in 1992, 450,000 were made by school and college students (Corbishley and Stone, 1994: 389). In Wales, over one million visits are made to Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments each year, of which 125,000 are made by children in school groups (Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, 1996: 18). How are children's in-school engagements with archaeology generally, and Celtic culture specifically, framed and how do the National Curricula for England and Wales and curriculum guidelines for Scotland construct Celtic heritages? In this chapter I detail curricula and the ways in which archaeo-historic television, museum visiting and overt consumption play into teaching children to think chronologically and to construct engagements with the past as cultural capital.¹

Educational background

The interwar period in Britain again emerges as a fundamental period in the formation of contemporary attitudes towards representations of the past (cf. chapter four). In 1931 the Board of Education published *Museums and the Schools*, 'the first occasion on which a clear and comprehensive statement of the relations of museums and galleries, national and provincial, to the educational service of the country, has been issued by the Central Education Authorities'

¹Although heritage representations in the Republic of Ireland have been discussed in previous chapters, because of the linked history of museums and media generally I will not discuss Irish state education in this chapter as the differences in education systems are significant. However, Celts of the Iron Age and early medieval period do play an important role in the Irish state education system. The Junior Certificate examinations include questions about roundhouses and monastic life and the Irish Curriculum Development Unit (funded by the Dublin Vocational Education Committee) has published *The Celtic Way of Life* (1976) as part of their Humanities

(Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, *First Report* 1933).² As I argued in chapter four, the 1930s were marked by the centralization of museum concerns, with the educational benefits of museums paramount. Yet in a study conducted in the mid-1980s, only 14% of pupils named archaeology as their favourite museum section and of those, most were pupils in non-comprehensive schools (Hodder, 1985: 23). Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to detail the history of education as such (although see David, 1980; Bushnell, 1996), certain issues which have been raised over the past sixty years are pertinent to this discussion.

In particular, Marxist approaches (incorporating elements of Weberian and Durkheimian traditions) to studying education and class foregrounded relations between the economically dominant and the humanist notion that education is 'good' (cf. Young, 1973; 1975: 109–112; Bushnell, 1996). It was argued that the education system discriminated against socially and economically disadvantaged youth. With his work on curricula as socially organized knowledge (1973), however, Young drew on Bourdieu (1968) to critique the problematically mechanistic Marxist approach to class and ideology which neglects to address the 'socially constructed character of the education that the working-class children failed at' (Young, 1975.: 106), a thesis furthered by Willis' pioneering ethnographic work *Learning to Labour* (1977) and Barnes' *From Communication to Curriculum* (1975).

Young traces three stages of public debate on education in Britain since the 1950s which he sees as having been focused on 'equality of opportunity and the wastage of talent, organization and selection of pupils, and the curriculum' (1975: 101). Curricula came to the fore as a central concern of the 1970s, Young suggests, due to government pressure for more and better technologists and scientists; the commitment to raising the school leaving age; comprehensive amalgamations; and student participation (ibid.: 102–103).³ Ideologically, and in striking similitude with popularized political concerns today, the left concerned itself with the ways in which education masked power structures while the right criticized progressive teaching methods and 'in the name of preserving 'our cultural heritage' and providing opportunities for the most able to excel, they [sought] to

Curriculum. In Irish education Celtic culture is explained through familiar references to medieval myths and legends and eclectic mix of material culture.

²Today these issues are discussed in the specific format of the *Journal of Education in Museums*

³Both the Callaghan and Thatcher governments saw education as a means to create a more efficient work force, even though after their 1979 victory the Tories rescinded the 1976 Labour Education Act to implement their own Education Act in 1979 (David, 1980: 181), the background to preparation of the National Curricula during the 1980s. While the Labour Government of the time ran into trouble with their alleged denial of parental 'choice' in education through their legislation of the comprehensive system, Callaghan launched 'The Great Debate in Education' in 1976 which sought to bring to the fore the relationship between state education and the economy.

conserve the institutional support for the educational tradition they believe in' (ibid.: 103; David, 1980: 205).

Young, and then Willis sought to problematize arguments that education is a form of state-sanctioned domination by highlighting the ways in which all pupils dynamically subvert curricular aims through socially constructed coping strategies. Yet as Barnes argues, 'the major educational issue of our time is our failure to achieve an education which is equally available to members of the various sub-cultures which constitute our society' (1975: 189). Willis, a member of the influential Educational Studies Group at the Centre for Contemporary Studies at Birmingham University, used in-depth repeat interviews with young, 'working class' men to map the ways in which they wield power and contribute to their own social subordination (Skeggs, 1992: 181).⁴ Although the mid-1970s heralded a return to structuralist interpretations of curricula (ibid.: 183), the interplay between curricula and its consumption by pupils could no longer be reduced to a simple knowledge/power equation.

The 1970s also saw the rapid growth of museums and heritage centres (cf. chapter four). This, and changes in curricula to 'child-centred' approaches created a climate in which the use of material culture became 'increasingly central to teaching practice' (Samuel, 1994: 278-279). It is in this spirit that I am concerned with the content of history curricula and guidelines which use Celtic culture to teach young people to make sense of history. Young's argument that 'academic curricula in this country involve assumptions that some kinds and areas of knowledge are much more 'worthwhile' than others' (Young, 1975: 116) remains valid. Although subject-based distinctions are no longer as strictly maintained as they have been in the past, with cross-curricular attainment targets and 'whole school' approaches a feature of all British curricula guidelines for the 1990s (particularly in Junior school education), areas of study and themes continue to be categorized under and stratified within traditional subject headings. As Ferro argues, and I address in chapter seven, 'our image of other peoples, or of ourselves for that matter, reflects the history we are taught as children' (1981: vii).

⁴'Willis' early ethnographies of 'working class' pupils were highly influential in the development of cultural and media studies although the use (and abuse) of ethnography continue to be controversial. Most recently, Martyn Hammersley has been at the forefront of critiques of the application of so-called ethnography to both classroom situations and in cultural studies (1992; 1993).

Curricular development

The last ten years have seen the development and implementation in 1989 of the National Curriculum for England and for Wales (Cwricwlwm Cenedlaethol) out of the Education Reform Act of 1988. This led to the 1991 publication of National Curriculum documents by the Department for Education and Science in England and the Welsh Office, under the consultation of various organizations from national curricular advisors at the National Curriculum Council (NCC) and the Curriculum Council for Wales (CCW)⁵ to local education authorities, examination boards and academics in the subject specialisms. By 1994, however, the administrators of the national curricula recognized various 'teething problems', specifically, the overwhelming burden placed on primary school teachers to understand and implement lengthy curricular stipulations (Dearing, 1993). The curricula were reviewed and trimmed down, and by 1995 new Orders across all subject areas were introduced. Nevertheless, both the 1991 and 1995 documents are fundamentally similar.

The National Curriculum for both England and Wales comprises English, mathematics and science as core subjects and seven other foundation subjects: history, geography, technology, a modern foreign language, music, art and physical education (*History in the National Curriculum (England)*, 1991). In Wales, Welsh is a core subject in Welsh language schools and an additional foundation subject in Welsh schools which teach in the medium of English. The curricula are divided into Key Stages (KS) 1 to 4 which take pupils through their GCSEs. Key Stage 1 involves pupils from the ages of five to seven; Key Stage 2 are seven- to eleven-year-old pupils; Key Stage 3 are eleven- to fourteen-year-olds; and Key Stage 4 are fourteen- to sixteen-year-olds. All pupils are required to study both history and geography through to the age of fourteen. Within this, the Education Act defines and provides for the creation of Attainment Targets or, the 'knowledge, skills and understanding which pupils of different abilities and maturities are expected to have by the end of each key stage' (*The Education Reform Act 1988: National Curriculum: Section 4 Order History*, 1991: 5).

Although Scotland was not under the jurisdiction of the Education Reform Act of 1988, in 1987 the Secretary of State for Scotland published *Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: A Policy for the 90s* which identified a need for:

⁵The NCC has since changed to the School Curriculum Assessment Authority (SCA) with Nick Tate at its head while CCW is now the Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales/Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru (ACAC).

- clear guidance on what pupils should be learning in primary schools and in the first two years of secondary schools
- improved assessment of pupils' progress
- better information for parents about the curriculum and about their children's performance

The educational framework in Scotland has emerged through widespread consultation with the Scottish Education Department; advice from the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum (SCCC); the requirements of the Scottish Examination Board (SEB) and the Scottish Vocational and Educational Council (SCOTVEC)⁶; decisions of education authorities and school managers; and the influence brought to bear from a variety of sources such as the Training Agency (TVEI), the Industry Department for Scotland, the churches, tertiary education, employers and parents (*ibid.*: 3). The influence of vocational training and industry in the design of curricula reflects the prevailing emphasis on preparing pupils for the job market as discussed above.

Like the National Curricula for England and Wales, the Scottish National Guidelines define various key features, strands and attainment targets for pupils from Primary 1 through 7 and on to Secondary 1 and 2 (these correspond to the English and Welsh system of Years 1-9). In sharp contrast to the English and Welsh curricula, however, is the Scottish Office's statement that the 'guidelines do not prescribe any single approach to planning and delivering' subjects (*Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: National Guidelines, 1993: ix*). Furthermore, the Education Department of the Scottish Office has combined the traditional subjects of Science, Social Subjects, Technology, Health Education and Information Technology (subjects kept separate in the National Curricula for England and for Wales) under the title Environmental Studies in order to emphasize the interrelationships between human action and the world around us.

Archaeology in education

Although archaeology does not appear as an individual subject area in the primary curricula of England, Wales or Scotland, archaeologists have been discussing the uses of archaeology in schools for some time, as noted above.⁷ Since 1975, the Council for British Archaeology's (CBA) Schools Committee has been active in establishing archaeological perspectives in education in both England and Wales (Corbishley, 1992: 1). In Scotland the

⁶The SEB and SCOTVEC have since been merged to form the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA).

⁷However, on the introduction of GCSE, the London Board asked the CBA's Schools Committee to devise a syllabus and example question in archaeology for submission to the Secondary Education Council. The resulting GCSE in Archaeology was first examined in 1988 (Corbishley, 1992: 1).

Council for Scottish Archaeology (CSA) has been active in educational consultation. Over the past fifteen years, a central concern has been with the way in which archaeology is introduced to pupils, in particular the links between prehistory and the early school years. Dyer notes that 'most schools still tend to follow the nineteenth-century method of teaching history chronologically from the cave men in the first year to modern times in the final year' (1983: 11) such that archaeology is taught to only the youngest children.

In 1987 the *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* published a special education volume which sought to address the position of archaeological approaches to the past in schools. English Heritage's emphasis on the evidence of 'the main stages of past human development and of the technological achievements in both the prehistoric and the historic periods' (Corbishley, 1992: 1) is prefigured by claims that 'teaching ought to be centred around making children aware of the nature of the evidence and helping them to draw their own conclusions from that evidence' (Kissock, 1987: 122). Yet, perhaps the focus on the materiality of past technologies has led to pupils seeing the peoples of the past as less clever than 'us' (Emmott, 1987: 129-141). In her survey work with groups of primary school children, Emmott concluded that images in books, television and curricula generate a 'distorted, ethnocentric and sexist view of the past, which forms a lasting impression and impinges on [children's] images of the present' (Emmott, 1987: 139). Hill raises similar questions, critiquing the inability of conventional archaeological approaches to deal with issues such as multi-culturalism (Hill, 1987: 143). He suggests that rather than focus on 'evidence', teachers and pupils should question:

- what we choose as evidence and why
- how material culture offers different routes towards writing narratives of the past than those offered by written texts
- the 'truth' of evidence of past human activities
- whether material evidence allows the formulation on only one 'answer'

This approach would facilitate the challenging of cultural stereotypes in the past, thus undermining the legitimating foundations of present power relations (ibid.: 149).

More recently, the problems encountered with implementing such a critical approach to the study of material culture have been explained with reference to claims that viewing the past as constructed does not fit in well with curricular emphasis on the measurable and examinable and the way in which archaeologists themselves (in particular the work of the Council for British Archaeology and English Heritage) have focused on archaeology as an educational tool (Stone, 1994: 16). As Pearce argues:

archaeology sees education as a commodity, as a way in which archaeologists can communicate what they regard as the important results of their work to the public, and so justify the public money spent on archaeology in a highly visible and obviously responsible way (1993: 238).

Archaeologists have generally failed to convince curriculum advisors of the importance of archaeological *interpretation* in curricula, a failure that contributes to the masking of the profoundly political nature of human society (Stone, 1994: 19). To redress this, Stone outlines eight steps for professional archaeologists to follow in order to extend access and understanding:

- **develop professional courses in collaboration with education authorities in the presentation of archaeological evidence and indigenous viewpoints**
- **stress the importance of communicating about their work in archaeology and undergraduate programmes**
- **educate student and practising teachers about the 'excluded past'**
- **publish their research in language that is accessible to both teachers and students**
- **develop contacts with the media through television, radio, newspapers, and popular publications**
- **develop stronger links between traditional museum display and good educational practice**
- **train museum staff in the educational value of their displays and collections**
- **accept that those involved in education have their own agendas and priorities as to the role of the past in teaching**

Yet, underlying these archaeological critiques of school history is a belief that the ways in which both pupils and teachers understand the past in the present is directly related to the materials and discourses available. What is not addressed is the workings of various *habitus* in the lives of those in education and the ways in which state education systems themselves structure understanding. Although it is undeniably correct that archaeologists have sought to communicate the power of making meaning through things and places, there perhaps remains the problem that relating to the past is a very 'middle-class' activity. The lessons to be learned from critical approaches to material culture and the built environment may fall on deaf ears.

English narratives of archaeo-history

In England, pupils are introduced to historical ideas at Key Stage (KS) 1 of *History in the National Curriculum (England)*. The three 'Areas of Study' involve the lives of 'different kinds of famous men and women', past events, and of specific relevance here, 'the everyday life, work, leisure and culture of men, women and children in the past' (*History in the National Curriculum (England)*, 1995: 2). Key Elements within areas of study to be developed by teachers at KS1 are:

- **chronology**
- **range and depth of historical knowledge and understanding**
- **interpretations of history**
- **historical enquiry**
- **organization and communication**

The 'everyday' aspect relies on the study of material culture and the built environment. Key Stages 1-3 all focus on historical enquiry in terms of finding out about aspects of periods studied from a range of sources of information, including documents and printed sources, artefacts, pictures and photographs, music, and buildings and sites (*ibid.*: 5). Interpretations of history feature in the three Key Stages as an element designed to 'identify different ways in which the past is represented' (*ibid.*:3). These include studying reproductions of objects and museum displays.

The National Curriculum Council's (NCC)⁸ *History: Non-statutory Guidance* (1991) interprets the purposes of schools history as being:

- **to help pupils develop a sense of identity through learning about the development of Britain, Europe and the world**
- **to introduce pupils to what is involved in understanding and interpreting the past**

Teachers are encouraged to make use of a number of different sources, from written materials through visual sources (including film and video), oral sources and historical reconstructions in the form of museum displays which give an interpretation of the past (*ibid.*: C21). Provision is made also for the teaching of sensitive issues through exploring possible disagreements about political, social and moral questions in past societies (*ibid.*: C26). The 'rationality' of acts and events is highlighted as being a contextual mode of thought: 'there are often rational explanations for the actions of both sides in any conflict' (*ibid.*) However, rationality *per se* is not questioned

⁸One of the two former Deputy Chief Executives of the National Curriculum Council is Chris Woodhead, perhaps best known for his controversial position as Chief Inspector of Schools for Ofsted.

and is uncritically linked with historical enquiry in the present. Pupils are meant to learn 'that judgements in historical study should be based on the rational weighing of evidence rather than emotion or presupposition' (ibid.: C27).

The Attainment Targets for History in the National Curriculum incorporate three strands: change and continuity; causes and consequences; and knowing about and understanding key features of past situations. Under the heading 'Historic sites, museums and fieldwork', the NCC suggests that teachers use both surviving and reconstructed built environments (Piccini, 1999b) and the material culture within museums in order to 'develop understanding of chronology and change' (NCC, 1991: C24). The NCC also cite museum displays and historic sites as providing evidence of how the past is interpreted in the present, that artefacts and buildings allow us to see how people have interpreted their pasts.

So in fact, the study of history in the National Curriculum for England relies heavily on archaeological practice. However, as Pearce (1993) and Stone (1994) have argued, material culture and the built environment are used as educational tools to make chronological history (the first Key Element educators attempt to instil in children) concrete. Just as chronology is one of the first historical constructs to be taught to pupils, the first experience pupils have with historical periods (as opposed to singular events and personalities) is in Study Unit 1: Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Vikings in Britain at KS 2. Study of the Romans in Britain focuses on conquest and occupation and pupils are to be taught the following:

- **the Roman conquest and its impact on Britain, e.g. Boudicca and resistance to Roman rule, the extent to which life in Celtic Britain was influenced by Roman rule and settlement, the end of imperial rule;**
- **everyday life, e.g. houses and home life, work, religion;**
- **the legacy of Roman rule, e.g. place names and settlement patterns, Roman remains, including artefacts, roads and buildings.**

However, the 1991 draft of the curriculum organized these themes in the study unit 'Invaders and Settlers' which centred on how British society was shaped by 'invading peoples' (*History in the National Curriculum (England)*, 1991: 19).⁹ Within that, pupils were to be taught about Britain as part of the Roman Empire and resistance to Roman rule by such figures as Boudica:

⁹It should be pointed out here that the National Curricula are constantly revised and updated. At the time of writing, the newly elected Labour government's Education Minister David Blunkett is suggesting that the entire curricular system be overhauled.

- reasons for invasion the search for land, trade and raw materials
- way of life of the settlers everyday life in town and country
houses and home life
religious life
- the legacy of settlement place names and language
myths and legends
styles of art and architecture

The striking difference between the original History Order and the revised, 1995 edition is the removal of 'invasion' and 'settlement' as keys to understanding late prehistoric and Roman Britain.¹⁰ The earlier document also places greater emphasis on cultural production with its themes of art and literature. Although it could be argued that the 1995 volume perhaps avoids reproducing Romantic Celtic stereotypes to focus on everyday life, the Anglo-Saxon and Viking topics do include study of myths and legends. The earlier Order also views the legacy of Roman occupation in terms of native settlement while the revised curriculum places emphasis on the remains of Roman material culture and the built environment. The 1995 History Order is a more overtly mechanistic approach to the early years of Britain's history than was its predecessor, although topics for study are flexible.

Celtic Cornwall

Another important feature of *History in the National Curriculum (England)* is the mandatory teaching of local history in at least one study unit at KS2. Cornwall has a comprehensive, if *ad hoc* programme within the English curriculum for looking at the relationships between 'native' and Roman in a local context. However, because it is popularly accepted that Roman culture had relatively little influence in Cornwall when compared with many of the other regions of England, and because of the multitude of visible prehistoric remains in the Duchy, educators have attempted to extend study of the Iron Age at KS2.

Cornwall is in the interesting position of being under the jurisdiction of the *National Curriculum (England)* while associating itself more with Wales and the other 'Celtic nations'.¹¹ In

¹⁰The National Curriculum History Working Group reports of 1989 and 1990 sought to incorporate more political approaches to life in the past, suggesting that pupils study Britain in terms of an island whose history has been shaped by migration and the often uneven relationship between England and its neighbours (1989: 16). The Working Group also argued that although pupils should be able to display a sense of time and place, they should not be taught that history is a continuous line of progress (*ibid.*: 25).

¹¹During fieldwork conducted in Cornwall during the spring of 1993, I spoke with educators, language specialists and those with specific interests in having the Cornish recognized as a

1989, in response to the development of a national curriculum which did not allow for the teaching of specifically Cornish history, *Cornish Studies for Schools* was devised in 1989 by the Cornish Studies Library and Institute in Redruth. Topics for study include:

The Christian Church in Cornwall	Cornish China Clay Industry
Arms of the Duchy of Cornwall	Archaeology of Cornwall
Saints of Cornwall	Cornish Traditional Dance and Music
Cornish Tin Industry	Cornish Poets and Cornish Poetry
Cornish Language	Traditional Cornish Costume
Wildlife in Cornwall	Cornish Place Names
Celtic Links	Cornish Family History
Gorseth Kernow	Cornish Food and Drink
National Trust in Cornwall	The Great Migration
Quarrying Slate and Granite	Art and Craft in Cornwall
Cornish Myths and Legends	Trade Travel and Pilgrimage

The Archaeology of Cornwall details the Palaeolithic through to the early medieval period when Cornwall came under the leadership of Athelstan. The 'short, sturdy round-headed' Beaker people are described as having built stone circles, menhirs, stone alignments and holed stones (1989: 8). 'Iron-using Celts from NW Europe' are described as a warrior aristocracy class, 'similar to Wessex culture' (1989: 9), while the Roman period contains almost no mention of the 'native' peoples of Cornwall. What happened to the Cornovians after 43 AD is not explained although Celtic peoples again make their appearance in the text after 410 AD as missionaries and as migrants to Brittany.

Echoing the narrative of *The Isle is Full of Noises* (chapter three) Christian Celts 'were deeply attached to the local place, and loved isolated spots – in woods, on hills and islands, and all the natural creation which spoke to them of God' (*Cornish Studies for Schools*, 1989: 13). These Cornish Celts are linked to the other five Celtic nations (Brittany, Ireland, Mann, Scotland and Wales) in geographical terms which call up the moral geographies of Cyril Fox and H J Fleure (chapter five): 'they are all closely influenced by the sea and by the isolation of their position' (*Cornish Studies for Schools*, 1989: 34). Their 'facial expressions, physique, modes of thought and ideas are still remarkably similar, and anyone who has travelled to another Celtic country will have glimpsed faces that would have been quite at home in Cornwall' (ibid.). These 'modes of thought and ideas' include 'love of family and home, the nostalgia for the place where one has spent much of one's life, the concern for the simple and ordinary truths that are important in a

distinct ethnic group (Kennedy, 1992: 2) – that ethnicity is grounded in a sense of Celtic heritage. Bernard Deacon writes of the case of Mr Ernest Nute of Ponsanooth who in 1992 pleaded not guilty to a charge of failing to make a census return. Nute's defense was that 'completion of this form would be for me to state I am English. Our people are not descended from the Angles and Saxons, so therefore, identically with the Welsh, we are most certainly not English' (Deacon, 1993: 1). Discourses of identity are discussed at length in chapters seven and eight.

less materialistic society' (ibid.: 35), a familiar interpretation of the communities residing on the western edges of Britain (see chapters two and seven).

Roger Butts has run the Early Technology programme (with the support of Nick Johnson of the Cornwall County Council Archaeology Unit) for schools in Cornwall in order to involve Cornish children in their 'Celtic' past through fieldwork at Chysauster village and at Saveoc Mill.¹² At Chysauster children move through a time tunnel into the main field where they hear stories and participate in 'Iron Age' activities such as wattle and daubing, weaving, and pot making. Butts also works with Jacqui and John Wood who own and run Saveoc Mill (near Chacewater, outside Redruth) specifically for school groups who visit there to augment their KS2 studies.¹³ The educational focus there is on helping children to form intellectual links through combining practical studies with storytelling and music in an ostensibly Iron Age setting.

At Saveoc Mill the Woods grow herbs and raise boar, goats and a number of archaeologically faithful breeds of animal. Their site depends on interaction between visitors and themselves as there are no interpretation panels or booklets. Schoolchildren come here to help build the village and to get a taste of Celtic life. When they arrive on site they change out of their twentieth century clothes into hand-spun and plant-dyed tunics and out of their trainers into ... rubber boots. Archaeological 'authenticity' has its limits. However, the children do participate in a very real way in the making of wattle and daub, in cooking, in weaving and in animal husbandry. Occasionally the Woods organize special overnight events where people gather in the roundhouses to eat fire-roasted food and listen to stories from the medieval Irish *Táin*. The Woods themselves see the project as a way to get 'back to the future' through exploring simpler ways of life from the past (Jacqui Wood, pers. comm.).

Although the Cornish programmes are designed to provide a local element to curricular studies at KS2, the Iron Age represented incorporates aspects of 'Celtic' life which would be familiar to visitors to any of the museums or heritage centres throughout Britain. Assertions of specificity in fact mask what I have suggested throughout this dissertation is a decidedly British heritage discourse of a Celtic Iron Age (chapter two). Also of note is the reproduction of common

¹²The desire for specifically Cornish archaeo-historic experiences is seen to counter both the National Curriculum's relative silencing of prehistory in England and institutionalized hiring practices whereby newly qualified Cornish teachers are usually posted outside Cornwall (Kennedy, 1992: 3).

¹³Nelwyn East/Bodmin Moor County Primary, St. Erth Primary, Gulval Primary, Gwinear Primary and Nancledra Junior School have all been active participants in the Early Technology Project (Butts, pers. comm.). As Andy Christophers, Head at Nancledra, informed me, in Key Stage 1 the Iron Age is viewed as a technology, rather than history, subject as the National

assumptions that life in the past was simpler than it is today, a particularly technological approach. This emphasis on establishing 'technological literacy' among pupils belies the centrality of technology in curricular debate and state education discourse over the past twenty-five years. Celts, it would appear, have an important role in the (post) modern workplace.

The curriculum in Wales

History was the only national curriculum subject taught in England and Wales to have a separate committee working alongside the working groups in order to advise the Secretary of State for Wales as to what should constitute the history curriculum in Wales. *History in the National Curriculum (Wales)/Hanes yn y Cwricwlwm Cenedlaethol (Cymru)*, like the English curriculum, sets out Key Stages, Attainment Targets (ATs), and Levels of Attainment. Unlike the English curriculum, however, the knowledge and understanding of a distinctively Welsh history is made explicit. Also, the principles and elements teachers are to communicate to pupils differ importantly from the English themes:

- chronology as a framework for learning about past events and developments
- the variety of human experience in the past including the economic, political, social and cultural dimensions of history
- the social, cultural, ethnic and religious diversity of societies and of the experiences of men, women and children in these societies
- past events and developments in Welsh, British, European and World history, their inter-relationships and their value as avenues for exploring and understanding the past
- awareness that the past can be viewed at differing levels: local, national and international; chronologically and thematically; over long and short time spans

When compared with the Key Elements in the English curriculum discussed above, the Welsh Order is a much more culturally oriented study within the context of Welshness. There is a specific sense of the role of the past within the present; the legacy of Wales' interwar 'moral geographies' (chapter five) finds a place at each key stage where pupils are meant to 'appreciate the links between the history of Wales and the geography, languages and cultures of Wales' (*History in the National Curriculum (Wales)* 1991: 11). Wherever possible, Wales' past, seen as distinct from Britain's, is a feature of study units. Outside of the study of Wales and Britain specifically, Welsh themes come up in studies of 'War and society', 'The world of work',

Curriculum for England (under which Cornwall operates) does not allow for specific study of the Iron Age.

'Frontiers', 'Migration and emigration', 'Empires', 'Sport and society', and in local history studies. KS4 history is more closely focused on Welsh history in the twentieth century. Although the English curriculum prescribes that pupils study the history of at least one ancient culture outside Britain (e.g. the Benin of Africa and Mayan in Central America), the curriculum for Wales makes no such provision. Of course, with the extra emphasis on Wales coupled with the mandatory study of Britain as a whole, there is neither the time nor the space to deal with outside cultures beyond a curtailed look at either Ancient Egypt or Ancient Greece at KS2 and the study of other cultures within the context of British colonialism.

Attainment Targets in the Welsh curriculum involve themes similar to those in the curriculum for England:

Attainment Target 1:	Knowledge and understanding of history
Attainment Target 2:	Interpretations of history
Attainment Target 3:	The use of historical sources

AT1 is designed for the 'development of the ability to describe and explain historical change and cause, and analyse different features of historical situations' (1991: 3); AT2 demands that pupils develop the ability to understand interpretations of history (ibid.: 7); AT3 involves pupils developing the ability 'to acquire evidence from historical sources, and form judgements about their reliability and value' (ibid.: 9). The three ATs use material culture and archaeological approaches in much the same way as the English curriculum. AT1 Level 2 involves putting together a series of personal and family photographs and belongings in chronological order; the example in AT2 Level 4 is showing how 'lack of evidence' about ancient Egypt may affect the varying depictions in books of Egyptian life; and AT3 involves looking at old photographs, showing how artefacts in a museum can help answer 'how did people cook before they had gas or electricity', and the use of historic sites to reconstruct past lives.

Again, KS2 (which incorporates ATs 2 to 5) is the crucial point at which pupils are introduced to specific time periods and cultures. There are fifteen study units, from which teachers choose eight:

- Early peoples: Prehistoric, Celtic and Roman Britain
- Invaders and settlers: End of Roman rule to Viking invasions
- Life in Tudor and Stuart times
- Life in Wales and Britain in Victorian times
- Life in Wales and Britain since 1900
- Houses and households

- Sailors and ships
- Writing and reading
- Food and farming
- Land and air transport since c1750
- Crafts in past societies
- Castles, monasteries and parish churches
- An ancient civilization
- Local history unit
- Detailed short time span study unit

The first three units are the only compulsory study areas for pupils although, additionally, they must study either the fourth or fifth units and at least two units from 'Houses and households' through to 'An ancient civilization' (1991: 17). Archaeology is mentioned as one of many diverse concepts 'necessary for an understanding of events, developments and issues in the programme of study' (ibid.: 18). Others include conquest; trade; agriculture; invention; kingship; religion; medieval; legend; saint; fortification; factory system; public health. These are state-sanctioned key words into 'official' notions of Welshness which find their public expression in constructions of heritage in Wales.

'Houses and households' provides opportunities to use archaeology, museums and heritage centres. Pupils are meant to learn to compare design, size, location, living conditions and types of household to examine three different types of buildings from different periods. The Order gives examples of comparing the Roman house, villa or town house, the country house in Tudor or Stuart times and the Victorian terraced house (1991: 31). 'Food and farming' also has obvious links with archaeological practice. Exemplifying the study of 'Crafts in past societies' are crafts of the Iron Age, the medieval period and early modern rural crafts (ibid.: 41). The aesthetics of craft making are important here and are seen as central to the history of Welsh cultural life.

The most dramatic difference between the English and Welsh history curricula is the study unit 'Early peoples'. Whereas in England pupils begin their studies with the coming of the Romans, Welsh children must be introduced to:

- **The earliest peoples** **Hunters, gatherers and farmers**
 Burial practices
- **The Iron Age** **Tribes, hill forts and chieftains in Wales and Britain**
 Farming and daily life
 Celtic Religion; the Druids, Myths and Legends
- **Roman Britain** **Roman invasion and occupation. Native resistance**
 Life in Roman Wales and Britain

Pupils are to be taught ‘to appreciate the way that archaeology illuminates the study of these societies’ (1991: 21). The ‘Invaders and settlers’ unit includes study of ‘The coming of Christianity’, both Celtic and Roman, reflecting the historical importance Christianity has enjoyed in the construction of a Welsh nation.

The Curriculum Council for Wales (CCW), like its English counterpart (NCC), has developed materials to facilitate implementation of the National Curriculum in Welsh schools.¹⁴ The Curriculum Cymreig is the CCW’s attempt to ensure that the curriculum in Wales reflects Wales’ distinctiveness while acknowledging that Wales itself is not a culturally uniform country (Curriculum Council for Wales, 1993a: 2). In *The Whole Curriculum 5–16 in Wales* (CCW, 1991):

the Welshness of the curriculum will manifest itself differently in each school. However, all subjects should be taught in such a way that the content is meaningful and relevant to the pupil’s own experience within his/her community (Curriculum Council for Wales, 1993a: 2).

Place and heritage, belonging, language and literature, the creative and expressive arts and religious beliefs and practices comprise the specific elements that make up a curriculum Cymreig (Curriculum Council for Wales, 1991):

- the geographical environment of Wales, thereby gaining an understanding of the relationship between the environment and the people
- the history of Wales and of Wales’ relationships with other parts of the United Kingdom, together with an appreciation of past and present links with Europe and the wider world
- the contribution, past and present, which people from Wales have made to the development of their own and other nations’ cultures
- the part played by both farming and industry as shaping forces in Welsh life

¹⁴Although the Curriculum Council for Wales is now ACAC, Awdurdod Cwricwlm ac Asesu Cymru (Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales), the relevant information discussed here was all published when the body operated as the Curriculum Council for Wales.

- appreciate the values of the community in which they live, and the circumstances and influences that have shaped these values
- celebrate the fact that the cultures, languages and traditions of Wales are distinctive, whilst respecting the values of other cultures
- become informed and integrated members of their communities, understanding how and why their local communities function, and to appreciate and respect the importance of community values and traditions
- providing all children in Wales with access to the Welsh language and opportunities to refine their ability to use it as a medium of communication either as a first or second language
- learning about the heritage of fable and legend which is part of Welsh experience, and of the traditional Welsh love for the spoken word as exemplified by many poets, story-tellers, orators, preachers and some politicians
- introducing pupils to the range and variety of Welsh literature in both Welsh and English, and stimulating an awareness of Wales' rich literary tradition
- the distinctive nature of Welsh music, both traditional and contemporary, vocal and instrumental
- the Celtic artistic and craft tradition, and the manifestation of artistic and craft skills in Wales over the centuries, including knowledge of contemporary Welsh artists, sculptors and craftworkers
- technology, as seen in many aspects of the built environment in Wales, past and present
- expressive movement and team experience by means of dance, sport and physical activity
- the Christian tradition in both church and chapel, and its influence on all aspects of Welsh life
- an appreciation of the many changes which have occurred, and of the greater diversity of religious beliefs to be found amongst present-day communities in Wales

Again, we have a blueprint for teaching Welshness within a received Celtic context, and it is that context which is deemed best able to foster a Welsh identity in pupils. Curriculum Cymreig presents ways in which teachers can include specifically Welsh themes in all subjects. In Art at KS1, curriculum advisors suggest using 'Celtic' design as a theme for students to work with. This includes Celtic crosses, Celtic patterns, the White Horse of Uffingham (*sic*), the Mari Lwyd and Cadi Ha traditions and horse brasses (Curriculum Council for Wales, 1991: 15). The Celtic tradition is also discussed in religious education. And in the study of foreign languages, connections between Welsh, Breton, Galician, Irish and Cornish (although, interestingly, not Scots Gaelic) are highlighted. Cross-curricular work in primary school can involve studying Celtic 'stones' of various types as a unifying topic for history, geography, Welsh, art and religious education: cromlechs, Stonehenge (with its controversial links with the Preseli hills), Carnac,

hillforts and stone burials, Celtic crosses, Ogham writing, Gorsedd stones and links with Iolo Morganwg and Welsh stone houses. Possible extra-curricular activities include visits to museums and open-air reconstructions (ibid.: 37).

The Curriculum Council for Wales is keen to foster critical approaches to the past. Stated aims of the Council's approaches to history involve helping pupils to:

- come to their own conclusions about the validity of the various historical interpretations they will encounter
- use procedures which help to promote historical objectivity
- respect historical interpretations other than their own
- understand better the ways in which the attitudes and values of contemporary society are shaped by the ways in which the past has been, and is, presented
- become more tolerant of the views of others
- become more effective citizens in a democratic society

History as interpretation is perhaps the most significant area that the Curriculum Council has endeavoured to impress upon teachers (CCW, 1993b). As Table 6.1 demonstrates, curriculum advisors in Wales stress that history is made and understood within a wider context of cultural production. However, the media through which we see the past remain differentiated according to 'seriousness' and implied accuracy. Pupils are taught that there is a linear progression from individual fictions to sanctioned truths. Furthermore, there is no sense of interplay among the interpretations, no sense that academic constructions incorporate elements of the personal and storytelling. If pupils and teachers are to understand history as interpretation they have to begin questioning where the lines between fact and fiction are drawn and why.

Interpretation in History in the National Curriculum (Wales)	
Types of interpretation	Examples
Personal	Personal reflection
Popular	Folk wisdom about the past Theme parks Nostalgic depictions in advertising
Fictional	Novels Feature films TV dramas Plays
Educational	Textbooks Museums TV documentaries Artists' interpretations
Academic	Books and journals by professional historians Excavation reports Lectures

Table 6.1 Curriculum Council for Wales' recommendations for the teaching of history through interpretations in the National Curriculum (Wales) (CCW, 1991).

Scotland

The Scottish Office Education Department published *Environmental Studies 5–14* as part of the Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland National Guidelines. Although archaeology and Celtic culture do not appear as stated subjects of study, the guidelines provide ample opportunity to use material culture to discuss issues of chronology, identity and place:

The environment as it is reflected in these guidelines encompasses all the social, physical and cultural conditions which influence, or have influenced, the lives of the individual and the community; and which shape, or have been shaped by, the actions, artefacts and institutions of successive generations. At a more immediate level, this definition includes everyday curricular experiences through which the pupils' knowledge of the environment develops (The Scottish Office Education Department, 1993).

The Scottish Education Department neatly makes the link between obviously built environments (the landscapes of buildings and things) and the subtleties of a so-called natural environment which has been shaped through millennia of human activity. The Attainment Outcomes in Environmental Studies are comparable to those of the National curricula of both England and Wales:

Science	Understanding Living Things and the Processes of Life Understanding Energy and Forces Understanding Earth and Space
Social Subjects	Understanding People and Place Understanding People in the Past Understanding People in Society
Technology	Understanding and Using Technology in Society Understanding and Using the Design Process

Underpinning this is an emphasis on acquiring skills and developing 'attitudes' (ibid.: 4) through a system of strands:

- **Knowledge and Understanding**
- **Planning**
- **Collecting Evidence**
- **Recording and Presenting (Science and Social Subjects only)**
- **Applying Skills and Presenting Solutions (Technology only)**
- **Interpreting and Evaluating**
- **Developing Informed Attitudes**

Like the English and Welsh curricula, cross-curricular themes are developed in order to tie in what pupils learn in each subject area to the whole school environment. It acknowledges the interconnectedness of human societies and seeks to impress upon students that subject specialisms are meaningful in everyday life only through their interrelations.

'Understanding People and Place' involves a specifically material approach to studying human society by examining:

- **aspects of the physical and built environment**
- **ways in which places have affected people and people have used and affected places**
- **transport and communications links and networks**
- **making and using maps**

The above all rely on archaeological approaches to the construction of knowledge, with foci on buildings, field boundaries and the way in which 'today's landscapes are the product of the interaction of people and places over lengthy periods of time' (ibid.: 33). This focus is repeated in 'Understanding People in the Past' which involves studying the people, events and societies of significance in the past; developing an understanding of change and continuity, cause and effect; developing an understanding of time and historical sequence; developing an understanding of the nature of historical evidence; considering the meaning of heritage (Table 6.2).

Throughout the levels of environment studies, pupils are taught with reference to relationships between history, heritage and identity. In particular:

the relationship between heritage at the local level and in the national context can be explored in studies of art, literature, architecture and institutions such as the Scottish burghs. People should have opportunities, throughout the programme, to explore the character, languages, dialects and achievements of Scotland and its people. In this way, pupils should identify with the country in which they live and acquire knowledge and understanding of the interwoven strands of culture and heritage (ibid.: 96).

I will come back to this centrality of identity formation through state education below. However, the Iron Age, whether specifically Celtic or not is invisible in official educational publications. Picts certainly play a role in Scottish education as school groups visit the Megele museum and Aberlemno stones. This embodies the specific history of archaeological practice in Scotland, the mythology of nationhood and, on a simple level, accessibility. In Scotland the high profile early sites are not imposing hillforts but the 'mysterious' remains of long-vanished Picts. Furthermore, Pictish remains are easily accessible from the metropolitan centres of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Iron Age brochs are associated with the highlands and do not play a central role in Scottishness. Emphasis on Picts (as somehow essentially distinct from the 'Gaels') is a significant aspect of reproducing Scotland as the 'most' distinct and distant country within Britain and it is interesting that the (ambiguous) tensions visible in the political and cultural relationships between Wales and England are mirrored in their similar yet different use of Celtic culture in state education.

Understanding People in the Past

<i>Stages P1 - P3</i>	<i>Stages P4 - P6</i>	<i>Stages P7 - S2</i>
<p><i>Studying people, events and societies of significance in the past</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the pupils' own past and the past of their families and communities, emphasizing memories and the significant events stories which develop an awareness of the past 	<p><i>Studying people, events and societies of significance in the past</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> distinctive historical features of periods or topics chosen, which will allow pupils to acquire a sense of the past the diversity of lifestyles and experiences of people in past societies 	<p><i>Studying people, events and societies of significance in the past</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the values and attitudes which have shaped and characterized various societies in the past the circumstances which governed the motives and actions of people in particular situations reasons why societies, people and events are thought to be of historical significance
<p><i>Developing an understanding of change and continuity, cause and effect</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> changes affecting their own and other people's lives and the life of their community simple cause and effect sequences in their own lives 	<p><i>Developing an understanding of change and continuity, cause and effect</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> changes which have taken place over a period of time and comparison of features of the historical contexts studied with the present causes and effects of historical events, situations and developments studies 	<p><i>Developing an understanding of change and continuity, cause and effect</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> more complex changes and why some features change while others show continuity over time how decisions and events in the past can have significant effects on present circumstances or values more complex causes or effects of significant historical events, circumstances or developments studied
<p><i>Developing an understanding of time and historical sequence</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> annual patterns and the sequence of events in their own and others' lives ways of describing and measuring time simple sequencing of historical items, e.g.. objects, pictures 	<p><i>Developing an understanding of time and historical sequence</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the relative age of people, places and objects from a variety of historical contexts appropriate vocabulary of time, e.g.. the use of dates and historical terms such as 'century' 	<p><i>Developing an understanding of time and historical sequence</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> extension of pupils' chronological framework and of the features which enable the location in historical sequence of those aspects of the past which they have studied
<p><i>Developing an understanding of the nature of historical evidence</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> selected sources of historical evidence, particularly artefacts and visual sources 	<p><i>Developing an understanding of the nature of historical evidence</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> use of a variety of sources of historical evidence 	<p><i>Developing an understanding of the nature of historical evidence</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the value of historical evidence in contexts studied
<p><i>Considering the meaning of heritage</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> memories and memorabilia and their importance to families and communities 	<p><i>Considering the meaning of heritage</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ways in which people remember and preserve the past, e.g.. stories, buildings, customs, ceremonies, festivals 	<p><i>Considering the meaning of heritage</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the meaning of heritage and ways of preserving selected features of the past the background and issues in preserving an aspect of local or national heritage

Table 6.2 Contexts and content for developing understanding in 'Understanding People in the Past' (The Scottish Office Education Department, 1993: 35).

Beyond the playground

Clearly, with curricular emphasis on the importance of material culture and the built environment in teaching pupils to think in terms of 'pastness', museums and the heritage industry at large play a significant role. Today most museums have some form of education service that works in close contact with schools to organize INSET (in-service-training) courses for teachers to learn how to approach material culture critically. The heritage 'quangos' and non-departmental government bodies – English Heritage, Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments and Historic Scotland – all produce curricularly-oriented educational material and make provision for school groups to visit sites in their care.¹⁵

Museum pasts

As one of the highest profile organizations in Britain, the British Museum has a well-developed Education Service (BMES) which facilitates use of the museum's collections by school groups through resource packs (James, 1989; 1993) and in-service training (INSET) programmes for teachers. As the museum itself remains object-based with gallery upon gallery of glass cases, it is perhaps not surprising that the archaeo-historic narratives of educational materials focuses on material culture as illustrative of past cultures. The *Celts Resource Pack*, written and designed by Simon James in 1989 and revised in 1993 was intended for use with the early medieval collections and what were the Iron Age and Celtic Art galleries.

The BMES has been at pains to link its display with the aims of the *National Curriculum (England)* beyond study of the Romans at KS2 and Roman Empire at KS3:

The curriculum actually provides a number of opportunities for studying the Celts, both in ancient and more recent times, in the supplementary units at KS2, 3 and 4. For example, in KS2 studies of houses or food and farming could include the British Iron Age. A possibility for KS3 supplementary unit on a 'study of an episode or turning point in European history' could cover Iron Age Celtic Europe and its conquest by the Roman Empire, as a case study of the clashing and merging of societies (1993).

Yet the overarching focus is on uncritical narratives of Celtic culture. The Irish, Scots, Welsh, Cornish and Breton peoples are described as surviving Celts who exhibit the same 'artistic brilliance, linguistic subtlety and energy' as their Iron Age forebears ('Celts: an historical outline': 1)). Beyond that Romanticism is a continuing reliance on technological determinism in archaeological explanation:

¹⁵ It should be noted that Cadw dissolved its Education Unit in the mid-1990s, in order to cut down on DRCs (Direct Running Costs). Although this would appear to be a somewhat short-sighted view, there are no plans at present to reinstate the unit (Presentation Branch information).

When Gaul succumbed to barbarian invaders from Germany in the early 400s, Britain was cut off, and its Romano-Celtic culture soon collapsed. In the Eastern part of the island Germans moved in to fill the power vacuum. Western Britain, never very successfully Romanized, rapidly reverted to a patchwork of Celtic tribal states ('Celts: an historical outline': 5)

From various perspectives such as Bradley's critique of 'cultural continuity' (1987) to the contingency of mechanistic definitions of cultural change (cf. esp. Barratt, 1988; Shanks and Tilley, 1987; 1992) and the totalization of monolithic discourses of the past (cf. Shanks, 1992) this passage runs into problems. Although James does not necessarily hold to this interpretation of the Iron Age (pers. comm.), there are certain 'practical' constraints imposed on interpretation by the bureaucracy of institutions such as the British Museum. The *Celts Resource Pack* bounds the museum's collection in national curriculum friendly subjects such as 'Celtic warfare', 'Celtic art', 'Settlements and landscapes' and 'Iron Age agriculture'. Although certain aspects of the Romantic Celtic image are questioned, life during the Iron Age continues to be structured around the mechanic and macho, with the contingency of interpretation marginalized.

Ken Brassil, of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales, heads the Archaeological Interpretation in Education programme based at the Museum of Welsh Life at St Fagans. Under his leadership, the education service has sought to make interpretation paramount with INSET courses aimed at encouraging teachers to challenge Celtic cultural stereotypes and think critically about history making. However, as I discussed in chapter four, there are some very important differences between the British Museum and National Museums and Galleries of Wales. The main Cathays Park site's Iron Age collection is not as visually spectacular and, I would suggest, not as open to being seen as 'speaking for itself' as the material at the British Museum. The Museum of Welsh Life at St. Fagans is based entirely on reconstruction outside any historical or geographical context and is an obvious exercise in the construction of archaeo-historical narrative. Brassil viewed this artifice as ideal for the exploration of interpretation, thus shifting curricular emphasis on historical themes to the curricular goals of understanding the processes by which we make history. How museums align themselves with curricular guidelines is, then, dependent on both the history and curatorial approach of the institution and its specific position as a social marker.

Heritage and the state

With their remits of protecting, conserving and promoting built heritage, English Heritage, Historic Scotland and Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments focus on *in situ* remains which testify to the 'reality' of the past. These are the spaces, rather than the materials, of the past, and as such, can be used as concrete stages on which to enact cross-curricular themes. All three

organizations allow for free educational group visits, marketed with reference to the 'spectacular settings' of many sites, sites whose physical settings 'can be intensely stimulating to children and teachers alike' such that 'your class will respond enthusiastically to meeting the past face to face' (*Historic Properties: Free educational visits* 1993: 1).

English Heritage has the most developed Education Service which, under Mike Corbishley, publishes written material, educational resource catalogues and *Remnants*, the Educational Service journal; produces video documentaries, posters, slide packs and computer software; and arranges courses and events for schools and teachers who wish to augment their National Curriculum work from KS1 to GCSE. Education Centres have been set up at sites ranging from the Alexander Keiller Museum at Avebury to Wroxeter Roman city and Kenwood House. Publications for teachers are geared towards enabling them to use English Heritage properties and materials throughout the National Curriculum subject areas (*Using the Historic Environment*, 1993). Suggestions include using sites in English studies as stimuli for formal and creative writing, drama and media studies (with reference to heritage representations). Geographical skills such as the use of photographs, plans, sections and maps and the study of tourism and local economies can also be developed. Mathematics, science, art, music, modern languages, religious education and physical education can all be applied to visits to properties.

Although cross-curricular themes such as personal and social education, multi-cultural education, careers education and guidance, gender issues, health education and environmental education are all themes available to explore within the built environment, technology studies are particularly emphasized (*ibid.*). One of English Heritage's more recent publications, *Ancient Technology* (Keen, 1997), 'offers practical guidance on activities such as building a round house, making fire and cooking, agriculture and making and using tools and simple machines' (*The Teacher*, July/August 1997: 16), representative of what Samuel argues is the heritage industry's giving a 'new centrality to habitat ... [which] brings an archaeological – or anatomical – imagination to bear on the design and technology of the home' (Samuel, 1994: 277). Earlier relevant publications include *A Teacher's Guide to Learning from Objects* (Durbin, Morris and Wilkinson, 1990), *Food and cooking in Prehistoric Britain* (1985), and *A Teacher's Guide to Using Prehistoric Sites* (Putnam and Putnam, 1994).

Although Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments disbanded its educational department (formerly headed by Rhian Watcyn Jones), education remains central to its interpretative activities with school groups making up in the neighbourhood of one eighth of total visits (see introduction to this chapter). Cadw publishes bilingual educational materials, teacher's packs and videos such as *Castles Alive* (1994), *Gerald of Wales: A window on the past* (1988), *Gerald of Wales*

(1988) and *Abbeys Alive* (1996). Educational resource packs and books deal in the main with Romans (Caerleon), castles, abbeys, industrial heritage and personalities such as Gerald of Wales. However, Cadw together with the Council for British Archaeology and the National Museums and Galleries of Wales have also published *Archaeology and the National Curriculum in Wales* which, much like the CBA publication in England, sets out ways in which teachers can use archaeology in the classroom. It is also an important link between the national curriculum's focus on Welsh prehistory and the major heritage organizations' focus on the medieval past of Wales.

Historic Scotland's Education Service under Marion Fry aims to keep teachers informed of free visits schemes and supporting resources such as newsletters, on-site training and conferences. When I visited Fry in 1993, the Service was newly set up. Late in 1997 the service was expanded, however, with the employment of an added assistant. Most work with school groups focuses on Pictish stones and, as in Wales, castles and the roles they play in the past and present in Scotland. In one exercise, children role play at Stirling Castle in order to explore ideas of everyday life then.

Working with other agencies such as local museums, Scottish Natural Heritage and the National Trusts for Scotland the Historic Scotland Education Service is structured around curricular requirements for 5-14 year olds. Various media from books and leaflets to videos are produced for schools and archaeological excavations are promoted. Their intention is to 'raise awareness of the 'built' heritage as part of the developing Environmental Education programme in schools' (Historic Scotland, 1994: 1). However, because Historic Scotland, like both English Heritage and Cadw, is a site-specific organization, the Iron Age is under-represented in its educational materials.

Although a Celtic Iron Age is central to the contemporary material culture of heritage, museum display, broadcast media and curricula, the national heritage institutions focus on the sites that they list and schedule. It is more financially viable to focus interpretative activities at highly visible, accessible sites. Furthermore, notwithstanding highly visible places such as Maiden Castle, the Iron Age appears to be understood (at least by those in the heritage industry) more in terms of material culture than as a spatializing of landscape. By focusing on major sites from the Roman period through the early modern, English Heritage, Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments and Historic Scotland are heritage bodies which represent the official pasts of the three countries. However, because of the relative absence of Iron Age representations, what is perhaps reproduced is a sense of the Iron Age as mysterious and marginalized from state knowledge. Where Iron Age Celts do make their appearance in the national curricula, they are reproduced as children's knowledge for it is only in primary school that they receive any

significant attention. Celts are 'appropriate' for children because study of them involves 'simple' technologies and exciting myth and comparatively uncomplicated domestic spaces.

In fact, a Celtic Iron Age introduces children to learning to think with the past. They are introduced to archaeo-historic concepts which they can then put into play during their more 'mature' experiences of place and past at more serious sites such as castles and manor houses. In this way we begin to identify the infrastructures of *habitus* through which children are drawn into a language of heritage which legitimates British nationhood, identity and the specific domestic *habitus* whereby certain parents see heritage visiting as inherently important.

Print media

Of course, children are not only exposed to narratives of the past in school or as members of school visits to museums and heritage centres. The non-fiction publishing sector in children's books is ever growing and archaeo-historic narratives of a Celtic Iron Age are not absent, with Ginn and Co. being one of the major houses producing texts for schools use (see Table 6.3 for a sample of non-fiction children's books which refer to Celts).¹⁶

¹⁶Thanks go to Mike Morton-Thorpe, History Advisor, Sheffield Education Authority, for arranging time for me to research educational resources at the city's Southfields Curriculum Centre.

Selected archaeo-historic books for children

1. J F Aylett. 1985. *In Search of History*. London: Edward Arnold
2. R Burrell. 1980. *The Invaders*. Oxford Junior History
3. Burrell. 1983. *The Oxford Children's History Volume 1: Earliest times to the last Stuarts*. Oxford: UP
4. Burrell. 1991. *The Romans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
5. R J Cootes & L E Snellgrove. 1970. *The Ancient World*. New York: Longman
6. C Culpin & D Linsell. *Past into Present 1*. Collins Lower School History
7. A Farmer. 1991. *Invaders and Settlers*. Aylesbury: Ginn & Co.
8. S Harris. 1989. *Son of Rebellion: A story of Boudica's Britain*. Saffron Walden: Anglia Young Books
9. S & H Harrison. 1988. *The Ancient World*. Walton-on-Thames: Nelson
10. J M Jamieson. 1977. *The Romans in Britain*. London: Edward Arnold
11. J Mason. 1991. *Roman Britain Resource Book*. Harlow: Longman
12. H Middleton & H Leyser. 1986. *Invasion and Integration*. Oxford : Oxford University Press
13. D Morrison. 1978. *The Romans in Britain*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd
14. J Nichol. 1983. *Prehistoric Britain*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
15. G Osband. 1989. *Roman Britain*. National Trust & Kingfisher
16. R Place. 1977. *The Celts*. Avon: Purnell & Sons
17. J Sampson. 1991. *Invaders and Settlers*. Aylesbury: Ginn & Co.
18. C Shepherd, et al. 1991. *Contrasts and Connections*. London: John Murray
19. J Shirter & F Reynoldson. 1991. *Boudicca*. Oxford: Heinemann Educational
20. T Wood. 1989. *The Romans*. Loughborough: Ladybird
21. J Woodhouse. 1991. *Boudicca*. Aylesbury: Ginn & Co.
22. C Wright. 1986. *A Children's History of Britain and Ireland*. London: Kingfisher

Table 6.3 Selected bibliography of archaeo-historic books for children.

In non-fiction books for children Iron Age Celts are 'members of an extraordinary collection of peoples who at one time ruled all the land from Turkey to Ireland' (Wright, 1986: 23). Although 'with their elected chiefs, their regard for women, and the lack of division between rich and poor, they seem more like us than the Romans' (Wright, 1986: 25), women are described as having 'spent their time cooking and preserving food, spinning and weaving cloth, and bringing up children' (Place, 1977: 24; Burrell, 1983). The only woman to escape definition through the domestic is Boudica who plays a central role in many of the texts. Although Celtic fierceness is cited in the majority of publications, it is argued that British Celts suffered defeat at Maiden Castle because they were too lazy and did not store enough stones (Burrell, 1983: 14) and even though skilled at iron working, Celtic towns were 'dirty and smelly' (Wood, 1989, no page no.). Druids are described as having fled to Britain from Europe 'when the Romans had tried to stamp out their cruel religion' (ibid.). Even more recent publications suggest that Celtic life was defined by such activities as 'farming, weaving, carpentry, black-smithing, bread making, hunting,

gathering fruit and berries' (Sampson, 1991: 5). Although some texts include questions for readers (Burrell, 1980), the answers remain bounded by the information children find in the text:

- why have the temples and houses gone?
- why was it important for a tribe to own land?
- describe an attack on a hillfort as a warrior would have seen it.
- write a speech for a Celtic chief
- describe a sacrifice
- describe a day as a Celtic child
- why are sheep important?
- why are there so few smiths today?
- why didn't Celts know about germs?

Illustrating these texts are photographs and drawings of post holes, Iron Age harnesses, pottery and hillforts (Burrell, 1983). Large, muscle-bound wood-painted men wearing 'eared' helmets and brandishing spears and numerous shields based on examples from Britain's museums fight beneath the walls of Maiden Castle (ibid.). Tribal life is represented by photographs of spears and illustrations of men engaging in battle pottery, metalwork, ploughing, making chariots and smithing (Figure 6.1) and Maiden Castle plays a central role in illustrating Celtic approaches to battle (Burrell, 1983; Culpin and Linsell, n.d.; Wright, 1986). Descriptions of gender specific activities are illustrated by drawings of men farming and women performing domestic duties (Figure 6.2). When men are shown in the domestic setting of the roundhouse, they are drawn standing as they cook while women are depicted sitting and kneeling, making baskets and grinding corn (Wood, 1989). Too often, women are invisible except for their token presence as possible 'queens' (Figure 6.3). The only text to begin to challenge these stereotypes represents men cooking and spinning while women weave and tend chickens and the fields (Farmer, 1991).

A fight to the death



Figure 6.1 'A fight to the death',
in Place, 1977.



Figure 6.2 Celtic women at work in the kitchen, in Place, 1977.

Education and identity

Although there are significant differences in the emphases placed on various aspects of teaching history in schools in Scotland, England and Wales, what emerges is an overarching sense of teaching children to think with the past. To do that, pupils are provided with a vocabulary to *speak* the past. They learn to envision human activity in terms of achievement with a technological focus which is structured around 'centuries' and 'periods'. Underlying themes of historical development, however, is a focus on identity tied to the belief that to understand who we are now, we have to understand who we once were. Problematically, that 'we' is left undefined.

Of particular relevance is the recently intensified debate about the role of schools and curricula in fostering children's identities. The most provocative question has been whether pupils should be 'taught' about British or English identities. Certainly Wales and Scotland incorporate cultural elements in their history teaching in order to explicate their own positions within Britain. Nick Tate, Chief Executive of the Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority, joined the fray with 'National identity and the school curriculum' (1996: 7-9) in which he argues that ethical relativism and postmodernity have eroded 'traditional assumptions about identities and values' (ibid.: 7). Apart from his uncritical readings of the critiques of grand narratives (ibid.: 8) he argues for the teaching of Shakespeare and the King James Bible because they embody a common core of Englishness. While it is clear that the 'constructedness' of cultural traditions does not negate the meanings we invest in them, Tate's argument that we should not be afraid of holding up 'our' identity as superior to others (ibid.) illuminates the highly problematic nature of teaching identity. Without acknowledging possible difference, then Englishness does become bound by the socially dominant. Although pupils are not social 'dupes' and do engage creatively with state curricula (cf. Willis, 1976), the dangers of cementing identity and archaeo-historic narratives without questioning what a 'common core' of Englishness may mean are clear.

In Wales, there is no hesitation in speaking about and teaching a Welsh identity. The Curriculum Council for Wales' curriculum *Cymreig* includes discussion of 'Belonging: what it means to be Welsh' which 'attempts to enable pupils to think critically about the nature and significance of nationality' (Curriculum Council for Wales, 1991: 34). Questions for pupils include:

- Does nationality depend on where you are born?
- Do you take your nationality from your parents?
- What if your parents have different nationalities?
- Is a Welsh speaker more Welsh?
- Can we change our nationality?

The tribe



Figure 6.3 The tribe as organized by Place, 1977.
Note that the one visible woman is a 'queen'.

In Wales nationality and identity are conflated which excludes those pupils in Wales who may not be Welsh from birth but who see themselves as part of Welsh life. Officially, Welsh educators and policy makers seek to define Wales in inclusive terms through reference to shared histories of oppression.

Memory and its meaningful constitution through the use of 'things' shapes pupils experiences of the environment and is focal in fostering children's identity in the context of nationhood. Yet memory is structured chronologically. Thus identity is defined along a time line. Heritage sites and museums reproduce this pedagogical emphasis on linear and often causal change. Although the national curricula have attempted to move away from a strict chronology in history teaching such that periods are mixed and matched, the focus on technological change reifies links between history and the evolutionary move from simple to complex. I would also argue that the focus on the use of things through time, without discussion of how we come to understand the role of things in our own lives, plays into the marketing of the past. As we saw in the previous chapter, children, particularly those visiting heritage sites and museums in school groups, are significant consumers of the contemporary material culture of heritage.

The materiality of the past as mirrored in the materiality of the present is articulated through a language of heritage which is syntactically structured around contingent descriptions and measurements of time through the use of words such as 'century' and 'archaeology', 'change' and 'continuity'. Although time spent in school and school-related activity is not the sole context in which pupils experience representations of the past, it is in school that children are exposed to the state-sanctioned workings of *habitus*. Pupils then creatively engage with these discourses to make sense of discrepancies among the valuing of the past by parents, friends and the school such that we cannot generalize about the ways in which children will understand and use archaeo-historic narratives from the curricula alone.

Conclusions

Archaeo-history in school education and its implementation through curricular frameworks rests on learning to articulate the contingent meanings of things. In the national curriculum in England a Celtic Iron Age is set up in opposition to 'official' history, introduced with the arrival of Romans. Iron Age technologies thus embody the culture of British (*sic*) otherness. And because Iron Age Celts are curricularly associated with the present of Celtic Britain, those technologies are easily harnessed to narratives which reproduce the 'Celtic west' as more mysterious, unknown and even 'primitive' than England. Celtic culture is what the 'English' had to progress from. In Wales, however, the detailed linking of prehistory and identity intimately relates past and present. However, in keeping with inter-war discourses on the

dynamic possibilities of using tradition in a modern context (see chapter five), history in the Welsh curriculum uses the Celtic past as a way to 'think' a distinct Welsh present. Although the components of the Welsh and English curricula are similar, they are made meaningful in significantly different ways. Again, in Scotland, the themes pupils are to learn (chronologies, reasons for change, links with the present) are the same as those in England and Wales. However, it would appear that in Scotland 'Celts' as such play no role. Instead, Scotland has its 'own' early, mysterious people, the Picts – although the differentiation between Pict and Gael is rather fuzzy.

Interwoven through the specificity of curricular emphases, however, is the centrality of the mainstream interpretation of a Celtic Iron Age detailed in chapter two, and in common with the other heritage media discussed in this dissertation. So although young pupils in England, Scotland and Wales are taught specifically to 'think with the past' when conceptualizing specific Celticized identities, the material at their disposal is strikingly similar. However, what is significant is that this monolithic Celtic Iron Age can be harnessed to various, individual requirements. Beyond this, of course, individual children will use the past to conceive of themselves and nation in various ways, dependant on the myriad domestic and social *habitus* through which they live.

What is particularly intriguing however, is that aside from obvious connections between archaeo-historic narratives in curricula and technology, the teaching of the past in material terms bears on the ways in which we come to think about past events and our (material) consumption of a whole culture of heritage. By drawing on broadcast media, heritage spaces and the large heritage organizations, teachers make the cultural production of heritage visible, and therefore consumable. If questions of how and why we study a Celticized Iron Age at school actually begin to be addressed within the classroom, then perhaps more children can be allowed to understand what point there might be in 'seeking knowledge' (see introduction quotation). Obviously the meanings invested in the past by individual pupils is shaped by myriad forces from the mundane to the profound. What is clear, however, is that curricula discussed embody values the (already initiated) adult world places on knowing about the past. The different uses these values are put to in everyday life are discussed in Part III where I unpack notions of memory, identity, race, 'the Past', nostalgia and reminiscence and explore the ways in which they resonate through people's (both adults and children on school trips) consumption of archaeological knowledge.

PART III

VISITOR GAZES AND CONSUMING PASSIONS

Every age not only dreams the next, but while dreaming impels it towards wakefulness.

Walter Benjamin

CONSUMING CELTIC WALES

... the objects in our lives, as distinct from the way we make use of them at a given moment, represent something much more, something profoundly related to subjectivity: for while the object is a resistant material body, it is also, simultaneously, a mental realm over which I hold sway, a thing whose meaning is governed by myself alone. It is all my own, the object of my passion.

Baudrillard, 1994

Introduction

In Parts I and II of this dissertation I have attempted to chart the Celticentric landscapes of 'official' spaces of heritage in Britain through a description and theoretical critique of the mediated material culture of heritage. Although each form encompasses a range of interweaving specificities, the heritage media discussed in chapters three through six are part of the same historicized process I outlined in chapters one and two whereby cultural production – specifically the production of *material* culture associated with narratives of the past – is invested with meaning in the name of the formalized community (nation state, ethnic grouping, racial construct, etc.). That is, the televisual Celt, spatialized heritage narrative, interwar tour guide, school visit and Celtic interlace necklace are all objects with which we engage on a very physical level and upon which we hang ideas about the self and community in practices not unlike those of the ethnography-writing Romans and druid-obsessed antiquarians.

The relationships among the material manifestations of archaeo-historic narratives and notions of identity are, clearly, manifold, interwoven in highly complex and often contradictory patterns. As I have attempted to show, archaeo-historic media are implicated in the production and reproduction of images of a unified Britain through an aggressive flattening out of contingent Iron Age material remains and the assertion, through reference to a taken-for-granted Celtic 'spirit' – that Britain as a geo-cultural entity was a specifically Celtic nation. At the same time, however, the heritage media produced by those who are, in some sense, culturally dominant – that is, by those who have been sanctioned to produce 'official' knowledges in the name of the existing nation state – are also appropriated and transformed by those who seek to assert a Celtic specificity for Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Cornwall, to make visible claims for distinct nationhoods grounded in prehistoric identities. The irony of claims to ethnic specificities based upon the narratives of those who deny difference, however, is not lost on those within the self-styled Celtic fringes. Terry Eagleton's observation that 'all oppositional politics ... move under the

sign of irony, knowing themselves ineluctably parasitic on their antagonists' certainly resonates in this respect, and has profound implications for how we begin to understand the position of objectified heritage narratives in our lives (Eagleton, 1990: 26).

I am once again confronted (see chapter five) by the realization that an historicized faith in authenticity – expressed most clearly in Hobsbawm's and Ranger's (1983) Marxist critique of invented traditions – is misplaced in any discussion of the role of historical narratives and identity. In stripping back the layers of narrative, we fail to recognize that it is in the accrual of those layers that we create a meaningful and valuable past. The very fact that there is a heritage 'industry' would certainly seem to point to a love of good stories shared by those who consume that media. Yet, it is not enough to resign ourselves to the notion that people have always and will always manipulate visions of the past. This misses the crucial point. To speak of 'pastness' at all is to narrate; it is resolutely not about what 'actually' happened. However, at the same time, narrators of the past continue to argue that their past is more correct, more 'authentic' than any other. And certainly we have seen an important focus on and desire for some sense of authenticity in the production of the heritage media that we consume.

In Part III of this thesis my concern is to move beyond simply dissecting Celticentric archaeo-historic media in order to look at how such media are actually understood by those who engage with them through processes of consumption, and how those understandings are activated through, and impact on, the everyday. We are not 'dupes' destined to make sense of heritage through simple, unproblematic readings of heritage narratives (*cf.* Miller 1995). We all come to media culture with our own ways of looking at things and our own sets of *habitués* through which we make sense of that media culture. And in making sense of that culture we come to affect our future engagements with heritage. To access the means by which Celticentric heritage feeds into identity formation and reformulation through our everyday habits of being, the various ways in which we all consume these narratives of Celtic culture need to be detailed.

The everyday of consuming heritage

Determining the ways in which we actually make sense of and use archaeo-historic media involves its own sets of complications. As I am interested in attempting to open up contradictions and subtleties – to explore the specific consumption of specific narratives – I have borrowed from social anthropology its focus on the analytical possibilities of the interview. In particular, informal interviews/conversations with visitors to heritage spaces may be used to problematize the taken-for-granted singular *habitus* (chapter three) of the heritage visitor and

foreground important differences in the social practices of those who could be said to act socially with recourse to the same *habitus*. In other words, although the professional and semi-professional 'middle classes' make up the bulk of heritage centre and museum visitors (Merriman, 1989a; b; 1991) and those who, generally, consume the material culture of heritage, we need to look at the specific moments and circumstances of that engagement to actually begin to address what it means that consuming the past is a middle-class pursuit.

Actually speaking to people about the meanings they invest in their heritage experiences throws up questions not necessarily asked through traditional statistically driven surveys and opens up new ways of understanding heritage. Since Silverstone called on us to approach heritage as media (1989), the onus has been on researchers to explore the possibilities of in-depth discussion with heritage 'consumers' in order to 'trace and substantiate the interconnections made between the discourses of school and television, guidebook and spectacle as they inform specific readings' (Corner and Harvey, 1991: 73). The recent surge in popularity of borrowing ethnographic techniques from anthropology to detail the manners and methods of the everyday consumption of various media from television to heritage, can be linked to this recent appreciation of heritage as media and of the consumption of these media as a potential field of socio-cultural study (Drotner, 1994).

Should we, however, necessarily apply the term 'ethnography' to this process? With its implications of a Western plundering of others' cultures for academic gain now widely critiqued in anthropological circles (*cf.* Clifford and Marcus, 1986) and, more recently, in cultural and media studies (*cf.* Gillespie, 1995: 55 *ff.*), the historical and academic specificity of ethnography must be acknowledged. Certainly we need to avoid making the assumption that the ethnography is a superior method of making meaning simply because of its seemingly textured and humanistic appearance (Hammersley, 1992; Wellman, 1994). That said, the move from privileging volumes of statistical information over so-called anecdotal evidence is welcome as there is much to gain from contextualizing broad, observable social trends through the narration of specific, non-repeatable moments in everyday life.

The application of ethnographic approaches to the study of heritage has been concentrated on the space of the museum and heritage centre as the most visible manifestation of the communal valuing of the past.¹ Bagnall (1996) and the collected papers in Macdonald and

¹ This focus on the physical spaces of material culture display can, of course, be traced to Bourdieu's work in the field of the sociology of art museum visitors in France (1968; 1984), later developed by Heinich (1988). In Britain perhaps the most active writer in this field has been Merriman (1989a; b; 1991) whose survey work established the importance of the role of *habitus* in museum visiting.

Fyfe (1996) contribute significantly to our moving away from understanding museums and heritage centres as sites from which simply to gain some vague idea of 'knowledge'. Bagnall's paper on heritage-centre visiting in the north-west and Fyfe and Ross's (1996) interviews with museum-goers in the Stoke-on-Trent (Staffs.) area explore the centrality of consuming heritage within these spaces in identity formation and reproduction. Bagnall, through her interview work within the space of the heritage centre, focuses on the importance of physical and emotional mapping in the heritage experience. Fyfe and Ross seek to problematize mechanistic understandings of class – developed, as they see it, through the work of Bourdieu (1968; 1988) – by using their home-based interviews with a small number of socially and economically diverse groups of people to develop the argument that 'museum visiting is not an attribute of individuals so much as a social relationship that is interwoven with dynamics of households, families and life-histories' (Fyfe and Ross, 1996: 142).

Of particular relevance to this chapter, Fyfe and Ross emphasize the importance of the ways in which museums construct place-bound knowledges which are actively used in identity formation. This use, they argue, often denies the validity of presented academic knowledge, such that the museum experience becomes a creative experience whereby the objects displayed are appropriated to the individual's already established sense of the past and his or her relationship to it. For Fyfe and Ross this is allied with the Romantic gaze (*cf.* Urry, 1990) through which the surface of the museum object is seen to 'contain' an emotive power, and it is in that personal connection that the authentic, the historical reality, becomes located (Fyfe and Ross, 1996: 146 *ff.*). Bagnall, too, argues that authenticity is a central feature of visitors' consumption of heritage sites (1996: 229). Yet, this is not an authenticity reliant on the truth claims of the producers of the knowledge presented but, rather, the authentic is defined with respect to the individual's ability to make a personal connection with what she or he sees. In the emotional response can, thus, be found 'truth'. How this question of authenticity is interwoven through my own work with visitors to museums and heritage centres in Wales will be discussed below.

What is particularly significant for the study of archaeo-historic narratives has been the move away from statistically driven survey work. Although large numbers of interviewees supposedly chosen at random allow us to analyse factors of socio-economic class and 'most commonly used words', what this really does is paint a picture so general that we begin to lose sight of the specific circumstances in which we activate archaeo-historic discourses in our daily lives. Indeed, I would suggest, in line with Fyfe and Ross and with Bagnall, that traditional surveys underpinned by statistical analysis (whether 'quantitative' or 'qualitative') really tell us mainly about what the interviewer's concerns are, hidden under some guise of objectivity. It is

not my aim to paint a broad picture of heritage consumption in Britain. Rather, I seek to throw some light onto the specific, the non-repeatable, the highly contingent circumstances of an 'academic' talking about heritage with people who are visiting these spaces for other reasons than professional. That said, there are important themes which cut through individual consumption and which require illumination also. It is in the meeting of the general and the specific that we might begin to construct a way forward which would allow us to interrupt a seamless Celtic narrative with something, perhaps, more interesting.

Wales and heritage consumption

In keeping with my focus elsewhere in this thesis on the specificity of a Celticized Wales, I turn now to exploring how heritage centre and museum visitors in Wales construct notions of 'Welshness', both past and present and how this impacts on their own sense of identity. If museums and heritage centres may be understood as heterotopia (chapter four), as social spaces in which people today gather to express something about their relationships with narratives of the past, then such spaces may be seen as ideal fora in which to discuss those relationships with visitors themselves.

Alongside the display of material culture associated in some way with social elites, museum displays and heritage centres rely on questions of the 'wheres' and 'hows' of everyday life in the past. As I argued in chapter four, in Wales the spaces of heritage which trade in images of a specifically Celtic culture both past and present bound perceptions of memory and nostalgia in the domestic and involve potentially problematic readings of race, identity and nation despite that heritage having been seen traditionally as a specifically *modern* vision of Welsh culture (Gruffudd, 1994a; b; 1995). While acknowledging the reality that heritage centre and museum visitors in Wales themselves cannot be essentialized as a homogeneous group, the question of how they construct notions of 'Welshness', both past and present must now be addressed.

Interview work took place over the summer of 1996 as part of the Board of Celtic Studies' *Social Construction of Heritage and its Meanings in Modern Wales* project.² The three sites chosen – Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort, Celtica, and the Museum of Welsh Life – were intended to represent three, ostensibly different sites with differing interpretative agendas through which narratives of a Celtic past are presented (chapter four). As discussed in chapter four, Castell

² I became involved in this project based at the University of Wales Swansea during the course of my doctoral work. It provided a unique opportunity in which to concentrate my research on the specific social circumstances in which the heritage media forming the core of this thesis is consumed.

Henllys Iron Age Hillfort combines an open-air reconstruction with on-going excavation; Celtica is a privately run heritage centre set up with funding from Montgomeryshire County Council and the European Union, which incorporates a multi-media experience of Celtic Wales with a pseudo-museological interpretative space and a Celtic 'study centre'; and the Celtic Village at the Museum of Welsh life encompasses imaginative reconstructions of three Iron Age roundhouses from different areas of Wales/western England, set amongst the wider museum landscape of reconstructed vernacular Welsh architecture. All three set out a vision of a Celtic Iron Age.

While I was permitted to set up in-depth interviews with visitors to Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica, the National Museums & Galleries of Wales management (the parent body of the Museum of Welsh Life) does not sanction what it sees as 'interference' with the visitor experience. Nevertheless, over a period of two weeks I was able to observe visitors to the 'Celtic village' at the Museum of Welsh Life. This provided a valuable resource which served, in the main, to support information obtained through my work at the other two sites. Interview strategies at Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica also differed somewhat, due to restrictions placed upon the work by site management and, also, by the physical spaces of the two sites.

At Castell Henllys I was given permission to engage with visitors as they wandered through the various areas of the site. In particular, the 'reconstructed' roundhouses there came to form a useful communal space in which to speak with visitors. My methods for choosing interviewees were simple. Firstly, did it appear to me that they might have time to participate? Many visitors were accompanied by small children who were, at times, seemingly not entirely satisfied with their day out. I considered it a point of courtesy not approach families trying to deal with fractious children.³ Secondly, once I had eliminated those people who did not, in my opinion, appear approachable I spoke to everyone I possibly could over the few weeks. If people did not wish to participate, I did not press them on it.

Interviews lasted anywhere from five minutes to an hour, depending on people's willingness to participate. Interviews with twenty-seven groups (CH1-CH27) were audio-taped and transcribed with individuals formally identified according to gender and age group only (Appendix); place of origin and self-defined ethnic identities are further differences brought out through the interview process itself. I also had the opportunity to spend time with various school groups and observed their National Curriculum-orientated activities with staff. One school also

³ Admittedly, such groups could have provided very different narratives from the ones eventually obtained. However, we cannot pretend to be able to appropriate every discourse to such work.

permitted me to speak with some of the children about their perceptions of a Celtic Wales. This will be discussed below.

I analysed these transcripts by identifying the recurrence of common themes, turns of phrase and individual words, in keeping with standard qualitative research models (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Miles and Huberman, 1994). The information such work generates is clearly contingent upon my own appropriation of what people say and how I take that to 'mean'. These themes will be outlined in the tables which punctuate this chapter.

With regards to the context of interviews, Castell Henllys does not receive large numbers of visitors (at any one time no more than thirty people were present within the reconstructed village area), which made my prolonged presence on site each day rather conspicuous. Although any interviewing situation changes the conditions of consumption, my presence at Castell Henllys was particularly noted. Two groups specifically mentioned that I would, in fact, be remembered as part of their heritage experience; after accompanying a Liverpoolian married couple (both 41-50/CH10) through the site they noted 'you made that good for us'. And after asking one family what memories they take away from heritage visits the father replied:

it depends if there's something striking that happens. We'll remember that we've talked to you today! (MAN, 41-50/CH24).

That interchange makes plain the fallacy of 'objective' academic production. In other words, any study of social phenomena always implicates the researcher herself. Rather than attempt to 'see through' such discourse, the position of the academic speaking with others about academic narratives within spaces generated by those narratives should be foregrounded. I cannot escape my own role as an experienced element of the visit.

At Celtica the enclosed space which combines a limited, museum-style display with an audio-visual interpretative experience virtually excludes any interaction among visitors. Semi-structured interviews (comprising a combination of closed- and open-ended questions) with visitors as they left the site thus proved the most feasible approach. At Celtica, because I was stationed outside the main entrance (site management did not want me to 'disturb' people during their visits) I approached every group that I could upon their exit from the site. Those people I did not have the chance to speak with either did not wish to participate in the interview, or exited while I was already engaged in interview work with a group. Interviews lasted between five and fifteen minutes depending on the interviewees' willingness to expand on their answers. In all, twenty-five groups (C1-C26) were taped and transcribed with note-form answers to a further nine groups (C27-C35), who declined to be taped, also transcribed (Appendix). Again,

individuals are formally identified according to gender and age group only; place of origin and self-defined ethnic identities were issues brought out through the interview process itself.

Because most museum and heritage centre visitors experience sites in a group context, (McManus, 1989; but see Bagnall, 1996: 231) I did not wish to draw conclusions on the basis of individual numbers. Group conversations are treated as units so as to enable me to contextualize the meanings which visitors make from representations of the past. Therefore, I also make no claims about the percentages in particular professions or age groups. None the less, visitors to the Museum of Welsh Life, Castell Henllys and Celtica broadly correspond with demographic trends in museum visiting which show a bias towards the professional and semi-professional social class groupings noted by Heinich (1988) and Merriman (1989 a; b; 1991) and, more recently, Bagnall (1996).⁴ In sharp contrast to Bagnall's work, however, most visitors to the sites that I spoke with were not local. In other words, they lived further than thirty miles away from site. Of the twenty-seven groups I spoke with at Castell Henllys, only one group identified itself as living locally (CH16). And of the thirty-five people I spoke with at Celtica, seven (20%) were locally based (C2, C13, C19, C27, C30, C31, C32) while three had visited from elsewhere in Wales (C8, C15, C23). In fact, the vast majority of visitors I spoke with at Castell Henllys were not from Wales at all, but visited the site as part of their holiday breaks from England and Scotland. Although it is tempting to locate the difference in visiting demographics between Celtica and Castell Henllys in some sense of Celtica's pan-Celtic narrative, it should be noted that my work there coincided with the first year of opening, and so we might expect to see a fairly significant number of local visits to the 'new monument in town'.

Significantly, there was little visible ethnic diversity among visitors. Over the few weeks I spent at Castell Henllys only one Afro-British family, from London, visited (CH23). The father resisted my questions about identity (perhaps he thought I was asking simply because he was Black and therefore of interest to academic researchers?), telling me that he and his family visited just because they're interested in museums. And at Celtica, although during my time there no visible ethnic groups other than 'White' visited, one American woman, living in England, did identify herself as Jewish because, as she argued, Jewish people in Britain are too afraid to admit their religion (C24).

⁴Even at the Museum of Welsh Life which draws a large percentage of local visitors, the ABC1s made up 73% of all visits in 1996 (D Huw Thomas, Marketing Manager, National Museums and Galleries of Wales; Beaufort Research Ltd). Fieldwork there was carried out between 20 July and 27 October 1996 with a total of 1680 interviews successfully completed.

Speaking Celtic Wales

Firstly, how do the obvious differences in structure and educational/entertainment intent of Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica affect the ways in which people understand the 'Celtic' in Wales? At the Celtic village at the Museum of Welsh Life it appeared that visitors focused on normative readings of life in the past, where life is reduced to survival. According to site interpreters there, the questions most frequently asked of them had to do with the darkness and smoky smell of the roundhouses and the fact that there are no holes in the roof.⁵ During my time at the site I heard visitors discussing, in the main, domestic activities such as cooking and sleeping and some of the more Romantic features of Iron Age life such as hunting, fighting, and telling stories. As one woman told her child: 'the things these people were thinking about was God, thirst, and providing food and shelter and they would have sung songs and they would have talked and danced'. Interview work with visitors supports the general observation that they approach the Celtic Iron Age in terms of functional and Romantic readings. I define functional constructions of Celtic culture in terms of visitor fascination with the 'bare bones' of everyday life, the essentials of survival. This can also be seen in terms of a singular physical understanding of archaeological ways of knowing. What I refer to as 'Romantic' involves some of the more lurid readings of Celtic culture popular since the eighteenth century already discussed in chapter two (Table 7.1).

At Castell Henllys, with its reconstructed roundhouses and replica interior furnishings, the heritage focus is on the 'things' of the past. Visitors also place importance issues of authenticity, on the way 'you can read and see pictures of these huts in books but to actually go inside and smell 'em and see how dark they were and see what effects of having a fire in there and light and see how they were robust, ha!, surprisingly robust' (MAN, 41-50/CH25). The structure of the buildings, in particular their thatched roofs (as was noted at the Museums of Welsh Life), is an important locus for visitor meanings. The characteristically peaked roofs of Iron Age roundhouses are mentioned in the context of both weather and the hearth fires, where the focus is on the ways in which the roofs keep the elements out and allow the smoke to escape, seen to be basic requirements for human survival. In fact, one visitor was so impressed by the roundhouses that he suggested that:

⁵ As discussed in chapter four, Peter Reynolds' experiments at Butser Farm in Hampshire have lead to the building of Iron Age style roundhouses without 'smoke holes'. Certainly, smoke from interior fires is effectively filtered through the thatched roofs. It is argued that 'smoke holes' create a potentially dangerous updraft which could allow any sparks from the fire below to catch in the thatch, which would then burn quickly. With no smoke hole, soot deposits accumulate on the underside of the roofs, providing an effective fire retardant.

a number of our architects should come along and look at this ... you know they build these flat buildings that leak like mad, and you come into somewhere like that ... we stood in there and it was sluicing down [outside] And it was absolutely dry, and the fire burning in there gave it a feeling of warmth. Even the fumes went right to the top and gradually percolated away but it was very cosy in there wasn't it? (MAN 60+/CH1)

However, underlying comments about 'comfort' is a reading of the past as 'primitive': 'we're quite surprised by the technology in those days, that those small mud huts...you don't appreciate the technology it takes to put one those things up ...' (MAN 31-40/CH12). Certainly visitors remarked on the supposed harshness of life in the past, an emphasis which reinforces the centrality of the physicality of living in the past. When I asked a young Bristolian family (31-40/CH7) what they learned at the site they replied:

WOMAN: How primitive it was I s'pose. How simple things were in some ways and in others, how difficult it was, how we take things for granted.

MAN: I think it's interesting to get some idea of how they lived, the society aspects of it, how they had to have skills. How they had to have someone who could dye and someone who could cook and tend fields whereas nowadays there are about two things we can do and we rely on.

A family from the Lancashire valleys representing three generations (CH13) express similar concerns in this exchange between father (MAN1 60+) and adult son (MAN2 21-30):

MAN2: Makes you realize how they used to live.

MAN1: Take for granted, like electricity and running water.

MAN1: It makes you realize what we take for granted.

Not only is society reduced to the skills necessary for survival, but there is also a sense that it is precisely that intimate connection between the individual and her or his surroundings that has been lost, evidenced by this exchange (M and W 41-50/CH11):

WOMAN: If you haven't got your flints, you can't chop the wood and you can't have your fire. It's all about learning how it started. It's going back.

MAN: But at the end of the day, the mother of invention is here.

Here the functional and the Romantic meet. Central to visitors' valuing of the past in relation to the present is a sense of sameness in the face of obvious difference. A significant aspect of their experience is the way in which the mechanics of survival, the physicality of the everyday, come to frame the specific archaeo-historic narratives presented.

Images of a functional Celtic Iron Age

old sticks	hole	roof
mud	smoke	warmth
cosy	technological	central heating
hygiene	labour	difficulty
skills	building	cold
dirty	function	darkness
biggest	no electricity	no computers

Table 7.1 A selection of words used during interviews, by visitors to Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort to describe how they thought a Celtic Iron Age differed from the present (see Appendix).

These exchanges point to a continuing physicalized understanding of what it means to be a successful human being in both the past and present, with an emphasis on a linear ‘progress’ of history. Certainly the obvious visual focus of Castell Henllys, in common with the Celtic village at the Museum of Welsh Life, is on things, but visitors incorporate and extend questions of functionality to their own concerns. Yet, at the same time there is an articulation of perceptions of greater individual control over one’s surroundings in the past that are constructed in response to increasing claims of modern disenfranchisement, our ‘postmodern condition’ – that ‘a lot of people look to the past more because the present is not very wonderful’ (WOMAN 41-50/CH21).

As to the specifics of the social world of the Celts, visitors to both Castell Henllys and Celtica were quick to respond with the same, familiar images of Celtic culture discussed throughout this dissertation (Table 7.2). Visitors to Celtica framed their understanding in terms of ‘the religion, you know they got all these patterns...’(MAN 31-40/C9), druids (MAN 21-30/C5; WOMAN 31-40/C7; WOMAN 41-50/C22) and Celtic art (WOMAN 31-40/C6; WOMAN 41-50/C12; WOMAN 21-30/C14; WOMAN1 21-30/C20; WOMAN 15-20/C21). The Celt as warrior was also referenced:

What I thought when they were explaining the Celtic culture was to fight and lose generally that was quite interesting because it made you think that there's two aspects to their personality. Concentration on one aspect is fatal. Can't be too emotional about things. They were saying the warriors would go off to battle quite prepared to die. That's pretty pointless. (MAN 31-40/C25)

And when asked about their thoughts on what the Iron Age inhabitants of Castell Henllys were like, visitors focused primarily on that warrior culture:

WOMAN: I think a warlike tribe perhaps and yet they had art and painting and ... mainly I think warlike for me but I don't know about you.

MAN: Yes, by their descriptions they were very tall and they were very warlike. They didn't write things down because the druids liked to keep the power over the people and didn't encourage writing...(W & M 51-60/CH25)

Although visitors clearly express their own individual interests in a Celtic Iron Age, I suggest that heritage centre representations do, in fact, constrain the ways in which visitors understand the specific archaeo-historic narrative. Particularly, visitors focused, in the main, on text-book descriptions of pan-European Celtic society. The specific differences in narrative focus made little difference to visitors' descriptions of Celtic peoples in Wales. However, the emphasis at the two sites is markedly different. At Castell Henllys the representational focus is on the functioning of everyday life while Celtica seeks to invest Romantic meanings into the day to day. While it could be argued that Castell Henllys and Celtica attract different visitors, there is some evidence in the form of casual reference to the other sites that interviewees (specifically holiday makers from outside Wales) had, indeed visited both. The content of heritage sites – at Castell Henllys the very physicality of life and at Celtica the ephemera of 'culture' – thus appears to be directly related to the ways in which visitors articulate their general understanding of a Celtic Iron Age.

Images of the Celts		
Druids	wattle	daub
feasting	boar	head-hunting
adventure	warriors	gods
swords	shields	farmers
religion	tribes	skeletons
huts	culture	resourceful
wars/battles	colourful	cauldron
pride	woad	matriarchal
chariots	horses	culture in nature
wisdom	chief	forts/hillforts
Boudica	art	power
Celtic church	red-headed	pure race
Book of Kells	ogham	strange/obscure
no writing	songs	sacrifice

Table 7.2 When asked what they thought 'Celts' were like, visitors to both Celtica and Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort brought up these images.

Learning to think with the past

How is the bounded understanding of prehistory discussed above activated in visitors' broader understandings of history in their everyday lives? All of those interviewed described themselves as heritage centre and museum visitors, if only while on holiday. Within this, there emerged four themes which structured this involvement in heritage: education, entertainment, family identity and cultural identity, all of which, again, revolve around notions of authenticity. Heritage centres and museums are seen to 'keep memories, they help to give, like the Welsh here, to keep their identity, their feeling of identity' (MAN 31-40/C11). These themes can be expressed concomitantly, and often in contradictory terms, with emphasis dependent on conversational context so that visitors imperceptibly segue from the importance of heritage visiting in their reproduction of family identities to educational concerns through to questions of race and ethnicity. I suggest that what becomes apparent is that visiting these heritage sites is central to affirming and reproducing the value which visitors place on 'knowing about the past'. Castell Henllys and Celtica are easily assimilated into visitors' historical discourses which, in turn, are used in the legitimization of visitors' understanding of the world around them in the present.

Valuing the past is not an innate instinct. So, by what means do some people come to see visiting heritage sites and museums as important to them? Visitors point to the importance of sites in the education of children and, indeed, 25%-40% of visits to heritage sites and museums are made by school groups (D Huw Thomas, Marketing Manager, National Museums and Galleries of Wales; Claire Hamer, Marketing Manager, Big Pit). Both Castell Henllys and Celtica see broadly defined pedagogical aims as a central remit in their representation of a Celtic past and Celtic culture: '... to manage the site ... in such a way that the local communities around it would start to consider this to be part of their own community heritage' (Phil Bennett, Site Manager, Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort). For visitors to Castell Henllys, however, it is the physicality of the site that is central to this role and is seen to correspond with 'the modern approach to education' (MAN 41-50/CH11):

when you read something in a book you've got no visual effects, except for a drawing on a page. But when you see something in working order it's a lot more interesting (WOMAN, 41-50/CH11).

At Celtica, too, 'it's good to actually do and see, because in some ways if you're actually seeing an item it's better than if you're reading a book' (WOMAN 31-40/C1). Although this concern is expressed in terms of the visual, I would suggest that the visual is a metaphor for a more general physical experience of pastness which is seen to be superior to 'book learning': 'it's

really good for children because I think, it's, I never, at school history and all that stuff never interested me' (WOMAN 41-50/CH10).

Formal education

Clearly, though, formal education is an important social arena in which children play out and negotiate roles first set out within the family. If parents see the past as something of value in which to participate, how is this translated to children, through their formal school visits to heritage spaces? A typical day at Castell Henllys for primary school pupils (KS 1 and 2) consists of being told 'Celtic' stories which link the hillfort and the Preseli hills in with the wider body of Celtic myth. Children practise basket making, wattle and daubing and engage in 'warrior training'. As a volunteer basket-maker at the site told me, the children 'pretend they're living in the Iron Age', which she sees as a positive approach to the past as 'it brings it alive to them'. The specifically educational content of the day involves children being introduced to the site at the education centre where they are greeted by role-playing volunteers who initiate children into the past by telling them the story of Culwch and Olwen from the *Mabinogion*, and then guiding the children into the past by walking them along a spiral path. The first performative act the children make, then, is literally to ground the past through their footsteps and in so doing the past becomes 'embodied'.

The children then progress up and in to the reconstructed hillfort site to sit around the hearth in the main roundhouse and listen to 'real live' Celts tell them about life in the past which, in keeping with both the focus in the National Curriculum for Wales (chapter six), and within the site itself, is dominated by a certain technological determinism. The roundhouse narrative involves reproducing the stereotypically aggrandizing Celtic character by associating it with the familiar everyday domestic space of the roundhouse. The site volunteer who takes the role of Culwch introduces the children to specifically Celtic Iron Age life:

Now then, here we are in your new home. This is where you're going to be living while you're here. What do you think? It's good isn't it? It's a lot better than the houses you live in, I expect, because we are great builders We'll get in some nice straw or hay to make beds for you and then we'll get you some nice things to sleep on. But as you can see, it's not bad as it is. We've got the fire, and the smoke's rising up as we saw from outside ... there's no hole in the roof for the smoke. It just finds its way out of the roof through the thatching and as it goes it helps to preserve the thatch and, as we also say, from the outside And because the roof is so thick it keeps us warm in the winter and cool in the summer.

Culwch goes on to refer to the construction of the building as a whole, describing the way in which the roof is thatched and mentioning such key archaeo-architectural concepts as posts, pegs, walls, and ringbeams. These new terms are then invested with meaning through their comparison



Figure 7.1 Children at play at Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort

with the familiar present and everyday domestic features such as beds and heating. Culwch actively attempts to engage the children in setting up a discursive opposition between past and present.

His first question to the pupils asks whether anyone in the group knows how to build a wall. A child answers: 'Yeah, we get cement'. To remind children that they are now 'inhabiting' the past, Culwch replies: 'Who? Is that the person in your village?' There follows a discussion which rests on the relative modernity of cement, bricks and slate (which the children list as essential components of the Welsh home) versus 'proper' building which consists of wattle and daub. Culwch explains roundhouse architecture as simply a matter of function:

Now I don't know if you noticed when you came in that the roofs go almost all the way down to the ground. Did you notice? The reason for that is to keep the walls dry and stops the wind blowing, but the main reason is to keep the walls dry. That's how we build the houses.

Thus, the home is defined first and foremost as a functional space, meaningful primarily in that it is seen to keep us warm and dry, which corresponds with the technological focus in the National Curricula for both England and Wales. The meaning of that space is subsumed within an educational discourse which sees the Iron Age as a simple context in which to teach children technological skills; the domestic space as reduced to a 'valueless' collection of technologies thus becomes a template for understanding the past. Yet, the present is never far away as contingent modern perceptions of comfort are projected into the past in order to justify the modern reconstruction of Celtic domestic life. Its authenticity rests in its very lack of modern-day comforts, because the past is always already basic and uncomfortable.

Celtic culture is introduced into the educational narrative later in the day after pupils have practised weaving with branches, and tried their hands at the sticky business of daubing a wattled wall. The children return to the roundhouse to hear of Celtic feasting, drinking, adventure, and magic. These tales are intended to spark the imaginations of the children. Certainly, they reproduce oppositions between ritual and function; the everyday and the out of the ordinary; and object and text. There are no obvious connections made between the technological emphasis of the early part of the day and the Romantic picture of Celtic culture portrayed in the afternoon. The wider landscape around the roundhouse enclosure is mythologized as a mystic landscape of Welsh Celts battling with unseen neighbours for resources and prestige. As this exercise links in with a Welsh curriculum geared to teaching spatialized, distinctly Welsh history (chapter six) it is clearly significant that both heritage discourses – the functional and Romantic – are two sides of the same coin of the canon to traditional Celtic Iron Age studies applied to Britain as a whole, as we saw in chapter two.

However, as it is also the goal of the Curriculum Council for Wales to facilitate critical approaches to history as interpretation, it is necessary to explore how the children themselves activate this knowledge. Over a lunch of sandwiches and juice I spoke with a small group of pupils from a school in St Clears, Carmarthenshire. After disappointing them with the fact that, no, I was not going to put them on TV, three boys and three girls agreed to answer a few questions.⁶ The children told me that Castell Henllys is 'about what the Celts used to do and what they used to build' (BOY1) and expressed their knowledge of Celtic culture in chronological terms:

- AP: And who were the Celts?
BOY2: People who used to live 2,000 years ago.
BOY1: BC!
BOY2: BC.
AP: Have they got anything to do with you?
BOY1: They're our big ancestors and they formed our buildings.
BOY2: And your family.

Later in our conversation I asked:

- AP: But do you think about living in Wales because the Welsh used to be Celts?
BOY1: It makes me think of my great-grandfather's great-grandfather and what used to happen, like adventure in those times.
AP: And I suppose that's really exciting?
BOY2: And maybe it's the same only 2,000 years ago – that my great-grandfather's great-grandfather was sitting here having a Celtic lunch.

These children have already mastered the chronological sequencing of KS1 which involves personalizing time through reference to (gender-specific) family lineage. It is also clear that this lineage is expressed in terms of an ethnic kinship with the past. As in Culwch's lesson, that past is an heroic (male) one layered onto a functional narrative of space.

However, the children themselves are not unaware of the potential conflict in the opposition between adventure and the everyday:

⁶It is also worth noting that the boys dominated discussion; it was very difficult to get the girls to say anything at all despite my exhortation to them to not let the boys take over. This has particularly interesting implications – to be discussed below – for the way in which heritage representations come to be understood in gendered terms.

- AP: What else can you tell me?
- BOY1: The Celts used to be great warriors and they used to have different gods, like the tree gods, the sky gods, the river gods.
- AP: How do you know they were great warriors?
- BOY1: Because there are remains of the swords, shields and spears.
- AP: How do you know that makes them warriors? Because if you think about it, there are lots of weapons today and not everyone's a warrior.
- BOY1: Well some of them were farmers and some were warriors just like we are. They had different jobs and stuff like that.
- AP: They could've done the same job.
- BOY2: Lots of people used to know about the Celts and their kids told their kids who told their kids and now we know.

Although the children did not appear to know how to handle my questioning of what they had learned at school, they certainly exhibit a clear understanding of such questions as 'cues', as the children answered in terms chosen to indicate their familiarity with curricular archaeo-historic narratives which associate a distinct Wales with Iron Age Celts. Divisions of labour – work differentiated in terms of separate 'jobs' – are also naturalized through curricular emphasis on discrete uncontextualized social roles. Significantly, the social roles of women and children are absent from these discourses (in which I was complicit in that I did not raise the issue). These roles become mapped as separate landscapes, with the everyday of survival overlaid with the ritual spaces of battle and adventure. Again, as with the conceptualization of time as patriarchal lineage, these spaces are read as male domains. When that version of the past is questioned, the children know to appeal to the 'truth' of the logical progression of linear time expressed in traditional historical narratives.

Interestingly, the girls I spoke with told me that what they liked best about the site was seeing 'the insides of the houses'. The boys, however, envision the uses of the past in terms of understanding:

- BOY1: How electricity is made.
- BOY2: You can find out that there were no batteries and no computers a long time ago.

By KS2, then, children are well aware of their own places in gendered spaces of the present (and of the early association of 'black technologies' with boys and 'white technologies' with girls) and use that knowledge to make sense of and spatialize the past. Although educators are keen to foster critical approaches to archaeo-historic interpretation, it is clear that an important use of these narratives of the past is in the reproduction of contemporary identities which encompass such diverse issues as gender and cultural politics. The children's responses to my questions

about their day at Castell Henllys not only demonstrate their absorption of the specific information, but also point to a wider social context in which valuing the past is defined and held to be true.

What emerges is an overarching sense of children learning appropriate modes of thinking through engagements with concrete archaeo-historic representations which reproduce already clearly formed identities mapped onto specific spaces. To do this, pupils are provided with a vocabulary to *speak* the past. They learn to envision human activity in terms of achievement with a technological focus structured around centuries and periods. Underlying themes of historical development, however, is a focus on identity tied to the belief that to understand who we are now, we have to understand who we once were. Problematically, the most visible 'we' is male.

Memory and its meaningful constitution through the use of 'things' shapes pupils' experiences of the environment and is focal in fostering children's identities in the context of nationhood. Yet memory is structured chronologically. Gendered identity is thus defined along a time line with contingent gender roles and gendered spaces naturalized through the measurement of time. Heritage sites and museums reproduce this pedagogical emphasis on linear and often causal change. Although the National Curriculum in both England and Wales has attempted to move away from a strict chronology in history teaching such that periods are mixed and matched, the focus on technological change reifies links between history and the move from simple to complex.

Of course the whole purpose of representing an archaeo-historic past to children is to make it easily understandable and examinable because it is 'good' to know history. To make it accessible for children (or so it is thought) the past is dressed up with adventure and romance. But perhaps the difficult question we need to ask is what is the point of learning history if past lives have to be translated into the language of the life-worlds of late twentieth-century children? The harnessing of archaeo-historic narratives to curricular goals of inculcating a sense of distinct Welshness in fact appears to reproduce the very modes of thinking and social relations that educators in Wales have sought in recent years to challenge. If formal education is about teaching children to learn, rather than teaching them specific knowledges, how, then, will teaching a Celticized Iron Age as a 'way of thinking' impact on the ways in which children come to see themselves in the world (*cf.* chapter six)?

Good to think

So, by what means do the consumers of heritage, both adults and children, come to see in these representations something vital and intimately connected with their lives? Although many adults mentioned the poverty of imagination in school- and book-based histories, they all grew up to value ideas of pastness and to involve themselves actively in consuming pasts:

my parents used to take us when we were small around the churches and the cathedrals. Anything of historical interest we were sort of dragged around. I can understand now but didn't enjoy it so much at the time. But it's not the way that they've [children today] got it. Now I can see why they [her parents] did it, because I'm doing the same with mine. I think as you grow older you appreciate it more, you don't always when you're younger, do you? (WOMAN 41-50/CH11).

It's only now that I can appreciate why we did it and I think, but they'll appreciate when they get older and do it with theirs. It works the same, down each generation (same woman, towards the end of the interview after her daughter complains of being bored on these heritage outings).

This general sense of the role of the past in everyday life is not the preserve of holiday makers from outside Wales. One man (60+/CH16) living locally in the Newport area described his general interest in the medieval and prehistoric heritage of Pembrokeshire in terms of a connection that has

grown over the years and becoming aware then, of the culture around you really. I suppose as a young man I wasn't aware of it. So it's just something I've grown with and now it's relating back to those things.

Bearing in mind that the all the age groups with which I spoke have been educated very differently, how do I then translate this information? Is the question one of appreciating the past as we get older, or can we see this in terms of *habitu*s, how we learn to think with the past through 'habit'? Although 'you can go to the most interesting place but if you're dragged there by college or school, you just don't want to be there' (WOMAN 21-30/C22), some children do grow up to become active consumers of heritage. Parents hope that the heritage experience will show them 'how hard life was' (MAN 41-50/C6) and 'teach them some values' (WOMAN 31-40/C6). The role of heritage in children's lives, then, is not an unproblematic educational one but, rather, is central to the reproduction of a child's identity within an everyday domestic context in which adults are museum and heritage visitors. Children do, then, 'grow into' consuming heritage representations, but not in terms of simplistically becoming more interested in the past as they grow older. Rather, I suggest that those who visit heritage sites come to define what it means to be an adult in terms of concretized chronological history, of placing oneself on a global historical

timeline. This notion of being somehow connected with the past is reproduced through the consumption of physical manifestations of historical discourse.

Consumption as authentic experience

As I suggested in chapter four, it is clear that objects and spaces excite not only our gazes (Merriman, 1991: 110–111; Urry, 1990) but all of the senses as part of a process through which we conceive of ourselves. Connerton writes of this in terms of the incorporating practices involved in the ways in which societies remember (1989) whilst Urry specifically foregrounds the role of performance in reminiscence (1996: 54). This performance does, of course, take various forms within the heterotopia of the heritage space. To take only the most overt example, one man who feels that:

Really the best way to experience heritage is to have a jolly good Ordnance Survey map with burial mounds marked on that aren't too heavily packaged with too many tea-rooms and adventure playgrounds. Trek across a farmer's field to find it yourself with a little post office that sells a yellowing paged booklet by the vicar which tells you all about the work he's done in the archive. I really enjoy that sort of heritage (MAN 41-50/C4).

His partner and their children, however, favour the physicality of the social history of modern heritage centres. I suggests that this embodies a more general desire for an empathic connection with the past, either through walking past paths, or by relating to the sheer physicality of everyday life in the past, the experiencing of how others in the human community live.

Visitors foreground these sites as heterotopic through their keen awareness of them as special and different in physical terms. Although generally 'an Iron Age hillfort ... sounds old and interesting enough to justify a trip' (MAN 41-50/CH23), difference is also objectified in the structure of the roundhouses within the enclosure. The enclosure gives 'you ... an idea of how they used to live then' (WOMAN2 21-30/CH13), that 'it's quite interesting, isn't it, how they used to live in the old days' (MAN1 51-60/CH13). This past living is conceived of in both positive and negative terms, often expressed concomitantly. Although the site 'shows you how we all started living, how basic it was and what you could do with what you've got', people are seen to have lived longer 'because it was fresh air, it was natural' (WOMAN 41-50/CH11).

Perhaps the clearest marker of visitors participating in the reproduction of heterotopia is their interest in the roundhouse fires at Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort. Once through the doorways visitors noted that it is 'absolutely dry, and the fire burning in there gave it a feeling of warmth ... it was very cosy in there wasn't it?' (MAN 60+/CH1); 'you can visualize it all can't

you? It's cosy isn't it?' (WOMAN 41-50/CH11). Moreover, there is a definite sense that it is through physical engagement (*cf.* Bagnall, 1996: 234-235) that we come to experience the past:

I think anywhere you can use your imagination and obviously here is particularly good in that respect because you can read and see pictures of these huts in books but to actually go inside and smell 'em and see how dark they were and see what effects of having a fire in there and light and see how they were robust, ha! surprisingly robust. (MAN, 51-60/CH25)

The element of surprise plays a significant role in the articulation of heterotopia. One couple visiting with their young child remarked that 'it was the size that amazed us, really impressive' (WOMAN 31-40/CH12) and were 'quite surprised by the technology in those days, that those small mud huts, you don't appreciate the technology it takes to put one of those things up and the fortresses and the planning and how they laid them out' (MAN 31-40/CH12). An adult educator visiting the site confirmed this aspect of visits to open-air reconstructions by arguing that:

the commodiousness of these structures is one of the best principles to be demonstrated People just do not realise with a circular structure just how much room there is, so it's of very great value.(WOMAN 51-60/CH22)

The most explicit example of the incorporation of the site into visitor *habitus* arose during my interview with the couple from Liverpool (both, 41-50/CH10). After the male partner's exclamation of surprise at the heat of the fire he told me:

MAN: We've just got a coal fire in.
WOMAN: I think we're going back in our time, aren't we?
MAN: We've got central heating, but ...
WOMAN: We just fancied a real fire.

This specific relationship between heritage visiting and shopping has been discussed in chapter five (*cf.* Samuel, 1994), but here we see visitors masterfully relating contradictory themes of authenticity ('real fire') and artifice ('we've got central heating, but ...') and telescoping uses of time (Iron Age hearth conjures up coal fires of the Victorian period, the two of which mean 'going back').

The structural components of Castell Henllys are actively used in the reproduction of visitor *habitus* as they provide concrete 'proof' of the way in which their worlds operate in the present. The self-consciously archaeological argument that

MAN: ...the archaeological evidence, you know the construction of these places. They find in the earth, like postholes and ramparts, it portrays a divided and warlike society because there were so many forts. But I mean, if they didn't use stone then the most natural building material is obviously wattle and daub, but I don't really know if they were that shape of roof....To keep the water out

they'd have to be pitched and you couldn't use daub on the roof as that would get water soaked and come through. Had to be thatched. (41-50/CH25)

again highlights the importance of the 'bare bones' of the site in the reproduction of the role of heritage within varied *habitūs* through the activation of cultural capital. Whether speaking in archaeological terms, or conversationally, visitors use the concrete to make complex statements about their relationships in and towards the world and each other.

Underlying the emphasis on the personal, physical connection with pastness is the faith in the authentic experience noted by Bagnall (1996) and Fyfe and Ross (1996). However, this is a rather fluid authenticity. Although visitors to Castell Henllys made reference to the site as providing an opportunity to 'get an idea of how they used to live then', to 'actually see it in real life' (WOMAN2 21-30/CH13), there is also an awareness that 'it's mostly guess work I should imagine' (MAN 41-50/CH10). I suggest that heritage consumers concomitantly value representations of things on a par with the 'authentic'. This is not Baudrillard's simulacra, the image that is 'more real' than reality (1983), but, rather, visitors discursively relate authenticity, representation, past, and present. Many comfortably and often self-consciously enjoy the overtly fictional. Children run through the houses of the Celtic Village at the Museum of Welsh Life shouting about Indians, guns and tepees whilst adults articulate an understanding of reconstructions as simultaneously construction, simulacra and as 'reality':

I went to Tamworth Castle and they weren't holograms but they were called virtual reality and you could have people actually like this and they come to life and it's as if they're actually real with people weaving and digging. (WOMAN 51-60/CH19)

Learning to think with the past is, therefore, not necessarily a site specific activity (Table 7.3). Significantly, visitors to both Castell Henllys and Celtica view their interest in the past within a much wider context of general heritage consumption and seamlessly weave the archaeo-historic narratives of the sites into their own narratives of identity. Visitors to Castell Henllys brought up their own visits to castles and abbeys and canals, to heritage centres such as Jorvik in York, to other open-air reconstructions at Wexford and Flag Fen and even to other archaeologically focused sites such as Stonehenge (specifically connected to Pembrokeshire and Castell Henllys through the Preseli hills provenance of the bluestones), Pentre Ifan, Avebury and various hillfort sites throughout Britain. A site interpreter informed me that people make connections between the Castell Henllys roundhouses and houses they have seen elsewhere, for example in Spain and among the Sami of Finland. Visitors themselves remarked that 'it wouldn't have surprised me to see something similar to this in Scotland or Cornwall or anywhere else the Celts might have been' (MAN 41-50/CH23) and 'I should think it would be like the sort of village at that sort of stage

that you'd have anywhere in a more primitive setting' (MAN 41-50/CH25). More specifically, one woman described the central roundhouse as being 'much like a tepee' (41-50/CH11), while one man in a group consisting of two middle-aged married couples explained:

I mean I've been in African houses and certainly nothing quite as grand as this. They're much more, even in a permanent village, they're much more temporary in appearance (MAN1 41-50/CH21).

Consuming heritage media		
TV	books	landscapes
church	OS maps	burial mounds
trekking	yellowing booklets	archives
Stonehenge	archaeology	country/stately homes
Jorvik	Cadw	coracles
castles	canals	National Trust
rail museums	slate museums	English Heritage
cathedrals	videos/films	trainspotting
photos	postcards	Sealed Knot
Natural History Museum	Asterix	hillforts

Table 7.3 *Beyond the specific circumstances of visits to Castell Henllys and Celtica, visitors mentioned these heritage media as enjoyable pursuits.*

At Celtica, too, visitors made reference to outside heritage activities in order to give the site meaning and to place their visit within the wider context of being interested in the past. Celtica is compared frequently, if disparagingly, with prior visits to the Jorvik Centre.⁷ When asked, all visitors to both Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica emphatically claimed to watch television documentaries about the past and to buy archaeo-historic books. In fact four groups at Castell Henllys (12%) and eight groups at Celtica (21%) brought up their book-reading

⁷ However, unbeknownst to these visitors, both Jorvik and Celtica were designed by the same team.

habits without prompting (CH9, CH12, CH25, CH27, C4, C9, C10, C12, C15, C19, C21, C25) and two women at Celtica (C6, C25) mentioned their love of 'Celtic' jewellery.

What is beginning to emerge is a sense of a culture of heritage. The people who visit Castell Henllys and Celtica are not interested exclusively in the Iron Age, or Celtic culture: 'well, yes we are, [interested in], yes, anything historical; if the seed is there, it's there, isn't it?' (WOMAN 60+/C2). These sites form points of reference in visitors' landscapes of heritage which are mapped onto contemporary geographies of leisure:

MAN: For me it's more of a drawing together of threads – landscapes, churches, music – I'm particularly interested in.

WOMAN: What I like about modern day museums is that they really help you to understand what life was like for ordinary people at that time. I remember going to museums when I was a child and it was just things in glass cases. This gives you a flavour of what it was like to live there. (M & W 41-50/C4).

I suggest that these heritage spaces exist as parallel spaces to an academically 'authentic' past. They are physical spaces which allow the visitor to both embrace and transcend the physical to construct user-friendly imaginary pasts unbounded by pot sherd or field boundary, to construct past which is more usefully authentic than the strict archaeo-historic narrative.

Castell Henllys and Celtica, then, can represent both specific sites of specific pasts and just one of many, equal, sites at which to reproduce and legitimate a valuing of the past within particular *habitūs*. The only constant is that visitors do not question the meaning of these sites in the present. They may take issue with the representation of archaeo-historic 'fact' or with superficial treatments of the politics of identity, but these spaces are none the less central to the ways in which people activate discourses of the past in the present.

It would appear that visitors easily, and creatively, use the archaeo-historical narratives of these sites, embroidering selective quotations into the tapestries of their lives. Despite the clear differences between Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica (economic, structural, educational, interpretative, etc.), visitors articulate the role, if not the content, of these sites in the present, in what I suggest is a language of heritage. It is this often contradictory language of memory, soft primitivism, 'roots' (see below) and a functionalist humanity bound by ecological conditions that ensures that heritage visitors are always already initiated into a culture of heritage which includes heritage centre and museum visiting. But, perhaps there is something powerful in this physical engagement which remains untapped by those who design such spaces.

Formulations of Welsh Identity

If the heritage spaces of Wales which seek to represent a specifically Welsh prehistory and Celtic culture can so easily be subsumed within generalized heritage consuming practices, what effect does this have on how Wales' past and present are understood? Issues of race and identity have particular resonance with the heritage visitors I spoke to, those same people who also frequent Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, English Heritage and Historic Scotland properties, are members of the National Trust and those who see themselves as being interested in the past. This is where we begin to see how the representations of Wales' Celtic past impact on questions of Welsh identity, an identity opposed to (post) modernity and cosmopolitanism (Table 7.4).

Culture objectified

The spaces of heritage transform lived culture into perceivable sets of objects and structures. What resonates through the interviews in those spaces is the idea that culture is something which can be represented, rather than something always in process (Clifford, 1986a). Yet heritage visiting itself is part of that process of cultural construction as a process by which, through our presence, affirm the narration of notions of pastness. An English family from Leicestershire articulate their interest in Welsh heritage in terms of their perceived socio-cultural position in England:

... you feel as though you're being taken over. I do agree, when we watch parliament sometimes or read the papers and the Scots are fighting for something or the Welsh or the Irish and we sit there and think, they should have their own parliaments and be able to rule their own lives. They should be able to be as they were, growing up in their own heritage, their own languages (WOMAN 41-50/CH11).

Representations of Welsh heritage are fundamental to the ways in which visitors reproduce their own identities in relation to the images they construct of Welshness. Problematically, this enthusiastic support for Welsh nationalism comes as a response to a particularly 'Orientalist' definition of what it means to be English:

you are English, you've got an English upbringing with English values which obviously goes back over the centuries anyways, as opposed to some of the ethnic backgrounds, where you say we put a very high value on life. Certainly some of the far eastern nationalities, well far eastern as opposed to middle eastern nationalities, have a very low esteem of life in many ways (MAN 41-50/CH11).

While Castell Henllys itself does not foreground such themes in its narrative of a Celtic Iron Age in Wales, it clearly provides a spatial and thematic context for the voicing of a language of

heritage in which heritage always belongs to a convenient 'us': 'it's part of our heritage isn't it?' (WOMAN 41-50/CH25). Culture as something fixed and tangible is also a feature in the consumption of heritage as part of general 'leisure' activities:

I s'pose we are interested in going to different places and trying to pick up a little bit of the identity of local people....but I wouldn't say that this is particularly Welsh as such but nor does it give a particular orientation towards my own identity, partly because we're here on holiday to see and not think too much about it (MAN 41-40/CH23).

Although heritage centres may not be seen as anything more than a holiday diversion, there continues the sense that they contain something of the culture they purport to represent, that they provide a shortcut to understanding for outsiders.

Certainly, there is a sense that identity can be located in material culture. In a critique of the pan-Celtic narrative presented at Celtica one visitor questions:

I wondered, really, the cultural politics of it all, whether the Welsh side of things was sold a bit short. We've had the feeling, staying in Aberystwyth...that we were in a place that is clearly different to England. And I thought that here there would be a deepening of awareness in that sort of way....There's a lot more that's of local interest that could've been brought out. I mean what we saw with the burial rights is the same. They referred to a dig up at Wetwang Slack which is very close to where I was born, but it's the other side of the country. And East Yorkshire has an entirely different cultural heritage from Wales, yet they're being lumped together' (MAN, 41-50/C10).

Of course, these sites are devoted to representing a material past. Yet, what is intriguing is that although visitors consume this physicality in multiple ways, that consumption nevertheless works to reproduce notions that culture can be excavated, that it is embodied in things. Heritage centre managers and museum curators may seek to foreground that it is in the human *use* of things that meaning is made, yet it appears that the very materiality of heritage, the seeming fixedness of the object, fosters the reading of the physical world as unproblematic text (*cf.* Urry, 1990).

Heritage identities		
where we come from	Welshness	true Welsh
roots	family history	ancestors
pride	traditions	culture
struggle	squashed	swamped
lost	belonging	what you come from
being	memory	we're Celts
my past	being part of a bigger tribe	how we used to live
our roots	Welsh are a sleepy race	Anglo-Saxon drive
English upbringing/values	own	difference
where we start	our history	how you became you
ancestors	invaded	boundaries

Table 7.4 *Words and phrases which visitors used to describe how they understand sites such as Celtica and Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort to play into issues of individual and cultural identity.*

Race

If culture may be located in things, then so too may be constructions of race. Visitors interviewed articulated various discourses of race, juxtaposing Victorian typologies, genetics and 'moral geographies'. As discussed in chapter two, the idea of a 'pure' Celtic race was used in the previous century to argue that the populations of Britain's western nations were inferior (*cf.* Arnold, 1867). It was asserted that English greatness was due to centuries of invasion and mixing which allowed the strengths of each people, Celt, Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Norman, to combine to form the industrious, innovative English (Lowenthal, 1991: 208; Trigger, 1989: 167-168). These arguments still resonate today through the ways in which people speak about the past:

MAN: Certainly as far as middle England, certainly most of us are ...

WOMAN: By-products.

MAN: ... of Danes, Vikings, Norse.

WOMAN: Which invaded the shores of Wales, Scotland and Ireland. We're all invaded. (M & W 41-50/CH11)

In particular, the issue of purity remains interwoven in the meanings which visitors invest in the narratives of Celtic heritage, bound up in general notions of geographically determined cultural development:

... you tend to think that there's more racial purity in places like Wales but I don't know whether that's really true or not. You know there's more homogeneity in a population here than, say, the south east of England. I mean London's impossibly cosmopolitan but there must have, the ease with which London was reached some of those ports must have brought ideas in, much more than here ... (MAN 41-50/CH25)

One Welsh visitor (60+/C19) shifts between Victorian discourses of racial cultural determinism ('the Welsh as a race are very sleepy you know'; 'the drive is in the Anglo-Saxon group') and a use of race in a way which would have been familiar to readers of H J Fleure's and Cyril Fox's formulations of Wales's 'moral geography' (Gruffudd, 1994a; b):

MAN: ... with Celtic you're talking British, Wales, Ireland, Scotland maybe, although they're, the Welsh are not Celtic, they're Iberians!

AP: Well, it's difficult to tell ...

MAN: Of course they are, it's obvious! They can tell through the genes you know. It's not very difficult. We are the same as the Spaniards.

AP: Genetic links are very dubious. Race and culture ...

MAN: I dispute that. They traced the Welsh with their own genes.

Race as legitimated through anthropological and geographical practices, is clearly a central construct in the overall discourse of heritage, which itself rests on academic knowledge. Implicated in this focus on race, together with perceptions of the materiality of culture discussed above, is the reproduction of the Welsh as a singular people. Although neither Castell Henllys nor Celtica foreground such racialist discourses, the way in which they present Welsh Celts as a distinct, homogeneous group easily meshes with visitors' preconceived understandings of race and culture.

Imagining heritage communities

Heritage 'speak' linguistically delineates the 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983) of those interested in some idea of preserving the past generally and also facilitates the articulation of more specific identities. While some heritage visitors

feel proud that we lived on this island, whether you're Scottish, Welsh, whatever, that we had a heritage, a past that a lot of people in America don't have. We were the start because we imported ourselves to America didn't we? It was the bad ones sent. So an awful lot over there, this is their past. They may have started there but originally from here (WOMAN, 41-50/CH11). I think it's very important for cultures to have pride in themselves and this is a very important way of stimulating pride. You shouldn't be too backward looking because you've got your present to get on with. But pride in your heritage gives you confidence (MAN 31-40/C25).

others feel a more specific sense that:

It gives people a focal point. It give people a pride in who they are and to continue those traditions (WOMAN 41-50/C3). Pride in the culture (MAN 41-50/C18). Locally it gives people a better understanding of where they come from (WOMAN 31-40/C1).

Whether speaking of their own cultures specifically, Welsh culture or traditional cultures generally, the sentiments are communicated in surprisingly similar ways. Of particular note is the use of the sentiment of 'pride'. That heritage centres and museums are seen to engender cultural pride legitimates their very existence. Castell Henllys and Celtica are seen to mediate and preserve for others traditional cultures that otherwise would be lost. Indeed, visitors articulate a sense that culture is continually under threat from unspoken outside forces. This is defined in terms of:

how important it is to have a national identity, a national language and where that comes from. There are forces that sometimes threaten it (MAN 31-40/C11).

I think here the political element could have been emphasized more. The fact that there are people struggling for their culture, being squashed (MAN 41-50/C4).

Heritage centres are seen as a vital site for the reproduction of the cultural traditions that visitors hold as important: 'I think there's a lot to be said for keeping the culture alive' (MAN 60+/C16). The general concern for the preservation of culture is not restricted to visitors from outside Wales who consume heritage as an accepted element of their holiday leisure activities. A Welsh visitor from the mid Wales area visited Celtica because Welsh culture:

went through a period of being very weak but it's coming back strong, especially with the youth. The English tried to take us over and the Welsh aren't very happy about it and I think the youth have a lot more fight in them which is how it should be (WOMAN 41-50/C13).

Pride in a specifically Celtic culture again is framed in terms of 'roots', the foundations upon which people assert cultural identities. Just as they are seen to connect us with our pasts, roots also form a connecting network which underlies differing heritage discourses. Both Welsh ('I'm true Welsh' – WOMAN 60+/C2) and English visitors justify their heritage visiting, implicit in their own identities, by asserting that

... for me personally it's important to me to understand my roots, my past. I like history, my ancestry is fascinating. I find the way people interacted in the past interesting, how it affects us now. We still make the same mistakes' (WOMAN 41-50/C12); ... this is our roots ... (WOMAN 41-50/CH 11); ... for me it's roots ... (WOMAN, 60+/C2);. We've decided that we want to keep what we've got, to keep our heritage. We want to protect it, it's ours, it's our history (WOMAN 41-50/CH11); ... we're Celts aren't we. It's of interest to us. And it gives you insight into where we come from (WOMAN 41-50/C13); It gives us an understanding of culture. Our culture. Where we all started from (MAN 41-50/C15); Well like trees, we need roots to stabilise one. Without stability you're wayward. People that have no culture are lost (MAN 60+/C19).

I suggest that it is not so much Celtic culture which embodies 'roots', but rather, it is the very act of consuming heritage representations that give form to this sense of belonging, this sense of a link with the past. Particularly if we consider the 'language' of heritage outlined above, the ways in which we learn to think in heritage terms and the fact that heritage appeals in the main to the ABC1 social class groupings, heritage sites and museums become the physical embodiment of roots which link together visitors from both inside and outside specific cultures. In the light of this, the discursive similarities among consumers of heritage who identify with different cultures and nation states indicates that identity is indeed multiple, diverse and even contradictory.

Conclusions

Arguably, heritage is about things (Bagnall, 1996: 244). However, beyond their 'intended' use in making sense of heritage sites and museums, I suggest that the physicality of Celtic heritage is used by visitors to articulate very present-day concerns, both to one another and to me, the researcher interested in their heritage-consuming practices. That physicality is also central to the reproduction of group identities through relationships of performed memories. Yet, the specific materiality of the sites discussed, in the context of visitors' *habitus* which incorporate heritage visiting, also plays a vital role in the 'everyday' social relations of the outside. Specific

narratives of an archaeo-historic Celtic past are invested with meaning through the relationships visitors can draw between the heritage experience and their own life worlds. These special places are, indeed, spatialized through the performance of *habitus*.

However, from this active world of performing identity through relationships of material culture and memory arises the problem that the object world of sites such as Castell Henllys is static and designed to correspond with a specifically 'Celtic' Iron Age. This entails a textual narrative of druids, warriors, chieftains and spirits and physical narrative of hillforts, roundhouses, shields and fire. The physical structure of Castell Henllys affirms a general picture of the Iron Age, based on an amalgam of reconstructed archaeological evidence centred largely on the south-east of England. Although site managers have been at pains to problematize representation through the introduction of 'may have beens' and 'what ifs' into the narrative, as the visitors to Castell Henllys have shown the objects and structures of the enclosure are quickly subsumed within particularly normative, functionalist ways of viewing the world outside the heritage industry. Although Celtica is not a simulacrum of the domestic relations of the 'Celtic' Iron Age, its combination of material culture and mystery are again used to reproduce concepts of heritage, race and identity held always already by visitors.

Although Celtic culture actually plays a relatively minor role in the ways in which people living in Wales self-identify (Beaufort Survey, 1996), representations of Iron Age Celtic culture and its conflation with (post) modern Celtic culture are significant in the everyday life of Wales today in terms of the economics of tourism and identity formation through education (chapter six).⁸ While it is clear that heritage representations are good to think, the particular narratives of Celtic culture critiqued in Part II, do in fact, play into the restrictively functional understandings

⁸ When provided with a choice of seventeen images (ranging through castles, coal mines, rugby, mountains and lakes, sheep farming, slate quarries, the National Eisteddfod, Celts, S4C and the Welsh language) from which to choose what they felt was most representative of Welshness, respondents to the 1996 Welsh Omnibus Survey listed castles as the most popular image of Wales (58%) with the Welsh language (49%), mountains and lakes (48%) and the National Eisteddfod (46%) following in succession. Least popular images amongst those living in Wales were miners' terraces (6%), Celts (5%), woollen mills (4%), standing stones (3%) and S4C (3%). Within this, the Celts are slightly more popular with men than with women (6% as opposed to 4%) and slightly more popular with the skilled, non-manual C1s (6%) than with other social class groupings (4%-5%). Interestingly, the popularity of the Celts, the Welsh language, S4C, miners' terraces, National Eisteddfod, slate quarries, woollen mills, standing stones, and castles is fairly evenly spread over the social class groupings with differences of only 5% or under. The greatest disparities in popularity come with coal mines (AB: 27%; DE: 39%), rugby football (AB: 31%; C1: 43%), mountains and lakes (AB: 56%; DE: 43%), sheep farmers (AB: 8%; DE: 16%), rural landscapes (AB: 33%; DE: 25%), the Royal Welsh Show (AB: 15%; C2: 24%), and choral music (AB: 21%; DE: 11%) (Beaufort Survey, 1996).

of society, past and present which work to legitimate causality with respect to social change. Particularly troublesome is the way in which visitors were able to subsume these heritage narratives within their own ethnocentric fears of cultural diffusion, that traditional 'British' culture is somehow under threat by multiculturalism (CH11), that ways of life were being 'swamped' (C4). The broader implications of this interview work in the context of my critique, presented in Part II, of representations of archaeo-historic Celtic culture will be drawn out in the chapter which now follows.

OF MEMORY AND THE PRESENT PAST

There can be no identity without memory (albeit selective), no collective purpose without myth, and identity and purpose or destiny are necessary elements of the very concept of a nation.

Smith, 1986

Introduction

Traditional heritage representations of a Celticized Iron Age culture become spaces in which we negotiate a sense of community with reference to situated notions of memory, identity, ethnicity, and nation – concepts which now demand critical unpacking if we are to understand how the voices of the previous chapter impact on the politics of the everyday, and the possible consequences for the academic practice of archaeology. When visitors to the spaces of Celtic heritage speak of ‘roots’, race and cultural loss, what they articulate is a sense of community, of identity shot through with archaeo-historic discourse. They speak a language of heritage which binds them together as people who make sense of their lives through a particular investing of meaning in archaeology and history. What is interesting is the way in which that community centres on a continuing polarization of the functional and the magical in Iron Age studies (chapter two), mobilized in the present as a sort of material Cartesianism. Mind and body, spirit and survival are naturalized as binary opposites – a dualism which, I would suggest, plays into specific manifestations of the nation through which grand narratives of identity are constructed and discourses of power, knowledge and control are activated.

The interviews discussed in the previous chapter do not, in themselves, present a seamless, coherent narrative of the importance of an archaeo-historic Celtic past in the present, of the ways in which people invest meaning into heritage and archaeology. They are marked with inconsistency and contradiction, as are the ways in which heritage media impact on British identities. What the interviews do point towards, however, are the ways in which archaeo-historic narratives circulate through issues of the everyday. A. D. Smith, in his writings on the ethnic origins of nations, has discussed the central role of archaeology in recovering communal pasts whereby through archaeological rediscovery and interpretation ‘we locate “ourselves” and dignify “our communities” by references to an ancient pedigree and time-honoured environment’ (1986: 180–181). The manner in which we make use of these competing discourses is through denying the contradictions in favour of a human story with beginning, middle, and end. While not all visitors share the same concerns and interests, social positions and *habitués*, there are common threads which run through the conversations I had with visitors to Celticentric heritage spaces which have significant implications for the

academic study of the British Iron Age (whether overtly Celticized or not). An individual interview with two young boys travelling through south Wales with their mother (CH27) is a specific case in point. Although the boys display a commendable level of historical literacy, their sophisticated understanding of archaeology as narrative is interwoven with a continued belief in the 'common sense' and in the Celts as a military entity:

AP: What about history do you like?

CHILD1: The more exciting things but then again you need to know about what they did to understand the battles.

AP: Do you watch documentaries?

CHILD2: Roman videos and we watch historical groups and every time we go to a place we get things to find out more.

CHILD1: You can compare what happened through history and it's really interesting.

WOMAN: Do you find that interesting, comparing the interpretations of the past?

CHILD2: Well, some things look more realistic. This you see in books so it's probably very good.

CHILD1: I suppose we come back again to reinterpreting the past.

AP: And why do we do it?

WOMAN: ... worry about authenticity ...

CHILD1: Basically, the historians and archaeologists probably found out that the hearth or house they lived in was circular but how do they know there was a fire in the middle of it? Because it was the most sensible place for it to be.

A number of the issues discussed throughout this dissertation can be identified in these short excerpts. From the conflation of all archaeo-historic media as equally meaningful through to a privileging of academic book-based knowledge and the reifying of 'common sense' we can begin to recognize the politics of representations of the past in the present. So, in what ways do those archaeo-historic specificities impact on the mobilization of images of the past in the present?

What I attempt to argue in this chapter is that the subsuming of myriad pasts within the singular heritage narrative of Celtic culture is central to the marking out of a visual language of *habitūs* necessary to the continued 'working' of the British nation state in the late twentieth century. As Anderson has argued in the context of 'imagining communities', nations and nationalism have to be understood not by aligning them with 'self-consciously held political ideologies' but, rather, with large cultural systems and their productions (1983: 19; cf. Hutchinson, 1987; Sheehy, 1980). In other words, the nation as community may be understood to be reproduced through the very cultural entities it engenders (with their own

competing discourses and internal contradictions and inconsistencies) and hence the large cultural systems of the nation involved in the production of 'heritage' as media are central to – rather than simply symptomatic of – the formulation of British nationalisms. Articulated another way, the academic construction of narratives of a specifically Celtic Iron Age impacts not only on those people who today self-identify as Celts and on those people who actively consume these narratives, but also on the reproduction of more general strands of what 'Britain' means today.

I wish, in this final chapter, to extend the work outlined in chapter seven, to argue that it is in the interrelated, overlapping discourses of the producers and consumers of heritage that we may construct the 'meaning' of the present as defined in relation to notions of the past. I want to move beyond 'armchair textual analyses' (Ruby, 1996: S104), beyond a simplistic evocation of oppositions between 'right' and 'wrong' in the context of deconstructing the media of a Celtic Iron Age to begin to point a way towards developing an ethically responsible approach to producing knowledges which are creatively and positively 'use-full'. What I am looking at, therefore, is how a re-evaluation of what it means to refer to the 'Celtic' in the present carries with it a concomitant re-evaluation of what it means to be identified as a consumer of heritage. The processes by which an archaeo-historic Celtic culture comes to be constructed must inform our reading of how the 'Celtic' is invested with meaning in the context of the material culture of heritage so that we can begin to more fully appreciate the central role of heritage in British society at the close of the 1990s (*cf.* Samuel, 1994).

Identity, ethnicity, and race

Firstly, I need to address what it may mean when we call up 'identity', 'ethnicity' and 'race' – terms used, variously, to essentialize communities of people – to justify certain knowledge claims through our consumption of Celticized heritage media. Identity resists any workable definition other than the vague notion that it is 'who we are' in relation to something, or someone that we are not. Formally defined as 'absolute sameness; individuality, personality; condition of being a specified person' (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 1976) identity thus, paradoxically, entails both the general attribute of the community and the specificity of the self. As I have endeavoured to demonstrate throughout this dissertation, identity is called up as a particularly fluid way of conceptualizing 'self' which brings together geographical imaginations, blood, and roots:

to be proud of one's community, one's nation is no bad thing. It is not much different from being proud of one's family Among all people there is this desire to discover one's roots, to have a place, a geographical area which one can call home (Whetter, 1973: 5).

These words, used in this context to justify a distinct, political Cornishness, have been echoed by many of the arguments for contemporary Celtic nationalism throughout Britain and echo the moral geographies developed in Wales in the interwar period (chapter five; cf. Ellis, 1985; 1992; Edwards, 1968; Hechter, 1975; Payton, 1993; Thompson, 1968). They would also not seem out of place in the interviews held with visitors to the spaces of Celtic heritage in Wales:

BOY: I think if you go back in history it gives you more of a spark.

WOMAN: It went through a period of being very weak but it's coming back strong, especially with the youth. The English tried to take us over and the Welsh aren't very happy about it and I think the youth have a lot more fight in them which is how it should be.

AP: After visiting, do you think you understand Wales in a way or has it reaffirmed it for you?

WOMAN: Well, yeah, but we're very strong Welsh anyway. (She then says either *Tipyn bach* which means, ironically, 'just a little bit' or *tyb yn bach* which means 'little opinion' Both statements fit in with the conversation) Welsh language. I'm very strong in my Welsh beliefs (C13).

'Roots' of course suggest historical process through a linear and physical connection with an 'actual' past. Roots not only root us to the past, they effectively 'feed' the present. I would further extend the metaphor by suggesting that the sap running through these roots is the blood of race, and so implicated in discourses of identity formulated through narratives of archaeo-history is a problematic essentializing of being which suggests that we all come into existence as closed, singular entities somehow racially linked with our ancestors. Those who do not share this lineage are, thus, always conveniently Other. From the 'common-sense' logic of roots follows an argument that to not be 'proud' of one's past is somehow perverse, for to be proud of one's blood-line may become almost a biological imperative.

The language of roots raises the associated issue of a Celtic 'ethnicity', formally defined as 'gentile, heathen; originating from a specified racial, linguistic, etc., group (usu. a minority)' (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 1976). However, like 'identity', ethnicity is an 'arguable and murky intellectual term' (Chapman, MacDonald and Tonkin, 1989: 11). Derived from Homer's *ethnos* – a multitude of animals or warriors (Chapman, MacDonald and Tonkin, 1989: 12) – ethnicity has been developed through socio-biological interpretations into a tangible characteristic of populations, which self-consciously avoids the overt language of racial definition. Yet, studies of ethnicity, like race, have sought to locate essential differences in human biology. Whether it is a preponderance of red hair or a fiery temper, Celticity is seen to be located in the blood. However, various studies of what have been defined as Celtic populations have found only the most tenuous physical connections between groups (Chapman, 1977; Harvey et al, 1986). Standard socio-biological tests – anthropometric, dermatoglyphic and pigmentary traits and genetically determined characteristics of red-green colour deficiency and alleles of five blood group systems in Cornwall – were used to

show that although 'culturally Celtic', the Cornish are genetically more closely related to certain Germanic groups than their nearer Irish, Scots and Welsh neighbours (Harvey et al, 1986). As Chapman sharply notes, '2,000 years of coming and going ... make nonsense of the notion that the nameable "ethnic" groups of pre-Roman northern and central Europe have any privileged biological connection with nameable "ethnic" groups of the modern day' (Chapman, 1992: 81).

Yet, because consumers of Celticentric heritage media continue to speak in a language of identity which circulates around 'roots' and ethnicity, critiques of the biological basis of communal identities miss the central point that in the everyday, people do continue to essentialize specifically ethnic identity as inseparable from being, such that the peoples living in Cornwall, Ireland, Scotland and Wales are seen to represent an ethnic link with the Iron Age. James Whetter writes of the deep-seated physical differences of Celtic peoples which differentiate them emotionally from other racial groups: specifically, Celts have 'a kind of unconscious electrical assonance with the material world; unconsciously they know what is right to do, how to behave, to live' (Whetter, 1973: 5). This is manifested materially in Celtic art which 'reflects the tortuous and subtle nature of their thought processes; the complexities of their language; it makes manifest the complicated, shifting, oblique nature of their religious attitudes', all of which are seen to be a part of what it means to be 'a Celt' (Whetter, 1973: 54). And as with the interwar imagining of a 'techno-arcadia' by the academic community in Wales (Gruffudd, 1994a; b), Whetter asks 'may it not be worthwhile for us to try and rediscover, enhance some of these characteristics which if not part of our explicit persona are still buried deep within us; recapture their confidence, their valour, their exuberance, their delight in material living; at the same time, remembering that their defects may be ours, try to counteract and rectify these?' (Whetter, 1973: 54; cf. Ellis, 1985). Yet, as Nietzsche argues, this appeal to a 'feeling' of roots through the consumption of archaeo-historic narrative can only be measured by the 'the size and strength of its visible branches' (1980: 20). These roots are an active construct (which is not to say that they are 'inauthentic') engendered through a privileging of the visible narrative.

It is clear from continuing debates about the need to define the 'nature' of English identity (chapter six) that it is only those groups that are seen to be minority populations that are also relentlessly involved in discourses that expect them to have ethnic 'identities':

If you are faced with a large and powerful body of opinion that ascribes character to you, it is difficult to remember what you thought you were before you met them: the context of *your own characterisation of yourself* has changed, and changed irrevocably (Chapman, 1992: 262; cf. Chapman, MacDonald and Tonkin, 1989).

Although the minority fringes are always expected to have coherent identities which can be encountered in some real way, they are, at the same time, always thought problematic by the

majority. Much of this is to do with the way in which notions of identity do not make room for 'majority' identities to self-define, at least not in a way in which those who may be said to 'belong' to those identities can identify. Yet, I would argue, based on the information gathered during my interview work with visitors to Celtica and Castell Henllys, that although 'the English' (in other words, an unspoken white, middle-class population) sense a crisis in identity, their perceptions of self and community stand in direct relation to what they define as Celtic. Although my argument here is that heritage *is* central to identity and nationhood, its meaning does not exist to be discovered like the roots of a tree, but, rather, it is through the very act of valuing Celticentric heritage that we create meaning for the identities of the Celtic self, community, and nation.

Ethnic nationalism

Ethnicity and identity cannot, then, be understood solely in terms of either blood or ideological manipulation. It is, perhaps, more useful to begin to understand the ever-shifting discourses of Celtic ethnicity and identity in the context of the reproduction of British nationhood and nationalisms. Indeed, without such discourses 'nationalism as both an ideology and a structure of specific identities would be inconceivable and unintelligible' (Smith, 1984: 284). A. D. Smith's formulation of the ways in which the 'communal past defines to a large extent our identity, which in turn helps to determine collective goals and destinies' is particularly informative in this context (1993: 16; *cf.* Ringrose and Lerner, 1993). Smith argues that nationalisms refer back to particular ethnicities in any one of three ways. Firstly they may present a 'programme of regeneration on behalf of a well-formed, ancient, but "decayed" *ethnie*, subject to economic decline, political oppression and exile, and cultural divisions, or all three' (1984: 288).¹ This is the familiar ideology of Celtic oppression detailed in Michael Hechter's *Internal Colonialism* (1975) and critiqued extensively by Malcolm Chapman (1992), whereby the Celtic fringes of Britain – Cornwall, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales – have been subject to a racialized discourse of Celtic culture and thereby excluded from full national citizenship.

Secondly, nationalisms may be embraced by communal elites in order to harness a 'lingering sense of difference stemming from some dimly remembered heritage and culture into a politically mobilised nationality' (Smith, 1984: 288). This is characteristic of the Romantic resuscitation of Celtic culture described in the essays in Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), and in Hutchinson's (1987) and Sheehy's (1980) formulations of the role of the cultural

¹ Smith uses the term '*ethnie*' in order to avoid the ambiguities of 'ethnicity'. His *ethnie* refer to the historical specificity of Homer's *ethnos* and the intellectual tradition of codifying communities.

elite and their productions in the construction of Celtic nationalism, such that it was only with the invention and 'reclaiming' of the Celt that Cornish, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh culture could come alive (Kiberd, 1996:2). Even today the practices of the academic and broadly 'cultural' communities in the self-styled Celtic countries are central to a self-conscious negotiation of specific identities. The involvement of the academic intellectual elite (think of H. J. Fleure and Cyril Fox in Wales), museums, television and film and arts organizations give form to particular nationalisms. Indeed, Welsh academics were instrumental in the formation of S4C (Sianel Pedwar Cymru) as a cornerstone in the Welsh nationalist project and they continue to hold a central role in the defining of Wales: Peter Lord of the Visual Culture of Wales project, based at the Centre for Advanced Celtic Studies at Aberystwyth, is particularly open about his cultural-political agenda whereby he acknowledges that his academic practices are intended to negotiate actively the various meanings of Welshness which feed into a discourse of 'positive' Welsh nationalism (pers.comm.). Of course, this brings us back full circle to Anderson's argument that such cultural productions are central to, rather than simply expressions of, the production of nationalist sentiment.

Finally, Smith argues that 'nationalism may actually "invent" an *ethnie* where none existed – at least, not in that form – as with such communities as the Turks, Ibo and Bangala' (Smith, 1984: 288). From my critical engagement with representations of a Celtic culture rooted in prehistoric material culture I suggest that this form of ethnic nationalism circulates also through nationalist discourses of Britain (both English and Celtic). Although with a longer historical pedigree than the examples Smith cites, the twentieth-century Celtic community differs markedly from the ways in which Celts have been seen through time. Certainly, the ways in which prehistory and folk culture have been combined to formulate a Celtic pedigree is very different from the ways in which Celtic culture was understood in Britain up until very recently. Yet, here the spectre of authenticity is raised yet again (chapter seven). How useful is it to differentiate recently formalized identities from the construction of, say, Anglo-Saxon culture in the nineteenth century? Obviously the circumstances in which these myths of origin arise are specific, yet in qualitatively differentiating these 'origins', Smith reproduces the very privileging of historical pedigree that he critiques. What is clear, however, is that archaeo-historic narratives (no matter how recent their formulation) are used in the construction of peoples and cultures through a linking of past and present, what Smith describes as the attempts of nationalisms to 'conjoin modern conditions (industrial, commercial, or semi-agrarian) with those myths, memories and symbols of the communal past which make up the group's distinctive way of life and identity' (Smith, 1984: 289).

Myths of ethnic nationalism may be categorized in six ways, each of which find their counterpart in the story of an archaeo-historic Celtic culture:

MYTHS OF ETHNIC NATIONALISM

- origin
- migration/liberation
- ancestral descent
- golden age
- decline
- rebirth

Firstly, myths of origin – Iron Age Celtic culture emerging from the salt mines of Hallstatt – confer ‘dignity through antiquity on the group’, an antiquity focused on a specific beginning and birthplace in space and time (Smith, 1984: 292). Second are myths which tell of migration and/or liberation, which correspond with tales of Celts sweeping across continental Europe to eventually take up residence in the British Isles. Myths which focus on ancestral descent – from the specific personas of Boudica and Cuchulain to notions of a specific Celtic ‘personality’ handed down through the generations – constitute Smith’s third category. Fourth, are myths of a golden age to which the present community often aspires: that time when the bards held sway over an artistic, spiritual society before the onslaught of the rational Anglo-Saxons. The logical conclusion to this, of course, are myths of decline, Smith’s fifth category. This is the subject of Chapman’s thesis (1992) whereby the most commonly reproduced ‘myth’ of Celtic culture involves the coming of the Anglo-Saxons, which forever tainted the Celts and led to their subjugation within the British Empire.

Of course, myths of decline provide the context for Smith’s final category, the myth of rebirth. Discussed earlier in the context of Fleure’s and Fox’s moral geographies, the promise of the rebirth of a strong Celtic people is also characteristic of the numerous popular syntheses of Celtic culture from the Iron Age through to the present, perhaps the most representative of which are the works of Peter Berresford Ellis (1985; 1992). Rebirth also underlies the Romantic celebration of Celtic culture which saw in the medieval poetry and legends an antidote to nineteenth-century industrialization. More recently, the Celtic League has called on ‘the struggle of the six Celtic nations to secure or win their political, cultural, social and economic freedom ... to foster co-operation and to develop a consciousness of the common facts of solidarity...[so that] a formal association of the Celtic nations will one day emerge’ (McArthur, 1988: 65–66). In line with Chapman’s critique of Celtic continuities in Britain (1992), Smith asserts that the myth of the nation reborn abolishes recent histories in favour of ‘a highly idealised image of the simple mores and noble qualities of the *ethnie*’s “heroic age” which connects the present-day community with ancestors ‘through cultural

affinity and ideology rather than genealogically', shifting emphasis from 'blood ties to territorial association with a particular landscape and soil' (Smith, 1984: 294–295).

The grounding of ethnicity in the past is clearly implicated in the very categorization process of which 'ethnicity' itself is a part. With their politicization within nationalisms, ethnic identities are universalized (Smith, 1984: 299) such that myths of identity are self-fulfilled via their role in the definition and codification of the discourses of social processes in terms of history and ethnicity. We saw this in chapter six whereby pupils within the nationally sanctioned curricula are taught specifically to think in terms of historicized identity mapped onto past physical landscapes. As Smith reminds us, state formations such as national curricula are all about creating loyal citizen bodies conscious of their stake in the territorial realm (1984: 301). Interesting, too, is his assertion that because of the ways in which curricula rely on the narratives of *ethnie*, those who belong to what are marginalized ethnic identities within the state come to see that state as alien and seek to set up their own ethnically defined nations. As Parker notes in his study of sexualized identities, 'that it is the nation rather than other forms of imagined collectivity that carries today this immense political freight has meant, of course, that disenfranchised groups frequently have had to appeal to national values precisely to register their claims as political' (Parker, 1992: 8).

Being and memory

However, Smith's account of ethnic identities never fully addresses the specific archaeo-historic narratives which constitute the ethnic myths used in the reproduction of nationalisms. McArthur echoes this in her study of Cornish identities when she argues that 'cultural markers do not possess an intrinsic significance, this lies in their role as markers in the processes of exclusion and inclusion' (1988: 14). Although those markers are not essentially significant, and are experienced by specific social actors in particular ways (Goss, 1993), I would suggest that the form they take is, in fact, central to their inclusionary and exclusionary roles. Indeed, this is borne out by the interviews discussed in the previous chapter whereby, alongside a general language of 'roots', the particular images of an archaeo-historic Celtic culture became incorporated into the ways in which visitors developed their own narratives of identity – that consuming Iron Age roundhouse reconstructions was somehow central to the preservation of specific cultural traditions and identities:

WOMAN: This is our roots, isn't it?

MAN: Invention accelerates basically because population accelerates War was a two day skirmish with the village on the other side of the valley and one finished up with all the animals, women and trinkets ... whereas now war is on a massive scale.

WOMAN: And if you think, it's just dawned on me, if there was a nuclear war and three quarters of the population had gone down, we'd start back living like this ... the ones who knew about history, had been the ones interested enough in it, would be left to do it all.

While the material culture of heritage media is incorporated within a generalized language of belonging, we must not conclude that the specifics are unimportant or that they have no bearing on the various ways in which peoples come to self-identify. In particular, the mix magic and functionalism articulated within these spaces fits well with what appear to be people's already held beliefs about a Celtic Iron Age.

Nationalism is constructed and reproduced through a congruence of culture and politics structured around particular ethnic identities into which heritage media plays (Smith, 1990). Yet, if there is no 'authentic' pre-existing ethnic mosaic (Smith, 1984: 284), then how do we evaluate competing claims to nationhood and identity whether they are given form through the archaeology of inland fortified camps, cliff castles, fougous, and Celtic crosses (Whetter, 1973: 10); recently invented 'Irish pubs' springing up throughout Britain, with their interlace-bordered menus and Enya soundtracks (see chapter four); or even the past and continuing use of prehistoric dykes, cairns, and standing stones to naturalize political boundaries dividing principalities, districts and units in medieval Wales (Davies, 1987: 20)? How do we choose 'appropriate' material symbols of a sense of pastness, if we are agreed that in Britain in the late 1990s archaeo-historic narratives are still seen to have value? Perhaps, as Chapman, MacDonald, and Tonkin suggest, it is best to understand identity as a relationship of simultaneities of action and definition (1989: 9). Although we must address the particularities of what makes up Celticentric heritage media, my argument has been that it is the specificity of how all of these images are mobilized in discourses of nationalism that needs to be understood in order to begin to point a way forward for academic archaeological practices.

I suggest that the heritage media discussed in this thesis are actively used in the reassertion and reproduction of borders between communities, and that they give form to archaeo-historically based nationalist narratives (*cf.* Anderson, 1983: 178-185). Central to this, as Billig argues, is the process by which 'the nation, which celebrates its antiquity, forgets its historical recency' (1995: 38). Indeed, the defining characteristic of nationalist culture 'is its immediate encompassing pervasiveness, its here and now and everywhere at once' (Smith, 1990: 7). Yet, as I have suggested above, it is a mistake to see cultural traditions and identities as wholly 'invented' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) as this merely reproduces notions that some cultural entities are more authentic than others. We 'may misunderstand an alien social reality before [our] eyes, but [our] experience of it is genuine, and [our] expression of it is a cultural form worthy of respect as such' (Chapman, 1992: 199). As Lunn argues, 'we need to recognize ... that national identity has always been a constructed identity and ... move beyond

a simplistic evocation of historical identity to acknowledge the constancy of active formation and reformation' (Lunn, 1996: 86).

In fact, I would suggest that it is in that tension between the always present of the reproduction of archaeo-historic discourse and the inescapable fact that 'things did happen in the past' – in other words, in the tensions which circulate through an apparent continuing need to define the authentic – that we can locate the negotiation of meanings of identity and, in that way, avoid reproducing ideological arguments which condemn heritage (and media generally) as a form of false consciousness (Ascherson, 1987; Hewison, 1987; Jenkins, 1992; Lee, 1981; Lowenthal, 1985). That is, just as the investing of meaning in heritage expresses the role of narratives of the past in the present of the community – rather than the past being meaningful in itself – identity is invested with meaning through discourse, through continuing assertions that identity (racial/ethnic/cultural) requires articulation and negotiation with reference to ideas of pastness. I would thus ally myself with Frederik Barth's formulation of the negotiation of community in arguing that British identities are not 'located' in being, but are social attributes formed through human interaction and the building and maintenance of visible cultural boundaries (in other words, the material of Celticentric heritage) which serve to remind us of who we are and who we are not (Barth, 1969).

Indeed, I would suggest that the act of consuming the heritage media discussed may perhaps be understood as a form of 'carnival invoked in coding of state' (Evans, 1996: 35–36). Evans develops Mikhail Bahktin's formulation of the carnival and the grotesque (1968) to put forward a discourse of nationalism which circulates around tensions of desire for the grotesque Other as central to the reproduction of community, which echoes Parker's use of Julia Kristeva's work on desire in his approach to nation and identity (1992). Although there are many parallels with the circulation of ideas of the Celt in Britain, I would argue that it is perhaps not as simple as this: the unique position of Celtic culture in British society is that while Other, it is not grotesque in the way in which Bahktin outlines. My use of 'carnival', then, should not be understood in a specific Bahktinian sense, but rather as a communal gathering and performance of specific gestures and identities, whether that involves the watching of television documentaries, the visiting of museums and heritage centres, the purchasing of souvenirs or the participation in schools-based history, performances which celebrate our apparent need to articulate identity with reference to the past (Connerton, 1989: 3–4).

So, implied in the carnival is the repetition of the performance of heritage consumption as a commemorative ceremonial, commemorative only in so far as it is performative; performance, in turn, 'cannot be thought without a concept of habit; and a habit cannot be thought without a notion of bodily automatisms' (Connerton, 1989: 5). Furthermore, as Connerton suggests, habit is a 'knowledge and a remembering in the hands and in the

body; and in the cultivation of habit it is our body which “understands” (ibid.: 95). If we accept that consuming archaeo-historic Celtic culture as represented in heritage media is central to the reproduction of discourses of race, identity and nation, then so, too, are the acts of remembering which constitute engagements with heritage media. From visitor references to the importance of heritage in reminding us of who we are and where we came from to the texts of heritage media which rely on the remembering of history, through to the importance of heritage consumption in the marking out and remembering of life events, memory is central to the way in which we come to consume heritage media. Thus, in order to critically address the problematic racist and nationalist discourses which are reproduced through the production and consumption of images of Celtic culture, we need to appreciate the role that memory plays in the constitution of self and community for if ‘we are to play a believable role before an audience of relative strangers we must produce or at least imply a history of ourselves: an informal account which indicates something of our origins and which justifies or perhaps excuses our present status and actions in relation to that audience’ (ibid.: 17).

Where now?

As this thesis draws to a close, what I am faced with, then, is a complex of Celticentric heritage media which, I suggest, are seen by those who consume them to represent above all an authentic engagement with the values of the past in the present. In this chapter I have sought to elucidate the ways in which these media are implicated in the processes of nationalism, which are made problematic through the centrality of discourses of race and ethnicity discussed in chapter seven, discourses implicated in the naturalizing of difference among the communities which make up the British nation state. Furthermore, there are also issues of contingent gender relations being played out within heritage media which are represented as timeless and natural. At the same time as Celts are represented as a somehow feminized ethno-cultural grouping in comparison with Anglo-Saxons (chapters one and two), heritage media narratives of Celts reproduce contingent, twentieth-century gender relations whereby Celtic men are actively adventurous, leaving home for battle and land, whereas Celtic women are seen to occupy home and hearth. At Celtica, where the chieftain is presented as a woman, visitors took this as a problematic issue, arguing that it was either unbelievable (C17) or a result of shameless ‘political correctness’ (C16).

However, I am left with having to acknowledge that none of this addresses the serious issue of narratives of Celtic culture circulating in heritage media continuing to be understood as unproblematic. Furthermore, as Chapman, MacDonald, and Tonkin recognize, ‘those who live within a particular historically defined identity are liable to take serious exception to neo-anthropological analysis, which appears to take their history away, to render

it contingent, arbitrary, or fictitious' (1989: 8). This has certainly been a feature of some of my own engagements with the numerous people I have interviewed formally in the spaces of heritage and those people with whom I have spoken and corresponded throughout the course of my research. A Celtic Iron Age as represented in heritage media continues to be used as a talisman of being and therefore demands sensitive deconstruction.

I have eventually learned that I cannot expect people who believe in an authentic Celtic culture to 'convert' to an understanding of contingent identities, to acknowledge that there is no 'past' as such, but only stories. And yet, I suggest that there are serious ethical issues which must be foregrounded, that archaeologists do need to take responsibility for the narratives of a Celtic Iron Age which continue to be produced and consumed. It may be that such a deconstruction of these narratives bears no more relation to 'truth' than do representations of a Celtic warrior aristocracy. However, if consuming the past is central to the ways in which certain groups of people come to see themselves as people who value the past, then certainly we, as academic archaeologists, as producers (and consumers) of knowledge, are suitably positioned to articulate the arguments currently circulating through the academy and in so doing allow those not directly involved in academic practice to participate in debates, and thus develop a specific awareness of how all of our practices are implicated in the everyday negotiation of the world around us.

In this way, I am indebted to Nietzsche's attempt to forge an ethically motivated purpose for history (1980). While I acknowledge that his conclusions to *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life* point towards a problematic celebration of the 'native' German in opposition to what he sees as the debilitating effects of a preoccupation with 'foreign' culture, his critique of antiquarian history whereby an unexamined belief in the worth of simply knowing the 'facts' of the past is a dangerous assumption that we can possess the past and subsume it within the self is still of value today (Nietzsche, 1980: 60). What are the heritage media discussed other than powerful motifs in the present which we all consume in specific contexts in the performing of ourselves? We all must take responsibility to make choices and take decisions in terms of what we wish to represent in the light of an understanding of how the gestures we make play into the broad brush strokes of the portrait of the human community (*cf.* Critchley, 1992).

Certainly, during the interviews I conducted with visitors to Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica I found that everyone with whom I spoke expressed a keen interest in these debates. From direct observations that I had now become part of their 'heritage experience' (CH10, CH22, CH24) to claims that they had never really discussed such questions before but found it fascinating to think of the past in this way, it is clear that my own involvement in visitors' consumption of heritage media foregrounded issues that are generally left unvoiced in the archaeo-historic narratives. Because these specific issues are the

subject of recent re-evaluations of the British Iron Age and British archaeological practices generally, it is clear that there remains an unhelpful differentiation between 'public' and 'professional'. So, in fact, through a jealous guarding of our knowledges and patronizing rejection of our own roles as consumers of heritage media, we, as academic archaeologists who work in the area of British Iron Age studies, are as much implicated in the reproduction of racialized nationalism as are the 'Romantics' we too often dismiss. Hence, the power/knowledge relationships circulating through the production and consumption of heritage media may actually be understood to devolve real 'power to' from the academy leaving only an empty, unethical 'power over' (to borrow, briefly, from Foucault) the ways in which narratives of the past circulate through heritage media.

I bring this dissertation to some sense of closure by suggesting that we must continue to question our own work with reference to the production and consumption of heritage media as the public expression of archaeological practice. The fields of discourse which I have attempted to chart are, by necessity, only a beginning. There is further, extensive work to be done with ethnographies of heritage consumption. Particularly, long-term interview work with a small number of case-study groups could provide a much fuller picture of how the various forms of Celticentric heritage media intersect with the everyday, and allow us to think beyond 'audience' and 'author' oppositions. Furthermore, the appendix which closes this volume forms a body of work which is open to interpretation and to the construction of 'different' present(ed) pasts. These 'thick' descriptions help to bring us face-to-face with the power of things (Geertz, 1975).

Finally, that the people I have spoken with over the past four years have so enthusiastically participated in debates which could be seen to threaten their understandings of themselves points towards a real, practical way forward for the practice of archaeology. While it may be impossible to staff museums and heritage centres with roving *provocateurs* whose sole task it is to encourage people to actively engage with and question how, what, and why it is that they are consuming heritage media, it is certainly something for the management of such sites to consider seriously. And while it is undesirable to eradicate the term 'Celt' from our archaeo-historic lexicon (for in doing so would be to deny its own historical specificity and its ongoing centrality in the discourses of British nationhood), archaeologists involved in the production of Iron Age discourses must accept that they have a duty to address the Celtic conundrum directly in all of their practices. Publishers may demand that book titles cite 'Celts' or 'Celtic' (John Collis and Simon James, pers. comm.);

television producers may demand mist and mystery to justify budget expenditures. The Celtic cultural package is, after all, 'good to think'. As archaeologists, as cultural producers, we share a responsibility to engage creatively with that and not marginalize heritage media as something other than archaeological practice. To do otherwise is, surely, to misunderstand profoundly what it is that we do.

APPENDIX

ETHNOGRAPHY TRANSCRIPTS

Introduction

This appendix comprises sets of observations and interviews conducted with visitors to the Celtic village at the Museum of Welsh Life, Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort and Celtica during the summer months of 1996. Observation notes from the Museum of Welsh Life are transcribed in note form. The three roundhouses are described as R (right), L (left), BACK. With the interview work, in attempting to present the material clearly, I have structured the information in line with standard qualitative research models (*cf.* Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Miles and Huberman, 1994). For reasons of clarity, both my initials (AP) and gender roles (MAN, WOMAN, CHILD, MOTHER, FATHER) are capitalized while the body of the interviews is presented in columns (see chapter seven for methodological discussion). Groups are indicated simply as CH1, CH5, CH32, etc. (Castell Henllys); MoWL1, MoWL5, etc. (Museum of Welsh Life) and C1, C5, C30 (Celtica). Any relevant 'stage directions' (for example if groups are laughing, shouting, angry, etc.) are indicated in italics. I have used punctuation to convert spoken tones and verbal weighting into text. Grammatical inconsistencies and colloquialisms remain in order to give a sense of the ways in which people speak. My own words are not always transcribed verbatim as I asked many questions in a similar vein. When interviewees asked me questions about what I was doing I explained that I was working as a researcher for the Board of Celtic Studies looking at issues of museums and heritage.

The first section forms a series of observation notes taken over a period of two weeks spent in the Celtic Villiage at the Museum of Welsh Life. At Castell Henllys I engaged in in-depth discussions which ranged over a variety of issues, beginning with set questions about people's attitudes towards heritage, the Celts and the past. I wanted to see how people saw themselves in relation to a Welsh Celtic past and thus allowed for interviews to take the form of open conversations. At Celtica, I structured interviews more formally, using the self-complete questionnaires from Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort as the format. The Celtica interviews represent both transcribed material from tape and interview notes for those groups who did not wish to be taped.

Celtic village, St Fagans Museum of Welsh Life: observation notes

15.07.96

Very hot, clear skies, I sit in the village from 11 am onwards.

MoWL1

Two grandparents, two parents and young child. Little girl tells her 'mummy' that it 'smells of poo'. Parent replies with 'let's try in here', referring to a roundhouse. Grandfather then explains to child about daub: 'we leave the mud in the Welsh sun', and asks about huts: 'do you think that's where we keep the dogs?'. Grandfather continues his role of informed visitor of his group, claiming the 'thickness of clay to make a fire must've been pretty thick' and wants to know more about the outside ditch. The father of the child responds 'naw, it's just a description of when and how'.

MoWL2

A middle-aged couple come in and just look and leave.

MoWL3

A group of primary school students and a teacher come in, mill about and then leave. They do ask a few questions however. The students ask whether the roundhouses were the houses. Their teacher responds that 'the old Celts lived in houses like this'. Students comment that it smells and make Hollywood American Indian noises. Another child exclaims 'there's skulls on it' while another describes it as an 'opium den'.

MoWL4

A couple come in with their wheel-chair bound mother. They walk around site without saying much until they go into the main roundhouse where they talk about difficulties of everyday life and what people used for light.

MoWL5

A large group of KS1 and KS2 pupils come in to find the answers to their worksheet questions. When their teacher asks them whether they would like to live there, there is a loud, collective 'No!' to which the teacher replies, 'me neither'. One pupil jokes that the replica shield is a skateboard.

MoWL6

A girl in her late teens arrives, then another two women and a young child (boy). The teenaged girl says to the toddler: 'look at all the skulls on top' to which the toddler replies 'it stinks'. Two more people arrive, an older man and woman and it becomes apparent that they belong in this visiting group. The toddler begins running around and the older woman threatens 'don't you do that – next time you'll have it', feigning a spanking. They then all look for a spot at which to take photographs. Eventually the teenager and toddler are photographed in front of the granary and the teenager asks her mother: 'did you see those skulls on top?' The toddler runs up to the palisade and shouts down 'pretend I'm a statue up here'.

MoWL7

Middle-aged couple with camcorder. They wander through the site but say nothing and leave without having spoken to each other or the interpreters.

MoWL8

Middle-aged couple with daughter wander around the site. Mother goes on her own to look at granary while daughter and father explore the roundhouses.

MoWL9

Two women in their twenties walk in and go to the R house, L house and then Back house.

MoWL10

A school group of Eastern European pupils and teachers. There is much discussion and again, the skulls appear to attract a lot of attention.

MoWL11

Two Welsh-speaking couples in their thirties.

MoWL12

An elderly couple come in, go into the R house and leave again.

MoWL13

Teacher and very young KS1 pupils. Teacher says 'this is very, very old, from a long, long time ago', and tells them: 'look at these funny houses'. 'How would you like to live in here?' 'Look at the fire; it would smell because there's no chimney'. She then asks the children to 'imagine sleeping in there with your brothers and sisters'. The sense of the 'primitive' is reproduced by the teacher who says 'ooh, I couldn't live in there'. The teachers ask the pupils more questions: 'do you think it took them long to build those houses?'. All the children reply in the affirmative and one pupil remarks 'it stinks!'

MoWL14

Three 11–15-year olds arrive and joke around that the inhabitants must have been 'short people'.

MoWL15

A group of Key Stage 2 pupils arrive and wander about and then leave.

MoWL16

A young couple arrives. The male jokes around a bit and says of the pattern on the door lintel: 'oh, it says mind your head on the way out' to which his female partner replies 'no it's swirly patterns' and then he retorts 'yeah, that's Celtic for mind your head'.

16.07.96

It's another hot, clear day and the museum is already crowded by the time I arrive from Swansea.

MoWL17

A school group of 13–14-year olds arrives with their teacher. They have visited Celtica which their teacher describes as 'over commercialized'. The site interpreter argues 'but it's not Welsh. They make out it's a Welsh thing but costumes are from Kent. All that money but they don't utilize it'.

MoWL18

I speak to the interpreter about her perceptions and she says: 'Thing is here, I'm the Celtic interpreter here, I have to do everything for £3.89 an hour and I'm a qualified teacher with an MA.' She argues that although it looks as though you can get a lot out of the site, the kids just walk in and out again. Moreover she says that you can't expect the teachers to do it all as they don't know that much about the Iron Age either. Argues that the rest of St Fagans structures how people see the Celtic village in that the other houses are moved brick by brick from their original setting whilst the Celtic village is a complete construction. So there is the assumption that archaeologists found the house as it appears.

MoWL19

A grandmother demands to take a photograph of grandson in one of the doorways because 'your mum's never seen you in a house like that'. She then asks interpreter about the pole-lathe which is set up just outside the gate.

MoWL20

Older mother and father with their daughter who must be in her thirties. They stop to watch the interpreters teach children about spinning and weaving.

MoWL21

Grandmother, mother, father, and baby arrive. The grandmother asks whether 'the rooms ever catch fire' to which the interpreter (male) recounts the experimental archaeological explanation about smoke filtering through the thatch. The interpreter explains that the site is an experiment and says this site provides 'glimpses of the past and how they had to struggle'.

MoWL22

A lone visitor with a guidebook proceeds through the site using her book to provide explanation. She does not speak to anyone.

MoWL23

A woman on her own arrives and peeks into one of the roundhouses. Her female friend arrives and says 'God it's basic'. They both laugh and her friend says 'very, very basic'. Another friend, a man with a camera, arrives and remarks 'they put the skulls on there to scare away humans I presume'.

MoWL24

Irish tourists arrive and they say to each other: 'yeah, there's a very similar place in Wexford'.

MoWL25

More pupils and teacher. A girl remarks 'I never knew there would be beer in Roman times'. Someone says something about museums being good for children and one boy replies 'this is gooder'. A girl points to BACK roundhouse and claims that it is the best one and her teacher continues, 'there's a bit of sunlight in this one...just'.

MoWL26

A man and two women come in. The man approaches me to ask me about what I'm doing and asks me about the Iron Age and roundhouses. He says it's just that his group have been discussing whether places like this exist just to fill in leisure time or what. We discuss a number of issues, the role of education and leisure and the Western valuing of the past. I then explain what I am doing. (although the museum administration asked that I do not directly speak to visitors, here I am asked specific questions about my activities). One of the women exclaims 'even on holiday we can't escape academics!' to which I reply, 'ah, you were a bit cagey about that one'. It turns out that they are all attending a science and technology conference in Cardiff.

MoWL27

An elderly couple come in and the woman remarks 'you want a torch to see in there!'

MoWL28

Three 15-year old girls come in and the male interpreter becomes very attentive and tells them all about the Celts even though they just giggle and nudge each other.

MoWL29

Middle-aged couple enter and leave.

MoWL30

Mother, father and two children come in. The mother expresses how glad she is that she lives in the twentieth century.

MoWL31

French school boys (14–16) come in and behave much as any other group of teenaged boys by milling around, making a few jokes and leaving.

MoWL32

Grandparents, parents and baby (all French) arrive. Cannot understand what they say.

MoWL33

Another family group of grandparents, parents and toddler arrive. The grandmother asks 'what are they?'. The father says to his child that 'that's they way your great, great, great, great grandfather used to live'.

MoWL34

A middle-aged man and woman arrive. They don't say anything.

MoWL35

A Canadian mother with her teenaged daughter and her friend arrive. The girls talk about hair while they spin wool in the R roundhouse.

MoWL36

Mother in wheelchair, father and two children arrive. The little girl becomes separated from her family but then spots the now empty wheelchair outside the house and runs to it.

MoWL37

Middle-aged couple walk in. The man looks behind the bench at the entryway to the enclosure and muses 'hmm, fire extinguishers'.

17.07.96

It's another very warm, sunny day.

MoWL38

French school-children come in. One takes a look at the dark roundhouse and says in English 'home, sweet home'. Another shouts 'Asterix!'.

MoWL39

Middle-aged couple come in. The woman inspects the decoration and building techniques and remarks 'and then you site the roof on the stones rather than have it overhanging'. Her husband wonders 'how much smoke...'

MoWL40

An American and an English woman come in. The English woman says 'now this I've not seen' while her friend reads the guide. The English woman continues 'goodness, these are new, I've not seen these'. On entering the roundhouse, the English woman warns her friend to walk carefully so as not to twist her ankle. The American woman replies 'that's good as I don't want to experience the National Health'.

MoWL41

A Welsh school group arrive speaking in both Welsh and English. The children are very excited and make exclamations about the fireplace and the smell and encourage each other to take photos. The teacher asks the pupils 'do you think they had electricity in the Celtish age?'

MoWL42

A man on his own, holding a camera, walks into the enclosure. His wife joins him and she carries more recording equipment. They speak together very quietly but the wife says 'there's not much light; they've even got a door or gate'.

MoWL43

Two middle-aged women arrive. One remarks to the other 'at least you've got a front door to come in and out of; more than they've got'. But they enjoy the fact that 'it's nice and cool on a hot day'.

MoWL44

Young mother with a baby (and guidebook) enter the site. Father and toddler come in after. The mother says to the toddler 'look at these funny little houses Lucy' and then tells her to find where her father's gone. There follows family concern about children wanting juice and getting kids to explore the site.

MoWL45

Middle-aged American couple arrive and don't say anything.

MoWL46

Two elderly women arrive who don't say anything.

MoWL47

Middle-aged couple arrive, wander about for a couple of minutes and then acknowledge that they've 'done' the site by saying 'OK' to each other in a tone of finality.

MoWL48

Two elderly couples come in. A woman asks another 'now what was this supposed to be?' Her friend replies 'a Celtic village'. The two then read from the guidebook. One husband describes the site sleeping arrangements as being 'a bit hard on your back and feet'. The other man describes the site as 'like a little settlement' while the former dismisses it as 'just mud and dung'. The two men are especially concerned with the comforts of life, as a Celt 'got up in the morning and went to bed when it go dark' because 'that's how it used to be. One man says 'it's certainly marvelous how they covered things when now it's all down to machinery'. Strangely, one woman then says 'you never know, in years to come they might be like us'. A man finishes 'I mean when we were young we didn't have gas or electric'.

MoWL49

Two women in their thirties and their children arrive. One child exclaims 'let's look in that one' while child's mother responds 'they're all the same really'. The other woman jokes 'no shops then' while her friend explains to the children 'whatever they caught they had to use for food and clothing'.

MoWL50

Mother and teenaged son enter but do not discuss site.

MoWL51

Elderly man enters and leaves quickly.

MoWL52

Mother, father, toddler son, and baby arrive. The toddler is tremendously interested and drags his father to come and explain.

MoWL53

Two couples arrive. They joke about the size of roundhouse doorways. Pointing to the larger they say 'they must've grown a bit here'. One man gets serious and hypothesizes that 'this one must be the older one and the more modern' about the stone house. About daub they think that perhaps the Celts warmed up the mud and slapped it on. Someone remarks that the thatch is as dry as timber.

MoWL54

Grandmother, mother, and daughter enter the enclosure. They talk about property and then about the dangers of having fires in the roundhouses. The mother recounts a story of having gone to one roundhouse where they did have fires in and how she asked the weavers questions that they couldn't answer because of all the smoke.

MoWL55

A woman and man in their twenties or thirties come in and the man remarks that 'people couldn't have been very tall in those days' and claims that the houses would need to have a hole in the middle of the roof to let out the smoke. Again, 'they must have been short people in those days'.

MoWL56

A group of 15-16-year old boys come in. One jokes 'I always wanted a roof like this'. They laugh, make a joke, and then leave.

MoWL57

Three elderly visitors arrive. A woman bumps her head on the low door lintel and her male companion retorts 'you're lucky your head's not next', referring to the row of skulls above the door.

MoWL58

An American man and woman with a young child arrive. The little boy remarks that the roundhouse is 'about my size' while his father observes that it is dark. He also says to his son that he'd 'have to sleep on dirt and that wouldn't be fun'. His son agrees saying 'yeah, you'd have to get new pyjamas'.

MoWL59

A man and woman with a little girl arrive and comment on the coolness of the roundhouses.

MoWL60

Three 10-year old boys arrive. They are pupils from London. Their comments range from 'people actually lived in here?' to 'smoky', 'old', 'dirty'. They are also dubious that it 'was like this'. They think the houses are too big and that the fences would be higher and thicker.

MoWL61

A woman asks what the house was. She thinks it was a meeting house. Then she talks to her husband about prospective photo opportunities and where they should go next.

MoWL62-70

Groups come in quickly and leave again for the next site.

MoWL71

Welsh school girls arrive and also remark that 'they must have been very short people'. Another says 'This one's got a door, it must be a more modern building'. The girls then argue about whether there were horses during the Iron Age. One is adamant that there were not, the other responds 'of course they had horses. Next thing you'll be telling us is that they rode dinosaurs'.

MoWL72

A middle-aged woman and youngish man and woman enter and observe 'they would've had a hard time of it'. They discuss what time all of this took place and marvel that 'when you think in the other bit we were looking at costumes twenty years old'.

MoWL73

Two middle-aged women enter and are amazed with what they see, remarking that the site is both 'interesting' and 'amazing'; 'just see the way they built the doors...'

MoWL74

A female teacher comes in with a friend and their children. The adults discuss the strains and stresses of visiting with school groups, rather than about the site itself. The children point to the chicken coop and call it a kennel.

MoWL75

A woman with two children enters. She asks her children lots of detailed questions about what roundhouses are called, what sorts of things the Celts would have grown, and tells them that the fences were for keeping animals out.

MoWL76

Grandparents with grandson arrive. The grandmother takes control of the lesson saying 'look Richard, this is how they make the walls'. The boy asks what it's called and she replies 'mud and daub?' which the grandfather corrects to 'wattle and daub'.

MoWL77

American tourists come into the enclosure. The grandmother says 'that's the drawing room, library, jacuzzi...' and is surprised to find that she's 'too tall' for the doorways. She points to the palisade fence and exclaims 'look at that fence, isn't it interesting?'; 'this is amazing – double door?' Again, the stone house is considered to be more sophisticated than the wattle and daub as the father says 'look at this one, it's made of stone – probably the boss's house'. On leaving the site the father concludes 'that's an Iron Age village'.

MoWL78

Two very dressed-up trans-Atlantic women come in and one asks 'where would I hang my coat and my iron?'

MoWL79

A middle-aged couple enter and the man takes a photo of his wife in front of the house.

18.07.96

I station myself by the entryway to the roundhouse to observe people moving into the site, without worrying too much about what people are saying

MoWL80

Three non-English speaking Asian women and their white English, female guide arrive. They soon leave without saying anything about the site.

MoWL81

Welsh school group come in and try to figure out how the houses would have been made and where the people would have started. A teacher asks the pupils whether they would like to live there and all the pupils say 'no', although they are very intrigued by aspects of death at the site.

MoWL82

Another school group arrives and a child says to the teacher, 'Miss, they're all creepy' and talks about skulls, asking whether or not they are real. The children appear just as interested in the fire extinguishers as they do the site itself.

MoWL83

Mother, father, and three children arrive and they show a very active interest in the site. The woman asks about sleeping arrangements as she thought Celts slept on skins on the floor. They ask about iron working and ways of life. The mother thinks it all looks quite primitive and awful while her husband thinks it looks like quite a good way to live, with just the odd war with which to contend.

MoWL84

A teacher explains to her students that the skulls were placed above the doors to ward off evil spirits. A child calls the large roundhouse a castle while one of the teachers remarks, in the context of size, that they are obviously her ancestors.

MoWL85

A school group enters and uses Jesus to talk about chronology and time scale. An interpreter asks the pupils questions about how people would have kept food back then.

MoWL86

A German family comes in with little boy of about two or three. They stop only by the chicken coop where the little boy is excited about finding chicken eggs.

MoWL87

An American man enters the enclosure. He carries a camcorder and narrates his own filming. 'This is a house of substantial proportions – probably a chieftain's house', in imitation of David Attenborough style.

MoWL88

Another family enters and asks the interpreter about the pole lathe. The child observes that 'it's like Africa' whilst its mother points out the 'moat' saying that it is there to stop 'vandals'.

MoWL89

An American group enters. One person asks 'what was the shield for?' The response is 'fighting I think'.

MoWL90

A Spanish family come in (older gentleman, young woman and young man). They, too, make jokes about the size of the people (all such comments are inspired by the low doors).

19.07.96

Another sunny day. I continue working in the large roundhouse.

MoWL91

Middle-aged couple come in. The woman points to the skull and exclaims. They leave.

MoWL92

Welsh speaking adults come in with two American children. They remark about the smell and one child says 'wow! this is 2 billion years old!'

MoWL93

Couple with a baby come in and talk about child care and then leave.

MoWL94

Grandmother, grandfather, father, mother and child enter. The father claims that they 'must've been shorter than we are'. The mother questions the appearance of the pole lathe: 'this isn't 2000 BC – no lathes in 2000 BC. The child associates the large roundhouse with the chieftain.

MoWL95

Two women and one man in their twenties arrive and walk around. One woman observes 'amazing, isn't it – it looks nice against the sky'.

MoWL96

Family from Somerset with three children. One child claims 'this is where Indians lived, weren't they?'

MoWL97

An elderly American couple arrive and comment that inside the roundhouses it is 'cooler than our hotel room'.

MoWL98

More elderly Americans arrive and comment that they 'must've been short' and perhaps were like the Indians.

MoWL99

Another American couple link the village to Boudica and take several photographs.

MoWL100

A nanny with three children arrive. The little girl asks where the skull which used to be on the gate has gone because she remembers it from a school trip.

22.07.96

Again, very sunny and hot.

MoWL101

A grandmother with three young boys, one little girl and a 13-year old girl arrive. The three little boys say that they're Indians and want their faces painted like Celtic Indians. They ask what the paint was made from. They run around the houses shouting that they are going to their 'den'.

MoWL102

American tourists want to be painted and comment about the 'very small' Celts.

MoWL103

An American couple arrive but only the woman speaks and comments about similarities between the roundhouses and Africa. She tells her husband, who is about to take a photograph, that she will 'get by the door for relative height'. She also says 'wow, I'm very interested but I like my house better – but I like the charm of the outside'. She also argues that the houses are 'probably more waterproof than a lot of modern homes'.

MoWL104

An American couple mark similarities between the Celtic village and the Hollywood film, *Braveheart* (starring Mel Gibson as a long-haired, woad-painted Robert the Bruce).

MoWL105

A Brownie pack arrive for what they term 'an educationally fun, safe day out'. They compare the Celts with their knowledge of Jesus and then talk about the roundhouses. They all think the big house belongs to the chief but seem not to grasp the relationship among the three houses.

MoWL106

A long-haired man and his three daughters come into the site. He explains a lot to them about natural dyeing and the ways in which the houses were built and what the Iron Age means.

Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort

Conversations held here often interrupted by wind interference. Interference is indicated by [...] while pauses in conversation are indicated by Sample questionnaires are listed at end of section.

02.07.1996

CH1a

Three people – an elderly man and woman (WOMAN2) and one middle-aged woman (WOMAN1) who turns out to be their daughter. To begin with they allow me to audio tape them as they walk along the site paths. Below is an interview with them.

WOMAN1: [...]details of a Celtic shrine at Roquepertuse with severed heads...

WOMAN2: Mmm. Very nice.

Birdsong

MAN: When do the druids come into being?

WOMAN1: Certainly they were there by the Iron Age.

MAN: Yes they were.

WOMAN1: I dunno, I suppose they eased their way in and gradually took over...I don't think anyone woke up one morning and suddenly thought, I know, let's go and sacrifice someone.

Laughter

WOMAN: [...]settlements...when they could set up their hierarchy.

Remainder is obscured by wind as we move off towards the animal area.

CH2

Conversation with the resident voluntary weaver who works in the central roundhouse, a space used to demonstrate possible Iron Age domestic arrangements.

- AP: So are you spending your day weaving in here?
MAN: More or less.
AP: Are you volunteering or paid staff?
MAN: Not really. They pay me expenses you see. But I am a weaver so I enjoy doing it.
AP: Nice being outside.
MAN: Yes, and it's quite a challenge doing it on a bunch of old sticks like this.
AP: It must be. Have you had to learn a new technique?
MAN: It's quite different in a way, but basically most weaving is the same. But you've got different problems: your wool is tensioned by weight instead of being wound up on roller and of course on a normal loom you've got some method of spacing the threads. You've got to develop the skill for doing it.
AP: It must be difficult because there's not much light.
MAN: No, it's better when the doors are wide open...these are two that we did here.
AP: Do you get many people speaking to you? Because I'm doing work on museums and I've noticed that in the roundhouses people start whispering.
MAN: Yes, like a church.
AP: But do you get questions generally?
MAN: Yes, but I s'pose mostly it's general questions like why is there no hole for the smoke to get through? That sort of thing. But we do get weavers who come along and are quite interested in the weaving. And we have the local guilds of weavers once every four weeks...and we have a dyeing session.
AP: I'll let you get back to work.
MAN: That's all right. We're trying to set up twill weaving because although they've found fragments of twill, nobody quite knows how they did it. So I've got to find a few more sticks.

He speaks to me more about weaving techniques

- AP: Do you ever get people asking to have a go?
MAN: Oh yes, don't mind a bit. I usually have to take it out quietly afterwards.

I thank him and we end the conversation

CH3

Young family group. Little girl wandering and chattering with father.

- FATHER: So you see here Anna, having made their walls...see they put wet mud on them and that makes a very good wall. And then they make a big roof so the rain doesn't come and wash all the mud away...
VOLUNTEER: Daub actually.
FATHER: OK, get technical...
VOLUNTEER: Do you want to throw it against the wall?
FATHER: See, it's all wet and then it's thrown up onto the wall and it sticks there.
VOLUNTEER: See we get lots of school children up here and it's one of their activities.
FATHER: Oh, really (*laughs*).
VOLUNTEER: It's a favourite this one.
FATHER: I bet it is.

GIRL: Yuck, yuck.
FATHER: Do twigs go in there as well to bind it all together?
VOLUNTEER: Straw, horse hair, cow pats, pig's blood and mud. But this is just mud and water.

laughter and sounds of squelching

MOTHER: Did you go in that one Paul?

CH4

AP: So are you the official wattler and dauber?

VOLUNTEER: Well I'm basket maker really, but there's no one up here to take the daub...it's for the schools programme where the kids come up here and do loads of different activities.

AP: I'm doing research on museums...

VOLUNTEER: It's quite good here. They come for the day and are let off the coach [...] they split into two groups and are brought up here and told lots of different stories and they do activities and pretend they're living in the Iron Age. Basket making, wattle and daubing, bit of warrior training...that's the first group. Then the second group come up and they have a mock battle...have lunch and then go home. I think it's good because it brings it alive to them. I think museums are a bit stiff really, most of the kids have a really good time.

AP: Do you get asked lots of questions?

VOLUNTEER: Yeah, quite a lot. Mostly similar ones. Like if I'm making baskets I'll mostly get asked questions related to the baskets. If I'm wandering about doing lots of jobs then people ask me all kinds of things, mostly about the houses, mostly the same questions really, but then you get the odd one that makes you think a bit.

AP: What sorts?

VOLUNTEER: My favourite one is why haven't they got a hole in the top to let the smoke out. I think we all get asked that one. Um...what would they all have been used for? Why isn't it higher?

AP: Why isn't it higher?

VOLUNTEER: Well, I think it surprises people, they expect it to be at the highest point on the hill.

AP: I guess 'cos they've been brought up to think of hillforts as being high.

VOLUNTEER: Yeah, whereas in actual fact it's quite sheltered up here, surprisingly sheltered.

AP: I'll let you get back to work.

CH1b

This is my interview with the older mother, father and middle-aged daughter.

I talk to elderly group of 3 – man, wife, daughter (northerners)

AP: What do you think about it and why do you come?

WOMAN1: I've come because it's not raining.

MAN: Now you wouldn't believe that, but...

WOMAN1: The last times I've been it has been, so I said I'm coming if it's fine but I'm not coming if it's raining. *(laughter)*

MAN: In fact, we're interested in how they lived, but we're, for meself, I like the continuity of it, from the beginning to the end. You know, for each generation there's something added for some reason and when you look at these things...I think a number of our architects should come along and

look at this...you know they build these flat buildings that leak like mad, and you come into somewhere like that...we stood in there and it was sluicing down.

WOMAN2: It was last time we come.

MAN: And it was absolutely dry, and the fire burning in there gave it a feeling of warmth. Even the fumes went right to the top and gradually percolated away, but it was very cosy in there wasn't it?

WOMAN2: Mmm.

MAN: And it was, we've got a lot to learn from these people. And another thing that we've been talking about is the herbs and I don't think...a lot of people think that we should take a lot of notice of what these people did. Nature knows it much better than we do.

AP: Do you live in the area?

WOMAN1: We've been holidaying here for the past, ooh, fourteen years and it's only been recently that we've come here ever since it started being built. That's why we've come here. 'Cos we're interested in the history of it. We like to know how these people lived and we reckon, like we said, that we can learn a lot from it.

AP: I've come with an architect today.

MAN: Well, I must admit I have a low opinion of architects. And I would tell an architect that to his face, I wouldn't be ashamed...I've met some funny architects...I mean...take a simple thing...been visiting a factory in Hatfield, north of London and they took me to lunch in a local pub and at the table was a man who was something to do with the local council. And they built some council houses, rather nice, and we were discussing this, pros and cons, and he said 'but it looks beautiful from the air'. And I said 'well who comes in by air'? And I remember having an argument with someone about a leaking flat roof and he said, 'but it isn't flat'. An enormous roof. And I said 'there's no slope on that' and he said 'there's two inches'. And I said 'you'll get two inches of mud at that end and then it'd be a lake'. So I do think there's a lot to learn with sloping roofs and these sorts of things, so that the lower end is the outer one so water bounces off. They do it with tiles, but even they wind up level and all the water goes onto the flat roof of the church and leaks into the church.

AP: Have you been to Butser farm? Because roundhouses are based on that.

WOMAN1: No, I've done Flag Fen...similar but the same basis as here.

[...]

WOMAN2: It is technological isn't it?

MAN: Yes, if you don't have central heating.

WOMAN2: Well, they did have central heating in a way.

WOMAN1: It's just the indoor plumbing I'd miss.

MAN: But some of our plumbing is appalling isn't it?

WOMAN1: But at least it's inside.

Laughter

MAN: That's one thing they hadn't learnt, but perhaps it was more hygienic anyway.

AP: Probably, because we just send it out to sea.

MAN: Yes, that's right.

AP: Thank you.

3.7.96

CH5

I spoke with one of the coach drivers who brings school groups to the site. He did not wish to be taped so what follows is a summary of his comments from notes.

He tells me that he's from Carmarthen and that although he thinks the site is 'great for school kids', he would not bring his own family here because they 'don't go in for things like this'. He then qualifies his statement by telling me that they don't go on holidays very often. His family does visit historic houses, model villages and museums when they come across them but he believes that 'once you've seen one, you seen 'em all'. The family prefers Butlins and horse riding. He tells me that he would never think of paying to come to a place like Castell Henllys although he appears keen to let me know that he means no disrespect by that.

I ask him if he sees any connection between Castell Henllys and Welsh heritage and although he mentions Celts, can see no link with Wales. When I ask him about Welshness he replies that it is about language, unemployment, the industrial era, the start of the twentieth century. His own view of being Welsh he says is about mining, slate, agriculture and tourism.

He apologizes several times for not being helpful to which I reply that I'm just as interested in the reasons why people don't come to Iron Age reconstructions. He stresses that he and his family like to be active on holiday, to do rather than to see.

CH6

I am in the large roundhouse which is set up as a meeting area with a central hearth and benches around the perimeter. Hear I tape a school-group session with 'Culwch' telling KS1 and KS2 children from St Clear, near Carmarthen, about the Iron Age.

CULWCH: Come over here look, put your bag over there.

sounds of children getting settled

CULWCH: Now then, here we are in your new home. This is where you're going to be living while you're here. What do you think? It's good isn't it? It's a lot better than the houses you live in, I expect, because we are great builders. Now as you can see, we need to do a bit of work. We'll get in some nice straw or hay to make beds for you and then we'll get you some nice things to sleep on. But as you can see, it's not bad as it is. We've got the fire, and the smoke's rising up and as we saw from outside...*(growls)* don't talk while I'm talking...there's no hole in the roof for the smoke. It just finds it's way out of the roof through the thatching and as it goes it helps to preserve the thatch, and as we also say, from the outside. Although it lets the smoke out, it doesn't let the rain in. And because the roof is so thick it keeps us warm in the winter and cool in the summer. And if you look up you'll see the roof is held up and tied up onto the big ones. We've got some smaller branches and the reeds are tied on to the smaller branches and the big ones rest on the wall and in-between the roof and the wall is a little gap that lets in a little light and fresh air. And then on the top of the wall there are some big bits of wood and where they join, they're all overlapped, aren't they? And if you look at where they do, there's a peg sticking up and that peg is actually the top of a post that goes through both bits of wood so all these bits of wood going around are all joined together and together they make a ring and that

ringbeam holds it all together and stops the wall from falling out or in and helps to spread the weight. And underneath that ringbeam we've got a wall. Now, any builders here? Anyone know how to build a wall?

- CHILD: Yeah, we get cement.
CULWCH: Who? Is that the person in your village?
CHILDREN: No it sticks together.
CULWCH: Sticks what together?
CHILDREN: Stones.
CULWCH: Stones? Little stone houses, well...
CHILDREN: And wood and bricks. They're orange things with holes in the middle.
CULWCH: Your houses have holes in the middle have they?
CHILDREN: Yeah.
CULWCH: Covered in cement?
CHILDREN: Yeah and slate and wood and...
CULWCH: Well we don't build like that here I'm happy to say. We build properly here. Anyone know how to build properly?
CHILD: Yeah, you get sticks in the ground and weave other sticks in between and then daub.
CULWCH: Excellent! These walls are made with wattle and daub and the wattle is when we weave with sticks. Now if you're going to live here it's very important that you learn how to weave because we do lots of things here. So just to make sure you know how, hold out your fingers and take a finger of your other hand and go in front, behind, in front, behind. Now that's how we weave. No matter what we're weaving with we go up and down and across....so under what you can see, these walls are made by banging sticks in the ground and taking other sticks, usually hazel, and weaving them in and out and when weaving with sticks we call it wattle. Can you say wattle?
CHILDREN: Wattle!
CULWCH: Now if our walls were just wattle it'd be a bit drafty so what we do is mix up stuff called daub. Now we've heard a couple of things that go into daub...
CHILD: Dung
CHILD: Mud
CHILD: Water
CHILD: Grass, straw
CHILD: Hair
CULWCH: And of course blood to make it all nice and sticky. And we mix it together into a nice gooey mess and we call that daub and we put the daub onto the wattle and there's our wattle and daub. Now I want you to go now carefully to the edge of the house and have a feel of the wall and look at the ring beam while you're there.

noises of children

- CULWCH: Who's got a good word to describe what the wall feels like?
CHILD: Hard
CHILD: Strong
CHILD: Rough
CHILD: Solid
CULWCH: Yup, they're really quite hard walls and that's how the daub goes when it dries off. As long as we keep it dry the daub will last almost forever. Now I don't know if you noticed when you came in that the roofs go almost the way down to the ground. Did you notice? The reason for that

is to keep the walls dry and stops the wind blowing, but the main reason is to keep the walls dry. That's how we build the houses. Any questions?

CHILD: How long would it take to build it?

CULWCH: The most difficult and longest job is to collect all the material together, for the wattle, the daub, the beams, the roof thatch. Once we've got it all together the building is quite quick. You can build a house like this in about six weeks in the summer when the days are long but because it takes so long, we only build our houses with things we find close by.

CHILD: How hard...

MAN: Quite easy really, the daub's easy. The ring-beam is a bit of work, but the most difficult is the thatching.

CHILD: How long do they last?

CULWCH: A long, long time. You have to keep working on it. Don't have to replace the thatch for thirty years. With the daub a bit can break off but it's easily fixed.

CHILD: How do you make the white paint for the wall?

CULWCH: It's made from lime which is crushed from stones.

CHILD: How old is the house?

CULWCH: Oh well I think this house was built in my grandfather's grandfather's time. A long time in the past.

HEADM'R: When was this roof replaced?

CULWCH: About ten years ago. Hear something?

More noise and excitement; the children are silenced by teachers

CULWCH: Just some more people coming. So when we come to build a house, how do we make sure it's round?

CHILD: Put sticks in a circle.

CULWCH: How would we know it's round? How do you make sure your houses are round?

CHILDREN: They're not.

CULWCH: What, they're all wobbly?

CHILDREN: No they're square.

CULWCH: Square! Well you're very lucky you've come to live here where we build them properly. Now I'll tell you. Choose the middle and bang a stick in the middle and tie a rope around and pull it tight and walk around and mark off where you put the posts.

Disturbance because mix up in school groups – too many – everyone stays in character to try to deal with it.

CULWCH: Any more questions?

CHILD: Has this ever caught fire?

CULWCH: It looks like it ought to, but we can have a big big fire in here as we often do and we can have sparks leaping up but it never catches fire. But there is a big danger of fire, not so much from the inside as from the outside when people attack the village and throw in burning torches and that's why we have to make sure that no one gets close enough to throw torches. Any more questions? I'm going to train some of you to be builders I've talked to you a bit about weaving the walls but we make all sorts of things by weaving. Like what?

CHILD: Clothes.

CULWCH: Clothes. All our clothes are woven. Linen which is made from flax and wool from the sheep. And this is a loom where we do our weaving. And in a moment (*gestures to woman who'll show the weaving*). What else?

CHILD: Baskets

CULWCH: All our baskets are woven. We also make our shields by weaving, woven sticks covered in leather. And we also make our boats by weaving. So it's an important skill. Any more questions?
CHILD: How much wool do you need?
CULWCH: Quite a bit, but you'll find out all that in a moment.
The children are then separated into groups for working

CH7

Young family grouping from Bristol. The man and woman are in their thirties.

AP: Why come?
MAN: It was raining.
WOMAN: Yes, we came because it was raining. We're on holiday.
AP: How did you find out?
MAN: The newspaper.
WOMAN: The Pembrokeshire coast magazine.
AP: Do you come to this sort of thing much?
WOMAN: We tend to come when...
Baby grizzlies
MAN: Has he got something stuck somewhere?
AP: Are you living in England?
WOMAN: In Bristol and we've been coming here on holiday for about eight years so we know the area well but we've not been here before.
AP: Do you enjoy it? *(to children who are aged about 5-10-years old)*
CHILDREN: Yeah.
AP: Why?
WOMAN: I think it's different. They were getting quite bored on the beach so it's different.
AP: What's it about?
CHILD: Romans?
MAN: No it was before the Romans. The Celts.
WOMAN: I don't think they've done the Iron Age, I just think they know it's the olden days.
AP: And what do you get out of it?
WOMAN: How primitive it was I s'pose, how simple things were in some ways and in others, how difficult it was, how we take things for granted.
MAN: I think it's interesting to get some idea of how they lived, the society aspects of it, how they had to have skills. How they had to have someone who could dye and someone who could cook and tend fields whereas nowadays there are about two things we can do and we rely on everybody else to do the rest of it. It's just quite interesting.
AP: Is it just an entertaining day out, or education?
MAN: It's both isn't it?
WOMAN: But we don't go out specifically to educate.
MAN: Hopefully they'll just absorb and ask a few questions. When we go to places like this you'll get something said about eight or nine months later, totally out of context, so it gets through.
[...]
AP: Do watch documentary?
MAN: Mainly the news but I'm a bit of a history buff.
WOMAN: I'm not. Information and education type programmes, yes.
AP: What would you say about it?
MAN: It would be nice to see livestock.

AP: There is some on the way out and there's a dig.
MAN: I was going to say, that would be quite interesting as well but if there is a dig going on that's fascinating. A friend of mine was involved in Jorvik.
WOMAN: *(inaudibly)*
MAN: ...smaller school groups. From our perspective there's too many of them charging around so it's disappointing from that point of view.
AP: Celts and the Iron Age, do you get a sense of special Welshness here?
MAN: No, it's Celtish and it's history but the modern day Welsh are as linked to Celts as we are. They try to make something out of nothing for tourism.
WOMAN: We also go to similar places so this isn't specific to Wales for us.
AP: Thanks *(I take my leave as children begin to cry)*

CH8

Sounds of the St Clears schoolchildren.

CULWCH: Right! Silence. Now then I found this on the bed beside me this morning. Here is the sword and, at last. What a day this is. And tonight we'll have the greatest feast this village – famed for its feasting – has ever seen to celebrate the return of the sword.
CHILDREN: Hurrah!
CULWCH: At the feast we will eat wild boar a plenty. We will drink mead by the gallon and as a special treat I shall tell you of some of my greatest adventures. *(teacher takes picture, flash causes consternation)*. Is he some sort of druid, some sort of sorcerer? I expect you've been travelling and working. I've been supervising. We're all hungry *(sends them off for lunch)*

CH9

I speak with a group of girls and boys from the St Clears schoolgroup at lunch time. Although my questions were directed at all the children, the boys quickly took control of the discussion, hence my specific questioning of the girls in the middle of the interview.

BOY: We'll be on TV!
AP: No, but you're part of a project. What have you learned today?
BOY1: It's about what the Celts used to do and what they used to build.
AP: And who were the Celts?
BOY2: People who used to live 2,000 years ago.
BOY1: BC!
BOY2: BC
AP: Have they got anything to do with you?
BOY1: They're our big ancestors and they formed our buildings.
BOY2: And your family.
AP: Does that make you feel special or is it just funny people in costume?
BOY2: Not sure.
AP: What else can you tell me?
BOY1: The Celts used to be great warriors and they used to have different gods, like the tree gods, the sky gods, the river gods.
AP: How do you know they were great warriors?
BOY1: Because there are remains of the swords, shields, and spears.
AP: How do you know that makes them warriors? Because if you think about it there are lots of weapons today and not everyone's a warrior.
BOY1: Well some of them were farmers and some were warriors, just like we are. They had different jobs and stuff like that.

AP: They could've done the same job.

BOY2: Lots of people used to know about the Celts and their kids told their kids who told their kids and now we know.

AP: You've got teachers telling you. Do you enjoy it, do you like learning about this stuff?

BOY1: Yeah it's fun, especially the wattle and daub, wah, ooph!

AP: Would you want to come again?

BOY1: It's a lot of fun here.

AP: Do you go to museums ever?

BOY2: Sometimes.

BOY1: Sometimes. I went to St Fagans.

AP: Did you go with school?

BOY1: Yeah.

AP: Do you ever go with your parents?

BOY1: I went to St Fagans with my parents once.

AP: Would you ever go for fun?

BOY3: No.

BOY1: Yeah, they can be a bit interesting, specially to me because I'm interested in steam trains, and I like information I might have missed. I have eight steam train books.

AP: But not all of you are sure that you'd enjoy it?

BOY2: I don't think you go for fun, I think you go to learn things at museums.

AP: Why?

BOY1: So that we know the history.

BOY2: So that we find out about things that we can't just go into Tesco and buy it.

AP: But they've got a shop here.

BOY2: Well in the shop down there they've got fine Celtic remains but in the Tescos they sell...

BOY1: They sell food.

AP: Yeah, but things you can buy in shop aren't all that different. If you've got a picture about the Celts on a book, what does it tell you?

BOY2: What they look like.

AP: But we don't actually know.

BOY1: We're just guessing at the moment.

AP: You were saying you come to learn. Does learning have to be boring?

BOY1: It can be fun at times. With the railway for instance, there's a museum and it's meant to tell you what they used to use and they have sidings with lots of different coaches and trucks.

AP: And that's what's fun for you?

BOY1: Yeah.

AP: And what's fun for you? Sorry (*to little girls*), you've not had a chance to speak – the boys are being loud again.

[...]

AP: Would you come here for fun?

GIRLS: Yeah.

AP: Would you want your parents to bring you?

GIRLS: Yeah.

AP: What's the best part?

GIRL1: Um...

AP: Is it because it's different?

GIRLS: No.

AP: Is it because it's cold and dark?
(can't really hear the girls on the recording as they are being giggly and whispering, but from interview notes they remarked that they like to see the insides of the houses to see what they were like)

AP: So you prefer if people are telling you things?

GIRL1: Yeah.

AP: What about reading, 'cos that can tell you things.

GIRL1: Yeah.

AP: You can imagine. Do you go to museums with your parents?

GIRLS: No.

AP: Is it because they don't like it? What if you went home today and told your parents that you had loads of fun today, do you think you'd come again?

GIRLS: Mmm.

AP: So what do you think, with the purple hat, you haven't said much.

GIRL2: Yeah.

AP: Anything else you want to say?

BOY2: I think it's better learning here than at school. Here you listen and you don't have to write things down so you just listen.

AP: Do you think you listen better?

BOY2: Yeah.

AP: 'Cos I bet your teachers are always trying to get you to listen.

BOY1: It's a bit boring in school. It's a lot more fun here. They get into stories and stuff, like Culwch and Olwen.

AP: What do you think teachers can learn?

BOY1: They should be more realistic.

AP: It's not necessarily realistic here. But do you think about living in Wales because the Welsh used to be Celts?

BOY1: It makes me think of great-grandfather's grandfather and what used to happen, like adventure in those times.

AP: I suppose that's really exciting?

BOY2: And maybe it's the same only 2000 years ago, that my great-grandfather's great-grandfather was sitting here having a Celtic lunch.

AP: So you think the past is important?

BOY1: Pasta *(laughter)*

CHILDREN: Yeah.

AP: What do you think you can understand about the past?

BOY1: How electricity was made.

BOY2: You can find out that there were no batteries and no computers a long time ago.

AP: That sounds like stuff that could help you in school. Are there any things about the past that helps you think?

BOY2: A long, long time ago there were no bikes, there were pennyfarthings.

AP: But if you don't have people like me asking you questions, do you ever think about it?

CHILDREN: Sometimes.

AP: *(to girls)* Do you make stories or is it something in school?

GIRL1: In school.

AP: What ways can it be important out of school?

[...]

BOY2: *(mentions that dad is headteacher)*

AP: So it sounds like you're really enjoying...

BOY1: We actually listen here because in school we just go rah rah rah.

AP: Thanks.
Headteacher tells me of going to St Fagans and the Celtic village.

CH10

AP: *(I ask a Liverpoolian couple if I can walk with them around the site)*
WOMAN: You can but we don't know what we're looking at.
AP: All the better. So what do you make of it all?
WOMAN: It's good, isn't it? It's very interesting, yeah. What are you doing this for?
AP: *(I explain about the Board of Celtic Studies)*
MAN: Well we're staying in Fishguard and saw something about this so we decided to come.
WOMAN: We like anything like this, it's interesting.
AP: It's good to see how people may have lived.
MAN: Is this the nearest they can get to it do you think? It's mostly guess work I should imagine.
AP: They have the archaeological remains to work with but the above the ground form is based on the Butser Farm experiments.
MAN: Would they have been thatched in them days?
AP: Yeah. So are you here for a while?
WOMAN: We're going tomorrow. We're staying at a caravan park near Cardigan Bay.
AP: Do you come to heritage centres much?
WOMAN: No it's the first time we've been.
(something inaudible but we all laugh)
MAN: Must've been good stuff in them days.
WOMAN: Where have you been doing your digs and all that then?
AP: Well, I'm really a false archaeologist.
WOMAN: Have you not been on any of them?
AP: No, I mainly study museums and the like...*(we enter one of the roundhouses)*
I spent the afternoon on Tuesday in here and it was nice and warm. *(I then explain about the school groups)*
WOMAN: Yeah, when we went to get the tickets the lady explained to me that if we see any school groups. But it's really good for children because I think it's, I never, at school history and all that never interested me. I think if you can make it interesting in school it's a good start. For me it was nothing, but it is now.
AP: It used to be all dates.
WOMAN: Dates, ooh yeah. Nothing else, nothing like this.
AP: *(I talk about the children I interviewed the day before)*
WOMAN: You take it all in more.
MAN: ...considering[...]
WOMAN: Fascinating. I wonder if we could get on one of that.
Laughter
MAN: All go round the campfire eh?
AP: I don't often come to places like this but I'm never quite sure what I get out of it other than 'gee whiz'.
WOMAN: Yeah.
AP: It's hard to think why.
WOMAN: I think it's just the interest to see how other people used to live.
MAN: I wonder how long they lived. What was the average age?
AP: Quite a while, up to sixty.

MAN: That's good, there must be something in the herbs, ha!

AP: They may have had a better lifespan than during the Industrial Revolution.

WOMAN: Yeah, all that pollution killed everybody off.

AP: Heard a lot of people saying, doesn't the roof catch fire?

WOMAN: I was just thinking that actually.

AP: *(I explain about the density of the thatch and roof structure)*

MAN: Yeah, you can see that.

WOMAN: It shows ya, if they've worked all that out. What were we watching on telly? About Stonehenge. Did you see it? They were trying to work out how they got the stones up.

MAN: Reconstruction. There were about 200-300 people doing it and they managed it. I don't know how they did it in them days, but they were trying to work it out.

WOMAN: All these engineers were trying to write it down and work out. Quite simple people really. But why did they do it?

MAN: It's just three stones on top of each other. It could be religious but I don't know.

AP: Maybe celebrating trade routes as stones from here...

WOMAN: Yes that's right.

AP: It's like they've found stone axe heads that have come originally from the Lake District.

MAN: Have to get logs for that fire. It gives a bit of heat off doesn't it?

WOMAN: Oh definitely.

MAN: We've just got a coal fire in.

WOMAN: I think we're going back in our time aren't we?

MAN: We've got central heating but...

WOMAN: We just fancied a real fire.

AP: We're having a new fire put in.

MAN: Swansea's a bit of a way from here. What's Swansea like?

AP: It's a bit grim but the Gower's lovely.

WOMAN: Where are you from?

AP: Canada

BOTH: Oh.

[...]

MAN: Is that authentic? *(questioning daubing pit)*

AP: I don't know if it's from a find.

WOMAN: Where did they do that programme where they spent a whole year? Was it...

AP: Somewhere down south, from Butser.

WOMAN: I don't know how some can, in our age, stay somewhere like that.

MAN: I wonder what the idea of that was? It must be for when it rained heavily or something? *(about granary)*

AP: I think it was to keep the mice out, too.

WOMAN: Oh it's where they put the food.

AP: These reed roofs are really waterproof.

MAN: I love those reeds. They're really beautiful aren't they? Put them on cottages, I don't think I could afford it....I don't know, where's next?

AP: I leave it up to you.

WOMAN: I don't know if we can go up that way.

MAN: Is it a footpath?

AP: This is the reconstruction, but the dig is over there.

WOMAN: Should we go over there then?
 MAN: Yeah.
 AP: Is it OK if I tag along?
 MAN: You've got no sandwiches or biscuits or anything? *(laughter)* I wonder if they made shoes for this stuff, it's slate isn't it?
 AP: I don't know but it looks like it, but those were all firepits...
 WOMAN: Ah, isn't that good, eh? Now what's that?
 AP: Who would you imagine was living here? I'm interested in how people think about past peoples.
 WOMAN: I don't know, you always think of them as being in, like, tribes.
 MAN: I spose they got water from the streams.
(We talk about global warming a bit – recent items in the British news media about the possibility of Britain's climate becoming like that of France)
 MAN: It's always once the tennis starts, Wimbledon, that it starts to rain.
 [...]

MAN: *(about Cliff Richard)* He was confusing all the Yanks, though, wasn't he? They didn't know any of the songs.
 AP: I'd not heard of Cliff till I moved here.
 WOMAN: Hadn't you? Well hey, he's great. We went to see him a couple of years ago and he was really good. Is this where they've been digging and found stuff?
 MAN: Any skeletons?
 AP: No, 'cos burials elsewhere. Often graves were located in watery places.
 WOMAN: Hey, this is interesting, isn't it? It's really good. See all these slates and things, is this how they found them, they found them like that? You know, their huts?
 AP: *(I explain a bit about excavation)* This bit is Romano-British – similar sort of people.
 WOMAN: You'll have to go on some one of these days, you'll have to.
 AP: Once I finish I'll dig on holiday. The people who do this site are from York.
 WOMAN: Is it mostly students who do this sort of thing?
 AP: And volunteers. Archaeologists are lots of fun.
 [...]

AP: *(I talk about charcoal remains and pollen studies. We all laugh about the pigs.)*
 MAN: Just saying that they're more like wild boars.
 WOMAN: *(Laughs)*
 AP: Probably eat same sort of stuff as pigs.
 BOTH: Yeah.
 AP: They're supposed to make better pets than dogs.
 WOMAN: Are they? *(nervous laughter)*
 MAN: Good to have boards for food.
 AP: I don't know if they fenced them in, but there's lots of mythology. They must've been quite fierce.
 MAN: Ooph.
 AP: Do you think you'd come to places like this again?
 WOMAN: Oh, yes, definitely.
 MAN: I like going to castles and that sort of thing.
 WOMAN: And even museums. But I've never been to this sort of thing before.
 MAN: We've got a museum in Liverpool that we visit.
(laugh about goats and whether or not they'll come out)

AP: There's lots of castles about. Have you been to Carew castle?
WOMAN: No we haven't. We tried to find some.
MAN: But we went to Coracle Falls. It's how the Welsh used to trade...how big would you say they were? 'Cos look at that, it's quite small.
AP: Probably not over six foot, maybe five to seven.
WOMAN: *(inaudible)*... must be exciting when you dig something up.
AP: *(I mention the building of the tramway in Sheffield and finds of medieval skeletons)*
WOMAN: What's that one?
MAN: About water, they got it from the spring *(they laugh when they read about cultivating hemp)* Even in them days!
WOMAN: Have they got a museum anywhere around here?
AP: Not yet, I don't know where the finds are.
MAN: Fancy a walk down there?
AP: Do you holiday in Wales quite a bit?
WOMAN: Never this part. We've been to North Wales but not this way. To be honest, this is nicer than Devon.
MAN: We're usually down Devon way.
AP: There aren't that many tourists here.
WOMAN: No, there isn't. Just judging how many cars are around...
MAN: We go to the Lake District and the roads are absolutely packed.
WOMAN: Have you been to the lakes?
AP: Yeah.
MAN: Problems parking, especially if you go to Windermere, you have to walk all the way down. But I like it here.
AP: What made you decide South Wales?
MAN: Well, we're planning on going to America next year so this is just a mini-break, that's all. So we saw this in a local newspaper and thought we'd give it a try. The caravan park is like a sort of hotel. There's a restaurant and you get your meals, you don't have to cook, but there's not much of a variety. If we go again, we like Tenby. We'll probably stay there in a guesthouse, or B&B.
AP: *(Tell of Druidstone, rent out the cottages, etc.)*
MAN: It's not too bad in the pubs. It's just that the place where we're staying it's always the same.
AP: I hadn't noticed these carvings before. I think they bring the kids here.
WOMAN: They must spend a whole day here with packed lunch.
MAN: Oh these are picnic areas...that's the big place where you come from.
I don't know what he's referring to
AP: Yeah.
WOMAN: Where in Canada?
AP: West coast.
MAN: You have lakes bigger than this country don't you?
AP: With being here you don't have to travel far to be different.
MAN: I'd come again to this part of Wales. I prefer it to the North part it's nicer.
WOMAN: It's a lot more clear, there's all this stuff.
AP: When you come to Wales do you get a sense of it being a foreign country?
WOMAN: No, well.
MAN: People seem pretty friendly.
WOMAN: When you see the signs written in English and in Welsh then you know you're somewhere different.

MAN: They seem more friendly down here than in the North.
 AP: North is more about language.
 MAN: These have got a nicer accent I think.
 AP: More singsong. Pembrokeshire is quite English anyway. I was wondering if part of the attraction for coming here was because it is different and not England.
 BOTH: (*enthusiastically*) Oh yeah!
 MAN: Where we are we're in the middle so it's easy access to most parts of Britain.
 WOMAN: Have you been to Blackpool?
 AP: Yeah, it was freezing cold.
 MAN: And it's amazingly popular, I mean more tourists go there than any other part of the country. You're talking 15 million people a year for a small seaside town. They just go for a drink and a good time. Well, we do.
 WOMAN: (*laughs*) Yeah.
 MAN: That fair's been in the family for over a hundred years.
 WOMAN: Have you been on that ride?
 AP: No.
 WOMAN: There are the kids.
 MAN: Are you waiting for them are you?
 AP: No. I spent yesterday following them around...lots of elderly people as well.
 MAN: Well we thought it was a castle because it said castle.
 AP: No, it means castle of the old court.
 AP: Will leave you here. Thanks (*give my name etc.*)
 WOMAN: No, you made that good for us. It was very interesting.

CH11

AP: (*preamble*)
 MAN: Well, we fell upon it is the best way to put it, about six years ago when it had just opened. Although they'd built two roundhouses, there wasn't much around. They were just starting to excavate the Roman site and it's come a long way since then. I think the University of Swansea were doing it at that time then.
 AP: Actually Cardiff and York. So are you regular visitors then?
 MAN: Well, no. The last time we tried it was so wet...
 WOMAN: Last Easter wasn't it?
 MAN: Just like someone had opened a tap.
 WOMAN: Yes, it was too wet to even contemplate it so we thought we'd come up today.
 AP: So is visit part of holiday?
 BOTH: Yup.
 AP: Who's primarily interested?
 MAN: Whole family.
 WOMAN: Yes, the whole family. We belong to English Heritage.
 MAN: The kids are more towards castles, aren't you?
 CHILD: Yeah.
 AP: How come?
 GIRL: The manor house is like the old ones and they've got all the old furniture in it.
 WOMAN: You like seeing all the things don't you ?

AP: As opposed to the [...] history here.

WOMAN: But this shows you how we all started living, how basic it was and what you could do with what you've got. Like the water. It's so clear, they obviously used it for drinking.

AP: When did you become members of English heritage?

WOMAN: You've grown up with it, haven't you? You did it with your parents and I did it with my parents.

MAN: It goes back a long time. We were out visiting and we stopped in a couple of places and decided membership was cheaper than paying every time and we've just kept it going.

WOMAN: My parents used to take us when we were small around the churches and the cathedrals. Anything of historical interest we were sort of dragged around. I can understand now but didn't enjoy it so much at the time. But it's not the way that they've got it (*about kids*). Now I can see why they did it, because I'm doing the same with mine. I think as you grow older you appreciate it more, you don't always when you're younger, do you?

MAN: The modern approach to education makes it a lot more interesting.

WOMAN: Videos and films.

MAN: Learning in a different kind of way.

WOMAN: When you read something in a book you got no visual effects, except for a drawing on a page. But when you see something in working order it's a lot more interesting.

AP: (*I describe the schools programme and the ways in which they listen*)

WOMAN: It's because they can see what goes on, can't they?

MAN: But it's out on a limb for schools. You're about as far away in the country as you can possibly get.

AP: Have you been to St Fagans in Cardiff?

MAN: No.

AP: Because that's the folk museum. Celtic village, etc., terrace house from Rhymney valley.

MAN: No, we don't get that far.

WOMAN: No, we like this part.

AP: Where are you from?

MAN: Midlands, Preston.

AP: Makes more sense to come here?

MAN: But if you come one way you come past Cardiff, down the motorway.

WOMAN: But we prefer the smaller places. They're more appealing. Combining the scenic, the seaside with everything else.

AP: What do you think?

GIRL: It's alright but it can be a bit boring. It depends on what you're doing.

AP: What's the purpose? What do you gain?

GIRL: You learn all about all the people behind you.

WOMAN: Ancestry.

GIRL: Yeah.

WOMAN: How it all started. Does it make it easier when you get a question in school. Have you done this yet?

GIRL: Yeah.

WOMAN: But not an awful lot of it — doing geography.

MAN: The trouble is that now the National Curriculum is not so interested in this era.

AP: (*Briefly about Key Stages*)

MAN: It's twentieth century history they tend to do now.
 AP: In Wales there's more emphasis on the Iron Age.
 WOMAN: (*inaudible*)
 MAN: It depends on whether you do GCSE because if you do, you go back and do it again.

[...]
 WOMAN: This is great. You can visualize it all can't you? It's cosy isn't it?
 MAN: It's warm, yes.
 GIRL: But you'd die though.
 WOMAN: Why?
 GIRL: All the smoke.
 WOMAN: I don't suppose...
 MAN: They died anyway. I don't expect their life expectancy was high.
 AP: I think higher, comparatively, than in the Industrial Revolution.
 WOMAN: Because it was fresh air, it was natural. There weren't any chemicals. This is wood smoke against coal.
 AP: They probably would've used charcoal because it's lighter.
 WOMAN: Smoke obviously goes out the door, or is there a vent?
 AP: No, it drifts through the roof (*I explain*)
 MAN: Oh I see.
 WOMAN: So it seeps through. You'd think it'd catch fire, wouldn't you?
 AP: (*I talk about Butser farm and design of roundhouses and roof angles*)
 WOMAN: It's much like a teepee.
 MAN: They actually built one not far from us, at Donnington Heath Manor, Leicester Museum. They've got one in their grounds very similar to this but the local yobbery decided to put a torch to it so I don't know whether they'll rebuild.

AP: In general terms, what role does history play in you lives? Does it play into any sense of a Welsh, British or English identity?
 MAN: Is there such a thing?
 WOMAN: Thing is, we're all part of, I don't think you can have just an English identity 'cos the majority of us are from Norse or France or Vikings.
 MAN: Certainly as far as middle England, certainly most of us are...
 WOMAN: By-products.
 MAN: ...of Danes, Vikings, Norse.
 WOMAN: Which invaded the shores of Wales, Scotland and Ireland. We're all invaded.
 MAN: Not so much because the real English were driven west and the real English are probably in Ireland more than anywhere else at the end of the day. Some in Wales but whether there are any true English men left in England is very debatable other than those who over centuries drifted back.
 AP: Always mixing?
 WOMAN: Yes, we trace our own ancestors back then. Mine trace back to Normandy and the rest in Ireland and Scotland so I couldn't say I am English because I'm a bit of everything, whatever there was. I think there's very little of England that is England. You're either Welsh, Scots Irish or a bit of both and landed up in what is England, what is left or what was fought for. Because we took a lot from the Scots, didn't we? According to what we saw on that film that we watched, we took a lot of land.
 MAN: At one time the Scottish border was a lot further south than it is now.

WOMAN: ...than it is now because king...what's his name, Robert the Bruce?

MAN: No, it goes back further than that. The Romans threw the original boundaries back with Hadrian's Wall.

WOMAN: And you have the Picts. It was the Picts who were English. Was it the Picts?

AP: Early medieval Scottish tribe.

WOMAN: Early medieval, yes.

AP: So does that sense of history, you're obviously interested in it, does it play a role in everyday life or is it a holiday thing?

MAN: Not restricted to holidays but to say it plays a part in everyday life is a bit...

WOMAN: Although we...

MAN: A bit difficult to say other than that you are English you've got 'an English' upbringing with English values which obviously goes back over the centuries anyways, as opposed to some of the ethnic backgrounds where you say we put a very high value on life. Certainly some of the far eastern nationalities, well far eastern as opposed to middle eastern, nationalities have a very low esteem of life in many ways.

WOMAN: And you feel as though you're being taken over. I do agree, when we watch parliament sometimes or read the papers and the Scots are fighting for something or the Welsh or the Irish and we sit there and think, they should have their own parliaments and be able to rule their own lives. They should be able to be as they were, growing up in their own heritage, their own languages. We've had this discussion quite often, why shouldn't they. In Wales English is a second language and why not? Why shouldn't everyone have their own heritage and go back and learn what it was all about. It's the same with the American Indians. They learn and they try to in France. They learn their own first and everything else comes as second.

AP: Which puts the English in a different situation.

WOMAN: We have got to learn a different language.

MAN: In England, England doesn't have a second language. If you go to Scotland...

WOMAN: It's more Celtic. Ireland, Scotland and Wales it's Celtic.

MAN: Yeah. Different forms of Celtic with English as a second language but in England, what is England's second language? German, a bit of Norwegian.

WOMAN: We found the last bit to live in the middle. We were sort of, we got landed up with the last place because everybody else had their own little corner. Top is Scotland, etc.

AP: So do visits to places like this, do they have an effect on how you think about these issues?

WOMAN: It makes you appreciate the other.

GIRL: Makes you appreciate TV, really, and radio.

WOMAN: Well, for you.

MAN: You start to appreciate all the things modern life gives you.

WOMAN: How hard it was.

MAN: The thing to bear in mind is that all the things we have in modern life owe themselves to the people who lived here in one measure or another.

WOMAN: This is our roots, isn't it?

MAN: The man who invented the wheel lived in something like this at the end of the day and without the wheel you've not got your shopping trolley. You can't go around Tescos if you haven't got your car.

WOMAN: If you haven't got your flints, you can't chop the wood and you can't have your fire. It's all about learning how it started. It's going back.

MAN: But at the end of the day, the mother of invention is here.

WOMAN: This is our roots.

MAN: This is where invention starts.

WOMAN: This is our roots.

MAN: Invention accelerates basically because population accelerates. There are more people investigating more things and there are more needs in the way that there are to these. War was a two day skirmish with the village on the other side of the valley and one finished up with all the animals, women and trinkets and the other was back to square one and they'll come to try to take their lot back whereas war now is on a massive scale.

WOMAN: And if you think, it's just dawned on me, if there was a nuclear war and three quarters of the population had gone down, we'd start back living like this. If you think of it that way, there'd be nothing left of the modern world. We'd have to start from scratch which means building your own huts

MAN: ...with a lot of knowledge you couldn't use.

WOMAN: Well, yes.

MAN: And a lot of knowledge you haven't got so you're back at the start of the learning curve. But we'd go up a lot faster because of the knowledge you had got would pull you up faster. You won't need thousands of years.

WOMAN: That's if you knew how it started in the first place. If you didn't you'd be out on a limb without a clue.

AP: Yes, lots of people would know about TV and telephones but they wouldn't know how to build them.

WOMAN: No, but the ones who knew about history, had been the ones interested enough in it would be left to do it all.

AP: So it sounds as if your visits to these places are about a general sense of the past rather than being about Celts.

MAN: We're not like that. We take a general interest in everything and we see what we can learn.

WOMAN: 'Specially for the children growing up and seeing how things were in the past. Well I've learnt an awful lot that I'd not known before. I'm here about life. If you've gotta go back to basics, might as well know a little bit about it. This is interesting.

AP: Do you think you'll appreciate?

GIRL: No, sometimes you get a choice.

MAN: What do you mean a choice?

GIRL: You get to pick from a few leaflets and when I think one looks best, we go to the other one. The one that looks best for learning we go to.

WOMAN: Unless they're doing it in history at the age of...like with parents, unless we were doing it or I was interested in it, I thought, ah, what are we doing here? It's only now that I can appreciate why we did it and I think, but they'll appreciate when they get older and do it with theirs. It works the same, down each generation.

MAN: No, I don't think it does work the same. You go back to our generation and we were kids in the fifties when a lot of the heritage was disappearing. National Trust was there but a lot of properties, they

didn't exist. Neither did Cadw. You had the department of the environment, ancient monuments...

WOMAN: You'd go round, you didn't have to pay for it.

MAN: Which basically...they were doing little to and their heritage was disappearing totally. That was part of the '50s type '60s society: Harold Macmillan, never had it so good, we need every little bit of land to do something with...and so a lot of it, I suppose our parents took us because a lot of it wasn't going to be there much longer for our children and grandchildren to say, look at that! I saw that.

WOMAN: This is it, I used to get sent...

MAN: Nowadays it's changed because people generally are more aware and there is a lot more, for want of a better word, protectionism.

WOMAN: We had and appreciated what we had.

MAN: I remember as a kid we used to go trainspotting in the summer. We didn't go to places like this. We used to sit and trainspot and we'd spot all the steam trains that went by and all the carriages they were pulling and then all of sudden all the steam trains disappeared and they disappeared totally and all that you got...on the news, there was this massive yard up Crewe way. You see this pile of steam locomotives all waiting to be broken up and they couldn't break them up fast enough and then all of a sudden, eight to ten years later you get all these preservation societies and they're buying these trains back as scrap.

WOMAN: And renovate them as part of our heritage.

MAN: And going and buying old track. Steam trusts. And people were going, we're losing this, we're throwing a lot of this away.

WOMAN: It's like our conservation parks.

MAN: And also things start to change.

WOMAN: It's worth keeping and doing something about otherwise it's gone and nobody's going to know. The castles are all crumbling and will be gone, or would have been gone.

MAN: Now this is why museums are changing. Years ago were loads of static exhibits with little cards which told you what they were but told very little about who they were and what they did.

WOMAN: It's hands on now isn't it?

MAN: You've got...hands on stuff doesn't get into museums, it gets into places like this which is far more useful.

WOMAN: In its proper environment and how it used to work, where it came from.

MAN: And so the word museum has changed dramatically.

WOMAN: Here's a castle now, your children or grandchildren might not see one.

It's all crumbling and falling to bits. But now they've rescued a lot.

AP: That's why they're valued.

WOMAN: Makes you feel you belong somewhere.

AP: So (*to girl*) it'll be interesting to see how you feel with your kids.

WOMAN: The other thing is when we say, it made you feel proud that we lived on this island, whether you're Scottish, Welsh, whatever, that we had a heritage, a past that a lot of people in America don't have. We were the start because we imported ourselves to America didn't we? It was the bad ones sent. So an awful lot over there, this is their past. They may have started there but originally from here.

MAN: I think as well that as a nation we've become more aware of our heritage.

WOMAN: We want to keep it.

MAN: It makes the country more touristy. I think tourism has boomed a lot since the country started taking more interest in its own heritage rather than letting it die.

AP: North American and Japanese here to see castles and churches.

WOMAN: They haven't got them.

MAN: They haven't got it.

WOMAN: The only ones who have any are the North American Indian.

MAN: And he's virtually non-existent.

WOMAN: Non-existent.

MAN: The Eskimo is probably the only real large population of American Indian left, isn't he?

AP: Mmm.

MAN: But still exists as a tribe.

WOMAN: Yes, they pushed them further and further out.

MAN: No, I think they've always been in northern Canada. They'd never been that far south. What you're talking about is the red Indian.

WOMAN: Oh, that I would like to see!

MAN: Those folks are in the main part.

WOMAN: Reservationed, put out to grass.

MAN: Not many left, not true red Indians.

WOMAN: Which is an awful shame because that was their roots.

MAN: You're only talking 50 years ago and they were a thriving community.

AP: Quite a few in Canada.

MAN: But if you look at what there was, they are virtually extinct.

WOMAN: Which is wrong.

MAN: And basically, what we've been doing there for centuries. But we've changed position.

WOMAN: We've decided that we want to keep what we've got, to keep our heritage. We want to protect it, it's ours, it's our history.

MAN: What they've got has been destroyed so quickly and it may be irretrievable.

WOMAN: I think they're going back a bit more now with preservation.

MAN: The thing is, a lot of the tribes no longer exist as such, so a lot of the culture has disappeared so there's no one there to say, 'this is what we've got to do if we want to preserve it'.

WOMAN: A lot of it is because the outside is more interesting than the inside.

MAN: No, it's because the fact is the settlers literally wiped out tribe by tribe. One of the best ones was after the battle at Little Big Horn with Custer. What did the American army do?

WOMAN: They slaughtered the Indians.

MAN: Slaughtered everyone they could find.

WOMAN: And introduced them to alcohol. Gave them a taste of something better, something worse.

MAN: No, I think that they would have got alcohol at any case. Perhaps they got it quicker because...

WOMAN: Well, they made their own brews. Yes, what with the guns and everything else that they didn't have before, they ruined them. This is ours.

MAN: They literally ruined 10,000 years in ten minutes.

WOMAN: But this is great and to come back in ten years when they've got more of the dig done will be fantastic.

AP: The archaeologists are arriving on the weekend.

WOMAN: Brilliant!
AP: Thanks so much.

CH12

AP: *(How did you find out and do you live here, etc.)*
MAN: We're on holiday *(Scottish accent)*.
WOMAN: We saw the leaflets and then the road and we thought it looked quite interesting and that it'd be something he *(pointing to child)* would enjoy as well.
AP: Scotland's a long way to come.
MAN: Not really. We tend to do that and drive to Devon, Cornwall.
WOMAN: It was Norfolk last year.
AP: So what brought you this time?
MAN: Hadn't been.
WOMAN: Been to North Wales but wanted to come.
AP: Do you go to heritage sites frequently?
WOMAN: Well, where we are it's more sort of.
MAN: This is different. We haven't seen anything this far back. We tend to visit castles and churches and things, but saw a leaflet.
AP: What do you make of it? Did you enjoy it *(to girl)*?
CHILD: Yeah.
[...]
AP: ...better or worse back then, would you like to live in a house like this?
CHILD: No.
AP: How come?
CHILD: Looks cold.....the beds...
WOMAN: I think your first thought is that it didn't look clean.
CHILD: It doesn't.
WOMAN: I think it was the size that amazed us, really impressive.
AP: Did you get any sense of relation to Scots heritage? The Celtic connection, general, specific?
WOMAN: I think it's educational, but there's also a strong link with Scotland as well.
MAN: Yes, but mainly to see the historical aspect. We don't have enough of these.
WOMAN: Well, Orkney, we've read about and seen things on television about excavations up there.
MAN: But it's not something that's in our minds.
WOMAN: It's so different that you've seen in school history books that you think you'd like to go see them. You don't appreciate it until you see it.
MAN: We're quite surprised by the technology in those days, that those small mud huts...you don't appreciate the technology it takes to put one of those things up and the fortresses. And the planning and how they laid them out.
WOMAN: So resourceful.
AP: The distant past in Scotland has to do with Picts and not much everyday life?
MAN: Well further north.
WOMAN: They're more remote, things are more accessible here.
MAN: That's true. Where we are we're close to larger areas, whereas in Scotland you'd have to be right up top.

AP: Do you do other heritage related activities? Watch documentaries, visit museums, read books?
 MAN: Yes, all of the above.
 AP: What's your favourite period?
 CHILD: The Egyptians.
 AP: How come?
 CHILD: It was my topic last year and I thought it was quite interesting.
 AP: Skeletons and mummies grab the attention?
 WOMAN: She's got quite a few books now since then that she's enjoyed.
 AP: Do you think history is important?
 CHILD: It's just something I like.
 WOMAN: *(to little boy who doesn't talk)* You just like the wars and the battles.
 MAN: It's surprising how brightly colourful the clothing is.
 AP: *(Thanks.....)*

CH13

Northern family: grandparents (WOMAN1 and MAN1), parents (WOMAN2 and MAN2), baby daughter

WOMAN1: Who wants to speak?
 MAN1: We're just holidaying in the area actually, we've been here before.
 WOMAN1: This is our fourth time.
 MAN2: We haven't been here before. This is our first time. Just passed it on main road. We just thought we'd have a look because we'd read about it.
 MAN1: It's quite interesting, isn't it, how they used to live in the old days.
 AP: Do you go to heritage centres quite a bit then?
 WOMAN1: Only if they're in the area. We don't make a special trip but we're interested if it's in the area where we holiday.
 AP: If it's too wet to go to the beach?
 ALL: No, we had planned to come anyway.
 WOMAN1: David was more interested.
 MAN2: Yeah, I like history so...
 WOMAN1: One of the potters from our village in Lancashire came and settled here.
 MAN2: But she might just be giving demonstrations, not here.
 AP: Yeah, they have demonstrators on special days.
 MAN2: She used to teach me years ago so I would've liked to have seen her.
 AP: What do you hope to get from this visit? Why come here?
 MAN2: To see how other people used to live.
 WOMAN1: Yeah, my husband's a builder so he's interested in it from that point of view.
 MAN1: I've worked on old buildings with wattle walls but nothing like this.
 WOMAN1: This is the original.
 MAN1: The way they do the circular wall bit.
 WOMAN2: I found it quite interesting listening to the man giving talks to the school children, because you can get an idea of how they used to live then.
 AP: Yeah, he's great.
 MAN1: Yeah, they're just at the right age to appreciate it.
 AP: Do you get a sense of difference because of the past or because it's Wales?
 MAN2: From the past.
 WOMAN1: Yeah.
 WOMAN2: It's easy to learn about in school and you've seen it in books but you can actually see it in real life.
 AP: More interesting I suppose. Would you come again?

ALL: Yes, definitely!
 AP: Do you also watch documentaries and go to museums?
 MAN2: I watched one last night, it was the raising of a ship...
 AP: The Mary Rose?
 MAN2: No, another one.
 MAN1: Was it...I only saw a bit of it.
 WOMAN1: And we've been reading up on the area that we're in, the river Teifi where the ships used to come in and it's all silted up now. We went to the Coracle Centre and that was quite interesting and they used to have a coracle, everyone had one.
 MAN1: We also went to that burial chamber last year.
 WOMAN1: Oh, Pentre...Pentre Ifan.
 MAN1: That was quite interesting as well.
 AP: Good for kids...
 MAN1: And where it actually is you can see for miles and it was great.
 WOMAN1: And we went to the little church.
 MAN1: It's only tiny, but always open.
 WOMAN1: They used to make pilgrimages to the burial chamber and call in at the chapel on the way.
 AP: So do you think looking at the past is important in everyday life?
 MAN1: Well, it is isn't it.
 WOMAN2: Especially for children.
 MAN1: It makes you realize what we take for granted.
 MAN2: Makes you realize how they used to live.
 MAN1: Take for granted, like electricity and running water.
 WOMAN1: When we come on holiday...and a soft bed.
 AP: A sense of where you come from?
This is not taken up.
 MAN2: I don't think I'd like to stay here for a week...
 AP: (Thanks....)

CH14

AP: *(talk to man and his father why here and how)*
 MAN: Well, we found a leaflet and thought it would be interesting.
 AP: Are you on holiday?
 MAN: Yes, from near Bath.
 AP: Do you holiday here often?
 MAN: No, first time for ages.
 AP: Why here?
 MAN: Someone in the pub said it was interesting and we're just here staying for a week looking at whatever there is to look at. We didn't come hundreds of miles to see this.
 AP: Do you visit heritage sites or museums regularly?
 MAN: No, I mean if I go somewhere I might pop in, not an avid visitor.
 AP: General history interest?
 MAN: Vaguely yes, but not dramatically.
 AP: What do you make of it?
 MAN: It's fascinating. Could do with a bit more explanation as to what's going on here.
 AP: *(I mention the interpretive panels)*

MAN: You mean the bit of a drawing and narrative? But there's nothing up here that explains the function and what sort of things they did up here and why one of the houses is on stilts and that sort of thing. I think that could be a lot better explained.

AP: They've got wandering interpreters. And the house on stilts is actually a granary.

MAN: But nobody lived up there?

AP: No.

MAN: And this is exactly the same as it would have been constructed originally?

AP: Well, they can't know what they look like. They can get an idea from post holes and hearths and they've come up with these designs through experimental architecture. These seem to work best.

MAN: It's known that it was definitely thatched?

AP: They can't know completely. There's this idea of Celtic society but all sorts of different building styles.

MAN: No paintings?

AP: Quite a bit of guess work.

MAN: I don't think I've really addressed it in that depth, but it's known that they had big communal huts like this?

AP: Yes.

MAN: So would this have been a communal place or where families would have lived or a family?

AP: I think that with this one....

Tape ends but conversation ended shortly thereafter when older man returns to the roundhouse and makes motions that he wishes to go.

CH15

AP: *(I ask to speak to a young family)*

MAN: Well, we're here on holiday and we found some brochures around and this sort of thing we're always interested in. And we thought the children would enjoy it. She's four and a half and will be going to school soon so we thought we could explain a little bit to her.

WOMAN: It's too cold to be on the beach basically.

AP: Do you participate in this, in museums, etc. quite a bit?

MAN: I think with the children, it needs to be something they can get something from – where there's an activity, something they can see and touch. Museums with glass cases are absolutely no good for children of this age.

WOMAN: We don't tend to go to museums or reconstructions like this simply because, when they're babies there's a limited amount they can get out of this....um but your life changes as you go through different stages. We're probably going through the stage where we do.

AP: And do they seem to be enjoying it?

WOMAN: Well yeah, the baby is happy anyway but Emma really seems to have enjoyed it actually, which is nice. I mean we thought she would, but um, she really enjoyed it, particularly the meeting house with the fire in it. It's weird.

AP: So not so much a specific interest in the Iron Age.

WOMAN: Yes, it makes a nice trip out because we're on holiday and you know we probably envisaged being on the beach a bit more too. But because it's not been brilliant weather...

MAN: Uh uh, Emma.

WOMAN: Put the coracle down.
 AP: There's lots of things scattered around for kids to touch.
 MAN: You're probably right. But the younger one follows the older.
 WOMAN: Oh yes, let me do that dear.
 AP: What have you learned about the Iron Age, what sort of things will you take from this visit?
 MAN: Generally building up a historical base, historical data, nothing, just general interest really.
 WOMAN: Yeah, just general interest.
 MAN: And Emma will probably just about remember when she goes to school and when this comes up she will be able to say, 'I've seen something'.
 WOMAN: It will be a few pictures for her.
 MAN: And I think as we, over the next few years these sorts of trips will be for the children rather than for ourselves, for educational purposes.
 AP: Are you living in Wales?
 MAN: No in England.
 AP: I just wonder about the National Curriculum and Key Stages, the way history starts with the Romans.
 MAN: Yes.
 WOMAN: Yes, is this part of your dissertation?
 AP: No. (*I explain the project, my own particular interest is with the Iron Age*).
 MAN: Interesting. And this is out of Swansea University? That's good.
 AP: (Thanks...)

CH16

AP: (*preamble*)
 MAN1: I live locally, so we have two of these [...] in our village actually, in Llanddewi Ddelfry(?) and one is called [...] spelled C-a-e-r-a-u so we've known of these for quite a while and we've come here several times and because we have visitors we thought, ah, they'd be interested to come here.
 AP: Are you enjoying it (*to visitors*)?
 MAN2: (*Scottish*) ooh, very much.
 AP: Do you visit Iron Age reconstructions up in Scotland?
 [...]

MAN1: ...the stones from Stonehenge are from not very far away from here, the Preselis, and apparently, I don't know if you know they've found two or three these stones in Milford Haven. The divers have been diving in the of Milford Haven area and presumably these stones must have sunk.
 MAN2: Off the raft. (*laughs*)
 MAN1: You might have known this, Bill, but they say if you aerial views from the Preselis down to the ground you can see the marks where they used the sledges and apparently they used the Severn boat to transport the stones...anyway, we haven't answered your questions.

laughter
 AP: No, it's interesting, people come to these places for any number of reasons.
 MAN: So where are you staying in Swansea then?
 AP: Bishopston.
 MAN: Oh you're in a lovely spot then. I was up there the other day in Oxwich. So have you been out to Weobley Castle, then? That's very interesting.

AP: Yes, *(try to bring them back into interview)*

MAN2: Now is this a project you're doing?

AP: *(explain – working on heritage in Wales)*

MAN1: Now...there might be an answer to our question. We were talking about Iona in Scotland. I said about Aiden, you know that he was one of the monks up there, well I thought he founded it, but...

MAN2: St Columba.

AP: Yeah.

MAN1: Oh, St Columba.

MAN2: So I was right. *(laughter)* You looked up in several books you could find...

MAN1: And I couldn't find because there's a reference in a book about all the saints but I couldn't find...perhaps Aiden discovered the whisky.

laughter

AP: So do you visit often these sorts of places often?

MAN1: Well, here, it's my third visit really that I been here.

AP: Do you often bring visitors with you?

MAN: Yes, yes, we usually bring them.

MAN2: He does a good PR job for the tourist board.

MAN1: You know, most of the spots..if people are interested in them, history and the background sort of thing. Have you been into Narberth then, about the play of the Mabinogion, it's all about this area. You should go there and again in Whitland there's the interpretive rooms there because Hywel Dda was one of the first law givers of Britain and they've also got the panels and tiles that were found in Neath Abbey. No, not Neath Abbey, Whitland Abbey. And they found an underground tunnel and recently they found a Roman road running from Carmarthen out to Pencerreg Castle.

AP: Oh yes, a friend of mine worked on it.

MAN1: Yes, a friend of mine was telling how they've actually found part of the way they constructed the Roman road. Peat base. Everyone thought it'd be wood but it's peat and then on top of that stone and earth.

AP: You've got a keen interest in the area. Have you always felt like that?

MAN: I suppose it's grown over the years and becoming aware then, of the culture around you really. I suppose as a young man I wasn't aware of it. So it's just something I've grown with and now it's relating back to those things. Names I think are very evocative, looking out for names, and you find the close connections of language. You find that Welsh has a very close connection with Portuguese, the Bretons and also the Cornish languages.

WOMAN2: The Gaelic.

MAN1: Yes, Gaelic. This part of the country you see, well the south was inhabited by the Irish you see, St David was an Irish man.

MAN2: St David was an Irish man!?

MAN1: There's a place in St David's chapel built to commemorate his mother. You should go there, it's a beautiful place with a lovely walk around.

AP: Do you feel coming from Scotland, is it different for you to be in Wales? Obviously different if you're in England, but do you feel a connection because of the...

MAN2: Celtic background.

AP: Celtic experience?

WOMAN2: Well, we feel closer to the Welsh than to the English.

AP: Thanks for your time.

MAN1: Well, we're the original English because we drifted out from England to this part of the world....and quite nearby there's a Quaker burial ground....
(*conversation moves off subject again and quickly winds up.*)

CH17

In roundhouse, speaking with interpreter and other visitors

INT'PRETER: This roundhouse here, it's been done up. A member of the aristocracy was quite well off, his house was at the top of the site, the biggest roundhouse which looks down on everybody else. You walk out and can see everybody else below. This gives you an idea of what the roundhouses would have looked like, you see the outline of the place. Then they've put some reconstructed goods in here as well. The cauldron would have been a prized possession and you can see why. Initially they would have been made of bronze. They make it out into sheet metal, so they put a wooden form behind there to bang the shape up and they continually hit it to make sheet metal. And when they've done that they've got to actually join it together which they do with iron rivets. It's something they can launch into the crowd and tell everyone else and try to elevate themselves to sound better. Showing off. That was very important to the Celtic people because their whole survival depended on everyone thinking a lot about them. It's like your reputation so if anyone insulted you, you had to take it personally because if you didn't then everybody else would think that if you didn't retaliate back, there would be some truth in the allegation. So you get the Romans calling the Celtic people childish because they rise to insults whereas the Romans looked at things a lot more pragmatically because they had to crawl to the top.

WOMAN: Is that the stove where they cooked the bread?

INT'PRETER: Yeah. It's known as a beehive oven and they're found in large parts of Wales. It's made of a basic basket shape and daubed over. They put the charcoal in the front and while that's heating up they can go to the grinder here and grind the flour out. They mix that with water and then they've got dough. When the oven's up to temperature then they put a big stone over the top and scrape the charcoal out and bake the bread. Surprising the number of people who come from different parts of the world who say that we've got one in our village somewhere. Even northern Spain, even the houses. Someone last week said we've got these in northern Spain. But it is a Celtic country. Any other questions?

WOMAN: What would they have used for lighting? Would they have used beeswax candles?

INT'PRETER: I think they would have used beeswax as well but what they would have used is tallow which is pork and mutton fat mainly. Then use a reed as a wick. They used the outside of the reed and take the pith out. They used them up into the last century. They put them in a stand. They put them...they'd light the one end and have it above where they were working and sometimes they'd have the light at the other end and that's where we get the phrase, burning the wick from both sides.

MAN: Are those coracle frames out there?

INT'PRETER: Yeah that's right.

CH18

In roundhouse there's lots of chatter. I can discern elderly woman say 'ooh, it's very smoky in here'. What follows is selection of what's overheard.

WOMAN1: They don't seem to have had a great deal of light in here.

WOMAN2: No, no.

MAN: *(in different group – asking about roof reeds)* Were they just left there to dry naturally?

WEAVER: So the vertical posts...

SEVERAL: Ooh, it's a grinder, yes a grinder.

WEAVER: For light, of course there's a gap all round the eaves.

WOMAN: Look at the cloth here.

WEAVER: In stony areas like Skara Brae where they've found similar roundhouses...they've actually found items of furniture, dressers, mainly.

WOMAN: Look at this....

AP: Can I ask...?

MAN: We're tourists, we're from Hamburg.

AP: Are you here on your own?

MAN: No with wife and two children.

AP: How did you find out about it?

MAN: Tourist pamphlet, but I think it was a regular, is it a monthly tour paper?

AP: What made you, are you interested in archaeology or is it just the sort of thing you do when you're on holiday?

MAN: It's the sort of thing you do with children, you have to.

AP: Are you enjoying it?

MAN: Yes, very much.

AP: What sort of things are you taking away with you? Does it give you a special understanding of Wales?

MAN: I think it's the heritage thing really. I'm interested in the heritage, most of the things I've found out about Wales have been recent history, so I was interested in finding something out about a little bit further back. Yes, because I don't know much about the Iron Age.

AP: The Celts are used as a sort of European heritage...

MAN: Yes, that's right.

AP: Are there similar places to this in Germany that you've visited?

MAN: Well, we've visited Scotland extensively. And of course the west coast of France, yes. And we've seen some stone circles in the area. I don't know if there are any here. Do you know?

AP: *(I explain about Pentre Ifan. His children return and they move off.)*

CH19

AP: I've just been looking at this *(panel about archaeological practice)* and I've been thinking that I'm an archaeologist and I have a hard time understanding it. What do you make of it?

MAN: Well, I, it's what it doesn't tell me that I think is important. I mean it tells me that radio carbon has been used but it doesn't tell me how long ago or any of the results you've got from this, which it should and I think 'is this a picture of the actual site', or uh...

AP: I was trying to figure that out.

MAN: I was just trying to figure out whether this related to this site or a general site. I would've thought it was this site but I would've thought that if

they'd put it down as this site, and what they had been doing and what had been found at this site so far I think it would have been a lot better. And ... I think a little bit about what they'd actually found up till now would have been helpful.

AP: Well, there's a panel a little ways down which tells...

MAN: Well, they should have put it up here so you can actually see where things have been found. I think if people look at a particular site they like to know what's been found where. How old it was and what the best impressions of the archaeologists so far are. What they found.

AP: What I had trouble with was this line drawing which is supposed to show you a cross section but I couldn't figure out

MAN: No, no.

WOMAN: It's too complicated, isn't it?

MAN: No, I didn't. I'd seen pictures like that on the other one so I obviously thought that that was the rampart but in fact, obviously these are the post holes. They're trying to decide but whether they're actually just going down to a lower level I don't know.

AP: The one thing I thought would be good was if they show ... if you see that square of rock in the middle that's an old hearth and the big holes there that are filled with plants those are postholes.

MAN: So why didn't they actually say that?

WOMAN: Yes, put notices actually there.

AP: So what brought you here?

MAN: Well we've gone past it many times on the road.

WOMAN: We live in St David's part of the time. This time we've got time to stop and look at it.

MAN: We thought it was mentioned in *Coast to Coast*.

WOMAN: Yes, it mentioned that tomorrow they're having dyeing demonstrations.

MAN: Are you an archaeologist?

AP: Actually, in Sheffield, but I'm a geographer now (*explain about heritage project*).

WOMAN: So you're doing a survey are you?

AP: It's more of a project, not statistical, their feelings about this, how they carry it into their everyday lives...

MAN: I think, I mean, it's very interesting, a site like this is a very useful candidate for the national lottery support. They've actually done the archaeology, I mean they could totally rebuild it. It's what they ought to do.

AP: Yeah, but they're part of the National Park, so problems with funding.

MAN: Well there's no reason that they shouldn't help.

AP: So just a chance to finally see what it was all about?

WOMAN: And it's lovely for children. I mean we've just seen a party of school children walk round and their faces...that was great for them. Face painting, you know ... but they love that obviously.

MAN: But I think there wasn't enough of the conditions that people lived in and the sort of society they had.

WOMAN: Well the little ones didn't need that, but for us.

MAN: No, no.

WOMAN: But for us a sort of general...

MAN: But you've got the odd bits of information but there's no way you can get more rounded, more in depth.

AP: They're all fairly general, an idea of Celtic life.

WOMAN: Oh yes.
 MAN: Absolutely.
 WOMAN: We're glad we came (*woman stresses this point*).
 AP: Do you often visit heritage sites?
 WOMAN: Oh as much as we can. We're interested in the past. And go to the ... we're members of the National Trust and when we grew up the family ticket went, but we do go, when we pass places, but it's generally when we...
 MAN: It's just time.
 WOMAN: Yes, we're getting more and more time now.
 MAN: Yes, spend more time.
 WOMAN: We're coming up to retirement age.
 MAN: I'm actually reading a Penguin about Roman Britain and it's absolutely fascinating so this puts it all in context because this was just before the Romans.
 AP: A lot of the settlement is Romano-British.
 WOMAN: But it might be interesting to have more down in reception before people come up here as well.
 MAN: They've done the archaeology and everything but what they want is a virtual system down there so you can actually see what it was and walk around.
 WOMAN: Well...
 MAN: Well, you wouldn't need...
 WOMAN: Well, if money was no object...
 [...]

WOMAN: I went to Tamworth Castle and they weren't holograms but they were called virtual reality and you could have people actually like this and they come to life and it's as if they're actually real with people weaving and digging.
 MAN: I don't know if I like that because ...
 WOMAN: Well no, yes, that would be, I mean they'd be very expensive but if they had them in the roundhouses they'd, people would love those, as if they were real people, you know, alive and doing real work.
 MAN: We've been around Jorvik and that's fascinating. Again, it's almost, it depends on the archaeologists and how accurate they were in the end.
 AP: And every site, depending on when it was dug.
 MAN: Absolutely, absolutely.
 AP: But there's a place, Celtica, up in Machynlleth. They have a virtual reality type...
 MAN: Do they?
 AP: (*I describe it*)
 WOMAN: You tend to remember something visual like that. We must call in there on the way home, but we're just spending more time in Pembrokeshire now you see. We've been coming here twenty years believe it or not.
 MAN: (*laughter*)
 WOMAN: But we haven't seen. I mean our grandchildren would love this.
 MAN: ...walk around St David's...we went to, was it Pen, Pentre I, Ifan, Pentre Ifan (*difficulty with pronunciation*) last year?
 AP: Fantastic.
 MAN: Yes, that's fantastic.
 WOMAN: Yes, we enjoyed that. And there's one near Abercastle.
 MAN: Yes, Abercastle, have you been there?

AP: No.
MAN: That's absolutely fabulous that is, hardly anybody goes there. It's almost as big as Pentre Ifan.

CH20

In roundhouse

YOUNG GIRL: Nice and warm.

WOMAN: Yes, isn't it wonderful!

Y GIRL: Lovely and warm in here...watch out for the fire...this is how Jesus lived.

WOMAN: This is this blue woad isn't it?

OLDER MAN: What does this remind you of?

O'ER WOMAN: I know what this reminds me of...

crying girl

INT'PRETER: Everybody comes in from a different perspective...

AP: A lot of heritage research is linear and closed.

INT'PRETER: Was talking to an archaeologist the other day and he was from North America and he was saying that, I didn't know this at all, that there was an Iron Age in North America at about the same time, 450 BC, which I didn't imagine at all and he said there were hillforts and ramparts twenty feet high. Incredible. Unfortunately he was being brushed off. They also used willow sticks for writing which was what the druids used. He was saying the people with the sticks went with messages and wouldn't be allowed to stop on pain of death. That came up because he said they had a council house. The elders in society used to meet for several days, I mean I'm not sure how he *knew* this but ... and I was asking him whether there were links between these North American Indians and more civilized people to the south and he said Incas and Aztecs traded goods right the way up into Canada.

AP: They've found shells...

INT'PRETER: Found papyrus boats...but everyone comes in with their own place so you get to hear about other historical sites, which is interesting for me but also allows you to relate back to the people who come in.

AP: Yes, there seems to be a lot of linking. That people tend to say, this reminds me of...

INT'PRETER: That person there...but they said that they have ones like this in Finland, in Lapland. And a lot of people say they've seen things like this in all parts of the world. A good starting point because it allows you to tell them about this site...

MAN: *(inaudibly asks questions)*

INT'PRETER: Well, when they excavated this site they found that there weren't a lot of domestic things around and they think because of that this place had a special function and it's the biggest roundhouse on site so they think it was the meeting house.

Another question I can't hear

INT'PRETER: *(laughs)* Well there was, again that's quite a big one, but there's fifteen roundhouses of this type on the top altogether and a house is where an extended family would have lived so judging by the wear patterns on the ground you can tell where the beds are and about ten people were living in each one. So if you want to add those numbers up you're talking about a population of about a hundred people and maximum population put at 150. *(someone else comes in)* Hello. Where are you from?

MAN: From Germany.

INT'PRETER: Are you staying around here?
MAN: On the way to Ireland, we've stayed one day near Pembroke.
INT'PRETER: So you go from Pembroke Dock. Does that go to Cork?
MAN: No.
INT'PRETER: They've got something like this in Wexford, a reconstructed village that's supposed to be very good. They've got a film that gives the history. The Vikings lived on the one side of the town, and then there's a lot of trade. They've done lots of archaeological excavation and they've found a lot of gold items. It's a bigger concern. This one might become bigger than Wexford because they have a gateway on the other side and when that's reconstructed it'll be very impressive. Attracts a lot more people. You know on the far side, where the main gateway was, it's the most impressive part of the whole site, all covered in white shale. And that was actually all melted to the surface. Because it's so difficult to do, it must have been done on purpose, designed to impress anybody who came up. So it was fashionable but also probably fireproof, because the only way into a hillfort like this is by burning the main gate down. If they were laying siege... they think this place was possibly taken by Irish raiders in about 300 BC.

Disrupted by kids wandering

INT'PRETER: *(to general audience)* I was explaining that this building here was probably a meeting house because...It was actually a matriarchal society which actually means that the women made the decisions. As they lived to an older age, it made sense that they made use of the wisdom you get from older age. The women then would often choose who the chieftain was, could be a man or a woman. Women chiefs were quite common, but quite often when they were going off to war they'd choose a male chieftain. You see they've got a fire burning in the middle, well in the roof there's actually no hole for the smoke to go through and the reason they think they didn't have one is that if a spark goes through it wouldn't catch like if you had the large updraft of air And it would all burn down. So what the smoke does is work it's way out.

Y GIRL: I'm going to sit on the chairs mummy.
WOMAN: Mmhm. How many children do you have here then?
INT'PRETER: Only one school here today so about fifty.
WOMAN: No John, no no no.
INT'PRETER: About eight as well.
WOMAN: Mm, you don't always have a fire going though.
INT'PRETER: Normally more children than that, normally two coach loads every day.
WOMAN: Do you? So you have a fire.
INT'PRETER: We have a fire going anyway.
WOMAN: Do you?
INT'PRETER: It's the first job of the day.
WOMAN: What is that swinging, shield thingy over there, just target practice?
INT'PRETER: Yes, it's for school children.
WOMAN: Yes and you have them building walls and things with the mud?
INT'PRETER: Yeah, they do face painting, etc.
WOMAN: Stop it! *(to her children)*
INT'PRETER: ...making the daub...
WOMAN: Yes, where do you get the reeds from?
INT'PRETER: When they first built the house there was a reed bed near Newport.
WOMAN: Oh I see...who did it, this one?

INT'PRETER: Trying to remember his name.
WOMAN: Don't climb on there!
INT'PRETER: Sixteen years thatching and was rethatched two years ago and the second time they got the roof from Somerset.
WOMAN: That's where we come from, ha ha.
INT'PRETER: Because they've got quite extensive reeds there.
WOMAN: Yes.
INT'PRETER: So I expect you have a lot of thatched cottages down there.
WOMAN: So what's the fire insurance like on this building then?
INT'PRETER: Interesting question, I've never asked that actually.
WOMAN: But it's never unattended though, is it?
INT'PRETER: No they have, for insurance reasons they have someone on site all the time. I should think it'd be quite high.
AP: I'd heard they'd had trouble with squatters til recently when it was locked up.
WOMAN: Don't blame them.
INT'PRETER: One of the guides told me there were New Age travellers up here. One of these hippies had taken a trip and he was in the corn house, naked.

Laughter

WOMAN: So why have you got the tripod here, because they didn't cook over fire.
INT'PRETER: They sometimes had tripods like this when they were on campaign.
WOMAN: But they didn't have metal work.
INT'PRETER: Well, we're into the Iron Age now.
WOMAN: Oh, into the Iron Age.
INT'PRETER: So they'd gone through the Bronze Age.
WOMAN: So they did have cauldrons and things.
INT'PRETER: That's actually of a later date.
WOMAN: Yes, I'd forgotten that they'd started and been used all the way through.
INT'PRETER: In the other roundhouse they have a cauldron.
WOMAN: Yeah, I saw it, yeah I saw it.
INT'PRETER: Quite capable of producing things like that but they would be very prized.
WOMAN: Yeah, of the nobility.
INT'PRETER: The archaeologists don't think there was an awful lot of iron production in this area they think a lot was actually traded.
BOY: Are these the Roman houses?
INT'PRETER: It's earlier than that. The Romans didn't do a lot in west Wales. They did come to a town called Carmarthen and had roads as well...so this is a Celtic house.
WOMAN: But they have found traces of Roman occupation around haven't they?
INT'PRETER: They have found a number of forts. It's quite difficult to interpret the amount of Roman influence.
WOMAN: So Carmarthen would have been their main city or town, with the road leading out and forest along the way.
INT'PRETER: Well they seem to have loads of Roman forts around...they did have vague Roman towns...

(Woman tells off children yet again, and they leave.)

05.07.96

CH21

Middle-aged group

- WOMAN1: We're on holiday here and we've been to quite a few different sites, sort of got a book about it and came here.
- AP: Do you go to heritage sites often?
- WOMAN1: Yes.
- AP: As a leisure pursuit generally?
- WOMAN1: Well, there's not very many around near where we live but when we're on holiday we do.
- AP: Where are you from?
- WOMAN1: The Wirral.
- AP: What do you make of places like this, why come to a reconstructed Iron Age village?
- WOMAN1: For me, well both my daughters are very interested in the Celtic and I try to find out and send the information to them, it's fascinating really, you read about it.
- WOMAN2: I just like to see how they lived years ago.
- MAN: Ideally...they translated snail marks into ogham.
- AP: What message did you come up with?
- WOMAN1: Well he said they were snail marks, there's two days in-between...
- MAN: We've got a cottage that's miles away from anywhere. I'm a Celt.
- AP: So do you see yourself as a Celt because you're Welsh?
- MAN: Yeah.
- AP: So do feel a certain sense of something when you come to a place like this?
- MAN: I like to get to Wales every year...it'll always be home...but I wonder when I look at this and the thatch, probably you know a lot more about it than me, would the thatch have been this way?
- AP: They can't know.
- MAN: They can't know.
- AP: I don't know where they'd get the thatch – they get this from Somerset so I don't know, they don't know what they looked like above ground.
- MAN: No, I mean I've been in African houses and certainly nothing quite as grand as this. They're much more, even in a permanent village, they're much more temporary appearance. In my own opinion this has gone way over the top.
- AP: So, considering this can't be very accurate, what do you think is the value of a place like this?
- MAN: I think you've only got to look outside to see the children.
- AP: Lots of people bring up the educational side: 'we've just come here for the kids'.
- MAN: Well, I know they've got information from postholes so presumably that would give information about dimensions of posts.
- AP: Yeah. More generally, does heritage play a significant role in...
- WOMAN1: Yeah, but I don't like the way a lot of them are run.
- AP: What don't you like?
- WOMAN: Well I don't like the way English Heritage run Stonehenge, it's very bad. Avebury which is National Trust is better. I think it's part of your heritage and you should be allowed to...
- MAN: That's right. but then it's painted all over.
- WOMAN: Well that's only, Paul, because you're stopped, you know.

MAN: I mean the Celts and druids aren't even allowed to carry out their services anymore.

WOMAN1: No, I know.

MAN2: But it was built before the druids ever existed!

WOMAN1: But that's what they used it for.

AP: The other side is that Stonehenge is still a changing monument. I don't know...my own opinions about vandalism...but in the past they did it.

WOMAN1: Sure. Those paintings, where were we, was it on the television we were watching? It was in ancient Egypt and they found graffiti. I mean it was going on.

MAN2: It's part of future history, isn't it? I don't know, they're inclined to sterilize things now which makes it cease to live and change.

WOMAN1: I mean this is brilliant because you can come it and you see the children doing things. There are so many places now where you can't touch, don't touch. It spoils it really.

AP: And then it makes you wonder more, well what's the purpose?

WOMAN1: Well yes.

AP: But even here a lot of parents don't allow kids to touch. There seems to be a sense that anything that has to do with the past is somehow sacred. They whisper when they come in. Why?

MAN2: Possibly it's because they hold these places in awe, even people who aren't religious must be impressed.

AP: Oh, here comes another group.

WOMAN1: They're really enjoying themselves, though, aren't they?

MAN2: We sometimes go on the canals, you know in the north of England, Shropshire Union. It's nice, you can actually work with the past. I know it's only 200 years old but at least you're travelling on canals built by the past.

AP: A certain connection with the past? Being in the same place? It's about memory I suppose.

WOMAN: But I think an awful lot of people look to the past more because the present is not very wonderful. It seems to be going downhill a lot of the time.

AP: And for your own interest, there are a lot of people who don't go because heritage and museums say nothing to them.

WOMAN1: As I say, both of my daughters are very into it. I've taken all the photographs and postcards back to them and I don't know, there's something about it that's, not mysterious, but it I mean people go on about ancient Egypt and various other things but this is as fascinating.

AP: It's in your own place I suppose.

WOMAN: This is it, it's ours.

AP: And how about the relation with Wales, Welsh tourism and the Celtic past and its link with specific identity? Not coming from Wales what is your sense of place?

WOMAN1: I see it as part, yes, I don't separate it.

MAN1: My grandfather originally came from Ireland, that's where our ancestry lies.

MAN2: But even so, the English have Norman ancestry so their ancestry isn't in these islands at all. This is probably nearer to the ancient ancestry of the British Isles than anything.

AP: Are these things that you think about often, issues of heritage and identity, do they come up often?

WOMAN1: Oh yes, we often have arguments, you know, friendly arguments about it all.

MAN2: I must admit, I'm mainly Welsh when the rugby season's on. I mean I'm British, but I know in myself that I'm Welsh as well.

AP: And, you mentioned the rugby, more recent history, what do you think...

MAN2: Well, I mean, yeah I think really I was educated in England, in boarding schools, but when it comes to, not football so much...

MAN1: That's probably because Wales hasn't got a football team!

MAN2: I suppose that's the closest thing I get to being tribal. I do believe the tribal instincts do come out. I work in Liverpool, there is very little these days, people's, even regional identity, because people stay home and watch television. I think possibly the Welsh do, but I'm not in that area, that type of community [...]

AP: How about museum visits themselves? People come together...

WOMAN1: Yeah, but unless you're in a group you're all doing it singly...

AP: Should let you get out, thanks...

CH22

WOMAN: I don't mind talking to you but I am a professional in adult education. So I just said that straight away but I didn't want you to think that I was uninitiated if you see what I mean.

AP: *(give preamble)*

WOMAN: Yes, well talk to my husband as well as he's ex Royal Archaeological society.

AP: *More preamble (they write it down in their little book) explain in detail what I'm doing (do I do this because they understand?)*

WOMAN: Well, basically I earn my living from it, that's why I started where I did. I've been in adult education for twenty-five years. I work at Exeter. I've also been involved in excavation of this kind of site in south west England and its reconstruction. I teach a certificate in archaeology and within that we do a short module on experimental archaeology and to the best of my knowledge this place has not been written up formally as an archaeological experiment. In teaching archaeology to adults there is a very strong and clear line to be drawn between a site like this which has been constructed, initially as the first Butser was, to try to demonstrate archaeological possibilities, and the sort of site I had understood this to be which is very much more of an impression of what the past might have been. And the two sites may conflate, but if you're teaching it's very important to be clear in terms of primary motivation what's been put in. Are you dealing with experimental archaeology which at Butser has been subsequently turned into a tourist centre, or have you taken lessons from Butser and then tried to turn it into some sort of educational experience? So that if you're looking at a site to use results to teach with, you have to be quite clear as to the original intent. That I suppose, I've known about this site for quite a long time but I've never got the chance to get over to Pembrokeshire to see it. I don't know if you have particular questions...

AP: Really I want to have a loosely structured discussion.

WOMAN: Well we haven't been all the way round yet. I don't know if you overheard me talking about the structure. The leaflet said that this was a single walled roundhouse without internal structure but looking at this in

relation to Roundhouse 1, that the external supports have been put in separately probably because the roof wasn't, was probably pitched too high to go on the ring-beam round the wall. So far I'd say that it's, we've been around Roundhouse 1, I'd say it's a very imaginative attempt to try and recreate an interior and I like the way the interior space has been used for, the actual putting in of beds, which I've not seen elsewhere. Obviously so far, most of what's been done has been learned from Butser I'd say. I don't know how much they've worked out and assuming that it's correct, that the plans really are replicated by the buildings they're a very fair attempt. On a personal academic level one of these days I'd like to see a totally different approach to how one of these buildings would have looked like. We've had a large number of Butser clones and while they do seem to stand up, on a certain level, I'd like to walk into one of these places and see it done differently. I don't know how that would be if you take the basis that you've got a number of sites where the bases that Peter Reynolds established seem to work out. As far as I can see they've established this fairly well and I don't think I'd quarrel with anything in particular.

AP: A lot of causal visitors...I was talking to someone who was a retired builder who was really interested in it from that point of view, 'well, it wouldn't have been this tidy', and someone who'd been to Africa who was saying he would have thought it would be more *ad hoc* and not as stable so you get a lot of questioning. It's the thing of aims and purposes, if you're dealing with archaeology and the public, the question is, what is the point? What are we trying to get across?

WOMAN: Well I'm never quite sure about the weather-proofing side of things. I've been about these places, the one I haven't mentioned is the Glastonbury reconstruction. In some ways it's similar, but I think, going round, I'm now talking about going round with groups of people who don't know perhaps, my own first introduction at Butser is that it's not so much the tidiness or the lack of it, it's the impression of interior space that you can excavate a structure it's very notable. You get postholes and put a ranging rod across and it's six meters across or whatever. Do you know what this is across?

AP: No I don't.

WOMAN: Do you know? (*to husband*)

MAN: That, the diameter of this? Ten meters.

WOMAN: It's on the big side, but the point I was trying to make is that from the point of view of more serious is, the commodiousness of these structures is one of the best general principles to be demonstrated. You can forget about the detail if you want but once you get inside ... this is a bigger one, but the reason I mention this is that I had a class at Glastonbury and I took them all in and we were all sitting around the fire and it wasn't as big as this but there was plenty of room. People just do not realize with a circular structure just how much room there is, so it's of very great value.

MAN: The area within is often bigger than the area of the average bungalow.

WOMAN: I do, one of the standard things I do is get people to go home and measure the square footage of the living room...and then work it out according to this. I'm very well aware that my comments are coming across as academic and you probably want people to talk as they normally do. The other thing, I'm very interested in, largely because I've got to write up a Romano-British equivalent to this I excavated in

Cornwall and that has got evidence of a double doorway in that we've got the gateway and the cobblestones and I've never been convinced that we've really got to grips the business of how doors were hung. I don't believe in that there (*gesture*) at all. I don't believe, there's a tradition in west Cornwall where you find these doorways with little sockets that started in the 1930s, and I don't think they're like that at all. And I was interested to see how they fixed the whole thing together and I guess I'm collecting a set of illustrations of how people have put door hangings together without using metal and I've never come up with a solution that's really satisfied me. As Norman said, you'd, if this had been built from scratch you'd really have to work out the door hanging and put...

MAN: Not hanging, before you put the lintel and then you put the door hanging in.

WOMAN: And then you put the roof on.

MAN: These silly little bits they've sticking on the inside there, that have been tacked on almost as if they thought, 'how are we going to fit the door'?

(*laughs*)

WOMAN: Which is what I think happens. But I think that obviously you expect this sort of thing to be episodic...I haven't talked to anybody recently about any form of published record or whatever there may be for this site, I don't know if there is one.

AP: No.

WOMAN: I suppose one of my feelings is, even with Butser is that there's an infinite amount of observation and comment you can make about a structure and the amount it beds down with alteration, that's going to be useful academically, and you see something like this and you wonder how they reached these decisions and how they got to the stage of doing it as it is, and academically, unless you've got the facts right you don't know why they've reached this particular solution.

AP: I think a lot of it has to do with keeping people out (*I tell the squatter story*). It's interesting that the reconstruction is so dependent on the contemporary period. Sort of brings out what are you trying to get. It's always a pastiche.

WOMAN: I'm much happier with these sorts of structures and adult students. If you're teaching adults, you've got a chance of throwing in the 'what ifs'. You're obviously aware of the fixation problem whereby you see something that's a reconstruction and you think, ah yes, that's it. But it's a bit like seeing something on television, you know? That then is then stuck in their minds that this is what things were like in the past without the questioning. And if you give a lecture you can get an element of questioning so...it's totally unfair you asking me this now (*laughs*). I've just marked twelve essays critiquing the design of the [...] roundhouse but what I was going to say is that I'm very unclear in my own mind about the values of this for, particularly young children. I've thought about it a lot and obviously their education is not my concern but the concern of what we do with our heritage has to be and you can say, well a place like this started off as a private enterprize, but this is now part of the national park. It has been given the stamp of authority and any Welsh teacher is justified in coming round and saying that this is how things were, pretty much. I know that you could get people to ask, but I'm still very undecided how good it is for young children. On balance I usually come out that it's much better, that at least it shows them a floor and a

bed and sizable structures than just total squalor. You said something about someone saying that this place was too tidy. Well I don't actually think that it is. On the other hand, I think it would have been tidied up. You get a good birch broom and, OK, I don't know what this has been floored with...but actually straight earth...but if you go to St Fagans and look at some of the medieval Welsh houses with beaten floors...we get in Cornwall...the house tended to be floored with a mix of soil and water which beds down and becomes almost a mortar which you can actually sweep. There's plenty of hollows in the entrance-way. Fair enough, but perhaps this is on the muddy side.

AP: But I think it's interesting talking to people who don't have an active interest, that they don't seem concerned with the specifics that this has to do with the Iron Age. They see it as past, not present, just other. The other thing I found interesting talking to the kids the other day, again, the value seems to be all about reinforcing certain contemporary roles. The boys are interested in it because it has to do with adventure and warfare and the girls like it because you can see what's inside. And you get it repeated with the adults as the men seem interested in warfare while the women are interested in the domestic arrangements. It's appropriated to the present. So what connection does it have to the past, why are people coming here?

WOMAN: I don't think I'm in a position to speak in a general kind of way. I probably know a lot less about what motivates people. I know what motivates them what it comes to them going to an archaeological class. They've, something's hit their imagination and they want to find out so when people get to me they've generally got to the stage of some sort of inquiry for substantiating the interest they've had.

AP: The negotiation of the academic side of archaeology, exploring all sorts of problems and then have to generalize in terms of the heritage industry.

WOMAN: ...I s'pose I haven't really got any deep thoughts on this because I've taken the view for most of my working life that I fit a niche of explanation when people get to the stage where explanation is required. And I think myself that given the growing interest there has been in the past, the obvious solution is to have a range of roles in sort of, graded in level from the academic downwards, if you see what I mean, of which I wouldn't put myself at the very top level but I would put myself at level two or three. And then if you just explain to children down to age six or seven what you do see, and what you get quite a lot, and we get down in, it works quite well in Devon because the Dartmoor National Park has an education officer, his job is to go round and talk to them about the problems of interpretation. I think increasingly a sort of, more presentations and more parts of the past that become available outside of museum cases, increasingly there is a need, and I think this is something which is possibly very relevant to what you're saying, is that there is a need for people who are specialists in interpreting the past for non-specialists. Or even the very generally interested for although I can give a very good popular lecture if I want to that's not what I'm about and I think if you're going to go on developing these places and making money out of them we've got to ensure that there are people adequately trained up to explain what's happening in an appropriate way to non-informed adults and to schoolchildren. And I think that this sort of thing hasn't really been grasped yet. Some organizations, yes, but I think it will be

interesting in ten years time when people like yourself graduate out into the industry and there's more chance to present a popular interface. It's quite interesting looking at that leaflet because the leaflet is moderately didactic and it isn't informed enough for me. It's interesting, it's useful, it's very clear, but you want something which is a stage in-between which tries to get the 'might have been' message over and I don't think the heritage industry has got the 'might have been' element about most parts of interpretation of the past. And you've only got to go back to traditional museum interpretation – this is a Bronze Age hoard and it was dug up, etc. – after all it's only with the growth of modern archaeological theory that they've tackled the question of probability so you can't really expect those sorts of questions to be filtered through to the general public or even the presenters to the general public.

AP: And it's especially a problem with the Iron Age because of the Celtic thing.

WOMAN: I won't start on the Celtic conundrum. I don't believe in the Celts.

AP: Coming from Sheffield that's how I've been trained.

WOMAN: Celts, I'm not saying there isn't a Celtic language...but I'm very much against the idea of pan-Celticism where you get little bits here and little bits there and it seems to me to be doing everybody a great disservice because it's smearing individuality and individual grouping right across Europe.

AP: Even like here, Battersea shields and early Irish tales, etc.

WOMAN: Yes there's lots of problems with that, the Welsh Celts and Irish literature. But it's only fairly recently that I've started being critical of what I call the pan-Celtic idea with regard to art and religion. As I say, it just causes, because you need an overall presentation, the attractive bits and the good bits. The way it's going you'd have everybody dressing in the same designs from the Pyrenees right over to Ireland, which is just a nonsense.

MAN: Yeah.

WOMAN: I'm probably not being very helpful. Although we're looking at this in a fairly [...] way, this is part of my holiday (*laugh*). I wasn't expecting to sit down and try to explain it in any detail.

AP: That's fair enough because, are you combining?

WOMAN: Yes it is we don't...unless we go somewhere like Greece where we just crash out ...

AP: I'm trying to get a handle on the wider range, (*talk about ethnography*)

WOMAN: If you want something, I've known this place existed since Harold Mytum got the structure up, which would have been in 1984, and I've wanted to come, but the question of having time in this area. We've been down in Gower and we booked in near St David's and when the idea of having ten days in south Wales, I was at Cardiff incidentally, one of the things that clicked was 'ah yes', must make sure we visit here. It was something I was long wanting to do. And perhaps switching off a little bit more now, for me personally it's a great pleasure to go round a site with Norman. Norman's sitting here very quietly, because half to three quarters to nine tenths of the time I go round because I'm taking people around, and it's nice just being off the hook and just take your own time and say things off the record and be rude or whatever without thinking it's going to turn up in notes in an essay.

AP: And to consume it for the pleasure of it because it's a wonderful day out?

WOMAN: Yes and I'm aware that an awful lot of what I've said to you may sound very academically motivated but it's only fair to say that I've been in archaeology for thirty-five years and the pure aesthetics of it are still extremely pleasurable and that, I'm now talking about the outside, we've been down in Gower and have been very lucky with the weather, especially with what it's been like. Some of the monuments were so satisfactory visually and even something like this, it just leaves you with satisfactory visual images. It's OK for me, I don't want to be pious because I'm aware that they are satisfactory visual images and I can take them home with my slides and unpick them. But I'm very conscious that I find them visually as well as intellectually satisfying and also emotionally satisfying.

AP: The interesting thing if you're in archaeology, going to Arthur's Stone, it is fantastic, the greyness against the sky.

WOMAN: It's not only interesting, the point I was moving on to make is that there is still for me, after all this time, another form of satisfaction which isn't necessarily academic. If you like, it's almost spiritual. If you look at something, is a view that much different? I'm not so sure about this place because it's a reconstruction. It has a kind of rightness. Now whether it's because it's been weathered down a bit, so it looks like what you'd expect a 'Celtic' structure to look like I don't know. But much more so with a straightforward site, it is the visual impact of it, the fact that it's like looking at a picture, but it's 3D. What I was really moving full circle to say was that one of the reasons for staying in archaeology.....

(End of side, but we move to talk about the experience of visiting such sites.)

AP: ...If I do prompt, people will express possibility of difference.

MAN: It's a perfectly reasonable idea and yet you go to Chacewater...

AP: Oh, yes, I've been.

WOMAN: Yes Jacqui Woods.

MAN: She's got the Butser thing.....which is equally logical story as anything else for using space economically but I think as long as people know it's an interpretation rather than a factual...

WOMAN: I think that was Angela's point early on, that a lot of people don't stop to think and part of the point I was picking up on is that the heritage industry as a whole needs a very much more sophisticated approach to making people think, even without making them realize that that's what they're doing, that this isn't something they should be taking for granted.

AP: But it's interesting that people do both at the same time. Interpreters use hypothetical and 'may have been' – especially with the school groups – although I'm not sure how much that sinks in.

WOMAN: Well I think that the big problem is how you make sure the verbal caveats counterbalance the visual image. If the visual image is good, the image is what's going to stick and you can't and I wouldn't want a place like this to be spoilt by a notice which is the equivalent of what I see as the 'this book may damage your mental health' which is what passes for books by a lot of really professional people. They sort of swing you along and if you're not careful, then people will just think this is just science. Oh, right, they won't stop to think that perhaps it might be wrong and I don't know how you get the verbal caveats and I think it has to be a verbal caveat. Maybe you have a big sign at the bottom which says, 'do remember this is a might have been'.

AP: Even with that, because it's visually satisfying I can imagine that this village will stick. But what association will be made between that and some sort of actual understanding of a specific past? I think that most people do see this as something general made to stand for a general past.

WOMAN: I think you're right there. I think that when you start thinking about the past, effectively quantitative, a large proportion of the population haven't got any real idea of time as a dimension and once you go back beyond great grandmother you can talk about medieval or Iron Age, they may have a conception that they are different but they may see it as a kind of tunnel with the medieval at one end and great grandmother at the other. And the Iron Age on the other side of the hill.

AP: Seems to be slotted into motifs, 'oo it was grim back then' or a Romantic notion of it being better in past, into which the past is fitted.

WOMAN: I know exactly what you mean.

AP: How to get people beyond, that's the task of places like this rather than reinforcing.

WOMAN: I think that you could criticize it for being too tidy. I've certainly come across past nostalgia. About the only way of getting round that is making people come on a really horrid day, where everything drips. I suppose I'm very much influenced by the fact that I grew up in the country ...for a while we just had a well. You went down to the school bus down a muddy lane. I think that a lot of people have forgotten what wells and carrying water and mud were like. Anyhow....*(she ends conversation and wants to get on with the day saying that this interview will be part of her own heritage experience)*

CH23

MAN: We haven't been round it yet, we've literally just arrived so you may be better to talk later.

AP: That's O.K., I'll have chat now, what do you think?

MAN: I think it's very interesting. It's interesting the way it's been reconstructed. You feel slightly at odds with so many people around doing the weaving and spinning and I think we thought it would be a lot lot quieter than it was, only because we thought it would be less popular with children. It's interesting that it goes back. I was saying I'm still slightly puzzled as to how you go about reconstructing something from so long ago based on fairly scanty evidence.

AP: That's the problem...*(I explain about postholes)* Are you on holiday in the area?

MAN: Yeah.

AP: And do you go to these things lots?

MAN: Certainly on holiday. We live in London so we go to museums and art galleries there, but not heritage centres. But on holiday we would go, more when the weather's not too good. I mean if it had been good today we would've gone for a walk or to the coast, but you know it's something interesting, a little bit different to do.

AP: How did you decide to come here?

MAN: We're staying very very close. And we've driven past the signpost half a dozen times already and it's very well signposted. It's an Iron Age hillfort which sounds sufficiently old and interesting enough to justify a trip.

AP: (*connection between, emphasize site specificity?*)
MAN: I don't think we've seen enough of it. I mean it's quite a good leaflet but I would say that it's got more to do with the past, generally than specific. I mean it wouldn't have surprised me to see something similar to this in Scotland or Cornwall or anywhere else where the Celts might have been.
AP: What purpose does the site have?
MAN: I suppose a little bit of the past and imagining how things would have been a long long time ago. Little bit of general knowledge and interest and just a little bit of something different.
AP: In terms of personal identity, how do you see it relating to Wales and Welshness?
MAN: I s'pose we are interested in going to different places and trying to pick up a little bit of the identity of local people and we've done that. We've travelled quite a bit outside of England and yes, it does help, but I still wouldn't say that this made me think that this is particularly Welsh as such, but nor does it give a particular orientation towards my own identity, partly because we're here on holiday to see and not think too much about it.
AP: Thanks...

CH24

MAN: We're staying near Tenby and we're here for today's event, it's the sort of place we like going to.
WOMAN: The sun's not shining and we couldn't go the beach basically (*laughter*).
AP: Why do you like coming to places like this?
MAN: Maybe I'm just speaking for us all, we have an Iron Age fort like this near us in Leicestershire. We go there on Sunday mornings, can imagine yourself back in those times and how you'd have to live [...]
WOMAN: I think it's good for the children, I mean they don't take everything in but they get something.
Children crying
AP: Do you come for kids, for education?
WOMAN: Well general interest and more history in school, just a bit extra really.
AP: (*to daughter*) Do you like history?
CHILD1: No.
WOMAN: Yes she does.
AP: And coming to places like this?
CHILD1: Sometimes boring but sometimes fun.
AP: What makes it boring?
CHILD1: Nothing really to look at or anything to do.
AP: What sorts of things do you like to do?
CHILD1: Try things out.
WOMAN: Well I think if you came here with a party you could do those things like the children over there.
AP: They've got spinning you can try. So you prefer going to places where you can do, not just look at?
CHILD1: Yeah.
AP: What kind of idea do you have about the Iron Age?
CHILD1: Uh, bit hard.
AP: Who do you think lived here?
CHILD1: (?) and they had to be really alert.

AP: Do you get this in schools? In England it's in the context of the Romans.

CHILD1: Yeah, I like the Romans.

AP: Boudica?

CHILD1: Yeah, we did a play about her.

AP: So do you think there's much of a connection between what you learn and a place like this?

CHILD1: Yeah.

AP: Do they make it clear in school, or did you come here and think, it's a bit like what we were learning in...

CHILD1: Yeah.

AP: How 'bout you two, do you enjoy *(to other children)*?

CHILD2: *(boy)* The beaches.

CHILD1: No, not the beaches!

WOMAN: The lady means here Jonathan. It's somewhere different isn't it?

MAN: Lots of interesting things to see and how people lived isn't it? Little girls and little boys, what they'd have to do living here.

AP: So generally, you come for range of reasons?

MAN: We like to be able to be surprised. We like to be able to do things rather than just having a walk around and read a guide like this or the boards that are around. It's hard work. To feel as though you're a little bit more by doing than by reading.

AP: Do you think the visits, do you remember them as a family — remember when we went to such and such?

MAN: It depends if there's something striking that happens *(all laughter)*. We'll remember that we've talked to you today. *(laughter)*

AP: So I'm part of the heritage?

WOMAN: I think that sometimes you do, that sometimes things stick in the children's memories.

MAN: I think the fact that there's a practical demonstration here today will make it a memorable experience and there is the one near us in Leicestershire is memorable as the lady that chases after you if you don't put 50p in the box.

AP: Is it similar or a sense of difference?

MAN: Oh yes, yes in Leicester it's high. This one is a promontory. We noted it just walking around a corner that this is quite overlooked for a hillfort. You'd expect it to be somewhere where it would be protected by the geographical escarpment. They're both supposedly of the same era.

WOMAN: Ours is the one, the one that we visit frequently, is, is it the highest point in Leicestershire?

MAN: I'm not sure, certainly you'd not be surprised if you lived there, you can see tens of miles all the way round but here...

WOMAN: It's quite overlooked.

MAN: But I suppose it's changed a bit since, that these woods have grown up around it.

AP: Probably been more wooded, but talk to the archaeologists. *(discuss different Iron Ages, special significance)*

MAN: But isn't it also the idea that they have some sort of spiritual significance?

AP: Yeah, things spiritual more part of everyday life.

MAN: More things in those times they couldn't answer by logic and they were constantly surprised by events, natural events so they'd have to ascribe them to sort of supernatural occurrences.

AP: In context of holiday in Wales, did you see a connection of past and present here more than in Leicestershire?

MAN: I think that we realize there's a special significance to Pembrokeshire. I don't know if we're in Pembrokeshire now. It is little England in Wales. We recognize that this area, ancient Pembrokeshire, just by coming regularly, that we find that things [...] this part of Wales seems to advertise as this sort of place. I think it compares well with, in Leicestershire there's very little in the county that's similar and the town is...

WOMAN: More full of museums but nothing...

MAN: They put a lot into the town, don't they? But I've gone off the question.

AP: No, if you think about Celts what sorts of things do you think?

MAN: What do you think John?

CHILD2: People with blue faces (*laughter*).

WOMAN: People in tunics and living in huts like this.

CHILD2: No, I think people in blue faces running down to the sea.

WOMAN: Do you? That was the assembly you did, that's why you're thinking of that.

AP: Are those images challenged when you come to a place like this? Were you dealing with the houses on the ground?

MAN: I s'pose it all fits in with the picture that I have that's conditioned by education. The time I was studying this period in history I was his age and these were the sort of things I imagined.

WOMAN: It brings it to life more for the children to come to a place like this where they can actually see and imagine what it was like much more than if it was in a book.

MAN: My history education went from Bronze Age, Iron Age and progressed through to the Victorians by the time I was sixteen. Charlotte's doing Tudors, going back to an earlier period, going forward to the Victorians up to age of nine and ten. I don't know whether that's peculiar to Leicestershire or whether it's with all children.

AP: It's the National Curriculum for England, they're trying to redress the way in which early was first...

MAN: The Iron Age would be more difficult because you don't have the everyday, you can't go out on your front door and see evidence of the Iron Age whereas you can see Victorian and probably a few centuries earlier. But I didn't know whether to say we were going here today because I'd have been moaned at but I think by the end of the day they're not unhappy about having been.

AP: What do you think you'll remember?

CHILD1: All the little huts made of sticks.

AP: What about the other kids? Do you feel jealous that they're here in a group when you're here with your parents?

CHILD1: Yeah 'cos they're doing lots of stuff and getting their faces painted and we're just looking around.

AP: Well, if you ask the guy, he'll paint your face. Thanks a lot....

CH25

MAN: We're on holiday for a week. We're from Derbyshire. We knew this place was here and it was a bit wet so we didn't go to Skomer so we came here instead (*laughter*).

WOMAN: We would have come here eventually but you know it just turned out with the weather.

AP: What was it about this place that you thought you'd be interested in?

MAN: Because of the amount of early settlements there are around this part of the country and to find out a little bit more about it. Interest really.

AP: Do you have a general interest in the past, in archaeology?

WOMAN: Yes.

MAN: Well, not specifically in archaeology but because history is what we are, isn't it? Or we are what history makes us.

AP: Do you come to places like this on a regular basis?

MAN: Not very much.

WOMAN: Well, we live by Cork Abbey and we, well I go there quite a bit and Keddleston and historic places. Yes we quite enjoying going there. I probably come to them more than you do, then you're very busy.

AP: What do you particularly enjoy?

WOMAN: Just interest really to see how people lived and it's part of our heritage isn't it? It's nice to know how things developed.

MAN: No, I think anywhere you can use your imagination and obviously here is particularly good in that respect because you can read and see pictures of these huts in books but to actually go inside and smell 'em (*laugh*) and see how dark they were and see what effects of having a fire in there and light and see how they were robust, ha! surprisingly robust. It's quite interesting.

AP: Do you think it's accurate? What relation do you think it has with the past?

MAN: It can only be, we don't really know what it was like in those days. I mean there were no written records.

WOMAN: Because they were the Celts.

MAN: There was only the Roman and the Greek accounts of how they found Celtish, Celtic people but I don't think they got into domestic details much. It was more sort of war behaviour. The druids and things like that, but the everyday things of life weren't really described [...] the archaeological evidence, you know the construction of these places. They find in the earth, like postholes and ramparts, it portrays a divided and warlike society because there were so many forts. But I mean, if they didn't use stone then the most natural building material is obviously wattle and daub, but I don't really know if they were that shape of roof except that from the postholes. To keep the water out they'd have to be pitched and you couldn't use daub on the roof as that would get water soaked and come through. Had to be thatched. I think it's a fair assumption that they were like this but you can't be sure.

AP: What do you think of with reference to the Celts.

MAN: Celtic football club.

WOMAN: I think warlike tribe perhaps and yet they had art and painting and... Mainly I think warlike for me but I don't know about you.

MAN: Yes, by their descriptions they were very tall and they were very warlike. They didn't write things down because the druids liked to keep the power over the people and didn't encourage writing but there was obviously the Celtic church, the early church, which survived the Romans for a period.

WOMAN: And those beautiful Celtic crosses you see.

MAN: They were a widespread people that were pushed into Ireland and Scotland and perhaps Cornwall and perhaps Brittany and places like that. You tend to think of red-headed people as being Celtic. Lots of red-heads in Celtic populations but I don't know if that's actually true. I haven't a clear picture of what they looked like at all.

AP: And how does that relate to a place like this?

MAN: I suppose it's one of the few places at which we know to be associated with that period of history. It's one of the few insights you have into how things were.

AP: Does it make sense to you?

MAN: It doesn't fit in at all particularly with being a Celt. It's to me an Iron Age village, a fort village, not particularly Celtic. I should think it would be like the sort of village at that sort of stage that you'd have anywhere in a more primitive setting but obviously, at the same time this village existed there were really advanced buildings in Greece and Rome so it's really just a bizarre, primitive, or relatively primitive civilization.

AP: Relationship with Wales today? Heritage, Celts, etc.

MAN: I suppose the greater density of them here. But I suppose if you went to Wiltshire there's plenty of them, Neolithic and Iron Age, in fact all over Britain, and in Scotland...it's only associated with Celts because Celts were here. I don't know what the other tribes in Britain were, well, they were Celts, they were all over Britain at that stage. They were, as I understand it Celtic stock persisted in places like Wales, even in Scotland. The Scots of course came from northern Ireland, but they would have been Celtic, wouldn't they? They pushed the Picts out. I never quite knew where the Picts came from but it was assumed that they came from North Europe I think. But they were then...a map downstairs said that Celts went as far as Turkey (*incredulous*). So nothing completely specific to Wales.

WOMAN: There was a higher concentration of them here, though, I don't know...

AP: You mentioned heritage, do you feel a personal connection?

MAN: Well, we're not Welsh.

WOMAN: Not particularly, no.

AP: But in terms of, if this was a general Iron Age and the whole of Britain was like this...?

WOMAN: Well, then yes it would be part of my heritage, we've just developed on since.

AP: Different historic places give different senses? At Cork Abbey you feel a very close sense, but coming to a place like this do you feel a surge of ...this is how I was?

MAN: No it's too long ago.

WOMAN: I don't think so, not for me.

MAN: I mean the Celtic people were a reasonably pure race, were here up until the time of William the Conqueror. There was a mass Norman invasion of Wales where all these great castles were thrown up, but they resisted colonization by different ethnic types. If you can describe it like that, up until they...whereas England was invaded extensively by Saxons and I mean the Romans came here, obviously, but I don't know how much intermarriage there was. I have no idea. I s'pose there was quite a bit, I mean they were here years.

AP: There's a Romano-British site here. But when you talk about actual mixing of peoples it's probably easier to talk about mixing of cultureideas.

MAN: Marriage connections would have made quite a difference...

WOMAN: I wonder what we've got to fear from the EEC? Our singularity...

MAN: We've been mixed up so many times, but that's political. But I don't really s'pose, you tend to think that there's more racial purity in places like Wales but I don't know whether that's really true or not. You know there's more homogeneity in a population here than, say, the south east of England. I mean London's impossibly cosmopolitan but there must have, the ease with which London was reached some of those ports must have brought ideas in, much more than here although with boats and ships, they come around fairly regularly along the Bristol channel. It may not be true...I'm not sure since you've raised all these questions I've not talked about before.

AP: Thanks.

MAN: What is your thesis?

AP: *(explain the Board of Celtic Studies)*

MAN: Are you Welsh?

AP: No, Canadian.

MAN: So you've no axe to grind?

AP: It's part of a research project and PhD, looking at the reasons people come to places like this.

MAN: Naff all else to do.

WOMAN: No that's not right, we would have come. We planned to go to Skomer but it's s so awful today.

MAN: No, I think it's a fairly unique place. I don't know where I've seen anywhere else that seeks to reproduce these things. The village of wattle daub and thatch, it's quite an interesting thing to do. The chappie was saying in one of those huts that the person who did the thatch had no thatching experience at all but the place lasted ten years. So it's a nice little experiment if nothing else.

WOMAN: I think the whole concept of Celtic art and the Celtic theme is really interesting isn't it?

MAN: Yes, I think the arts very definitely, there are plenty of examples of that with the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospels.

WOMAN: Now what about the writing, the ogham, ogden, ogham writing? Is that Celtish? That's Celtish.

AP: Well...it's in Latin.

MAN: Yes, it's code of Latin.

WOMAN: Oh right.

MAN: It's rather a strange thing to do. Was it deliberately trying to be obscure?

AP: Roman connection, Latin was the language at the time so it was used to communicate.

MAN: So the Romans don't know what you're writing about. I mean the only way they knew how it works is that somewhere in Latin and ogham, but it's a strange thing, it's the reverse. Consonants are two or three long strokes either side of a line. Curious. It reminded me of Revelations, of 666 which is supposed to be a code for...

WOMAN: Attack Caesar.

MAN: Did you know that?

AP: No.

MAN: It means it's an abusive reference to Caesar which they made so they could have a good joke and not get found out.

AP: The whole thing of codes and secret language, throughout human history...

MAN: I s'pose so. I mean the fish sign of the early Christians, I mean that was a code because the cross immediately led to trouble...

AP: Thanks for your time...

MAN: Is that going into your PhD?

AP: Yes, etc.

MAN: So what sort of information are you getting out of people? Do people get a strong feeling of identity with the Celts?

AP: Some do, but few. Most are from England.

MAN: So curiosity, not a great sense of identity?

AP: See it as a day out. It's interesting to see the differences and the people who design these places have ideas about what they want people to get out of those places and that often has little to do with place.

MAN: Yes, I mean this is very much about children and gives some sort of idea about the past in time scale.

WOMAN: We watched them taking part in the fence building and throwing the wattle and the daub. That's quite good and apparently they have re-enactments and all sorts of things.

AP: Children are interesting to speak to, because they enjoy listening because they don't listen as well in school because of what it signifies. Here it's an unusual experience.

MAN: Yes, it's a fun experience.

WOMAN: We went to see a Sealed Knot exhibition near where we live in Ashby de la Zouche and that was wonderful. They had about 2,000 people taking part. Absolutely amazing! All the costumes and the camp followers and they really had gone into it. I'm sure lots of children got a lot, well, I got a lot out of it and you can't visualize these things, can you, unless you see.

MAN: What do the Welsh people think of this place? Do they have a fuller sense of identity? Of being Celtic?

AP: The Celtic thing doesn't really play that much of a role, but among Welsh visitors, no Celtic feeling with this place, they bring visitors more because it's a part of their past and who they are now.

MAN: They know they're Celts but they have their own ideas of Celts which may not be connected to this sort of...

AP: I think present definitions of Celtic are so different from the historical sense.

MAN: I s'pose. Did the Romans invade Ireland? I don't think they did, did they?

AP: No, but there was extensive trade contact.

MAN: But Ireland should be pretty pure in terms of Celtic. I mean there's obviously the settlement of Ulster but the South Irish should be almost pure Celt, shouldn't they?

AP: Except for the fact that so much sea travel at that time...

MAN: And the Vikings they reckon got over to America.

AP: There were Vikings in Ireland.

MAN: Yes, that's right, that was the big invasion force.

CH26

- MAN: That's right, we come up from London on holiday.
AP: Why here?
MAN: Just interest.
AP: Do you think the kids will get something out of it?
MAN: Well we've only just got here so I'll let you know.
AP: Heritage, the past, kids, sense of the Celtic past?
MAN: Where do you come from, America?
AP: No, Canada.
MAN: Oh sorry that's an insult.
AP: So I'm interested in why people come here.
MAN: It's just an interest.
AP: What sense of the past are you getting?
MAN: Only been here ten minutes.
AP: Do you come to museums , etc.?
MAN: Used to, just for interest. Depends what museums. Activities for the children, buttons to press, things to look at, working models. What do you think of museums Ben? What's your favourite museum?
CHILD: The trains.
MAN: Natural History and London Transport Museum.
AP: Why trains? What can they tell you?
CHILD: Trams!
AP: I was talking to school kids, boys like the adventure and the girls like it because of the houses. Gender differences the prime thing.
MAN: You don't live much different to this anyway, do you Ben?
AP: 'Cos there's an Iron Age settlement at Chacewater farm...but I won't bother you anymore (*he doesn't really seem interested in answering my questions so we end the interview*)
-

CH27

In the roundhouse with woman and her two sons aged nine to eleven.

- WOMAN: We're from London.
CHILD1: We've been to Pembrokeshire before, and to Aylesbury, to Avebury.
AP: How did you find out about...
CHILD1: S'pose we picked up newspapers.
WOMAN: I phone tourist boards for information first.
CHILD2: The National Trust and English Heritage.
AP: What do you like?
CHILD2: They're all historical.
WOMAN: The other link for him was the stones from Stonehenge.
AP: What about history do you like?
CHILD1: The more exciting things but then again you need to know about what they did to understand the battles.
AP: What can you get from here, fun, learning...
(*sound interference from French family*)
AP: What can you get from a general idea of the past?
CHILD: For your own satisfaction, something you want to know about.
AP: Do you tend to remember them, the visits? If you think about books and birthdays they become a big occasion?
CHILD1: Going to Stonehenge was.
AP: Is it because 'I've seen that'?

CHILD1: It can be.
 AP: Do you watch documentaries?
 CHILD2: Roman videos and we watch historical groups and every time we go to a place we get things to find out more.
 CHILD1: You can compare what happened through history and it's really interesting.
 CHILD2: Souvenir.
 AP: Going to the shop is always good.
 CHILD1: Depends on how much I enjoyed the exhibit.
 AP: If you had loads of money, would you get everything?
 CHILD1: Well, every child wants to get something but we're not that bothered. Of course I want to look round because it's natural.
 AP: How 'bout issues of heritage and identity?
 WOMAN: With Stonehenge there was a link and obviously the Celts were here.
 CHILD1: Well the original people here were from Scotland.
 CHILD2: We read Asterix books. Would the Celts be here or the Romans?
 CHILD1: Celts would live here and Romans in houses.
 AP: Well, its not that clear cut.
 CHILD1: Anglo-Roman.
 AP: Just as drinking Coke doesn't make you American. There's lots of discussion about movements of people or ideas.
 CHILD1: The ideas, obviously any archaeologists will be fussed, but basically what every historian wants to do is to recreate the past.
 CHILD2: Sometimes these places, they didn't know exactly what it looked like but they draw pictures of what they thought.
 WOMAN: Do you find that interesting, comparing the interpretations of the past?
 CHILD2: Well, some things look more realistic. This you see in books so it's probably very good.
 CHILD1: I suppose we come back again to reinterpreting the past.
 WOMAN: Interesting.
 AP: And why we do it?
 WOMAN: Worry about authenticity.
 CHILD1: Basically the historians and archaeologists probably found out that the hearth or house they lived in was circular but how do they know there was a fire in the middle of it? Because it was the most sensible place for it to be.
 AP: That's actually quite straight forward.
 WOMAN: Presumably there would be a hole in the roof.
 AP: No. *(I explain about the filtering through the thatch)*
 CHILD2: I thought, in the books they show a hole to let out the smoke.
 CHILD1: People want to believe that there would be a hole.
 AP: All the evidence is from the ground up so these images of the past have to do with today.
 CHILD2: How can we know that things were really like that?
 CHILD1: They can't know everything.
 AP: So what's the point then if it's ambiguous?
 CHILD1: They study the past to know, to add things to what they already know. They had experts and asked them. They try to do something in-between what the experts say.
 AP: So they get a general past.
 CHILD1: Yes, so they get a general past.
 AP: Which probably has even less to do with what was going on.

CHILD1: They want to give you a general idea and general history.
 AP: How does that affect you? What's the point?
 CHILD2: It's hard to say. The point's for tourism.
 CHILD1: It could be anything from want to money making. Me personally, the point is, I mean the book 1984, the past gets lost. It's kind of important to know at least how you became you and...

AP: The other message is that the past is only written in the present so you're always changing it.
 CHILD2: This may not be how it was.
 CHILD1: It's as near as they can possibly manage.
 CHILD2: It's how they want it to look like. They follow the nearest. They didn't have enough information. But something like this makes it more realistic.

WOMAN: They had quite a bit of information.
 CHILD1: The problem of finding out things. When the most writing you have is shields but with the Romans there's more writing. The Celts didn't need to write daily. They basically, if there was anything they needed it was in their area and they knew people. Your family would be here and unless you were a merchant, there's no need to write.

CHILD2: But the whole family wouldn't be here. Some of their relatives would be in battle.
 CHILD1: But they didn't go to Persia.
 AP: During the Iron Age, the eldest sons may have gone off to fight with the Romans and brought back ideas.
 CHILD1: To be the main man of the house you had to gain respect and you got that through fighting and when their own army was destroyed then less respect would be given so the thing to do was to enlist.
 CHILD2: The Romans were mostly in charge. Then why did the Celts, even have their own way of life and not take up Roman laws?
 CHILD1: Everybody had to have had some time where they lived their own lives. The Romans couldn't have had complete control over how people lived their lives because in Wales there are the hills and tribes and even though you think you've got control, there will always be others.

AP: In Britain Romans into taxes...
 CHILD2: And if a tribe had a heavy loss in battle, another tribe would grow.
 CHILD1: In the book, I suppose they didn't have that much to fight for. They fought because of insults and that. Each group would grow their own crops and cattle and land. Of course they wanted more land.

WOMAN: The usual things.
 CHILD1: The usual things: insults, important blokes.
 AP: Did you read the booklet?
 CHILD2: We're reading it now to find out about what we're seeing.
 AP: Do you question what you're reading?
 CHILD2: There's questions in the book that they ask you.
 CHILD1: They're telling you their truth because they don't know. They're leading you to the truth.
 CHILD2: But they're asking questions about seeing how it was built.
 CHILD1: Thatching, the Elizabethans did that so they pretty much know how these were built. The shape they knew.

AP: What do you hope they get out of it? Do you connect it with you as a family?

WOMAN: Yes, this week's been strange. Unfortunately my husband couldn't come. The boys wanted to go to Oakwood Park. And in my view I wanted to get that out of the way. I felt completely disconnected there from any cultural heritage. But the rest of our holiday will be, hopefully, back to more this sort of thing: taking walks. It's very important. It's fine that they enjoyed Oakwood Park but as a family this does form a central part of how we see history.

AP: Do you think about the role of these historical constructions in the present?

CHILD1: There's only one way to know everything and that's to live at that time.

AP: Even then you wouldn't know everything.

CHILD1: Yes, I know.

AP: As a farmer down below you wouldn't know about life here.

WOMAN: I suppose you have to find out as much as you can and then it's up to you.

CHILD1: It's up to you to decide.

AP: Is it helpful in the present other than for good marks?

CHILD1: It is. Basically you have to know what's already been found out to learn more. You have to have an idea about now. You have to know all there is to know at the moment, because otherwise you'll find things like, if you missed out a bit, you come on to an earlier question about baskets, you think, well how were they made? And you have to know. I mean, to know about how the roof was put up you have to know how it was made and the supports.

AP: Sounds technological. Do you wonder about what they talked about to each other?

CHILD1: No, not really. You don't know.

WOMAN: But you read historical novels.

CHILD1: But they don't know exactly.

AP: I suppose the remains of the past have to do with technology and economy?

WOMAN: You could study Celtic songs.

CHILD1: They might be right or they might be wrong. You have to spend a helluva long time...

CHILD2: We're just starting to find out about Egypt.

AP: Although we may know the technical side, that may have been irrelevant to people. The ways in which people still view the past by separating the ritual and non-ritual, in the past there was more of a connection.

CHILD: A lot of people they like stereotypes. If there's a druid they like to say they sacrificed lots of people. The danger is that people don't really know what they talk about.

WOMAN: Yes, that's a good point. The stereotyping is the danger. But is it more dangerous than not knowing anything about the past?

CHILD1: But then again not knowing anything could be better than knowing the wrong things, you have to readjust.

WOMAN: That can't be true, it can't be better not to know anything!

CHILD1: Not knowing anything is better.

AP: A little knowledge is a dangerous thing?

CHILD2: The something in the wrong may be right, a bit can be right.

WOMAN: All we can do is to be careful.

CHILD1: They've got to find the information.

AP: So do you think knowledge is out there to be found or is made up?
What about people 'knowing' the world was flat? But it sounds as though you're both going to become historical theorists.

WOMAN: They like the way in which Stonehenge is interpreted with headsets.

CHILD2: You can press the button and see what the stones were and how they link together.

AP: Thanks very much.

WOMAN: So what are you doing?

AP: (*I explain...*)

WOMAN: Are there similar places?

AP: Go to Pentre Ifan. Up in Machynlleth, go to Celtica.

WOMAN: Yes, I saw a brochure which I thought was quite interesting but then saw that it was very reconstructed.

**CASTELL HENLLYS IRON AGE HILLFORT
SELF-COMPLETE QUESTIONNAIRES**

QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU AND HERITAGE

PART 1

1. What is your nationality?
 2. How many members are in your group and what is their relation to you?
 3. In which age group do the members of your group belong? (please tick beside to indicate whether they are male or female)
- | | |
|-------|-------|
| 0-15 | 41-50 |
| 16-20 | 51-60 |
| 21-30 | 60+ |
| 31-40 | |

PART 2 (Please feel free to answer these in as much or as little detail as you wish)

1. How did you come to find out about Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort?
2. How often do you visit this site?
3. Who in your group suggested a visit to this site?
4. Why would you say that you are interested in visiting sites such as Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort?
5. What other sorts of heritage sites/museums do you visit and what types of heritage-related activities do you engage in? (think about the television show you watch, books you read, things you buy, places you holiday)
6. What sort of role do you feel that visits to sites such as this play in your everyday life?
7. What do you hope that you and the other members of your group gain from visiting this site?
8. What do you hope that you and the other members of your group gain from visiting heritage sites and museums generally?

PART 3

1. Do you have any questions, thoughts or suggestions about the presentation at Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort?

2. What sort of comments would you like to make about heritage sites and museums in Wales generally?
3. How do you think these heritage sites and museums relate to broader, current issues in Wales and the UK?
4. After visiting a site like Castell Henllys Iron Age Hillfort do you or any members of your group feel differently about themselves and life in the present day?

RESPONSES:

CHI

PART 1

1. British
2. 2 – husband and wife
3. 41-50

PART2

1. Leaflet at campsite
2. First time
3. Husband (me)
4. An interest in history
5. Quite often visit museums of various types.
6. Generally very educational
7. A broader understanding of how Iron Age people lived and went about their everyday way of life.
8. As above. See (6)

PART3

1. a)More information about guided tours. This is the best way of seeing this kind of site.
b)More information boards
c)Where are the artefacts found? What are they?
d)Herb garden – not very good. Each plant to be labelled!
2. None
3. – -
4. Yes

NB Not sure this is a very good questionnaire. One should avoid questions like (4) above where one can answer YES or NO. What about multi-choice? Should you not explain why we are being asked to fill this in?

CHII

PART1

1. Welsh
2. 2 – husband and wife
3. 21-30/31-40

PART2

1. Coast to Coast 96. Lived here most of our lives and didn't know it was here!!
2. First time
3. Both of us!
4. To learn about how people used to live and about Heritage. Interested in Celts.

5. Visited other sites, eg. St Fagans and Cosmeston Park, Museum of Wales. Read about Celts and interested in folklore and Celtic/history programmes.
6. Help to learn about past and heritage.
7. As above and understanding
8. As above!

PART3

1. Advertise it more!
2. Advertise them more.
3. Wales is rich in culture and heritage and this should have a higher profile in tourism for English and overseas visitors.
4. Realize how lucky we are! And how as a race we have adapted.

CHIII

PART1

1. British
2. 2
3. 51-60

PART2

1. Sign on road
2. Once
3. Wife
4. Interest in the past
5. General heritage and wildlife
6. Education and preservation
7. Knowledge
8. Knowledge

PART3

Left unanswered

CHIV

PART1

1. British
2. 2 (mother/daughter)
3. 16-20/51-60

PART2

1. Tourist leaflet
2. First time
3. Both
4. Interest in history
5. Visiting castles, mills, gardens
Watching archaeological programmes (also history)
Reading historical fiction
6. Educational and recreational
7. Education and recreation
8. Education and recreation!

PART3

1. Leaflet too large and 'floppy' for use on windy or wet day.
Museum of archaeological findings would (will?) be interested.
2. Generally quite well presented

3. Pass.
4. I understand the historical novel I am reading better.

CHV

PART1

1. --
2. --
3. 41-50

PART2

1. Driving past
2. First time
3. N/A
4. Interested in history of Britain.
5. Castles, gardens
6. Nice relaxing visit
7. Knowledge of history
8. As above

PART3

1. None
2. Clean and tidy
3. Very good
4. None.

CHVI

PART1

1. English
2. 2 married
3. 41-50 F, 51-60 M

PART2

1. Saw in passing
2. First
3. wife
4. Interested in Celts
5. All sorts
6. Added interest
7. Pleasure
8. Insight into past cultures

PART3

1. No
2. Well run and interesting
3. Don't know
4. No

CHVII

PART1

1. English
2. 2 -- husband and wife + dog

3. 51-60

PART2

1. From road sign
2. Once
3. Wife
4. Fascinating
5. Anything Neolithic: standing stones, circles.
6. Understanding of the past. It can relate to today.
7. To see the actual construction of the house and settlement.
8. More understanding to actual seeing than reading about it.

PART3

1. I think it can only improve as it grows and people become more aware of it.
2. Publicize them more throughout the UK
3. Not enough of them.
4. Makes one feel our heritage is so important.

CHVIII

PART1

1. British
2. 3 – wife and son
3. 0-15 (male), 31-40 (1 female, 1 male)

PART2

1. Off the map!
2. First time
3. Me, husband.
4. Fascinated in history, archaeology, etc.
5. Castles, abbeys, churches
6. Gives an insight into life centuries ago and helps appreciate life today and hardships of forefathers.
7. Acknowledgment of hardship of forefathers. + Education for children (*in other handwriting*)
8. Life experience, history

PART3

1. Advertise more. More explanatory boards
2. All visited are good (Cilgerran was a bit boring!) – at Lamphey Palace – no info at all on boards.
3. ?
4. Yes. Appreciate modern lifestyle with its comforts. + also how clever people were back then. (*again in other handwriting*)

CHIX

PART1

1. British
2. 4 Family
3. 0-15 (2, 1M, 1F), 41-50 (1 M, 1 F)

PART2

1. Ordinance survey map and brochures
2. First
3. Me (Husband)

4. Historical information
5. National trust houses
6. General information
7. Information on our heritage
8. See 7

PART3

1. No
2. First visit so unable to comment
3. General background info.
4. Unable to comment as yet.

CHX

PART1

1. British
2. 2 (wife)
3. 41-50 (f), 51-60 (m)

PART2

1. 'Coast to Coast' newsletter
2. First
3. Mutual
4. Curiosity
5. Castles, museums, early mine enthusiast
6. Peripheral
7. 'Experience'
8. Experience and insights

PART3

1. No
2. I am generally impressed
3. Only in a vague and 'educational' sense. They are a relief from current issues!
4. I'm always surprised by the 'comfort' of the round homes – more so than later and 'more civilized' castles. I could live – for a while – in a round home!

CHXI

PART1

1. British
2. 2 spouse and self
3. 41-50 (f), 51-60 (m)

PART2

1. Coast to Coast free paper
2. First
3. Self
4. Interest in past (history/architecture/sociology)
5. Tend to visit 'interesting buildings/sites' on holiday, enjoy C4 series with Tony Robinson ('Time something')
6. Enrich it – sheds light on human behaviour)
7. Find out more about the way we were; values, life-style, etc.
8. (as above)

PART3

1. Please point out the need to walk up to the site (my mother-in-law, who was only partly mobile, would have hated to have found out only when she got here that she would go and see it!)
2. Very interesting and well maintained
3. I'd need a whole day to answer this one! (Perhaps a multiple choice question here, or a '1 to 5' type response better?)
4. Not really but perhaps some other people will view the inhabitants less as 'noble savages' and more like civilized people...

CHXII

PART1

1. English
2. 4 family
3. 16-20 (f), 21-30 (m), 51-60 (m & f)

PART2

1. Leaflet
2. First
3. Myself
4. Interest in history and archaeology
5. General interest in all museums
6. Sense of history, educational role
7. As above
8. As above.

PART3

1. - -
2. Most visited so far have been very good
3. Help develop a feeling of pride in national history and a sense of heritage
4. - -

Celtica

Conversations held here often interrupted by wind interference. Interference is indicated by [...] while pauses in conversation are indicated by Sample questionnaires are listed at end of section. The abbreviation CAT refers to the Centre for Alternative Technology, just down the road from Celtica and very much a feature of the local heritage 'landscape'.

C1

English husband and wife (m: 41-50;w 31-40) visit Celtica for the first time after seeing it mentioned in a holiday leaflet. They would probably visit again because the woman who suggested the visit is 'into it'.

- AP: Are you particularly interested in Celtic history?
WOMAN: Yeah, mostly Picts.
AP: Why would you say you're interested in coming specifically to Celtica?
WOMAN: Because I wanted to know what it was all about. I've seen quite a few things which haven't given us much in the way of history. Also I didn't know anything about the Welsh Celts.
AP: What other sorts of heritage-type activities do you do? National Trust, etc.?
BOTH: We don't really go to the National Trust, but basically, if we see signs in passing we'll stop.
AP: More interested in archaeological type sites then?
WOMAN: Yes.
AP: Do you watch television programmes, read books about the past?
BOTH: Yes.
AP: So you would say that in your everyday lives the past plays a part?
BOTH: Yes.
AP: What sort of role do you think visits to these sites play in your everyday life?
WOMAN: They make me more aware of my heritage. It's good to actually do and see, because in some ways if you're actually seeing an item it's better than if you're reading a book.
AP: Is it because it's concrete?
WOMAN: Yes.
AP: What do you hope to get out of the visit?
WOMAN: A broader understanding.
AP: Is it an educational thing, or is there fun involved as well?
WOMAN: Definitely fun. Finding out about them. Yes it's to do with knowledge, but...
AP: People can also use museums for leisure. So what do you hope to get from visiting heritage sites, museums, and archaeological sites generally?
WOMAN: Sometimes we go just to sit there and relax.
AP: Do you have any specific thoughts or questions coming through Celtica?
WOMAN: Not just yet.
MAN: Not at the moment.
AP: Do you have any questions or comments about Welsh heritage sites generally?
WOMAN: We haven't really been to a great deal. This is our first trip to have a look.
AP: How do you think presentations of archaeology relate to contemporary issues in Wales and Britain?
WOMAN: I think so. Locally it gives people a better understanding of where they come from.
[...]
AP: I'm trying to get people think about why they come. Do you feel any different about how you see yourself in relation to heritage?
WOMAN: Not really, as I think it had more to do with the Welsh. I know that, yeah, when I go up to visit Scotland I feel, yeah, because it's nice in Scotland.

MAN: Yeah, your attitude changes to everything. More patriotic.
AP: Thank you very much for your time.

C2

Two well-spoken senior citizens, the husband English and the wife Welsh ('true Welsh') visit Celtica for the first time after having heard about it from their Berkshire-dwelling school master son and from information centres. They are here on a day out from Llandovery, where they retired to from Warwickshire, and where they help to run a heritage centre. When I ask whether they would visit again:

WOMAN: I'd certainly recommend it to people.

MAN: I think I would...

WOMAN: I would certainly come again if I was in this area.

[...]

MAN: We were going to the Centre for Alternative Technology and we thought we can't possibly go there and not visit Celtica at the same time.

AP: Would you say that you're interested in visiting sites like Celtica?

WOMAN: Well we are, yes, anything historical. If the seed is there, it's there, isn't it?

AP: Do you involve yourself in other activities, visiting sites, watching TV, etc.?

BOTH: Yes, whenever we can.

AP: So generally quite interested.

WOMAN: Yes, historical whatever.

AP: What sort of role do you feel Celtica could play in your everyday life?

WOMAN: It just brings the past, to see how we are now. Where we come from. I mean the past influences everything we do in the future, doesn't it?

AP: Is it something you talk about at home?

WOMAN: Oh yes, my husband's an historian apart from everything else.

AP: So what would you hope to gain from visiting Celtica?

WOMAN: Well, for me it's roots. [...]

MAN: It's just general interest really.

[...]

We talk about the heritage centre they run in Llandovery.

MAN: It covers Llandovery and the Upper Tawe valley I suppose.

AP: I'll have to visit.

MAN: It's not exactly like this but we think...

WOMAN: We think it's good, it's just brought life...

MAN: We think it's good.

WOMAN: You know my husband is a volunteer. It's run by volunteers to guard each and every thing.

AP: Right, because our Board of Celtic Studies project is looking at heritage in Wales.

MAN: Well, there's things like Twm Cwm Shatti, Llanfach, so that's what we've made the heritage centre. But not the visual of here, just the talking heads. I don't know if you've seen them. Small scale but it's a start. George Thomas came to open it.

AP: I've only got a couple more questions so I'll go through them to not keep you. Do you have any specific questions or thoughts about Celtica itself?

MAN: It must have got funds from somewhere else.

AP: Yeah, it was EU and Montgomeryshire.

WOMAN: You've got to have the money really for museums, to put the models...

MAN: Which we don't.

WOMAN: And the site is beautiful isn't it?

MAN: We've been upstairs and it's absolutely beautiful.

AP: What comments have you got about museums and heritage sites generally? The way in which they relate to Welsh heritage?

WOMAN: Well, we haven't been to many.

[...]

MAN: I think they're trying.

WOMAN: I think that a lot of, not the visual aids, but a lot of the talking...you know if I tell you stories, you want that sort of thing. But there it's difficult.

AP: How do you think these sites relate to more current issues?

MAN: Celtica could have overtones of politics but I think...it's just another branch of the tourist trade.

WOMAN: But I think if it brings people around...

AP: Do you think it will have a wider impact than just tourism and leisure?

WOMAN: The language gets me because, I can understand it but I can't speak it. I'm a Welsh person as much as a Welsh speaker. I think you'll find that, especially with this generation, that the language is being brought back but, well, we were never taught in Welsh. We had the subject of the Welsh language but we were English taught.

AP: And it's difficult for a lot of English-language Welsh people...

WOMAN: Well I think so. I was very grateful today that you had the option of English and Welsh because I'd have been lost. It would have meant nothing to me. The fluency is there but it would have left me.

MAN: I don't think the Welsh are exclusively Welsh speakers. I think you can be Welsh and not be Welsh speaking.

WOMAN: I'm sad about that. Because I've got very deep roots...

MAN: Welsh speakers are trying to take over.

WOMAN: Do you speak Welsh?

AP: No, but I did take a week long intensive course.

WOMAN: My husband did too. You did, you tried. But do you know what I mean?

AP: Yes it's a concern.

WOMAN: Where are you from?

AP: Canada.

MAN: So you understand this perhaps? The French speakers, are you a French speaker?

AP: No, I'm an English speaker and I don't speak any French, and I feel bad because people expect me to, coming from Canada, because it's bilingual.

WOMAN: Yes, that's right. This is the point with me. 'Where do you come from? Oh, Wales, then you must speak Welsh'. No. They're just foxed.

MAN: But you do speak.

WOMAN: Well, a little bit, but it's the fluency I've lost. However, nice meeting you.

AP: Thanks very much.

C3

A lone American woman (41–50) on a coach tour makes her first visit after hearing about the centre in the overseas tourist literature. She would probably visit again if she was in the area.

AP: Why would you say that you are interested in visiting a site like Celtica?

WOMAN: I've been interested in Celts, that's where my heritage is.

AP: Do you go to other heritage centres and engage in other heritage-related activities?

WOMAN: Yeah.

AP: Generally interested in the Celts then?

WOMAN: Very much. I'm in an active St David's society in Minnesota. I teach a Welsh language class there and lead a Welsh folk dance group. There's a lot of culture there.

AP: As an aside, do you have access to computers as there are a lot of Welsh culture groups on the Internet....

WOMAN: Yeah.

AP: So what role do you think museums and heritage sites can play in everyday life?

WOMAN: Well, for people who don't have any background it can be an introduction to what the Celtic heritage is all about.

AP: Do you think that learning about the past has a place in everyday life, outside of your specific interest?

WOMAN: Not really, within certain groups. I'm kind of a medievalist so I'm drawn to people with those interests. Every year I do an Owain Glyn Dwr party and we all wear costumes.

AP: So what do you hope to gain from this visit?

WOMAN: Specifically, I'm interested in how this country views its own heritage and how they're trying to preserve it.

AP: Would you say you've learned anything new here?

WOMAN: Probably not. I'm pretty familiar with it all.

AP: What would you hope to gain from general heritage visits?

WOMAN: Well, specifically, for me, I'd hope to learn more about my family history which is tied up with the Welsh princes. So I guess I'm more interested in visiting the Welsh castles rather than the English castles. And for me personally it makes me, not quite re-live, but I can put myself in that time period and think about what it was like for my ancestors.

AP: Do you have any questions, thoughts, ideas about Celtica specifically?

WOMAN: I don't think so.

AP: Any comments about Welsh heritage generally?

WOMAN: It's very low key in a way. I think Wales can do more to advertise itself, it's history. I'm surprised to discover that you can come here and never speak a word of Welsh. I'm a little bit disappointed.

AP: So many years of 'encouraging' English.

WOMAN: Well I hope it's growing. I did hear more up in North Wales. I felt like I could go into a shop and speak Welsh but the further south I go.

AP: I live in Swansea where almost no Welsh at all is spoken.

WOMAN: I speak Welsh to them because I want them to speak Welsh to me, but because I'm American...

AP: Do you think heritage sites and museums touch on broader current affairs issues? You were beginning to touch on...

WOMAN: It gives people a focal point. It gives people a pride in who they are and to continue those traditions.

AP: Because you were saying that it's quite low key here. But during the 1980s there was a lot of concern about turning Wales into an enormous heritage site...

WOMAN: I didn't mean I want to see it commercialized. But in some ways it seems forced. There's still that feeling of embarrassment, of Welsh people letting themselves be Welsh. Even though I suppose it's been a long time, but I sense there's a lot of embarrassment, of Welsh people not wanting to display they're Welsh.

AP: There's also difficulty with Welsh people who don't speak Welsh but who feel very Welsh...

WOMAN: Those who have no interest in learning the language. But still there are others who...

- AP: After visiting here, do you feel any different about who you are? Or is it something you might think about later on?
- WOMAN: It moved me personally, especially the last bit, singing *Yma o hyd*. I could very easily have cried. It was very effective. I'm proud to be of Welsh ancestry. I can't claim to be Welsh but I'm going as far as I can. And I'm proud of it.
- AP: Thanks.

C4

An English family of four visit Celtica for the first time after seeing it in an information leaflet at the tourist centre. Son is under 15; daughter is between 16 and 20 and their two parents are aged 41–50. The son suggested the visit.

- AP: If you were in the area, would you come again?
- MAN: Certainly for lunch, yes.
- AP: To the exhibition?
- MAN: If I hadn't seen it, yes, but not the exhibition a second time.
- AP: Some people do go to museums again.
- WOMAN: Yeah, but we don't often go back to museums.
- [...]
- MAN: *(Signals son)* Well you did, and I agreed.
- WOMAN: *(To same child)* You were asking all sorts of questions about the Celts, weren't you?
- AP: So you have a Celtic interest? Why?
- [...]
- WOMAN: Well, we're quite interested in heritage generally.
- AP: Do you visit other sorts of sites?
- WOMAN: From time to time.
- AP: Do you make special plans to watch TV documentaries and read books, etc.?
- MAN: I like to read books about areas I've visited. History.
- AP: Is it more to do with leisure pursuit or active interest?
- MAN: I'm interested in the Arthurian legend.
- AP: So more a specific subject?
- MAN: Yes.
- AP: So what sort of roles do you see these sites as playing in your everyday lives?
- MAN: For me it's more of a drawing together of threads – landscapes, churches, music – I'm particularly interested in.
- WOMAN: What I like about modern day museums is that they really help you to understand what life was like for ordinary people at that time. I remember going to museums when I was a child and it was just things in glass cases. This gives you a flavour of what it was like to live there.
- AP: More of a social history approach?
- WOMAN: That's what I like.
- AP: What do you hope to gain?
- MAN: I was hoping it would be entertaining for the children rather than deadly dull. I'd rather that there would be something that would help them understand history a bit, develop definitions of Celtic culture and history and experience art.
- AP: Have you learned anything new?
- MAN: Like most things you study in depth, the more questions you ask, the more arise. For all that this is a celebration of, and information about, Celtic culture, they should start the exhibition with...nobody really knows where this comes from

anyway. I suppose it's what you ought to expect. Somebody to say, this is where the Celts originated.

AP: Well this is the thing. In Celtic studies there's been so much Romantic nonsense. But would you say it's a good thing that you've left with more questions?

MAN: Yes. And some myths exploded. You could actually draw a nice straight line with ten points along it which would take you right through creation to the culture of today.

AP: Have you any questions or thoughts about what you've seen here?

MAN: I was disappointed by the multi-media show really. It's, for an hour and a quarter it didn't tell me very much. But then I believe the same for the Jorvik, I found the small exhibition/interpretative centre upstairs better for that, where you can leaf through books. It would be exhausting I know, but it would be good if there were a few people there who could talk to you about it. Answer questions, somewhere between typical museum curators who study in depth about the ruins and someone dressed up as a Celt.

AP: Have you visited other sites in Wales?

WOMAN: Not really.

AP: Can you comment on representations of Welsh heritage?

[...]

AP: ... quite a few of the castles are Welsh ones Do you think heritage sites can fit into current issues? Political, social?

MAN: I think here the political element could have been emphasized more. The fact that there are people struggling for their culture, being squashed.

AP: I'm interested in heritage....

MAN: Really the best way to experience heritage is to have a jolly good Ordnance Survey map with burial mounds marked on that aren't too heavily packaged with too many tea-rooms and adventure playgrounds. Trek across a farmer's field to find it yourself with a little post office that sells a yellowing-paged booklet by the vicar which tells you all about the work he's done in the archive. I really enjoy that sort of heritage.

WOMAN: The three of us don't.

MAN: ... tells you about the mythology. It's a bit too much a cineplex presentation.

AP: (*To woman*) And what would you like/prefer?

WOMAN: I like this.

AP: So something that has a bit more interpretation?

WOMAN: Yes.

AP: After visiting, do you feel any differently about identity, etc.?

[...]

MAN: I think being English, a lot of border English have been through similar experiences. The Romans kicked the Celts out to the fringes of Celtic civilization and I think a similar thing has happened with a lot of English culture and history over the years. It's been swamped and it's still happening. A lot of English traditional music and culture has been lost. There are people struggling to keep it alive. But I think people who identify themselves as Celts ... it makes you, because it's the roots of people who live very close to you, it makes you think about what you can define as your own culture. It's a very difficult question to answer, hard enough with the Celts but the English ...

AP: England is dominated by the southeast, but the rest of England has strong regional identities.

MAN: Mmm.

AP: (Thanks very much for your time.)

C5

There are two German male members of the group and they are between 21 and 30. They found out about the site from passing by it. They are on holiday in the area.

AP: Would you visit it again?

MAN: Yes, it's nice, very impressive.

AP: Do you have a specific interest in the Celts?

MAN: It's different between us. I have a specific interest in Celtic art, history and culture. It's interesting to me because even the ancient time of my own people shows signs of Celtic presence and even in the area we come from, Aachen, very fierce Celtic warriors lived there.

AP: Well, there are archaeologists who no longer think the story is so simple. The difference between prehistoric German ...

(end of tape)

AP: Do you visit other heritage sites?

MAN: Yes, we begin at Stonehenge. We visit the surrounding of Avebury, Silbury Hill.

AP: So you're quite interested in the archaeology of Britain.

MAN: Archaeology, yes. In my place.

AP: What role can these visits play in everyday life?

MAN: I don't understand the questions.

AP: Do you think that visiting museums ... so it's not just about education ... but some people, both English and Welsh say it has something to do with belonging.

MAN: You mean the difference between education and belonging?

AP: I'm trying to get at why people think visiting museums is important.

MAN: It's because you become, that you get a knowledge of what you come from. Because you can test the direction we're all going is right. When I went through the museum here, they often speak of the natural experience, our civilization is far away from this. It's very sad.

AP: Have you been to the Centre for Alternative Technology? You'll have to go

(We talk about pronouncing Machynlleth.)

AP: So what did you hope to find out from visiting Celtica?

MAN: Yes, now we get the picture of an alternative way of life.

AP: Do you have any thoughts or questions?

MAN: Are there any druids left?

AP: Loads, but how they relate to the past ...

MAN: Yes there must be a big difference.

AP: You can see druids at the National Eisteddfod ... Any comments about Welsh heritage as such?

MAN: So many sheep here and hills, *(laughter)*. But you're right, the dialect, when they speak English with us it's a little bit difficult. We must say we've only been a short time here.

AP: *(Thanks very much.)*

C6

A Northwestern family of four from somewhere near Liverpool visit the site for the first time after passing it on the road. Husband is in his forties, wife in her thirties and children are under fifteen.

AP: Would you come again?

BOTH: No.

AP: Why?

WOMAN: It wasn't what we expected. It didn't tell us anything about the Celtic way of life, or...

MAN: Different Celtic nations. I thought the theme of it was a bit too arty-farty self-indulgence.

WOMAN: It wasn't like, we thought maybe the younger children might enjoy it, but, Stephanie what did you think of it?

GIRL: It wasn't very good.

AP: Who suggested the site?

WOMAN: It was mutual. It was this or King Arthur. I think that may have been more interesting for you (*to daughter*).

AP: Did you go upstairs at all?

MAN: No.

AP: Because that's where there's more interpretation. Because I was going to ask if you'd learned anything but it seems that ...

MAN: No.

AP: Do you go to museums and heritage sites frequently?

WOMAN: No. If we're on holiday we look out for things we think the whole family may enjoy but ...

AP: Do you every watch TV documentaries, etc.?

WOMAN: Yeah, we watch.

AP: So it's more an interest you pursue in the home and on holiday?

MAN: Yes.

WOMAN: We like visiting old country homes and sort of ...

MAN: Yeah, stately homes.

AP: What sort of role do you think visits to places like these play a role in everyday life?

MAN: Yeah, I think they're for kids, for their educational benefits and I don't think you can ever be too old to learn things about the past. Yeah, I think they have an ongoing role.

WOMAN: Shows them how hard life was.

MAN: Teaches them some values.

AP: And is this what you hope to gain when you come to places like this?

MAN: Yeah, but there's also the entertainment aspect.

AP: Do you have a specific Celtic interest as well as general history?

MAN: My mother's Irish.

WOMAN: Stephanie likes the jewellery. We chose it specifically as a day out because it has to do with the Celts.

AP: Do you have any questions or thoughts about the place?

WOMAN: It didn't hold my interest at all.

MAN: They took too long to get to the point. They're trying to tell a story, but you hear one Welsh choir you've heard one Welsh choir.

AP: Personally I didn't think the story was that well told. But do you have any questions, comments, etc. about Welsh museums and heritage as a whole?

MAN: No better or worse than anywhere else. Nothing specifically Welsh. The English and Scots are just as capable of messing up.

AP: Do you think there's any connection with current affairs?

MAN: Current affairs?

AP: Do you think they relate to modern ideas about Welsh heritage and identity?
MAN: Places like this probably exist more for, I mean at the end of it it's 'after all we're still here'. I mean it's a bit inward looking.
WOMAN: Have you been to the King Arthur one?
AP: No. I think they tell stories in the underground bit. But I think that may be a bit naff as well. (Thanks so much.)

C7

A Dutch couple (31–40) visit for the first time after driving by the site.

AP: Do you think you'd come back if you were in the area?
MAN: Come back? Again? To the same show? No.
AP: Why?
MAN: It's the same show. A finite show.
AP: Are you interested in visiting Celtic heritage or something to do on holiday?
MAN: Both, although not so much the Celts specifically.
AP: Have you learned anything new?
MAN: Yes, we didn't know anything.
AP: Do you go to other sites or museums?
MAN: No.
AP: How about in the Netherlands?
MAN: Not often but sometimes.
AP: More a holiday activity?
MAN: Yes, and spare time.
AP: So is it important to know about the past? Why do you come to places like this?
MAN: Interesting.
AP: What did you hope to find out coming here?
MAN: Nothing.
AP: So was it just for leisure then?
MAN: Yes, and to learn something, but not particular.
AP: Do you have any thoughts or questions about it?
WOMAN: Druids, are they there now?
AP: There are people who now call themselves druids, starting in the nineteenth century but not really to do with the distant past. Do you have any comments about Welsh heritage? The difference between Wales and England?
MAN: We're just two days here.
AP: Here the whole issue of Wales versus England is very important.
WOMAN: They will separate?
AP: Probably not, but there is the sense of a need to be different.
MAN: Only the road signs.
WOMAN: In school here they learn Welsh?
AP: Yes, and some schools are Welsh only.
MAN: Only in Welsh?
AP: Yes. (Thanks.)

C8

There are an English male and Welsh female in the group of two. They are 51–60 and found out about Celtica during their holiday from the tourist centre. It's the first time they've visited Celtica (but not Machynlleth) and they will not be returning.

- AP: Why not?
- WOMAN: My husband thought it was very boring.
- MAN: Long-winded.
- AP: You're not alone in that. Who suggested the visit?
- BOTH: Both keen to go.
- AP: Would you say that you are interested in things Celtic, or more broadly historical or broadly archaeological?
- WOMAN: Just the Celts, the history of Wales.
- AP: Have you learned anything new?
- WOMAN: Not about the Celts, but certainly about display. The actual presentation is lovely, wasn't it?
- MAN: Yes, just overlong.
- AP: Did you go upstairs?
- WOMAN: No.
- AP: That's more the historical side of things. Do you go to other heritage sites and museums?
- MAN: Yes, any.
- WOMAN: Anything historical in any area we stay.
- AP: Is that something you do on holiday or in your spare time?
- WOMAN: In our spare time.
- AP: Would you say that you watch television documentaries about the past?
- WOMAN: Yes.
- AP: Would you say that you've got a general interest then?
- WOMAN: Yes.
- AP: So what role does visiting these sorts of sites play in life?
- MAN: I used to be a primary teacher so we'd take children ...
- AP: So you think it's important finding out about the past?
- WOMAN: Very important.
- AP: What do you hope to gain from these visits?
- WOMAN: Well, knowledge for myself which I can use in my job.
- MAN: And understanding what the Welsh are all about.
- WOMAN: You'll never understand what the Welsh are all about!
- (Laughter)*
- AP: And what did you hope to get out of your visit?
- WOMAN: Well, we'd been to the Jorvik museum in York ...
- MAN: Yes.
- WOMAN: A few months ago and from the way it was described I thought it would be similar to that, which was excellent.
- MAN: Short and to the point.
- WOMAN: It was pithy. And I was disappointed with that. The singing! The pieces they chose for the backing. I mean they were like Eisteddfod pieces, really boring. There's lots of rousing Welsh music. You would have liked that.
- MAN: Mmm.
- AP: Do you have any other thoughts, etc.?
- WOMAN: They seemed to spend a long time, like in that last bit where they just showed you still photos one after the other with this incredibly boring music in the background. I could have gone to sleep if I'd been more comfortable. And when you were pressing the thing for the people to speak, they were saying basically the same as they were in the last bit. So you were just seeing the same thing over

and over. And the heritage bit, when you look into the vortex, the deep pool. I thought that was lovely to begin with but ... a very good idea, but when he said 'you will now go into the next world', your heart sank. I know that sounds awfully rude, but it's true. I mean one minute you're with the Romans and then there's Arthur Scargill and the miner's strike.

AP: Chopping and changing. I mean my own views are that it could've been written better.

WOMAN: I mean this is the place, Owain Glyn Dwr, is not mentioned at all and yet he had the Welsh parliament here. It's not mentioned at all. They could have made it a lot more relevant to the immediate area. And they've nothing about the *Mabinogion* or the Welsh literature of the past. I thought there would be that in it.

AP: Any general questions, etc. in Wales?

WOMAN: Cadw. We've been to some wonderful houses, really incredible.

MAN: Things have really improved. I've been coming to Wales for twenty years and the last, 5-10 years ...

WOMAN: They've marketed themselves so much better. Really, it was dreadful. Like for instance, here though today. We went in with a group of people and they said 'right which language do you want?' These people said Italian and they said, 'oh, we're sorry, we've only got Welsh or English'. That's bad marketing. I mean they ought to anticipate the need. I mean we go all over the country and they're sharp and on the ball.

MAN: But I don't know how long this place has been open. I mean, is it fairly new?

AP: Just over a year. I mean, they had been intending to get different languages but there have been finance problems.

MAN: It's probably because it's very new.

WOMAN: But other parts of the country do so well. And the tourist centre we went to yesterday, wherever it was, it was badly arranged and organized.

AP: Do you think presentations of Welsh heritage have anything to do with current Welsh affairs?

WOMAN: They seem to rely on keeping the language going as if that's it. Don't you think? The only modern thing they've shown us was Westminster: 'although we're ruled by Westminster, we keep our own culture'. That was the only thing. And by culture they seemed to think it was only language and the Eisteddfod. There's a helluvalot more to present day life in Wales than speaking the language. Don't you think?

AP: After visiting here, do you feel differently about your own identities?

WOMAN: Well, yes. I feel that very often the Welsh let you down and being Welsh I think to myself the English do it so much better than we do it and that annoys me. But I think they're getting it together.

MAN: It's people like you who are going to sort it out!

AP: (Well, thanks very much.)

C9

An English family of five from the Midlands area. They found out about the site from a leaflet. They are first timers on holiday who won't return to the event. When I ask why:

WOMAN: There's not enough to do. There's too much sitting and listening.

MAN: I mean I was dropping off and I noticed a couple of other people too. Relaxing.

WOMAN: Too much sitting and listening. I like doing.

AP: Who suggested the visit?

WOMAN: Me.

MAN: Yeah, it's your fault.
 (Laughter)
 AP: Are you specifically interested in the Iron Age and the Celts?
 WOMAN: Yeah, I am. I've just bought three books.
 AP: Learned anything new?
 WOMAN: No.
 MAN: No. I mean, it's called Celtica but I don't think it actually did enough about the Celts. We expected more information.
 AP: Did you go upstairs?
 WOMAN: Yeah.
 AP: Do you visit heritage sites regularly?
 MAN: The old castles around here.
 WOMAN: It depends on where we are and how much time we've got.
 AP: Is it a holiday thing?
 MAN: Yeah. We don't do it normally, but we've got a static caravan down here so we're down here quite a bit for a couple of months of the year.
 AP: Would you say that you watch documentaries, etc.?
 WOMAN: Yeah.
 AP: Do more on your own personal time, then?
 WOMAN: We watch stuff that interests us on the telly and go for walks. Programmes about canals.
 AP: And you're reading some books as well.
 WOMAN: Yes.
 AP: What sorts of roles do these visits play?
 WOMAN: Well, really, to get as much information as you can. But if there isn't that much information then there's not much that you can take away with you.
 MAN: It's about learning, isn't it?
 WOMAN: All different ways.
 MAN: At the end of the day, Wales is a different culture to England's so we've got to learn a bit.
 AP: So what were you hoping to get?
 WOMAN: A lot more into the Celts and what they gave to this part of the country.
 MAN: I was expecting to get, more the religion, you know they got all these patterns. I was expecting a lot more information as to where they come from. What they mean. They must mean something but there's nothing there.
 WOMAN: They're just there.
 AP: So you wanted much more explanation?
 MAN: Mmm. I wondered what you were doing standing outside?
 AP: So are those the sorts of things you'd try to get out of any heritage visit?
 WOMAN: An insight into the culture, yeah.
 AP: Anything else to add to what Celtica made you think?
 MAN: If anyone asked me about the place I wouldn't recommend it. Too boring.
 AP: Do you have any general comments about Welsh heritage?
 WOMAN: Generally we've not thought about it. We go in and look 'round and that's it.
 MAN: You have to think about this!
 AP: I want them (*the questions*) to be difficult. How about heritage relating to other contemporary issues in Wales?
 MAN: They want to bring a lot of the culture back and I can understand that.
 WOMAN: But I don't think a lot of places do dwell on that.
 MAN: Depends on where you are. If you're on a coastal resort they don't bother. As soon as you get inland, they tend to bring it to the forefront.
 WOMAN: I think they can do more to get people involved.

MAN: Is this for a study then? Where are you?
AP: (I explain about the Board, etc.) After visiting Celtica does it make you think differently?
MAN: No, not really.
AP: It seems to be the Americans who get really passionate about it.
BOTH: Yeah!
AP: (Thanks...)

C10

Well-spoken, British family.

AP: Would you describe yourself more as British or English or Welsh?
WOMAN: I wouldn't describe myself as any of those. I'm very mixed although these people might describe themselves as English.

There are four people in the group. Two children are under 15, the mother is 31-40, her partner is 41-50. They found out about the site from a brochure and they are on holiday. They have visited Machynlleth before but this is their first Celtica visit and although they'd come to the complex as a whole again, woman doesn't think that the children are old enough to go to the exhibition. The woman of the group suggested the visit.

AP: What is your interest in the past – Celt or general?
WOMAN: Both really. Since we're here we're particularly interested in the Celts but we're interested in museums generally.

AP: Learned anything?
WOMAN: Yes I think so. Did you learn anything Cara?

GIRL: Yes.

MAN: Yes, I think you particularly enjoyed making that pattern inside.

WOMAN: And the different Celtic languages?

GIRL: No.

WOMAN: You can already speak them then?

AP: She's fluent in Breton.

(Laughter)

AP: Do you go to heritage sites generally? On holiday?

WOMAN: Yes. We sometimes go in our spare time but more on holiday because we've got more time.

AP: Would you say that you do other heritage related stuff?

WOMAN: I would say TV and books, definitely.

AP: What role do these visits play in everyday life?

MAN: General information. Colourful Celts.

AP: What did you hope to gain from the visit?

WOMAN: A greater understanding of the Celtic world.

MAN: But what surprised me was how broadly conceived geographically it is. It's a very European approach, rather than a specifically Welsh approach. And I noted the source of funding and I wondered whether to what extent that drove the actual concept.

AP: Well, the Celts themselves have been picked up over the past decade as a proto-European people.

WOMAN: Because I was wondering, we were in Ireland last year and they're very European compared with the English. There are signs in garages in German and French, they seem to be a lot more aware of Europe and I wondered if this was true for the Welsh. If it's only the English who are so anti-European.

AP: I think Wales is moving that way, the regionalism that Europe promises.

MAN: I wondered really, the cultural politics of it all, whether the Welsh side of things was sold a bit short. We've had the feeling, staying in Aberystwyth for the past few days, that we were in a place that is clearly different to England. And I thought that here there would be a deepening of awareness in that sort of way. The information that Celtic culture spread to Turkey, is interesting but perhaps dubious. There's a lot more that's of local interest that could've been brought out. I mean what we saw with the burial rights is the same. They referred to a dig up at Wetwang Slack which is very close to where I was born, but it's the other side of the country. And East Yorkshire has an entirely different cultural heritage from Wales, yet they're being lumped together.

AP: Well, this is the problem with Celtic cultural package.

MAN: It could have been much more specific. Wales needs to assert its difference.

(End of tape. Move to questionnaire notes.)

PART 2

9. Education. Mainly for the children.

PART 3

1. The free exhibit was interesting, but it needs more visuals for the children and to attract more visitors.

2. Heritage sites in Wales are on a different scale; less brutally modernized than England which has left a broader strata of social relations. There is an 'authentic, folkloric charm'.

3. Need to understand that heritage is a political statement.

4. One is aware of more generally being and of identity.

C11

This Dutch family comprise an adult man and woman, both 31-40 and their two children, both under 15. They found out about Celtica from a neighbour at their campsite and the father suggested the visit. This is their first visit but they will not return as it is not lively enough, like Jorvik, to which they compare it.

AP: Would you say you were interested specifically in the Celts?

MAN: Yes it's very interesting.

AP: Have you learned anything new?

MAN: Yeah, for sure.

AP: Do you visit museums and heritage sites?

MAN: More on holiday, we do it quite frequently.

AP: Other things?

MAN: Yeah, for sure, we're quite interested.

AP: What role in everyday life?

MAN: They keep memories, they help to give, like the Welsh here, to keep their identity, their feeling of identity. I think it is symbolic for me especially.

AP: What did you hope to gain?

MAN: Getting more information about the Celts and their history. What I missed a bit was how it stands today because it's very much into history and less on the actual situation.

AP: What about generally.

MAN: For the children to give them some hindsight. And give them an idea of the context in which people lived and how important it is to have a national identity, a national language. And where that comes from. There are forces sometimes threaten it.

AP: Do you have any questions?

MAN: As a whole I think that for children it was very hard because they couldn't understand the English or the Welsh. And that could've been compensated with

more movement and smells. As a whole it's a kind of static thing and it could have been made more livelier with moving gadgets and things. That it was more alive. That's thing that comes back again and again.

AP: Do you have any general comments?

MAN: Not so much. I think it was very well kept.

AP: Have you been to other places in Wales?

MAN: Not so much. Went to CAT.

AP: It does fit in. Do you think heritage sites and museums have something to say about contemporary issues?

MAN: They might. It's hard to explain but as I said earlier it's a symbol of national identity. And as we saw here it's very serious. It's obvious that the people living here understand the importance of national identity. But they have a nice touch to make it look impressive but it's important. *(He asks his wife a question in Dutch.)*

WOMAN: No, I prefer the written explanations. I don't care much for ... audio-visual ...

MAN: It seems quite high tech and sometimes things went wrong. Heard the same things four times again. So it's high-tech but not flawless.

AP: Needs to be more well written, or stuff for you to research?

MAN: Yeah, but also for the children. You get passive listeners now. It was irritating, the technical faults and the back noise.

AP: *(Thank you.)*

C12

These are two American women in the 41–50 group are visiting the site which they found out about through word of mouth from a friend. This is their first visit and they think they would possibly visit again if they were in the area. They both agreed on the visit.

WOMAN: Yes, we're very interested in history.

AP: Particularly in the Celts?

WOMAN: History generally. But I am intrigued by ancient Celtic history, yes.

AP: Learned anything new?

WOMAN: Yes. Oh yes, definitely.

AP: Do you visit sites regularly or on holiday or ...

WOMAN: On holiday mainly.

AP: How about other heritage-related activities, television documentaries, etc.?

WOMAN: Yes I would be interested in television documentaries. But I read about it when I have the opportunity. Like on holiday when I soak up the books.

AP: What role in everyday life?

WOMAN: For me personally it's important to me to understand my roots, my past. I like history, my ancestry is fascinating. I find the way people interacted in the past interesting, how it affects us now. We still make the same mistakes.

AP: What did you hope to gain?

WOMAN: Perhaps more knowledge and a good nose around some of the Celtic art things.

AP: What about general gains?

WOMAN: I think in general a better understanding of what they did in the past. Why they acted the way they did.

AP: Did you have any specific questions, etc.

WOMAN: Yes, it made me think about other aspects of Celtic history, why things changed and why we interpret it the way we do today. I studied history a bit so ...

AP: Have you visited other sites?

WOMAN: Yes. I'm here every year. No not so much in Wales. I can't be specific. Not one as complete as here.

AP: Any general heritage in Wales comments?
 WOMAN: There should be more of it. I'm struggling to think. I go to a few castles. I find it interesting but not much more than that.
 AP: So you want more interpretation?
 WOMAN: More historical background. Just what happened.
 AP: How do you think these sites can relate to broader issues?
 WOMAN: It's good economics for Wales. It's a good tourist attraction. But then I think the past is of interest to some people. I wouldn't want to prescribe what other people should think but I think it's helpful to know about the past. That we're not as wholly independent as we think we are.
 AP: So you think this place has significance for lived Welsh culture?
 WOMAN: Yeah. It helps you understand.
 AP: After visiting, different about identity?
 WOMAN: I've not been here a long time. Slightly, it would be hard to define. Perhaps a bit more history. I've learned what the Celts across Europe as a whole, I found the map upstairs very interesting.
 AP: Thank you.
 WOMAN: Are you a student? ...

C13

This is a Welsh family group of four. Both mother and father are between 41-50. The two daughters are 0-15 and 16-20. They heard about Celtica from a friend and this is their first visit. Their daughters said they would visit again.

AP: So you're the one interested in Celts, or history generally?
 BOY: Generally.
 AP: Did you learn anything new today?
 BOY: Yes.
 AP: Do you visit other sorts of centres?
 MAN: Jorvik in York.
 WOMAN: Castles, yeah, anything really.
 AP: Is it something you do on holiday or?
 WOMAN: Holidays really.
 MAN: Whenever it takes our fancy.
 AP: Do you do other things like watch TV documentaries?
 WOMAN: Yes.
 AP: What sort of role in everyday?
 BOY: It gives you background, people lost their history if you don't ...
 AP: What did you hope to gain?
 MAN: Just nice to see what we were doing a thousand years ago.
 WOMAN: Yeah.
 AP: Would you say that for all?
 WOMAN: Not so much as this one. Because we're Celts aren't we. It's of interest to us. And it gives you insight into where we come from.
 BOY: Nice to find out about history anyway.
 AP: Any thoughts, etc.?
 MAN: We have four square meals a day!
 AP: General comments?
 WOMAN: I think I'd like to see it more strong. The more active we get it gives them a kick in the pants. Fetches their heritage to them more.

AP: Even the English have been saying there should be more. How do you think it relates to contemporary?

BOY: I think if you go back in history it gives you more of a spark.

WOMAN: It went through a period of being very weak but it's coming back strong, especially with the youth. The English tried to take us over and the Welsh aren't very happy about it and I think the youth have a lot more fight in them which is how it should be.

AP: After visiting, do you think you understand Wales in a way or has it reaffirmed it for you?

WOMAN: Well, yeah, but we're very strong Welsh anyway. *Tipyn bach/tyb yn bach* (which means, ironically, 'just a little bit' or 'little opinion'). Welsh language. I'm very strong in my Welsh beliefs.

AP: Sorry, I don't speak Welsh. But thank you very much, *diolch yn fawr*.

C14

An English family of four have their first time visit. Two parents, the man, 51-60 and woman, 41-50 and their daughter and male friend, both 21-30 found out about Celtica from a holiday leaflet, their daughter suggested the visit and say they would visit again. They think it's a bit 'dear'.

AP: Why interested?

DAUGHTER: Well it's the sound of it. It's traditional and when you're on holiday you do traditional things that you wouldn't normally do. Do you agree mum?

WOMAN: I agree with anything you say!

Laughter

AP: But do you think you've learned anything new?

WOMAN: Yeah.

DAUGHTER: Well I haven't because I can't be bothered to stand around and read those things. I'm more of a visual person if you know what I mean. Whereas dad will stand around and read the whole thing and be able to tell you all about it. We'd rather look, wouldn't we?

AP: Do you visit other sorts?

WOMAN: Just on holiday really. We always visit a museum or something on holiday.

DAUGHTER: Yeah.

AP: Other activities.

W + D: Yeah, definitely documentaries.

AP: What role in everyday?

DAUGHTER: Learning about the past and having some kind of respect for it. If you grow up around that sort of thing, like we did, then you respect it and don't go round chucking litter at it. Respect for the old buildings.

WOMAN: The old buildings yeah.

AP: What did you hope to gain?

DAUGHTER: A fun day out!

Laughter

DAUGHTER: But the rain wasn't very clever. That's probably the reason, when it rains, yesterday it was the seaside but when it rains you think 'ah, let's go to a museum'.

AP: This has been their busiest day. So they're happy. So what do you hope to gain generally?

WOMAN: Well, like that Labyrinth thing, it's just excitement. Thrilling.

DAUGHTER: And when you read that it goes down in the water, it just sounds...where we're staying they've got a little book which tells you where to go and everybody was saying you should go and it sounds good.

WOMAN: I don't think children would enjoy this but with the Labyrinth...

DAUGHTER: But with the visual thing...

WOMAN: Yeah.

AP: They've also got a creche. Did you have any questions or thoughts?

DAUGHTER: I think if I'd have wanted the information I could have sat down and read it. We went to a little ruined castle today, but there was nobody around to answer questions. I think you'd have more questions if there weren't the information boards which tell you everything. Why the hell they lived up there!

AP: General heritage thoughts?

WOMAN: They fulfil it really.

DAUGHTER: It stands up to what we thought the heritage would be. All the Celtic designs behind everything that's quite a attractive.

WOMAN: And obviously the language. Nice. It's traditional. It's nice they're keeping hold of it.

AP: Current issues?

DAUGHTER: I don't know about Wales.

WOMAN: Well if you look at heritage, things get ruined by motorways. You've got a lovely building and a motorway and it's a shame. Like so many modern things they ruined the old. I live in Coventry and it was ruined.

DAUGHTER: They desperately grab everything they can, like the cathedral. But then you look behind it and there's all these horrible 1960s flats but they're still trying to make it look attractive. There's not enough of it really.

AP: Feel differently about identity?

DAUGHTER: I don't think it made a tremendous impact on me, but I think the whole week has, but not just here. Going to all these different things and you get an idea of what it's about. And where you stay as well.

WOMAN: We respect it as well.

DAUGHTER: I think you get more respect for Wales depending on where you're living.

AP: (Thanks very much).

C15

This is a Welsh family of four. Children are aged 0–15, parents 41–50. They live in North Wales and heard about Celtica from radio and television. This is their first visit and they would probably come again. The father suggested the visit.

AP: Why interested?

MAN: Interested in the Celts.

AP: Learned anything new?

MAN: I haven't had time to take it all in, I'll have to come back. I didn't realize that they were that far in Spain. Gallicia, which I didn't know existed.

AP: Do you visit heritage sites generally?

MAN: We live in a heritage site, we live in Conwy. Where possible though. Anglo-Saxons.

AP: On holiday?

MAN: Generally, but time constraints.

AP: Do you watch television documentaries, etc.

MAN: No, not really. I have read books about the past. I think the best one I read was *Roots*, by the niece of Al Tanaya (?) the Hawthorn Experiment (?). His niece wrote a book all about the Welsh, the Celtic, the Basques.

AP: What role?

MAN: Makes you appreciate how lucky you are today.

AP: And when you decided to come what did you hope for?

MAN: Getting into the exhibition.

AP: What did you hope for your children?

MAN: Understanding about the Celts a bit more.

AP: General heritage?

MAN: Understanding of the past. *Says something about Anglo-Saxons which I cannot hear.* It gives you a relation to that.

AP: Going through upstairs, any thoughts?

MAN: I see the relationship between Cornish and Welsh.

AP: Any comments, generally?

MAN: Don't know. It's a cop out. I don't know. It should be advertised a whole hell of a lot more.

AP: And do you think museums can relate to current issues?

MAN: It gives us an understanding of culture. Our culture. Where we all started from.

AP: Transfer understanding?

MAN: Very much so.

AP: Last questions, differently about identity?

MAN: I knew that before, being Celtic. I think what it is is an understanding of being part of a bigger tribe. It's better understanding that way.

AP: Affirmed sense of Welshness?

MAN: Well I think they should change from the European Economic Community to the Celtic Economic Community.

AP: (Thanks very much.)

C16

Two grandparents aged 60+ and their two grand children aged under 15 have all visited from England. Although they visit the area regularly as they have a holiday home, this is their first visit to Celtica, which they found out about from a leaflet. Both grandparents decided it was a good place to go because it was a wet day.

AP: Why interested?

MAN: I'm interested in history. I think we're both interested in history full stop.

AP: More because it was close?

WOMAN: No. I was born in the Lake District so I was glad that they mention the Lake District basis because they're left out everywhere else. Not used to looking at it from that area of the world.

AP: So would you then say that you've learned something new?

WOMAN: I've not had time to pick out...

MAN: Had a reasonable awareness, but of course it's all blended up in myth. It's not necessarily correct is it? Factual learning no, but awareness yes.

AP: Do you visit heritage often or holiday?

MAN: Oh, not quite often. I mean holiday for us is permanent.

WOMAN: Well I don't see it as permanent.

MAN: Well, we've got a lot of grandchildren and we like to take them out for the day, go to Shrewsbury Quest is one we're going to take them to on the way home.

That sort of thing. I enjoy going with young people. You get so carried away with their enthusiasm you know.

WOMAN: They tend not to like geography and history at school so we try and make it interesting by taking them somewhere where it comes alive.

MAN: You were impressed weren't you?

AP: And would you say you do other things like watch documentaries.

BOTH: Oh yes.

AP: Read books...

BOTH: Oh yes.

AP: What role in life?

MAN: More entertainment than anything else. I mean, education, entertainment, where does one start and the other end?

WOMAN: And you learn a little about your forebears.

MAN: Yes it's been interesting.

WOMAN: When I was about your age I wanted to do archaeology and was told, 'women can't possibly do archaeology'.

AP: Really! It's still quite macho.

WOMAN: Forty something years ago it was a heck of a lot more.

AP: So what did you hope to gain?

MAN: I didn't hope to gain anything. I just wanted to give the children a nice day out...

WOMAN: They might learn something.

MAN: Well, yes, they might learn something but not necessarily. I think we've achieved that.

AP: Do you ever go to get something out of them?

MAN: No, just to enjoy. In my advanced age I only do things for my enjoyment. If I don't want to do it, I won't.

AP: Going through, any questions?

WOMAN: Though it was very good.

MAN: It was different. I think it gave you an awareness rather than a lot of facts. And that's refreshing, not to have thousands of facts shoved at you. Especially for the youngsters...a bit too much audio. Having said that I think it's a good attempt...

WOMAN: It's a difficult subject to deal with, especially for children.

MAN: I think it gave them something, an awareness of history which is probably what was intended. It shouldn't be factual it should play on people's imaginations. I think the words are a bit too complex for youngsters.

AP: General heritage?

MAN: There are a lot of things we enjoy.

WOMAN: It's a thousand times better than it was. When our children, we've been coming...

MAN: We've been coming here for years. I think there is this awareness now of being Welsh, which I commend. I went to university in Aberystwyth when people were burning cottages down!

AP: I'm Canadian...

MAN: I think there's a lot to be said for keeping the culture alive.

End of tape.

AP: Relate to broader issues?

MAN: Well....I suppose it all gets twisted up in politics which has always interested me. Politics, history. I mean politics is just contemporary history isn't it? Without knowing the history and culture they all blend together. But I'm an engineer so I'm just sort of pragmatic about it.

AP: So you see links?

MAN: I think this particular, it's all a bit politically correct. It's a bit women dominated.

WOMAN: He doesn't like that. But I don't think in those days women would have been allowed to express those views.

MAN: I don't blame them for it. Whoever put it together was determined to get their interest in it and I think there was a big women's group in this.

AP: Well, in archaeology, perhaps women held power in the past.

MAN: I wasn't really aware of that. With my limited knowledge of Roman history, women weren't very powerful in that. What about the Greeks and the Egyptians. We've only had one visit to India, but there too.

AP: I think sometimes the more complex the society is, perhaps the more patriarchal. It seems to be that less complex societies can be a bit different, but then perhaps they are using images of women for...

WOMAN: Yes, you just don't know.

AP: After visiting, feel differently about identity?

MAN: As I say, I've been coming regularly to Wales for the last twenty years, several times a year. Yes, I think every one of these places gives you a better sense of what it is to live as they used to live to put my argument very simplistically. So yes.

AP: (Thanks.)

C17

One Irish woman and one English woman, both aged 41-50 visit Celtica with one daughter under 15. It is their first time to Celtica and they found out about the site from a tourist leaflet. Although the adults would not visit the site again if in the area, the daughter, who suggested the visit, would.

AP: Why?

WOMAN: It overplayed the Hollywood entertainment bit and underplayed the information bit. Nothing there that said to me that Celtic was worth preserving. There was no linking of Celtic, that Celtic history was worth preserving to the modern day. Why preserve it? It didn't answer that question for me other than it existed. Had nice poetry but they didn't relate it to the modern day, to understanding just a little bit. The environment bit could be played up more to relate the one with the environment to the future. There was just too much of the drama, Hollywood. I felt as though there was too much poetic license. I didn't really trust what they were saying. Especially that bit around the banquet, what they were saying. I felt there was a lot of poetic license. Just sort of saying what they thought people in modern days would have said rather than what they, how the people then would have felt.

AP: Too much contemporary? Why would you say interested?

GIRL: It was my idea!

WOMAN: Leah's right. And it was raining and you're looking around for an alternative. I wouldn't say it was strong because it was Celtica.

AP: Would you say that you learned anything new?

WOMAN: No, there was nothing even on documents or stones.

AP: Do you go to sites generally?

WOMAN: Used to be a member of the National Trust, but that's lapsed now. Yeah, I look around things of interest. On holiday or wet weekends. More for pleasure.

AP: Any other heritage activity?

WOMAN: I'm more interested in relating history to the present so I would watch history about the miners or the suffragettes.

AP: What role in everyday?

WOMAN: There's one sense. This is just a curiosity of how things were different. If you learn why people built hillforts or why things, the stones from Stonehenge come from Wales and why the effort? The issue of the labour. The amount it took was phenomenal. It mentions somewhere around here that, the disregard for the human, it was only the elite. That would be useful to relate, the organizational, the drive to do that, and also the elitism back then, the druids and chieftains and such like. The rest were just expendable labour. It would be interesting to relate that to now, yeah?

AP: With capitalism, man hours came to be with the way we organize our world.

WOMAN: Yeah, there was lots of stuff like that. There must have been some real driving force.

AP: What did you hope to gain?

WOMAN: At a basic level, looking for an afternoon's entertainment, but also hoping for a little bit more as well. I suppose things like value for money as well and that's purely the tourist speaking, but equally it would have been good to go away with some food for thought. You're not prepared to take a lot in. I find the static exhibition more interesting. It was more information there. There was a professional historian up there who said they left a lot out, I think he said. Wondered who made the decision to leave out and what to leave in, know what I mean? Or what was left out. I noticed that they left the suffragette movement out and that's one of the major movements of history. Not to have mentioned that. One of the interesting things, one of the things I hadn't realized was the woman chieftain. Now if you're going to mention that then why not the other, make the link and talk about why women lost the power somewhere. Why make the point and then not the women?

AP: The non-Welsh time line is very traditional.

WOMAN: I was surprised they hadn't mentioned the Suffragettes.

AP: What do you hope to gain generally?

WOMAN: The fact that someone's preserving the past, know what I mean. But the past, not entertainment, not some Disney world.

AP: Superficial?

WOMAN: Yes too much like Walt Disney and the fairy stories. I realize you've got to entertain people forward. If you just stay at entertainment then you have to provide more and more things.

AP: I think a lot of museum designers patronize people. Everyone wants entertainment.

WOMAN: I know Leah was very disappointed in the children's exhibition, only for one year olds, she felt She's six and she felt there was nothing there to call it an exhibition.

AP: Did you have any other ideas or thoughts?

WOMAN: The main thing was the woman chieftain. I was very disappointed by her spiel. It didn't explain anything, like was it odd that she was the chief, was that unusual. I didn't go away and learn. The Vortex bit was a bit odd, they way they brought it into the future. They didn't make that, they were coming from one with the spirits of nature with the chariots as horses. I can't think.

AP: Any comments about Welsh heritage generally?

WOMAN: Last year we came up and went to CAT and thought that was excellent. We went down to a castle down in the Gower, we felt there was a lot of exploitation there.

AP: Any comments about how it's presented?

WOMAN: I can't think other than in North Wales the tourists get treated with reluctance. At the bottom of Cadair Idris a woman was selling just tea and scones. I mean do they want to make money? And people get served with reluctance. I mean if

you've got a business. You notice that quite a bit. We didn't get that at all in south Wales.

AP: In the north when I tried to speak Welsh they weren't into it. I'm not Welsh, but then I'm not English.

WOMAN: So what are you? Mixed race or something?

AP: Canadian, etc.

WOMAN: I don't know why that is. It's lack of confidence in a culture.

AP: Lack of political independence..

WOMAN: It's interesting, but a few years ago, I'm from northern Ireland, but we went down to Cork and it was the first time I'd been down as a tourist and now to me the Irish are friendly, but the Irish that dealt with the tourists had the same attitude as the woman at Cadair Idris. Now I think that's to do with, if you go beyond, you get friendliness.

AP: Maybe that's the sort of people they deal with. Can it relate to more current stuff? And what has it done to how you understand Wales?

WOMAN: I just asked the question of why are you preserving it? Didn't tell me why Welsh culture was worth preserving. Nothing there that said anything good, ways or living or beliefs. There was one tiny bit about the environment but that was only touched on. I might have missed other things...

AP: (Thanks very much.)

C18

An English family of four (2 children 0-15, both parents 41-50) are visiting Celtica for the first time after writing to tourist information and seeing it advertised. They would probably come again as they are in the area frequently but would at least recommend it.

AP: Why?

MAN: To get some of the background to the place that we come to. It's interesting.

WOMAN: We don't know much about Wales at all.

AP: Learned?

MAN: Yeah it's been interesting, we've learned.

WOMAN: It's kind of confirmed things we'd imagined. Some of the details.

AP: Do you go to sites?

MAN: On holidays mostly.

AP: TV documentaries or books?

MAN: Certainly do, yeah.

AP: General interest in the past?

MAN: Not as strong as that, just interest.

AP: So if something around...?

MAN: Yeah.

AP: Role?

MAN: Yeah, it's important to maintain the culture and explain the culture, pass on the details of it.

AP: Gains?

MAN: Background information of Wales.

WOMAN: Also, one of the children is from France and we thought it would be important for her.

AP: Were you also hoping it to be fun?

WOMAN: Yes, we hoped it would be entertaining and it was entertaining. But for her she was disappointed that there was no French.

AP: General terms.

MAN: It's not passing the time as such I need in a constructive sense anyway.
 WOMAN: And usually heritage sites are aesthetically pleasing anyway.
 AP: Any questions?
 WOMAN: Probably, but we've forgotten them.
 MAN: Just entertained really and keep an open mind about it.
 AP: General heritage in Wales.
 MAN: Not really because we haven't experienced that much of it. I mean we do go to museums around the countryside, slate and railway museums. There's a strong tradition of heritage here anyway. It isn't just tourism.
 WOMAN: No it's tied in with pride.
 MAN: Pride in the culture.
 AP: Museums and heritage and current issues?
 WOMAN: Hard to see when you don't live here. That's hard.
 MAN: A bit too hard for holiday.
 WOMAN: Still haven't answered the question but I don't think we're well-informed enough to answer that.
 AP: Feel differently?
 MAN: Yes.
 WOMAN: Yes.
 MAN: Filled in some of the background really. the way the culture is based on nature, natural processes.
 AP: Thanks so much.

C19

A group of seven people are visiting. Five are Welsh, two are English visitors on holiday. The 60+ Welsh man takes control of the discussion. He has visited the site three times, living in the area, but not the paid exhibition. He brings visitors there to show them a bit about Welsh history. Three of the group are under 15, one is 21-30, one 41-50, one 51-60 and the 60+. For the English two, it is their first visit. The other three have visited twice.

MAN: Some of this interesting history and all of it. Otherwise you're just wasting money.
 AP: why?
 MAN: I like history.
 AP: Also because you live in the area?
 MAN2: I think it's also the surroundings, the trees.
 MAN: Machynlleth is a very historical area if you really know it.
 MAN2: And the building itself tells you a lot about history. It goes back to Victorian days.
 AP: Learned new?
 MAN: Yes, lots of stuff that could be there but wasn't.
 AP: Do you visit other sorts?
 MAN: When I'm in an area I like to know the history of the area.
 AP: On holiday?
 MAN: I like scenic but I also want to know about the history.
 AP: To others?
 ALL: Yes.
 AP: Other things – TV, books, etc.
 MAN: Yes yes yes
 AP: What role in life?
 MAN: Well like trees, we need roots to stabilize one. Without stability you're wayward. People that have no culture are lost.

AP: To add?

ALL: No

WOMAN: I think it allows us to see how much better we are off now than in the past because I wouldn't like to go back and live in them days!

MAN: Especially when you're dying at forty and thereabouts.

MAN2: It makes me feel that now we're...

WOMAN: Domesticated!

MAN: Yes, we have far more leisure time.

MAN2: That we should be grateful today because...

MAN: Because we've got access.

MAN2: Access.

MAN: That before all the history that men knew generally was just their village. And the next village. Where today we have a worldwide view.

AP: What were you hoping to gain?

MAN: Well I didn't expect to have anything more than before but for the others who haven't seen it, you never know what they can pick up. It's a lot quicker.

AP: What?

WOMAN2: Well, knowledge of the past I should think and....

MAN3: A free cup of coffee!

WOMAN: I think it brings it more to life as well. If you see, I didn't but I would imagine if you see the scene of it, how they used to live then it's far better than reading.

MAN: Oh, it is, yeah.

WOMAN: If it's more realistic you get more feeling.

MAN: Yeah.

WOMAN: Than what you do by reading.

MAN: Like the Viking settlements in York or something.

AP: Generally, want to gain?

MAN: Yes, well that helps...

WOMAN: If it were boring you wouldn't go.

MAN: Different parties give you a different scope. For instance in a general sense like this you just have a walk around and each one looks at what interests them. But if you go with somebody keen on history and culture you can concentrate on each item and maybe memorize some of the things which may be useful.

AP: Any questions?

MAN: One of the things I liked, you know upstairs they go through history? I think they could have made that, you know each of the rooms upstairs? You're separated in isolated blocks of a thousand years or so. Then get everything, as much information as possible around that era. And try to keep it accurate because there a lots of things, you know at the beginning you've got 25,000 years ago and then all of a sudden you're 4,000 years ago. But the first 25,000 years, there's such a fantastic amount of detail. But you could put all that on a postage stamp and then all of a sudden they say 'history' for about 4,000 years ago, here, there everywhere. I think they've got a mistake in the radiocarbon dating of that one. The radiocarbon dating is not very accurate you know. But you're talking the Ice Age and things. At the time of the Ice Age, you look at all the mathematics and it goes haywire. So what happened? What caused the Ice Age? Do you see my point? They've assumed there've been many Ice Ages because they can see valleys and all that. But one Ice Age can do all that.

AP: So you want more detail?

MAN: For example in the Ice Age, in Alaska and various places. What do they find there? Many prehistoric animals, still with green grass in their mouths. You know this probably being interested in these things. What does this denote to you?

Some things were there, grazing on a field and all of a sudden they're dead before they had time to swallow. A massive catastrophe on worldwide scale. As evidenced down here in the mountains or anywhere else on the planet. And traces of valleys. There have been massive upheavals. Plates shifted all over the place. Wales was part of Europe and Scotland part of America. Now crushed into this little bit. When? (*with feeling*) And how? A lot of this information is just left there's a tremendous amount of information if someone really wanted to know what happened. You look at the upheaval of rocks around Aberystwyth bay. The rocks were laid like that initially by water movement, what cracked them up so much? Can you imagine the force to bend those rocks? There's such a vast wealth of information. You look at the mines some of them are a couple of miles deep. Sure there's been a massive geological upheaval to bury these trees two miles down. Can you imagine? The mountains completely collapsed and very high mountains as that and tress compressed down two miles?

AP: But with Celtica...

MAN: Ah yes, but with Celtic you're talking British, Wales, Ireland Scotland maybe although they're, the Welsh are not Celtic, they're Iberians!

AP: Well, it's difficult to tell...

MAN: Of course they are, it's obvious! They can tell through the genes you know. It's not very difficult. We are the same as the Spaniards.

AP: Genetic links are very dubious, race and culture...

MAN: I dispute that. They traced the Welsh with their own genes.

AP: This whole island..

MAN: Where do they come from to come to here?

AP: Originally from Africa and the Middle East.

MAN: Yes you can trace them to Homer. According to one book I read the Chinese have their origin in the Welsh. The first Chinaman was called Tucoman (?). The first Welsh man was called Gomer from Cymru. And the son of Gomer was Tucoman so the Welsh gave birth to the Chinese, that's why they use the dragon as their symbol.

AP: I won't get into that because that's a huge argument. Do you have any general comments?

MAN: Well, there's a very good one in Aberystwyth.

AP: Do you think Welsh heritage is being adequately represented?

MAN: No. Even up there where it's supposed to be Celtic for this area, you hear bagpipes, OK the bagpipes where with the Welsh earlier but I don't know if they know that. But the Romans gave the Welsh bagpipes. So we gave them to the Scots.

AP: Yeah, bagpipes all over Europe.

MAN: But the harp music sounded a lot nicer.

AP: So do you think that this emphasis on the Celts has lead to a generalization of what Wales is specifically?

MAN: Yes. The thing is, without getting too far into nationalism, but each culture each needs the basics to know who they are, and where they fit into the world. Because if you isolate them, that is the reason for religions. Like Muslims fighting against Christians and vice versa. They break up the bits because they only want a dot, a bit and then the injustices like in Ireland they've been allowed to isolate knowledge to their own miniature cultures. So it is useful to get knowledge from this, but expand it from there then, to show where they came from, to show his origin. And this is where this branch came off and then you would form a kindred spirit.

AP: Need to put specific into broader.

MAN: Work it like a family tree in effect. The branch might be miles away but it's still off the same tree. And I think if mankind thought of it more like this, like a family then we might get more peace and tranquillity on this planet. But as soon as they start breaking up into itty bitty groups. Where Celtic like this is a brilliant idea to teach what happened here, how these developed into what they are today, all the steps they've taken to get to that point. You see I think it would be helpful in a place like this to link it up with Caser Bryan up there. What happened there? Bring that down here, it's close enough. But we're part of this influence of history of there. And yet it's a very important stepping stone. Aberystwyth castle, twelfth to fourteenth centuries. How do they link up?

AP: Yes, those links are interesting.

MAN: The last battle between England and Wales, that's not mentioned here. There's a monument up the top there to commemorate it. What would have happened if the Welsh had gone all the way over to England? The English race wouldn't be there anymore. Because the English race was completely defeated.

AP: Finally, do you feel differently?

WOMAN2: Yes, I do. I think it's increased my knowledge. Developments in the past.

AP: Says something to you about place?

MAN: That's what it is mainly, a tourist attraction. But I think if they opened it up freer without having to pay everything, or maybe a couple of quid. They would have far more people through there they'd make more money. Same for everything, British Rail. They'd make more money dropping the fees. And then directions to other places like Corris and Arthur's Cave they could really open it up and improve it. Get more feet in so when they come in they'll really go wow!

AP: With more, better pride?

MAN: There'd be more money and pride in the thing because people would look up and go 'Oh! look at that'. This part is only just waking up for the opportunity of tourists and give the tourists what they need. I mean what do they come for? They come for the mountains, the freedom from muggings and burglary. You can leave the car unlocked half the time. They come down to Wales and some, not all, want to learn 'who are these people'? So as soon as you bring them to a place like that you have to make sure it's inviting. If it were me I'd have people in Welsh costume standing by the door. Melodious tunes. And change the music according to the time period you're in. Modern harp music. Try to work it to the time period so you get a real sense of the thing. I've lived in England most of my life but have come here to retire. Wales could use, to bring tourist in their masses but the Welsh as a race are very sleepy you know. Most of the drive is in the Anglo-Saxon group. That's why they went all over the place to conquer. It was the same with the Greeks and Romans. They're more adventurous whereas the Welsh in general are laid-back. If they've spread their wings a bit, they wake up. Very often they're quite happy just living their lives, having a chat in town. That's probably the most interesting thing happening in Celtic culture. Unless they're in higher education.

AP: Some would argue that that means that the culture is more alive. that when there are too many museums it means the culture is already dead.

MAN: That is the general trend. They sit there watching telly or do the garden, drive in the car but I guarantee at the end of the survey, you should try and find out where people come from, most are from afield.

AP: Most are visitors.

MAN: Exactly, because the Welsh are taking things for granted. They've read it in books. If they have and came around here they'd be very disappointed because they've had it. They really need to shake it up. Pretty pictures on the wall doesn't

do it. It wouldn't take much imagination at all to do it up right. It's big enough. You can spread into the grounds; a very similar picture to what they did in York, the settlement there. Why not here. All this grass for lawnmowers. Like at CAT.

AP: Or like St Fagans?

MAN: Yeah, all the interesting places gathered together.

AP: (Thanks.)

C20

Two women (21–30) on holiday with family from Sheffield are staying in a time-share holiday home. They saw signs on the road for Celtica and one woman wanted to visit so the other agreed. This is their first time and they would probably come again.

AP: Why interest?

WOMAN1: It's different.

WOMAN2: Unusual. We're from Sheffield and we don't have this sort of thing in Sheffield.

We chat about Sheffield

AP: Go to museums?

WOMAN1: Occasionally, yeah. I'm quite into art.

AP: On holiday for other sorts.

WOMAN1: I probably go more often than you.

WOMAN2: Because I'm not very cultured.

Laughter

AP: Engage in other sorts like TV and books?

BOTH: Yeah.

WOMAN1: I'm fascinated about the history of things.

AP: What role in everyday life?

WOMAN: It helps people understand the history of places and makes people aware of the history.

WOMAN2: It makes places more interesting if you know the history. If you walk round not knowing anything.

AP: If you do come back...

WOMAN2: We probably would it's just a case of today haven't got a lot of time.

AP: But what would you hope to gain.

WOMAN1: I know very little about the Celtic history. I guess I'd like to learn more.

WOMAN2: I just have a complete obsession with it basically. I don't know what it is, I just like to look at it.

AP: Celtic art in particular?

WOMAN2: Generally.

WOMAN1: For me, Celtic art.

AP: What do you hope to gain from general visits?

WOMAN1: I like the atmosphere. The old things like that, it's lovely and quiet.

WOMAN2: I like to go because I want to. When we were in college we were dragged around and I wanted to go but it's just nice to go because you want to.

WOMAN1: When you're in school...

WOMAN2: You can go to the most interesting place but if you're dragged there by college or school, you just don't want to be there. Because you're with your mates who also don't want to be there.

WOMAN1: I like being asked whether we're between 16 and 20!

Chats about age...

AP: Did you have any questions?

WOMAN1: I don't think we actually experienced enough to ask any questions. I'd like to know what some of the designs mean, if they did mean anything. You see all the Celtic designs on things and you wonder if they actually have meaning.

AP: Go to the archaeology department in Sheffield. But any general Welsh comments?

WOMAN2: This is the first place I've been to even though I've been to Wales before.

AP: Do you get a sense of Welshness?

WOMAN1: You do when you sit behind a tractor! You do, but so much, everything is written in English as well so I guess you still feel like you're in England rather than a different place where they speak a different language. You go to France and you don't see signs written in English as well.

WOMAN2: True really, I guess Welsh is their second language.

WOMAN1: And you expect them to speak in English. So it's not desperately Welsh.

AP: Museums and broader current affairs?

WOMAN1: I think it gives people an idea. Some people think Wales, they think sheep, hills. They don't really think of the Celtic side of things. I mean everyone has these Celtic bands round their arms but no one knows that they're Welsh, they're just tattoos.

AP: Feel any differently about Wales?

WOMAN2: Well, we've been here for a couple of days but I think this is the Welshest place we've been to...

WOMAN1: Oh definitely.

WOMAN2: Because up until now we went to Aberystwyth and that was literally a shopping around thing and this is the first place we've been to which makes you feel that you're in Wales.

WOMAN1: I think there should be more places like this.

WOMAN2: Because I've never been here before. And I feel quite more... 'Welsh'?

WOMAN1: And it's relaxing as well.

AP: (Thanks very much.)

C21

A young woman of 15 is visiting as part of a larger group of seven. I interview her by herself as the others are doing various things. She is English, on holiday visiting a member of the group who lives in the area and told them about Celtica and this is her first visit. She would visit again if in the area.

AP: Why interested?

WOMAN: Probably to go round the exhibition, they've got some really nice stuff in there, and the shop as well. The Celtic art attracted me at first. It's interesting I guess.

AP: Learned anything new?

WOMAN: Yes, how they lived generally and battles and things like that.

AP: Do you often visit heritage sites?

WOMAN: Not often, more on holiday.

AP: Other activities?

WOMAN: I've got loads of books on archaeology at home.

AP: Everyday life?

WOMAN: Learning about the past.

AP: Any significant to you as a person now?

WOMAN: Not particularly.

AP: Just interest for interest sake?

WOMAN: Yeah.

AP: What were you hoping to gain?

WOMAN: I just came for fun.

AP: Is that what you want from general heritage?
 WOMAN: Yeah basically.
 AP: Going through it did you have any questions?
 WOMAN: Well I was thinking about how they made the swords and stuff.
 AP: Time in Wales, any thoughts about Welsh heritage?
 WOMAN: It's presented well. It's kind of fun. They present different aspects like videos and models.
 AP: A sense of specifically Welsh?
 WOMAN: Yeah, I dunno. Well the Celtic is particularly they were more, they way they sort of fought and acted they were more laid back than what you see in English museums. Going into battle, just war paints and that.
 AP: How to link museums and contemporary?
 WOMAN: I don't really think about that a lot.
 AP: Any differently now?
 WOMAN: I understand how they felt about their past definitely.
 AP: Thanks very much.

C22

A family of three visit Celtica for the first time after having found out about it from staying in a hotel in the area (where her grandmother used to live). The woman (41-50) describes herself as British but says she is more Welsh than anything even though she grew up in England. Her husband (41-50) is English and suggested the visit.. They have one child 0-15. Although they might come to Celtica again, they thought it was long winded and don't think they'd make more than one additional visit.

AP: Why interest?
 MAN: The historical background.
 WOMAN: Yes, more the historical. I didn't actually find a lot of history in it thought. But it held your interest. I know I'm being negative about it but I didn't actually feel all that negative about it. It was good. Figment of actual history. But then it can be boring if there is a lot.
 AP: Learned anything new?
 WOMAN: Nothing I didn't know already.
 AP: Other sorts of heritage?
 WOMAN: Yes we have done.
 AP: Spare time, holiday?
 WOMAN: Mostly on holiday but sometimes in our spare time.
 MAN: Didn't we go to a Celtic Iron Age village in Ireland?
 WOMAN: That was very good. We went to a sort of...time-lapse thing about Irish history and they built it on a huge sites with huts. In County...? Anyway, it was from primitive skin huts and tents through Celtic houses and Viking invasions and they were even building a Norman castle.
 AP: Sounds ambitious.
 WOMAN: Oh it was.
 AP: Other heritage related things?
 WOMAN: On a limited basis.
End of tape; next couple of questions just note form.
 They feel that the past is of interest, that it's good for student to show them what like was like, but they don't use the knowledge in their everyday lives. From their visit they want to get more breadth and understanding of Celtic lifestyles, particularly of the village life style....
 WOMAN: ...different sorts of exhibitions, aren't you? I mean you get different museums in York than...

AP: Significant differences that say something?
WOMAN: The regions, definitely.
MAN: Differences in what's been dug out.
WOMAN: Well, there's got to be differences in culture. Even in England there's a difference in cultures between north and south. Even within that. The culture in the valleys is very different from the culture in Manchester.
MAN: The exhibition probably would have been developed on what's been found very locally. Am I right in thinking that?
WOMAN: I mean the valley that we live in Lancashire...
AP: Not very local at all.
MAN: How about the person who researched it?
AP: All south Walian academics.
MAN: Hmm, that will make a difference. Saying the universities in Lancashire...
WOMAN: The emphasis is not only regional but cultural. I think that makes a big difference because if you go to a coal area or the fishing industry near Whitby if you go to Rosendale valley you're definitely looking at the cotton industry.
MAN: How about specialization of the academics? That makes a difference.
WOMAN: Yeah, yeah!
AP: The work I'm doing now changes the angle as well.
MAN: There were one or two researchers in Lancaster. One woman was very particular in her focus. It's fascinating to watch how they bend their research. It's easily done.
AP: You can't avoid it.
MAN: You have to identify your interests very clearly because that gives room for another person's ideas and slant.
AP: Any questions?
MAN: You get didn't get an idea of the size of the community. That was missing. You had a band of eight to ten people as your cast of characters but no mention of community or size, which you need for the local area.
WOMAN: You didn't actually hear what the local tribe was called.
MAN: The way the history developed in a tribal sense...
WOMAN: It didn't develop much post-Roman.
MAN: Even pre-, this area.
WOMAN: It was a bit disjointed.
MAN: Like a snapshot without seeing the linear thread.
AP: Bits out of context?
MAN: They kept things well in context but none of the community development. Could have done with more of the picture of what was going on. Always felt there was a lot missing that could have been developed and I feel that's what exhibitions in general seem to be missing.
WOMAN: It seems to be only a limited amount of information here. But it gave me an understanding of what it was like but sort of psychological understanding but didn't actually give you much information. The bloke who was talking in the village gave us some.
MAN: You know the way it can be done quite cheaply? Just simple visual screens asking questions or developing a theme. That would facilitate.
AP: Did you go upstairs?
WOMAN: Well the exhibition took too long but we did see some.
AP: Any general thoughts?
WOMAN: You mean the way it is being presented rather than should be?
MAN: Well, it wasn't really Welsh, was it? It was a Celtic feel. OK Celtic does span the background of Wales but it is Ireland as well. You didn't get a feel that it was

pulling in the Welsh dimension until maybe the end where it was saying here is the essence.

WOMAN: Apart from the fact that they were speaking Welsh all of the time. But it was really vague.

MAN: But Welsh culture has really developed as a consequence of industrial revolution...

AP: Outside of Celtica?

WOMAN: It's in everything.

MAN: It's part of our reason for being down here.

AP: Some idea of Welshness then?

MAN: Yes, experiences. Obviously the Welsh choirs and more recent things, how long has Wales been dominated for then, 1600s, 1700s? In the house we're in it goes back to 1547. And certainly you get a sense of the Welsh character from the house we're staying in. The way and how it developed.

WOMAN: I think you only have to visit Wales.

AP: Do you feel there are links between industry and lived heritage?

MAN: Because in the structure of one house...

WOMAN: But that's not what she means.

AP: To the lived day to day of Welshness?

WOMAN: Yes I'd have thought so, it's part of the picture. I suppose if you wanted to look at the woollen industry or mining you can go look at those things.

AP: Fill in the gaps?

WOMAN: Mmm. Certain things.

AP: After visiting, any greater understanding?

WOMAN: I don't understand it any better, no more than I did before.

MAN: I think there were subtle hints in the music and the singing....

WOMAN: No. it was very good but I don't know why it was very good.

MAN: They were trying to develop a Romanticism.

WOMAN: Yes, it was very Romantic. I think it's entertaining.

MAN: There was an essence in the way it was delivered and certainly in the music but it missed out the key points like religion and druids and stonework.

WOMAN: I suppose there was quite a bit of religion.

MAN: Yeah, but there weren't real focuses.

WOMAN: But there are some things I do know now about religion, yes.

AP: (Thanks very much.)

C23

Two Welsh grandparents (60+) take their granddaughter (0-15) to Celtica for the first time after hearing of it at various times since its opening as they live in Ceredigion. They would come again because they think it's especially good for small children, 'very educational for them'. The five-year-old girl suggested the visit as she had been before and had enjoyed it.

AP: Why?

WOMAN: Personally I was bringing the little one and it's away to re-live history isn't it? And it's very, very well illustrated.

AP: I'm from the Board of Celtic Studies. Did you learn anything new?

WOMAN: I dare say we have.

MAN: A little perhaps.

WOMAN: The ways it's put over rather more interesting than reading our history books of days gone by.

MAN: Is suppose there wasn't enough historical content. That was the criticism I had of it you see. As if it were theatrical.

AP: Do you visit on a regular basis?

WOMAN: Depending on where we are. Depends on whether there's one in the area.

AP: Other heritage related activities?

MAN: I read a lot of history.

AP: Replicas?

WOMAN: No, not particularly.

AP: So more generally book-based historical interest?

WOMAN: We went to Castell Henllys last week.

MAN: Now that tied up very much with this place, you see. You know the community situation there. It was quite interesting.

AP: What role?

MAN: It's more from the interest aspect of it I suppose rather than any real effect on our everyday lives. Because we've got time now, more than, the effect really, I mean it's interesting which affects your quality of life I presume. What message, at our time of life, I doubt it.

AP: What did hope today?

WOMAN: No, just for a day out and to interest our granddaughter more to enhance...

MAN: We come to Pwllheli and Machynlleth often and past it and we thought...

WOMAN: And it's very interesting seeing new places anyway and seeing how they are set up.

MAN: We enjoyed it anyway. It's rather different.

AP: Any questions, etc.?

MAN: I think the two tie in, Castell Henllys and here, and we have property which has Celtic settlement on it, so it ties up well. But it hasn't been, we haven't looked at it in any depth.

AP: So you thought of it according to your own, personal experience?

BOTH: Yeah.

AP: Any general heritage comments?

MAN: It's developing. It's only very recently developed, Castell Henllys, then we went to Pentre Ifan and wondered how the stones, like with Stonehenge were really brought in. The aids that they had at that time.

WOMAN: It's more to enhance the education of the generation to come. And people like us can look, we are more or less criticizing the way it's put over which isn't fair because what you are doing, is to portray things for the people to come. I think it's a very good way.

AP: Important link then between lived heritage and industry?

WOMAN: Absolutely, yes, I think so.

AP: After visiting, feel any differently?

MAN: Not really, no.

WOMAN: We've had this knowledge in our background.

MAN: Yes, Welsh history. We're totally Welsh which you can appreciate it so all, not only the past but the future as well concerns us. The past doesn't concern one at all but the future.

AP: (Thanks very much.)

C24

A family of three, an English man (31–40), and American woman (British resident 31–40) and her daughter (0–15) who is also American visit Celtica for the first time having seen a brochure while on holiday. They would not come again unless the exhibition was periodically changed because they feel as though they've seen everything there is to see. The woman suggested the visit.

- AP: Why interest?
WOMAN: I like museums. And it sounded like it said things in an interesting way.
GIRL: I don't think museums are interesting.
AP: Did you learn anything?
WOMAN: Oh yes. My nine-year-old daughter already said she knew everything.
AP: That's nine-year-olds for you!
WOMAN: I didn't learn about it.
AP: Holiday or spare time?
WOMAN: We live in Warwick and there's tons of that around.
AP: Other heritage related things?
WOMAN: Occasionally but not exclusively. This is the one who knew all the stuff. (*younger daughter who arrives goes to school in Britain and 'did' the Celts the year before*)
AP: What role in the everyday?
WOMAN: Well, there's always the odd illusions, as a foreigner it gives you a bit of perspective, a background. Makes it a little less foreign.
MAN: Just general background and knowledge.
GIRL: Well now I know more about it than my friends do!
Laughter
AP: What were you hoping?
WOMAN: I just wanted to know more after than when I came in.
AP: Also to pass the day?
WOMAN: No, we didn't have to drive up here, we came for it.
AP: When you visit other sites, what do you want?
WOMAN: I just like to come in and ask a lot of questions.
MAN: I enjoy being educated.
AP: Do you have any questions, trigger off?
GIRL: I wanted to know more about their religion.
WOMAN: Yeah, I wish there were people standing around to ask questions. I like to ask, because the material's always good, but you always have something you want to ask somebody.
MAN: In the exhibition they were implying that there were no sheep...
WOMAN: Yeah and upstairs it says there were.
MAN: In the movie the boy says 'and there are strange white things that are sheep'.
WOMAN: So maybe the movie was from the period below but the main plot was right when the Romans came.
GIRL: Well they were travelling to the future.
WOMAN: Yeah but his exact period. Yeah 'cos I was wondering about the cloth, yeah.
AP: But nobody to answer. Any comments generally.
WOMAN: God yes! It's well in you face but that's OK.
AP: Do you think heritage sites link up?
WOMAN: You're talking to Americans and to Americans holding on to your heritage is one of those things they teach you is really important. Over here it's like a different thing it's like assimilation and acculturation are the name of the game. That's like almost a dirty word in the US. When you come over here no one even knows what Yiddish is.
GIRL: Half the people in American don't know what Yiddish is.
WOMAN: But the Jews know. But not here.

MAN: It depends on whether you're an approved culture like the Welsh are an approved culture so they don't have to assimilate. It's existing. Like Derbyshire you don't have to become one with Britain.

WOMAN: Perhaps but that's recent. Didn't they have to fight to get signs in both languages?

AP: Yeah.

MAN: That's in the 1940s or 1950s.

GIRL: But people don't hold on to their heritage in America because people are just American.

MAN: Since you're in school it's changed. There's a lot of xenophobia and aggression.

GIRL: Didn't you go to a private school too?

WOMAN: No, mine was 60% Hispanics when I was a kid. Using your nationality is the ultimate insult.

AP: So do places like this have an important role to play?

WOMAN: Absolutely! But they're also important because they teach diversity. We're also Jewish and we have a hard time with the set religion. And they did a whole long thing about the evil Jews in her school and I went to talk about it and pointed out that not only are we Jews, but also that there are Muslims and all that.

AP: Really Christian centred here.

WOMAN: Most Jews I know won't admit they're Jewish.

AP: Really?

WOMAN: Yes. And they won't, where it says religion on the forms, they won't put anything. I'm one of the few Jews who will actually put that I'm Jewish. They're very afraid but it teaches that although we may all have white skin we may be different. Teaches tolerance which is always good. And they're commercial too and I don't mind if they're making money.

AP: But they're not.

ALL: Oh, no.

GIRL: It's smaller than a lot of other places.

MAN: Within Wales itself things are generally more expensive.

AP: Feel differently?

WOMAN: I mean not really. I know more about his background.

AP: A little bit? Or more just an interesting day out.

WOMAN: I don't think so but I don't think that's necessarily. It's just my understanding of the past.

AP: (Thanks.)

C25

An English man and woman (both 31–40) visit Celtica for the first time after seeing a leaflet in the pub. They are on holiday in the area. The man suggested the visit but neither would visit again because they say there is nothing more to the site after you have seen it. They would bring someone else though.

AP: Why interest?

MAN: I have an interest in Celtic history so that attracted me and also Welsh history I think.

WOMAN: He wanted to buy books!

MAN: Yes, I've got my Celtic books with me.

AP: And I see you've got Celtic jewellery on.

WOMAN: Yes, we've got that.

MAN: I like reading historical books, especially about prehistory.

AP: Anything new?

WOMAN: Generally yes.

MAN: I enjoyed it, it was well presented but no not anything new. At a reasonable level for people to understand but I think some younger children, it may go over their heads. The exhibition might well do. Slightly older children would find it exciting.

AP: Heritage generally?

WOMAN: Occasionally, usually when we're on holiday.

MAN: If you've got a bit of leisure time, you look round for things to do.

AP: Other activities?

MAN: Yeah, if there was an interesting programme on telly, equally with books.

AP: What role does it play?

MAN: It makes you more aware of your background. Human development. How cultures behaved in the past. God, you could write an essay about that but I suppose that's what you're going to do!

WOMAN: I can't think of anything, it's just interesting learning about history.

AP: What hopes have you?

MAN: I wanted a bit more information about the Celtic fringes if you like and what was left of their culture and things like that. But there wasn't a great deal of information.

AP: In terms of generally?

MAN: I don't think we fall into the group of museums goes area we? But this is attractive to me with all the visuals. There is a teaching aspect to it for me which I like. Rather than just looking at an object I like to be told something or have something on the wall to read, not complex, I don't want to work too hard. That's what this does I think.

WOMAN: I agree, but it's of particular interest to you. We wouldn't go to museums otherwise.

MAN: Well, I could go to the London Museum but what would turn me off there was the traditional idea of a museum with objects, without someone to explain to me their relevance. I wouldn't have any knowledge to know the relevance of any object laying there on a plinth. If it's put in context for me than I start to be more interest. I find it easier to understand this because I have a background knowledge of Celtic history so I suppose there's probably two levels here. You need to entertain the person who comes along without any background knowledge but you also have to entertain the person who knows a bit and wants more.

AP: Any questions?

WOMAN: I think we were too busy taking it all in, a bit like the Jorvik centre at York.

MAN: What I thought when they were explaining the Celtic culture was to fight and lose generally that was quite interesting because it made you think that there's two aspects to their personality. Concentration on one aspect is fatal. Can't be too emotional about things. They were saying the warriors would go off to battle quite prepared to die. That's pretty pointless.

WOMAN: In the group they were all saying how they do a job and no one appreciates me. I mean we all do.

MAN: That aspect of it I felt that was a bit theatrical license. You could say that about any cultural exhibit. But it was entertaining.

AP: General Welsh heritage?

MAN: I think it's very important that you stimulate your Welshness and Welsh history but in a context that isn't divisive and separatist because what, when you do study the history what you do get is the number of common themes running through various peoples and if you're not careful, by concentrating on the differences, you can alienate other people. It's this combination of developing and

stimulating interest in differences but in a way which will not exclude people. I'm not Welsh but my family, my great grandfather came from Conwy and my mother's side is Irish. I mean we're all mixed, we've all got these interesting history which we can all share in.

AP: There are no pure peoples. Link with lived heritage?

WOMAN: That's what the past is.

MAN: I think it's very important for cultures to have pride in themselves and this is a very important way of stimulating pride. You shouldn't be too backward looking because you've got your present to get on with. But pride in your heritage gives you confidence.

AP: Any differently?

MAN: Hasn't added anything to my existing knowledge so the simple answer is no but I can see how it would have an enlightening effect on some people, on a lot of people. But a little knowledge is dangerous.

AP: Thanks

MAN: Very complex questions and answers there.

C26

PART 1

1. English
2. Two mothers and two daughters
3. 41-50 and 0-15

PART 2

1. They found out through leaflets they saw. They are on holiday.
2. A first time visit. They would consider visiting the site again in a few years. They feel that the exhibition is too static to warrant re-visiting 'every year'.
3. One of the mothers suggested it.
4. One woman used to live in Wales, the other in Cornwall, so they have a general interest.
5. They visit the Black Country museum, country houses and Jorvik, both on school visits and on holiday. They watch TV documentaries and read historical books.
6. Visits to heritage sites make you see why people want to hang onto their Welshness and not lose their identity. It tells you about where you've come from. One daughter just thinks it's fun and the old stories are interesting.
7. They have educational motives for visiting the site.
8. General educational motives. Also puts things into perspective and makes sense of things.

PART 3

1. They would have liked more detailed information at Celtica.
 2. They think Wales should do more to promote its heritage and make it available. But they feel Wales is trying to preserve its culture.
 3. If there were more places like Celtica, people would have more pride, especially with reference to England. It's something ordinary people should come to visit because a lot of people don't come and don't see the relevance. With multiculturalism we need to see where we've come from (interviewee's emphasis).
 4. Think differently about the relationship between England and Great Britain. It stirs up feelings of patriotism in them 'even though we're not Welsh'. 'But we have Celtic in us!'
-

C27

PART 1

1. Welsh
2. Family of 5.
3. Three children under 15, mother 41-50, grandmother 60+.

PART 2

1. The grandmother visits Celtica frequently and wanted to bring her family.
2. This is the first visit for the rest of the family.
4. They were interested in visiting the site because they are interested in history.
6. They do visit heritage sites like St Fagans out of general interest.
7. Heritage sites are used by them as a summer time leisure pursuit.
8. They want to get a cultural insight into where we came from, that we are all one with everything and everybody. They value the Celtic/Europe connection and conclude that everybody's got some Celt in them.
9. General gains of knowledge/leisure.

PART 3

1. They wanted more information about how the museum came to be. The grandmother thought the overland flight and Vortex were very spiritual.
 2. They visit St Fagans very frequently and feel that it's a great representation of Welsh heritage.
 3. They think that that the Welsh heritage industry will alter the English point of view. The Welsh already know their past but now they have to make the English think.
 4. Although they feel a sense of pride going to the Royal Welsh Show or St Fagans, they do not feel such a profound sense of Welshness in a place like Celtica.
-

C28

PART 1

1. English
2. A group of 28 on a coach tour.
3. Interviewee is 41-50.

PART 2

1. From the coach.
2. First visit.
4. No particular interest.
6. She visits National Trust houses but not museums. She reads books.
7. She feels that museums are important for young people as they are a concrete alternative to reading.
8. She wanted to gain more understanding and leisure activity.

PART 3

1. She 'liked the bit about looking ahead' and the 'real life' aspects of the exhibition but didn't like the ways everyone had to progress through at the same time.
 2. She values the presence of good amenities.
 3. She feels that generally, heritage is useful and should be brought into the everyday.
-

C29

PART 1

1. English
2. Four people. One couple brings the other for a visit.

3. 21-30/31-40.

PART 2

1. They heard about Celtica from leaflets in Aberystwyth.
2. One couple are regular visitors to the tea room. They would return again to the interpretative centre rather than the exhibition.
4. They came to Celtica because they're interested in finding out about the area and history.
6. If they are out and about they tend to go to English Heritage sites. One male in the group is particularly interested in the presentation of the past. All are enthusiastic about finding out about Welsh culture and British history.
7. As one woman in the group lives in Wales she wants to get understanding of the culture and because she has a general interest in social history, she likes to see how people in the past lived.
8. They want to gain a better understanding of where they are in the scheme of things and think that that can inspire other pursuits. Unplanned intellectual avenues make for a nice day out.

PART 3

1. They felt that the exhibition was out of context with the upstairs history. They felt that the idea was good but they were unhappy with the realization.
 2. They feel slightly at odds being non-Welsh in Wales where the culture is asserted. they don't feel that there is enough around to help the non-Welsh understand difference. They feel that there is a move to generate some sort of heritage feeling but are unsure what that has to do with lived Welshness.
 3. They think a possible problem with Welsh heritage is that people seem more interested in what happened rather than in what's happening. They learned a lot from the upstairs section which they thought was well-presented and worth a second visit.
 4. They feel heritage sites can encourages people to learn more but worry that it may appeal only to beach-goers as it's so connected with tourism.
-

C30

PART 1

1. Welsh
2. Daughter and father
3. 21-30/60+

PART 2

1. They live in Llanrhustyd.
2. First time but they would visit again.
3. Daughter suggested visit.
4. They are both interested in the Celts.
6. They visit heritage sites such as castles as an intermittent leisure activity.
7. They feel that visiting heritage sites broadens outlook on own culture. Because 'you live here it's important'. they also think it's nice to meet people from elsewhere to discuss one's own heritage.
8. They came because they wanted to know about the Celts and history. The exhibition makes it more alive that a book can.

PART 3

2. They think that the Welsh heritage industry is well-organized and good for tourists but that there should be more Welsh books available.
 3. Although they claim not to be interested in politics, they feel that these sites are relevant.
-

C31

PART 1

1. A Welsh woman and American girl visit.

3. 0-15/41-50.

PART 2

1. The woman is local but they found Celtica leaflets.

2. This is the woman's second visit. They both enjoyed the upstairs centre but don't think there's much point to visiting the downstairs exhibition again.

3. The American visitor suggested the visit.

4. The woman is interested in culture and ethnology.

5. Although the woman knew the basic history she thought it well-presented.

6. The woman comes to heritage sites occasionally with visitors. The American girl reads history books.

7. They feel that heritage sites fill in the gaps of history. There's lots we don't know about our own culture. The visitor is just interested.

8. They have broadly educational aims when visiting heritage sites.

PART 3

1. As they've come from Pendinas, they want to see more local information.

2. They feel that there is a connection between the heritage industry and Welsh heritage.

3. The woman sees connection between Welsh heritage industry and the current theme of Welsh nationalism.

4. They feel that it contributes to an academic interest in the past.

C32

PART 1

1. Welsh

2. Four

3. 0-16/31-40

PART 2

1. They are visiting from Llanrhustyd and found advertising for Celtica from the Tourist Board.

2. This is their first visit and they would not come again for a while as they feel that once you've seen it, you've seen everything.

3. The mother suggested the visit.

4. The father is a primary school teacher and wanted to see what sort of links there could be with the history curriculum.

5. Although there is a lot of information at Celtica, the father said he didn't learn much that was new.

6. The father visits heritage sites for school reasons. Both mother and father feel that their own children are too young to get anything out of many heritage centres and museums.

7. They both feel that museums and heritage centres enrich the sense of our past by representing a strong cultural tradition and heritage. They see the Celtic past as a strong feature in schools' history and that heritage is becoming more child-friendly.

8. With Celtica they just wanted to see it out of curiosity.

9. Generally they want to have a nice time at museums and heritage centres while picking up some interesting facts. Also help in teaching.

PART 3

1. They had questions about the Vortex section. They questioned the use of the miner's strike and images of Arthur Scargill to illustrate war.

2. They feel that Wales is starting to wake up to the need to attract children to heritage and feel that there is now a strong incentive for parents to bring their children. They would, however, like to see real people interpreting the past and feel there's too much text for the children.
 3. They feel that the only way to deal with heritage is as a business. So financial, rather than overtly political implications.
 4. They feel Celtica's use is a general one, for those people who have no prior knowledge of the Celts. They felt no personal sense of connection.
-

C33

PART 1

1. Welsh woman and Irish man.
2. Two
3. 21-30.

PART 2

1. They heard of Celtica through word of mouth during their holiday.
2. The woman suggested the visit.
3. This is their first visit and they would like to return if there was more to see.
4. She's interested in visiting the site because she's 'Celtic'.
5. Neither learned anything new because they know their Celtic past.
6. They are not 'fanatic' heritage visitors and are 'not consumer oriented'. Although they occasionally visit museums and heritage sites, they prefer to watch history documentaries.
7. The woman feels that visits to these sites allows you to identify with a particular culture, to understand one's roots. The man came out of 'pure interest', to which the woman countered, yes, but you need some personal connection.
8. The man had interest-oriented reasons for the visit, while the woman feels that represented are her roots, where she comes from, it's for emotional reasons.
9. The woman sees her visit as taking advantage of Wales' museum presence, that if it's there, you should take advantage of it, while her partner sees it as more of a holiday pursuit.

PART 3

1. Although they enjoyed the unusualness, they felt there was too much non-Welsh music.
 2. The woman says that although St Fagans reflects a sense of Welshness, Celtica is too far in the distance. She thinks that the heritage people are just looking for a better time to latch onto, an idyllic vision of Wales.
 3. The man feels that heritage doesn't need to tie into current issues, because the UK is so fragmented. He sees Irish heritage as more populist and less money oriented. He think Welsh heritage is too money oriented and not enough focus on quality. The woman thinks that maybe sites such as these will make people aware of the difference between the past and the present. She sees the Eisteddfod as a week out of reality.
-

C34

PART 1

1. Irish father and English mother and two children.
2. Four.
3. Children are under 15, mother 31-40, father 41-50.

PART 2

1. They are regular holiday visitors to this part of Wales and looked at a leaflet for Celtica after it first opened.
2. The father suggested the visit as he is 'originally a Celt'.
3. This is their second visit and they will come again.
4. Their children began asking about the Celts from school and their parents thought it would be nice to see historical re-enactment for the children's education.
5. Their first visit introduced them to new ideas about the past.
6. They visit heritage sites and museums on weekends, watch television documentaries and the woman has a 'strong' interest in social history.
7. They feel that these sites always make an interesting point of reference.
8. They don't have set aims. Just something to do.
9. Generally, they have a mixture of leisure and educational aims.

PART 3

1. Although they felt that the presentation confused the children, they liked it. The woman particularly liked the 'woman in charge' theme.
 2. They see Welsh heritage as improving. The woman mentions country dancing while the man jokes about the English stealing everything cultural.
 3. They both think that heritage needs to be presented as a business because it's always going to play a role. They feel that it provides a necessary service in preserving culture yet it also questions popular beliefs that the past was better. The woman feels that there is nothing cultural in England.
 4. The man states that Celtica is not about Wales, that it's a much broader Celtic history.
-

C35

PART 1

1. British/English
2. Two couples.
3. 41-50.

PART 2

1. They'd been to town before and saw Celtica signposted. They are here on holiday.
3. They've now been once to the whole sites and another time just to visit the tea shop. they would not visit the main exhibition again as they feel that they've already seen it.
4. They found it interesting from a historical point of view.
5. they have learned new things about Celtic culture.
6. They all visit heritage sites and museums on holiday. They all read historical novels and watch television documentaries and share a general interest in the past.
7. They think it's good to know your roots.
8. They just wanted a nice day out.
9. They have general leisure aims to visiting. It fills in the day.

PART 3

1. They thought that there was too much text and too Welsh oriented although they see links between what was done at Wigan with the Irish presence on the canals.
2. Although they think heritage sites and museums are valuable, they learned more just being in Wales. They also wanted more history about the house itself.
3. They think that people need museums to remind them of where they're from, links with the family.
4. They feel that they understand Celtic culture a bit better and when you're English, you don't understand the differences among people. It makes you think 'about blood' and can appreciate better the differences within the UK.

REFERENCES

- Adam, T.R. 1939. *The Museum and Popular Culture*. New York: George Grady.
- Adams, D. 1993. Not valley good: is the Eisteddfod a celebration of amateurism rather than cultural identity? *The Guardian*. 11 August 1993, p. 6.
- Adorno, T. W. 1991. *The Culture Industry* (ed. J. M. Bernstein). London: Routledge.
- Alt, M. B. 1980. Four years of visitor surveys at the British Museum (Natural History) 1976-79. *Museums Journal*, 80(1): 10-19.
- Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, J. 1982. Living history: simulating everyday life in living museums. *American Quarterly*, 34:290-306.
- Andrews, M. 1989. *The Search for the Picturesque:: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism, 1760 - 1800*. Aldershot: Scholar Press.
- Appadurai, A. (ed.) 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Appadurai, A. 1993. Disjuncture and difference in the Global Cultural Economy. In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (eds P. Williams and L. Chrisman). Hemel Hempstead: Harvester/Wheatsheaf, pp. 324-339.
- Anon. 1779. Introduction. *Archaeologia*.
- Ardener, E. 1972. Language, ethnicity and population. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 3(3): 125-132.
- Arnold, M. 1867. *On the Study of Celtic Literature*. London.
- Ascherson, N. 1987. Why 'Heritage' is right-wing. *Observer*. 8 November, 1987.
- Ascherson, N. 1992. Europe suffers delusions of an antique grandeur. *The Independent on Sunday*. 29 November 1992.
- Atkinson, J. 1996. *Nationalism and Archaeology*. Glasgow: Scottish Archaeological Forum.
- Anon. 1996. The Bad girls are back! *The Guardian*. 9 December 1996, G2.

- Bagnall, G. 1996. Consuming the past. In *Consumption Matters: the Production and Experience of Consumption* (eds S. Edgell, K. Hetherington and A. Warde). *Sociological Review Monographs* 44. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 227-247.
- Bakhtin, M. 1968. *Rabelais and his World*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bapty, I and T. Yates (eds). 1990. *Archaeology after Structuralism: Poststructuralism and Archaeology*. London: Routledge.
- Barker, M. and Breezer, A. (eds). 1992. *Reading into Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Barnes, D. 1975. *From Communication to Curriculum*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Barrett, J C. 1988. Fields of discourse: reconstituting a social archaeology. *Critique of Anthropology*, 7(3): 5-16.
- Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Baudrillard, J. 1983. *Simulations*. New York: Semiotext(e).
- Baudrillard, J. 1994. The system of collecting. In *The Cultures of Collecting* (eds J. Elsner and R. Cardinal). London: Reaktion.
- Beaufort Research. 1996a. *Survey of Visitors to National Museums and Galleries of Wales Sites*.
- Beaufort Research. 1996b. *Welsh Omnibus Survey*.
- Benjamin, W. 1992. The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction. In *Art in Theory: 1900-1990* (eds C. Harrison and P. Wood). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 512-520. (originally published in 1936. *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* V(1)).
- Bennett, T. 1988. Museums and the people. In *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display* (ed. R. Lumley). London: Comedia, pp. 63-85.
- Bennett, T. 1995. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Bernal, M. 1987. *Black Athena: the Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation, volume one, The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*. London: Free Association Books and Rutgers University Press.
- Bernal, M. 1994. The image of Ancient Greece as a tool for colonialism and European hegemony. In *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power* (eds G.F. Bond and A. Gilliam). London: Routledge, pp. 119-128.

Bevan, B. 1997. Bounding the landscape: place and identity during the Yorkshire Wolds Iron Age. In *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies: New Approaches to the British Iron Age* (eds A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove). Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 181–191.

Bevan, B. (ed.). 1999. *Northern Exposure*. Leicester: Leicester Monograph Series.

Bevan, B. forthcoming. The dead can dance: the landscape context of the square barrow burials of East Yorkshire. In *The Loved Body's Corruption: Archaeological Approaches to Mortuary Practices* (eds J. Downes and T. Pollard). Glasgow: Cruithne Press.

Bhabha, H. K. 1990a. DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation. In *Nation and Narration* (ed. H. K. Bhabha). London: Routledge, pp. 291–322.

Bhabha, H. K. 1990b. Introduction: narrating the nation. In *Nation and Narration* (ed. H. K. Bhabha). London: Routledge, pp. 1–7.

Bhabha, H. K. (ed.) 1990c. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.

Billig, M. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.

Bitgood, S. C. and Loomis, R. J. 1993. Environmental design and evaluation in museums. *Environment and Behaviour*, 25 (6): 683–697.

BMRB International. 1997. BMRB International. *The Guardian*. 20 January 1997.

Bond, G C and Gilliam, A. 1994a. Introduction. In *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power* (eds G C Bond and A. Gilliam). London: Routledge, pp. 1–22.

Bond, G. C. and Gilliam, A. (eds). 1994b. *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. 1968. Outline of a sociological theory of art perception. *International Social Science Journal*, 20(4): 589–612.

Bourdieu, P. 1973. The Berber house. In *Rules and Meanings* (ed. M Douglas). London: Penguin, pp. 98–110.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (trans. R. Nice). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Bourdieu, P. 1990. *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (trans. M. Adamson). Oxford: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. and Eagleton, T. 1991. Doxa and common life. *New Left Review*, 191: 111–121.
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant Loïc, J. D. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Oxford: Polity.
- Borrow, G. 1862. *Wild Wales: its People, Language and Scenery*. London.
- Bowen, E. G. 1954. *The Settlement of the Celtic Saints in Wales*. Cardiff.
- Bowen, E. G. 1976. *Geography, Culture and Habitat*. Llandysul: Talybont.
- Bradley, R. 1987. Time regained: the creation of continuity. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 140, 1–17.
- Bradley, R. 1990. *The Passage of Arms*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Braithwaite, M. 1982. Decoration as ritual symbol: a theoretical proposal and an ethnographic study in southern Sudan. In *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (ed. I. Hodder). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 80–88.
- British Museum Education Service. 1993. *Celts Resource Pack*. London: British Museum.
- Bryant, C. G. A. and Jary, D. (eds.) 1991a. *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: a Critical Appreciation*. London: Routledge.
- Bryant, C. G. A. and Jary, D. 1991b. Introduction. In *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: a Critical Appreciation* (eds C.G.A. Bryant and D. Jary). London: Routledge, pp. 1–31.
- Burgin, V. 1986. *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity*. London: Macmillan.
- Burt, F. 1987. 'Man the Hunter': bias in children's archaeology books. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 6(2): 157–174.
- Bushnell, R. W. 1996. *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Bynon, T. 1977. *Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments. 1988. *Gerald of Wales*. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments.

- Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments. 1994. *Castles Alive!* Educational video. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments.
- Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments. 1996a. *Abbeys Alive!* Educational video. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments.
- Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments. 1996b. *Annual Report and Accounts 1995-96*. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments.
- Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments. 1998. *Gerald of Wales: a Window on the Past*. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments.
- Cahoone, L. 1996. (ed.) *From Modernism to Postmodernism: an Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cairns, D. and Richards, S. 1988. *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Caius Julius Caesar. *Gallic Wars*.
- Champion, T. 1987. The European Iron Age: assessing the state of the art. *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 4:98-107.
- Champion, T. n.d. Contextualizing the Iron Age: archaeology in its intellectual milieu. Unpublished manuscript.
- Chapman, M. 1977. What science is saying about the Celts. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 8(2): 84-94.
- Chapman, M. 1978. Reality and representation. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 9(1): 35-52.
- Chapman, M. 1992. *The Celts*. London: Macmillan.
- Chrisman, L. and Williams, P. 1993. Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: an introduction. In *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory* (eds P. Williams and L. Chrisman). Hemel Hempstead: Harvester/Wheatsheaf, pp. 1-20.
- Clark, T. J. 1984. *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Clarke, E. D. 1817. Observations upon some Celtic Remains, lately discovered by the Public Road leading from London to Cambridge, near to the Village of Sawston, distant seven miles from the University. *Archaeologia*, 18: 340-343.

- Clifford, J. 1986a. Introduction: partial truths. In *Writing Culture* (eds J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus). Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1–26.
- Clifford, J. 1986b. On ethnographic allegory. In *Writing Culture* (eds J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus). Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 98–121.
- Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. E. (eds.) 1986. *Writing Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coffey, A and Atkinson, P. 1996. *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Cohen, A. P. 1982. *Belonging*. Manchester: University Press.
- Collis, J. 1994. Celtic fantasy. *British Archaeological News*. n.s. 11:5.
- Collis, J. 1995. George Buchanan and the Celts of Britain. Paper given at the 10th International Congress of Celtic Studies, Edinburgh, Scotland.
- Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Corbishley, M. (ed.). 1992. *Archaeology in the National Curriculum*. London: English Heritage and the Council for British Archaeology.
- Corbishley, M. *The Celts: Activity book*. London: English Heritage.
- Corbishley, M. and Stone, P. G. 1994. The teaching of the past in formal school curricula in England. In *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education* (eds P. G. Stone and B. L. Molyneaux). London: Routledge, pp. 383–397.
- Corner, J. and Harvey, S. 1991. Mediating tradition and modernity: the heritage/enterprise couplet. In *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture* (eds J. Corner and S. Harvey). London: Routledge, pp. 45–75.
- Cornish Studies Institute. 1985. *Cornish Studies for Schools*. Unpublished manuscript. Redruth: Cornish Studies Library and Institute.
- Cracknell, S. and Corbishley, M. (eds.). 1986. *Presenting Archaeology to Young People*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 64. York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Crapanzano, V. 1986. Hermes' Dilemma: the masking of subversion in ethnographic description. In *Writing Culture* (eds J. Clifford and G. Marcus). Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 51–76.

- Crew, S. R. and Sims, J. E. 1990. Locating Authenticity: fragments of a dialogue. In *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (eds I. Karp and S.D. Lavine). Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 159–174.
- Crick, B. 1991a. The English and the British. In *National Identities* (ed. B. Crick). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 90–104.
- Crick, B. (ed.). 1991b. *National Identities*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Critchley, S. 1992. *The Ethics of Deconstruction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cunliffe, B. 1975. *Iron Age Communities in Britain*. London: Book Club Associates.
- Cunliffe, B. 1990. *The Celtic World*. London: Constable.
- Curriculum Council for Wales. 1991. *The Whole Curriculum 5–16 in Wales*. Cardiff: Curriculum Council for Wales.
- Curriculum Council for Wales. 1993a. *Developing a Curriculum Cymreig*. Curriculum Council for Wales Advisory Paper 18. Cardiff: Curriculum Council for Wales.
- Curriculum Council for Wales. 1993b. *Interpretations of History at Key Stages 1–3*. Cardiff: Curriculum Council for Wales.
- Curriculum Council for Wales. 1994. *Developing a Whole-school Approach to a Curriculum Cymreig*. Cardiff: Curriculum Council for Wales.
- Curriculum Development Unit. 1976. *The Celtic Way of Life*. Dublin: O'Brien.
- Curtis, L. P. 1971. *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian Caricature*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles.
- Curtis, Tony. 1986a. Introduction. In *Wales: the Imagined Nation* (ed. T. Curtis). Bridgend: Poetry Wales, pp. 7–15.
- Curtis, T. (ed.). 1986b. *Wales: the Imagined Nation*. Bridgend: Poetry Wales.
- Daniel, G. 1981. *A Short History of Archaeology*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Daniel, G. and Renfrew, C. 1988. *The Idea of Prehistory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

- Daniels, S. 1993. *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States..* Cambridge: Polity.
- David, M. E. 1980. *The State, the Family and Education.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Davies, R. 1943. *The Story of Wales.* London: William Collins.
- Davies, R. R. 1987. *The Age Of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deacon, B. 1993. *Vive la difference? The Cornish identity.* Unpublished manuscript.
- Deane, Revd J. B. 1834. Observations on Dracontia. *Archaeologia*, 25: 188–229.
- Dearing, R. 1994. *The National Curriculum and its Assessment.* Final Report. London: School Curriculum and Assessment Authority.
- de Certeau, M. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Delaney, J. 1992. Ritual space in the Canadian Museum of Civilization. In *Lifestyle Shopping: the Subject of Consumption* (ed. R. Shields). Routledge: London, pp. 136–148.
- De Paor, L. and M. 1958. *Early Christian Ireland.* London: Thames and Hudson.
- Department of Education and Science. 1991. *History in the National Curriculum (England).* DES HMSO.
- Department of Education and Science. 1995. *History in the National Curriculum (England).* DES HMSO.
- Derrida, J. 1976. *Of Grammatology* (trans. G. C. Spivak). Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Diaz-Andreu, M. (ed.). 1996. *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe.* London: University College London Press.
- Dietler, M. 1994. 'Our Ancestors the Gauls': archaeology, ethnic nationalism and the manipulation of Celtic identity in modern Europe. *American Anthropologist*, 96(3): 584–605.
- Dillon, M. 1947. The archaism of Irish tradition. *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 33: 245–264.
- Dilman, I. 1993. *Existentialist Critiques of Cartesianism.* Lanham: Barnes and Noble.
- Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History.*

- Dobesch, G. 1991. Ancient literary sources. In *The Celts* (eds V. Kruta, O. H. Frey, B. Raftery and M. Szabó). London: Thames and Hudson, pp. 35–41.
- Doherty, C. 1985. The monastic town in early medieval Ireland. In *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe*. BAR Int. Ser. 255(I): 45–75.
- Douglas, M. (ed.) 1973. *Rules and Meanings*. London: Penguin.
- Douglas, M. 1992. *Objects and Objections*. Toronto: Toronto Semiotic Circle.
- Drinkwater, J. F. 1983. *Roman Gaul: the Three Provinces, 58 BC–AD 260*. London: Croom Helm.
- Drotner, K. 1994. Ethnographic enigmas: the everyday in recent media studies. *Cultural Studies*, 8: 341–357.
- Drummond, P., R. Paterson and J. Willis (eds.) 1993. *National Identity and Europe: the Television Revolution*. London: British Film Institute.
- Duncan, J. and Ley, D. (eds.) 1993. *Place/Culture/Representation*. London: Routledge.
- Durbin, G., Morris, S., and Wilkinson, S. 1990. *A Teacher's Guide to Learning from Objects*. London: English Heritage.
- Dyer, J. 1983. *Teaching Archaeology in Schools*. Aylesbury: Shire Archaeology.
- Eagleton, T., F. Jameson and E. W. Said. 1990. *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*. Minneapolis: University Press.
- Eco, U. 1986. *Travels in Hyper-reality*. London: Picador.
- Edwards, N. 1990. *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*. London: Batsford.
- Edwards, O. D. 1968. *Celtic Nationalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Ellis, P. B. 1985. *The Celtic Revolution*. Talybont: Y Lolfa.
- Ellis, P. B. 1992. *Celtic Inheritance*. London: Constable.
- Ellis Evans, D. 1991. Celticity, identity and the study of language – fact, speculation and legend. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 140: 1–16.
- Elsner, J. and Cardinal, R (eds). 1994. *The Cultures of Collecting*. London: Reaktion.

- Emmott, K. 1987. A child's eye view of the past. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 6(2): 129-141.
- English Heritage. 1985. *Food and Cooking Prehistoric Britain*. London: English Heritage.
- English Heritage. 1993. *Historic Properties: Free Educational Visits 1993*. London: English Heritage.
- English Heritage. 1993. *Using the Historic Environment*. English Heritage.
- Evans, G. 1968. Fundamental individuality. In *Maintaining a National Identity* (ed. F. Thompson). Dublin: Celtic League.
- Evans, M. 1996. Languages of racism within contemporary Europe. In *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe* (eds B. Jenkins and S. A. Sofos). London: Routledge, pp. 33-53.
- Ewing, W. 1968. Nationalism is progress. In *Maintaining a National Identity* (ed. F. Thompson). Dublin: Celtic League.
- Fabian, J. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Fabian, J. 1990. Presence and representation: the Other and anthropological writing. *Critical Inquiry*, 16: 753-772.
- Ferro, M. 1981. *The Use and Abuse of History*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Finegan, J. 1812. Description of a Cromleach, in the County of Kilkenny. *Archaeologia*, 15: 264-271.
- Fischer, M. M. J. 1986. Ethnicity and the post-modern arts of memory. In *Writing Culture* (eds J. Clifford and G. Marcus). Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 194-233.
- Fiske, J. 1989a. *Reading the Popular*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Fiske, J. 1989b. *Understanding Popular Culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Fitzgerald, F. 1980. *America Revised*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. 1992. Media, ethnicity and identity. In *Culture and Power* (eds P. Scannell, P. Schlesinger and C. Sparks). London: Sage, pp. 112-133.

- Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1984. The deposition of La Tène Iron Age metalwork in watery contexts in Southern England. In *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain* (eds B. Cunliffe and D. Miles). Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, pp. 178–190.
- Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1991. 'Celtic (Iron Age) Religion': tradition and timeless? *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 8: 123–128.
- Fledelius, K. (ed.). 1979. *History and the Audio-Visual Media*. Copenhagen: Eventus. Studies in History, Film and Society Vol. 1.
- Fleure, H. J. 1923a. Problems of Welsh archaeology. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3: 225–42.
- Fleure, H.J. 1923b. *The Races of England and Wales*. London: Benn Brothers.
- Fleure, H.J. 1926. *Wales and Her People*. Wrexham: Hughes and Son.
- Fleure, H.J. 1940. The Celtic west. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 88: 882–84.
- Foucault, M. 1970 [1973]. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage.
- Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, M. 1979. *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage.
- Fowler, P. J. 1992. *The Past in Contemporary Society*. London: Routledge.
- Fox, C. 1932. *The Personality of Britain*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales.
- Fox, C. 1958. *Pattern and Purpose*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales.
- Frazer, E. 1992. Teenage girls reading *Jackie*. In *Culture and Power* (eds P. Scannell, P. Schlesinger and C. Sparks). Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 182–200.
- Fyfe, G. and Ross, M. 1996. Decoding the visitor's gaze: rethinking museum visiting. In *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* (eds S. MacDonald and G. Fyfe). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 130–154.
- Gathercole, P. 1989. The fetishism of artefacts. In *Museum Studies in Material Culture* (ed. S. Pearce). Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp. 73–81.
- Geertz, C. 1975. *The Interpretation of Culture*. London: Hutchinson.

- Gellner, E. 1983. *Nations and Nationalisms*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gero, J. and Root, D. 1990. Public presentations and private concerns: archaeology in the pages of *National Geographic*. In *The Politics of the Past* (eds P. Gathercole and D. Lowenthal). London: Unwin Hyman, pp. 19–37.
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giddens, A. 1991. Structuration theory: past, present and future. In *Giddens' Theory of Structuration* (eds C.G.A. Bryant and D. Jary). London: Routledge, pp. 201–221.
- Giddens, A. 1993. from *The Consequences of Modernity*. In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (eds P. Williams and L. Chrisman). Hemel Hempstead: Harvester/Wheatsheaf, pp. 181–189.
- Gillespie, M. 1995. *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change*. London: Routledge.
- Gilpin, W. 1792. *Three Essays*. London.
- Golby, M., J. Greenwald and R. West (eds). 1975. *Curriculum Design*. London: Croom Helm.
- Gosden, C. 1994. *Social Being and Time*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Goss, J. D. 1993. Placing the market and marketing place: tourist advertising of the Hawaiian Islands. *Environment and Planning D Society and Space*, 11 (6): 663–688.
- Gould, R. A. 1980. *Living Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gregory, D. 1993. Interventions in the historical geography of modernity: social theory, spatiality and the politics of representation. In *Place/Culture/Representation* (eds J. Duncan and D. Ley). London: Routledge, pp. 272–313.
- Gruffudd, P. 1989. *Landscape and Nationhood: Tradition and Modernity in Rural Wales 1900–50*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Geography, Loughborough University.
- Gruffudd, P. 1994a. Back to the land: historiography, rurality and the nation in interwar Wales. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19: 61–77.
- Gruffudd, P. 1994b. Selling the countryside: representations of rural Britain. In *Place Promotion* (eds J. R. Gold and S. V. Ward). Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.
- Gruffudd, P. 1995. Heritage as national identity: histories and prospects of national pasts. In *Heritage, Tourism and Society* (ed. D. T. Herbert). London: Mansell, pp. 49–67.

- Halkon, P. (ed.) 1992. *The Archaeology Resource Book*. London: English Heritage and CBA.
- Hall, S. 1993. Cultural identity and diaspora. In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (eds P. Williams and L. Chrisman). Hemel Hempstead: Harvester/Wheatsheaf, pp. 392–403.
- Hammersley, M. 1992. *What's Wrong with Ethnography? Methodological Operations*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hampshire County Council. 1987. *Country Parks and Museums Site Research*.
- Hampshire County Council Museum Services. 1992. *Visitor Survey Report*.
- Harker, R. 1990. Bourdieu: education and reproduction. In *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu* (eds R. K. Harker, R. Kendall, C. Mahar and C. Wilkes). London: Macmillan, pp. 86–108.
- Harker, R. K., R. Kendall, C. Mahar and C. Wilkes (eds.). 1990. *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu*. London: Macmillan.
- Harrison, C. and Wood, P. (Eds.). 1992. *Art and Theory 1990–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, R.G., Smith, M. T., Sherren, S., Bailey, L. and Hyndman, S. J. 1986. How Celtic are the Cornish? a study of biological affinities. *Man*, 21: 177–201.
- Haviland, Revd Dr. 1779. On the first Peopling of Britain. *Archaeologia*, 1: 49–55.
- Hawkes, C. 1931. Hillforts. *Antiquity*, 5: 60–97.
- Hawkes, C. 1959. The A B C of the British Iron Age. *Antiquity*, 33: 170–182.
- Hechter, M. 1975. *Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536–1966*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hegel, G. W. F. 1996. Absolute freedom and terror. In *From Modernism to Postmodernism: an Anthology* (ed. L. Cahoone). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 83–90.
- Heidegger, M. 1996. Letter on humanism. In *From Modernism to Postmodernism: an Anthology* (ed. L. Cahoone). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 274–308.

Heinich, N. 1988. The Pompidou Centre and its public: the limits of a Utopian site. In *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display* (ed. R. Lumley). London: Comedia, pp. 199–212.

Herbert, D. T. 1989. Does interpretation help? In *Heritage Sites:: Strategies for Marketing and Development* (eds D. T. Herbert, R. C. Prentice and C. J. Thomas). Aldershot: Avebury, pp. 191–230.

Herbert, T. And Jones, C. E. (eds). *Wales Between the Wars*. Cardiff: Cardiff University Press.

Hetherington, K. 1996. The utopics of social ordering – Stonehenge as a museum without walls. In *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* (eds S. MacDonald and G. Fyfe). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 155–172.

Hewison, R. 1987. *The Heritage Industry*. London: Methuen.

Hill, J.D. 1987. Confessions of an archaeologist who dug in school: or is archaeology in schools a good or desirable thing?. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 6(2): 143–155.

Hill, J.D. 1989. Re-thinking the Iron Age. *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 6: 16–24.

Hill, J.D. 1992. Can we recognise a different European past? A contrastive archaeology of late prehistoric settlements in southern England. *Journal of European Archaeology*, I: 57–75.

Hill, J.D. 1995. *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum/British Archaeological Reports.

Hill, J.D. and Cumberpatch, C.G. (eds.) 1995. *Different Iron Ages: Studies in the Archaeology of Iron Age Europe*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 602.

Hills, C. 1993. The dissemination of information. In *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK* (eds J. Hunter and I. Ralston). Bath: Alan Sutton, pp. 215–224.

Hingley, R. 1992. Domestic organisation and gender relations in Iron Age and Romano-British households. In *The social Archaeology of Houses* (ed. R. Samson). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 129–147.

Hingley, R. 1995. Britannia: origin myths and the British Empire. In *TRAC94: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1994* (eds S. Cottham, D. Dungworth, S. Scott and J. Taylor). Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 10–19.

- Historic Scotland. 1994. Historic Scotland Education Service (unpublished information leaflet). Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.
- Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds.). 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. 1983. Introduction: inventing traditions. In *The Invention of Tradition* (eds E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-14.
- Hodder, I. 1982. *The Present Past: an Introduction to Anthropology for Archaeologists*. London: Batsford.
- Hodder, I. 1985. *Archaeology, Knowledge and Society: Surveys in Britain*. (unpublished manuscript).
- Hodder, I. 1986. *Reading the Past*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. 1988a. The 'Art of Memory' and learning in the museum. *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 7: 129-137.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. 1992. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. (ed.). 1995. *Museum, Media, Message*. London: Routledge.
- Horne, D. 1984. *The Great Museum*. London: Pluto.
- Hudson, K. 1975. *A Social History of Museums*. London: Macmillan.
- Hudson, K. 1981. *A Social History of Archaeology*. London: Macmillan.
- Hutchinson, J. 1987. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Jackson, K. H. 1964. *The Oldest Irish Tradition: a Window on the Iron Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jackson, P. and Thrift, N. 1995. Geographies of consumption. In *Acknowledging Consumption: a Review of New Studies* (ed. D. Miller). London: Routledge, pp. 204-237.
- Jameson, F. 1984. Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. *New Left Review*, 146: 53-92.

- Jary, D. 1991. 'Society as time traveller': Giddens on historical change, historical materialism and the nation-state in world society. In *Giddens' Theory of Structuration* (eds. C.G.A. Bryant and D. Jary). London: Routledge, pp. 116–159.
- Jenkins, B. and Sofos, S. A. (eds.) 1996. *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Jenkins, J. G. 1992. *Getting Yesterday Right: Interpreting the Heritage of Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Jenkins, K. 1994. *Re-thinking History*. London: Routledge.
- Kaplan, F. E. S. (ed.) 1994. *Museums and the Making of 'Ourselves': the Role of Objects in National Identity*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Kaplan, S., Bardwell, L. V. and Slakter, D. B. 1993. The museum as a restorative environment. *Environment and Behaviour*, 25 (6): 725–742.
- Kearney, H. 1991. Four nations or one? In *National Identities* (ed. B. Crick). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 1–6.
- Kedourie, E. 1960. *Nationalism*. London: Hutchinson.
- Keen, J. 1997. *Ancient Technology*. English Heritage.
- Kennedy, N. 1992. Cornishness, discrimination and disadvantage: an initial response to the Commission for Racial Equality's report: 'Keep them in Birmingham: challenging racism in the South West'. Unpublished manuscript.
- Khleif, B. B. 1980. *Language, Ethnicity and Education in Wales*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Kiberd, D. 1996. *Inventing Ireland: the Literature of the Modern Nation*. London: Vintage.
- Kissock, J. 1987. Archaeology and its place in the primary school curriculum. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 6(2): 119–128.
- Kohl, P. and Fawcett, C. 1995. *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kraft, G. 1929. The Origin of the Kelts. *Antiquity*, 3: 33–48.
- Kramer, W. 1959. review article of TGE Powell's *The Celts*. *Antiquity*, 33: 229–230.

Kruta, V., Frey, O. H., Raftery, B. and Szabó, M. (eds). 1991. *The Celts*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Kruta, V. In search of the ancient Celts. In *The Celts* (eds V. Kruta, O. H. Frey, B. Raftery and M. Szabó). London: Thames and Hudson, pp. 29-34.

Lang, R. 1985. The dwelling door: towards a phenomenology of transition. In *Dwelling, Place and Environment* (eds D. Seamon and R. Mugeraure). Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, pp. 210-213.

Le Corbusier. 1996. from Towards a new architecture. In *From Modernism to Postmodernism: an Anthology* (ed. L. Cahoon). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 200-211.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space* (trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith). Oxford: Blackwell.

Lee, A. M. 1981. Mass media mythmaking in the United Kingdom's Interethnic struggles. *Ethnicity*, 8: 18-30.

Le Goff, J. 1985. *The Medieval Imagination*. Chicago: University Press.

Lewis, E. and Lewis, P. 1937. *The Land of Wales*. London: Batsford.

Light, D. 1995. Heritage as informal education. In *Heritage, Tourism and Society* (ed. D. T. Herbert). London: Mansell, pp. 117-145.

Lord, P. 1994 *Gwenllian*. Llandysul: Gomer.

Lowenthal, D. 1985. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lowenthal, D. 1991. British national identity and the English landscape. *Rural History*, 2(2): 205-230.

Lubbock, J. n.d. *Pre-historic Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*. London.

Lull, J. (ed). 1988. *World Families Watch Television*. London: Sage.

Lumley, R. (ed.) 1988. *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display*. London: Comedia.

Lunn, K. 1996. Reconsidering 'Britishness': the construction and significance of national identity in twentieth-century Britain. In *Nation and identity in contemporary Europe* (eds B. Jenkins and S.A. Sofos). London: Routledge, pp. 83-100.

- Lyotard, J. F. 1984. *The Postmodern Condition: a Report on Knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- McArthur, M. 1988. How Celtic are the Cornish? A Case Study in Ethnicity. Unpublished MSc diss. University of Bristol.
- McCloone, M. (ed.) 1991. *Culture, Identity and Broadcasting in Ireland: Local Issues, Global Perspectives*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies.
- McCone, K. 1990. *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature*. Maynooth: An Sagart.
- MacDonald, S. 1995. Consuming science: public knowledge and the dispersed politics of reception among museum visitors. *Media, Culture and Society*, 17: 13–29.
- MacDonald, S. and Fyfe, G. (eds.) 1996. *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- MacIntyre, A. 1996. The virtues, the unity of a human life and the concept of a tradition. In *From Modernism to Postmodernism: an Anthology* (ed. L. Cahoon). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 534–555.
- McManus, P. 1989. What people say and how they think in a science museum. In *Heritage Interpretation, volume two, The Visitor Experience* (ed. D. Uzzell). London: Belhaven, pp. 156–165.
- Mais, SPB I Return to Wales. 1949. London: Christopher Johnson.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. 1996. Bourgeois and proletarians. In *From Modernism to Postmodernism: an Anthology* (ed. L. Cahoon). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 91–101.
- Matthews, J. and Stewart, B. 1989. *Legendary Britain*. London: Blandford.
- Mauss, M. 1954. *The Gift*. London: Cohen and West.
- Meadows, K. 1994. Much ado about dinner: the social context of eating and drinking in early Roman Britain. Paper given at Theoretical Archaeology Group conference, Bradford, UK.
- Megaw, R. and V. 1994. Through a window on the European Iron Age darkly: fifty years of reading early Celtic art. *World Archaeology*, 25: 287–303.
- Mellor, D. (ed.). 1987. *A Paradise Lost: the Neo-Romantic Imagination in Britain*. London: Lund Humphries.

- Merriman, N. 1987. Value and motivation in pre-history: the evidence for Celtic spirit. In *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings* (ed. I. Hodder). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 111-116.
- Merriman, N. 1989a. Museum visiting as a cultural phenomenon. In *The New Museology* (ed. P. Vergo). London: Reaktion, pp. 149-171.
- Merriman, N. 1989b. The social basis of museum and heritage visiting. In *Museum Studies in Material Culture* (ed. S. Pearce). Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp. 153-171.
- Merriman, N. 1991. *Beyond the Glass Case*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Meskell, L. 1998. *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Michell, J. 1982. *Megalithomania*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Miles, R. S., Alt, M. B., Gosling, D. C., Lewis, B. N., and Tout, A. F. 1982. *The Design of Educational Exhibits*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Miles, M. and Huberman, A. M. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: an Expanded Sourcebook*. London: Sage.
- Miller, D. 1982. Artefacts as products of human categorisation processes. In *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (ed. I. Hodder). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 17-23.
- Miller, D. 1987. *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Miller, D. (ed.) 1995a. *Acknowledging Consumption*. London: Routledge.
- Miller, D. 1995b. Consumption as the vanguard of history. In *Acknowledging Consumption* (ed. D. Miller). London: Routledge, pp. 1-57.
- Molyneaux, B. L. 1994. Introduction: the represented past. In *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education* (eds P. Stone and B. Molyneaux). London: Routledge, pp. 1-13.
- Morgan, K. O. 1981. *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Morgan, P. 1983. From a death to a view: the hunt for the Welsh past in the Romantic period. In *The Invention of Tradition* (eds E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 43-100.
- Morley, D. 1992. *Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge.

- Morley, D. 1995a. Television: not so much a visual medium, more a visible object. In *Visual Culture* (ed. C. Jenks). London: Routledge, pp. 170-189.
- Morley, D. 1995b. Theories of consumption in media studies. In *Acknowledging Consumption: a Review of New Studies* (ed. D. Miller). London: Routledge, pp. 296-398.
- Morley, D. and Robins, K. 1995. *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries*. London: Routledge.
- Morton, H. V. 1932. *In Search of Wales*. London: Methuen
- Mytum, H. 1992. *The Origins of Early Christian Ireland*. London: Routledge.
- Nash, C. 1993. Remapping and renaming: new cartographies of identity, gender and landscape in Ireland. *Feminist Review*, 44: 39-57.
- Nash, D. 1976. Reconstructing Poseidonius' Celtic ethnography; some considerations. *Britannia*, 7: 111-126.
- National Curriculum History Working Group. 1989. *National Curriculum History Working Group – Interim Report*. Department of Education and Science (DES) and the Welsh Office.
- National Curriculum History Working Group. 1990. *National Curriculum History Working Group – Final Report*. Department of Education and Science (DES) and the Welsh Office.
- Nietzsche, F. 1980. *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life* (trans. P Preuss). Indianapolis: Hackett.
- Ortak Jewellery. *Celtic Collection Catalogue*. Birmingham: Three's Company.
- Orton, F. and Pollock, G. 1980. Les Données Bretonnantes: La Prairie de Répresentation. *Art History*, 3(3): 314-344.
- Oswald, A. 1991. A doorway on the past: round-house entrance orientation and its significance in Iron Age Britain. Unpublished BA diss. Cambridge.
1986. *The Oxford Reference Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Parker, A. (eds.) 1992. *Nationalisms and Sexualities*. London: Routledge.
- Parker Pearson, M. and Richards, C. (eds.) 1994. *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*. London: Routledge.

- Paterson, R. 1993. Introduction: collective identity, television and Europe. In *National Identity and Europe: the Television Revolution* (eds P. Drummond, P. Paterson and J. Willis). London: British Film Institute, pp. 1-8.
- Payton, P. 1993. *The Making of Modern Cornwall*. Redruth: Dyllansow Truran.
- Pearce, S. 1990 *Archaeological Curatorship*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Pearce, S. 1993. Museum archaeology. In *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK* (eds J. Hunter and I. Ralston). Bath: Alan Sutton, pp. 232-242.
- Piccini, A. 1992. Behind the green door: rath and cashel entrance orientation and its significance in early historic Ireland. Unpublished MA diss. Sheffield.
- Piccini, A. 1993. Archeos '92. *Anthropology Today*.
- Piccini, A. 1996. Filming through the mists of time: Celtic constructions and the documentary. *Current Anthropology*, 37: S87-S111.
- Piccini, A. 1997. Comment accompanying J. Weiner's Televisualist Anthropology. *Current Anthropology*, 38 (2): 219-222.
- Piccini, A. 1999. Welsh Celts or Celtic Wales? The production and consumption of a (not so) different Iron Age. In *Northern Exposure* (ed. B. Bevan). Leicester: Leicester University Monographs, pp. 51-63.
- Piccini, A. forthcoming. War games and Wendy houses: open-air reconstructions of prehistoric life. In *Making Early Histories in Museums* (ed. N. Merriman). Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Piggott, S. 1975. *The Druids*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Piggott, S. 1976. *Ruins in a Landscape*. Edinburgh: University Press.
- Polybius. *Histories*.
- Pownall, T. 1773. A Description of the Sepulchral Monument at *New Grange*, near *Drogheda*, in the County of *Meath*, in *Ireland*. *Archaeologia*, 2: 236-271.
- Prentice, R. 1993. *Tourism and Heritage Attractions*. London: Routledge.
- Prentice, R. 1995. Heritage as formal education. In *Heritage, Tourism and Society* (ed. D. Herbert). London: Mansell, pp. 146-169.

- Putnam, B. and M. 1994. *A Teacher's Guide to Using Prehistoric Sites*. London: English Heritage.
- Rabinow, P. 1986. Representations are social facts: modernity and post-modernity in anthropology. In *Writing Culture* (eds J. Clifford and G. Marcus). Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 234-261.
- Ralling, C. 1980. What is television doing to history?. *The Listener*. 10 January 1980, pp.41-43.
- Read, Sir H. 1921. Museums in the present and future. *The Antiquaries Journal*, 1(3): 167-182.
- Rearick, C. 1974. *Beyond the Enlightenment*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Reid, I. 1981. *Social Class Differences in Britain*. London: Grant McIntyre.
- Renov, M. (ed.). 1993a. *Theorizing Documentary*. London: Routledge.
- Renov, M. 1993b. Towards a poetics of documentary. In *Theorizing Documentary* (ed. M. Renov). London: Routledge, pp.12-36.
- Renov, M. 1993c. The truth about non-fiction. In *Theorizing Documentary* (ed. M. Renov). London: Routledge, pp.1-11.
- Ringrose, M. and Lerner, A. J. (eds). 1993. *Re-imagining the Nation*. Buckingham: Oxford University Press.
- Roger, J. C. 1884. *Celticism: a Myth*. London.
- Rogers, A. 1992. The boundaries of reason: the world, the homeland, and Edward Said. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 10: 511-526.
- Rowlands, M. 1994. The politics of identity in archaeology. In *Social Construction of the Past* (eds. G. Bond and A. Gilliam). London: Routledge, pp. 129-143.
- Ruby, J. 1996. Comment accompanying A. Piccini's *Filming through the mists of time: Celtic constructions and the documentary*. *Current Anthropology*, 37: S104.
- Said, E. 1978. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Samuel, R. 1994. *Theatres of Memory, volume one, Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. London: Verso.
- Scannell, P., Schlesinger, P. and Sparks, C. (eds.). 1992. *Culture and Power*. London: Sage.

Schlesinger, P. 1992. Media, the political order and national identity. In *Culture and Power* (eds P. Scannell, P. Schlesinger and C. Sparks). London: Sage.

Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum. 1989. *Curriculum Design for the Secondary Stages: Guidelines for Headteachers*. Dundee: SCCC.

Scottish Office Education Department. 1992. *History: summary and recommendations*. Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department.

Scottish Office Education Department. 1993. *Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland; National Guidelines – Environmental Studies*. Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department.

Shanks, M. 1992. *Experiencing the Past: on the Character of Archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Shanks, M. and Tilley, C. 1992. *Re-constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.

Sheehy, J. 1980. *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: the Celtic Revival 1830–1930*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Shields, R. 1991. *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London: Routledge.

Shields, R. (ed.) 1992. *Lifestyle shopping: the Subject of Consumption*. London: Routledge.

Silverstone, R. 1989. Heritage as media: some implications for research. In *Heritage Interpretation, volume two, The Visitor Experience* (ed. D.L. Uzzell). London: Belhaven.

Silverstone, R. 1992. Information and communication technologies and the moral economy of the household. In *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces* (eds R. Silverstone and E. Hirsch). London: Routledge, pp. 15–31.

Silverstone, R. 1994. *Television and Everyday Life*. London: Routledge.

Silverstone, R. and Hirsch, E. (eds.) 1992. *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces*. London: Routledge.

Sims-Williams, P. 1986. The visionary Celt: the construction of an ethnic preconception. *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 11: 71–96.

Skeggs, B. 1992. Paul Willis, *Learning to Labour*. In *Reading into Cultural Studies* (eds M. Barker and A. Beezer). London: Routledge, pp. 181–196.

Smiles, S. 1991. Nationalism and the poetics of prehistory. *Landscape Research*, 16(2): 3–7.

Smiles, S. 1994. *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.

Smith, A. D. 1984. Ethnic myths and ethnic revivals. *European Journal of Sociology*, 25: 283-305.

Smith, A. D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Smith, A. D. 1990. The supersession of nationalism? *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 31(1-2): 1-31.

Smith, A. D. 1993. The nation: invented, imagined, reconstructed? In *Re-imagining the Nation* (eds M. Ringrose and A. J. Lerner). Buckingham: Oxford University Press, pp. 9-28.

Smith, C. S. 1989. Museums, artefacts and meanings. In *The New Museology* (ed. P. Vergo). London: Reaktion, pp. 6-21.

Snyder, E. D. 1920. The wild Irish: a study of some English satires against the Irish, Scots and Welsh. *Modern Philology*, 17: 147-185.

Snyder, E. D. 1965. *The Celtic Revival in English Literature*. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith.

Spivak, G. C. 1993. Can the subaltern speak. In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (eds P. Williams and L. Chrisman). Hemel Hempstead: Harvester/Wheatsheaf, pp. 66-111.

Stead, I. 1979. *The Arras Culture*. Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

Stead, I. 1985. *Celtic Art in Britain Before the Roman Conquest*. London: British Museum.

Stead, I. 1991. *Iron Age Cemeteries in East Yorkshire: Excavations at Burton Fleming, Rudston, Garton-on-the-Wolds and Kirkburn*. London: English Heritage and the British Museum.

Stokes, M. 1883. On Two Bronze Fragments of an unknown object, portions of the Petrie Collection, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. *Archaeologia*, 47: 473-480.

Stone, P. and Mackenzie, R. (eds.). 1990. *The Excluded Past*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Stone, P. G. and Molyneaux, B. L. (eds.) 1994. *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education*. London: Routledge.

Stone, P. G. 1994. Introduction: a framework for discussion. In *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education* (eds P. Stone and B. Molyneaux). London: Routledge, pp. 15-28.

Strabo. *Geography*.

- Swan, L. 1983. Enclosed ecclesiastical sites and their relevance to settlement patterns of the first millennium A.D. In *Landscape Archaeology in Ireland* (eds T. Reeves-Smyth and F. Hammond). BAR Brit. Ser. 116: 269–280.
- Tacitus. 1970. *The Agricola and the Germania*. London: Penguin.
- Talbot, J. F., Kaplan, R., Kuo, F. E., and Kaplan, S. 1993. Factors that enhance effectiveness of visitor maps. *Environment and Behaviour*, 25 (6): 743–760.
- Tate, N. 1996. National identity and the school curriculum. *Welsh Historian*, Spring 1996: 7–9.
- Taylor, T. 1991. Celtic art. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 8: 129–132.
- Thomas, F. W. L. 1852. Account of some of the Celtic Antiquities of Orkney, including the Stones of Stenness, Tumuli, Picts-houses, &c. *Archaeologia*, 34: 88–136.
- Thomas, H. 1996. Comment accompanying A. Piccini's *Filming through the mists of time: Celtic constructions and the documentary*. *Current Anthropology*, 37 S100–101.
- Thomas, J. 1990. Same, Other, Analogue: writing the past. In *Writing the Past in the Present* (eds F. Baker and J. Thomas). Lampeter: Saint David's University College, pp.18–23.
- Thomas, J. 1996. *Time, Culture and Identity: an Interpretative Archaeology*. London: Routledge.
- Thompson, E. P. 1967. Time, work discipline and industrial capitalism. *Past and Present*, 38: 56–97.
- Thompson, F. (ed.). 1968. *Maintaining a National Identity*. Baile Atha Cliath: Celtic League.
- Thompson, R. W. 1937. *An Englishman Looks at Wales*. Bristol: Arrowsmith.
- Tierney, J. J. 1960. The Celtic ethnography of Posidonius. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 60(c): 189–275.
- Anon. 1932. *Times Literary Supplement*, p.431.
- Titus Livius (Livy). *History of Rome*.
- Tonkin, E. McDonald, M. and Chapman, M. . 1989. Introduction. In *History and Ethnicity* (eds E. Tonkin, M. MacDonald and M. Chapman). London: Routledge, pp. 1–21.

Trevor-Roper, H. 1983. The invention of tradition: the Highland tradition of Scotland. In *The Invention of Tradition* (eds E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.15-41.

Trigger, B. 1989. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: University Press.

Trinh, M. 1993. The totalizing quest for meaning. In *Theorizing Documentary* (ed. M. Renov). London: Routledge, pp. 90-107.

Urry, J. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.

Urry, J. 1996. How societies remember the past. In *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* (eds S. MacDonald and G. Fyfe). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 1-15.

Uzzell, D.L. (ed.) 1989. *Heritage Interpretation, volume two, The Visitor Experience*. Belhaven: London.

Valdés, M. J. (ed.). 1991. *A Ricoeur Reader: Reflection and Imagination*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Vale, E. 1935. *The World of Wales*. London: J. M. Dent.

Vergo, P. (ed.) 1989. *The New Museology*. London: Reaktion.

Wait, G. A. 1985. *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain*. BAR Brit. Ser. 149 (i & ii).

Wales Tourist Board. 1994. *Tourism 2000*. Cardiff: Wales Tourist Board.

Walsh, K. 1992. *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Postmodern World*. London: Routledge.

Warner, R. B. 1988. The archaeology of Early Historic Irish kingship. In *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (eds S. T. Driscoll and M. R. Níe). Edinburgh: University Press, pp. 47-68.

Webster, J. 1995a. Translation and subjection: interpretation and Celtic gods. In *Different Iron Ages: Studies in the Archaeology of Iron Age Europe* (eds J.D. Hill and C.G. Cumberpatch). British Archaeological Reports International Series 602, pp. 175-184.

Webster, J. 1995b. The just war: Graeco-Roman text as colonial discourse. In *TRAC94: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1994* (eds S. Cottham, D. Dungworth, S. Scott and J. Taylor). Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 1-10.

- Weil, S. E. 1989. The proper business of museums: ideas or things? *Muse*, 7(1): 28-38.
- Weiner, J. 1997. Televisualist anthropology. *Current Anthropology*, 38 (2): 197-236.
- Wellman, D. 1994. Constituting ethnographic authority in the work process of field research, an ethnographic account. *Cultural Studies*, 8: 569-583.
- Welsh Office/Y Swyddfa Gymreig. 1991. *History in the National Curriculum (Wales)/Hanes yn y Cwricwlwm Cenedlaethol (Cymru)*. Cardiff: Welsh Office
- Whetter, J. 1973. *A Celtic Tomorrow*. St. Austell: M.K. Publications.
- Williams, G. A. 1985. *When Was Wales?* Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Williams, P. and Chrisman, L. (eds.). 1993. *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester/Wheatsheaf.
- Willis, P. E. 1977. *Learning to Labour*. Farnborough: Saxon House.
- Wright, P. 1985. *On Living in an Old Country*. London: Verso.
- Young, M. F. D. (ed.). 1973. *Knowledge and Control*. London: Collier-Macmillan.
- Young, M. F. D. 1975. An approach to the study of curricula as socially organized knowledge. In *Curriculum Design* (eds M. Golby, J. Geenwald and R. West). London: Croom Helm, pp. 100-127.