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Contested Heritage: Examining relations between contemporary Pagan groups and the archaeological and heritage professions in Britain

Volume 1

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Fig. 1: Open access at Stonehenge Winter Solstice 2008 (Author's photograph)

This research was undertaken under the auspices of the School of Archaeology, History and Anthropology of University of Wales Trinity Saint David and was submitted on the 26th April 2013 in partial fulfillment of the award of a Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Research with the University of Wales

Declarations

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

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Statement 1

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Dedication and Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to my family especially my parents who made it possible and to my daughter, Alexandria, who continues to inspire and delight me. To thank all those who helped and inspired this thesis would be a whole chapter in itself. Above all I am indebted to my parents who supported me financially and emotionally. I am very grateful to Dr Penny Dransart and Dr Nick Campion who have supervised my work and never failed to provide encouragement and support whilst holding me to the highest academic standards. This work would have been impossible without a great many interviewees who generously gave their time. I am grateful to Paul Davies, Yvonne Aburrow, Sebastian Payne, Emma Restall Orr, Angela Grant, Kris Hughes, Cheryl Headford, Wayne Danewood, Chris Park, Bryan Ayers, Phil Bennett, Peter Carson, Jody Joy, Emma Orbach, Margaret Clegg, Eddie Daughton, Lee Davies, Chris Caple, Philip Shallcrass, Kit Warwick, Mike Webber, Arthur Pendragon, Kim Payne and Frank Somers to name but a few. I would especially like to thank my friends who offered guidance, advice and assisted in locating particularly hard to access resources. Among these I would especially like to thank Prof. Ronald Hutton, Dr Rachel Casiday, Dr Suzanne Owen, Dr Jenny Blain, Dr Rob Wallis, Dr Sam Hum, Dr Angels Trias I Valls, Dr Katie Smith, Ian Morgan, Martin Locock, Luci Attala, Emily Porth, Adrian Davis, Pauline Bambrey, Dave Sables, Eloise Govier, Liz Cardash, Kate Parsons, Tom Pitwood, Rachael Bamwell, Ross Cook, Gaby Bamana, Hannah Epicheff, Norrie Parmar, Elaine Forde, Carole Reid, Helidith Ravenholm, Nimue Brown, Nicolette Butler, Emily-Jane Smith, Abi Kirk, Alison Wood, Terri Neimann, Olwyn Pritchard, Erin Kavanagh, Paul Rousselle, Geoff Lee, Annie-Leigh Campbell, Stephen Scale and Steve Turner.

Abstract

This thesis uses ethnographic field research and literature analysis to examine the sometimes fraught interactions and relationships between the archaeologists and heritage managers who manage and interpret the material remains of Britain's ancient past and contemporary Pagan groups to whom such remains are sacred. It provides a description of contestation of sites and human corporeal remains followed by a detailed analysis of the reasons presented in the discourse of contestation and the underlying attitudes behind the issues. The Thesis concludes with some thoughts on how heritage managers and archaeologists may better manage their interactions with the Pagan community in the future.

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Glossary of Abbreviations

ADO	Ancient Druid Order or Anglesey Druid Order
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
AIAD	American Indians Against Desecration
AIM	American Indian Movement
AOD	Ancient Order of Druids
APABE	Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Burials in England
APACBE	Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Christian Burials in England
ASA	Association of Social Anthropologists
BABAO	British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BDO	British Druid Order
BM	British Museum
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CoBDO	Council of British Druid Orders
COD	Cotswold Druid Order
CTUIR	Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
EH	English Heritage
GR	Grid Reference
HAD	Honouring the Ancient Dead
ICOM	International Council of Museums

IfA	Institute for Archaeologists
LAW	Loyal Arthurian Warband
MA	Museums Association
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoLAS	Museum of London Archaeology Service
MPhil	Master of Philosophy
NAGPRA	Native American Graves and Repatriation Act
NAU	Norfolk Archaeology Unit
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NT	National Trust
OBOD	Order of Bards Ovates and Druids
PF	Pagan Federation
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PPG16	Public Policy Guidance note 16
PPS5	Planning Policy Statement 5
QuANGO	Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisation
SOD	Secular Order of Druids
TAG	Theoretical Archaeology Group
TDN	The Druid Network
UFO	Unidentified Flying Object
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USA	United States of America
USACE	United States Army Corps of Engineers
UWL	University of Wales Lampeter
UWTSD	University of Wales Trinity Saint David
WAC	World Archaeology Congress

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Foreword

This Thesis examines interactions and relations between the heritage and archaeological professions and the British Pagan community. In terms of British Pagans, it will focus particularly on Druid groups, as these have been most active in matters relating to heritage. Relations between the contemporary Pagan community and the heritage and archaeological professions in the UK have often been somewhat strained in the last few decades. This thesis will examine issues of contention and contestation between these groups, such as sensitivities over excavation of ancient sacred sites, access to ancient monuments and especially issues surrounding excavation, storage and display of ancient human remains. It will examine the consequent relations between them and the underlying attitudes of members to one another. Decades of mutual mistrust have left parts of the Pagan community with a disjointed and sometimes hostile range of interactions with 'establishment' organisations: on the one hand there is a desire to maintain anonymity thus avoiding discrimination, but on the other there is a desire to demand equal rights with other religious and spiritual groups in order to challenge discrimination. Within the archaeological community and across the heritage sector there is concern that if all the demands coming from the modern Pagan community were to be granted it would become difficult for archaeologists and heritage workers to meet their professional objectives and perhaps even their ethical obligations. Prejudices, misunderstandings and errors have given rise to conflict which, I shall show, has caused much distress and expense to all concerned. This thesis will analyse the ideas and arguments involved and set out suggestions to improve future interactions. In this introductory chapter I define the communities central to this study and describe the issues being contested.

1.2 Defining Terms

Before a study of these groups can begin, it needs to be established who they are. Another fundamental question is what is meant by the term 'community'. Are these groups actually communities and how do they fit into the broad canvas of

contemporary British society? This will have a bearing on issues of inclusion and exclusion especially those investigated in chapter 6.

1.2.1 A Brief Discussion on Community and Society

I suggest that an understanding of community is vital in understanding contestation between groups. Discourses on community and society in the humanities tend to derive from the work of Ferdinand Tönnies (1955:16-18, 37-39). He explains the concept of community (*gemeinschaft*) comparing it with and situating it within society (*gesellschaft*). He describes community as held together by the natural will, a shared morality and kinship, whilst society is held together by rational will that has contractual and legal frameworks. He characterises society as large-scale, impersonal and modern while community is seen as small-scale, traditional and involving face-to-face communication. However, much has changed since the 19th century: Appadurai (1996:8) has described 'communities of sentiment' influenced by large-scale migration. Licklider & Taylor (1968) appear to have been the first to suggest the idea of online communities of interest. Boyd (2012:191) suggests that 'communities of interest' develop a sense of cognitive ownership that ought to be recognised. Smith & Waterton (2009:18) remark that community is not homogenous but varied and fluid. Some may be geographical but others linked by religion or 'a range of social and cultural experiences'. They point out that a single individual might belong to several communities at the same time (Smith & Waterton 2009:18). Moore (2001:71-72) has argued that increasing individualism has harmed feelings of community and identifies obstacles to community including 'intense nationalism – and related "isms"... and a strong tendency to scapegoat outside groups'

The concept of a Pagan community is perhaps made problematic by the lack of a single cosmology, pantheon, or set of values or commandments. There is little or no concept of orthodoxy within specific traditions of contemporary Paganism (Jennings 2002:7-8). However, anyone active within such groups will know there are meetings known as 'moots' to which all who identify as Pagan or are interested in Paganism are welcome. Most moots take place in pubs and are either plain social gatherings or include a speaker on a topic of Pagan interest. Pagan societies also exist in many universities and several organisations exist to represent the interests of Pagans.

These social groups and related activities (such as camps, games and eisteddfodau) at which Pagans of any tradition or sect are welcome provide a sort of communal space in which the type of social relations which unite and define a community may be negotiated. This along with the shared identity as Pagans provides a sense of community. I therefore argue the term is justified in this case.

Since they have disparate aims and objectives it may be argued there are several archaeological communities rather than a single unified one. However, the connecting threads such as conferences and professional organisations which cross the social boundaries dividing archaeologists into distinct communities make this problematical. I have therefore chosen to refer to a single archaeological community.

Similarly the heritage sector has its own professional bodies such as the Museums Association; there are journals and conferences. Arguably, many 'shop floor' level employees are less likely to enjoy the face-to-face communication Tonnies refers to beyond their specific workplace. Mattessich et al (1997:7) acknowledge that a shared profession is a basis for a community; however, to some heritage employees it is a job rather than a profession. The difference is that a profession may be defined as a vocation with shared standards involving a high degree of competence, skill and/or experience (Darvill 2012:375; Everill 2009:6) as opposed to a simple paid job which may be transitory in a person's life while a profession is something much more sustained and self-defining (Robbins 1993:34). Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton (2009:19) consider that 'archaeologists, heritage managers and museum professionals can be defined as a community group' which they collectively describe as 'heritage professionals'.

Tonnies' definition of community includes neither contemporary Pagans, heritage professionals nor archaeologists which, I would argue, indicates a weakness in his definition. If, as Wittgenstein (1933:51-61) suggests, use is meaning then the use of 'Pagan community' means it is a 'correct' use of language but that the context provides the meaning. The rise of electronic interaction via computers has brought about self-describing online communities.

1.2.2 Subcultures and Counter-Cultures

Being groups within British society it is worth considering whether contemporary Pagans, archaeologists and heritage professionals may be termed subcultures. Hodkinson (2002:7-33) and Hebdige (1989:1-19) explain that subcultures are often elective and self-defined using a particular style, visual or dialectic, to differentiate themselves from the hegemonic mainstream. These are often, but not always, united by a common interest or belief. Indeed I perceive a trend which began with the multicultural permissive society developing from the late 1950's and into the 1960s which has since been accelerated massively by the information revolution. This has made the concept of a British cultural mainstream problematical. Britain is now rather a society of overlapping subcultural groups. I base this contention on what I perceive to be a distinct lack of cultural phenomena which are common across British society but distinct from other European societies. Archaeologists may form a sub-culture; there are particular styles common especially among field archaeologists such as high-visibility vests and combat trousers, heavy working boots and broad-brimmed hats (Holtorf 2007:96-98). Archaeology also has a dialectic involving excavation and archaeological theory as well as a vocabulary of its own with words like: material culture, trench, stratigraphy, section, geophysics, artefact etc. which either have a different use in mainstream discourse or are seldom used if at all. There are also words like Neolithic and Palaeolithic which have entered mainstream vocabulary specifically from archaeology. I am less certain if heritage professionals can be said to form a coherent sub-culture. I have not identified a particular style and although this community has its own jargon which may give it a linguistic distinction I am unsure whether that is sufficient to justify the use of the term sub-culture.

If it is characterised by systematic dissidence and opposition to dominant cultural values, a subculture may be termed as a counter-culture (Dowd & Dowd 2003:20-35). Ivakhiv (2001:46-51) and Greenwood (2000:8) refer to spiritual or religious counter-culture to describe not just Pagans but New Age spiritualities and other New Religious Movements. Wallis (2000:253) describes Paganism (which he describes as Neo-Shamanism) as 'queer' meaning consciously outside the mainstream and I

consider it significant that, when examining discourses on counter-culture, Timothy Leary (1994:53) emphasises the counter-cultural credentials of the Woodstock Pop Festival by describing it as 'pagan'. England and Scotland still have established churches. Anglican Christianity is woven into the unwritten constitution of England and Presbyterianism into that of Scotland (Davie 1994:39-159). National ritual and pageantry has a Christian flavour and seldom actively involves non-Christian clergy. The 2011 census returns show Christianity as the largest religious identity with 59.3% of people in England and Wales describing themselves as Christian (Office for National Statistics 2012).

The relationship between Paganism and Christianity is not consistent. As people within faiths vary so their interactions will also inevitably vary. I believe that the general character of relations between these religions, although improving, is not good. Several Pagans of my acquaintance have moved away from Christianity and Judaism because these faiths failed to satisfy their yearning for spiritual enchantment but others left their parents' religion because they felt that Abrahamic scriptures contained much that was ethically repugnant to them. Polytheism in particular is not easy to reconcile with mainstream Christian cosmology. Add to this a legacy of vicious persecution of early Christians by pagan Romans and centuries of denigration of Paganism and magic and a basis for bad relations is strongly ingrained. Also since many Pagans define themselves against the 'Christian other' a further obstacle to good relations exists.

The second most popular religious orientation in contemporary Britain after Christianity is atheism (the denial of all religion) with just under nine million recorded in the 2001 census (Miller 2005:17). Atheists often view Pagans as being at least as ignorant and superstitious as Christians. In fact personal experience and remarks by others lead me to conclude that many atheists are even less tolerant of Paganism than of Christianity or than Christians are of Paganism. Paganism is therefore sufficiently contrary to mainstream religious thought in Britain today that it fulfils the requirements of a counter-culture (Greenwood 2000:8). Although I acknowledge that all Pagans are to some extent counter-cultural, I believe a spectrum between hard counter-culturalism and integrationalism can be identified. The counter-cultural side is

especially focused on the narrative of oppression and adamantly disinclined to trust authority figures in general, but especially those outside their community. They are less likely to be in regular paid employment due to opposing mainstream capitalist society and often follow or idealise a nomadic existence. They hope to change society from outside. The integrated Pagans function as members of mainstream British society, are generally content to live settled lives in houses and hold down jobs. They may also feel that society could learn lessons from Paganism but work within existing frameworks to effect social change.

1.2.3 Contemporary Pagans

Yvonne Aburrow in one of her blogs explains that referring to Neo-Paganism is best avoided since the term is used pejoratively both within the Pagan community and outside (Aburrow 2008a). Therefore the terms 'contemporary Paganism', sometimes abbreviated to 'Paganism' will be used throughout this study. Capitalisation is used on Paganism and Pagan since it is customary to use it in the case of other self-adopted religious identities such as Christian. Non-capitalised 'pagan' and 'paganism' will be used to refer to the ancient pre-Christian spiritualities which have inspired contemporary Pagans but which were only defined as pagan by outsiders. Harvey (2005:84) describes Paganism as 'a diverse but cohesive array of nature-centred spiritualities or nature religions'. They tend to celebrate the natural world (Harvey 2000:155) and be non-evangelical, non-dogmatic, lacking an established orthodoxy (Crowley 1995:21-24; Harvey 1997:1-2, 216, 223; Jennings 2002:7-8; Luhmann 1991:7). This lack of evangelical behaviour is beginning to change as will be seen in chapters 8 and 9. Some people within contemporary Paganism are uncomfortable with describing themselves as religious preferring the term spiritual. Asked about this, one informant explained: 'religion is hierarchical and dogmatic. Paganism isn't. I prefer to think of it as spirituality rather than religion'.

Accurate and verifiable numbers of UK Pagans are not known. The 2001 Census provided several self-identifications accepted by the Pagan Federation as Pagan totalling 41,050 individuals (Miller 2005:17) which works out as about 0.07% of the UK population. The 2011 Census recorded those who identified specifically as Pagan had risen to around 57,000 with about another 20,000 identifying as Witches,

Wiccans, Druids, Heathens, Shamans etc. (Office of National Statistics 2012). The same survey showed 39,000 Spiritualists, 7,906 Rastafarians, 5,021 Baha'is and 4,105 Zoroastrians. This would suggest that Pagans comprise one of the larger non-Abrahamic religious groupings. However, Miller admits that many Pagans at the time were reluctant to be publicly identified as such and may have opted not to declare their religious identity. I have observed an increasing tolerance of Paganism over the last twenty-five years and so more of these invisible Pagans may have come out of what is colloquially known as 'the broom closet'. Cooper (2010:22) cites a BBC survey as indicating the number of UK Pagans in 1997 as about 100,000. Ronald Hutton (2001:401), one of the leading authorities on contemporary Paganism in the UK, estimated the number at 90,000 to 100,000 although Jenkins (2011:79) cites him as suggesting up to 250,000, a number also cited by Greenwood (2000:5) from one of her participants. The Survey carried out by English Heritage and the National Trust regarding attitudes to human remains in museums (BDRG nd:3-4) showed 2% of the 864-person sample identified as Pagan. Interestingly this was a similar percentage to those who identified as Hindu and as Muslim. I accept that a larger sample would be required to provide an accurate estimate of the numbers of UK Pagans but if the sample were truly representative then the number of British citizens identifying as Pagan would be about 1.18 million. Jennings (2002:16) asserts that unlike Buddhists, Muslims and Christians, Pagans do not actively proselytise and attempt to win converts. He argues that most Pagans do not choose to convert to Paganism but rather come to the realisation that their existing ideas and beliefs are Pagan (Jennings 2002:16). Jennings (2002:16) also suggested that people might be drawn to Paganism for reasons including spiritual experiences, involvement in environmental activism or rejection from their previous religious group.

1.2.3.1 Unifying Characteristics In Contemporary Paganism

The Pagan Federation, which exists to bring Pagans together and to promote and educate people about Paganism, defines Paganism as 'a polytheistic or pantheistic nature worshipping religion' (Pagan Federation nd). This definition replaces the three 'Principles of Paganism' which it formerly used to provide a definition:

- *Love for and Kinship with Nature*
- *The Pagan Ethic: 'Do what thou wilt, but harm none'*

- *The concept of Goddess and God*

(Pagan Federation 1992:4; Jennings 2002:9)

The boundaries of contemporary Pagan identity are inevitably (considering the diversity it encompasses) fluid and negotiable (Harvey 2004a:245). Shallcrass (2000:3) describes Druids as being opposed to dogmas and suggests that more mutable ideas held as long as they stand scrutiny, which he terms catmas, are preferable. Defining Paganism is therefore hampered by its diversity and fluidity (Pagan Federation 1992, Harvey 1997). However, most branches of contemporary Paganism incorporate one or more of the following beliefs:

- **Duotheism or Polytheism:** participants recognise two or more distinct deities (Zwi Werblowsky 1987:436, Harvey 1997:175). In the case of duotheism, these deities can be a generic god and goddess but most commonly either a Lunar (often triplicated as maiden, mother and crone by phase) or an Earth goddess and either a solar or horned/antlered god of nature and fertility. Polytheists may pick and choose deities from different pantheons but are more likely to devote their spirituality to one particular cultural/historic family of divinities such as the Tuatha De Danaan of Irish mythology, the Olympian gods of Greece or the Egyptian gods (Jennings 2002; Harvey 1997). The ways in which the divine is perceived varies significantly within the contemporary Pagan community. Wiccans and some of the more political and counter-cultural (i.e. non-integrated) Druids tend to be more inclined to duotheism with 'The God and The Goddess'. Those who are more reconstructionist in their theology will tend to honour a whole pantheon of named gods and goddesses whilst maybe giving particular devotion to one above the others.
- **Pantheism** considers the material world and the divine to be one indivisible whole while **Panentheism** recognises the divine as being manifest in the material world, but also to exist beyond it. This is often characterised as a belief that all living things contain a divine essence or spark (Kauffman 1975:343-4; Hartshorne 1987:165; Harvey 1997:176).

- Animism is a word originally coined by E. B. Tylor to describe what he saw as a primitive and erroneous belief that animals and landscape features (even sometimes human-made objects) have souls and consciousness and can interact with humans and that non-divine spirits dwell around us and influence our lives (Harvey 2005:xi; Kauffman 1975:33; Bolle 1987:296). Harvey (2005:xi) prefers to define animism as the recognition 'that the world is full of persons, only some of whom are human, and that life is always lived in relationship with others'. Increasingly people within the Pagan community are identifying themselves specifically as animists often asserting a unity of body and soul or spirit and matter (monism) proposed by Harvey (2005:192-193) and promulgated by Emma Restall Orr (2012:104). This worldview is of key importance to many reburial campaigners but is not without problems as I shall demonstrate in section 8.7.1.2.
- Magic, sometimes spelled magick to differentiate it from sleight of hand conjuring, illusionism, escapist romanticism and spiritualism (Crowley 1986:XI-XII; Harvey 1997:97), was defined by Aleister Crowley (perhaps the most famous occultist of modern times) as 'any event in nature which is brought to pass by will' (Crowley 1986:107). However, this definition would include such simple and everyday actions as toasting bread. Sir James Frazer defined magic as 'practices designed to bring spiritual or supernatural forces under the control of human agents' (Hutton 2001:66). Within the Pagan community, Doreen Valiente (1993:73), one of the first Wiccan high priestesses, offered a definition of magic as 'the science of the secret forces of nature' which she attributed to S.L. MacGregor Mathers. Another definition of magic attributed to the early 20th century occultist Dion Fortune (1932:21) is 'The art of causing changes in consciousness at will' (Butler 1977:12, Starhawk 1999:42). Luhmann (1991:7) describes the core concept of magic as the belief 'that mind affects matter' and that therefore magical practices are those intended to focus the mind to bring about change in the physical world. Susan Greenwood (2003:195) goes so far as to suggest that a belief in magic and Paganism are two names for the same thing but I have encountered several people who identify as magical practitioners but not as Pagan and many others who identify as Pagan but do not practise magic. For the purposes of this study I

suggest a more useful definition of magic is 'the belief that, through ritual activity or psychic power, humans can access hidden information or bring about change in themselves, others or the world around them' (my words based on Kauffman 1975:299 and Harvey 1997:87-106).

Additionally, Philip Shallcrass (p.c. 2011) of the British Druid Order suggests that reverence for the ancestors is a characteristic of contemporary Paganism but although common I am unsure if this is sufficiently universal to be considered characteristic of Pagan spirituality. Most Pagans identify strongly with peoples of the pre-Christian past and to a greater or lesser extent feel that they are carrying on or resurrecting the paganisms of the past (Maughfling 2000a:46). As such they will tend to identify strongly with people of the past and derive a sense of tribal communion with them, thus, in some cases, they feel entitled to act as spokespersons for them (Davies 1998, BAJR 2008).

York (2005:69) and Harvey (2005:28, 2013:206-210) argue that defining spiritualities or religions by beliefs can be problematic and that what members do (praxis) is a better way to categorise them than their beliefs. Many Pagans (particularly Witches and Druids) carry out ritual in circular spaces (York 2005:63). Pagans often leave offerings of various kinds to gods, ancestors and other spiritual beings at sacred places (Restall Orr 1996:27).

1.2.3.2 Branches or Traditions of Contemporary Paganism

The most numerous and well known types of contemporary Paganism in the UK are:

- Witchcraft, of which the largest element, Wicca, is a tradition invented (some would say revealed or reinvented) by Gerald Gardner in the 1940s (Hutton 2001:205-252). Witchcraft tends to be duotheistic and always involves the practice of Magic(k) (Harvey 1997:35-52; Pagan Federation 1992:6).
- Druidry, in which subversive Christian and eclectic occult groups have given rise to Pagan groups over the last thirty years or so (Bonewits 2006:80-81; Cooper 2010:71; Cunliffe 2010:128; Hutton 2006:249-253, 2007:196-200, 2009:418). Many Druid groups however, include Christian members and argue that their philosophies and practices are not exclusively Pagan. Druidry tends

to concentrate on 'Celtic' lore coming from Welsh, Irish, Scottish and Breton sources as well as from classical literature (Harvey 1997:17-34). Contemporary Druids are normally divided into three grades through which initiates work sequentially: Bards who specialise in performance and the arts, Ovates who concentrate on divination and healing and Druids who specialise in ritual, magic and philosophy (Shallcrass 2000:47-139; Green 1997:171). The Druid community is, broadly speaking, split between those orders which concentrate on spiritual training, generally with an ideal of peace-making and those which are more political and adopt a warrior ethos, involving themselves in protests in support of religious freedom and green issues (Hutton 2006:256-257).

- Shamanism in Britain is often described as urban or neo-Shamanism to emphasise differences with Shamanism in traditional societies (Jakobsen 1999:147-205). It draws primarily on American Indian practices and cosmologies but also on Siberian Shamanism, African traditions, European Paganism and other influences. It is based around spirit communication ecstatic or trance work and tends strongly towards an animistic worldview (Jakobsen 1999:147-205; Harvey 1997:107-125; Pagan Federation 1992:9).
- Asatru, Heathenism or Odinism is largely based on adherence to the perceived or researched values and deities of 'Viking' or Anglo-Saxon pre-Christian cultures (Harvey 1997:53-68; Pagan Federation 1992:8). Large numbers of deities and other supernatural beings are recognised as well as magic and a degree of predetermined fate (Wyrd or Orlog). Honour, truth, bravery and hospitality are core values among this group (Jennings 2002:94).

There are also many other groups: Some concentrate particularly on the Divine Feminine often from a radical feminist perspective (Hutton 2001:341-251; Pagan Federation 1992:10; Raphael 1999). Some Pagans concentrate on a single pantheon or set of deities associated with a particular historical culture and try to remain as true as possible to the Pagan religions, traditions, values etc. surrounding them, carefully researching historical and archaeological resources to construct and inform their spiritualities. These Pagans are commonly termed Reconstructionists (Aburrow 2008a; Blain 2004:221; Bonewits 2006:304-305; Filan & Kaldera 2013:159-183). An

important, perhaps even defining, feature of Reconstructionist Paganism is the scholarly learning associated with it. I suggest that within Paganism as a whole there is a spectrum of reconstructionism versus eclecticism. Jennings (2002:113) describes eclectics as unable or unwilling to limit themselves to one culture. They are happy to



Fig. 2: A Druid from the Cotswold order of Druids portraying the Egyptian Sun God Ra exemplifies eclectic Paganism (theclevercat 2012)

combine deities and spiritual practices from a variety of sources and also to include more personal revelation and inspiration into beliefs and practices (see fig. 2). Critics describe this as pick and mix spirituality (Jennings 2002:113) and indigenous groups complain of cultural appropriation (Jennings 2002:113). I disagree with Cooper (2010:72) when he describes the Loyal Arthurian Warband as Reconstructionist. LAW is a Druid group which includes Christian members and their liturgy and rhetoric refer to 'The Goddess' rather than named deities from Romano-British, Gallo-Roman and Welsh, Scottish and Irish mythological sources. Witchcraft is frequently unashamedly eclectic whilst Asatru tends towards the firmly reconstructionist end of the spectrum. I suggest that in Druidry a tension between predominantly reconstructionist and more eclectic groups is increasing (see Hutton 2006:257; Pendragon & Stone 2003:81-82).

1.2.3.3 Misconceptions Regarding Pagans

Those not familiar with contemporary Paganism have sometimes, mistakenly or deliberately, conflated Paganism with Satanism as well as with the New Age Movement. This spurious association with Satanism has, in the past, featured in lurid media reports and continues to be promulgated by scandal-hungry reporters and occasionally some evangelical Christians, who feel threatened or upset by the increasing prominence of contemporary Paganism (La Fontaine 1998:42-46, 163-166; York 1995:122-123, 131-132, 182).

Pagan traditions are not devil worship or Satanism. The Devil is a construct of Abrahamic cosmology whereas branches of Paganism have their own cosmologies and mythologies (Jennings 2002:12). Therefore to say that Pagans worship the devil would be about as accurate as to say Christians worship Shiva. References to 'Pagan Devil Worship' do however, surface in the Press from time to time (Hutton 2001:255, 259-60, 319) and have even been referenced in information panels at major heritage sites such as Avebury to the anger of many Pagans (BBC 2009). Assertions of devil worship are countered by pointing out that the devil does not figure in Pagan cosmology since Pagans usually adopt non-Abrahamic cosmologies, therefore they cannot worship something they do not believe exists (Pengelly & Waredale 1992:3; Pagan Federation 1992:3). There are, however, a few people who identify themselves, and are accepted by others, as contemporary Pagans who work within

an Abrahamic cosmology. They are generally those who integrate or restore concepts of 'the divine feminine' to these traditions by recognising characters like Asherah or Lillith as goddesses (Raphael 1999:42; Oringer 1998-2001).

Contemporary Paganism definitely has connections and commonalities with the New Age Movement including features such as diversity and lack of dogma. Pagans tend to emphasise a distinction between themselves and New Agers and may even use the term pejoratively, often accompanied by the term 'fluffy', against those they perceive as being undisciplined, excessively eclectic or in denial of some of the less comfortable aspects of their tradition (Harvey 2004a:245; Jennings 2002:37; Pearson 1998:45; Shallcrass 1998:168; Wallis 2003:29; see also Brown 2012:138). Many New Agers to whom I have spoken maintain a Christian or Buddhist cosmology or use an Abrahamic concept of divinity rather than Pagan ones.

Paganism and Occultism are also related but not identical. Occult is defined as that which is kept secret, the esoteric, the mysterious (Greenwood 2000:2) and while many, perhaps most, Pagan traditions fall into this category, others (particularly reconstructionists) do not as there are certainly Pagans who do not practise magic (Raphael 1999:134). Likewise there are occultists who are not Pagan. One of my research participants identified himself as a Crowleyan Magickian and objected strenuously to being referred to as Pagan on the grounds that he did not acknowledge or pay homage to any Pagan deities.

1.2.3.4 Oppression and Discrimination

Misunderstanding about the nature of contemporary Paganism, and consequent prejudice, has diminished over the last few decades. However, fear of discrimination still remains to some extent, especially amongst the older generations. When studying the contemporary Pagan community, it should be borne in mind that as recently as 20 years ago, Pagans were dismissed from their jobs for their beliefs (Pagan Federation 1996:7), had their houses vandalised (Greenwood 2000:5) and had supervision orders placed on their children (Hutton 2001:328), attempts were even made to have their children taken into care (Worthington 2005a:130). Satanic ritual abuse allegations in the late 1980s and early 1990s (e.g. Bell 1988; La Fontaine

1998) created a great deal of fear in the UK Pagan community although few Pagans were accused. La Fontaine (1998:38-55) even went so far as to suggest that the abuse idea was promulgated specifically by US based evangelical Christians to discredit contemporary Paganism. During the 1980s people dubbed by the Press 'New Age Travellers', many of whom had Pagan spiritual beliefs, even had their mobile homes damaged or destroyed by police (Worthington 2005a:130, 142). I argue that the memory of this kind of repression, combined with the myth that mediaeval and early modern witchcraft trials and executions represent an attempt to wipe out a Pagan religion (Hutton 2001:348), still influences Pagan relations with 'establishment' organizations such as government, heritage agencies, the media and the academic world (Hutton 2006:262-264; York 1995:131-135).

1.2.3.5 Pagan Ethics

The most common example of Contemporary Pagan ethics is the Wiccan rede 'An it harm none, do what thou wilt' (Crowley 1989:78). The archaic language of the rede opens it to several interpretations. I have heard it interpreted as meaning: in order to harm none, follow the true will of your heart or higher self but the most common understanding is: provided your actions harm none, do as you please (Howe 2008:44-45). Howe (2008:44-45) also points out that Wiccans draw ethical guidance from the 'Law or Threefold Return', which states that all you do comes back to you threefold, and also from the ideal of perfect love and perfect trust. Wicca has been enormously influential on other Pagan practices and beliefs and so eclectic Pagan groups who do not identify themselves specifically as Wiccan often draw on Wiccan ideas such as these. Other Pagan ethical frameworks stress virtues such as the Nine Noble Virtues of Asatru: courage, truth, honour, fidelity, hospitality, discipline, industriousness, self-reliance and perseverance (ADF 2009:86). The Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids (OBOD nd) promotes a nine fold Code of Ethics constructed by Athelia Nihtscada inspired by early mediaeval Irish Brehon Laws:

1. Every action has a consequence that must be observed and you must be prepared to compensate for your actions if required.
2. All life is sacred and all are responsible for seeing that this standard is upheld.
3. You do still live in society and you are bound by its rules.
4. Work with high standards.

5. Make an honest living.
6. Be a good host as well as a good guest.
7. Take care of yourself.
8. Serve your community.
9. Maintain a healthy balance of the spiritual and the mundane.

(OBOD nd)

Many Pagans are keen to present their ethics and morality as superior to Abrahamic codes such as the Ten Commandments. The Pagan Federation (1992:4), for example, describes the Wiccan Rede as 'a positive morality rather than a list of thou shalt not's'.

1.2.3.6 Origins of Contemporary Paganism

Jones & Pennick (1995:212-214) and Hutton (1996:4, 2001:3-204) describe Wicca as arising from several roots including the Romantic Movement and particularly its interpretations of Classical paganisms, European Occultism, secret societies such as the Freemasons, Folklore and folk magic. These threads were brought together by Gerald Gardner and his collaborators (Hutton 2001:205-252) before being further developed by others including Alex and Maxine Sanders (Hutton 2001:319-339).

Druidry can be traced back further but may be argued to have only become Pagan in the last three decades or so (Bonewits 2006:80-81; Cooper 2010:71; Cunliffe 2010:128; Hutton 2006:249-253, 2007:196-200, 2009:418). Antiquarians such as John Aubrey (1626-1697) and William Stukeley (1687-1765) suggested that the Druids mentioned by Roman writers might have been the builders of the megalithic stone circles thus inspiring an enduring fascination with Druids in Britain (Green 1997:140-57; Souden 1997:24; Bahn 1996:44). William Camden established an image of the Druids as monotheistic proto-Christians by mistranslating a Greek text thus making Druids acceptable to a Christian audience (Hutton 2008:14). Stukeley was so enthusiastic about Druids that he chose to identify himself as one but that he was unable to find anyone to join him (Hutton 2008:7). Although Stukeley was unsuccessful, a couple of generations afterwards through the late 18th and 19th centuries, quasi-masonic gentlemen's friendly societies calling themselves Druids

such as the Ancient Order of Druids had appeared (Bonewits 2006:70-73) and by 1905, the AOD were holding ceremonies at Stonehenge (Stout 2008b:119; Worthington 2005a:57). Edward Williams (1747-1826), a Welsh stonemason, was a passionate Welsh patriot and poet. In his enthusiasm to promote both Welsh culture and the religious philosophy of Deism he took on the Bardic name Iolo Morgannwg and sought out evidence for continuity of belief and practice to restore this tradition (Green 1997:153). When he failed to find such evidence he resorted to his remarkable imagination and skilfully forged it (Hutton 2009:313-4; Harvey 2011:277-8). In doing so, he produced the foundations of the Welsh National Eisteddfod (Green 1997:154-7) and a liturgy which has continued into contemporary Druidry. Around 1908 George Watson MacGregor Reid formed a spiritual group calling itself the Universal Bond. By 1912 this was renamed the Ancient Druid Order and was holding ceremonies at Stonehenge (Hutton 2009:348; Stout 2008a:125-7, 2008b:118-9). Worthington (2005a:57) characterises Reid's ADO as influenced by theosophy and occultism producing a Druidry which I would describe as moving away from Christianity. Nevertheless, by the early 1980s Wiccans and other Pagans still perceived the Druids of the time as Christian. In 1964 Ross Nichols, a friend of Gerald Gardner and described by Bonewits (2006:78) as adhering to an eclectic mix of liberal Christianity, Buddhism and Sufism influenced by Celtic mythology, founded a splinter group from ADO which he named the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids (OBOD) (Bonewits 2006:78; Hutton 2009:399). This new order did not long survive Nichols' death in 1975 (Carr-Gomm 1990:9) but was re-founded by Nichols' protégé Philip Carr-Gomm in 1988 with a distinctly Pagan character (Carr-Gomm 1990:11). The new OBOD was not exclusively Pagan but had an increasingly Pagan focus. The late 1980s and 1990s saw the emergence of new orders such as the British Druid Order, Cotswold Order of Druids, Insular Order of Druids, Loyal Arthurian Warband and Glastonbury Order of Druids, many of which were thoroughly Pagan in character (Bonewits 2006:80-81; Cooper 2010:71; Cunliffe 2010:128; Hutton 2006:249-253, 2007:196-200, 2009:418).

The history of Germanic Heathenry can be traced back to the late 19th or early 20th century through Guido von List (1848-1919) and Willibald Hentschel (1858-1947) in Europe but its history in Britain is hard to trace back much further than the 1980s,

when a group calling itself The Odinic Rite achieved recognised charity status (Jones & Pennick 1995:219, Toynbee 1996). Since then numerous groups such as Ring of Troth and The Odinist Fellowship have emerged. Heathens have been finding historical evidence suggesting that the heathenry of pre-Christian times incorporated Shamanic practices and several have been experimenting with such techniques (Harvey 2011:284-285). The most popular sources on this area are Brian Bates' *Way of Wyrð* (1996) and Jenny Blain's *Nine Worlds of Seidr Magic* (2002).

The word Shaman originates from the Tungus of Siberia and has come to be applied to practitioners of ecstatic or trance based ritual practices involving mastery of or alliance with spirit beings in many cultures around the world (Jakobsen 1999:2). Wallis (2003:24) asserted that European interest in Shamanism may be traced back to the 17th century. However, perception of Shamans in a positive light in Britain only goes back to the latter part of the 19th century and the romanticisation of American Indians in the mould of a 'Noble Savage'. American Indian spiritual beliefs also inspired environmental campaigns, notably that of Archibald Belaney (1888-1938), a British man, who presented himself as an American Indian named Grey Owl (Anahareo 1972:177-179; Wallis 2003:61, 201). I argue this campaign demonstrates that British People had begun to see American Indian traditions as admirable nature-focused spiritualities to be emulated. Wallis (2003: 25) suggests that occultists working in Britain in the first half of the 20th century such as Blavatsky and Spare may have been influenced by ideas of Shamanism. However, it was probably not until Carlos Castañeda, working on the basis of academic work such as that of Mircea Eliade, published six books explaining the work of a, probably fictional, Shaman named Don Juan that significant numbers of people in Britain began to identify themselves as Shamans (Dutton 2012:147; Hardman 2007:38-40; Jakobsen 1999:157; Wallis 2003:39-42). Subsequently Michael Harner, Joan Halifax and others publicised Shamanism to spiritual seekers (Jakobsen 1999:158-9). In my opinion, Shamanism has had a great influence on the other strands of contemporary Paganism with Witches, Druids and Heathens adopting Shamanic practices.

1.2.3.7 Pagan Community Leaders

In this section I shall identify the most important community leaders in contemporary Paganism and suggest to what extent they can be said to shape or reflect opinion in their communities. There are several prominent spokespeople for contemporary Paganism. Within Druidry, Emma Restall Orr has featured on radio programmes and television broadcasts talking about Pagan beliefs, ethics and practices but has now retired. Arthur Pendragon has also caught the media's attention and has even referred to himself as a 'media tart' (Pendragon & Stone 2003:249). He has also co-written an autobiography which details his campaigns up to the end of the nineties (Pendragon & Stone 2003). Other Druid leaders include Rollo Maughfling (Glastonbury Order of Druids), Philip (Greywolf) Shallcrass (British Druid Order), Phillip Carr-Gomm (Order of Bards Ovates and Druids), Stefan Allen (Albion Conclave), Veronica Hammond (Cotswold Order of Druids), Mark Graham (Charnwood order of Druids), Phil Ryder (The Druid Network) and Steve Wilson (Druid Clan of Dana). Perhaps the most prominent media Witch is Kevin Carlyon (Carlyon 2001) but I consider it problematic to describe him as a community leader since every Witch I have spoken to on the subject speaks of him scathingly. Other influential and well-known witches include Shan Jayran, Maxine Sanders, Vivianne Crowley, Patricia Crowther and Janet Farrar. Within the Heathen/Nordic/Asatru community there are several groups, each with different leaders. The three most prominent I am familiar with are Freya Aswynn (whom I met in London in the early 1990s), Pete Jennings (formerly head of the Pagan Federation) and Runic John whom I met briefly on a field trip to Thornborough Henges. I have yet to locate anyone who bears the description of community leader among contemporary Pagan Shamans but one prominent practitioner and writer on the subject is Gordon (the Toad) MacLellan. Among non-Germanic Reconstructionists, the most widely recognised community leaders of whom I am aware are Nick Ford and Robin Herne. Based on an engagement with the contemporary Pagan community extending about twenty years I would suggest that leadership is built in a manner similar to Lewellen's (1992:84) model for tribal or band leadership in which leadership is not conferred from one leader to another but rather dies with the outgoing leader and is then built up by the new leader through charisma and respect. Such community leaders may even be better able to shape opinion within the community than those who have leadership

passed on to them. However, they can seldom be as didactic as clergy in established 'world' religions as adherents are generally keen to make their own decisions and authoritarian behaviour tends to alienate the kind of free thinking counter-cultural individualists who tend to be drawn to Paganism. Additionally ideas from others, most notably academics like Hutton, Pryor and Parker Pearson, are frequently adopted into Pagan beliefs. I argue that Pagan community leaders neither fully shape nor reflect the opinions of their communities due to the diversity of opinions they encompass. However, they do need to maintain at least a degree of reflection or representation to maintain their position and are therefore worthy of recognition and consideration.

1.2.4 Defining Heritage Professionals

A professional may be defined as a person practising a vocation or calling, particularly an academic or scientific one, or someone who displays the competence, conduct and standards appropriate to such a vocation or calling (Darvill 2012:375). Thus heritage professionals are those whose vocation or calling lies in that sector, but how can the heritage sector be defined?

1.2.4.1 Defining the Heritage Sector

Much debate has occurred surrounding definitions of heritage (Carman & Sørensen 2009:11-24). An example of a simple dictionary definition of Heritage is the Oxford English Dictionary's (Pearsall & Trumble 2003:660) "Inheritance, a nation's historic buildings, monuments, countryside etc". Darvill (2003:176) expands this to include 'images, ideas, sentiments and practices' which he refers to as intangible heritage. He also comments on a distinction, sometimes drawn between 'natural heritage', which is natural landscape and ecology, and 'cultural heritage', created/modified or built places and material culture (see also Harrison 2010:11). It may be argued that places without any obvious human modification can be deemed cultural heritage if they have important cultural significance (Harrison 2010:12-13). However, Smith (2008:11) famously argued that 'there is no such thing as heritage' suggesting that the term is misapplied to material things being rather a set of processes. John Carman (Carman & Sørensen 2009:12) pointed out that a 'one-and-for-all' definition of heritage would have to be so vague as to be almost meaningless, arguing rather for flexible contextualised understanding of what heritage entails. Carman and

Sørensen (2009:14) have suggested that the development of the concept of heritage came about with a more collective ownership of the material aspects of heritage. Carman (2005:119-121) has expanded on this observation criticising the way in which heritage sites and artefacts are owned. Other criticisms include Wright's (2009:105,136,193-194,218) and Hewison's (1987:53, 143-144) identification of a middle class bias and avoidance of narratives of class division and political unrest. Hewison also (1987:43-45) asserted that commodification of heritage has led to an imposed set of criteria for determining heritage value. However, this assertion has been challenged by Urry (1990:110) who has argued that heritage value is ascribed from the grass roots, citing the 1.5 million membership of the National Trust in 1987. I argue that the situation is actually more fluid and dynamic with consumer opinions being influenced by managers, media and academics but also influencing them as well. Smith and Waterton (2009:11) have dismissed discourses on protection as rhetoric and assert that archaeologists' and heritage professionals' 'interest in the past is no more or less legitimate or worthy of respect than anyone else's' arguing that all communities with interests in heritage should have equal authority in how it is defined, interpreted and presented. This assertion is not unproblematic and I shall address this in section 9.3.3.1.

If a broader definition of heritage is adopted, much that is not archaeological may be considered heritage. However, Skeates, Carman & McDavid (2012:1-8) point out that little if any archaeology is not heritage. Thus the issues of sites and monuments, access, protection, interpretation and ownership and those relating to the treatment of human remains can be comfortably considered heritage issues.

1.2.4.2 Origins of Heritage Attractions

Museums and heritage organisations are seen by some as part of the 'establishment', at least in part, due to the government connections with organisations such as the British Museum, English Heritage and, arguably, The National Trust. Museums are perhaps the oldest method of presenting the past to the British public in a way recognisable as heritage. The origins of museums are found in the 'cabinets of curiosity' containing archaeological, anthropological and other items of interest which the wealthy collected and displayed to visitors in the 17th and 18th centuries (Parry

2007:30; Bahn 1996:36-7). David M. Wilson (1990:13), former director, explained the British Museum was created by an Act of Parliament in 1753 when Hans Sloane left his collection to the nation. This, along with other collections, became the core of the British Museum which was the first public corporate museum in the world (Burnett & Reeve 2001:11-12; Wilson 1990:13).

The National Trust was created as a charitable foundation in 1895, and subsequently regulated by acts of parliament, to purchase and preserve places of historic interest and natural beauty in England, Wales and Northern Ireland (Salway 1996:1). It has become one of the largest owners of heritage sites in the UK and has over 3,700,000 paid up members (National Trust nda). With the increase in tourism since the 19th century heritage sites have become popular tourist attractions with a recent survey indicating that 68% of British adults have visited a museum and 38% have visited an archaeological site (BDRC nd). Government regulation of heritage began in 1882 with Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Act to prevent destruction of ancient monuments (Her Majesty's Government 1882; Worthington 2005a:96). This act and its successors require oversight of all scheduled monuments. Subsequently many such sites were gifted to the nation and were direct management of them, as well as oversight of all scheduled monuments was undertaken by the ministry of works. In 1984 the Thatcher government reorganised state heritage management setting up English Heritage, the first of the independently managed regional Quangos (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations) who are now responsible for overseeing scheduled monuments and managing those in public ownership (English Heritage nnd; Chippindale 1986:42).

1.2.4.3 Heritage Aims and Ethics

Heritage organisations may be government controlled and subsidised, subsidised but independent or unaffiliated to the state. As previously explained most of the largest heritage organisations have some affiliation to government and thus heritage organisations in general are likely to be regarded as part of the 'establishment' by Pagan activists. The mission statements of heritage organisations give a strong indication of how they see their role. Examples of these drawn from their websites are as follows:

English Heritage exists to protect and promote England's spectacular historic environment and ensure that its past is researched and understood... English Heritage is the Government's statutory adviser on the historic environment.
(English Heritage nda)

English Heritage helps people understand, value, care for and enjoy England's historic environment.
(English Heritage ndb)

Cadw, the statutory heritage body in Wales explains:

We aim to:

protect and sustain, encourage community engagement in, improve access to the historic environment of Wales. This includes historic buildings, ancient monuments, historic parks, gardens and landscapes, and underwater archaeology.

(Cadw nd)

The National Trust describes its mission thus:

We protect historic houses, gardens, mills, coastline, forests, woods, fens, beaches, farmland, moorland, islands, archaeological remains, nature reserves, villages and pubs. Then we open them up forever, for everyone.

(National Trust ndb)

In chapters 4, 6 and 9 I shall offer evidence suggesting that heritage organisations do not always live up to these lofty aims and can, in fact, be exclusionary not merely in terms of keeping people physically outside sites but also with regards to historical and interpretative narratives relating to them.

1.2.4.4 Who Shapes Policy in the Heritage Sector?

I have already cited Hewison's and Urry's arguments that heritage is imposed from above or influenced from below but there are other influences as well. All heritage organisations must operate within the law and many are affiliated with professional

bodies with Codes of Practice such as the Museums Association (2008). For quangos, such as English Heritage (ndf), most funding and hence some direction is supplied by the Department for Media, Culture and Sport or its equivalents in the Scottish and Welsh governments for Historic Scotland and Cadw. These organisations are also bound by international treaties such as the UNESCO (2010) Conventions and the Valletta Agreement (Council of Europe 1992). Their directions are also charted by their own senior management. Charitable trusts are managed by a board of trustees but may to a greater or lesser extent give a voice to signed-up members (Dickson et al 1998:9-14). Privately owned and run heritage ventures are largely influenced by issues of profitability which in turn will be largely the result of consumer choice. Consumer choice however, may, at least to a degree, be driven by media coverage of heritage, history and archaeology. Heritage researchers including Hewison (1987:53, 143-144), Smith (2006:155-156) and Wright (2009:105,136,193-194,218) point out a middle class bias in the management of Heritage. However, I would also suggest that academics and through them a rationalistic, mechanistic worldview are also highly influential in how heritage is perceived and managed. If academic discourses on heritage through sociology, economics, archaeology, history, art history etc are studied by managers, as they surely are, they will inevitably influence the way heritage organisations are run.

Professional ethics are usually more strictly codified than Pagan ethics. I judge the most important ethical principles regarding heritage management to be the requirements to make heritage attractions as inclusive to all as possible and to optimise access with explanations for any restrictions (Museums Association 2008:12). Issues surrounding heritage ethics will be examined in detail in section 6.1.5 with regard to access and inclusivity and section 7.3.1 with regard to human remains.

1.2.5 Defining Archaeologists

In order to define the archaeological profession it is first necessary to define what archaeology itself is.

1.2.5.1 The Purpose of Archaeology

Darvill (2003:21) defines archaeology as "The study of past human societies and their environments through the systematic recovery and analysis of material culture and physical remains". Philip Rahtz (1991:1) describes it as 'The study of *things*, tangible objects which can be seen and measured...the physical manifestation of human activities'. Francis Pryor (2003:xvii) explains that archaeology (unlike history) is a 'hands-on' approach to studying the past. He also describes archaeologists reconstructing past thoughts and behaviour from 'discarded prehistoric rubbish' (Pryor 2002:xix). Cornelius Holtorf (2007:63-95) explains how archaeologists are perceived by the public, which almost inevitably feeds back into how the profession expresses its own identity. He describes archaeologists as being: adventurers, detectives, revealers of profound truth, guardians of the past or a combination of these. Archaeologists, therefore, are the people (both professional and amateur) who conduct, teach or participate in the study of the past through material remains.

1.2.5.2 The History of Archaeology

The discipline of archaeology grew out of the antiquarianism of the 17th to 19th centuries. Antiquarians were generally made up of the landed gentry and aristocracy who were developing an interest in the land they owned. In this aspect archaeologists share a common ancestry with contemporary Pagans (particularly Druids) who can include members of the antiquarian tradition among the progenitors of their movement (Hutton 2008:5-8, 2009:86-117). While Paganism blended a romantic vision of the past with classicism, secret societies (such as the freemasons) magic and occultism (Hutton 2001:3-131), archaeology applied increasing academic rigour and scientific techniques to become the respected discipline it is today (Darvill 2012:374-381; Stout 2008a:17-36).

Before World War 2, there were two broad theoretical schools: Cultural Historical archaeology and Settlement archaeology. The latter was championed by the German archaeologist Gustav Kossinna (Bahn 1996:136-8). He was opposed by Vere Gordon Childe who championed his cultural historical approach (Stout 2008a:71). Both theoretical paradigms mapped characteristic artefacts and remains to attempt to ascertain areas controlled by distinct groups. Childe preferred to think of these groups

as cultures and was not keen to associate them with contemporary nations or ethnicities. Kossina, on the other hand, was keen to do so. Although he died in 1931, Kossina's ideas found favour in Nazi Germany and thus were discredited after 1945 (Bahn 1996:216-8). Whereas in Europe, archaeology was seen as being most closely allied with history, in the United States it was seen as being a sub-discipline of anthropology (Johnson 2006:28). In the mid-1960s a new archaeological theoretical paradigm emerged, initially known as 'The New Archaeology' but subsequently known as Processual Archaeology (Johnson 2006:12-30). It was championed by Lewis Binford, a young American archaeologist who advocated a more scientific and anthropological approach to data gathering and interpretation (Johnson 2006:20). It is less interested in the special limits of cultural groups so much as how groups, individuals and their cultures changed through time (Johnson 2006:22, 25). It emphasises the use of ethnographic parallels to interpret archaeological finds and tends to speak about the past in positivistic scientific language (Johnson 2006:48-63).

From the 1980s this positivism was being called into question by archaeologists such as Ian Hodder who proposed an idea of Interpretive Archaeologies. In this paradigm, a wide range of methodologies and tools (technological and cognitive) might be employed (Johnson 2006:98-115). Perhaps driven by a public desire to know more about the lives of their ancestors, the current interpretive archaeologies theoretical paradigm tends to focus on the everyday lives of individuals in the past more than that of the previous theoretical schools. Although some archaeologists, such as myself (see section 3.2) prefer to think of our hermeneutic theories as cognitive tools to be applied or discarded according to utility (p.c. Hanks 2009), many archaeologists define themselves by hermeneutic theoretical schools such as Marxist, Functionalist and Structuralist.

1.2.5.3 Types of Archaeologist

Probably the most widespread archaeological employment is in the contract or rescue sector. This work includes managing archives, assessing impact of development proposals and advising developers on the anticipated need of archaeological intervention. It also involves surveys, watching briefs on developments in progress and, where necessary excavation of sites prior to development thus preserving by

record evidence of the past before it is destroyed by building and construction work (Barber et al 2008:31; Carver 2009:365-367; DCMS 2009:22; Spoerry 1993:32-34). Archaeologists, as specialists in the past, are also often employed in the heritage sector (BAJR nd IfA nd). The other major area of employment for archaeologists is academia. Academic archaeologists' work consists largely of research and/or teaching, mostly in universities. Archaeology also attracts many enthusiastic amateurs, who may or may not have formal qualifications in the discipline, who volunteer to help on digs or even run excavation projects of their own in their spare time. Most famously the author Agatha Christie assisted her husband Sir Max Mallowan on excavations in Mesopotamia (Bahn 1996:243).

1.2.5.4 Archaeological Ethics and Codes of Practice

Vardy and Grosch (1999:4) remarked that the word 'ethics' originates from a word meaning character but has come to refer to behaviour of virtuous character. Blackburn (2003:4) asserted that humans are 'ethical animals' on the basis that we 'grade and evaluate, and compare and admire'. Scarre and Scarre (2006:1) suggested that ethics govern or inform 'what sort of people we should be, what kind of acts we should perform or avoid, and how we should treat our fellow human beings'. They proposed that the fundamental purpose of archaeological ethics is to provide a framework within which practitioners may operate to ensure that information regarding the past is gathered and shared in a manner which minimises loss of data whilst avoiding causing harm to anyone or anything (Scarre & Scarre 2006:3). The most fundamental rules governing archaeological work are enshrined in law, for example: the 1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (Her Majesty's Government 1979) makes unauthorised disturbance of scheduled archaeological sites and ancient monuments a criminal offence and the 1857 Burial Act requires government licences to be issued before excavation of human remains can be carried out in England and Wales with similar legislation covering Scotland (Roberts 2009:26-7). Guidance beyond the basic requirements of the law may be found through professional associations such as the Museums Association (MA), which publishes a *Code of Ethics* (Museums Association 2008), and the Institute for Archaeologists (IfA), which publishes a *Code of Conduct* (IfA 2010). Organisations employing archaeologists and heritage professionals may also have policy documents specifying

standards and procedures for professional practice. In chapters 6 and 7 this thesis will examine how these laws; codes and policies affect and inform the interactions of archaeologists and heritage professionals with contemporary Pagans.

1.2.5.5 Contesting Archaeology

Contestation of archaeology and heritage is not, of course, restricted to Pagans or to the United Kingdom. Issues of contestation include disturbance and appropriation of archaeological material have been largely addressed through legislation and by attempting to inculcate an appreciation of their value as an archaeological, educational and tourism resource: Tomb robbery has been legislated and indoctrinated against (Little 2009:39, 2012:399-401). In the UK, metal detectorists have, to some extent, been brought into the archaeological fold by use of arrangements such as the portable antiquities scheme (Bland 2005:440-447, 2004:272-291). More relevant to Pagan contestation of archaeology is the way in which the archaeological community and ethnic minority or indigenous groups in colonised areas have addressed conflicting aspirations for sites through polyvocality and recognitions of stakeholderhood and/or cognitive ownership (Coleman 2013:156-175; Carmichael et al 1994:5-7; Davidson 1995:3-5; McDavid 2002:310-312, 2009:217-234; O'Regan 1994:95-106; Watkins 2012:663).

1.2.6 Pagan Archaeologists and Heritage Professionals

So far I have acknowledged the crossover between the archaeological and heritage communities. I now need to address the fact that there are members of those communities who also identify as Pagan. Several student archaeologists of my acquaintance, several heritage workers and three field archaeologists have identified themselves as Pagan to me but most expressed a desire for colleagues in their sectors not to know about their spirituality. For this reason I think it unlikely that a quantitative survey could be designed which would provide an accurate indication of the proportion of people working in this sector who consider themselves Pagan.

1.3 Situating the Researcher

In keeping with Davies' (2002:4, 87-90) principle of reflexivity (see also section 3.5) I should ensure the reader is aware of where I situate myself regarding these groups.

There is a more detailed, reflexive statement in section 3.5 but the most important points are as follows. I consider myself an insider in each of the communities on which this thesis focuses. I have identified myself as a Pagan, albeit a slightly agnostic one, for over twenty years. On the strength of a BA in archaeology and anthropology and of volunteer work in the sector I claim membership of the archaeological community, if not yet the profession. I have also worked for several years in the heritage sector as a tour guide, storyteller and costumed historical interpreter. Therefore I consider myself an insider in the Pagan, archaeological and heritage communities. This joint affiliation gave me a better understanding of their core values and shared ideologies. It also helped me draw inspiration for this thesis from Pryor's (Time Team 1999) assertion that Pagans and archaeologists share a concern for ancient monuments and ought to get on better with one another. Researching this thesis has been a transformative journey of discovery. My initial position was critical of archaeological and heritage approaches, especially to human remains. Learning more about how archaeologists and museum professionals act and feel regarding them and engaging critically with the arguments surrounding the reburial issue has moved to a position considerably more critical of the Pagan campaigners.

1.4 Thesis Structure

Having defined the most important terms in this study and stated my personal position regarding the groups involved, the structure of the thesis requires some explanation. Chapter 2 reviews the pre-existing literature on the subject while chapter 3 explains how the research was designed and implemented as well as lessons learned in the field. The main focus of the thesis however, consists of two main areas of contestation between contemporary Pagans and the archaeological community and heritage sector. These are: the treatment of prehistoric human remains and the management of ancient monuments/sacred sites.

1.4.1 Monuments/Sacred Sites

In chapters 4, 5 and 6 this thesis explores matters relating to sites described as ancient monuments by archaeologists and heritage professionals but seen as sacred places and used for ritual and/or worship by Pagans. Chapter 4 focuses on

contestation of access to sites, chapter 5 on the preservation of sites and chapter 6 on the interpretation and ownership of sites.

The best-known and longest-running example of a contested site and the most public contestation of access is at Stonehenge (Worthington 2005a, 2005b; Bender 1998; Blain & Wallis 2007:77-123; Trubshaw 2005:148-159). The management of the site and surrounding area is overseen by English Heritage and the National Trust. Visitor numbers, especially for the illicit Free Festival that took place every year around the Summer Solstice from 1974 to 1984 were such that many both within and outside these organisations became concerned for the preservation of the site. When the Festival was stopped in 1985, all Solstice celebration was prevented by an enforced exclusion zone around the monument for well over a decade (Worthington 2005a:139-187; Blain & Wallis 2007:84). This has now been overturned but arguments continue over preservation of the monument versus increased free access (Blain & Wallis 2007:82-91, 104; Pagan Warriors 2008). Chapter 4 will also look at other sites where access is contested between Pagans and other groups (e.g. locals and local government at Avebury and Glastonbury Tor) with heritage organisations being situated as adjudicator or being attacked by both sides.

In chapter 5, the preservation of sites will be examined. In principle Pagans and archaeological/heritage professionals are both in favour of preserving these sites and indeed in some cases they may find themselves working towards similar goals although seldom, if ever, working together. In other examples I shall investigate how Pagans have sought to protect sites they consider sacred from being excavated by archaeologists.

In chapter 6 the interpretation and ownership of sites will be explored. I shall explore debates regarding the exclusion of site narratives which some deem irrational or unlikely. I shall then examine how ownership of sites is contested both in terms of legal title to land and in terms of more intangible ideas connected to stakeholdership.

1.4.2 Human Remains: Excavation, Curation, Display and Reburial

In the diverse community of contemporary Pagans, there are many different attitudes to the archaeological excavation of pre-Christian human remains. Following ideas adopted from surviving non-Abrahamic spiritualities, such as American Indian and Australian Aboriginal traditions, some contemporary Pagans consider the people of the pre-Christian past to be Ancestors not merely in terms of lineage, but also in totemic and/or spiritual terms (hence the capitalisation of the word). Therefore the ancient dead are often believed to be sources of inspiration or magical power or spiritual guardians of a place (Brown 2012:179-186; Colvin 2006:16-17; Davies 1997; MagicOak 2009). Some people holding these beliefs therefore consider it unacceptable to excavate the remains of the ancient dead, save perhaps to prevent their destruction by developers. Other Pagans (perhaps a significant majority) are keen to incorporate past cultural activities and beliefs into their own and find that archaeological research is of vital importance to them. Many are therefore inclined to support excavation of ancient human remains (e.g. Aburrow 2008b), though some may expect remains to be reinterred after analysis. To archaeologists, many of whom make a living and a reputation from generating knowledge from human remains, such calls for non-disturbance or reburial are in direct opposition to what they see as their professional duty to examine such material (Tarlow 2006; Scarre 2006; Pluciennik 2001).

1.4.3 The Need to Understand Contestation

My thesis will conclude in chapter 9 by bringing together analysis of contestation from the separate issues previously examined. I interrogate the reasons for contestation through the examination of concepts of moral ownership, guardianship, advocacy, culture clash and lack of a shared epistemology.

In the case of sites deemed of heritage value by archaeologists, the heritage sector and often by the state, and considered sacred by members of the contemporary Pagan community, issues of ownership need to be considered. Legal ownership is usually clearly and easily demonstrated through documents such as title deeds. However, Rayner (2012:72) asserts that 'no one group or person really owns Stonehenge'. Druid groups appear to believe they have some kind of moral or

spiritual ownership over sites. This kind of ownership is hard to define but relies on factors which legal title does not acknowledge such as a strong spiritual connection or an unverifiable belief that sites were unlawfully or unethically appropriated in the distant past (Cooper 2010:153).

Human remains, under British legal systems, cannot normally be owned (Parker Pearson 2003:191; Roberts 2009:24). Human remains therefore cannot be said to be owned, rather they are in the custody, stewardship or guardianship of the holder. Archaeological and heritage organisations, especially museums, are frequently in such a position of guardianship of human remains. Members of the contemporary Pagan community pressing for reburial or respect for prehistoric human remains use language suggesting, and sometimes specifically describing themselves as, speaking for the dead (Examples include: Restall Orr 2004; MagicOak 2009; Davies 1998). They are therefore placing themselves as advocates for human remains. English law, however, grants the dead few rights according to the 1857 Burial Act (Her Majesty's Government 1857) and the 2004 Human Tissue Act (Her Majesty's Government 2004). Bearing in mind that Geoffrey Scarre (2006:188-196) makes a strong case for the dead being able to suffer harm, such advocacy may be perceived as a justifiable, indeed laudable effort. In an age of political correctness and anti-discrimination laws a perception that human remains identified as Christian are treated with more respect than those which are pre-Christian (Davies 1998:12) is almost inevitably going to elicit protest from contemporary Pagans who identify strongly with the Pagans of the past. However, the fact that Christian remains are more likely to be reburied than pre-Christian ones (Parker Pearson 2003:186) does not necessarily mean that they are accorded greater respect. This is exemplified by poor treatment of remains from more recent centuries cleared for development (Sayer & Symonds 2004:56; p.c. Webber 2009).

The counter-cultural credentials of contemporary Paganism have already been examined (see section 1.2.2). Counter-cultural groups by definition are ideologically opposed to the mainstream 'establishment' (Dowd & Dowd 2003:20-35). Since archaeologists and heritage professionals are generally funded or employed by the

government or by businesses, they are frequently seen as being part of the 'establishment' and thus regarded with suspicion (e.g. in Maughfling 2000a).

Another problem is that Paganism and archaeology/heritage lack a common understanding of the issues between them. I suggest this exemplifies the different systems for accumulating and testing knowledge: divergent epistemologies identified by Hitchens (2007:10-11). Hutton (2006:247) writes of what he describes as different idioms of academic and Pagan writing. Adam Stout (2006:30-31) expands on this concept by suggesting that conflict between archaeological orthodoxy and Earth Mysteries derives from different frames of reference with different epistemic rules. Archaeologists such as Schadla-Hall (2004) and Daniel¹ (1992:25, 28, 34, 42, 51, 59, 126, 130, 173) have also sought to challenge 'alternative' narratives of the past not supported by academically accepted data.

1.5 Concluding Remarks

Overall this thesis provides a description and analysis of interactions between archaeological/heritage professionals and contemporary Pagans through investigating issues of contestation involving both. It explains that fundamental failures in inclusivity policies and practices over decades have exacerbated a situation where incompatible worldviews and dialectics lead to lack of a common discourse which in turn has exacerbated mistrust and disrespect.

¹ Daniel was writing as editor of the prestigious archaeological journal *Antiquity* from 1958 to 1985

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the availability of literature describing interactions between contemporary Pagans and the archaeological/heritage professions. It critically evaluates the quality of the research done, its analysis and its presentation. It assesses what aspects of these issues are covered, which are not covered and identifies a lacuna regarding theoretical explanation of contestation. I shall start by examining the background to issues of contestation and list the principal literature explaining contemporary Paganism and then examine the literature available on sites, considered sacred by Pagans or heritage/ archaeological assets by heritage professionals and archaeologists. I shall then describe the literature available on issues surrounding human remains and assess its value in this research. I will also provide an overview of the theoretical literature I have used to interpret contestation. The chapter culminates with an examination of Jenny Blain and Rob Wallis's (2007) *Sacred Sites Contested Rights/Rites*, the first dedicated work on the subject. I shall identify the areas it covers and the areas where further study is required. The chapter conclusion provides an overall appraisal of the published material emphasising the need for the reappraisal of contestation, which this thesis provides.

2.2 Literature Explaining Paganism

Background reading provides information on the communities on which my research focuses and details of how similar fieldwork has been carried out in the past. In the case of contemporary Pagans, the core ethnographic works are Blain, Ezzy & Harvey's (2004a) *Researching Paganisms*, Tanya Luhrmann's (1991) *Persuasions of a Witch's Craft* and Susan Greenwood's (2000) *Magic, Witchcraft and the Otherworld*. More general sources on the nature of contemporary Paganism include Pete Jennings' (2002) *Pagan Paths*, The Pagan Federation's (1992) *Paganism Information Pack*, Graham Harvey's (1997) *Listening People, Speaking Earth* and *Paganism Today* which he co-edited with Charlotte Hardman (1996).

Since Tanya Luhrmann's (1991) ethnography of witches and occultists first published in 1989 there have been many academic works on contemporary Paganism. I have not restricted my study to academic tomes. There are a vast array of titles available aimed at the practitioner and the curious. In this section I shall review important source materials explaining the nature of contemporary Paganism beginning with the history of contemporary Pagans. I shall then examine ethnographic studies and publications written by Pagans themselves for other Pagans and other interested readers.

2.2.1. History of Contemporary Paganism

Ronald Hutton (professor of British History at Bristol University) has become widely recognised as the foremost historian of contemporary Paganism through books such as: *The Triumph of the Moon: A history of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (2001) along with *The Druids* (2007). In the former, he records details of how Wicca was received in the broader society of the time and especially in the media. Whilst some writers and broadcasters were sympathetic, others, such as Chris Hythe of the News of the World (Pagan Federation 1996:7), were keen to portray early Wiccans as sexually licentious, deviant, corrupting and Devil worshipping. In the latter book he describes how classical accounts of Druids' sacrificial role coloured the view of them. Therefore these works inform how attitudes to contemporary Paganism among the rest of the population have been shaped over recent decades.

A more directly relevant work is Hutton's (2009) most recent book on the subject, entitled *Blood & Mistletoe: the History of the Druids in Britain*. The final chapter of this book is entitled 'Druids and Archaeologists' and chronicles how Druid groups since World War 2 have engaged with archaeologists and heritage professionals over access to Stonehenge. He records Glyn Daniel's acerbic attacks on the Druids and the debunking of the connection between Druids and Stonehenge in ancient times by archaeologists including Richard Atkinson and Stuart Piggott in the 1960s. Hutton (2001:319-339) describes the various schisms (usually surrounding disputed leaderships) which have afflicted the Druid orders. He explains that the doctrine of discontinuity between the Neolithic stone circle builders and the Iron Age Druids has been questioned in recent years by Francis Pryor (2003:xxv, 182, 286) who has

suggested at least a degree of religious continuity from the Neolithic into historical times (Hutton 1998:95).

Hutton's work is historical; it does not claim to be an investigation of current issues. However, it does contain important information on the background to relations between the archaeological profession and the Druid community. Hutton's work has also influenced and informed the sense of identity within the Pagan community. It would be hard to overestimate the impact of Hutton's work on the contemporary Pagan community. He has fostered a much greater awareness of the origins of contemporary Paganism and challenged myths. By so doing, I believe he has profoundly influenced the development of Pagan spiritualities.

2.2.2 Ethnographic Studies of Paganism

Michael York is a professor of religious studies and was the director of the Sophia Centre for the study of Cultural Astronomy and Astrology when it was based at Bath Spa University. He has written two influential academic books dealing with contemporary Paganism: *The Emerging network: A Sociology of the New Age and Neo-Pagan Movements* (1995) and *Pagan Theology* (2005). The former provides a basic overview of contemporary Paganism situating it as connected to, but distinct from, the New Age Movement. He describes the main traditions of Paganism in Britain and explains some of the denigration and prejudice that British Pagans have faced. In the latter book he argues for the grouping of contemporary Paganism in the Anglophone world and across Europe with indigenous and animist beliefs and for this group to be considered a world religion.

Perhaps even more influential than York is the Open University's Graham Harvey who has written several influential works on contemporary Paganism including *Listening People, Speaking Earth* (1997) which provides a clear overview of the subject and includes chapters on the major traditions. Harvey's (2005) *Animism: respecting the living world* seeks to redefine animism and has inspired Emma Restall Orr to redefine herself as animist and to develop a new animism within the contemporary Pagan community which will be examined further in the next section. He has also written a

short monograph (Harvey 2004a) on researching contemporary Paganisms which was considered in research design.

Among the most important recent works which examines Pagan groups involved in contesting heritage is Michael T. Cooper's (2010) *Contemporary Druidry*. This book effectively weaves fieldwork narratives into the analyses he provides. Importantly, he provides a balance to the insider/outsider argument in that, as a Christian, he claims to be the first outsider to research the Druid community (2010:83-85). There are certainly some flaws in his understanding of the British Druid community. He appears to miss the extent of its diversity and his understanding of reconstructionism omits the scholarship of the groups I would define as reconstructionist (Cooper 2010:72) with regard to British Druids. However, he does provide plenty of field interview notes to back up his more important insights. Paramount amongst these is the recognition of the importance of tradition and heritage to Druids which he describes as 'ancientization' (Cooper 2010:57-74). He has asserted that the contestation of Stonehenge provides a basis for the construction of a collective identity among the Druids of the Loyal Arthurian Warband (2010:141-153).

Magliocco, in *Witching Culture* (2004) focused primarily on Witchcraft groups in the United States but her identification of Paganism as a counter-cultural movement applies equally to British Paganism. Her ideas about the romanticisation of being the underdog, which she labelled subdominance, are also relevant in understanding the way Pagans view their place in society and how they approach contestation.

Susan Greenwood has also conducted ethnographic research into Pagan and occult groups. She has published *Magic, Witchcraft and the Otherworld* (2000) and *The Anthropology of Magic* (2009). In these books, she situated British Pagans firmly within the counter-cultural realm (Greenwood 2000:8). She provided two definitions of Paganism: firstly (Greenwood 2000:4) as honouring or venerating nature which I would say is not incorrect but may also include people who would not consider themselves to be Pagan as well. Yet I would be more critical of her second definition, which asserts that magic and Paganism may be used interchangeably, since I have

met Pagans who do not practise magic and Magical practitioners who do not consider themselves Pagan.

Blain, Ezzy and Harvey have also published an edited volume entitled *Researching Paganisms* (2004a) in which chapters by several authors describe the challenges and problems of researching Pagan groups. Several of the authors emphasise the importance of insider ethnography within this area of research. This emphasis inspired me to adopt this approach as part of my own research methodology.

2.2.3 Non-Academic Sources on Paganism

As a former president of the Pagan Federation, arguably the most significant representative body for UK Pagans, Pete Jennings is particularly well placed to provide a description of Pagan traditions, groups and practices in contemporary Britain. His 2002 book, *Pagan Paths*, provides just such a description. Another introduction to Paganism is available from Theresa Moorey (1996). She provides a definition of Paganism, before exploring the different traditions such as Druidry, Witchcraft, and Shamanism. She also examines seasonal celebrations, eco-spirituality and gendered Paganisms. Vivianne Crowley is a prominent high priestess within an Alexandrian/Gardnerian Wiccan tradition. Her book *Wicca: The Old Religion in the New Age* (1989) was my first introduction to contemporary Paganism and has remained an influential text on the practice of Witchcraft. Her follow-up book, entitled *Phoenix from the Flame: Living as a Pagan in the 21st Century* (1995) provides a broader description of Pagan ideas and practices encompassing Druid, Shamanic and Heathen traditions as well as Witchcraft. Julia Day's *Patchwork of Magic* (1995) uses humorous stereotypes to describe the different traditions of contemporary Paganism and explains how they practise their spirituality. Emma Restall Orr has written prolifically on Druidic and Animistic spirituality. Of most importance to this thesis is *Living with Honour: A Pagan Ethics* (2007a). She provides a Pagan definition of ethics as 'what we feel the world owes us and what we feel we ought to give in return' (Restall Orr 2007a:63). She goes on to explain her own Pagan animist worldview of all nature being conscious and interrelated (Restall Orr 2007a:146-7, 2012). From this she extrapolates an ethical system based on respect for all things. This ethical system provides the basis for not only Restall Orr's own views on

archaeological ethics but also that of many of her followers and associates. Its influence can be identified in HAD's (2012) *Definitions for Honouring the Ancient Dead* document.

Arthur Pendragon has co-written his autobiography (2003) with C.J. Stone. This autobiography details Pendragon's campaigns of direct action protest, especially that focusing on gaining free access to Stonehenge during the Solstices. Bearing in mind the political nature of what he does and his self-confessed inclination to seek publicity, I would suggest the reader be watchful for bias in favour of Pendragon and his campaigns and against his opponents.

All these sources provide examples of what individuals and groups within the Pagan community believe and do. Crowley, Pendragon, Shallcrass and especially Restall Orr also provide some explanation of the philosophical and theological underpinnings of their beliefs and practices. In chapter 9 I will probe more deeply into underlying assumptions and conflicts in Pagan theological ideas and suggest that human remains contestation may indicate an attempt to enforce a kind of orthodoxy.

2.3 Literature on Archaeology and Heritage

Archaeology and Ethnography have long been close companions and archaeologists have been studied by ethnographers as exemplified by Matt Edgeworth's (2006) edited volume entitled *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice*. However, to explain the origins and development of archaeology relevant to this study, I have referred to Paul Bahn's (1996) *Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology*, Adam Stout's (2008a) *Creating Prehistory* and Timothy Darvill's (2012) *Archaeology as a profession*. Paul Everill's (2009) *The Invisible Diggers*, Spoerry's (1993) *Archaeology & Legislation in Britain* and Mark Pluciennik's (2001) *The responsibilities of Archaeologists* have also provided insights into the current nature of archaeology as a career or profession.

I have, thus far, failed to find any ethnographic material on heritage professionals apart from Barbara Bender's (1998) *Stonehenge: Making Space* and Tiffany Jenkins' (2011) book entitled *Contesting Human Remains in Museum Collections: The Crisis*

of *Cultural Authority* based on her (2009) Ph.D. thesis. These are too directly relevant to be considered background research and are, therefore, reviewed more fully in the following section.

Despite this dearth of ethnographic literature, there is a large corpus of work discussing the management of archaeological heritage assets, both sites and museum exhibits. In section 1.2.4.1, I referred to the debate over defining heritage (Carman & Sørensen 2009:11-24). Examinations and critiques of the focus of heritage and the public's interaction with it include: Nick Merriman's (1991) *Beyond the Glass Case*, Hewison's (1987) *The Heritage Industry*, Wright's (2009, originally published in 1985) *On Living in an Old Country*, Smith's (2008) *Uses of Heritage*, John Carman's (2005) *Against Cultural Property* and Robin Skeates's (2000) *Debating the Archaeological Heritage*. These writers have worked hard to provide theoretical frameworks to examine and explain Heritage. I remain sceptical about the achievability of this endeavour, especially since writers like Smith and Waterton (2012:153-167; see also Smith 2004:10) build their ideas on a basis of heritage as tied in with identity, whereas I would argue that heritage value is also ascribed for aesthetic reasons. I have yet to find work examining the tension between the aesthetic and the identifying value of heritage and I suspect this might be a productive focus for future research.

In addition to *Uses of Heritage* (2006), Smith also wrote *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (2004). In it she describes the political ramifications of the interpretations archaeologists make of field data using examples including the contestation of human remains in Australia and the USA. Merriman (1991) includes an examination of public attitudes to and interaction with museums but BDRC's *Research into Issues Surrounding Human Bones in Museums* provides more recent and in depth data on public attitudes with particular reference to the display of human remains.

Carman's *Against Cultural Heritage* (2005) provides an academic parallel to Pagan demands for free access to Stonehenge in his criticism of the idea of private or state ownership of heritage. He proposes instead, an open access non-property model for

site management. He argues that all forms of ownership are intrinsically exclusionary and that heritage ought to be managed in a non-exclusive manner. Smith & Waterton (2009:11) take the imperative of inclusivity further, asserting that communities with an interest in the past are not mere stakeholders but should have an equal say in the management and presentation of heritage. Conversely, Peter Mason and I-Ling Kuo (2006:184-185) have written a paper which criticises English Heritage's permission of access for Druids and Pagans describing them in somewhat dismissive terms and suggesting that access for Pagan groups only came back onto the agenda due to police violence towards them. They are scathing about the lack of facilities (a problem at least partially addressed with the new visitors centre) and also criticise the proximity of busy roads in the setting of the site. They describe (2006:192) their assertions as being based on fieldwork conducted in 2004 but I am critical of their research with regard to Pagans and Druids. In particular, I argue that they have a prejudicial attitude to these groups which only serves to worsen poor community relations.

I was made aware of Carole McDavid's (2000:221-239, 2002:303-314, 2009:217-234) approaches to the presentation of African-American archaeology at a late stage of the research cycle but I found some of her ideas accorded closely with ideas I was developing. She explained how she began by applying critical theory to develop heritage presentation, using polyvocality and proactive outreach, as opposed to passively gathering contributions (McDavid 2009:218). She then went on to employ American Pragmatist philosophy, using the internet to construct an understanding of the past which was 'open, democratic, relevant and multi-vocal' whilst also being less top-down and pretentious (McDavid 2009:220). She explains that 'all pragmatists share an anti-essentialist, anti-foundationalist and pluralist point of view towards truth and reason' (McDavid 2009:221).

To gain an appreciation of how sites in general are construed as sacred by Pagans and how, having done so, those sites are conceptualised and used by them, I consulted works by Trubshaw and Cope. Bob Trubshaw often attends Druid events to sell books written by himself and others. His *Sacred Places* (2005) begins by examining ideas of landscape, before examining how myth applies to place. He then

examines how people interact with places especially in spiritual contexts. Having discussed recent developments in landscape archaeology, he goes on to examine alternative archaeologies. He describes a commonality between Earth Mysteries ideas and Paganism, in that both draw on non-Abrahamic cosmologies. His primary argument emerges in the sixth chapter where he argues for a 'middle way'. Trubshaw seems to be largely inspired by Tilley's (1994, 2004) phenomenological approach to landscape archaeology, which he suggests points to convergences between archaeological theory and the alternative scene. He makes an important point that the past is a cultural construct and that the cultural diversity of modern British society makes multiple interpretations of the past inevitable. Trubshaw, like Stout (2006:32), concludes that beliefs are tools for understanding the world and that the beliefs of alternative communities may provide insights which more conventional approaches may miss.

Former pop musician Julian Cope (1998) has produced a gazetteer of megalithic monuments across Britain entitled *The Modern Antiquarian*. In it he presents some highly speculative interpretations of the spiritual beliefs which may have inspired the building of these monuments. He develops the idea of a Neolithic great goddess (Cope 1998:23-55) suggesting a development into some of the goddesses of the better-known European pantheons. I have yet to find much evidence of these ideas having been taken on by contemporary Pagans, so these hypotheses would seem to be of little relevance to my study. However, in his site gazetteer, he does exemplify how older ideas, such as the symbolism of Silbury Hill as the pregnant belly of the earth mother (Cope 1998:202), have been taken on by Pagans and Earth mystics.

2.3.1 Stonehenge

Many books have been written about Stonehenge. It would be a major research project in its own right to review and assess them all. Until recently, the archaeological descriptions of Stonehenge I found most useful were Aubrey Burl's (2007) *A Brief History of Stonehenge* and Timothy Darvill's (2007) *Stonehenge: Biography of a Landscape*. These provided a detailed chronology of the site, some of which has been called into question, but much of which stands. In addition, Darvill (2007:141-146) provides some interpretations of the symbolism of the construction.

Darvill, together with Geoffrey Wainwright (2009:16-18) also provide an interpretation of Stonehenge as a healing shrine. Mike Parker Pearson's (2012) book *Stonehenge: exploring the greatest Stone Age mystery* explains how the hypothesis of Stonehenge as a temple of the ancestors juxtaposed to Durrington's temple of the living, which he presented with Ramilisonina (1998), has been tested through the Stonehenge Riverside Project. Parker Pearson proposes a new chronology of Stonehenge involving the Preseli bluestones arriving earlier than previously thought (Parker Pearson 2012:309-313). He also provides a description of contestation of the excavation of the Aubrey hole 7 remains (Parker Pearson 2012:166-180) as well as information gleaned from them and details of what he still hopes to find in the future (Parker Pearson 2012:200-215). This issue is one of my key case studies and will be examined in more detail in section 8.5.2.

Christopher Chippendale (1990) assembled a group of authors including Paul Devereux (to provide an Earth Mysteries perspective) and Tim Sebastian (to provide a Druid's view) with the aim to examine ideas of interpretation and ideological ownership of Stonehenge. Their book, *Who Owns Stonehenge*, attempts to examine claims on the site from academic archaeological, Welsh Nationalist, Druidic, Festival-goer and tourism perspectives. The book was written and published at a time when there was a government exclusion zone, examined in chapter 4, surrounding the stones at the Summer Solstice and, like Barbara Bender's book (reviewed next), was probably influential in the reconsideration of this exclusion policy.

Barbara Bender was Reader in Material Culture at University College London until her retirement. In her book (Bender 1998) *Stonehenge; Making Space*, she begins by providing a reflexive analysis of her theoretical positions and situating them within broader archaeological/anthropological theory. Bender (1998:13-23) situates herself as a Structural Marxist, suggesting that this approach combines a means of explaining change with a fundamental understanding of the roots of human behaviour. She goes on to look at the ways landscapes are understood and then relates an archaeological narrative of the construction of Stonehenge before beginning a series of dialogues with various prominent archaeologists, a museum professional, three Free Festival veterans and Ronald Hutton. She takes an historical

look at contestation of the site, examining mediaeval religious ideas, early modern interpretations of the stones and contemporary disputes over access and presentation. She also mentions an exhibition she created in collaboration with excluded stakeholder groups entitled 'Stonehenge Belongs to You and Me'. In this book, Bender takes a broad spectrum of opinion but the nearest she gets to contemporary Pagans is the three Festival-goers. Some of her information has become outdated as the managed open access and peace stewarding arrangements do not feature in her work.

Andy Worthington's (2005a) *Stonehenge: celebration and subversion* provides a fascinating cultural history of this important site, up to the furore over relocating and improving the visitors centre, closing the road next to the stones and possibly building a tunnel to take the A303 trunk road out of sight of the stones. This issue has rumbled on for years and only recently has a dispute between the National Trust and English Heritage been resolved by a government decision on the site of the new Visitors Centre (BBC News 2010a). Worthington also illustrates cases of discrimination or repression by the state: he explains how The 'Battle of the Beanfield' took place in 1985 when police, executing a court injunction to prevent the twelfth Stonehenge Free Festival going ahead, closed a major trunk road forcing Festival-goers into a bean field, where the police arrested them all in scenes described by reporters as the most violent police actions they had ever seen. In this incident, Worthington records that pets were put down by the RSPCA at the request of police, that children were separated from their parents for up to 48 hours, and that the mobile homes of some travellers were vandalised by police and in a few cases burned (Festival-goers and police blame each other for this destruction). He also tells of the Stoney Cross incident which occurred a year later in 1986. A group of 'New Age' travellers, who were encamped at Stoney Cross in Wiltshire, were warned by a social worker that the police were planning to raid the camp and that social services had been instructed to take the travellers' children into care. The children were transported to safety in time but police raided the camp and more damage was done to homes and people. It should be stressed that by no means all 'New Age Travellers' were Pagan. However, many people are members of both communities and there exists a strong link between these groups, in that there is frequently a counter-cultural rejection of

aspects of modern mainstream British life. Greenwood (2000:8) situates Paganism within a spiritual counter-culture and I have witnessed a shared set of counter-cultural values among most Pagans and all travellers whom I have interviewed which includes respect for nature, a discomfort with mainstream Christianity and deep suspicion of unrestricted capitalism. In the spectrum of British counter-cultures (mentioned in section 1.2.2), the travellers may be said to occupy the more radical or subversive end, whilst contemporary Pagans are more spread out along its length. Whilst it is a subject of dispute whether the suppression of such groups is justifiable in a society which describes itself as multicultural and tolerant, the suppression of these groups in this way has had an effect on the contemporary Pagan community, making them less willing to be identified and to interact with the mainstream than they might otherwise be. These actions have also left some within the Pagan community with a sense of grievance against what they see as the 'establishment'. I anticipate that this sense of grievance will colour relations between contemporary Pagans and what they may see as the heritage establishment. Indeed, it is a consequence of this that I feel necessitates the researcher being an insider in this case.

Worthington (2005b) also published an edited volume entitled *The Battle of the Beanfield*. In it, he includes interviews with travellers, reporters and the Earl of Cardigan who witnessed much of what happened and owns the land from which the convoy set out that morning and to which those who escaped retreated. An interview with a senior police officer and the barrister who represented the Travellers is also included along with the police radio log and commentaries by Worthington himself. The book offers a damning indictment of police conduct there.

Jim Rayner's recently (2012) published book, *A Pilgrim's Guide to Stonehenge*, aims to inform and inspire people wanting to attend the managed open access arrangements at Stonehenge. In it he explains how the celebrations as they now exist came about. He is critical of the past management of the site but presents balanced arguments supported by evidence (Rayner 2012:1-9). He continues by briefly explaining contemporary Paganism and explaining how Pagans engage with sacred sites (Rayner 2012:10-25). Rayner (2012:31-57) describes the landscape and the stones themselves, suggesting walks and providing brief descriptions of

archaeological, Pagan and Earth Mysteries interpretations of the site. He concludes by arguing for a limited rearrangement of fallen stones to reveal the altar stone, expansion of open access, relaxation of the rules associated with it and for new traffic management strategies, beyond those already proposed (see section 4.3.3). It is probably too early to discern what impact this book will have on the issues surrounding Stonehenge at the time of writing.

It was necessary to examine how English Heritage interprets Stonehenge to the public in order to understand how interpretation is contested. The means they use are a guidebook written by Julian Richards (2005, 2013) and an electronic audio guide, the script for which (English Heritage unpublished) was provided by Peter Carson. Both of these are reviewed in detail in section 6.3.4 and will not, therefore, be examined in detail here.

2.3.2 Avebury

Following on from Michael Dames' (1977) identification of Avebury as a sacred landscape dedicated to the divine feminine, Dr Terry Meaden (1999) proposed an interpretation of Avebury (and also Stonehenge) based on the shadow of a phallic stone, symbolising a fertility god falling across the stone symbolising a fertility goddess. The hypothesis has failed to find much support in the archaeological community and, to my slight surprise, even in the Pagan community, Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina's (1998) Ancestral shrine theory appears more popular.

Mark Gillings & Josh Pollard (2004) have written a more academically orthodox book entitled simply *Avebury* describing the landscape, monuments, chronology and finds that make up the Avebury complex. The book is presented as a biography of the landscape and presents its archaeology in broadly chronological order. It also records interpretations of the elements of the site, although it devotes little more than a page (Gillings & Pollard 2004:188-189) to describing contemporary Pagan use of the site.

Avebury is owned and managed by the National Trust which has published a guidebook (National Trust 2008). This book examines the site monument by

monument and includes descriptions of the village, church and manor house, as well as the wildlife of the area. It makes no mention of Pagan use of the site at all.

2.3.3 Seahenge

For information on the Holme-next-the-sea timber circle which became known as Seahenge, perhaps the most obvious source was Brennand and Taylor's (2003) excavation report. It details the location, the nature of the site and its excavation and analysis. It explains the reasons why the site was excavated but does not explain the contestation of this action.

Matthew Champion's (2000) *Seahenge: A Contemporary Chronicle* goes into great detail about the contestation of the site and I found the book particularly useful in identifying mistakes made by archaeologists in dealing with protestors.

Charlie Watson's (2005) *Seahenge: an archaeological conundrum* is published by English Heritage and may thus be expected to present a line wholly in support of their actions. However, unlike English Heritage narratives regarding Stonehenge (e.g. Richards 2005, 2013) it makes no attempt to gloss over, or ignore, contestation but describes it in some detail. I found the book particularly useful in providing details regarding the preservation and subsequent display of the timbers.

Francis Pryor's (2002) *Seahenge: a quest for life and death in Bronze Age Britain* uses the Seahenge circle along with his work at Flag Fen to put forward an integrated view of Bronze Age Britain and provides less information on the excavation than the other literature and was hence of less relevance to this study.

2.3.4 The Rollright Stones

The Rollright stones in Oxfordshire have been described in detail by two authors: Aubrey Burl and George Lambrick. Burl (2000) has published a description of the archaeology and folklore of the Rollright Stones which has also been printed in the *Right Times* (Burl 1998a, 1998b), the journal of the Rollright Trust. In it, he explains the development of the myth of the stones originating as an army turned to stone by a witch before describing archaeological ideas including measurements and celestial

alignments. He finishes by describing both the Kings Men circle and the much earlier Whispering Nights cromlech as 'distant outliers of a tradition of Western Megaliths' (Burl 1998b:11) and suggesting the site was chosen due to its proximity to a junction in track way trade routes.

George Lambrick (1983, 1988) has published two accounts of his 1981 to 1986 research digs at the Rollrights. From these he puts forward a description of the elements that make up the Rollright Stones and a narrative chronology of the site. Most of the challenges that have emerged regarding the ownership and management of the site have emerged since these books were published but they do provide a good appraisal of what is known about the stones.

2.3.5 Glastonbury

Philip Rahtz (1993) has published a book entitled *Glastonbury* as part of the Batsford English Heritage series on ancient monuments and heritage sites. In it, he provides a detailed description of the archaeology of the town and its locality, with chapters on environment and resources, Prehistory and the Roman period, history and myth, the Tor, the Abbey and the town itself. Most importantly for the purposes of this thesis, he describes and rebuts some alternative hypotheses about the place, including the landscape zodiac (Rahtz 1993:50) and it having been a pre-Christian sacred place (Rahtz 1993:27-28, 47).

Adrian J. Ivakhiv's (2001) *Claiming Sacred Ground* examines how concepts of sacred places are constructed and performed using the case studies of Sedona and Glastonbury. For the purposes of this thesis, it is his analysis of the concept of Glastonbury as a sacred place and how it has been created and contested which is of greatest interest. He describes the significant elements of Glastonbury in these narratives and explores the history of their conceptualisation and use. He explains the contestation of Glastonbury between residents, Pagans and New Agers, Christians and heritage managers. He refers to archaeological facts and fallacies and to myths relating to the place.

2.3.6 Interpretative Contestation

In this section I shall examine how the available literature explains the differences between mainstream and alternative archaeology and Earth Mysteries.

Adam Stout (2006) has published an expanded version of his MA dissertation entitled *What's Real and What is Not* which examines the sometimes diffuse dividing line between Earth Mysteries and archaeology in Britain. In it, he suggests the origin for the division emerges with the professionalisation of archaeology, exemplified by Crawford as the professional and Watkins as the amateur (Stout 2006:7). He characterises the alternative scene as populated with ideas involving grand narratives writ large on the British landscape such as ley lines and field boundary zodiacs (Stout 2006:6-8) along with mystical and imaginative interpretations involving gods, earth energies and aliens. Stout (2008a) subsequently published *Creating Prehistory: Druids, Ley Hunters and Archaeologists in Pre-war Britain*, based on his PhD thesis. It examines the condensation of archaeology into an academic discipline, the development of Druidry and the separation of Earth Mysteries from orthodox archaeology prior to World War 2. All these narratives are of interest for this thesis but his examination of the origins of Druidry is especially revealing alongside Worthington (2005a) and Hutton (1997b, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009).

Tim Schadla-Hall is a Reader in Archaeology at University College London specialising in public archaeology and heritage issues. 'The Comforts of Unreason' was published in 2004 as part of Nick Merriman's book entitled *Public Archaeology*. In my opinion this piece goes beyond simple rebuttal of factual inaccuracies and becomes a polemic against alternative archaeology, Paganism and Earth Mysteries. It dismisses concepts of sanctity associated with heritage sites (Schadla-Hall 2004:257). It promotes an engagement by archaeologists to oppose alternative archaeologies that the writer sees as spurious and irrational. He examines critically themes in alternative archaeology including hyperdiffusionism and Atlantis, Earth Mysteries and ley lines, religious dogma, linguistic etymology and conspiracy theories. It is perhaps easy to deconstruct such ideas, to contradict them or to poke fun at them but what Schadla-Hall fails to do is ask questions such as why do some people feel archaeologists are concealing evidence from them? He acknowledges

Morris's (1993:12) point on the importance of (satisfying) narratives for popular understanding of the past. He goes on to examine how alternative archaeology has been rebutted, mentioning Glyn Daniel's (1992:25, 28, 34, 42, 51, 59, 126, 130, 173) attacks on Druids at Stonehenge, whilst editor of *Antiquity* between 1958 and 1985, and describing them as 'learned, and accessible and funny' (Schadla-Hall 2004:264). I suggest that Daniel went beyond simply questioning the authenticity of Druidry and attacked an already subordinated and marginalised religious group as 'horrid' (Daniel 1992:51) and 'bogus' (Daniel 1992:28, 51, 59, 126, 173). By suggesting they be banned from holding ceremonies at their most sacred place, even on a few days a year, I suggest he was opposing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which guarantees a person's 'freedom, either alone or in community with others, and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance' (Blackburn 2003:121). Schadla-Hall does go on to examine how conventional and alternative archaeologies could co-exist, suggesting that a line should be drawn whereby racist and politically dangerous ideas have to be opposed but that cultural interpretations, particularly of indigenous peoples, should be respected. Perhaps such an ideological détente gives a polyphonic/polyvocal plurality to archaeology that could serve to enhance and make more accessible narratives of the past. I'm inclined to agree that it is part of our duty as academics to debunk fraudulent and incorrect information but I suspect that some academics sometimes go beyond this and attack people they see as interlopers in their intellectual territory, despite the non-academic ideas being barely (if any) less credible than those of recognised academics. An example of this might be the outright hostility shown to Terry Meaden's ideas on Avebury and Stonehenge (1999) compared with the relative acceptance of Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina's (1998; Parker Pearson 2012) ideas (Schadla-Hall 2004:258).

James Doeser (2007), in his paper entitled 'Rationality, Archaeology and Government Policy', offers a far more nuanced argument than Schadla-Hall whom he criticises for not providing criteria for differentiating between legitimate and non-legitimate claims on cultural property (Doeser 2007:24). He does criticise Druidry, invoking Prys Morgan (1992:60) (somewhat out of context), suggesting it is a made up tradition. He goes on to conclude that including narratives involving Druids regarding monuments

such as Stonehenge will create what he describes as 'an arbitrary hierarchy of stakeholders' (Doeser 2007:24). However, Doeser (2007:22) also characterises the role of heritage management as providing 'a legitimate forum through which competing cultural rights can be negotiated'.

2.4 Literature on Human Remains

In this section, I shall detail the literature available to describe human remains excavated by archaeologists and curated in museums have been contested and to explain why this has occurred.

2.4.1 Examining Remains

In understanding how and why human remains are contested I considered it vital to examine how and why they are acquired, analysed, curated and displayed. Popular archaeology books like the television tie-in volumes *Meet the Ancestors* (Richards 1999) and *Secrets of the Dead* (Miller 2000) demonstrate to the public what is possible with modern scientific analytical techniques such as stable isotope analysis. However, these provide only a superficial appreciation of the capabilities and limitations of a few techniques. I found Charlotte A. Roberts (2009) *Human Remains in Archaeology: A Handbook* to be a particularly useful sourcebook on the archaeology of human remains. Chapter 1 gives an introductory explanation of why human remains are of interest to archaeologists. Chapters Five to Seven explain in more detail how information about the dead may be deduced from their bones and preserved bodies. Importantly, chapter two explores ethical issues surrounding the recovery and analysis of human remains. Further information on what and how archaeologists can learn from human remains is provided by Charlotte Roberts and Keith Manchester (2005) *The Archaeology of Disease*. In this book, detailed explanations are made as to how disease and injury may be identified from bones and preserved bodies.

2.4.2 Ethical Guidelines and Debates

The fundamental requirements for archaeologists and museum professionals in the UK regarding treatment of human remains are set out in legislation. The principal Acts of Parliament covering treatment of human remains are the 1857 Burial Act (Her

Majesty's Government 1857) which forbids disinterment of buried bodies without government authority and the 2004 Human Tissue Act (Her Majesty's Government 2004) which requires all samples of tissue less than 100 years old to be acquired and retained only with the informed consent of the donor or his/her next of kin. In order to explain how laws are interpreted and to provide further guidance on practice, the government's Department of Culture Media and Sport (2005) has published a document entitled *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums*. In it, advice is provided on the acquisition, loan, de-accessioning, storage, conservation, display, research and other uses of human remains. It explains the legal and ethical frameworks within which the government expects professionals to work and, most importantly for this thesis, it provides a procedural framework by which claims made for return of remains may be assessed. Archaeological and heritage practice is also regulated through international treaties such as the Vermillion Accord. This agreement is not binding under UK law but it does provide a set of ethical parameters regulating relationships between archaeologists and indigenous groups. Professional guidelines such as those published by professional organisations including ICOM (2006), IfA (2010), The Museums Association (2008) and BABAO (nda, ndb) provide standards of practice requisite to membership of those bodies. Failure to uphold these standards is likely to result in suspension or expulsion from them, with potentially adverse consequences for employment. These in turn influence policy documents produced by individual institutions and organisations. In this thesis I studied examples from the British Museum (2006), the National Museum Wales (2006), Oxford Archaeology (Loe 2008) and the Poulton Research Project (2010) which are examined in detail in section 7. These professional guidelines and institutional documents demonstrate how the 'archaeological and heritage establishment' sees the responsibilities of archaeologists and museum professionals and the standards to which they are required to adhere.

Blain and Wallis (2007) do not examine the professional ethics and obligations of archaeological and heritage professionals. I consider this to be a major weakness in their work and seek to redress it in this thesis. Chris & Geoffrey Scarre's (2006) *The Ethics of Archaeology* is an edited volume including chapters on the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and the reburial issue in the USA

which has inspired contemporary Pagan calls for reburial. Most important for this thesis are the chapters by Geoffrey Scarre (2006) on the ethics of excavating Human remains and Sarah Tarlow (2006) on the duty of archaeologists to the people of the past. Scarre (2006:181-182) makes reference to the Vermillion Accord. This international agreement of the World Archaeology Congress, adopted in 1989, requires that the dignity of the dead be respected, together with their wishes concerning disposition. The Accord also requires the wishes of locals, relatives and cultural affines to be respected. Scarre (2006:184) also points out that whilst many people, especially in Europe, North America Australia and New Zealand, view death either as complete extinction or as an absolute severing of ties with the material world, many other societies around the world do not and believe that treatment of remains by the living may affect the spirit of the deceased. He examines how changes or actions which may have no direct influence on a person could still potentially bring about harm and suggests that the disturbance of human remains by 'archaeological cavaliers' may indeed be harmful to the subjects and as such is ethically problematical (Scarre 2006:189-197). Tarlow (2006:208-209) suggests the rights of the dead include respect but acknowledges that what constitutes respectful treatment varies according to culture. She goes on to suggest that archaeologists have a duty to people in the present and the future as well as a possible duty of advocacy to the dead. She also considers how those duties should be prioritised (Tarlow 2006:199-201). She accepts that the dead are beyond the ability to feel pain, anger or upset. Nevertheless, Scarre (2006:189-197) points out that reputation may be harmed and desires or beliefs offended. The belief that this is beyond the purview of all but close living relatives of the deceased is a view taken from the medical discipline and has become the prevailing attitude across several disciplines including archaeology. One important issue Tarlow raises is that of consent: the dead are manifestly unable to give or withhold consent for excavation and analysis of their remains, so who should be able to give or withhold it? She mentions incommensurability in the context of interactions between American Indians and archaeologists and points out that any accusations of archaeologists intentionally causing distress are unlikely to be justified. The subject of respect is brought up particularly relating to the stipulations of the Vermillion Accord, the international agreement over archaeological treatment of human remains (Tarlow 2006:208). The

main thrust of the piece is that ethics are a culturally constructed phenomenon and that when (as is so often the case with archaeology) consequences of actions cross cultural boundaries, ethical principles constantly need to be renegotiated.

Mark Pluciennik's (2001) edited volume, entitled *The Responsibilities of Archaeologists*, provides further discourse on professional ethics in this area. The book includes chapters on ethnoarchaeology and contract archaeology but the most relevant pieces include Tarlow's (2001) piece on representation, which includes reference to ethical issues regarding human remains, and Pluciennik's introduction, which provides an explanation of archaeology's *raison d'être*.

2.4.3 Contestation Abroad

To provide background and explanation of contestation of human remains by Pagans in the UK, I examined case studies in Australia and the United States. Cressida Fforde (2004), in her book *Collecting the Dead*, explains the colonial origins of many collections with the racist values which often inspired the collectors. She gives detailed accounts of the cases of William Lanne and Truganini, whose skeletons were collected in circumstances which were illicit at the time but would now be completely unacceptable. Two important books detailing contestation of human remains in the United States were written largely in response to the case of Kennewick Man. These are David Hurst Thomas's (2000) *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology and the Battle for Native American Identity* and the volume edited by Heather Burke, Claire Smith, Dorothy Lippert, Joe Watkins and Larry Zimmerman (2008) entitled *Kennewick Man: Perspectives on the Ancient One*. Thomas, who is described as an archaeologist on the dust cover of his book, provides a history of contestation of remains in the USA and the factors behind it stretching from the arrival of Columbus and the appropriation of land from the indigenous people, through the rise of archaeology and anthropology, to the re-assertion of Native rights from the 1960s. He writes with sympathy for American Indians and states (Thomas 2000:v) that he has attempted to avoid causing offence to them and their traditions. Burke et al (2008) have attempted to record both the facts of the case, including a detailed sequence of events (Burke et al 2008:26-37) along with statements or perspectives from

stakeholders including archaeologists, anthropologists, heritage specialists, indigenous rights campaigners and others.

2.4.4 Contemporary Pagan Metaphysics and Ideas on Ancestors

To understand the reasons for contemporary Pagan contestation of human remains it is essential to understand the ideas behind it. Emma Restall Orr has explained to me on several occasions that her work on ancestors and her activism with HAD is founded on her Animism. This worldview is explained in her book *The Wakeful World*, in which she expounds a metaphysics rooted on the belief that the Cartesian dualism, which posits the separability of matter and spirit, is false and that all matter has spirit soul or consciousness (Restall Orr 2012:104). Based on this worldview, she suggests that when a person dies their soul dissipates into the soul of the Earth as they decay and that to interfere with the process of decomposition is to interrupt this process bringing harm to the deceased (HAD 2012:2). In a conversation with her in November 2012, she rejected my suggestion that Phillip Pullman's (2001:527-529, 853-854, 988-989) fictional concept of dust might have influenced the development of this set of ideas but agreed that these ideas had been influenced by Graham Harvey's (2005) *Animism: Respecting the Living World*. In this book, Harvey presents a series of case studies supporting his arguments that animist worldviews are neither primitive nor irrational but well thought out, developed and reasonable with virtues over both the mechanistic atheistic worldview of the evangelical secularist or the constructed, monarchical worldview of the Abrahamic faiths. Cox (2007:161-163), criticises Harvey's advocacy for the animist worldview, describing him as an Animist theologian on the basis of Harvey's self-identification as an animist. This may be seen as part of the debate over 'going native' which is addressed in section 3.9.

Nimue Brown (2012) (previously known as Brynneth Colvin) has published *Druidry and the Ancestors: Finding Our Place in Our Own History*, the first book aimed at the Druid community specifically about ancestor veneration. In it she suggests that how people interact with ancestors is an expression of how they envision our place in our family and personal histories. She emphasises the importance of scholarship in a chapter dedicated to critical assessment of source materials. She then provides a detailed examination of the way ancestors of blood, place and tradition are

conceptualised before examining how Druids interact with those identified as ancestors. In this chapter she discusses differences in the treatment of the recent and ancient dead. She does repeat the fallacy that all Christian remains are automatically reburied (Brown 2012:193) although she does concede that Pagans benefit from archaeology and that differential treatment for modern and ancient remains may be more to do with sensitivity to living relatives.

2.4.5 Contestation of Human Remains in the UK

In this section I shall examine the literature regarding how UK based Pagan groups have contested the treatment of human remains by British archaeologists and museum professionals.

Paul Davies took a joint honours Bachelor of Arts degree in Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Wales Lampeter, graduating in 1998. He is an active participant in the contemporary Pagan community, having served on the Council of British Druid Orders. In 1997 and 1998 he wrote two articles for *The Druid's Voice* (the journal of CoBDO at the time). The first of these, entitled 'Respect and Reburial', uses highly emotive terms such as 'desecration' (1997:12), 'theft', 'violation' and 'rape' (1997:13). He accuses archaeologists of killing both our shared heritage and (metaphorically) himself. He claims that archaeological excavation steals his identity as a Druid, damaging it beyond repair. Davies also questions whether other Druids are correct in believing that guardians and ancestors still dwell at sites such as West Kennett Long Barrow after archaeologists have removed the bones that were housed there. He acknowledges that the site still 'works' for people but asserts that the guardians and ancestors are concerned, saddened or angry about archaeological interference at such sites (1997:13). He goes on to exhort Druids to 'assert our authority as the physical guardians of esoteric lore' (1997:13), to tell archaeologists to stop and 'reclaim our past' (1997:13).

In his 1998 article, 'Speaking for the Ancestors: the reburial issue in Britain and Ireland', he takes a less confrontational attitude. He begins by explaining that there are philosophical, religious and scientific 'perceptions' and that his approach is Druidic. He asserts that neither Pagans nor archaeologists should own sacred sites,

nor use them for their own aggrandisement. He goes on to provide a specific spiritual interpretation of megalithic tombs as:

- 1 It is the spiritual heart of the Goddess
- 2 It is a house of the living ancestor, and
- 3 It is a bridge between this world and the Otherworld (Davies 1988:11)

He accepts there are other interpretations but seems to suggest that his are somehow core values integral to 'Druidic and Pagan philosophy' (1998:11). Davies draws a parallel between his own animist concepts and American Indian beliefs, questioning the benefits and ethics of studying the ancient dead and thus implying a post-colonial status analogous to that of American Indians for himself and other Pagans. He expresses a strong distaste for the destructive analysis of bone. He suggests that the ancestors probably look kindly on our quest for greater knowledge but asserts that the continuing excavation and analysis of human remains is driven by a degeneration of this laudable quest into 'morbid curiosity' (1998:12). Davies writes that he finds negative attitudes between Pagans and Christians tedious but states (incorrectly in my opinion) that burials identified as Christian are accorded more respect than pre-Christian ones. In his conclusion, Davies presents a list of options for Pagans who feel strongly that ancient remains should be reburied ranging from written discourse with archaeologists and curators to smashing cases and taking away remains (Davies 1998:12). Davies's writings are primarily a rallying call to raise support for his campaign to rebury prehistoric bones, bodies and body parts in museum collections. He puts forward his reasons for requiring reburial, which I consider key data in understanding contestation of human remains.

Honouring the Ancient Dead is a pressure group set up by Emma Restall Orr who is one of the most prominent spokespeople for contemporary Paganism in general and the Druid traditions in particular. She is also founder of the Druid Network (TDN) and has been joint chief of the British Druid Order (BDO) and education officer for the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids (OBOD). She has published at least a dozen books, including *Pagan Ethics* and inspires a devoted following within the Druid community. HAD was founded in 2004 as a group to give contemporary Pagans a voice on how pre-Christian human remains are treated. In their *Statement of Intention*

they state that 'within modern British Pagan traditions, such remains are considered worthy of profound respect, and in many Pagan religions are felt to be sacred' (HAD 2004-2008). Unlike Davies, HAD expressly states that it wishes dialogues and working relationships with the custodians of ancient human remains to ensure that due respect is paid to the remains in their care. The organisation considers all human remains dated from prehistory through to AD 600 and any 'not found within a clearly non-pagan religious context' (HAD 2004-2008) to be within its area of concern. It also expresses an interest in grave goods interred with human remains. HAD describes reburial of human remains as a key issue but considers it 'not always necessary from a Pagan perspective' (HAD 2004-2008). Nevertheless, HAD explains that in cases where reburial is deemed most desirable (by whom, they do not say), it will 'work to ensure this is achieved and relevant ritual is performed by a priest/priestess of the Pagan community'.

Emma Restall Orr (2005) personally favours reburial, explaining that she feels it is desirable for the body and bones to melt back into the soil so the soul or spirit, which she sees as inextricably linked to corporeal matter, can reunite with nature. I feel that the content of the *Statement of Intention* (HAD 2004-2008) keeps the organisation's stance on reburial open but the '*Definitions for Honouring the Ancient Dead*' (HAD 2012) offers a clear statement that HAD favours reburial of all excavated human remains. It contests the language used in the description of issues surrounding human remains. Even the word 'remains' is deemed inappropriate by HAD and they favour return over reburial.

Arthur Pendragon (2011b) has posted a series of 'Write Royal Rants' on the Loyal Arthurian Warband's website. In these, he argues that excavation, retention and display of human remains is contrary to 'common decency', arguing that people of all beliefs expect 'those we lay to rest' should 'stay at rest' (Pendragon 2011b)

One of the most significant pieces of work published on UK contestation of human remains is Tiffany Jenkins' (2011) *Contesting Human Remains in Museum Collections* which is based on her PhD Thesis (Jenkins 2009). She asserts that museum professionals have abrogated their duty to preserve collections and have

actively cultivated claims for de-accession and reburial of human remains through a liberal post-modern desire to be seen as politically correct. Jenkins provides an important insight into museum professionals' perspectives on the reburial issue but I argue that her analysis of Pagan campaigners outside HAD lack depth since Warwick, Pendragon and Somers do not feature at all while Shallcrass and Davies are only mentioned once each. Jenkins does not explain reasons for retention beyond their 'scientific value'. I feel that this requires explanation. She does not explain what can be learned from remains via bioarchaeological investigation; neither does she explain the need to retain remains after analysis to allow testing of hypotheses or to check for errors.

Corinne Duhig's (2009) paper 'Human Remains, Archaeologists and Pagans: any Common Ground' emphasises the plurality of Pagan ideas about death and the afterlife. Duhig (2009:36) identifies herself as both a Pagan and a professional osteoarchaeologist. She sees no contradiction between her spirituality and her profession and argues that both Pagans and archaeologists value the past. She disputes CoBDO and HAD's suggestion that decay (and hence reburial) is the most desirable fate for human remains to Pagans. She finishes by asserting that telling the stories of the Ancestors from their remains is the best thing she can do to honour them (Duhig 2009:37).

Gabriel Moshenska's (2009) paper, 'The Reburial Issue in Britain' provides positive description of the work of HAD. He describes CoBDO's confrontational approach as uncharacteristic of British Paganism and criticises the tendency of many archaeologists to dismiss what some of them see as superstition (Moshenska 2009:815). A significant use of language, since after the adoption of Christianity by the Roman Empire the word 'religio' became restricted to describing Christianity and the older pagan beliefs and practices came to be described as 'superstitio' (Davies 2011:43-44). Moshenska (2009:816) refers to the post-colonial contestation abroad which inspired Pagan contestation of remains in the UK and explains why different arguments have come to the fore in this case. He implies criticism of HAD for using terms like 'blood and soil' on the basis that they were used by far Right political movements but I would argue that, despite there being far-right political elements

associated with reconstructionist Pagan groups, especially in Eastern Europe, it is largely irrelevant that they have romanticised nature in a quasi-Pagan manner (Moshenska 2009:817). Importantly, Moshenska (2009:818) characterises the ethical imperatives of archaeology regarding human remains in the form of three duties: duties to humanity and science, duties to the descendants of the dead, and duties to the dead themselves. The triplication is a form which is familiar and pleasing to many Pagans while the idea of 'duty' ethics appeals to Pagans who have studied Aristotle (1999:37-40) and Marcus Aurelius (1998:3-9). He is critical of some of the points HAD have made, particularly the idea that some remains may have no research value (Moshenska 2009:817) but he opines that HAD helps 'to make British archaeology a little more considerate, open and socially responsible' (Moshenska 2009:819). I find myself wondering if Moshenska has joined HAD or not. His writing suggests that he would like to see constructive dialogues between Pagans and archaeologists.

Arthur Pendragon (nd) has posted a document entitled 'Resolving the Human Remains Crisis in British Archaeology: The Counter Argument'. In it he again argues that it is 'common decency' to 'let those we lay to rest stay at rest' but he expands the argument a little by alleging a double standard in protecting recent monuments to the dead including war memorials while permitting archaeological disinterment from ancient monuments. It explains that the Stonehenge picket which had been abandoned following agreements regarding the new visitors centre was reinstated to campaign for the return of the bones.

2.5 Theoretical Analysis of Contestation

The source material I used to gain a theoretical understanding of conflict included T.C. Lewellen's (1992) *Political Anthropology*, which provides a model of leadership relevant to contemporary Pagan groups (1992:84), argues for the normality of conflict (1992:17) and explains the formation of factions in conflict situations (1992:119-120). Additionally, S. Roberts (1979) wrote a chapter on disputes in *Order and Dispute: an Introduction to Legal Anthropology* where he argues conflict is ubiquitous and can be constructive in promoting meritocracy and, in some situations at least, social cohesion. He situates ostracism as an extreme approach to engaging with disputes and promotes talking as the main means of resolution. He points out that even where

talking fails to produce a settlement, it can prove cathartic and therapeutic. He explains the differing roles of an umpire as opposed to a mediator and an arbitrator as opposed to an adjudicator. Generalised theoretical works like these provide perspective and a critical review of issues such as contestation of sites and contestation of human remains which occasionally seems to be lacking. Sources specifically examining contestation of heritage include: Coleman 2013:156-175; Carmichael et al 1994:5-7; Davidson 1995:3-5; McDavid 2002:310-312, 2009:217-234 and O'Regan 1994:95-106 who explore pragmatic approaches to including stakeholders.

2.6 Blain and Wallis – Sacred Sites Contested Rights/Rites

Almost as soon as I began researching this topic I discovered that Pagan interactions with heritage and archaeology had already been investigated and reported on by Jenny Blain and Rob Wallis in their book entitled *Sacred Sites, Contested Rights/Rites*. This book provides a multi-sited snapshot of issues between the contemporary Pagan community and the heritage sector and archaeological community examining Avebury, Stonehenge, Stanton Moor & Thornborough Henges, Kilmartin Valley and the Rollright stones. It refers to literature on both sides but refers only briefly or indirectly to ethnographic fieldwork with the Pagan community and hardly at all to field research with the heritage sector and archaeological community.

2.6.1 Criticisms

The book is laid out by site with Avebury and Stonehenge being given a chapter each. Other sites are addressed in geographical groups including Derbyshire/Yorkshire and Scotland. The contestation of human remains is also addressed in its own chapter. Blain and Wallis (2007:37) critique the way Stonehenge is preserved, claiming that the preservation ethos is strongly weighted towards the visual appreciation of the site. They argue that this is a common bias across the heritage sector. Blain and Wallis (2007:211) explain inter-community distrust in terms of ingrained stereotyping which needs to be overcome before relations can be improved. They appear to base the negative stereotypes of Pagans among archaeologists on four posts on an internet forum. This thesis constitutes a broader

study into attitudes between these groups and assesses how widespread such attitudes actually are.

The most significant factor in contestation, which Blain and Wallis do not appear to have examined, is the approaches and opinions of those in the heritage and archaeological community. They also do not examine in detail and critique the arguments and underlying assumptions behind contestation of sites and human remains.

Since this book was published in 2007 there have been developments in this field, especially over the excavation, curation and display, or reburial of human remains. The report on the Avebury human remains (Blain & Wallis 2007:189-208) claim is of particular importance. The book does not examine the opinions of archaeologists or heritage professionals and I argue that the coverage of the arguments put forward by Pagan groups is superficial. The book makes no attempt to examine underlying attitudes behind contestation. It is this lacuna which I hope to address with this thesis. Blain & Wallis (2007:11-17) describe their methodological approach as being primarily focused on discourse analysis largely informed by ethnographic field research. This has been influential in my choices of research methodologies and data collection strategies which are explained in chapter 3.

2.6.2 Impact

It is hard to be sure of the impact of this book. Field interviews with archaeologists and heritage professionals definitely indicate an increasing familiarity with Paganism in these groups but I would argue that this is most likely to be a result of broader awareness of it in society as a whole.

2.7 Conclusions: Assessing the Literature

Blain and Wallis's (2007) *Sacred Sites Contested Rights/Rites*, remains the principal sourcebook on Pagan interactions with archaeology and heritage. Indeed, it is the only source material to cover both contemporary Pagan calls for reburial and access to sites in detail. However, much has happened since the book was published especially in terms of reburial. Additionally Blain and Wallis do not delve into the

fundamental attitudes within the archaeological/heritage profession and contemporary Pagan communities which underlie contestation of heritage in the way that Jenkins does for the museum profession. Blain and Wallis may also be criticised for presenting their interpretations of situations without sufficient evidence from their ethnographic fieldwork. Neither Jenkins nor Blain and Wallis examine the overlap between the groups in which archaeologists and heritage professionals who identify as Pagan are situated. Hutton (2001, 2007, 2008, 2009) and Worthington (2005a, 2005b) both examine the recent past, with the latter appearing keener to express opinions on underlying reasons for events such as 'the Battle of the Beanfield' but without backing those assertions up with more than circumstantial evidence. Schadla-Hall's (2004) paper appears sufficiently lacking in understanding of contemporary Paganism to be dismissible as a badly researched polemic but along with similar works (e.g. Mason & Kuo 2006) exists in the corpus of heritage literature and will continue to shape ideas and opinions for years to come. Whilst there is a limited amount of source material on the core issues of this research, peripheral material covering issues relating to community identity, conflict studies and fieldwork techniques are legion.

This thesis therefore aims to address these gaps in the literature by providing detailed analysis of the reasons for Pagan contestation of sites and human remains, along with a critical evaluation of the arguments given on both sides of each debate. I have also suggested some approaches which may be adopted to facilitate better relations in the future.

The issues this thesis covers are continually developing and will probably continue to do so for the foreseeable future. This, therefore, is unlikely to be the final word on the subject.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Implementation

Fail to plan: plan to fail

Prior planning, preparation and practice prevents piss-poor performance

(British Army sayings)

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I set out how the research behind this thesis was planned and accomplished. I explain the choice of research methodology and how I approached the necessary ethical principles and considerations for the project. I describe how plans to accomplish data collection were formulated and implemented, and how experiences in the field influenced the conduct of my research.

3.2 Planning

As a Territorial Army soldier I was taught to use a planning framework called an appreciation. It is an adaptive framework that can be applied to both simple and complex projects. It begins by clarifying the general aims and specific objectives of the project as well as the situation in which it must operate before establishing the available courses of action. These courses are then evaluated by considering all the factors relating to their implementation. Having selected the most appropriate course a detailed plan is then set out with phases, timings, costings and all operational requirements (Harris 1995:164). I have not seen it being used for planning academic research before but I have found it highly effective in planning this PhD.

3.3 Choosing a Methodology

A distinction needs to be drawn between methodology (a general or strategic approach and the philosophical basis of method) and method itself (the research procedure or tactical approaches) for carrying out the work (Gobo 2008:22, Fife 2005:1-2). In assessing methodologies and methods as well as planning my fieldwork, I have used the appreciation framework explained in the previous paragraph. In the subsequent sections I shall explain how and why I chose my methodology.

3.3.1 Aims and Objectives

The purposes of my research are to:

- Analyse the state of relations between the contemporary Pagan community and the archaeological/heritage professions
- Examine and assess the arguments surrounding contestation of sites and human remains between these two groups
- Establish reasons for contestation
- Present solutions to the problem of improving relations between Pagans and archaeological/heritage professionals
- Earn the degree of Ph.D.

I had considered attempting to assess the extent of support for contesting heritage and archaeology issues within the contemporary Pagan community but quickly realised that finding a probability sample (i.e. a sample where any member of the target population has an equal chance of being selected to participate) was practically impossible in a population so disparate. This problem is further exacerbated by the fact that some Pagans are reluctant to be identified. Using a non-probability sample would have been problematical since a degree of self-selection would be likely to occur which in turn would skew the results. Even after discussions with my supervisory team, Ronald Hutton, Jenny Blain and Rob Wallis, I was unable to develop a strategy to overcome this problem and so I was forced to abandon this direction of enquiry.

3.3.2 Situation

In planning a military operation (at least at a tactical level) this section of the appreciation framework would be used to assess the ground, friendly and unfriendly forces, civilian presence, resources, time available etc. In an academic project it is necessary not merely to examine the physical operational environment but also the cognitive and ideological environment.

The physical area this project covers is England and Wales. The groups and individuals concerned are often widely dispersed. Many are internet users but not all. Many Pagans gather together at seasonal festivals at sacred sites and Pagan groups often hold conferences and camps together. People subscribing to particular views and beliefs may attend events organised by people with different ideas or choose to stay within their own groups. Archaeologists and heritage staff involved in issues of contestation are likewise geographically scattered. The sites involved range from Thornborough in Yorkshire to Stonehenge in southern England and Nevern in Wales. Although Blain & Wallis (2007:152-156) have examined sites in Scotland I have decided not to, partly due to costs and partly on the advice of a Glaswegian Pagan interviewee who explained that Scottish Pagans were far more concerned with exclusion from interfaith dialogues than issues surrounding heritage and human remains.

The cognitive and ideological landscape relevant to this research is complex and multi-faceted. I would describe the main areas as: Pagan concepts of their place in society; archaeologists' and heritage professionals' concerns about disruption of their work and archaeological, Pagan and academic epistemologies.

In sections 1.2.3.3 and 1.2.3.4, I explained that many Pagans have been subject to defamation and abuse resulting in a widespread though not universal victim mentality (p.c. Ford 2010). Some Pagans are therefore likely to be suspicious of anyone who appears to be part of what they may perceive as the 'establishment'. Pagans may therefore need to be confident that they will receive a fair hearing and not be subjected to ridicule. Archaeologists and heritage professionals are unlikely to have such concerns but it needs to be borne in mind that they, and the archaeological and heritage organisations they work for, invest a great deal of money, time and effort into excavations, displays and sites and are therefore not likely to welcome any activity that increases the likelihood of expensive, time consuming and possibly destructive contestation of their professional activities. The consequences of these issues and the procedures for dealing with them are addressed in the ethical section (3.4). However, the epistemology underlying the beliefs of most contemporary Pagans is different from that which subtends archaeology and heritage management. Pagans

are often willing to build worldviews and ideologies at least partially on revelation or gnosis (Cowan 2005:39; Filan & Kaldera 2013:9, 37-55, 78-93; Van Gulik 2009:12, 14) whilst archaeologists and heritage professionals tend towards a scientific epistemology relying on reproducible experimental results to verify facts (Hitchens 2007:10-11).

3.3.3 Methodological Courses

I decided the methodological courses available to me, taking into consideration my training were:

- An ethnographic methodology:

Anthropologists, and increasingly other social researchers, seek to provide qualitative (descriptive rather than numerical or statistical) data. In order to do this, researchers undertake ethnographic fieldwork, involving techniques such as participant observation and interviews to gather information. Data are recorded as field notes and interview transcripts which may then be analysed to provide an ethnography (Gobo 2008:24).

- A literary research methodology:

This is normally an academy based, literature or on-line study, relying on published material to gather information. Analytical tools such as discourse analysis can then be applied to interpret the data (Gobo 2008:25).

- A combined methodology

A methodology using both of the above approaches (Gobo 2008:27-8)

3.3.4 Factors Affecting Choice of Methodology

Methodologies must be judged on applicability or fitness for purpose. Each technique offers strengths and weaknesses in different circumstances. It is therefore necessary to assess these before deciding which methodology to employ.

An ethnographic methodology provides direct, interactive access to current players and events in the field and almost certainly gives the best chance of finding how people feel. It is however, time consuming and expensive. Ethnographic examination of contemporary Pagans, heritage professionals, or archaeologists alone yields valuable insights but, I believe, an integrated comparative study of both groups,

comprising both field and published data, reveals a much better context for understanding contestation and co-operation.

One factor to be considered is my own training and aptitudes. With a BA in Archaeology and Anthropology I am trained in ethnographic methodology but not in quantitative techniques. I am happy talking to people and confident as an interviewer. I am also well placed as an insider in both the archaeological and contemporary Pagan communities to do qualitative ethnographic fieldwork. This insider status has also given me a good working knowledge of source materials both printed and on-line for literary research. It may also be worth considering how potential informants may respond to different methodologies.

The views of archaeologists and heritage professionals are well represented in printed sources, as are the views of Pagans who are open and confident ('out'). The more counter-cultural elements had a great deal of information available on-line and turned out, on the whole, to be far less of a closed community than I had expected at the outset. Their campaign material may be available but more detailed insights into the thinking behind the campaigns requires more discursive, face to face research tactics.

Traditionally identifying cognitively with research subjects, referred to in colonial terms as 'going native' has been frowned upon in ethnographic research but in the last couple of decades insider ethnographies have become increasingly common (Hodkinson 2002:4-6) especially in the study of contemporary Paganisms (Cooper 2010:83-85). I shall be examining and critiquing this assumption that insider status is inimical to good research in section 3.9.

A purely literary research strategy gives voice only to those who can get their thoughts published or who are easily locatable on-line. It therefore risks compromising what would ideally be a varied and broad based sample of informants. Such resources are less likely to express unpopular or politically incorrect views as many people are more careful about what they publish than what they may say in passing. This approach is necessary to establish background information in general

and community histories in particular. To attempt this research entirely by means of fieldwork without reference to current publications and web based discourses and publications risks missing developments outside the immediate area of investigation.

A combined methodology carefully adapted to the research questions, aims and objectives should be able to cover most eventualities. Such a methodology can be weighted in favour of a particular style to provide the required data. For example a purely ethnographic methodology with no literary background would be unfocused and lacking in historical awareness (Gobo 2008:33-4, Fife 2005:17).

3.3.5 The Methodological Plan

After examining the above courses and factors, I decided that the methodology most appropriate for this research was a combined approach weighted in favour of an ethnographic approach and using actual instances of contestation as case studies. It incorporates ethnographic fieldwork with contemporary Pagans, archaeologists and heritage professionals. Such an approach is, I believe, the strongest option for ascertaining how the groups being studied see one another and observing how they interact. The ethnographic element also needed to be multi-sited due to the mobile and geographically dispersed nature of the people and places under examination (see Marcus 1995:102). This methodology also gives up-to-date information to examine how things have moved on Since Blain & Wallis's (2007) *Sacred Sites Contested Rights/Rites*. Even though I possessed a fairly good working knowledge of situations in contemporary Paganism from the outset, literary research helped to focus fieldwork and to keep abreast of new developments.

3.4 Ethical Standards and Considerations

In section 1.2.5.4 I looked at definitions of ethics and I accept Scarre & Scarre's (2006:1) assertion that ethics are the ideas which tell us 'what sort of people we should be, what kind of acts we should perform or avoid, and how we should treat our fellow human beings'. Since this research project was conducted with an aspiration to the highest professional standards, ethical requirements were among the top priorities in research planning. In this section I shall explain the areas of ethical concern in this project and examine which ethical guidelines were relevant in

designing the research upon which this thesis is based. I conclude this section by explaining how the research incorporates the standards and considerations required in these guidelines and Codes of Practice.

3.4.1 Ethical Sources

Since this thesis is being submitted in fulfilment of the degree of PhD in social archaeology, perhaps the most obvious ethical framework to examine is the Code of Conduct provided by the Institute for Archaeologists (IfA 2010). One part of the field research involved participation in excavation of human remains and there are relevant sections to this issue in these Codes of Practice (as detailed in section 7.3.1.2). The direct interaction with human remains was a minor part of the research; far more of my field research involved the examination of religious groups and their beliefs. The Association of University Departments of Theology and Religious Studies provides a framework of professional practice (nd) for such research. The relevant section of this Code of Practice is Section 2.6, which concerns relationships with communities being studied. It requires the researcher to maintain standards of fairness and respect and to be careful when researching groups whose values in these areas diverge from the mainstream in the society in which they live. Ethical guidance for the ethnographic techniques employed in my field research was drawn from the Association of Social Anthropologists' *Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice* (ASA 2011).

3.4.2 Ethical Concerns with This Thesis

The three areas of particular ethical concern in the research underlying this thesis are treatment of human remains, interacting with research contributors or subjects and conducting participant observation with groups who may be involved in illegal activities.

As part of my application to undertake a research degree I was required to submit an ethical risk assessment in 2008. I suggested that where I was dealing with human remains I would be working with established archaeological and museum professionals and that I should make myself aware of and follow the laws, treaties, guidelines and policies but also be guided by the professionals whose work I was studying.

The consequences of failure to consider the welfare of one's research participants, contributors or subjects can be serious. The journalist Patrick Tierney (2001) famously accused the anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon and the geneticist James Neel of carelessness and unethical behaviour connected to their studies of the Yanomami in South America (see Chagnon 1983). They were alleged to have spread disease and used the Yanomami as medical test subjects for new vaccines (Tierney 2001:17; Hurtado & Salzano 2004a:7). Chagnon was also accused of falsely presenting them as violent people (Tierney 2001:8) and exploiting them for his own profit (Gross 2004:65). Hurtado & Salzano (2004a:3-11) and Gross (2004:64-68) refute most of Tierney's claims but the scandal resulting from Tierney's exposé has contributed to anthropologists around the world composing and enforcing robust Codes of Professional Ethics such as those issued by the ASA (2011) in the UK (Hurtado & Salzano 2004b:224-225).

The study of British contemporary Pagans has not been without criticism. Pearson (2001:53-55) and Hutton (2006:260-263) have criticised the conduct of Tanya Luhrmann's (1991) study of witches and occultists in London. Pearson (2001:53) criticises the limited scope of the study in that it included only one Wiccan coven and a few other practitioners in the London area in a book which purports to cover Britain. Both writers are critical of the fact that Luhrman sought and underwent initiation (full membership of Wicca) subsequently claiming 'I am no witch, no wizard, though I have been initiated as though I were' (Luhrmann 1991:18). Pearson (2001:54) and Hutton (2006:263) point this fact out implying Luhrmann had accepted initiation insincerely, under false pretences and hence dishonestly. The fact that she took no further interest in practising witchcraft and magic after completing her fieldwork resulted in some of her contributors feeling used. Her characterisation of magic and its practitioners as irrational and child-like has made them feel discarded and derided (Hutton 2006:261, Pearson 2001:55). Pearson (2001:53-54) accuses Luhrmann of failing to question her assumptions of the fallacy of magic and of misrepresenting herself. Hutton (2006:261), however, records members of the Pagan community as stating that Luhrmann had warned them of her role and that some were happy with

her work. He also doubts that her conduct could be described as unethical but asserts that it seriously hampered subsequent research by eroding trust (Hutton 2006:262).

In my ethical risk assessment, I had expressed an interest in conducting participant observation with groups who might commit minor offences against the law, particularly trespassing on private property. I therefore sought guidance from the ethical oversight personnel at the then University of Wales Lampeter. They advised that I could not be permitted to carry out any illegal activity in the course of my research and required written confirmation that no such activity would be participated in. Having supplied written assurances that I would not break the law I was granted ethical approval for my research.

3.4.3 Ethical Research Implementation

The ASA guidelines (2011:1) state that the most important ethical consideration in such research is to the subjects of the research - the people and communities on whom the research focuses. Research subjects, contributors and participants must never be exploited by researchers (ASA 2011:6). Perhaps the most important insurance that the subject individuals and groups are protected is to obtain informed consent, i.e. where the informant fully understands to what he or she is consenting (ASA 2011:1-3). I was therefore always careful to explain the focus of my research and the type of data I was looking for at the outset. I then requested consent for the interview and asked again at the end of each interview if the interviewee was happy for me to use what he or she had told me. Since the guidelines state that consent may be verbal or written (ASA 2011:2) I usually recorded the consent on my cassette recorder. In order to protect interviewees who feared repercussions for anything they had said (ASA 2011:4-5) I also asked if they were happy to be named in the thesis and possible subsequent published work or whether they would rather be cited anonymously. I made it clear that any elements of the interview they wanted to be deleted or kept off the record would be treated as requested. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality were protected; field notes were kept under lock and key (ASA 2011:5). I also ensured that interviewees were happy to be contacted subsequently in order to clarify points or to review what had been written about them in keeping with polyvocal ethnographic techniques (Davies 2002:17, Gobo 2008:296). When

attending non-public events for participant observation fieldwork I attempted to make sure that other attendees were aware of my research agenda. Even at public events I always introduced myself as a researcher to all those I spoke to.

3.5 Reflexivity

When an anthropologist, or indeed any researcher in the humanities speaks or writes of reflexivity, she or he refers to the practice of making clear the researcher's ideological, training and theoretical background as well as their beliefs, experience and agendas to help the reader understand and account for the viewpoints she or he expresses.

Social research, if it is to have value, needs to be as non-partisan as possible (Davies 2002:4). If it fails in this it becomes polemical and risks dismissal as propaganda. Absolute objectivity, i.e. focusing purely on facts without being influenced by feelings or opinions, however, is generally agreed to be unattainable (Davies 2002:4). It is inevitable that a person's research data will be, to some extent, shaped by their perceptions and expectations (Davies 2002:87). Educational and social background, training and any strongly held theoretical views shape how one interprets what one sees (Davies 2002:87). Additionally (Davies 2002:88-90) argues that a researcher's identity will affect what they see. She cites the classic example of Mead and Freeman investigating sexual activity among young people in Western Samoa who received and presented starkly different impressions of that society. Mead, as a young woman spoke to different people under different cultural situations to Freeman as an older man. What they expected to see and the importance they ascribed to what they were told, exacerbated by the preconceived aims of their research, ensured they produced dramatically different impressions of life in Samoa (Davies 2002 87-89).

If, as ethnographic writers, we accept that we cannot achieve absolute objectivity; then the best we can offer is a candid explanation of the influences and agendas which are likely to compromise our objectivity. Since the 1980s therefore it has become standard practice for researchers to make explicit their background, approaches, theoretical standpoint and preconceptions so that the reader may

attempt to discern where the inevitable subjective influences creep in (Davies 2002:5).

In terms of personal identity I consider myself an academic archaeologist/ anthropologist and a contemporary Pagan. Within the academic community I would be inclined to place myself as a theoretical archaeologist and anthropologist albeit with a preference for emphasising empirical data over theoretical interpretations. I am pluralistic or eclectic in employing social theories such as Marxism, structuralism and functionalism. I think all provide explanations and insights but none provides a complete picture. Therefore I think it is misleading to exclude other viewpoints. I believe each set of social interactions is significant in several different ways even to one person; therefore multiple perspectives need to be employed. I'm inclined to consider functionalist ideas, e.g. that all cultural phenomena are produced and shaped by a practical necessity or useful function, flawed since sometimes people do things for no good reason or simply because it instinctively feels right at the time. However, looking at the broad consequences of people's actions can be revealing and informative. I prefer to use theories as cognitive tools to be applied or put aside according to utility as Nick Hanks (p.c. 2009) described himself doing.

Within the Pagan community I identify myself as a Brythonic Polytheist. This means that I attempt to be as true as practicable to what is known of the religious traditions of the Brythonic peoples of Pre-Roman Britain within a 21st century political, economic and ethical framework. As such I associate most closely with Druids and 'Celtic' reconstructionists (see section 1.2.3.2 for definition), although I have contacts in most branches of Paganism. Through the course of my research I have noticed myself becoming more agnostic in my beliefs. My insider status provides me with a good working knowledge of the language and cultural norms of contemporary Paganism. It provides contacts with individuals and organisations and reassures those wary of talking to outsiders.

In this thesis I strive to be as objective as possible. However, certain beliefs and attitudes may influence my work. Above all, I believe that academics should serve society as a whole. I especially believe that all academics have a duty to society as a

whole to make our work as intelligible as possible, especially since 35% of the costs of the British university sector are paid by the tax payer (BBC News 2011a). I also hold the view that Britain's archaeological heritage is, to some extent at least, the property of all. At least it is something all citizens have a stake in. Finally some of my attitudes and expectations may have been affected by nine years' service as a Territorial Army soldier.

Perhaps the most difficult elements of this self-analysis to expose are my personal agendas. My initial thought was that I was writing without any agendas and that I was, therefore, writing from an objective standpoint. Thinking more deeply I realised that one of the Pagan writers I had perused (Brown 2012:27) was correct in suggesting that people are not always fully conscious of the agendas they pursue. I addressed the question by asking myself what I wished to achieve with my research and thus a set of agendas began to emerge. At the outset I was influenced by Pryor's (Time Team 1999) assertion that both Pagans and archaeologists cared about the material remains of the past and wanted to preserve them. I supposed that there were misunderstandings and failures in communication which might be improved upon in the future. As I collected more data and gained a better understanding of the attitudes of the groups concerned I began to realise that Pryor had perhaps been slightly optimistic in his appraisal and that there were distinctly anti-intellectual and somewhat intolerant elements in the Pagan community. My emotional instinct is to oppose such ideas but to do so would almost certainly compromise my neutrality and therefore any political activity within the Pagan community must be left until after the research has been completed. I expected significant unwillingness to respect Pagan perspectives on the part of heritage professionals and archaeologists but found none willing to express it to any significant degree. In fact several archaeological/heritage interviewees displayed a sound understanding of the character of contemporary Paganism. To some degree it may be expected that people working in this sector may guard what they say for fear of disciplinary action but the way answers were phrased and the associated body language leads me to suggest that while some might not take the Pagan view particularly seriously none appeared to be prejudiced against Pagans.

I would therefore counsel the reader that I have found what I expected to find in that I continue to perceive that there have been errors in communication between heritage/archaeology professionals and the Pagan community and that matters are exacerbated by intolerance from the most opinionated individuals on both sides.

3.6 Research Method Selection

Having chosen a methodology and examined the ethical requirements associated with it I shall now explain how the data collection, analysis and presentation methods were planned. The fundamental aims and situation for the project have already been detailed in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.

3.6.1 Research Method Courses

Available research tactics or techniques in ethnographic methodology include participant observation, structured and semi-structured interviews and on-line interviews (Gobo 2008:148-200, Hodkinson 2002 4-6, Fife 2005:17-106). Participant observation, pioneered by Bronislaw Malinowski during World War 1, involves total immersion of the researcher in the culture of the people he/she is studying (Fife 2005:71-2, Gobo 2008:8). The researcher must eat sleep, work, play, speak, and perform ritual like his informants and generally learn to live in the same way as the people he/she is studying. By doing so, especially over extended length of time, a far fuller understanding of social and cultural behaviour and thought may be achieved and opportunities for deception or misunderstandings may be reduced (Gobo 2008:8, Davies 2002:67). Whilst participant observation is particularly suited to gaining a broad overview of social and cultural life, sometimes answers to more specific questions are required. In such cases, interviews are a far more appropriate tool. Interviews may be classified in one of three ways: scripted/formal/structured interviews; semi-structured interviews or unstructured/free or informal interviews (Agar 1996:140 Fife 2005:93). The formal interview is usually tailored to provide multiple choice type answers which lend themselves to generation of numerical or statistical (quantitative) data. Fife (2005:93) critiques such a technique as falsely scientific and positivistic. Ethnographic interviewing generally takes one of the other two forms. Semi-structured interviews usually involve a similar 'sitting down together' approach to structured interviews; however, the questions are significantly different.

They are usually open-ended, encouraging explanatory answers rather than simple confirmations or denials. The semi-structured approach permits the interviewer the flexibility to invite the respondent to unpack his or her answers thus yielding deeper levels of information (Fife 2005:94-5). Unstructured interviews are basically in the form of conversations. They are generally an integral part of participant observation based ethnographic methodology. Some questions may be planned in advance but the general approach is adaptive rather than fixed (Fife 2005:101-6). These ethnographic techniques can be focused on a single location or on a multi-sited basis. Literary techniques involve general data gathering and discourse analysis of internet message boards, periodicals and journals, books and articles (Hodkinson 2002:4-6, Gobo 2008:25, 33). Quantitative techniques available include polls and surveys, which can be conducted in person in the field, given out as questionnaires to be returned immediately when completed or later on by post. Such polls can also be carried out on-line and some message boards even provide an application for conducting polls (Hodkinson 2002:6, Gobo 2008:23).

3.6.2 Research Method Factors

Conditions in the field are an important consideration in selecting research tactics. In this instance the groups under study are, in some cases at least, in conflict. In other cases there is distrust and suspicion. I have known many contemporary Pagans who feel at risk of prejudice and discrimination, even of severe harassment and bullying. Several are sufficiently worried that they are highly selective about who they talk to regarding their spirituality. Some even appear to be actively hostile to outsiders.

Doing participant observation involves at least a degree of active participation; how far can this be taken without the researcher influencing his or her results? I have concluded that instigation of events is inappropriate. Even mild 'nudging things along a bit' could undermine objectivity in resulting data, whilst manufacturing incidents by informing activists of contentious digs is likely to generate conflict and cost those financing and undertaking the project both time and money as well as creating more tension than already exists and compromising trust. Such actions are therefore ethically unconscionable.

Can I restrict myself to observing and recording and deny myself agency?

Indeed one of the aims of this thesis is to provide information to allow the communities involved to better understand and relate to one another thus improving relations but this is not part of the research strategy, rather a hoped for result of its dissemination. A person's behaviour is likely to be different when they are aware they are being watched compared to when they are not. So the very act of conducting this research will inevitably bring about change (Davies 2002:3). An absolute lack of influence on people's ideas and behaviour is perceived to be impossible but the greater the impact on people and events the less perceived value this research is likely to have since its aim is to examine what the situation is rather than how it can be manipulated. With this in mind, I took care whilst interviewing not to provoke people who were not already involved in activism to become so. I also consider neutral stance to be important for reasons I shall make clear over the subsequent pages.

Decades of real and perceived repression and discrimination have, I believe, left the contemporary Pagan community (or at least elements of it) with a victim mentality (p.c. Ford 2010). This in turn gives rise to a siege mentality. Therefore a delicate and sensitive approach will be crucial if full and frank information is to be elicited. In my experience, dishonesty tends to be found out. Maintaining trust thereafter is almost impossible. Thus, in order to ensure forthright answers, honesty has to be the best policy. However, going into an interview or participant observation situation expressing a strong political view opposed to that of your informants is probably not going convince them that you will give them a fair hearing and, more importantly, represent their views to others fairly. Hutton's (2006:260-263), previously mentioned (section 3.4.2), critique of Luhmann supports this view. Gobo (2008:24-26) suggests that challenging or at least querying informants' responses can be useful since it often helps to bring out information which otherwise may not become clear. It may be debatable to what extent a researcher should argue with informants when interviewing but where can the balance be drawn between maintaining trust and not compromising data on the one hand and eliciting information on the other? To what extent should people not currently involved in the debates but affected by their outcomes be approached? The very act of doing this may raise consciousness and

could result in people becoming active in contestation who may not otherwise have done so.

Recent innovations in ethnographic praxis include a highly interactive system known as polyvocality or polyphony. This involves ensuring that all people in a community, including the subordinated and deviant are researched but more importantly it requires a researcher to invite comment from informants on interpretation and to include this in the end product (Davies 2002:17, Gobo 2008:296).

The groups involved in this study are geographically disparate and the issues are very much 'in play'. A multi-sited approach is absolutely essential for this project to provide a wide-ranging overview. Others (e.g. Aimee Blease-Bourne, researching from Sheffield Hallam University) have been conducting similar research on a single site, single issue basis and as such may be able to explain interactions on those sites better than I can. However, I believe that both contemporary Pagans and archaeologists and heritage professionals are more interested in an overview of the issues than a single site specific example. Since these people comprise the target audience for eventual dissemination of this project, I deemed a multi-sited approach to be the best option.

The aforementioned geographical dispersion of the communities under examination necessitates long distance communication, of which the cheapest is via the internet. This has led to a wide variety of message boards, email groups etc. There may well be so many that it will not be possible to find and monitor them all. The Pagan community also has several periodical magazines including *Pagan Dawn*, the house journal of the Pagan Federation, *White Dragon* and *Druidlore* to name but three. Archaeologists also have many journals: academic peer review journals such as *Antiquity* and lighter magazines such as *British Archaeology* and *Current Archaeology*. There are also journals for heritage professionals such as the *Museums Journal* published by the Museums Association.

Financial factors also needed to be considered. This research failed to attract funding from either statutory or charitable bodies, necessitating a low-budget approach.

Costing estimates for good geographical coverage of the UK and some peripheral research in the Republic of Ireland come to about £15,000 which, along with University fees and living expenses was significantly more than I could cover. So, due to this shortfall in funds it was necessary to minimise travel and be selective about expenses. In terms of the practical factors affecting fieldwork it remains noteworthy that the situation is in a constant state of change involving geographically dispersed groups with a great diversity of opinions. Boundaries had to be drawn since a single researcher undertaking Ph.D. research could never have hoped to undertake a worldwide survey in the time and with the funds available.

3.6.3 Research plan

The combined methodology research plan I chose consisted of a series of relatively short-term fieldwork sessions interspersed with online and literature research. Participant observation and fieldwork was targeted at Pagan events such as camps and conferences as well as seasonal festivals. I also conducted participant observation on an archaeological dig involving human remains. I had hoped to work shadow a site manager and a museum curator but was unable to find anyone willing to allow me to do so. The format employed was to spend time participating and talking with people in a free unstructured way followed by semi-structured interviews. Informed consent was sought before and after all interviews, and anonymity offered. In keeping with principles of polyvocality, informants were shown early draft results and their responses were included in subsequent thesis drafts. On the literary side of the research, written sources from the Press, academic and non-academic publications and online news, websites, social networks and blogs were read and used to understand and analyse contestation of sites and human remains.

3.6.4 Execution – Data Collection

I sought out case studies to illustrate the issues of site access, protection of sites from development, protection of sites from archaeological excavation, inclusion of narratives relating to sites and ownership of sites with at least two examples of each. In the case of human remains I was able to investigate all the major cases of Pagan contestation current at the time of planning the research.

To interview every contemporary Pagan, archaeologist and heritage professional in the UK would have been impossible simply on the basis of numbers. Not all within these communities were involved or even interested in the contested issues. Therefore choices had to be made regarding who would be approached for interview and with whom participant observation fieldwork was undertaken to provide relevant data. Within the Pagan community, those active in campaigns were my primary targets. I contacted people contesting heritage and those who worked as archaeologists and heritage professionals as well as Pagans campaigning in support of archaeology. In the archaeological and heritage professions, people involved in managing contested sites, curating contested artefacts and remains and some who had written about either were approached for interviews. I also solicited interviews with people on the basis of their insights into the arguments surrounding contestation for reasons of spirituality, profession, training or study.

A fully structured interview was too constrictive and reduced the opportunity to further investigate emerging topics but a completely unstructured approach risked important questions not being asked and hence data not being gathered so I opted for a semi-structured interviewing technique (Fife 2005:93-106; Gobo 2008:190-198). Questions were carefully composed to avoid leading interviewees and to ensure that the maximum relevant information was solicited from each interviewee. Example question lists are reproduced in Appendix 1.

3.6.5 Execution: Phases and Timings

I initially hoped to complete my studies in three years: I intended to spend the first year doing background research into previous studies and working on a detailed research plans to include questionnaires and making arrangements for long term participant observation. I also planned to be able to undertake some preliminary fieldwork focusing on the reburial issue. I planned to spend the second year largely in participant observation working separately with Pagan protest groups such as the Loyal Arthurian Warband (LAW) as well as with archaeologists engaged in contested work and Museum professionals dealing with disposition of contentious collections. The plan was to spend about six months each with the Pagan groups and with the

heritage professionals. The third year was planned to be devoted to clearing up any unresolved issues and writing up the thesis.

The Prussian general Helmuth von Moltke the Elder (Detzer 2005:233) remarked 'No battle plan ever survives contact with the enemy' and thus it transpired with my research. This is what actually happened: the idea for this thesis emerged over the winter of 2007 to 2008 and I took the opportunity to interview protestors at Tara when I was there on the 6th April 2008. Most of the planning was carried out during the summer of 2008 during which time I also sought funding and applied for a place to study at Lampeter. This application included an ethical statement which was approved at the end of September.

First year 2008/9

I spent most of the first term preparing and planning field research and also wrote two conference papers. By way of background study, I attended lectures on ethics with the Philosophy Department and took a refresher on anthropological fieldwork methods and ethics. I went to Avebury at Samhain (Halloween) and interviewed the site manager and attendees at Stonehenge at the Winter Solstice. Also in December I presented my first research paper at the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) conference in Exeter. During the second term I carried out further planning and preparation work. This included arranging to attend an archaeological dig and three Pagan Camps for summer field research. I continued background reading and attended Pagan events at Imbolc/Candlemas (2nd Feb) and Spring Equinox. I also began writing my thesis introduction and literature review for my upgrade board from MPhil to PhD. During the Easter break I conducted field research in the east of England visiting the Museum of London and the British Museum, where I interviewed Jody Joy, the curator responsible for Lindow Man. I also interviewed Pagan contacts in London, Hertfordshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. I interviewed Brian Ayers who had been involved in the excavation of the Seahenge Timber Circle and visited Lynn Museum at Kings Lynn to see the timbers and investigate their display. I also visited contested Arbor Lowe and Nine Ladies stone circles in Derbyshire. Most of the third term was spent writing my thesis introduction and literature review for the upgrade board from MPhil to PhD candidate. I did however, find time to interview

some Pagan contacts in the Lampeter area. During the summer Holidays I presented a paper at the Pagans for Archaeology conference, attended the TDN Druid camp, Pagan Federation Wales and West Summer Camp and Lughnasadh Grey Mare camp. In August I visited London and interviewed Sebastian Payne, the Chief Scientist of English Heritage. I also completed my upgrade portfolio and sat and passed the upgrade board. At the end of the holidays I carried out participant observation fieldwork at the Pant-y-Butler archaeological dig near Cardigan

Second year 2009/10

During the first term I continued to interview Pagan contacts, attending the HAD conference in Leicester, started to analyse the results of my initial fieldwork and planned further field research. I also gained higher education teaching experience by leading a seminar group for first year archaeology undergraduates. During the second term I continued fieldwork analysis and Identifying directions for further fieldwork as well as gaining experience in marking undergraduate coursework. Over the Easter Holidays I went to London and observed public interactions with remains at museums. I then visited the National Museum Wales in Cardiff and interviewed their collections manager Elizabeth Walker. Subsequently I undertook a field trip which included participant observation with a reconstructionist Pagan group, a visit to Oriel Ynys Mon (Anglesey's museum and art gallery), a visit to a Pagan friend in Yorkshire and attending a Beltane event at Thornborough Henges. In the third term the Archaeological Society organised a visit to the Pitt Rivers and Ashmolean Museums in Oxford where I examined how human remains were displayed and how people interacted with them. I continued to interview local Pagans and to plan summer research fieldwork. Over the summer holidays I conducted further fieldwork including attending a Solstice ritual by the Cotswold Order of Druids at the Rollright Stones and attending the open access arrangements for the Stonehenge Summer Solstice organised by English Heritage. On the return journey I visited the Wiltshire Heritage Museum at Devizes which houses finds from Stonehenge before visiting Ronald Hutton at his home in Bristol. After returning to Lampeter I met with Rob Wallis and interviewed a friend who is both Pagan and an Archaeologist. It was then brought to my attention that an archaeological dig had been contested at Nevern in North Pembrokeshire and I quickly made arrangements to investigate. The problems arising

from this fieldwork are detailed in section 3.7.2 but the fieldwork for this case study was not completed until October. In August I attended the TDN/Rainbow 2000 Druid camp in Gloucestershire introducing another researcher, Emily Porth, to the event and the people there. She in turn introduced me to people she had been interviewing at the Hunterian Museum in London. At this time I was invited to submit a chapter for a volume on researching the reburial debate edited by Blain and Wallis. I attended a meeting about this proposed book attended by (among others) Paul Davies, Sebastian Payne, Philip Shallcrass and Emma Restall Orr on the way to conduct participant observation and interviews at the Grey Mare Lughnasadh camp. On my return to Lampeter I interviewed members of Lampeter's Catholic community about their beliefs regarding saintly relics and a friend who identifies herself as a Shaman on souls and bones. In September I visited the London museums again before attending the Autumn Equinox gathering at Avebury where I interviewed Frank Summers and then, later on, visiting Dyfed Archaeology Trust to find out if any other work they have been involved in apart from Nevern had been contested.

Third year 2010/11

Early in the first term the Pagan Society attended a Pagan Federation Conference at Crickhowell. I was also involved in writing papers for conferences and chapters for publication as well as my thesis. In November I attended the Druid Network (TDN) conference where I gave a paper critiquing some of the pro-reburial arguments and noted the reaction. Then in December I gave a paper at the TAG conference in Bristol and visited the museum there. During the Christmas holidays I visited the Crossbones graveyard I had heard about at TAG. I then fell ill and was diagnosed with kidney stones which were to be a problem for over a year. During the second term I continued to write and carry out literary research as well as undertaking a field trip to Avebury. In the Easter break I undertook first aid and MiDAS (minibus driver) training which were required for the teaching assistance I was to provide in the third term. Most of the third term was taken up with writing thesis chapters and pieces for publication. I also gained more teaching experience helping with field classes for first year undergraduate students learning about mapping out surface features and accessing research data. During the summer holidays I worked for Mind Aberystwyth in community mental health three days a week and spent the rest of the time reading

and writing for this thesis. However, depression struck and I wrote far less than I had hoped to. Just before the start of the new academic year, UWTSD hosted the ASA conference where I gave a paper questioning the assertion, put forward by some pro-reburial campaigners, that museum display of human remains reduces them from persons to objects.

Fourth year 2011/12

Most of the fourth year was taken up with writing. I completed two chapters for edited volumes. One was a chapter on Pagan interactions with mortuary archaeology for a book being edited by Howard Williams and Melanie Giles, the other was a methodological piece for the volume on researching contestation of human remains edited by Blain & Wallis. Having completed these chapters I continued writing my thesis. The Summer Holidays were spent on thesis writing with time taken out to earn sufficient money to survive by working for Mind Aberystwyth. Also I attended the TDN Druid camp where I spoke to Emma Restall Orr and Graham Harvey.

Fifth year 2012/13

In the first term I completed my first draft thesis and submitted it to my supervisors for criticism. While they were reading and assessing my work I began to implement plans for the next phase of my career. I received my supervisors' advice in January and spent the next four months implementing it. The thesis submission date agreed was the 26th April 2013.

Sixth year 2013/14

The assessment of the original draft of this thesis was undertaken during the Summer and early Autumn of 2013 and after a viva voce examination on the 10th October 2013 it was decided that further work on the thesis was required and that it should be resubmitted within two years. I began work to address the examiners' criticisms and also began to publicise the results of my work giving interviews to two reporters studying the human remains issue. The thesis resubmission is scheduled for December 2014 to January 2015.

3.6.6 Execution – Data Analysis and Interpretation

My raw data came in two forms: field notes and transcripts from interviews and participant observation (Gobo 2008:24), and annotated photocopies and book notes from literary research. Such empirical data need to be collated, assessed and analysed. After some weeks spent transcribing recorded conversations and interviews I was forced to conclude that this was untenable within the time available. I made some précis notes recording important points but found that listening to the cassettes directly was the best option. Even during the data collection phases I was constantly asking myself 'so what' or 'what are the implications of what I am seeing, hearing or reading'. I also had to remember that oral and written accounts almost always reflect the personal perspective of the speaker or writer. Bearing in mind the political nature of the research subject(s) I had to consider the possibility that some informants might be concealing information, misleading or lying. Interpretation of data was done largely through the application of anthropological and sociological theory relating to religion, heritage and conflict. Using these I have interpreted underlying motivations and suggested approaches to improving relations between the Pagan community and archaeological/heritage professionals. I chose to use case studies taken from my field research to present my findings in order to clearly present the evidence behind them. Case studies were chosen where they were particularly important in the narrative of contestation (e.g. Stonehenge access, Charlie at the Alexander Keiller Museum) or because they were typical of approaches taken (e.g. Thornborough, Dublin Museum and Pant-y- Butler).

3.6.7 Execution – Dissemination of Results

I intend to make the results of my research available to Pagans, archaeologists, heritage professionals and all other interested parties by the following means:

- PhD submission: The Thesis will be archived at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David and at the National Library of Wales. However, this will only give it a limited audience, as relatively few people are likely to request it.
- Lectures at conferences, and for academic and Pagan groups: I have already presented papers at Conferences such as the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG), the Pagan Federation Wales and West and The Druid Network (TDN).

- **Future publication:** Papers drawing on this research have already been submitted to academic and non-academic journals. Although not all PhD Theses form the basis of a successful book, I hope that this research, along with its academic quality, will at least open the possibility of such publication. A second book aimed at a Pagan readership examining ways of honouring the ancestors and journal articles are also envisaged.

3.7 Lessons from the Field

In this section I shall explain how problems experienced in the field affected the research plan and how it had to be amended to address them.

3.7.1 Hostility and Hospitality at Stonehenge

The first major piece of fieldwork undertaken after enrolling to start the PhD took place at Stonehenge on the Winter Solstice of 2008. My plan was to conduct participant observation of the Solstice ceremony and experience the open access arrangements English Heritage have offered for this event since 2000 (Rayner 2012:94; Worthington 2005a:226-235), to interview Peter Carson, English Heritage's head of Stonehenge, before interviewing others present for the event. On arrival I found that my voice recorder had stopped functioning and I had mislaid my pocket notebook. I therefore used an A4 pad with a clipboard to record interviews. I was dressed (without much forethought) in brown combat style trousers with well-looked-after walking boots, a blue and black waterproof jacket and broad brimmed hat (see fig. 3) which I tend to think of as being a typically archaeological mode of dress (see section 1.2.2).

However, the relative smartness of my appearance in comparison to most pilgrims coupled with the clipboard gave me a rather 'official' appearance. The elastics I used to keep my trousers dry, an army practice, may also have suggested 'undercover policeman' (p.c. Daughton 2012). Being perceived as someone official actually worked mostly in my favour since a group of three attendees gave me a detailed critique of everything they felt English Heritage was doing wrong. Shortly afterwards however, a woman aged perhaps in her twenties who had been giving me hostile glances for a while came up to me as I was introducing myself to one of the Druids

and told me that I was not welcome there and that I should 'Fuck off'. The Druid I was talking to was visibly upset that a member of his community should behave so inhospitably to an outsider. He invited me into his camper van, made me a cup of tea and gave me a detailed interview. The whole experience however, got me thinking about how I presented myself to potential research participants. Subsequently in 2010, I attended a ceremony at the Rollright stones dressed in Druid robes (see fig. 4) to see if the way I dressed affected how people (especially Pagan people) interacted with me. I felt that it was harder to be taken seriously as a researcher, especially by non-Pagans but also by Pagans, thus clad. People within the Pagan community seemed a little more comfortable but I found the best way to dress to be in relatively conventional casual outdoor wear with one or two pieces of Pagan jewellery.



Fig. 3 & 4: The author dressed as at Stonehenge Winter Solstice 2008 (Left) and at the Rollright Stones 2010 (Right)
(Left Paul Rousselle, Right Author's photograph)

3.7.2 Threats and complaints at Nevern

Around the end of June 2010 an undergraduate friend of mine told me that an archaeological dig she was volunteering on had been contested by a group of Pagans. I shall explain the contestation of Nevern in detail in section 5.3.2. This section explains the problems in undertaking the field research regarding the site. Having found out who the parties involved were, on the 4th July I drove to Nevern to speak to the archaeologists first. This choice was made partially because I knew the way to Nevern better than to Brithdir Mawr but also because I felt it would give me an opportunity to assess the situation and ensure that my investigations did not exacerbate the situation. I spoke to the dig director, Chris Caple and also to an old friend who was working as public liaison officer for the dig. I heard that the protests appeared to have subsided so I decided to delay contacting the protestors until that season's excavation had been completed lest I reignite the contestation. I told Dr Caple and he thanked me for my consideration. Subsequently I received warnings from my friend to be careful in how I proceeded and I assured her that I would be. I was still surprised when just before I was about to contact the protestors I was summoned to the office of the acting head of the university's department of archaeology and anthropology and told that complaints had been received regarding my conduct at Nevern. I was told to speak to my supervisory team before contacting any interested parties. Unfortunately I had to wait a month before my first supervisor was available due to research commitments. When I did speak to her, she contacted my public liaison friend and then suggested I contact her. I was warned off conducting the research with the suggestion my career would be harmed if I pursued this case study and offered to put me in touch with a colleague at Dyfed Archaeology Trust to find an alternative case study. I consulted again with my supervisors and made arrangements to see the colleague who confirmed what I suspected, that there were no other contested digs in the area. Once term started the first speaker invited in to address the archaeological society was Phil Bennett who is Pembrokeshire Coast National Park's culture and heritage manager. As such he is a significant stakeholder in the Nevern excavation and I was keen to talk to him about the site. I was nervous about how to broach the subject despite having known him for over a decade and so was relieved when an undergraduate asked what the situation at Nevern was. He

replied effusively and enthusiastically and then spoke to me personally after the talk reassuring me that he had no problem with me interviewing anyone associated with the protest. Having established that the opposition to my enquiries did not originate from him I wrote a carefully worded letter to Chris Caple at Durham in which I offered to give him a list of topics I intended to cover and to avoid topics he considered likely to cause problems with his research. I received back a friendly email explaining that there must have been some misunderstanding and that he felt it would be unethical for him to influence my work in such a way. I was therefore able to proceed successfully with my field interview with Emma Orbach (conducted 09 Nov 2010) and was therefore able to conclude my Nevern field research to my satisfaction.

3.7.3 Museum Refusal

In June 2010 I visited a Museum in the south of England with an extensive prehistoric collection and to find out if I could speak to anyone about contestation of human remains. I was introduced to the museum director and was told that once I had provided evidence that I was who I claimed to be, he would put me in touch with the curator. I supplied my supervisor's contact details and wrote an email to the director. However, his response stated the curator did not wish to speak to me. Thinking of some of the abusive behaviour at the Stonehenge Aubrey hole excavation, I asked if the curator was unwilling to discuss such contestation because of similar behaviour. The director explained someone claiming to represent HAD had approached the curator and had been abusive towards her and that I was correct in assuming that this was why she was unwilling to speak to me. I am unsure whether I had told the museum of my Pagan affiliations but if I had, this might have been a reason why the curator had been so unwilling to speak to me. I consider it possible that had I withheld that information I might have been granted an interview. However, I feel that to do so would have violated the principle of informed consent.

3.8 Trust

Since ASA ethical guidelines (2011) emphasise the importance of continuing informed consent, it follows that highly politicised contestation is a difficult and delicate area in which to conduct research. There is a constant risk that if an individual or group feels that the researcher is unsympathetic to their cause then they

can refuse consent and the material they have provided may no longer be used. I have therefore felt obliged to avoid giving any interviewee, contributor or other research subject any reason to suspect that I might be hostile to his or her point of view.

3.8.1 Challenging Ideas

Initially I had approached the project with the view that the ethnographer should observe and record without changing things. I understand Blain and Wallis's (2007:11-17) discourse analysis methods to be just such a passive data collection and analysis strategy. However, one of the aims of the research was 'To present solutions to the problem of improving relations between Pagans and archaeological/heritage professionals' (Section 3.4.1). In order to do this, I deemed it essential to test reaction to counter-arguments opposing reburial. Thus from the middle of 2010 (the beginning of the third year of my studies) I began to carefully challenge some of the assumptions of selected research subjects using a dialectic approach. This was done in interviews but also by means of a paper delivered at the Druid Network (TDN) conference on the 20th November 2010. I was careful to distance myself from assertions not based on verifiable fact by expressing them specifically as other people's words rather than my own in order to avoid losing trust. This tactic appears to have been successful in eliciting responses to challenges without alienating participants.

3.9 Insiders, Outsiders and 'Going Native'

For much of its history the cardinal sin in anthropology has been to 'go native' i.e. identifying cognitively or too closely with the subjects of one's research (Pearson 2001:56 Wallis 2000:254-255). Like Wallis (2000:154-255), I have an ideological issue with the whole concept of 'going native'. I take the view that a significant part of the job of an ethnographer or an anthropologist is to provide an insight into a cultural group, as far as possible, from that cultural group's own point of view. As such I feel that an ethnographer or anthropologist who identifies cognitively with the subject group may be better placed to do so. Ideally I would suggest that the best ethnographies would include perspectives both from within and without. Wallis (2000:154, 2003:xiii) asserts that the concept of 'going native' and its perception as

one of the cardinal sins any anthropologist or ethnographer can commit is an unhelpful and distasteful legacy of colonial racism. Cox (2007:161-163) appears to disagree and has criticised Harvey's insider status describing him as an animist theologian rather than a religious studies scholar. However, I believe that where the group being researched feels threatened or oppressed as some Pagans do (see section 1.2.3.4) potential research contributors are more likely to give honest and complete data to a researcher who identifies as an insider rather than an outsider. Hodkinson (2002:4-6) and Pearson (2001) both explain that, as an insider researcher, one needs to avoid losing oneself in the experience and maintain a critical awareness in a process Pearson (2001) calls 'going native in reverse' to become what Hodkinson (2002:4) describes as a 'critical insider'.

As a learning experience, conducting the field research for this thesis has taught me the vital importance of maintaining trust with research participants and the consequent care that needs to be taken in questioning assumptions. Another factor in engendering trust is for the researcher to present himself (or herself) in a way that will be accepted by potential participants

3.10 Conclusions

Having elected to undertake a PhD to advance my career I chose to research interactions between the contemporary Pagan community and the archaeological and heritage professions as a contemporary and socially valuable piece of research. In establishing how this research might be undertaken, I utilised a military planning framework to assess and formulate both a broad methodological strategy combining both literary and ethnographic approaches. I used the same framework to formulate detailed tactical plan for data gathering, analysis, presentation and dissemination. I considered the ethical implications and submitted a statement to the ethical chair in the summer of 2008. Perhaps inevitably I have been constrained by time and resources in the data I was able to gather. For both logistic and financial reasons I was unable to undertake quantitative studies examining what proportion of the Pagan community held particular views. However, I was able to undertake detailed analysis of why views were held and of the arguments presented in contesting sites and human remains. The lessons learned from the conduct of the fieldwork include the

need for care in how the researcher presents him/herself to his/her contributors, care in explanation and timing of interviews with participants in situations of conflict and caution in how one positions oneself in such situations.

Chapter 4: Sites – Access



Fig. 5: Pagan Solstice attendees at Stonehenge, June 2010 (Author's photograph)

4.1 Introduction

In this and the two subsequent chapters I shall be examining how sites are contested between Pagans, archaeologists and heritage professionals. Carman (2002:47) argues that archaeologists and heritage professionals use the term 'sites' in a rather undisciplined fashion to describe the location of human activity in the past and/or a set of remains in the present. In this thesis I use the word to refer to areas of land of interest to archaeologists, heritage professionals and/or Pagans, usually due (in part at least) to activities having taken place there in the past. These places are variously described as sacred sites, ancient monuments and heritage sites or attractions. The issues of contestation comprise access to sites, protection or preservation of sites and the ownership and public interpretation of sites. Case studies will be examined to demonstrate how contestations have played out and how issues have been addressed with greater or lesser success. In this chapter I shall argue that contestation of access to Stonehenge has gone a long way to sour relations between

Pagans and the members of the archaeological and heritage professions. The chapter will conclude by identifying good and bad practices in managing access to sites. Throughout the following chapters Pagan and New Age visitors to sites as well as some Solstice revellers who may not identify as either are described as pilgrims. It can be argued that the term is misapplied since not all of them attend for specifically spiritual reasons (as generally understood) but I would argue that restricting the term in such a way is founded on a limited understanding of religious expression and behaviour which fails to acknowledge forms of religious and spiritual expression alien to Abrahamic traditions.

4.1.1 Defining Access

This chapter focuses on physical access rather than inclusion of knowledge and awareness as Carman (1996:25) does. That issue will be examined in section 6.2.3. When access to sacred/heritage sites is contested it is seldom merely whether entrance is permitted at all, but rather the issue of whether payment may be levied and camping or other activities permitted.

4.1.2 Which Sites Have Been Contested for Access?

Sites contested in this way are many and varied. Wallis (2003:144) points out that sites labelled prehistoric, archaeological, heritage, ancient or described as monuments by members of the archaeological and heritage professions are often ascribed spiritual or symbolic meaning by Pagans. These sites are generally robust enough and of such limited interest that they have not been deemed by heritage organisations to require much protection or management. More recently constructed heritage attractions such as stately homes and industrial sites definitely require more maintenance to preserve them and hence almost always charge for admission and always have done.

4.1.3 What Were Contested Sites in the Past?

The full range of purposes these prehistoric sites were built for, and ways in which they were used in pre-Christian times will probably never be known with certainty. Hawkes (cited in Evans, C. 1998:398-399) described a 'ladder of inference' depicting the first, easily accessible rung, representing the technologies of the past. The

second rung represents the economies of the past which can be understood by collating and analysing data from many sites. The third, unattainable, rung is that of the ideologies of the past. Since ideas and thoughts do not survive in the ground most archaeologists would agree that they are beyond certain knowledge. This impossibility of certainty does not stop people speculating and chapter 6 will show that different interpretations of the past play an important part in the contestation of ancient sites. Some Pagans feel that information about sites can be gathered by means not recognised in accepted academic epistemology and these interpretations will also be explored.

4.1.4 How Did They Become Significant to Contemporary Pagans?

In sections 1.2.5.2 and 1.2.3.5 I have shown that both archaeology and contemporary Paganism have their roots in 17th to 19th century antiquarianism. Aubrey (Bahn 1996:44; Hutton 2009:66) and Stukeley (2005:21-134; see also: Bahn 1996:46; Haycock 2002:124-5; Hutton 2009:87) publicised the notion that stone circles had been Druid Temples. In his imaginative reconstruction of ancient beliefs and practices published in 1792 (Hutton 2009:156), Iolo Morgannwg (1998:307) seized upon this interpretation and specified that bardic ceremonies should be performed in circles of stones. His first Eisteddfod (poetic competition) was performed on Primrose Hill in London and involved a ceremony conducted within a ring of small stones he had brought for the purpose (Hutton 2009:158; Gentleman's magazine 1792 cited in Green 1997:152). Whether via the writings of Morgannwg or directly from the works of Aubrey, English Druid groups were performing ritual at sites such as Stonehenge by the early years of the 20th century. By the time Gerald Gardner was publicizing Wicca in the early 1950s, archaeologists had accumulated strong evidence that stone circles were considerably older than the Iron Age heyday of the Druids (Chippindale 1994:205; Piggott 1968:33). Gardner had been influenced by Margaret Murray's suggestion that Neolithic or earlier spiritualities had survived as witchcraft traditions (Crowley 1998:172; Hutton 1998:102; 2001:273). Thus it made sense to consider such sites as having significance to Wiccans. Germanic Pagans (Heathens or Asatruar) and Shamans may also see ancient sites as places of power associated with Ancestors (Gundarsson 1993:110, Wallis 2003:145 Blain & Wallis 2007:65).

4.2 Differing Aims and Requirements

Pagans, archaeologists and heritage professionals all have an interest in these ancient sites, however, their desires and intentions for those sites differ. I shall now explain the main expectations of each group regarding access to these sites.

4.2.1 Pagan Expectations

Above all else, Pagan campaigners want freedom of access to the site for ritual, celebration and contemplation especially at festival dates (Maughfling 1997:8-10, 2000a:4-6; Blain & Wallis 2007:96-100). Some Pagans feel it is unfair that Christian pilgrims are seldom charged entry to churches (although voluntary contributions are often solicited) and so Pagans often resent having to pay to enter the sites they consider sacred on the general principle of equality (e.g. Maughfling 1997:10; Pendragon & Stone 2003:106-108; Wallis 2003:156). They expect to be permitted free and unrestricted access for seasonal celebrations and community rituals such as rites of passage etc. and they especially resent having to pay access fees to organisations they feel are hostile to them. (Cooper 2010:141-156; Pendragon & Stone 2003:79-114; Worthington 2005a:124, 147-153; Worthington & Dearling 2005:18-22).

4.2.2 Archaeologists' Agendas

What archaeologists generally want for prehistoric sites is centred on the imperative to enhance, preserve and promulgate accurate and verifiable knowledge about the past. Therefore the archaeological agenda for ancient sites includes preservation and protection of such sites for future research whilst allowing access for educational visits. They are also keen that non-destructive research should be permitted and, in most cases, that research excavation should be permitted where the benefits outweigh any potential losses (IfA 2010:3; Her Majesty's Government 1979). The desire for information that is accurate and verifiable by the most scientific means possible can bring archaeologists into conflict with proponents of spiritual or mystical views as well as concepts such as Earth Mysteries. Schadla-Hall (2004:257) is particularly scathing of such interpretations which he regards as reliant on a belief that past societies had greater wisdom and/or power than contemporary societies, a concept he dismisses as unsupported by evidence.

4.2.3 Policies and Agendas of Heritage Organisations

Section 1.2.4 introduced the nature and role of British heritage organisations. In this chapter it is their policies and practices regarding the sites they manage and oversee which will be scrutinised. As quoted in Section 1.2.4.4, 'English Heritage exists to protect and promote England's spectacular historic environment and ensure that its past is researched and understood' (English Heritage nda). It also 'helps people understand, value, care for and enjoy England's historic environment' (English Heritage ndb). The National Trust has the additional aim of preserving the natural beauty of the properties it owns and manages (see section 1.2.4.1). These may be regarded as typical of charitable, not for profit or public sector Heritage organisations in the UK. Such organisations therefore primarily seek to balance preservation with public appreciation and accurate information. They do however, need to ensure that their running costs are met and therefore earning money from their assets is also a priority. Those organisations run purely as businesses will tend to prioritise maximizing their profits. However, the requirement for long-term sustainability as well as legal requirements will tend to make even private heritage businesses prioritise preservation as well, with accurate interpretation coming afterwards.

4.3 Case Study 1: Stonehenge and the Free Festival

Arguably Stonehenge is the most contested heritage site in Britain. Its high degree of significance may be argued to make it atypical but it provides an essential starting point to understanding Pagan contestation of archaeology and heritage in the UK. I will also argue that historical issues centred on Stonehenge have had a profound influence on how some Pagan groups have characterised English Heritage and the National Trust.

4.3.1 Stonehenge on the Ground

Blain and Wallis (2007:110) describe Stonehenge as 'not a singular thing. It is polysemic, signifying a range of meanings discursively contested through image and text'. Physically however, Stonehenge is a Late Neolithic monument consisting of a circular ditch and bank surrounding stone settings with an associated earthwork

avenue, barrow cemetery and cursus monument. It is located between Larkhill and Amesbury in Wiltshire at National Grid Reference SU122421 (see fig 9).

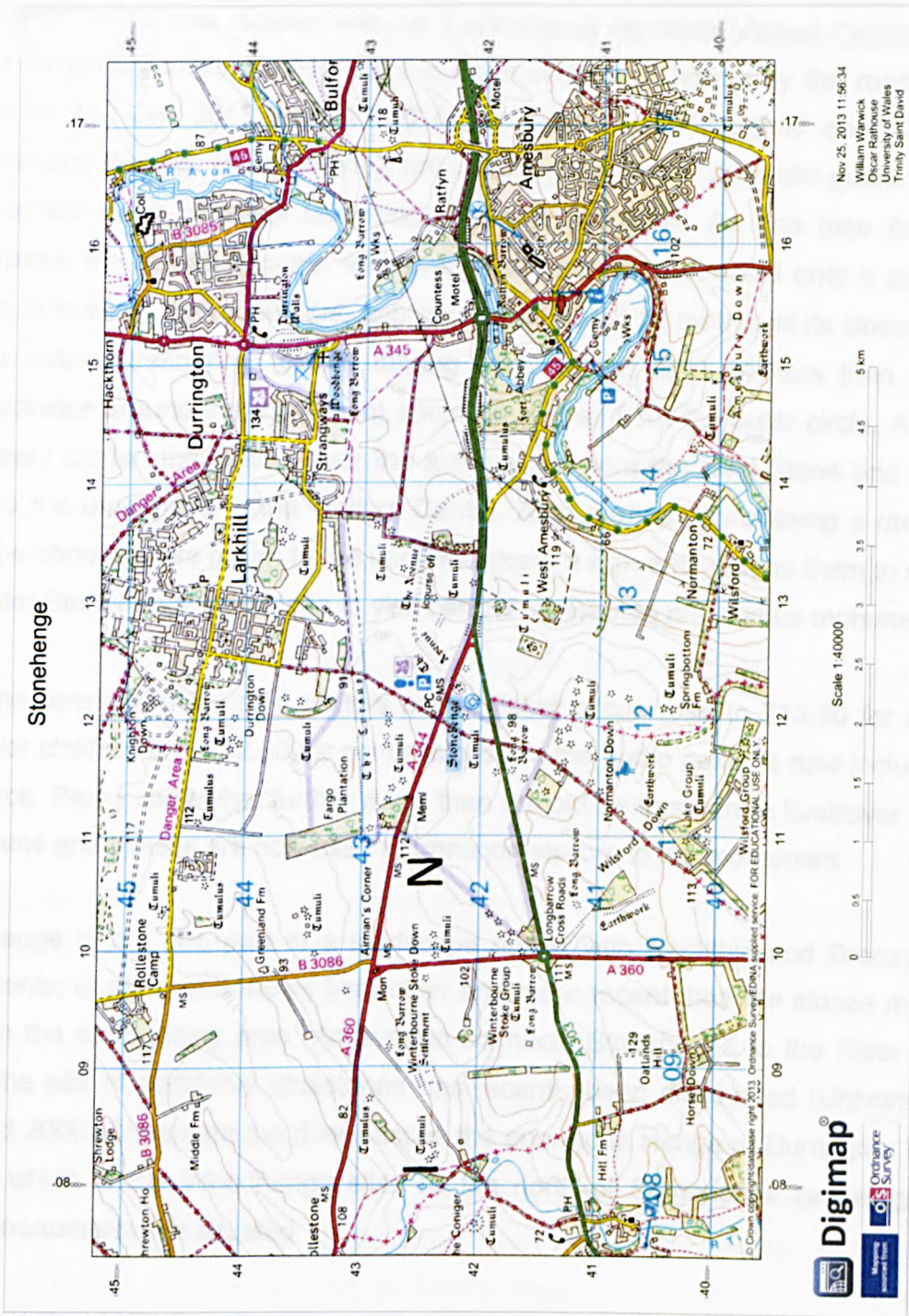


Fig. 6: Map of the Stonehenge Area (Ordnance Survey via Digimap) The Stones are at GR 122421 99

Before the construction of the new visitors centre, people could reach Stonehenge on foot or bicycle from Larkhill or Amesbury, by bus or on coach trips. Visitors in cars follow brown tourist direction signs from the main road to a tarmac car park across the road from the stones. Access was via a small grey concrete Visitors Centre with a rather temporary looking green painted ticket office in a hollow by the road. Ticket prices at 21st Jan 2013 were £7.80 for an adult, £4.70 for child and £7.00 for concessions (English Heritage nde), not including the hire of an audio guide. People approached via a concrete underpass beneath the A344. As one rose from this underpass, the stones became visible. Visitors were then directed onto a path that curves in towards the monument, approaching to about 15 metres at its closest point to the outer sarsen ring, before turning away to the right. Visitors then walked anticlockwise around the monument about 60 metres from the outer circle. A raised causeway carried the visitors over the avenue and past the Heel Stone and thence back to the underpass to the Visitors Centre. After perhaps purchasing a memento from the shop, visitors return to the car park where a sign encourages them to walk in the wider Stonehenge landscape to visit barrow cemeteries and cursus monuments.

With the opening of the new visitors centre ticket prices rose to £13.90 for adults, £8.30 for children and £12.50 for concessions but the audio guide is now included in that price. Being somewhat further away than the old visitors centre landrover towed land-trains and busses are now used to transport visitors to the monument.

Stonehenge is but one part of a landscape dotted with Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments; clusters of barrows both older and more recent than the stones may be found in the surrounding area. An avenue connects Stonehenge to the River Avon where the site of additional bluestones has recently been discovered (University of Sheffield 2009). Upstream the river passes the enormous Henge of Durrington Walls next to which is the Woodhenge site. To the north of Stonehenge two enigmatic cursus monuments are situated.

Stonehenge's chronology has been reappraised many times, recently by Darvill & Wainwright and then by Parker Pearson. Hutton (2009:44) records that there is some

contestation as to which of these chronologies is more accurate. Both agree that the earliest element of the archaeology of Stonehenge so far discovered is a set of three large postholes under what is now the car park which have been radiocarbon dated to between about 8500 and 6700BC (Burl 2007:107, Darvill 2007:62). Long barrows such as those at Fussell's Lodge and Amesbury 42 were being constructed before 4000 BC according to Burl (2007:86) or between 4000 and 3600BC according to Parker Pearson (2012:141-144). The earliest phase of Stonehenge itself consisted of the ditch and bank surrounding a circle of bluestones whose settings are now known as Aubrey holes. Within these were three or more standing stones near the centre and a complex set of post alignments all constructed between 3000 and 2920 BC (Parker Pearson 2012:309), although Darvill (2007:99, 199) dates these stones to 2500 BC. Parker Pearson (2012:310) suggests the second phase was implemented between 2620 and 2480 BC and involved the erection of, first, the trilithon horseshoe and the removal and re-erection of the bluestones into the two concentric arcs now known as the Q and R holes followed by the large sarsen stones with their lintels. Also part of this phase was the erection of three standing stones and a couple of D-shaped structures at the north-east entrance. The third phase, dated to 2480 to 2280 consisted of the construction of the Stonehenge Avenue along with a scouring out of the ditch of the henge itself shortly after which a large pit was dug to the north of the largest trilithon and two of the three stones at the NE entrance removed. The final part of this phase was the construction of the two mounds on the sites of the D-shaped buildings (Parker Pearson 2012:310-311). Phase 4 took place between 2280 and 2020 BC and involved the removal of the bluestones from the Q and R Holes and, after a small amount of tinkering, their re-erection in their current positions (Parker Pearson 2012:311). However, Darvill & Wainwright (2009:16) argue that this final placement of Bluestones took place around 2300BC. The fifth and final phase was carried out between 1680 and 1520 BC and involved the excavation of pits now known as X and Y holes outside the Sarsen circle (Parker Pearson 2012:311). Since that time, stones have been removed and broken up and other stones have been graffitied by many generations of visitors. There were two occasions when stones were re-erected or restored in 1901 under the supervision of William Gowland and 1919-1920 by Col. William Hawley (Worthington 2005a:98-100).

4.3.2 Stonehenge Explanations

If the true purpose of the site has been forgotten, it has at least been subject to much speculation about its origins and purpose as far back as records can show. Early chroniclers and geographers such as Henry of Huntingdon, writing in about 1130, recorded the site as one of England's great mysteries. Mythological interpretations of the site include the story put forward by Geoffrey of Monmouth (1966:198) in 1136 that the legendary wizard Merlin brought the stones out of Ireland to commemorate Britons treacherously slain by incoming Saxons (Worthington 2005a:8; Piggott 1968:145; Bahn 1996:44). In 1527 Hector Boece suggested that stone circles had been pre-Christian temples (Souden 1997:89). Stonehenge was mentioned in Camden's 1586 *Britannia* (Bahn 1996:35). The celebrated architect Inigo Jones drew up plans of the site in 1620 suggesting that the central trilithon horseshoe was originally a hexagon and subsequently expressed the opinion that it had been built by the Romans (Worthington 2005a:9; Bahn 1996:44). John Aubrey contradicted local folklore which attributed the ditch and bank to the Danes (Bender 1998:136) suggesting that the stones predated the Romans attributing them to the Druids of the Iron Age (Bahn 1996:44). By the 19th century Sir Richard Colt-Hoare and William Cunnington identified elements of the Stonehenge landscape as dating from the Bronze Age (Souden 1997:24). In 1895 Arthur Evans was suggesting a date just prior to 250BC (Lambrick 1988:17-18). Some archaeologists before World War 2 argued that the apparent shaping (entasis) of the upright stones (orthostats) demonstrated a link with classical Mediterranean civilisations dating the site to the last few centuries BC: the Iron Age. It was the development of radiocarbon dating techniques during the 1940s and subsequent calibration techniques which finally settled the matter permitting the site to be securely dated to the latter part of the Neolithic (Chippindale 1994:205). Archaeologists were then able to say with some confidence that it was erected by early farming communities without the use of metals and Stuart Piggott (1968:33) was able to describe the idea that Stonehenge was erected by Iron Age Druids as fantasy. More recently the debate has been re-opened, largely by Francis Pryor's (2003:xxv, 182, 286) assertion that there is more continuity than discontinuity of culture through British prehistory from the Neolithic to the Iron Age which has inspired arguments that the Neolithic builders of Stonehenge might be considered proto-Druids or even may have used a similar name to describe themselves (e.g.

Maughfling 1997:8). This is backed up by Gillings & Pollard's (2004:95) description of the deposition of an Iron Age brooch at Avebury, another henge monument, as typical of ritual activity of the period.

It was William Stukeley who first noticed that the central axis of Stonehenge was aligned to the Summer Solstice sunrise on the avenue side and the Winter Solstice sunset on the opposite side (Worthington 2005a:12). In 1923 Rear-Admiral Boyle Somerville called for further research into such alignments (Burl 2005:7). From 1954 to the present archaeologists including Alexander Thom, Clive Ruggles and Gerald Hawkins proposed that there were several other alignments relating to the points on the horizon where the moon rises and sets suggesting that Stonehenge was an early calendrical device and possibly used to help calculate eclipses (Burl 2005:38-9; Souden 1997:125-7; Postins 1987). Some of these alignments, particular the lunar and stellar ones are quite rough and other archaeologists such as Burl (2005:43) are dubious about their significance.

Darvill (2007:141-146) supports a hypothesis that the trilithons represent divine couples or twins perhaps holding a symbol of the sky/earth/underworld realm they control or represent. He suggests that the largest trilithon in the middle of the horseshoe represented the sky supported by the sun god and moon goddess while the other trilithons making up the horseshoe might represent the rulers of the earth and underworld realms for each half of the year.

Engineer Terry Meaden (1999:136-144) has hypothesised that the Summer Solstice sunrise at Stonehenge cast a phallic shadow from the Heel Stone onto the altar stone which he describes as a symbolic 'Goddess Stone', thus providing a 'visual functioning of the Divine Marriage concept' (Meaden 1999:140) He suggests this symbolic marriage of the gods which would impart fertility to the earth, animals and people (Meaden 1999:147). Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina (1998:308-26), working on ethnographic parallels from Madagascar, have interpreted Stonehenge as the central focus of a landscape of the Ancestors juxtaposed with the timber circles of the living at nearby Durrington. Excavations undertaken by Parker Pearson, Pollard, Richards, Thomas, Tilley, Ruggles and others as part of the Stonehenge riverside

project have provided much supporting evidence for their hypothesis (Parker Pearson et al 2006; University of Sheffield 2009). However, Darvill & Wainwright (2009:16-18) have suggested that the original purpose of Stonehenge as a healing shrine has survived in myth (Monmouth 1966:196) and folklore (Bender 1998:101, 106).

Earth Mysteries enthusiasts, including many Pagans, have interpreted Stonehenge as connected with subtle energies running through it (e.g. Michell 1969:69-82, 203). Michell (2001:54-56) also described an alignment between Stonehenge, Salisbury Cathedral and Old Sarum (a Mediaeval castle and abbey site built on an Iron Age hillfort). He also goes on to promote the importance of what he describes as Sacred Geometry which incorporates concepts of monumental architecture mirroring the geometry of the universe or of divine or sacred features, thus investing the monuments with spiritual power (Michell 2001:119-197). Picking up ideas promulgated by antiquarians suggesting megalithic monuments were Druidic in origin, self-identified Druids have been using such sites since at least the early 20th century (Chippindale 1994:142; Worthington 2005a:57; Stout 2008a:126-7). Inspired by the ideas of Thom, Ruggles and Hawkins, many Pagans and New Agers see Stonehenge as a temple of the sun and moon (Postins 1987:5)

4.3.3 The Protection and Management of Stonehenge

Stonehenge was one of the monuments scheduled under Sir John Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Protection Act (Her Majesty's Government 1882). This Act made it an offence to damage or deface scheduled monuments unless with the owner's permission. Subsequent amendments ensured that not even the owners of the monuments could damage them. The owner of Stonehenge at the end of the 19th century was Edmund Antrobus who offered to sell Stonehenge to the nation in 1899 for £125,000 but was turned down by the government of the day. In 1915 he put the site up for auction where it was bought by Cecil Chubb for £6,600. In 1918 Chubb donated it to the nation (Darvill 2007:273) with a provision that the public should have free access but that the Ministry of Works might charge no more than a shilling per head if required for the upkeep and maintenance of the monument (Worthington 2005a:61). As mentioned in section 4.3.1, entry charges for Stonehenge are £8.30 for children aged 5 to 15, £12.50 for concessions and £12.90 for adults as of the 21st Oct

2014 leading to accusations that EH use Stonehenge as a resource for generating revenue contrary to the terms of its donation. In 1986 Stonehenge and Avebury were registered with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation as a World Heritage Site (UNESCO 1992). UNESCO (2010) admits that listing as a World Heritage Site does not provide any automatic protection but is likely to be a protective influence by raising awareness of such sites both within the local community and internationally.



Fig. 7: New Stonehenge Visitors Centre (Pitts 2011a)

Despite withdrawal of government funding in June 2010 (BBC News 2010a), English Heritage went ahead with plans for a new Visitors Centre at Airman's Corner. On their website English Heritage (ndc), explained that the previous centre was unsatisfactory for the following reasons:

- Intrusive roads and inadequate parking (especially at busy times)
- Dated, inadequate visitor facilities
- Lack of education and interpretation space
- Limited appreciation of the wider archaeological landscape
- The current situation compromises the dignity of the monument

Mason and Kuo (2006:192) and Stone (2008:529) have also described those facilities at Stonehenge as disgraceful.

English Heritage therefore proposed to close the A344 between Airman's Corner and the A303 to traffic and return the section between the stones and the A303 to grass, to demolish the existing Visitors Centre and return the land to grass. They chose to build a new Visitors Centre at Airman's Corner, Grid Reference SU100427, with landscaped parking areas. The plan described the building as sensitive to the surrounding landscape, constructed from high quality materials and providing space for exhibition galleries, education facilities, a café and a shop. The new visitors centre is just over 2km from Stonehenge necessitating a 'low key visitor transit to Stonehenge' (English Heritage ndc) for visitors unwilling or unable to walk. At least two land trains towed by a Landrovers have been acquired but additional coaches have been essential to cope with the numbers of visitors. English Heritage described the proposals as transforming the landscape and providing 'opportunities to walk in an archaeologically rich landscape' (English Heritage ndc).

However, improvement proposals did not meet with universal approval. Some are disappointed that an earlier proposal to divert the A303 via a tunnel and grass over that road as well has been dismissed as excessively expensive (BBC News 2010a; Stone 2008:530-534). Druids and other Solstice pilgrims have also protested about the proposed closure to traffic of the driveway (marked byway 12 on the map, fig.7) which runs alongside the field containing the stones (Pitts 2011a). The reason the closure of this land is challenged is largely due to the fact that it is where many pilgrims park their camper vans and pitch small tents when they come to the stones. When I visited the site to interview pilgrims at the Winter Solstice of 2008, the full length of the drove way between the A344 and A303 was full of vehicles and tents. Contestation of this closure has been voiced in terms of interference with ancient freedoms (e.g. Maughfling 1997:9) and it is not unreasonable to assume that protestors fear the exclusion of their vehicles and tents or expensive charges being levied to camp nearby. I would not be surprised if the inclusion of the former A344 within the fenced off area surrounding the stones is contested as a land grab by EH

especially since this now means that even the Heel Stone is out of reach from those not paying to enter the enclosure.

Any review of online comments about access to Stonehenge will demonstrate a widespread dissatisfaction at not being allowed in amongst the stones themselves. Reasons given for the exclusion of most visitors from such proximity to the stones tend to focus on preservation (Chippindale 1990:123). These reasons are frequently disbelieved by campaigners but a recent laser scan of the stones demonstrates extensive damage in the past caused by graffiti and chipping off stone mementos as well as more recent damage caused by footfall abrasion on recumbent stones (Abbott & Anderson-Whymark 2012:42-47).

I believe Rayner (2012:50-71) voices an aspiration for Stonehenge which, if not already popular with the Pagans who celebrate there, soon will be. He advocates the removal of the fallen orthostat and lintel of the largest trilithon from the altar stone and the re-erection of the orthostat stub with the upper part and lintel placed outside the central space as if it had fallen outwards. He asserts that this will restore the central focus of the altar stone and provide a more usable space for ritual as well as making access through the monument easier. He also suggests that the area covered by the old Visitors Centre and the grassed over section of the A344 road, since they are unlikely to contain any archaeological features close to the surface, be used for tented cafés and bonfires at managed open access times (Rayner 2012:73-74). I consider Rayner's (2012:85-86) suggestion for what reads like urban-style traffic calming and a camouflaged roadway running alongside the stones unlikely to be cost efficient, safe or desirable to road users. However, his proposal for a footbridge over the A303 cutting along the line of the Stonehenge Avenue (Rayner 2012:86) might be considered if sufficient funds are available in the future.

4.3.4 Stonehenge as a Sacred Site

It has already been mentioned, in section 4.3.2, that Stonehenge has been identified as an ancient temple since Boece identified stone circles as such in 1527 (Souden 1997:89) so it should be no surprise that contemporary Pagans should consider it as such. Chippindale (1994:142) provides photographic evidence of a group of people

identifying themselves as Druids holding celebrations at Stonehenge in 1905. The Ancient Druid Order claims to have been carrying out ritual there some decades earlier (Worthington 2005a:57) but scholars such as Hutton (2009:355) and Stout (2008b:118-9) are sceptical about such claims. Their presence was not always welcome and Edmund Antrobus ejected a group of Druids in 1901 incurring a curse from the Archdruid (Worthington 2005a:57). Subsequently though, Antrobus himself was initiated into the Ancient Order of Druids in a mass ceremony at the stones in August 1905 (Chippindale 1994:142; Worthington 2005a:57). As explained in section 1.2.3.4, the AoD was less spiritual in character, being somewhat more of a gentlemen's club or friendly society. ADO Druids continued to hold open ceremonies at Stonehenge until Solstice visitors were restricted in 1985 (Worthington 2005b:129-138). Subsequently, they and other Druid groups made use of special access arrangements outside normal opening hours close to, but not on, the Solstice itself (Restall Orr 2000a:4; Worthington 2005a:). It is not only Druids to whom Stonehenge is sacred. Other Pagans consider it an important site, perhaps the most important in Britain (Trubshaw 2005:97).

4.3.5 Stonehenge as a Contested Site

In this section, I shall examine how Stonehenge has been contested with particular focus on Druid and New Age Traveller groups. I shall start by looking at early contestation before the genesis of the Stonehenge Free Festival and then examine how the Festival developed. I shall examine to what extent the Festival could be characterised as a Pagan event. I will explain the problems with the Festival before describing how it was suppressed and Stonehenge placed off limits to Solstice revellers. I will write about how the exclusion was contested between those who supported it and those who opposed it before explaining how a solution has been reached. I shall conclude this section by explaining the extent to which Stonehenge has affected relations between the Pagan community and the archaeological and heritage professions.

4.3.5.1 Early Contestation (Before 1970)

No records prior to the Middle Ages survive regarding Stonehenge but Bender (1998:100-104) argues that the site was a focus of contestation between the church

and ordinary people regarding ideology by housing a religious order nearby and denigrating the stones as devilish. However, Hutton (cited in Bender 1998:133-8) argues that Mediaeval Christianity was characterised by the church authorities trying to keep up with grass roots popular expressions of faith rather than strictly controlling such expressions: a bottom up locus of control rather than top down. He argues there is no evidence for the ascription of diabolic character to standing stones at this time. Bender (1998:104-10) suggests that the church's attitude to the stones became increasingly hostile culminating in the burial of stones at Avebury from the 14th to 17th centuries (Gillings & Pollard 2004:125-7). From the 17th century a new interest in the stones was emerging which was to contribute to the rise of the discipline of archaeology. As stated in section 4.3.2, during the 19th century, archaeologists such as Colt-Hoare and Cunnington were providing evidence suggesting Stonehenge might have a Bronze Age date (Souden 1997:24). It was the Neolithic dates provided by radiocarbon analysis, however, which finally convinced archaeologists that Stonehenge was not a Druidic monument (Chippindale 1994:205) setting the scene for contestation between the Druids and the 'archaeological establishment'. During the 1950s and early 1960s there was trouble between Druids and members of the public, including off-duty soldiers from the nearby Royal Artillery barracks at Larkhill (Worthington 2005a:23-5; Hutton 2009:396-7). Worthington (2005a:25-6) and Hutton (2009:397-8) also record that while attempts to keep unruly crowds out of the stones with barbed wire were unsuccessful at the Summer Solstices of 1962 and 1963, the police mounted an increasingly more successful exclusion zone in subsequent years so that by 1966 no-one apart from the Druids (who were permitted to enter) was in the circle for the Solstice sunrise.

4.3.5.2 The Stonehenge Free Festival

Music played a highly significant role in the hippy counter-culture of the late 1960s, 70s and early 80s. Ivakhiv (2001:82) suggests the Free Festival Movement began with the Glastonbury Fayre held at Pilton in 1971 but Worthington (2005a:29) marks the genesis of the movement at Parliament Hill Fields in 1968. From 1972 a large free pop music festival was held, completely without permission or any kind of official endorsement on Crown land at Windsor Great Park (Worthington 2005a:79-80). The police broke up the 1973 Windsor Festival with a brutality which sparked a public

outcry (Worthington 2005a:80-1). The Summer Solstice celebrations of 1969 and 1970 involved thousands of hippies joining the celebrations (Worthington 2005a:31-32) but it was 1974 when the first Stonehenge Free Festival began. It was the idea largely of Phil Russell who took on the name Wally Hope (Worthington 2005a:37-40). Problems however, arose when Russell and about thirty followers, calling themselves the Wallies of Wessex, stayed on after the Festival living in tents next to the stones. They were evicted in August but relocated onto the driveway next to their previous location where they stayed until after the Winter Solstice (Worthington 2005a:39-40). Russell was arrested for possession of drugs before the 1975 Festival, which went ahead without him. Stone (1996:89) describes Russell as being broken by psychiatric treatment whilst in custody. Shortly afterward Russell was dead giving rise to tales of 'establishment' complicity (Stone 1996:93, Worthington & Dearling 2005:15). At the 1976 Festival Russell's ashes were scattered on the stones and an oration given by Sid Rawle (Worthington 2005a:46) who, along with John Pendragon and Bev Richardson, was to become a leading member of the Stonehenge Free Festival Community (Worthington 2005a:74). Harvey (2004b:255-257) cites reports that not all the ashes were scattered since a child present, presumably unsure of what was expected put some of the ashes in his or her mouth and others followed this lead.

Paul Aitken, described as a Stonehenge regular (cited in Worthington 2005a:42-3) explained the experience of the early Festivals as being linked to the stones by a constantly moving umbilical cord of people. He described old bearded men squatting on tree stumps muttering prayers to their gods. Worthington (2005a:42) records that 3000 attended and listened to Hawkwind and Here And Now while Hare Krishna devotees provided free food. The Festival lasted ten days at the end of which a collection was made to compensate the farmer for the use of his land (Worthington 2005a:43).

To gain an impression of the appearance, atmosphere and experience of the Free Festival on a good day, imagine a small city of tents and camper vans, tipis and yurts packed with exuberant people. They were mainly young and mostly dressed in bright colours but with some people eschewing clothes altogether. Leather clad bikers mingled with dreadlocked hippies. The atmosphere was relaxed and 'laid back' with

loud music audible far from the stage. Smells of incense and cannabis smoke wafted about along with the odour of sweaty bodies. White-robed Druids, saffron-robed Hare Krishna devotees and Mohawked punks philosophised and argued with one another as cans of cider and lager were passed around. On a bad day, rain, mud, an atmosphere of aggression exacerbated by police searches, sound tests by stoned band members and a lack of toilet facilities made the event a distinctly unprepossessing experience (Shallcrass 2012). Mark Graham (2012) writes that the Festival began with an atmosphere of 'peace and love got replaced by anarchy and the Festival developed more of an edge'. 'For some people it was just about doing drugs and partying, for others it was a deeply profound spiritual experience and for others it was the cradle of a new utopian society, for most people it was probably a bit of all three. It was also a great place to meet girls' (Graham 2012).



Fig. 8: Aerial Photo of the last Stonehenge Free Festival in 1984 (Worthington 2008)

From 1976 a circuit developed with a strong cohesive community forming, which travelled from festival to festival through from spring to autumn (Worthington 2005a:87). This community was anarchistic, communistic and counter-cultural in character. It stood, and its spokespeople spoke, against mainstream capitalist values and as such may have appeared threatening to the conservative 'southern English establishment'. From 1982 the connection between Festival-goers and anti-nuclear protestors at Greenham Common airbase brought a new name to the convoy of vehicles travelling from festival to festival. It became known as the Peace convoy (Worthington 2005a:116-8)

4.3.5.3 How Pagan was the Festival?

There was a Pagan element to the Free Festival Movement from its beginning as evidenced by publicity for the Windsor Free Festival featuring Classical Greek deities (Worthington & Dearling 2005:8). The originators of the Stonehenge Free Festival were a diverse group: Wally Hope was an eclectic New Age Christian (Worthington & Dearling 2005:11, 14; p.c. Daughton 2012) but Sid Rawle (p.c. 2009) identified himself as Pagan and Bev Richardson as Wiccan (p.c. Daughton 2012). Daughton himself who produced and circulated the Festival newsletter rejects any kind of label to his spirituality and views the application of the term Pagan to the Festival as problematic, finding the term counter-cultural preferable though still not ideal. However, by 1985, the Festival was describing itself not as a pop festival but rather as a ritual/religious gathering (Chippindale 1986:46) and a list provided of groups involved in the organisation of the Festival includes names such as 'The Ancient Order of Pagans', 'Union of Ancestor Worshipers', 'Mother Earth Circle' and 'Devotees of the Sun Temple' (Chippindale 1986:46). Much of the spiritual activity forming part of the culture of the Festival revered the natural world (Worthington & Dearling 2005:16) and Stout (2008b:157) asserts that the Stonehenge Free Festival grew directly out of the ceremonies of the Ancient Druid Order. Michell (1997:4) and Harvey (2004:258) record that babies were baptised and marriages performed at Stonehenge during the Festival. Additionally Druid orders such as the Secular and Glastonbury Orders have their origins in the Festival (Hutton 2006:251-253,

1997b:19-21). Bearing all these points in mind I believe the Stonehenge Free Festival was substantially Pagan in character, practice and inspiration.

4.3.5.4 Problems with the Festival

The Stonehenge Free Festival continued to grow from 1974 to 1984 but not without its critics. The Chief Constable of Wiltshire in 1978 described Festival-goers as a 'bunch of sordid mystics' (Worthington 2005a:93). Skeates (2000:77) points out that archaeologists, basing their epistemology on scientific scepticism, have rejected Pagan beliefs as irrational. Glyn Daniel (1992:25, 28, 34, 42, 51, 59, 126, 130, 173) in particular had been railing against Druids and other Solstice celebrants as editor of the prestigious journal *Antiquity* from 1958 to 1985. However, even he seems to have had a pang of conscience in 1978 when he pondered the possibility that they might be sincere in their veneration of the site (Daniel 1992:127). However, the following year, Worthington (2005a:94) records that he was ranting again against the idea that Druids, New Agers and other alternative spiritualities had any claim for religious freedom (Daniel 1992:129-130). Problems of facilities became more severe as numbers of attendees grew into tens of thousands (Worthington 2005a:121) and dealers in hard drugs became increasingly prevalent (Worthington 2005a:121-3; Worthington & Dearling 2005:21-22). Festival organisers had always tolerated the use of cannabis which was seen as beneficial by many attendees. Heroin, however, was seen as destructive and abusive so that the 1984 Festival featured a burnt out car at the entrance with a label proclaiming it had been a dealer's car (Pendragon & Stone 2003:32; Worthington 2005a:123). In interviews, Rawl (p.c. 2009), Daughton (p.c. 2012) and others admitted that hard drugs had become a serious problem in the 1980s. However, Graham (p.c. 2012) pointed out that the drug problem at the Festival was no worse than in any inner city at the time.

In 1984 the ownership and management of Stonehenge was transferred from the Department of the Environment to the newly created quango or semi-autonomous agency English Heritage via legislation drawn up by the then Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine (English Heritage n.d.; Chippindale 1986:42). English Heritage took over ownership from the government of the field in which the stones were located and

was invested with oversight responsibility for the surrounding archaeological landscape, most of which is owned by the National Trust.



Fig. 9: Rubbish left behind by Solstice revellers, 21st Jun 2010. Author's photograph

Cleaning up the rubbish left behind after the Festival was becoming an expensive proposition and English Heritage and the National Trust must have resented having to spend £20,000 (Worthington 2005a:133) out of their not over-generous budgets removing the litter brought by Festival-goers (see fig. 9). Some within the Festival Movement demanded that the National Trust should supply firewood; a suggestion the Trust roundly rejected (Chippindale 1986:45).

English Heritage was particularly worried by damage to the archaeological landscape surrounding the stones. Worthington (2005a:133) describes this damage as limited to a bread oven dug into a previously excavated Bronze Age round barrow in 1984 but Shallcrass (p.c. 2011) recalls seeing latrines being dug into barrows as well. Chippindale (1986:45) reports both bread oven and latrine excavations as well as damage caused to archaeological features by motorcycles. The police and general public, however, were more concerned about the common and open use of drugs at

the Festival (Hester 2005:139; Chippindale 1986:44). Allegations of widespread petty theft from local shops were also levelled at Festival-goers (Chippindale 1986:44).

4.3.5.5 Suppression of the Festival and Exclusion at the Solstice

Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government was re-elected with a significant majority in 1983 after successfully recapturing the Falkland Islands following an Argentinean invasion. Economic pressures were cited as reasons for closing unprofitable coal mines but the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers called a national strike hoping to bring down the Conservative government to which they were ideologically opposed (Thatcher 1995:339; Evans, E.J. 1998:38). Thatcher (1995:339-40, 377-8) took the view that to permit such an outcome would be a negation of democracy arguing that since her government had come to power through a general election, it should not be forced out of office by an organisation representing the interests of a minority. The government therefore drafted legislation to break the power of the trade unions. Police officers trained in riot suppression techniques were drafted in from other areas to combat the pickets (Bender 1998:114; Worthington 2005b:203; Hester 2005:145). The miners' strike ended in March 1985 but the police tactics used at locations such as Orgreave were not forgotten.

The Government had demonstrated a willingness to deal firmly with dissident activists and this is precisely what at least some of the Free Festival community had become (Hutton 2007:201). They had always been somewhat political and claimed to have demonstrated that a pacifist, anarchic communal economy could work, at least on a small scale. Perhaps more worrying for the 'establishment' was the increasing connection between members of the Festival Community and pacifist activists at locations such as the Greenham Common airbase (Worthington 2005a:118-9). Most worrying of all would have been what Parker Pearson (2012:45) describes as the 'moral panic' regarding drugs, sex and nudity at the Free Festival.

So in 1985 English Heritage and the National Trust issued notices that the Festival that year would not be permitted to go ahead (Worthington 2005a:131-133). These notices were backed by court injunctions (Chippindale 1986:45) and by the police who prepared roadblocks to stop convoys of travellers reaching the stones

(Chippindale 1986:47; Hester 2005:140-142). The first convoy to encounter the waiting police had set out from Savernake forest on the morning of the 1st of June 1985. Chippindale (1986:47) describes the convoy as consisting of 140 vehicles carrying around 500 men, women and children led by a naked man on foot.

The police stopped the convoy close to the village of Cholderton (GR SU225425). After some confrontation police broke windows of vehicles at the front of the convoy and arrested the occupants. One interviewee suggested this was done in order to render these out of production vehicles unusable since replacement windscreens were difficult or impossible to obtain. They blocked off any retreat for other vehicles in the convoy using commandeered Traveller vehicles. Drivers near the rear of the convoy then left the road and drove into adjoining fields damaging a police vehicle on the way. Once there, they were contained by 1000 police officers under the command of Assistant Chief Constable Lionel Grundy (Chippindale 1986:47; Hester 2005:142; Goodwin & Morris 2005a:82, 2005c:99; Worthington 2005a:134, 2005b:109-138). After instances of stone throwing and even the use of a high powered hand catapult by convoy members, there was an attempt to negotiate. The police then made it clear that the only way the Travellers were leaving the field was in police custody after having handed over the keys to their mobile homes: this the Travellers refused to do (Goodwin & Morris 2005b:89, 2005c:103). Large numbers of riot-shield-equipped police without identifying numbers on their uniforms then stormed the field. Travellers tried to avoid arrest by keeping their vehicles moving but eventually all were stopped. As each vehicle was stopped, police officers broke windows with their truncheons and dragged some occupants out before entering and arresting the others (Chippindale 1986:47-8; Worthington 2005a:129-31; Hester 2005:142-145; Goodwin & Morris 2005a:82-86, 2005b:90-92, 2005c:103-106). Many of the travellers were badly beaten by the arresting officers; vehicles, which were Travellers' homes, were ransacked and damaged by police both during the operation and immediately afterwards (Chippindale 1986:48) with two Traveller vehicles being set on fire (Worthington 2005a:131; 2005b:133-134). Travellers have asserted that the police deliberately set these vehicles on fire but Deputy Chief Constable Ian Readhead (Hester 2005:141) describes the fires as having been lit by the Travellers themselves. I would suggest that more likely sources of the blazes were knocked-over braziers or stoves left on

when police arrested the occupants. The radio log shows the police chose not to call the fire brigade (Worthington 2005b:133). Having been taken into custody, some female prisoners were strip-searched. All were transported to police stations across southern England and charged with obstructing the police, obstructing the highway and some with unlawful assembly. Social Services were on hand to take charge of the children in the convoy. Some vehicles and their occupants, which had not entered the Beanfield, did manage to evade police and retreat back to the Savernake forest (Chippindale 1986:51). Once there, police sought to finish the work they had begun in the Beanfield but were denied access by the landowner, Lord Cardigan, who had witnessed the Beanfield operation (Chippindale 1986:51; Worthington 2005a:131, 137).

The 'Battle of the Beanfield', along with the publicity and police roadblocks dissuaded anyone from making a serious attempt to hold a festival at Stonehenge in June 1985 (Worthington 2005a:131-133). However, the following year, convoys again began to move towards the stones. Worthington (2005a:142) describes an incident where a hippy convoy denied access to Stonehenge was diverted to a disused World War 2 RAF base at Stoney Cross in the New Forest, Hampshire. Whilst there a social worker was reported to have visited the site in the night and warned the Travellers that they would be raided by the police at dawn and that Social Services would be taking their children away to be put permanently into care. On the basis of the social worker's warning, two vehicles carried the children to Glastonbury where they were provided with sanctuary by Michael Eavis, the Glastonbury Festival organiser (Worthington 2005a:142).

4.3.5.6 Reaction and Justification

The response of the archaeological community was predictably varied: Glyn Daniel (1992 [1985]:178) remarked gleefully that the 'pop festival desecrators were routed and the Midsummer Solstice passed off without any undue incident'. Barry Cunliffe on the other hand, some three weeks after the 'Battle of the Beanfield', wrote to the Guardian deploring the violence of the police but emphasising the need to protect the archaeological landscape of Stonehenge from damage (Chippindale 1986:48-9). The combination of the subversive counter-culture of the Festival combined with the

presence of hard drugs was never going to endear it to British Conservatives. After the Beanfield, the right-wing tabloid press such as the News of the World ran headlines like 'sex-mad junkie outlaws make the Hell's Angels look like little Noddy' to describe hippy travellers (Worthington 2005a:131, Bender 1998:115). Government ministers such as Douglas Hurd (Home Secretary from September 1985 to October 1989) described Travellers as 'Mediaeval brigands' and even the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, vowed to do 'anything I can to make life difficult for such things as hippy convoys' (both cited in Bender 1998:115). The view of the police at the time is exemplified by DCC Readhead who cited a fatal tent fire and widespread drug use in proximity to young children as justification for the suppression of the Festival (Hester 2005:139). Festival attendees such as Mark Graham (p.c. 2012) continue to see this as insufficient justification on the basis that similar behaviour could be found in most inner cities at the time without such extreme measures taken to suppress it.

It has been alleged, e.g. in a 1985 publicity poster for the Stonehenge Free Festival, that if it had gone ahead for a twelfth year, ancient laws still on the statute books would have protected it and ensured its continuation (Hester 2005:142). Interviews have indicated that many Pagans believe that a fear of Paganism was a factor in the decision to suppress the Festival. I find arguments supporting the Battle of the Beanfield and the subsequent exclusion zone appear somewhat weak. Thatcher's own memoir of her premiership (1995) makes no mention of Stonehenge which leads me to postulate that she herself looked back on it without any great pride.

4.3.5.7 The Stonehenge Exclusion Zone and its Challengers

In 1986 Druids and Festival regulars were able to see in the Summer Solstice while standing in the A344 road between the stones and the Visitors Centre (Worthington 2005a:145-7). The following year English Heritage offered 500 free tickets to watch the Solstice Sunrise in an attempt allow some celebration whilst limiting numbers of attendees. The Ancient Druid Order accepted but the other groups under the umbrella of the Stonehenge Campaign rejected the offer fearing that their mobile homes would be destroyed as had previously occurred and demanding unrestricted free access for all (Worthington 2005a:147, 2005b:209). In 1988 4000 people gathered in Cholderton Woods beyond the exclusion zone perimeter where, on the 20th June, an English

Heritage representative offered them 500 tickets to enter the stones for the Solstice (Worthington 2005a:149). When the offer was rejected the representative offered to allocate any spare tickets on a first come, first served basis. At dusk the group who Worthington (2005a:150) describes as the 'Festival-in-exile' began to walk to Stonehenge picking up more people as they went. Maughfling (1997:9) asserts that 5000 people were gathered outside the fence on the A344 as they had the previous year but this time it was not to be a peaceful occasion. Maughfling (1997:9) accuses the police of leading pilgrims into a cul-de-sac before mounting an unprovoked assault but Worthington (2005a:150) records that a small band of agitators attacked the police first. Perhaps partially as a consequence of this violence, a complete exclusion zone was established in 1989 consisting of police roadblocks and checkpoints four miles from the monument itself. Police were ordered to turn away pilgrims and arrest anyone attempting to enter the cordon (Pendragon & Stone 2003:91, 99; Worthington 2005a:151). Those who were arrested were held until after the Solstice and then released without charge (Pendragon & Stone 2003:100).

Rollo Maughfling had previously been initiated as an Alexandrian Wiccan high priest (Hutton 1997b:20) but after the Battle of the Beanfield and the failure of the Ancient Order of Druids to support anyone else's claims for access to the stones, he founded the Glastonbury Order of Druids at Glastonbury Tor in 1988 (Worthington 2005a:172; Pendragon & Stone 2003:80; Hutton 2006:251-252). He was also involved in the Council of British Druid Orders (CoBDO) from an early date (Murray 2007; Pendragon & Stone 2003:96-97). The Glastonbury Order was described (CoBDO 1996:41) as operating mainly in and around Glastonbury but also as holding celebrations at Stonehenge when permitted to do so. Worthington (2005b:226) characterises GOD as an 'Eco-Pagan' order, emphasising their focus on environmental activism. Initially Maughfling and his followers were successful and the Glastonbury Order was able to hold ceremonies at Stonehenge at other festivals but at the Summer Solstice they, like all others, were excluded (Maughfling 1997:10). Maughfling continued to campaign alongside Arthur Pendragon for unrestricted free access at Pagan festival dates (Pendragon & Stone 2003:96-97; Maughfling 1997:9-10, 2000a:5-6) and led rituals at Stonehenge on the occasions when I conducted fieldwork there. An anonymous contributor informed me that Maughfling had been voted out of the

leadership of GOD but maintains control of CoBDO largely due to Pendragon's support. Maughfling also claims the title of Arch-Druid of Stonehenge (Worthington 2005a:218).

Arthur Pendragon, described by Worthington (2005b:226) as media-savvy with the sense of humour of a true prankster, has co-authored an autobiography with journalist Chris Stone (2003). In it they explain that Arthur was born John Rothwell and after following his father into the army drifted into the life of an outlaw biker. After a spiritual epiphany, he concluded he was the reincarnation of the legendary King Arthur (Pendragon & Stone 2003:38-41, 44-57). As such he decided his duty was to fight injustice and protect Britain's natural environment. He became involved in the campaign against the Newbury bypass where he learned about direct action tactics. He also mounted pickets at Stonehenge to protest about access urging visitors 'don't pay, walk away' (Pendragon & Stone 2003:85). After managed open access arrangements (see section 4.3.5.8) were instituted he protested about delays in the implementation of landscape improvements and a new Visitors Centre. Since 2009 he has mounted a picket to protest about the removal of ancient human remains from the site which will be examined in more detail in chapter 8.

The late Tim Sebastian was the founder and Archdruid of the Secular Order of Druids (SOD) which he initiated in 1975 (Worthington 2005a:169) with a, presumably, more formal foundation in 1985 (Worthington 2005a:170). He was described by Hutton (2009:xiv) as energetic, idealistic and enthusiastic. His order expressed four aims: to spread a Druidic message to British youth; to act as low key voluntary guards for Druid rituals; to encourage a drawing together of Celtic and Pagan magical systems in debate and to promote the ideas of John Michell (Worthington 2005a:169). Worthington (2005b:226) adds that the order may be classified as Eco-Pagan due to its environmental focus. Sebastian was a keen campaigner for Druid access to Stonehenge and wrote a pamphlet, which was subsequently expanded to a book chapter (Sebastian 1990), explaining why Druids wanted access to the stones and why such access should be granted. He was also a founder member of CoBDO (Pendragon & Stone 2003:96-97).

Blain and Wallis (2007:86-87) also attribute a pivotal role in the campaign for open access at Stonehenge to George Firsoff's 'Stonehenge Peace Process' and to Nora Morris who represented the Pagan Federation at the round table meetings. These two people lacked the public profile of the previous personalities covered but arguably may have done far more to bring about access arrangements due to a less confrontational approach.

Modes of contestation

Most contestation of Stonehenge has been peaceful. Negotiation carried on all the while and Restall Orr (2000a:4) describes her role as building a personal relationship with decision makers. Pendragon describes attempting to walk past police barricades and being arrested for it so often that the desk sergeant at the police station began to greet him as an old acquaintance (Pendragon & Stone 2003:98-100). In between festivals, Pendragon along with his allies and followers picketed Stonehenge, advising visitors 'don't pay, walk away' (Pendragon & Stone 2003:85). Other tactics employed included petitions and legal action. Many of these tactics were deliberately designed to cost English Heritage, the police and the government as much time and money as possible. On one occasion, when arrested by a police superintendent for attempting to walk to the stones in front of television cameras, he attempted to arrest the superintendent for violating his human rights (Pendragon & Stone 2003:133). In 1994 members of the Loyal Arthurian Warband (LAW) occupied Winchester Cathedral demanding that Pagan pilgrims should be accorded equal respect to Christian pilgrims visiting the Cathedral (Pendragon & Stone 2003:106-7). The following year members of LAW chained up the entrance to English Heritage's offices at Fortress House in London excluding staff from their workplace just as Druids were excluded from Stonehenge (Pendragon & Stone 2003:108). Alongside his writings, Tim Sebastian and SOD also organised events aimed to raise consciousness and publicise the campaign. Despite the pacifist leanings of the community leaders and their advocacy of non-violent protest, Wallis (2003:155-156) and Worthington (2005a:149-151) record that there have been outbreaks of violence at Stonehenge in 1988 and 1995.

An important argument put forward by the access lobby was the massive cost of exclusion (Bender 1998:130 asserts a sum of £5 million) compared to the relatively modest costs (£20,000 in 1984 according to Fowler 1990:139) of cleaning up after the Festival. Most of the archaeological community who did not actively support exclusion seemed to have little to say on the subject. However, one notable exception was Barbara Bender who co-created an exhibition in 1993 with the Stonehenge Campaign group entitled 'Stonehenge Belongs to You and Me' (Bender 1998:145-171; Wallis 2003:154-155), which aimed to critique the restricted access to and androcentric unilateral interpretation of the site.

In 1988 to 1989 representatives of several Druid orders formed a representative body for all British Druids (Pers. Com. Davies 2009; Murray 2007; Bonewits 2006:81). It was intended to provide representation, furthering campaigns for Druid rights including access to Stonehenge (Murray 2007) and a debating forum (Green 1997:169). One of CoBDO's first acts in 1989 was to petition the Queen to intervene to allow them access to Stonehenge (Maughfling 2000a:5). It was perhaps inevitable that the politicised nature of the work of CoBDO wasn't going to appeal to all members and in 1996 the Ancient Order of Druids (AOD), the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids (OBOD) and the British Druid Order (BDO) left the council (Hutton 2006:256). In 2008 SOD also left and a rival council operated for a short while.

From 1996 round-table negotiations began between interested parties including Druids, local and district councils, police, landowners including the National Trust and English Heritage, farmers and other Pagans, but few if any representatives of the Traveller/Festival Community. The object of these meetings was to reach agreements about access to the stones for celebrating the Pagan festivals (Pendragon & Stone 2003:231; Worthington 2005a:215). Shallcrass (1998/9:17) describes himself and Restall Orr attending a round table meeting and being shocked at English Heritage's description of Maughfling and his supporters 'shouting loudly, slamming fists on tables and storming out' at previous meetings. However the death knell for the exclusion zone came on the 4th March 1999 when the Law Lords ruled the exclusion zone unlawful. The case began in 1995 with the prosecution of Margaret Jones and Richard Lloyd for trespassory assembly under the 1986 Public Order Act. They were

accused of violating the exclusion zone despite remaining on the roadside. They were initially convicted but the Law Lords overturned the conviction on the basis of the exclusion zone's illegality (Worthington 2005a:219).

4.3.5.8 A Solution: Managed Open Access

In May 1995 protestors occupied Stonehenge (Worthington 2005a:208) causing English Heritage and other organisations involved in the exclusion policy to reconsider their position. The Pagan Federation (1997:6) reported that in 1996 English Heritage had agreed to recognise Stonehenge as a spiritual and sacred place and admitted that they had had ignored this aspect of the site. After years of exclusion English Heritage began to allow members of Druid groups and observers free access to celebrate the Equinoxes among the stones in 1997 but free access continued to be denied at the Solstices (Maughfling 2000a:6). Having established that the Equinox ceremonies passed without incident, a limited number of people were allowed among the stones to celebrate the Summer Solstice in 1998 and 1999 (Worthington 2005a:217, 220). The numbers were controlled by issue of tickets but this was deemed unacceptable by the campaigning Druid orders. Complaints were also made that one particular Druid successfully dominated the proceedings (Worthington 2005a:218-219). In 1999 the number of tickets was increased to 1000 but this proved woefully insufficient to cope with demand and violence ensued (Worthington 2005a:220-221). The same year, the Law Lords declared the Stonehenge exclusion zone to be unlawful (Worthington 2005a:219-220). English Heritage was therefore forced to make arrangements for numerically unrestricted free access from the evening of the 20th June 2000 to after sunrise on the 21st (Hutton 2009:410; Worthington 2005a:226-231; Rayner 2012:26-33).

As part of my fieldwork I attended Solstice celebrations at Stonehenge in December 2008 and June 2010 (see figs. 13-15). At the Winter Solstice pilgrims, estimated to number about 1900, were waiting outside the car park when I arrived at 7:00am. Despite the bitter cold, there was a sizeable crowd numbering perhaps a couple of hundred. A dawn ritual led by Rollo Maughfling was performed to welcome the sun. Magical power was raised by intoning the sounds I, A and O three times to support 'Green Energy' and to assist in the initiation of a new Druid. A Bard was then initiated

and a Bardic pledge of fellowship proclaimed by all. Healing energy was sent to sick friends of attendees before the rite was ended and people began to drift away.

Peter Carson (p.c. 2010) explained that for several years he has chaired the continuing round table meetings to make arrangements for free access events. He did remark that Druid delegates had insisted that the meeting not be minuted.



Fig. 10: Crowds gather the evening before the Solstice 20th Jun 2010. Author's photograph

Parker Pearson (2012:173) estimates the numbers of people attending Summer Solstice open access at Stonehenge to be about 37,000. With such large numbers, security provision has to be made but also needs to be managed carefully to avoid exacerbating existing grievances. At Winter Solstice 2008, I met and spoke with a young woman who introduced herself as Morgan. She explained that she was a volunteer 'Peace Steward' at the Summer Solstice. Peter Carson, English Heritage's 'Head of Stonehenge' explained that the system of 'Peace Stewards' had been running since 2000 and that they formed part of a four line strategy for public order and protection of both people and the site. The first line is the expectation that people would police themselves and each other reporting any problems to the other lines. The second line comprises volunteer peace stewards who are identifiable by high

visibility yellow vests and circulate amongst attendees. The third is professional security staff contracted in by English Heritage who control access and patrol the site. The fourth and final line is the Wiltshire Constabulary which maintains a visible presence at the open access events.



Fig. 11: The Sun rises over the Heel Stone 21 Jun 2010. Author's photograph

Managed Open Access (MOA) has gone some way to addressing the needs of the Pagan community but, having experienced the event on two occasions, I agree with Blain & Wallis (2007:87) that the current Solstice crush at the centre of the monument (see fig. 10 & 11) is not satisfactory. Rayner (2012:74-77) describes a tension I have also witnessed between those who would prefer an unstructured, anarchic, organic situation where people are free to follow their inspiration and those who favour a structured or semi structured approach with timetabled events and spaces set aside for particular activities. English Heritage forbids amplified music at open access but provides a small (Ca 20x20m) matted area for acoustic performances. Portaloos are provided, fast food trailers are on site, floodlights provide illumination, carefully controlled to avoid being too intrusive, and several braziers are positioned around the

site to provide warmth during MOA events. The extent to which English Heritage manages these arrangements is continuously reviewed and negotiated at round table meetings involving Pagans, heritage managers, police, local and county council representatives, Festival people and any other interested parties who want to attend (Rayner 2012:72-74; p.c. Carson 2008).



Fig. 12: Security searches at the entrance to the Stonehenge field (Author's photo)

4.3.5.9 Other Issues at Stonehenge

The current parking facilities at Stonehenge are woefully inadequate at busy times. At the Summer Solstice, pilgrims are directed to a field about 2km west of the stones next to the junction of the A360 and A344 (GR SU100427). When attending the Solstice I have found some police officers to be terse and officious. The parking field opening time has been rigidly enforced causing large queues, long waits, significant traffic disruption and frayed tempers. Queue jumping was common and not dealt with by officers. Once in the field a calmer more festive atmosphere prevailed. When interviewing Winter Solstice attendees in 2008 one of the issues raised was that of traffic control and enforcement of good driving practice.

Security considerations are obviously taken seriously during the open access arrangements at Summer Solstices. Large numbers of security staff check to make sure no large rucksacks, tents, sleeping bags or glass bottles are brought in (as shown in fig. 12 above). Some attendees feel that such restrictions and searches

violate their civil liberties (Blain & Wallis 2007:88) but when I attended most seemed to accept them without complaint. Perhaps the most serious criticism from Pagans regarding the open access arrangements at Stonehenge is that the large crowds and associated noise and crush are not conducive to spirituality (e.g. p.c. Aburrow 2009).

Rayner (2012:58-71) acknowledges resistance to any further restoration of Stonehenge but nevertheless urges that the stub of the fallen orthostat of the largest trilithon should be re-erected and the broken section with the fallen lintel moved to the outside of the trilithon horseshoe exposing the altar stone and creating more usable space at the centre of the monument (Rayner 2012:50-71). He argues that this will facilitate ritual use of Stonehenge and promote the health and safety of attendees.

Frank Somers of Stonehenge Druids (p.c. 2010) has criticised English Heritage for refusing to provide funding for entertainment acts out of gate income from the site at other times. He was also indignant that he was not permitted to pour water over the bluestones with the intention of collecting some to send to a sick child.

4.3.5.10 Consequences of Stonehenge

As previously asserted, Stonehenge is arguably the most important sacred site to British contemporary Pagans (e.g. Trubshaw 2005:97, for a contrary view see Ivakhiv 2001:80). To the community of people who regularly celebrate there, the Summer Solstice is the most significant festival (e.g. English Heritage cited in Bender 1998:178; Pendragon & Stone 2003:91; Wallis 2003:153-167; Worthington 2005a:139-187). It should therefore be no surprise that exclusion from it at such a time was felt to be serious discrimination. However, the accompaniment of such exclusion with state sponsored violence involving physical assault on pilgrims and vandalism or even destruction of their homes and threats to take away their children has left a profound residue of suspicion. I experienced this first hand as mentioned in section 3.5.2 where I was told to 'fuck off' by a young woman traveller at Stonehenge. It may be interesting to speculate how relations between the Pagan community and the archaeological and heritage professions might stand if the Free Festival had been managed differently.

4.4 Case Study 2: Avebury

Avebury is perhaps slightly less well known than Stonehenge but arguably even more magnificent. It lies about thirty miles north of Stonehenge and forms the other part of the same World Heritage Site (UNESCO 1992). It is perhaps the only village in the world to be located partially within an ancient stone circle. It is located in rural Wiltshire between Devizes and Swindon (National Grid Reference SU102699, see fig. 13 below). In this section, like Malone (1989:13), I will use the name Avebury to refer to the broad archaeological, heritage and sacred landscape which surrounds the village. Avebury is unique in that a substantial portion of the village is located within Britain's widest stone circle. However, this stone circle and the henge that surrounds it are only a small part of the landscape which seems almost crowded with prehistoric features.

Windmill Hill, dating from the early Neolithic, ca 4000 BC, is a causewayed enclosure consisting of three concentric circles of ditches many of which have been found to contain deliberately placed deposits within them (Smith 1965:1-21). It is situated just over 2 km north-west of the Avebury Circle. Equally ancient is West Kennett Long Barrow which lies just over 2km south of the stones at GR SU104677. At 100m long it is one of the largest of the Cotswold Severn Long Barrows. At the eastern end of the mound, five chambers were constructed using sarsen megaliths (Pryor 2003:198-203).

Between Avebury and West Kennett, at GR SU100685, lies the mysterious mound of Silbury Hill. It is 37m high and 160m wide at its base and was built in three phases between 2900 and 2050BC (Pollard & Reynolds 2002:118-120). The Sanctuary is located at GR SU118680 on the A4 just opposite the end of the Ridgeway long distance footpath which is itself an ancient feature (Pollard & Reynolds 2002:170). Concrete blocks show where archaeologists have identified the postholes of circular timber structures and the sockets for two concentric stone circles dating to the fourth and early third millennium BC but removed in the 1720s (Pollard & Reynolds 2002:106 & Malone 1989:84-87). The Avebury circles consist of a roughly circular henge earthwork with four entrances dated between 2900 and 2600 BC (Pollard & Reynolds 2002:90). It surrounds no fewer than three stone circles. Two smaller

circles are located within one larger one which in turn is surrounded by the large henge earthwork. Also within the main circle are an alignment of megaliths and a cove, three giant stones forming a structure enclosed on three sides. Many of the stones are now missing, either buried or broken up for building material. Dating evidence suggests the stones were either erected at the same time as or later than the henge with dates between 2600 and 1600 BC (Gillings & Pollard 2004:46). The Avenue runs south-south east along the B4003 from the Avebury Henge to the village of West Kennett at GR SU111684. Evidence has also been found of another avenue, subsequently removed, running southwest from Avebury towards Beckhampton Long Barrow at GR SU086691 (Gillings & Pollard 2004:3, Pryor 2003:241).



Fig. 13: Map of the Avebury area (Ordnance Survey 2008)

4.4.1 The Significance of Avebury

Avebury has played a pivotal role in the development of British antiquarianism and hence both British archaeology and British Druidry. On a hunt in the area John Aubrey came upon the stones in 1649 and was inspired to investigate them (Hutton 2009:66; Gillings & Pollard 2004:136). Subsequently, in 1743 William Stukely ascribed the construction of the henge and stone circle to the Druids beginning the association of the site with Druidism (Bahn 1996:46; Gillings & Pollard 2004:140). In 1899 Harold St. George Gray began archaeological fieldwork to establish a reliable estimation of Avebury's antiquity. His discovery of Neolithic pottery dated the henge and stones to the Neolithic (Gillings & Pollard 2004:170-171). Gray's work was concluded in 1922 and published in 1935 (Gillings & Pollard 2004:174). From 1924 elements of the archaeological landscape including Avebury were bought by Alexander Keiller, a fabulously wealthy entrepreneur who had made his money in the production of marmalade and had a passionate interest in both archaeology and witchcraft (Gillings & Pollard 2004:174-175). Keiller developed a strong working partnership with O.G.S. Crawford, one of the great pioneers of British field archaeology and between them they carried out extensive excavations of the area (Gillings & Pollard 2004:175-178). Keiller was not simply satisfied with knowing the archaeology of Avebury, he wanted to show it to people. He therefore began clearing large parts of the village, demolishing buildings and re-erecting fallen stones, even cementing back together some shattered megaliths. Avebury, as Druids, tourists and archaeologists now see it, is therefore largely a product of Keiller's efforts (Gillings & Pollard 2004:178-183).

Earth Mysteries interpretations of Avebury as a power centre utilising or marking veins of earth energies seem to be common in the Pagan community. Pitts (1996:122-3) describes leaving a questionnaire at the vegetarian Stones Restaurant in Avebury to which fifteen out of 193 respondents believed that the Avebury Stones had been erected to mark a Ley Line. Pitts' (1996:123) survey also suggested that 60% of his respondents considered the Stones to be a place of power. 18 out of 193 respondents, in the most popular interpretation of why the stones were built, described it as a temple to the Mother Goddess. Michael Dames (1977:176-209), an

Art Historian, proposed an interpretation of Avebury as symbolic of a universal Neolithic Great Goddess using folklore, myth, anthropological parallels and historical and archaeological material. Although these interpretations have come to be seen as problematical in the archaeological community, they have been incorporated into Pagan narratives and beliefs. One strong element of this interpretation of Avebury as a Goddess landscape is the previously mentioned symbolism of Silbury Hill as the womb of a pregnant Earth, Mother or Fertility Goddess (see Cope 1998:195, 202; Trubshaw 2005:140). An example of how this interpretation of Avebury as a Goddess temple is used and reinforced is the Gorsedd ceremony held there since 1993. I shall explain these ceremonies in more detail in section 4.4.3. but they include the priestess representing The Goddess sitting on the large stone known as The Devil's Chair, situated just to the east of the southern entrance to the circle. This stone therefore took on the significance, to at least some Pagans, of the sacred place of The Goddess.

4.4.2 Protecting and Managing Avebury

Avebury, like Stonehenge, was among the first sites to be scheduled under Sir John Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 (Her Majesty's Government 1882). From 1924 Keiller excavated and re-erected buried stones demolishing several buildings to facilitate viewing the stones. Keiller may be considered most responsible for the experience of Avebury as visitors find it today (Gillings & Pollard 2004:174). In 1941, Keiller abandoned his work on Avebury and in 1943 he sold the land to the National Trust which continues to manage it as a heritage site with two museums and a gift shop (Blain & Wallis 2007:52; Pitts 1996:117-120; Pollard & Reynolds 2002:180). In 1986 Avebury was included with Stonehenge as a World Heritage Site registered with UNESCO (1992).

4.4.3 Pagan Use of the Site

It is hard to say when people identifying themselves as Pagan began to use the site for rituals. Terry Dobney, a local Druid who describes himself, and is acknowledged by some, as 'Keeper of the Stones' claims to have been conducting ritual there since 1969 (Blain & Wallis 2007:66). Pagan gatherings there prior to the mid-1980s appear to have been small enough to go unnoticed (Sebastion 2001:128). However, all this

was to change radically after Stonehenge was closed to Solstice celebrants. Worthington (2005b:217) explains that the Dongas (eco-protestors from Twyford Down) began to perform their Summer Solstice rituals at Avebury during the late 1980s after they were denied access to Stonehenge. In 1993 Philip Shallcrass of the British Druid Order held a public initiation ceremony for new bardic initiates (p.c. Shallcrass 2011; Pitts 1996:125). When far more people stepped forward to be initiated than were expected, Shallcrass realised that there was an enthusiasm for public ritual. They began a multi-faith Bardic focused event which held ritual at the four Fire Festivals, the Equinoxes and the Solstices.

When I attended these rituals in the 1990s, the attendees met at 'The Stones' vegetarian restaurant at twelve noon on the Sunday closest to the festival. The group would then split into two parties. The goddess party would move directly a quarter turn anti-clockwise to the stone known as The Devil's Chair (fig. 14 below) where the priestess would be enthroned representing the Earth Goddess (this ritual praxis is also described by Blain & Wallis 2007:64-69).



Fig. 14: Devil's Chair stone at Avebury (Author's photograph)

Meanwhile the god party would circle three quarters round clockwise singing and drumming all the way. They would gather around the seated priestess and take it in turns to make an offering to her. These offerings were most often in the form of poetry or flowers but sometimes in the form of food which would be taken to be shared at the circle which followed. After the priestess had welcomed the god party and received their offerings, all would process to an open area within the stone circle where the people would form a circle. Spiritual guardians were invoked at the cardinal compass points. Shallcrass (p.c. 2011) explained that he preferred to have a Heathen invoke the Germanic gods at the north, A Christian invoke his or her god at the east and a Druid, Shaman or Wiccan at each of the other two directions. A brief explanation was made of the season and its significance followed by raising of spiritual power for peace and love. The liturgical elements were generally ones used throughout Wiccan and Druid groups with one or two elements from Iolo Morgannwg's Bardic writings. Bread and mead were passed around and the attendees sat down on the grass as members performed songs, music and poetry in the eisteddfod (Bardic performance). At the end many of those gathered would head towards the Red Lion pub at the centre of the village for a drink and a chat.

4.4.4 Contesting the Site

Contestation of Avebury has not been the clear cut battle between the Pagans and the heritage managers which has characterised Stonehenge. Avebury demonstrates a subtle interplay of interested parties where the heritage managers, in this case the National Trust, are more likely to find themselves mediating between other groups.

4.4.4.1 Locals Versus Incomers

Shallcrass (p.c. 2011) explained that when there were relatively small numbers of pilgrims attending during the 1990s, he would ask National Trust officials where he might be allowed to camp and was told he could camp on the verge of the ridgeway. He suggested that the problem arose due to increased numbers of pilgrims who camped without asking and spent the whole night drumming near people's homes. He explained that after Stonehenge was re-opened numbers at Avebury massively increased to 1000-1500 for Summer Solstice celebrations resulting in some animosity

from the villagers. Hutton (in an interview with Bender 1998:186) Described the National Trust as 'right in the middle' and 'getting the blame' having to mediate between residents wanting peace and quiet, police wanting to prevent antisocial behaviour, local authorities and emergency services needing to keep roads open and Pagans wanting to hold ritual. In 2006 the District Council threatened legal action to force The Trust to close the Avebury car park to high-sided vehicles and to prohibit camping on their land at Avebury (BBC News 2007; This Is Wiltshire 2009). In 2009, a news report reporting the overturning of the ban explained that 'In 2005 and 2006, residents complained of chaos and anti- social behaviour with complaints of drunken revellers urinating in gardens, rubbish left everywhere and emergency service vehicles unable to get through the village' (This Is Bristol 2009). However, since 2009 limited camping has been permitted in part of the overflow car park at Pagan festival dates. I attended one of these at the Autumn Equinox of 2011 and found the camping area populated by counter-cultural visitors, not all of whom went to the ceremonies or even considered themselves Pagan. Several described the festivals as 'a time to hang out with old friends' or as 'being like old times on the road'. In the evening several campers got drunk and some were smoking cannabis. This presumably is part of what is referred to as antisocial behaviour but one anonymous interviewee informed me there were also incidents of vandalism at the public toilets in the village.

4.4.4.2 Pagans Versus Pagans

When I attended a British Druid Order led Gorsedd of Bards of Caer Abiri at Avebury in 1994, attendees were invited to attend a camp they were holding at a campsite in Calne. I attended the camp and paid what I felt was a reasonable charge of about £15 to £20 for the night. I found the event convivial and entertaining with friendly people and good music. However, late that evening someone on the more counter-cultural side of the Druid community, upset at having to pay for a spiritual experience either committed or threatened to commit violence against the organisers and the police were called. Members of the counter-cultural wing of Druidry subverted the Gorsedd of Bards of Caer Abiri's motto 'In the spirit of freedom and for the freedom of spirit' suggesting that the BDO was motivated by profit. They set up their own event calling themselves the Free and Open Gorsedd of Bards of Caer Abiri. Hutton (in an interview with Bender 1998:186) describes an incident at Midsummer 1997 when the

self-styled Druid Chiefs of Wessex (most likely referring to Pendragon, Maughfling and possibly Sebastian) gave speeches about access to Stonehenge and anti-road protests. They were shouted down by the assembled pilgrims who wanted rituals, music and to practise their spirituality rather than to be subjected to political haranguing. This denial of politics by the BDO had already brought about trouble within CoBDO causing the Order to leave the council in 1996 (Hutton 2006:256). There remained antagonism between the more politically active orders and the BDO with the former heckling the latter during ceremonies (Shallcrass 1996:31). Shallcrass was subsequently told by an anonymous email that 'If he muscled in at Avebury, he would be muscled out' (p.c. Shallcrass 2011).



Fig. 15: Tea light candles and flowers left in West Kennett Long Barrow. Examples of ritual rubbish left behind (Author's photograph)

There is another issue that divides different Pagan factions. Restall Orr (1996:26-8) wrote deploring large quantities of ritual rubbish left behind after rituals at ancient sites (see fig. 15). Like Damh the bard of OBOD (2013) I would divide such deposits into two categories: offerings, such as votive plaques and flowers, and ritual debris, such as tea light bases and food packaging. One of the first ancient sites I visited as a self-identifying Pagan was Wayland's Smithy, a long barrow beside the Ridgeway not far from the Uffington White Horse near Swindon. It was in the early 1990s and other Pagans were few and far between. As a Pagan I felt isolated and perhaps slightly threatened. It was therefore a joyous thing to see that other Pagans had been there before me. Little pools of wax from candles in the dust of the barrow chamber floor, wilting flowers and a paper plate with a pentagram drawn on it were carefully laid out within the end chamber. As an archaeologist, I sometimes wonder if our desire to preserve and keep tidy these sites is not depriving the archaeologists of the future of evidence of how people in the early 21st century are living. There are also some Pagans who use chalk to draw sacred symbols at sites, presumably in order to be easily removable, though other Pagans deplore the practice (e.g. Restall Orr 1996:26-8; Damh the Bard 2013). Blain & Wallis (2007:56-59) describe groups of local Pagans who visit the Avebury monuments specifically to clean up after other Pagans.

4.4.4.3 The Role of Heritage Managers in Contesting Avebury

As custodians of the site, The National Trust has frequently had to deal with problems arising from its spiritual significance. I have already explained how the Trust was the target of legal action to prevent camping at the site to avoid vandalism and anti-social behaviour in the village. However, vandalism has also been directed at the stones themselves. On the 19th of June 1996 strange linear patterns were painted on several stones in the Avenue (Bender 1998:187-8). Blain and Wallis (2007:55) and Green (1997:178) record that both the mainstream and the archaeological Press (e.g. *Antiquity* 1996:501) seemed to assume that the vandalism was perpetrated by Pagans or New Agers. I have always been dubious about this interpretation partially because the style was not like anything I had seen in any contemporary Pagan contexts and to almost all Pagans it would have seemed sacrilegious to do such a thing (See Green 1997:162). Shallcrass (p.c. 2011) explained to me that a person

purporting to be an art student had been seen the morning after the discovery of the damage with wet paint on his clothing. Subsequently just before the Summer Solstice in 1999 campaigners against genetically modified crops painted two of the same stones previously attacked with slogans (Kennedy 1999). Blain & Wallis (2007:70-73) emphasise disputes over preservation of and access to Silbury Hill but in my fieldwork I found the most important issue to be camping and parking.

4.4.5 Avebury Solutions

Times have changed and Pagans are a much more visible and accepted part of British society than they used to be (Rathouse unpublished). A Pagan ritual was even incorporated into the closing ceremony of the London Paralympics in September 2012. Philips' (2010) rant against the Charity Commission's recognition of Druidry as a religion, and especially the angry online response to it serves to illustrate how much Paganism has become part of the subcultural mosaic which makes up contemporary British society.



Fig. 16: Sign at Avebury Stones (Author's photograph)

Pagan pilgrims have become part of the human environment at Avebury and the management of the site by the National Trust acknowledges its significance as a sacred site as shown on the sign in fig. 16 above. Attempts to exclude people wanting to camp appear not to have been continued and an atmosphere of tolerance appears to have prevailed at events I have attended there between 2008 and 2013.

4.5 Theorising Contestation of Access

In this section I shall analyse and attempt to explain why access to sites such as Stonehenge and Avebury has been contested.

4.5.1 Why Demand Access

I have chosen to present the demands for access to sites by Pagan groups in two sections: the first based on spiritual praxis and beliefs, which I have entitled spiritual reasons, and the second based on perceptions of differential treatment from followers of other religions or spiritualities or interference with religious freedoms, which I have entitled political reasons.

4.5.1.1 Spiritual Reasons

The spiritual reasons Pagans demand access to Stonehenge are tied in with the activities they perform there. Worthington (2005a:124) and Chippindale (1986:45) refer to Pagan Free Festival attendees holding baby namings and handfasting (informal wedding) ceremonies there (see also Worthington & Dearling 2005:18-22). Druid groups also hold seasonal rituals at the stones and I have attended the investiture of an Archdruid there. Stonehenge is seen as a site of special power and sacred significance and many Pagans accept geomantic, earth mystery ideas about earth energies associated with the site (Worthington 2005a:169, Glastonbury Order of Druids 1992:29). Any ritual or magical acts performed at the stones are therefore believed to be empowered by these energies. It has also been suggested that energising sacred sites may bring about shifts in overall human consciousness with beneficial consequences for all (p.c. Daughton 2012; Maughfling 2000a:4-5; Wallis 2003:145). Even for those who doubt that Stonehenge taps into currents of earth energy, may believe the site to be spiritually empowered by the activities of people in

the past (Wallis 2003:145). The strong sense of community which interviewees described as being part of the Stonehenge Free Festival and which they ascribe to continuing events at Stonehenge and Avebury is not to be underestimated. Pagans may feel somewhat isolated much of the time and many do not have regular local groups or events. For these and for others attending large events at sites like these provides a sense of belonging that may be lacking in much of their lives.

4.5.1.2 Political Reasons

These reasons for demanding access largely hinge on a perceived disparity of treatment between Pagans and followers of Abrahamic religions. Several Pagan interviewees asserted that exclusion or obstruction of Christian worshippers at major cathedrals, mosques or synagogues would neither be attempted nor tolerated and that the same courtesy should be extended to them. Indeed the campaign to overturn the Stonehenge exclusion zone described in section 4.3.5.7 involved an occupation of Winchester Cathedral to highlight this disparity (Pendragon & Stone 2003:106-108). It is possible that, as with contestation of human remains (See section 8.4.1), contestation of access to sites has been inspired or supported by contestation of site management by indigenous groups overseas. Skeates (2000:78) records American Indian objections to proposals to manage one of their sacred sites as a tourist resource and a compromise being reached to allow exclusive spiritual use at certain times.

I also suggest that there is a desire among some of the more political and counter-cultural Pagans to wrest control from hostile authority or at the very least to show those who do have decision making powers regarding these sites that any attempt to interfere with their freedom of religious expression will be met with vociferous protest. I also argue, like Cooper (2010:141-155) and Hutton (2007:198-202), that the perception of a threatening authority and campaigns against it provide a small degree of community cohesion. Furthermore I believe that religious groups who see themselves as oppressed view attacks from hostile outsiders as a validation of their religious values. This accords closely with the phenomenon Magglicco (2004:185-204) describes as the 'romance of subdominance'. Similar traits may be observed in fundamentalist Christian groups courting public disapprobation to strengthen the

boundaries between members and non-members and to reinforce theological denigration of outsiders as antithetical to their values. Louis Theroux said of the Westboro Baptist Church 'In their world being hated is proof that they are doing the right thing' (aclipDump 2011)

4.5.2 Why Oppose Access?

Perhaps the most common argument made for restriction or limitation of access to ancient sites is to prevent damage and preserve them for future generations (Skeates 2000:62-71). At Stonehenge, Avebury and similar sites attrition by the erosive effect of visitors' footfall, especially on earthworks, is a particular concern (Golding 2000:259; Timothy 2007:xiii). It has also been alleged that orthostats at Stonehenge were being undermined by burrowing animals such as rats and rabbits encouraged to settle there in the 19th century as a result of the availability of food from picnic detritus (*Heritage: The Battle for Britain's Past* 2013)

In my interview with him, Peter Carson (p.c. 2008) explained that part of his role was to provide 'balanced and equal access' to Stonehenge for everyone. Some of his predecessors and indeed other parties including, as mentioned in section 4.3.5.4, Daniel (1992:25, 28, 34, 42, 51, 59, 126, 130, 173) have argued that Druids and Pagans should not be allowed free access when others have to pay and are kept at a distance. He argued like Mason & Kuo (2006:184-5) that to give Druids privileged access would confer what he considered an unjustified legitimacy on what he considered a bogus pseudo-religion. They assert that other visitors would feel cheated if Druids and hippies were allowed free access (Mason & Kuo 2006:184). Section 4.3.5.4 shows the arguments for not allowing large numbers of people in amongst the stones centre on preservation (Worthington 2005a:133, Chippindale 1986:45) but Maughfling (1997:4) alleges that the Festival was suppressed to enhance profitability of Stonehenge as an attraction and hence support the finances of English Heritage. Somers (p.c. 2010) too is critical of the way Stonehenge is managed describing it as a 'tourist trap'. Such arguments are, to some extent at least, supported by heritage specialists within academia who point out the economic nature of the heritage industry and its reliance on tourism (e.g. Carman 2005:52; Harrison 2010:16-21; Hewison 1987:97-105; Skeates 2000:72-73).

4.5.3 Why Are Other Sites Not Contested In This Way?

There can be specific benefits of having visiting pilgrims in an area. A significant proportion of shops in the lower end of Glastonbury High Street cater to the needs of spiritual visitors to the town (Ivakhiv 2001:67-69) and even Avebury itself sustains two gift shops which, to judge by the range of books and jewellery in stock, benefit greatly from Pagan visitors. Even the post office there sells mead which staff described as being popular with pilgrims.

Recent heritage sites are far more likely to have an entrance charge than prehistoric ones. In a survey of the first 40 English Heritage sites listed alphabetically, 12 post-Roman sites levied entrance charges as opposed to 13 that did not charge, 2 Roman sites charged and 4 did not but only one pre-Roman charged as opposed to 6 which did not. I suggest that this is probably largely due to the expense inherent in conserving and maintaining later sites especially those which are not in a ruinous state. Recent heritage sites are unlikely to be considered sacred by new religious movements but Pendragon and Stone (2003:106-108) argue that churches which are also considered heritage sites do not charge visitors who come to worship. I would dispute the implication that this is true of all heritage churches: St Paul's Cathedral in London charges for access to areas not used for spiritual purposes (St. Paul's Cathedral nd) as does Salisbury Cathedral (Salisbury Cathedral nd) and most church services of my experience take a voluntary collection. Stonehenge and Avebury are partially victims of their own success in that their fame brings risk of erosion through visitor numbers (Golding 2000:259; Timothy 2007:xiii). Since more remote sites do not receive the same volume of visitors and therefore less attrition, there appears not to be the same need to manage access.

4.5.4 Assessing the Claims

I shall address claims regarding the ownership of sites such as Stonehenge and Avebury in Chapter 6. This section examines the contestation of access.

Some Pagans have questioned the legality of English Heritage's entrance charge to Stonehenge, arguing that the deed of gift through which Cecil Chubb donated the site

to the nation limits the entrance charge to a maximum of one shilling (5p) per person (Loyal Arthurian Warband 2009; Worthington 2005a:61). What this price translates to in modern terms is arguable but the principle of charging for entrance to the monument was established when it first came into government ownership. The political counter-cultural Druids are ideologically opposed to profit being made from Pagan spirituality (Pendragon & Stone 2003:105-106; see also section 4.4.4.2) and hence object to being charged money to enter Stonehenge (See Maughfling 2000a:4). They perceive unfairness in that they are charged entry to sites they consider sacred while Christians entering the spiritual areas of Christian sacred/heritage sites are not normally forced to pay is seen as particularly unfair (Pendragon & Stone 2003:106-108).

Skeates (2000:118-124) and Tarlow (2001:58-59) both emphasise the importance of inclusivity in archaeology and heritage and it is perhaps on this basis that the best case is made to permit access to Stonehenge for Druid groups. Skeates (2000:109) questions whether archaeology deserves to receive state funding if citizens are excluded.

4.5.5 Options for the Future

Certainly few archaeologists would seek to prevent American Indians or Australian Aborigines from gaining access to the sites they have long considered sacred. Indeed, indigenous groups have frequently been included in management of such sites (Coleman 2013:156-175; Carmichael et al 1994:5-7; Davidson 1995:3-5; McDavid 2002:310-312, 2009:217-234; O'Regan 1994:95-106). Arguments have been made (e.g. Schadla Hall 2004:264; Daniel 1992:25, 28, 34, 42, 51, 59, 126, 130, 173) that the recent genesis of contemporary Druidry (disputed by some Druids) justifies dismissal of their claims. The fact that groups identifying themselves as Druids have now been holding ceremonies at Stonehenge for over 100 years indicates that Druidry is no passing fad. Neither the issue nor the Druids are going to go away.

I had hoped that the construction of the new visitors centre and the Stonehenge landscape detailed in section 4.3.3 might improve relations in the future. There was

off-the-record speculation from English Heritage workers and others that the visitors centre and parking would be what visitors paid for and that fences would be removed, allowing free access to the stones themselves. However a site visit in October 2014 revealed that fences, now topped with barbed wire, were still in place to prevent non-paying visitors from approaching near the stones. The contested closure of the drove (Pitts 2011a) may be part of a strategy to funnel tourist visitors through the visitors centre rather than restricting Solstice celebrants. Perhaps if they are willing to camp a little further away from the stones, Solstice celebrants may be able to have increased freedom of access at major festivals. A job advert on the English Heritage website seen in the summer of 2013 for a volunteer co-ordinator suggested to me that members of the Druid and traveller communities might be recruited as volunteers to tell the stories of their involvement in the social history of the site and to present alternative interpretations of the site.

Rayner (2012:15) suggests that the organisation of Stonehenge managed open access might learn from the Kumbh Mela festival in India where millions of pilgrims set up camp on the banks of the River Ganges. Criticisms of heavy handed security at MOA might be addressed by training police and security staff to follow the example set by Indian police officers whom the BBC News (2013a) reports as being 'encouraged to welcome pilgrims with a smile'. The news report may also be said to demonstrate that far larger gatherings than currently attend Stonehenge are manageable.

The situation at Avebury is more complex than with Stonehenge with local residents living within the stone circle. However, the principle of a round table committee at which all interested parties can meet to discuss the management of access may serve to defuse tensions and resolve conflicts at an earlier stage. Similarly other sites where there are issues surrounding access may benefit from adopting such an approach.

The persistence of the contestation of the Stonehenge exclusion zone from 1985 and its success in persuading English Heritage to permit managed open access should leave no-one in any doubt that the Pagan campaigners are unlikely to give up and go

away if they are ignored by decision makers. Indeed, I argue that to exclude them from decision making regarding the site can only lead to worsening of relations not merely at Stonehenge but at other sites as well. I would agree with Blain and Wallis (2007:209-210) that continuous dialogue is the only viable way forward

4.6 Conclusions

I believe that Stonehenge has been of paramount importance in shaping relations between the contemporary Pagan community and the archaeological and heritage professions. Denial and contestation of access to Stonehenge and Avebury for the community of regular pilgrims has served to reinforce a powerful Pagan narrative of oppression built on fear of discrimination and attack (see sections 1.2.3.3 and 1.2.3.4). This narrative of oppression has dominated Pagan ideas of self-identity and forms the basis of Magliocco's (2004:185-204) 'romance of subdominance', a narrative of brave pious Pagans standing against overwhelming odds (Greenwood 2000:5 explains similar identification in the UK). Although contestation of access to Stonehenge goes back before the First World War, the levels of violence displayed in suppressing the Free Festival and the subsequent denial of access (See Section 4.3.5.6) have placed the heritage managers and those archaeologists who have supported them in this endeavour firmly in the camp of the oppressor within the minds of many Pagans, especially the more counter-cultural ones. The more integrated Pagans have been happy to avail themselves of charged special access arrangements at Stonehenge but the counter-cultural camp have campaigned for and achieved free and open access at festivals. Their next battle over Stonehenge surrounds the excavation, analysis and, contentiously, retention of human remains buried at the site. This issue will be examined in chapter 8.

Avebury demonstrates a mode of management which, while not devoid of tension, shows that the National Trust has been able to reach a compromise with Pagan pilgrims although its ability to position itself between the Pagans and some locals seeking to exclude them may have helped in this. I had hoped that the move of the Stonehenge visitors centre to Airman's Corner (see section 4.5.5) might be accompanied by removal of some fences surrounding Stonehenge and that this would relieve tensions further. However the fences have been replaced enclosing an

area which was the A360 road removing non-paying visitors further from the stones. Furthermore, new contestation has emerged surrounding displays of human remains at the visitors centre which will be examined in Section 8.5.2.

In the United States and Australia we have seen that first nations and other subordinated ethnic groups are included in management of sites of significance to them. Pagans might be deemed different to a perceived elective alterity (choosing to be different) from the cultural mainstream but I contend that since Pagans indeed form a distinct subculture or counter culture (section 1.2.2) of significant numbers (section 1.2.3) and that they should therefore not be excluded. Inclusion is complicated by divisions within Pagan groups as exemplified at Avebury (Section 4.4.4.2).

Many acknowledged experts on Stonehenge prefer to concentrate on the archaeology and avoid the politically sensitive issue of access but others including Worthington (2005:133), Fowler (1990:151-155) and Bender (1998:114-115) have written on the subject. They all acknowledged that the exclusion of Pagans and festival-goers from Stonehenge was presented in terms of a perceived need to protect the stones but Worthington and Bender in particular are sceptical of reality of this perception. In the next chapter I shall describe how Pagans and archaeologists have both sought to protect sites from development and how some Pagans have sought to protect them from archaeologists. Subsequently in chapter 6 I shall examine the importance of including different narratives in the interpretation of sites.

Chapter 5: Sites – Preservation and Protection

5.1 Introduction

The idea of preservation is one common to contemporary Pagans, heritage managers and archaeologists. Perhaps the most commonly shared value in the Pagan community is that of valuing the earth as deity and as environment. It is frequently expressed as 'we do not own the world, but borrow it from those yet to come' (Brown 2012:211). Heritage professionals seek to promote knowledge and enjoyment of sites by all but with the equally important aim of preserving them for generations to come. Archaeologists seek to expand knowledge about the past and acknowledge that excavation techniques in use are intrinsically destructive. However, they are keen to preserve information about the past even if in some cases it is by record rather than in situ. In this chapter I shall examine how the protection of sites has been contested. In some cases Pagans, archaeologists and heritage professionals have all sought similarly to preserve sites threatened by development but in other cases Pagans have sought to oppose archaeological excavation of sites. The case studies included were select at least partially for ease of access but also to ensure comparison between different situations. Nine ladies and Thornborough were both chosen as protection from development case studies because people directly involved in the protests were already known to me. Crossbones was subsequently brought to my attention at the TAG 2010 conference and provided an urban site to contrast with the more rural sites. The Seahenge timber circle was included as it was the site which inspired me to investigate the contestation of sites. Nevern was local to me and constituted a site which, like Crossbones, was not thought to have been a pre-Christian sacred site. Having examined these in detail, I shall then examine how contestation of such sites may be understood and addressed.

5.1.1 Defining Protection and Preservation

Heritage organisations including museums generally seek to keep monuments, buildings, landscapes and artefacts from the past in the same or better condition than they receive them (see English Heritage and Cadw mission statements in section 1.2.4.4). Threats such as development, erosion, vandalism and degradation by wear

and tear are prevented or mitigated (Timothy 2007:xii-xiii). In some cases (as discussed in section 4.5.3) sites may be reconstructed to a greater or lesser extent. Bearing in mind the destructive nature of archaeological fieldwork, it should be no surprise that the extent to which a site has already been excavated will greatly affect how the preservation of its setting, context and the land surrounding and within it are protected. Generally speaking the less archaeological fieldwork has been done the keener the heritage managers will be to ensure that the land remains undisturbed.

It has been my experience from field interviews that Pagans are also keen to preserve ancient sites. They idealise preserving them for future generations; the saying ascribed to the American Indian Chief Seattle, though probably originating from Moses Henry Cass, an Australian politician, (Quote Investigator 2013) 'We do not inherit the earth from our ancestors; we borrow it from our children' being a guiding principle. However, Pagan ideas of preservation may also include factors such as earth energies and spiritual power of place (p.c. Nolan 2012) and maintaining the integrity of elements such as human remains (p.c. Sommers 2010). Preservation of earth energies and spiritual power may be deemed to benefit from continuing usage of sites for ritual and celebration (Wallis 2003:145).

5.1.2 State Protection and Preservation of Ancient Sites in the UK

Ancient monuments are considered to have intrinsic value partly because of their rarity, but also because they embody material evidence of the historical narratives through which societies and nations construct their sense of identity (Harrison 2010:12-13). The obvious answer to the question 'who are they preserved for?' would seem to be everyone in that society or nation. Certainly The National Trust (ndb) and English Heritage would support this contention with Payne (p.c. 2009) suggesting that everyone, including generations to come, is a stakeholder (also implied in Thackray & Payne 2009:16). Harrison (2010:16-25) also emphasises the importance of heritage as an economic resource particularly via tourism.

Carman (2005:117-121) suggests that the commodification of heritage sites as tourism assets in the exclusive ownership of the state or quangos like English Heritage is contrary to values of inclusivity and that such sites should be considered

unownable and free for all. He proposes that such a system of non-ownership brings about a widespread (perhaps even universal) 'recognition of social value' (Carman 2005:120) which I shall examine in detail in section 6.4.3.

I argue that sites are preserved for the general public in a limited way in that public access (albeit often for a fee) is often a priority (e.g. English Heritage ndb). Heritage organisations, particularly those in receipt of government funding, also prioritise research (English Heritage nda) possibly implying that sites are held for researchers more than for the general public.

The protection of at least some ancient sites in the UK is enshrined in British Law. In the latter part of the 19th century antiquarians and archaeologists increasingly campaigned to protect ancient sites from damage or alteration. Sir John Lubbock (later ennobled as Lord Avebury) proposed the 1882 Ancient Monuments Act (Her Majesty's Government 1882). The Act provided legal protection for listed monuments by making an offence of damaging or defacing monuments on the accompanying Schedule unless permitted by the owner. It has been updated several times since culminating in the 1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (Her Majesty's Government 1979). This Act makes it an offence to demolish, damage or destroy monuments on the schedule or to remove, repair or alter them or parts of them without permission of the relevant Secretary of State. It also forbids tipping or flooding on scheduled land without similar permission. Enforcement of the Act is left largely to the statutory heritage agencies (e.g. English Heritage and Cadw) who arrange periodic inspections of the monuments in their area (English Heritage 2009b:9-17). More recently, years of hard lobbying by archaeologists brought about changes in the law via the 1990 Town and Country Planning Act and the 1991 Planning and Compensation Act, which incorporate requirements for developers to undertake responsibility for checking sites for archaeological importance and for employing archaeological contractors to preserve by record any remains destroyed by development (Barber et al 2008: 1, 19-21; Carman 1996:140-141; Everill 2009:22-33; Spoerry 1993:13-14). This process is known as rescue archaeology and is usually carried out by archaeological contract companies (Barber et al 2008: 1, 19-21; Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:39, 42; Everill 2009:22-33; Skeates 2000:73-77). The

initial regulations codifying this requirement in England and Wales were known as Public Policy Guidance notes 15 and 16 (PPG 15 and PPG 16) (see Barber et al 2008:30-31; Carman 1996:140-141; Everill 2009:22-33; Grenville 1993:126; Spoerry 1993:32-37) but these were replaced by Planning Policy Statement 5 (PPS 5) (Her Majesty's Government nd). PPS 5 was, in turn, superseded (in England) by the National Planning Policy Framework on the 27th of March 2012 (English Heritage 2012).

5.2 Protection from Development

In this section I shall examine how sites have been protected from development by Pagan campaigners. Protection of sites is one area where the aims of both Pagans and archaeology/heritage professionals conjoin and some co-operation may be expected. I shall assess how much actually took place and explain why there was not more co-operation. I believe the extent of co-operation is significant in being a product and indicator of underlying attitudes between heritage professionals, archaeologists and Pagans.

5.2.1 Case Study 1: Nine Ladies Stone Circle

Stanton Moor is an area of high ground in the Derbyshire Dales between Matlock and Bakewell in the north of England. Nine Ladies Stone Circle is situated on the north-eastern edge of the moor at grid reference SK249635 (circled in red in fig. 17 below). It consists of nine standing stones in a circle (fig. 18 below) with an outlying monolith in a clearing on high ground (Blain & Wallis 2007:125).

John Barnatt (1990:77) describes Nine Ladies as an embanked stone circle in a landscape of cairns. He explains that the monument consists of ten orthostats (standing stones) on the inside of a circular bank surrounds the remains of a cairn with an outlying orthostat 40m WSW of the main circle. Barnatt (1990:25-29) dates Nine Ladies, and the other stone circles in the area, to third and second millennia BC: from the late Neolithic into the earlier Bronze age.

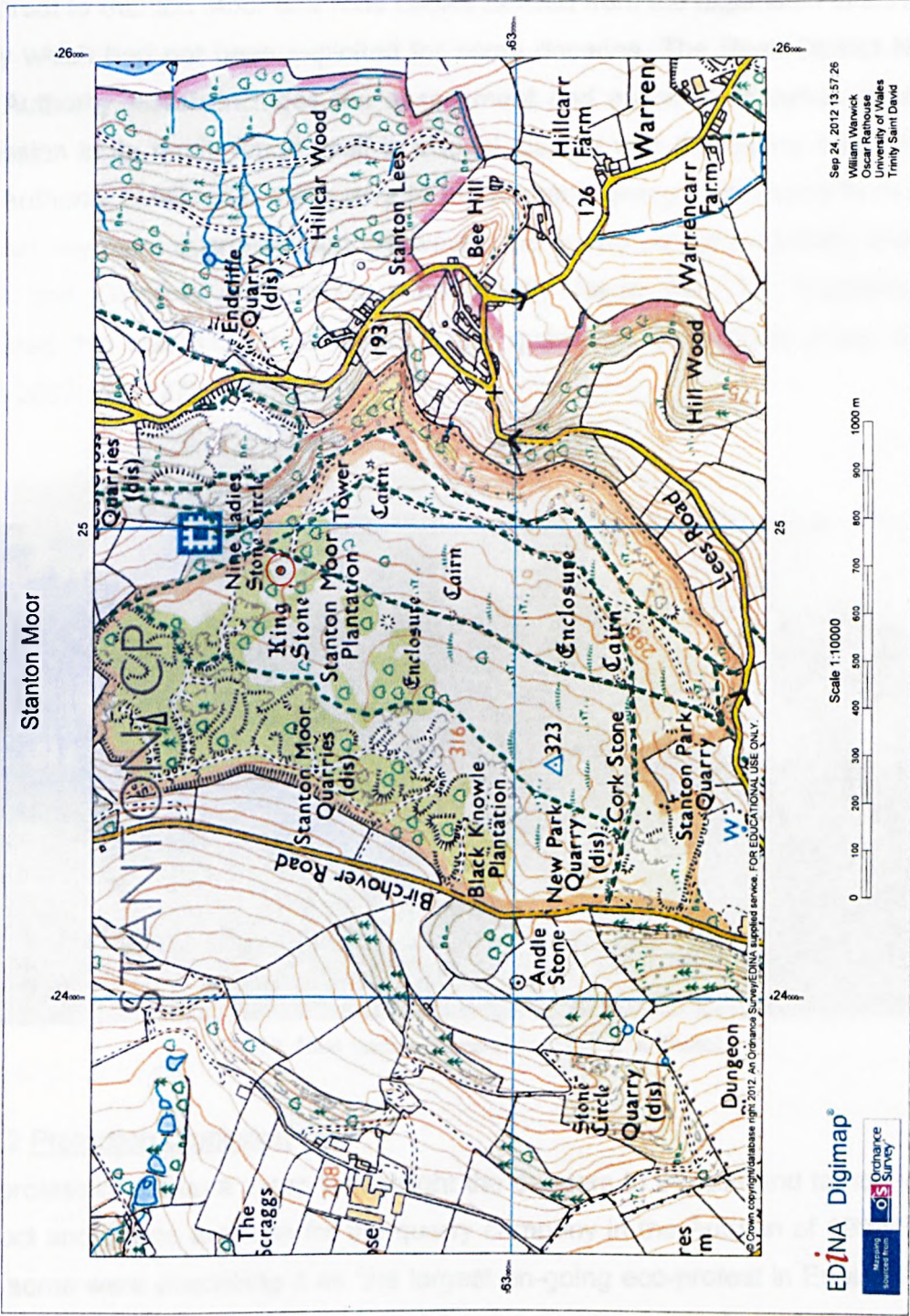


Fig. 17: Map of Stanton Moor showing Nine Ladies Stone Circle (Ordnance Survey via Digimap)

5.2.1.1 Threats to Nine Ladies

The threat to Stanton Moor and Nine Ladies derived from the expansion of an existing quarry which had not been exploited for some decades. The Peak District National Park Authority, which includes the assessment and approval or denial of planning permission in its remit, found itself in a legal dispute with the quarry company. The Park Authority considered the quarry to be dormant, giving them authority to restrict or forbid any more quarrying work. However, the quarry company (initially Standcliffe Stone and Glentotal Associates subsequently taken over by Marshalls PLC) contested this classification demanding the quarry be considered active (Blain & Wallis 2007:125-127).



Fig. 18: Nine Ladies Stone circle (Author's Photo)

5.2.1.2 Protection Campaign

Five protestors set up a camp to highlight the dangers to the site and to non-violently obstruct and create expense for the quarry company in the Autumn of 1999. By May 2000 some were describing it as 'the largest on-going eco-protest in England' (Blain & Wallis 2007:135). I was shown round the site and the area where the protest camp had been located by five former protestors, Alison, Dani, Blue, Sid and Loulou on the 24th April 2009. We parked the car on Lees Rd and walked up Dukes Drive track as the sites of protestors' benders, tents and tarps were pointed out to me. I asked Sid

about the religious identity of the protestors and to what extent they could be described as Pagan. He explained that one person self-identified as Pagan but the rest of them had their own religion. He told me they would pray to Binderella before going foraging for food in supermarket bins. I was told about sites of lock-ons where protestors had planned to chain themselves to concrete blocks in case of any attempts at eviction. This was a tried and tested strategy within the eco-protest movement, causing a great deal of wasted time and money for would be developers as they were obliged to remove the protestors without harming them (Pendragon & Stone 2003:135, 249). I asked to what extent local archaeologists had been involved in the protests and was told that they had not been. When I asked why, Sid explained to me that the protestors were a bit suspicious of the archaeologists. He suggested the archaeologists were too quick to tell them they were not allowed to do things like building shelters on top of mounds. He described an archaeological dig near the stones which only turned up recent votive deposits. Sid explained that he had felt somewhat put out when the stones were fenced off and he was not allowed to go among them during the dig. He also expressed unhappiness that archaeologists had removed children's bones from nearby Dol Tor.

5.2.1.3 Outcome

After a court case and an appeal, Standcliffe Stone/Marshalls PLC agreed in September 2008 to withdraw their request to quarry at Lees Cross and Endcliffe quarries and to manage the land to promote biodiversity in return for permission to quarry at Dale View quarry (BBC News 2008d). I have been unable to find any reports suggesting the degree of influence the protest camp had in persuading the quarry company to come to this compromise, but they must certainly have been aware of the financial costs of eco-protests in situations such as the Newbury Bypass and I would consider it highly likely that this was factored into their cost/benefit assessments. I would also consider it highly unlikely that they would be keen for it to be known that this was a factor lest it be an encouragement to future protestors.

5.2.2 Case Study 2: Thornborough Henges

The Thornborough Henges are situated between the towns of Ripon and Richmond in Yorkshire in grid square SE2879 (circled in red in fig. 20). Burl (2012:13, 60)

describes the sites as comprising three class IIA henges, meaning that each bank has ditches both inside and outside (see fig. 19). This style of henge is characteristic of eastern England. He remarks that the central henge is built on top of an earlier Neolithic cursus monument (Burl 2012:60), but the site map posted by Friends of Thornborough (ndb, fig. 21) shows a second cursus immediately to the east of the north-western henge, a barrow cemetery to the east of the second cursus and a double line of pits immediately to the west of the south eastern henge. Harding (2003:90) describes the henges as 'sadly neglected' and as defying conventional ideas on later Neolithic British cultures. She emphasises the association of these three henges not only with one another but also with Nunwick, Hutton Moor and Cana Barn Henges (Harding 2003:90-91). All six earthworks are located in the Vale of Mowbray close to the River Ure. Harding (2003:97-99) stresses the importance of the river in interpreting the henges. She emphasises the role of the river as a transport route for trading stone tools and as part of a travel network for pilgrims. She suggests that it had sacred or symbolic significance in a manner not dissimilar to Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina's (1998:316-318) theory regarding the River Avon connecting Durrington Walls to Stonehenge. As well as the late Neolithic henges and the two cursus monuments, the site also includes a double pit alignment and a round barrow cemetery (Friends of Thornborough ndb).

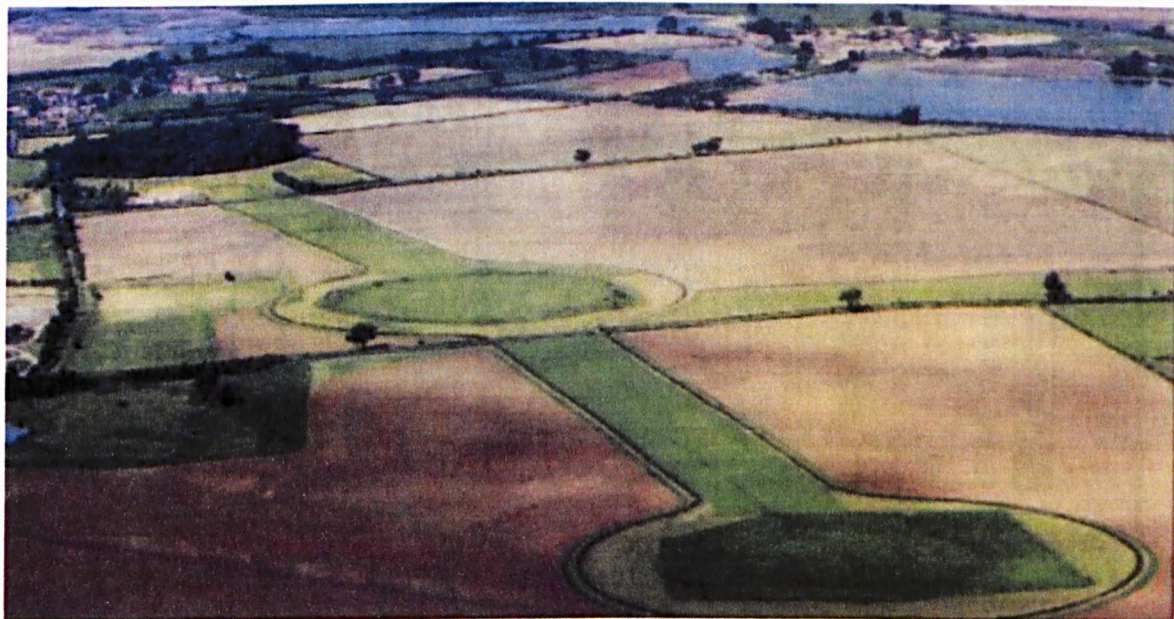


Fig. 19: Thornborough henges from the air (Friends of Thornborough nda)

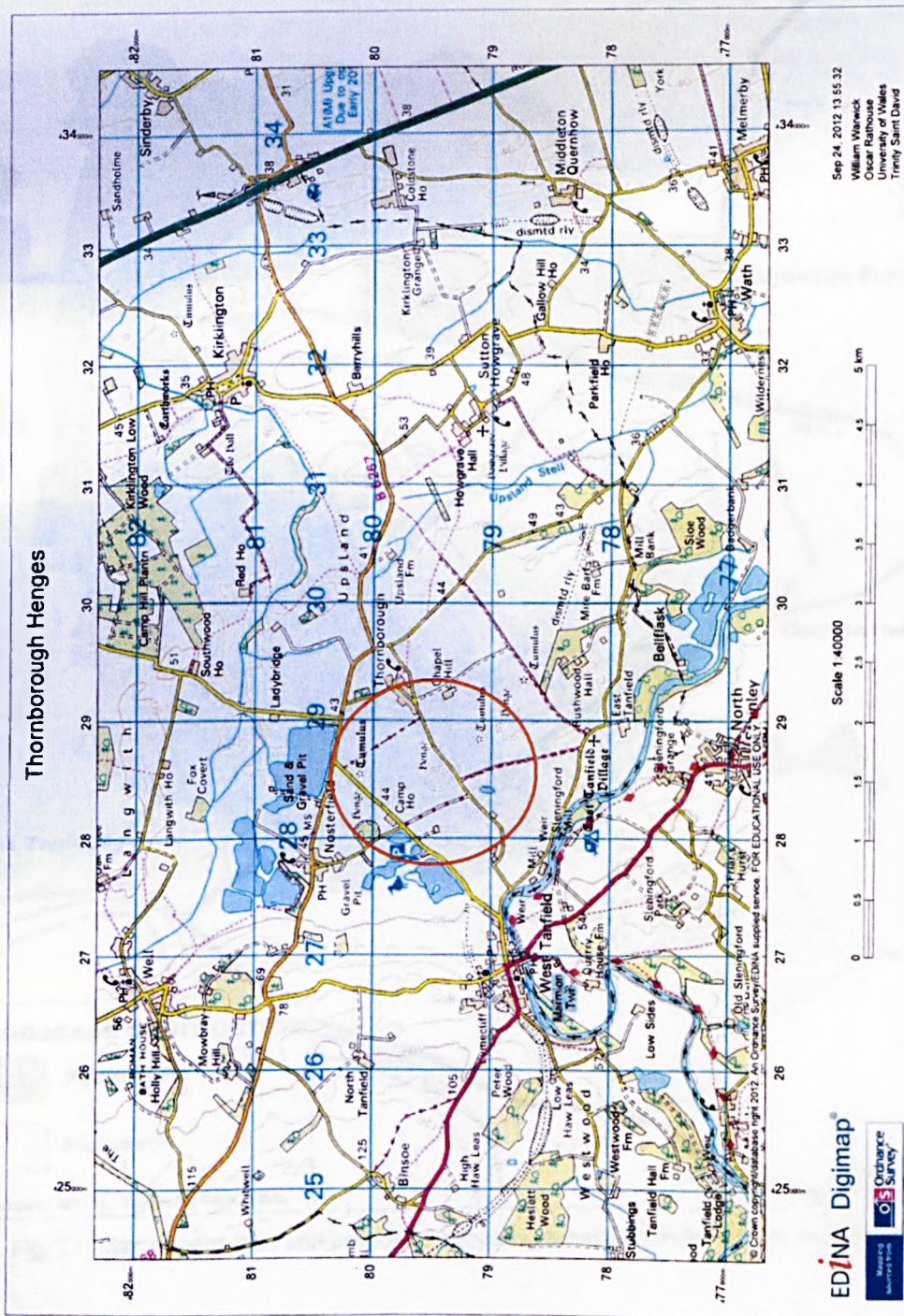


Fig. 20: Map showing location of Thornborough Henges (Ordnance Survey via Digimap)

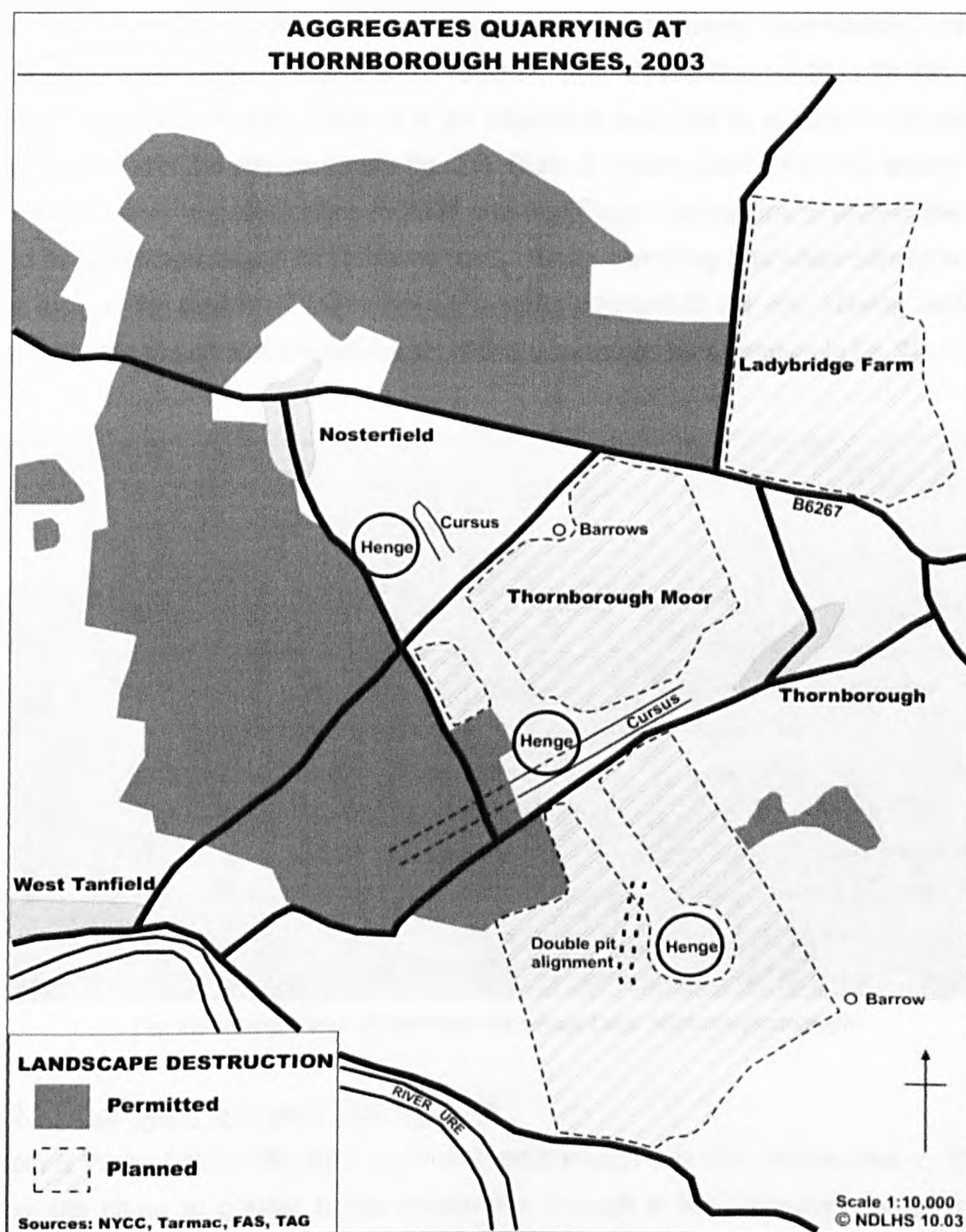


Fig. 21: Map of permitted and proposed quarrying areas (Friends of Thornborough ndb)

5.2.2.1 Threats to Thornborough

The actual henges themselves are scheduled ancient monuments and as such are protected by the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979. However,

large parts of the surrounding landscape have been earmarked for gravel quarrying by Blockstone/Marshalls PLC through extension of quarry permissions initially granted in 1955 (Blain & Wallis 2007:126-127, 145; Blease-Bourne 2011:78-79). The areas threatened include parts of a pit alignment and part of a cursus monument associated with the site (see map fig. 21). Blain & Wallis (2007:145-146) record that the issue came to public notice in 2004 and that Pagan campaigns to protect the site and its landscape began in the same year. Some quarrying has been carried out in the area in the past resulting in low lying areas adjacent to the site. Having visited I can attest to the environmental impact of these excavations as shown in fig. 22.



Fig. 22: Quarried area viewed from the henge bank (Author's photograph)

5.2.2.2 Campaign to Protect Thornborough

Blain & Wallis (2007:146) point out that Thornborough was little known prior to 2003. The site came to greater public awareness through a BBC television programme aired in 2004. Pagan events have been held there since 2003 (Blain & Wallis 2007:146). The conduct of the campaign to protect Thornborough has been different from that at Stanton Moor in that it has not involved large scale direct action. It began by focusing on dialogue, raising awareness and increasing Pagan ritual use of the

site (Blain & Wallis 2007:146-149). But it has since proceeded to challenge decisions through the courts (Friends of Thornborough ndc).

Blain & Wallis (2007:146) record that campaigners describe the campaign to protect the henges and their landscape setting as being 'based on ideas of how the henges relate to their landscape'. I have been unable to confirm this but have come across similar ideas among Pagans at other sites such as Tara and Stonehenge. This understanding of landscape resonates closely with, or may even derive from, Shanks and Tilley's ideas of hermeneutic phenomenology in archaeology (Tilley 2004:1-31). These theories interpret archaeological landscapes from an experiential perspective.

The RSPB had initially praised the manner in which Tarmac has attempted to mitigate the environmental impact on wildlife by restoring quarried out areas to wetland, but campaigners have been more critical, describing provision of created habitats as an insufficient substitute for leaving wildlife undisturbed (Blain & Wallis 2007:147). By March 2009 however, the RSPB was supporting the campaigners and even the RAF were becoming concerned about disturbance of bird behaviour causing damage to their aircraft (Yorkshire Post 2009)



Fig. 23: Beltane festival at Thornborough Henges. Craft market overseen by a man clad as an Iron Age warrior (Author's photograph)

I visited a Beltane event at Thornborough Henges on the second of May 2010 to find out what had been done to preserve the site. I spoke to a former eco-protestor who introduced himself as Oliver and he explained to me that Beltane festivals had been held there since 2003 to raise awareness and campaign against quarrying in the area. He explained that the farmer who works the land had initially been annoyed by the activity but quickly became supportive. Some campaigners were also initially concerned that the festival might harm the preservation campaign but Oliver explained that even Tarmac, the quarrying company, have assisted by providing toilet facilities.

Oliver told me that some of the campaigners were suspicious of the archaeologists, whom they suspected of being in the pay of Tarmac, and confirmed that there had been tension between the archaeologists and those he described as 'spiritual people'. He criticised the archaeologists for not making their findings about the site intelligible to the public and English Heritage for not appearing to care and appearing aloof. George, another campaigner, asserted that archaeologists were used by corporations to justify destruction of sites and that heritage organisations all had vested interests in such corporations. The website of Friends of Thornborough (ndb) explains in more detail that their understanding of the planning system is that planning will only be refused for gravel extraction if English Heritage archaeologists overrule the contract archaeologists employed by Tarmac and the Friends assert that English Heritage are under-resourced to contest such issues.

5.2.2.3 The Outcome of the Protests

The judicial review brought to overturn existing quarrying permissions appears to have been unsuccessful (Friends of Thornborough Henges ndc), but the challenges to new planning permissions appear to have met with more success. Despite the decision date posted as the 9th January 2012, North Yorkshire County Council (2011) describes the planning application as 'awaiting responses to consultation' at the end of November 2012. In December 2012 one of the preservation activists posted on the

Save Thornborough Henge Facebook group² that Tarmac had agreed to pay for work to prevent soil erosion and preserve the henges under the supervision of English Heritage. This post seems to indicate there is now a good working relationship between the parties involved and the site is being well protected.

5.2.3 Case Study 3: Crossbones Graveyard

Crossbones Burial Ground is a former unconsecrated graveyard in the London borough of Southwark just off Redcross Way at Grid reference TQ32438009 (indicated by a red spot in fig. 24 below). It was referred to, although not by name, as an unconsecrated graveyard used by prostitutes in 1598 (Brickley et al 1999:5). Another text dating from 1833 also refers to the site as an unconsecrated graveyard used by prostitutes and provides both the name Cross Bones and its location on Redcross St. Harris (2010) records that prostitutes licensed to operate in the area by the Bishop of Winchester were known as Winchester's Geese. Brickley et al (1999:7) record that the cemetery was continually reused and that early burials are unlikely to have survived due its intensive use in the first half of the 19th century. Despite being the largest cemetery in the parish it was considered the least desirable resting place (Brickley et al 1999:8). The graveyard was finally closed on the 24th October 1853, London's largest cemetery having been opened the previous year, and by 1872 Cross Bones was a builders' yard. The site is now owned by Transport for London and has been partially developed resulting in three phases of archaeological excavation between 1992 and 1997 (Brickley et al 1999:2-3).

The archaeological analysis of the remains from Cross Bones revealed 145 sets of remains for whom an age at death could be determined. There were 98 sets of remains aged 0-5; 5 aged 6-15; 18 aged 17-45 and 24 aged over 45 (Brickley et al 1999:30-31). Widespread evidence of poor dental health with no evidence of any treatment being received was discovered (Brickley et al 1999:34-36). There was also frequent evidence of back pain (Brickley et al 1999:37-38). These health complaints

² <http://www.facebook.com/#!/groups/270248863034769/?fref=ts>

which also included rickets and possibly osteomalacia³, as well as scurvy and anaemia along with the high levels of infant mortality are entirely consistent with the historical evidence that the people buried there were the poorest members of a very poor community, with 18% of interments being workhouse inmates. Harris (2010) alleges that London Underground intend to further develop the site in which burials are still located (Brickley et al 1999:3 confirm this).

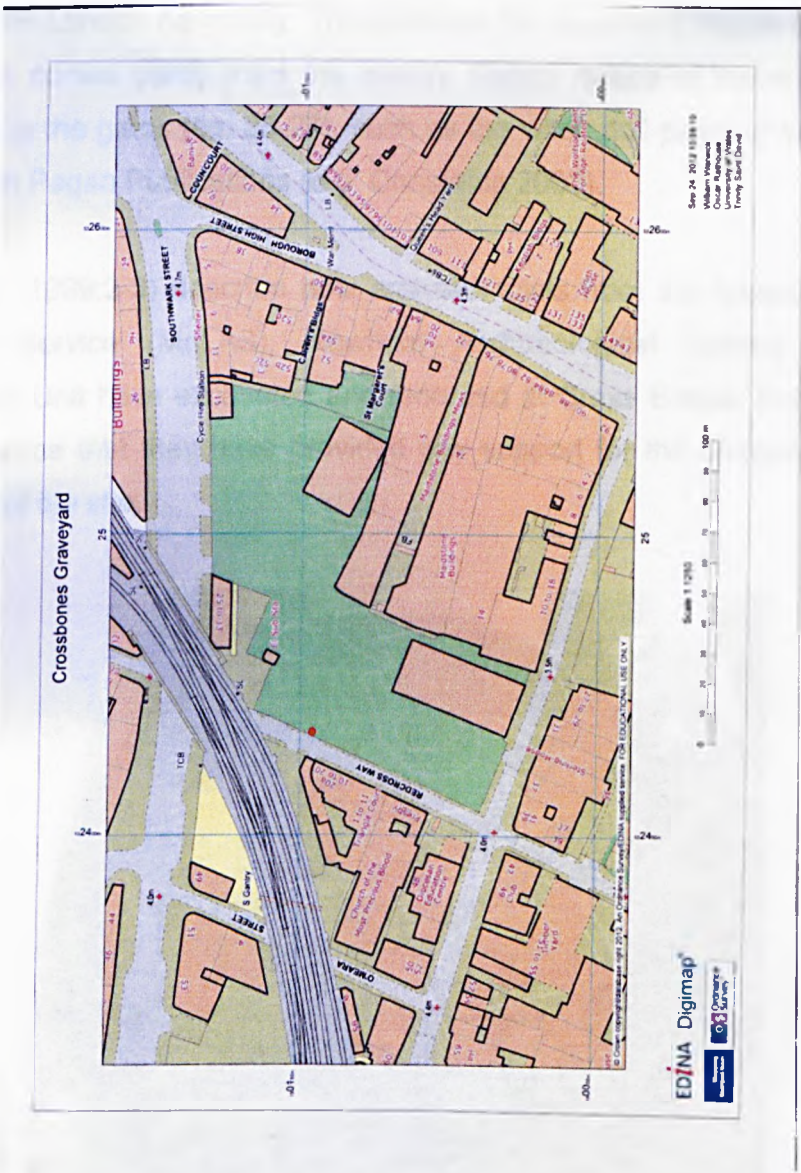


Fig. 24: Map showing the location of Crossbones cemetery (Ordnance Survey via Digimap)

³ which Roberts and Manchester (2005:237) describe as 'inadequate mineralisation... in cortical and spongy bone'

5.2.3.1 Campaign to Preserve Crossbones

The campaign to prevent the development of the whole site and to preserve at least part of it as a garden of remembrance for women forced into prostitution and other social outcasts was begun by John Constable, a prominent local Pagan and Urban Shaman (Harris 2010). The campaign has involved monthly vigils on 23rd of each month at 7:00pm (Anon nd & Harris 2010) and a campaign of letter writing to members of the London Assembly. The evidence for significant Pagan involvement in the campaign comes partly from the overtly Pagan nature of some of the votive offerings tied to the gates (fig. 25-27), such as the witch doll pictured below and also from articles in Pagan Publications (e.g. Constable 2008).

Brickley et al (1999:2-3) describe how archaeologists from the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS), Newham Archaeological Service and Oxford Archaeological Unit have excavated and recorded at Cross Bones, but I have yet to find any evidence that they have provided any support for the campaign to prevent development of the site.



Fig. 25: Memorial Plaque at Crossbones graveyard (Author's Photo)



Fig. 26: Gates to the Crossbones cemetery site from Redcross Way (Author's Photo)



Fig. 27: Votive witch doll tied to the gates of Crossbones Cemetery (Author's Photo)

5.2.3.2 Understanding Contestation at Crossbones

It was a paper, given at the Theoretical Archaeology Group in Bristol by Don Henson (2010), on local vs. national agendas in heritage which introduced me to Crossbones. In this paper, Henson noted that two of the most well publicised heritage attractions in the area (HMS Belfast and the Golden Hind) actually had no particular historical connection to Southwark at all. He argues that the only sites in the area which are about people from Southwark are the ones ignored by archaeologists and the heritage sector, but championed by local people and that foremost among these is Crossbones Graveyard.

It is perhaps most importantly the affiliation with the feminist movement that many Pagans, especially Witches, feel has encouraged so many of them to become involved in the campaign to save Crossbones. However, the oppression narrative mentioned in section 1.2.3.4 may also help contemporary Pagans to identify with people seen as outcasts and social pariahs. A third reason these people may be

significant to Pagans is the identification of these people as Ancestors of place, a concept that will be investigated in detail in section 8.2.1. This in turn plays into expectations of an eternal right of sepulture which will be investigated further in section 8.7.3.2. Finally, another factor in the contestation of this site may be a simple desire for a green park area in what is a very built up area.

5.2.4 Understanding Pagan Protection of Sites from Development

The interview with Sid at Nine Ladies (section 5.2.1.2) echoed off-the-record remarks from campaigners at Thornborough and at the hill of Tara in Ireland suggesting there has been little co-operation between Pagans and archaeology/heritage professionals. I have found no evidence of joint campaigning at all even when their agendas coincide.

The statutory safeguards for the archaeological environment are often successful, negating any need for the Pagan community to become involved. An example of such a success is Whelan's (2009) report on a Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age henge monument, which was found on land being developed as a housing estate. Arrangements were made to preserve the site (David Wilson Homes 2012) incorporating a fenced off area surrounding the henge. I have found no evidence that Pagan activists have played any part in the preservation of this monument, although I suspect that many Pagans might have preferred to see more of the surrounding landscape setting of the henge left undeveloped.

It should not be surprising that archaeological contractors have not vocally supported the campaign to prevent development. It would not be in their commercial interests to do so. If one considers that archaeological contractors are employed by developers to fulfil planning requirements on a competitive tender, a company with a reputation for supporting contestation of the development would rapidly find itself with fewer and fewer customers. However, I cannot help suspecting that the increasing number of Pagans who are active in the archaeological profession may have alerted Pagan campaigners outside the profession to the threats to sites before now. If this has not yet occurred, I am confident that it can only be a matter of time before it does.

5.3 Protecting Sites from Archaeological Excavation

Having examined campaigns to protect sites where archaeologists and Pagans have been on the same side opposing commercial interests, I shall now examine cases where Pagan campaigners have attempted to protect sites they deem sacred from being excavated by archaeologists. The first case study is the Holme-next-the-Sea timber circle dubbed Seahenge by the Press and the second is Nevern Castle in North Pembrokeshire.

5.3.1 Case Study 4: Seahenge or Holme-next-the-Sea Timber Circle

The name Seahenge is a media appellation for a site described by archaeologists as Holme I timber circle. It consists of a circle of 56 timber posts surrounding an upturned tree stump (see fig. 28) (Brennand & Taylor 2003:7) discovered in 1998 near the small Norfolk village of Holme-next-the-Sea (indicated by a red spot in fig. 29 below) at Grid Reference TF71125 45263 (Brennand & Taylor 2003:2).



Fig. 28: 'Seahenge' timber circle photographed by John Sayer (Holme-next-the-Sea 2012)

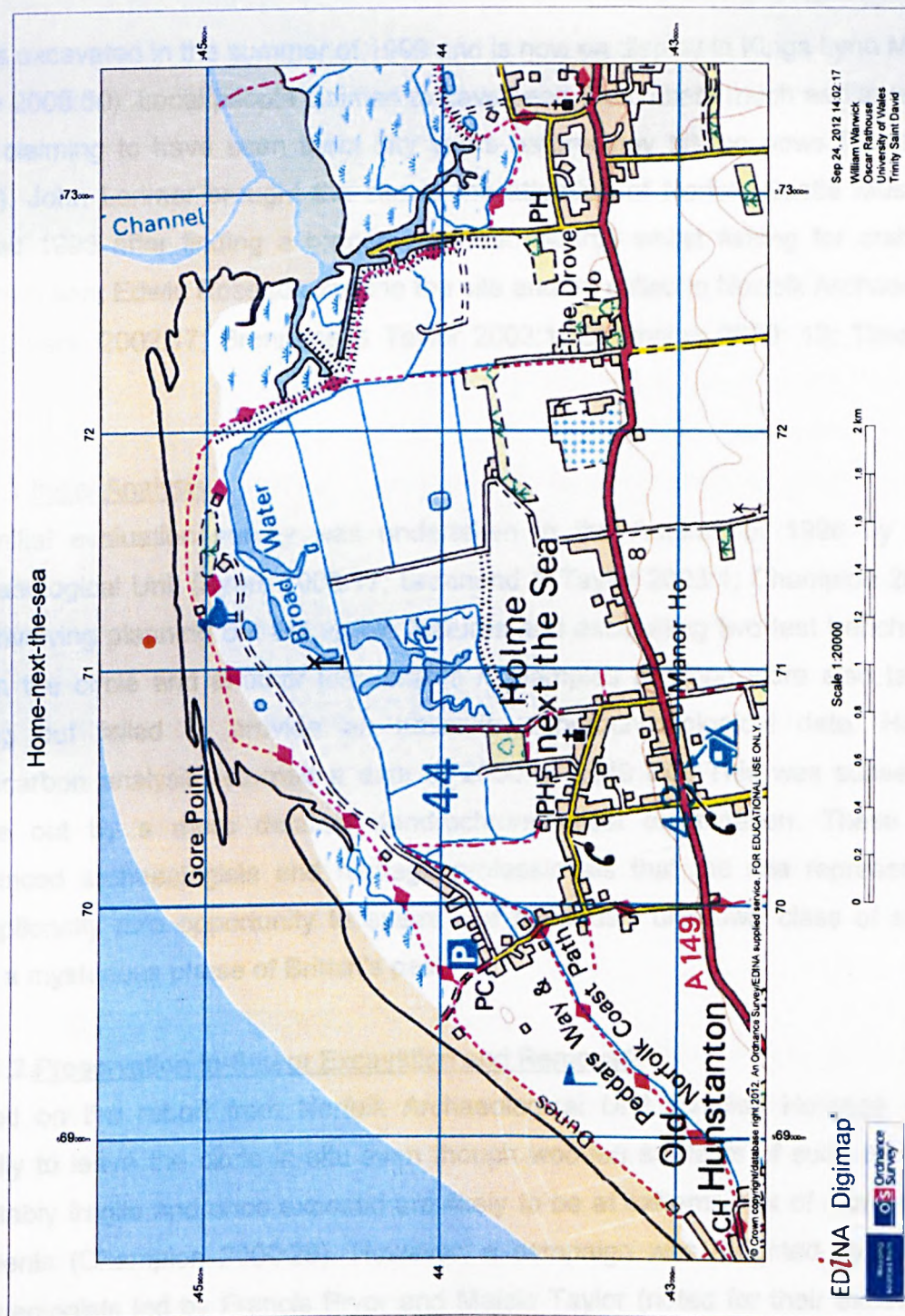


Fig. 29: Map of Holme-next-the-sea with red spot showing the area (TF71125 45263) where the Seahenge timber circle was found (Ordnance Survey via Digimap)

It was excavated in the summer of 1999 and is now on display in Kings Lynn Museum (Hide 2008:50). Local people claimed to have seen the timbers much earlier with one man claiming to have seen them fifty years before they hit the news (Time Team 1999). John Lorimer brought the site to the attention of Norfolk Castle Museum in August 1998 after finding a bronze axe-head nearby whilst fishing for crabs. The museum sent Edwin Rose to examine the site and he called in Norfolk Archaeological Unit (Ayers, 2002:17; Brennand & Taylor 2003:1; Champion 2000: 12; Time Team 1999).

5.3.1.1 Initial Analysis

An initial evaluation survey was undertaken in the Autumn of 1998 by Norfolk Archaeological Unit (Ayers 2002:17; Brennand & Taylor 2003:1; Champion 2000:17-19) involving planning out the visible features and excavating two test trenches; one within the circle and another just outside it. Samples of wood were also taken for dating but failed to provide an absolute dendrochronological date. However, radiocarbon analysis returned a date of 2050 to 2049 BC. This was subsequently borne out by a more detailed dendrochronological examination. These results convinced archaeologists and heritage professionals that the site represented an exceptionally rare opportunity to examine a previously unknown class of structure from a mysterious phase of Britain's past.

5.3.1.2 Preservation In-Situ or Excavation and Removal?

Based on the report from Norfolk Archaeological Unit, English Heritage decided initially to leave the circle in situ even though wooden artefacts of such an age are inevitably fragile and once exposed are likely to be at extreme risk of attrition by the elements (Champion 2000:28). However, a campaign was mounted by prominent archaeologists led by Francis Pryor and Maisie Taylor (noted for their excavation of the Flag Fen site about 50 miles from Holme) to excavate and preserve what they identified as a uniquely well-preserved prehistoric timber circle (Champion 2000:28-29; Watson 2005:30). Brennand (2004:26) explains that stratigraphic and contextual data had already been lost through tidal action and that intensive analysis of the

timbers themselves was the only way to answer questions about the erection and purpose of the construction. They were particularly worried that marine invertebrates would damage the timbers and tidal erosion would sweep them away (Ayers 2002:17; Brennand & Taylor 2003:1). This concern has been borne out by the fact that the site has now been eroded (p.c. Ayers 2009) and that, under analysis, the timbers were found to have experienced significantly greater attrition from marine life than initially observed (Brennand & Taylor 2003:13). The three options available were: preservation in situ, excavation and preservation elsewhere or recording in situ with the near certainty of decay (Watson 2005:26). Preservation in situ was opposed by Norfolk Wildlife Trust (who manage the Home Dunes Nature Reserve within which the timbers were found), English Nature and the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) who expressed serious concerns about large numbers of people visiting as the site was a nature reserve and a site of special scientific interest (SSSI) (Ayers 2002:18; Brennand & Taylor 2003:1-2; Champion 2000:36-39). Archaeologists and heritage professionals also agreed that visitors would quickly destroy the timbers themselves and thus it was decided that preservation in situ was neither desirable nor affordable (Brennand 2004:26; Brennand & Taylor 2003:1-2; Watson 2005:30-31). The campaign led by Pryor to excavate the timbers was actively supported by the Press. However, in the light of their subsequent criticisms of the excavation in support of the protests, Champion (2000:33) almost seems to suggest that the whole protest situation might have been engineered by reporters.

5.3.1.3 Community Involvement

It was not long thereafter that objections to the excavation started to be heard from some local residents, spiritualists and environmentalists (Champion 2000:43-46; Watson 2005:38). A meeting was held at the village hall in which those with concerns about the dig expected to have their objections taken into account, but were angered to find that the meeting was more to inform them of what was going to happen rather than to listen to what they had to say (Watson 2005:38-39). Ayers (2002:19) also points out that not all the local community were opposed to the excavation and many supported it enthusiastically. He also suggests that the Press may have exacerbated the situation. About the time of the announcement to excavate, English Heritage were

contacted by Philip Carr-Gomm of the Order of Bards Ovates and Druids to enquire about the fate of the site (Champion 2000:32)



Fig. 30: Slice taken from the central stump for dendrochronological dating (Nolan nd)

5.3.1.4 Protest

Ayers (p.c. 2009) explained to me that a colleague had warned at the outset that there could be protests, but Watson (2005:20) records that the archaeologists did not even consider the possibility that sawing a slice from the central upturned tree stump for dendrochronological dating (see fig. 30 above) might be considered controversial. However, this action was strongly condemned by anti-dig campaigners with Maughfling (2000b:10) subsequently describing it as sacrilege.

The protests began with Buster Nolan and Des Crow arguing with the archaeologists. The archaeologists initially tried to present counter-arguments, but when no agreement was reached they ignored the Druids and began the excavation work. Crow then began obstructive non-violent direct action involving switching off the archaeologists' pump and removing the protective sandbag barricade and a farcical

situation ensued of sandbags being removed and returned and the pump being switched on and off. Nolan, with financial assistance provided by Mervyn Lambert (a local businessman), sought a court injunction to stop the excavation of the timbers, but was unable to find any solicitors willing to take the case (Champion 2000:49, Watson 2005:40). Nolan and Crow returned to obstructive non-violent direct action and increasing numbers of supporters began to arrive (Champion 2000:50-51). Nolan's website (nd) includes several newspaper cuttings sympathetic to the Druids and Champion (2000:51) suggests that English Heritage became alarmed at this adverse publicity. English Heritage agreed to suspend work and hold talks in nearby Hunstanton (Champion 2000:51). However, it emerged just before this meeting that the archaeologists, fearing two already partially excavated timbers would be washed away had violated the agreement and completed the excavation of these two timbers. Any remaining trust the protestors may have accorded English Heritage evaporated and although David Miles (English Heritage's chief archaeologist) issued an apology for the use of the chainsaw positions became increasingly entrenched (Champion 2000:51). Even so seven points were agreed:

- The site should be treated with respect.
- The Site was sacred to the people who created it.
- It remains sacred to a large number of people today.
- The site contains a lot of information that can be shared, from archaeological to geomantic, and this should be shared.
- The beach is profoundly vulnerable.
- The current trend of visitors will irrevocably damage the site
- That the damage done by visitors will result in the death of birds by starvation and exhaustion, and of the decline in their numbers because they will not be able to feed

(Champion 2000:54)

Champion (2000:54) records English Heritage (and subsequently Time Team) as suggesting that an agreement was concluded to permit the excavation to continue but he describes Crow and others as disputing this assertion.



Fig. 31: Buster Nolan (centre left) assists Rollo Maughfling (centre right) in finding the timbers as the tide recedes (Nolan nd)

On the 1st of July Rollo Maughfling of the Glastonbury Order of Druids (pictured in fig. 31 above) arrived to represent CoBDO and issued the following proclamation on its behalf (Champion 2000:56-57):

The Council of British Druid Orders is pleased to contribute to Buster Nolan's appeal to save Sea Henge from desecration disguised as conservation for the following reasons:

- 1) Sea Henge is a national monument, as important to the understanding of early Celtic culture as is Woodhenge or the wooden temple recently discovered beneath Stanton Drew.
- 2) It is an oak grove, possibly the only surviving intact specimen of a Druidic place of worship not destroyed by the Romans.
- 3) For English Heritage to be cutting it up and removing it must therefore constitute the greatest act of "controlled vandalism" since those times.
- 4) As are all ancient temples, it is site specific, meaning that it can only be properly studied in relation to its environment.

- 5) As even the waters have not destroyed it up to now, it is therefore a living temple of our native Druidic tradition, and not a museum piece for English Heritage.
- 6) It rightfully belongs to the people of Norfolk who should have first say on how it might be preserved *in situ* whilst further researches into its origins and purpose are carried out.
- 7) Trying to remove Sea Henge is like trying to move Stonehenge or Canterbury Cathedral. As a prehistoric cultural jewel, and a place of sanctity and veneration for modern Druids it is irreplaceable.
- 8) As ancient places of worship throughout the Americas and Australia are being restored to the native and aboriginal inhabitants of those continents, so do we, the Druids of Britain, reclaim the place of our ancestors to ourselves, and those for whom it was originally built, the local people of Norfolk. It is East Anglia's prehistoric national shrine.

(Maughfling 2000b:11)

Over the Summer Solstice violence had erupted at Stonehenge and Champion (2000:56) suggests that English Heritage was deeply concerned that Stonehenge protestors would descend upon Holme *en masse* with consequences not only for the excavation but also for the bird life in the area. Also concerned about rising costs, English Heritage turned to the courts and successfully obtained an injunction banning Des Crow, Rollo Maughfling, Geoff Needham, Buster Nolan and any other protestors from the site. This was appealed but with only partial success (Maughfling 2000b:12, Watson 2005:43-50) and police ensured that the archaeologists were able to complete the work without hindrance (Time Team 1999).

Maughfling's proclamation (above) sets out some of the arguments for leaving the timbers in place but there were other motivations for the protestors. The BBC record Nolan as saying 'But we can put the oak posts back if necessary, if the tree bole is taken away then it will be lost forever' (BBC News 1999a). Geoff Needham (Chairman of the Parish council and described as an expert on local tidal conditions) told the BBC 'It will not get washed away. It is embedded in clay' (BBC News 1999a). In a telephone interview (p.c. 2009), Nolan explained to me that he believed the

Seahenge timber circle worked to prevent coastal erosion by creating a vortex mixing male and female polarised water. He explained that this also hardens the wood and asserted that the timbers were as hard as rock, denying archaeologists' descriptions of the timbers as being vulnerable to tidal and wave action. This assertion conveniently explains Ayers' assertion that the area of beach from which the timbers were excavated has been washed away and it would be interesting if it could be established when Nolan received this particular revelation. Needham videoed Nolan, a conservationist and Druid, saying 'Seahenge has more meaning and power on the beach here at Holme than it does anywhere else' (Watson 2005:40).

5.3.1.5 Detailed Analysis. Storage and Preservation

After excavation the timbers were curated at Flag Fen Excavation Centre just outside Peterborough where a timber causeway had been uncovered in 1982. It was here that the timbers were examined and analysed (Pryor 2002:xx, 254). Subsequently the timbers were taken to the Mary Rose Trust in Portsmouth and preserved using wax to replace the water in them (Hide 2008:50; Watson 2005:83). It was found that what was initially thought to be two separate timbers was in fact a forked branch providing a narrow entrance way into the circle aligned on the midwinter sunset (Brennand & Taylor 2003:7). A second circle (Holme II) was also found centred on a wattle fence surrounding a pair of oak sleepers dished in the middle to support a hypothesised split log (Brennand & Taylor 2003:10-12). This second circle was not excavated perhaps because of the protests. One of the most interesting revelations about the monument was the large number of axes used in its construction, numbering around fifty (Brennand & Taylor 2003:22). This has been interpreted to suggest that many people, perhaps a whole community were involved in its construction in a single phase (Brennand & Taylor 2003:29, 71). Environmental data were collected suggesting that the circle had been built beside a salt marsh separated from the sea by a ridge of sand dunes, rather than being in the tidal zone as it was when excavated (Brennand & Taylor 2003:61, 64). At the time of the excavation of the timbers, Pryor (Time Team 1999) suggested the upturned tree stump may have functioned as an excavation platform. The presence of four ring ditches, suggestive of ploughed out round barrows, just 2.5 km south of the site (Brennand & Taylor 2003:4) may serve to support this interpretation.

5.3.1.6 Display at King's Lynn

In April 2008, after a £1.2 Million refurbishment, the Kings Lynn Museum opened a display featuring timbers from the Seahenge circle, including the central upturned stump (Hide 2008:50). I visited the museum in April 2009 to find out how the monument was displayed.

The Seahenge display was the first part of the museum visitors experienced after going through the reception area. As you entered the room there was a partial life-size reconstruction of the timber circle on the right hand side (fig. 32), while cases on the left displayed a range of Bronze Age artefacts from the area. Beyond the reconstruction, the actual timbers of the site were displayed in glass cases (fig. 33) with a video and large mural showing the environmental context of the find. To the right, beyond the timbers, was an educational area in which children could construct models of the timber circle and of a Bronze Age agricultural landscape with roundhouses and animals. The display was admirably multi-vocal providing information on the objections to the excavation of the timbers.



Fig. 32: Reconstruction of Seahenge at the Kings Lynn Museum (Author's Photo)

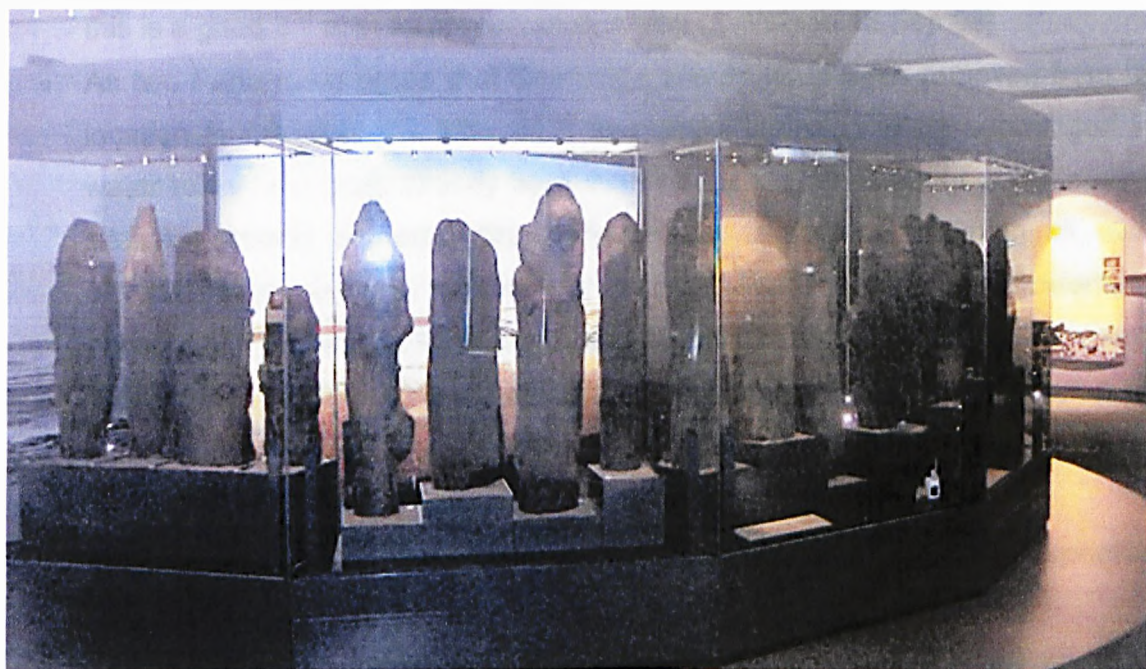


Fig. 33: Seahenge timbers on display at Kings Lynn Museum (Author's Photo)

Nolan (p.c. 2009) explained that he would rather have seen the timbers left in their original location, but conceded that if they were going to be put on display, various interpretations of their purpose need to be presented to visitors.

The display included a visitors' book for people to leave comments about the exhibition and to suggest interpretations of the monument. I checked 172 comments and found that 124 of them were positive, 13 negative and 34 were neutral or ambivalent about the display. Thirty-two interpretations were suggested of which nine considered it to have been a ritual or sacred site and three a burial site. Comments included the following:

- Excellent exhibition and of great value to the nation – Yes surely it is right that it has been saved – we have so much to learn from it – well done indeed (CC Stanifold 4 Apr 08)
- By removing these timber [sic] a desecration of a sacred site has taken place. What a shame for a few pieces of timber to be on display. (John Handish 5 Apr 08)

- It's a pity a way could not have been found to preserve Seahenge in situ but this is a good 2nd best as preservation is vital (S. Wilson 13 Sep 08)
- As two Pagans we agree that Seahenge should have been removed from its location to preserve it – after all it was never intended to be submerged in water (climate change already back then!) If we truly care about our ancestral sites we should be supporting conservation efforts, not climbing all over already fragile ancient remains (protestors please note!) and incidentally encouraging people not to disturb a wildlife reserve. We like the display – very informative, confirms what we thought about possible use of central stump as place to expose bodies for excarnation – would suggest there might be significant ossuary/ies nearby – any clues? (Sep 2 Jan 09)
- Thank you that at least you have provided alternative information/perspective from talkingtrees (Mother Hawthorne 11 May 08)
- One reservation:- speculation should not have a place where proven facts ought to be (CMB 17 Jun 08)

The issues surrounding inclusion of alternative narratives raised in the final two quotes will be examined in more detail in chapter 6.

5.3.1.7 The Legacy of Seahenge

At the end of the Time Team (1999) special on Seahenge Tony Robinson asked Francis Pryor what he would do differently if another timber circle were to emerge. Pryor replied 'Nothing, absolutely nothing; except as regards people who have interests in it like the Pagans and the Druids: I think I would try much harder to get them on our side.' He went on to explain that 'they care about the past just as Maisie and I care about the past and there are an awful lot of people who don't care about the past'. Bearing in mind that the Druids were specific that the timbers needed to be left in situ and for the reasons already stated in section 5.3.1.4 and English Heritage was equally adamant in its decision that this was not desirable, it is hard to see how Pryor's alliance would have worked in this situation. However, a more sensitive collection of dendrochronological samples, with an auger (if possible) rather than a chainsaw along with better management of villagers' expectations and a stronger commitment to keep the timbers in Norfolk (as indeed was done) might have avoided

offending both locals and the sensibilities of more moderate Pagans and hence reduced support for the protestors. Finally, Ayers (2002:19) points out that the lack of a professional Press officer for the dig may have contributed to problems with reporters and an imbalance in coverage reflecting protestors points of view. As with the exclusion of Solstice revellers from Stonehenge, the excavation of Seahenge has left a legacy of anger and distrust among some Pagans. Tim Sebastian (2001:127) described the project as a demolition. However, Pryor's comments at the end of the Channel 4 programme have served to inspire Sebastian (2001:127) to hope for a more co-operative future.

5.3.2 Case Study 5: Nevern Castle

Nevern Castle is a motte and bailey castle dating from the 12th century AD (Caple nd:1-2). Originally it was thought to have been an Iron Age hillfort (Mytum & Webster 2001:106; p.c. Bennett 2006) but this has now been disproved (Caple nd:1-2). It is located on a hill overlooking the village of Nevern (Nanhyfer in Welsh) at grid reference SN082401 (fig. 34, circled in red). The site is owned communally by the village but managed on behalf of the residents by Pembrokeshire Coast National Park Authority (p.c. Bennett 2010). It is important in Welsh history because it was a stronghold of Lord Rhys of Deheubarth who was held prisoner there by his sons in the 1190s (Caple nd:1-2, p.c. Bennett 2010).

5.3.2.1 Excavation

Prior to the excavation, both Phil Bennett (The National Park's culture and heritage manager) (p.c. 2006) and Harold Mytum (who had excavated the nearby fort at Castell Henllys) (Mytum & Webster 2001:106) were of the opinion that Nevern Castle represented a post Roman refortification of an Iron Age rampart that had been continually developed and refortified between AD400 and 1190. The excavation sought to confirm or deny this hypothesis and to establish a chronology of occupation as well as to provide data on the nature of that occupation. Radiocarbon dating of charcoal excavated from sealed contexts beneath the ramparts has refuted the idea of an Iron Age or sub-Roman genesis of the site suggesting rather that it was built around 1108 to 1109. It was slighted and abandoned in 1195 (p.c. Bennett 2010, p.c. Caple 2010; Caple nd:1-2).

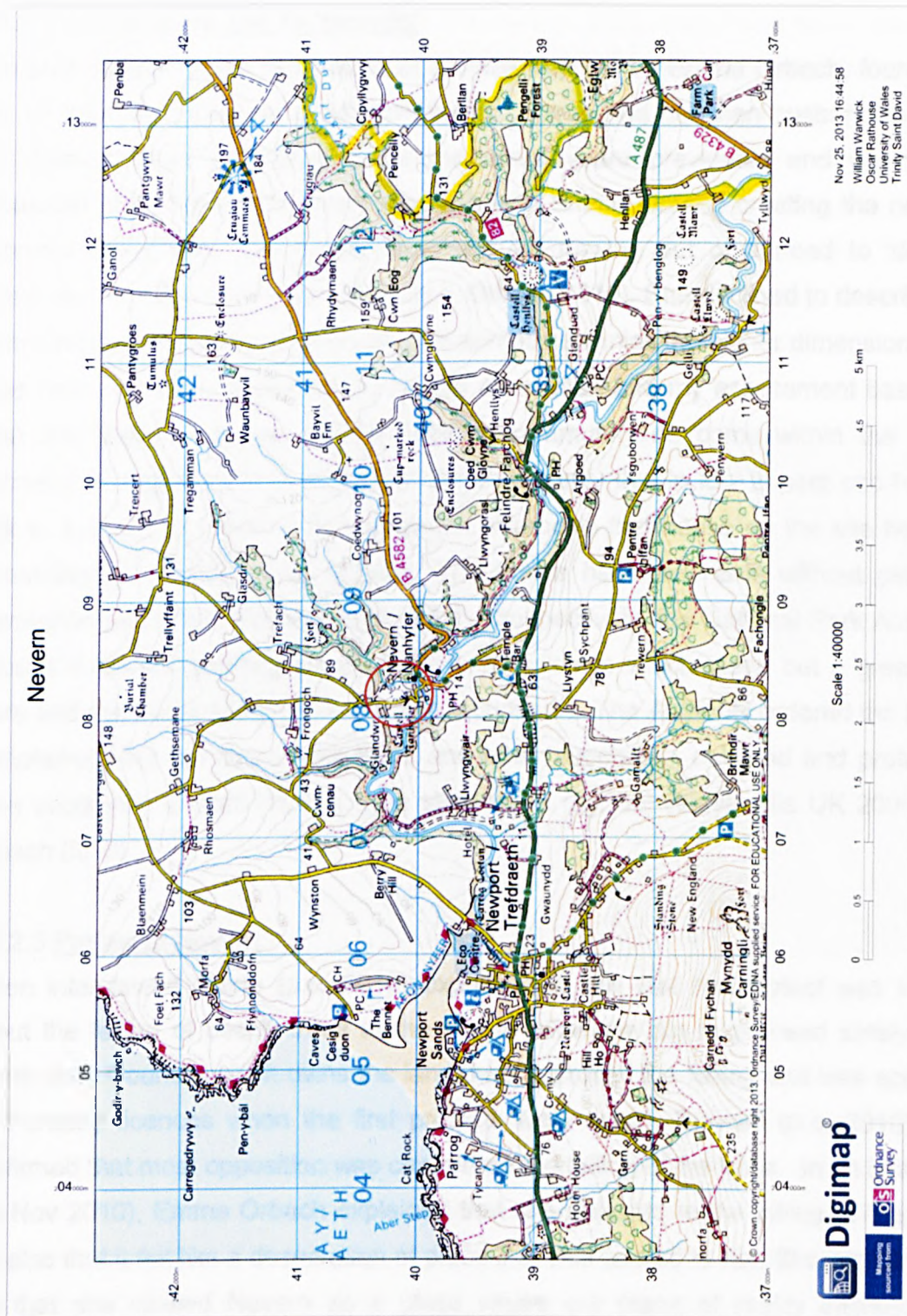


Fig. 34: Map showing Nevershire Castle (circled in red, grid reference SN082401), Newport Pems and Castell Henllys (SN117391) (Ordnance Survey 2006)

5.3.2.2 Brithdir Mawr and Tir Ysrydol

The protest against the excavation of the site was led by Emma Orbach, founder of the Tir Ysrydol (Spiritual Land) community. Emma and her then husband founded the Brithdir Mawr ecological commune some years previously and when they separated and divorced the land was split with Emma Orbach creating the new Tir Ysrydol community, which she described as growing out of a need to 'deepen connection with the earth and spirits' (p.c. Orbach 2010). She declined to describe the community as Pagan saying that Pagans sometimes 'miss the higher dimension'. She does however, describe herself to people as a witch and my assessment based on what she told me is that the Tir Ysrydol community do come within the broad definition of Pagan. The members of the community live in low impact eco-houses built to a design credited to Tony Wrench. Wrench's first house on the site became something of a local *cause célèbre*. The house had been built without planning permission and when this was applied for retrospectively, the National Park Authority refused it despite granting planning for farm buildings which stood out a great deal more and used less sustainable building techniques. The Authority ordered the house demolished, but the community there and other supporters objected and protested, even occupying Castell Henllys for a short while (fig. 35) (Indymedia UK 2004, p.c. Orbach 2010).

5.3.2.3 Protest at Nevern

When interviewed Caple (p.c. 2010) explained to me that the protest was largely about the felling of beech trees at the site to allow the dig to proceed safely. The Community Council, which owns the land, had approved the felling and was applying for Forestry licences when the first protests were made. Bennett (p.c. 2010) also confirmed that most opposition was centred on the felling of the trees. In an interview (09 Nov 2010), Emma Orbach explained that she objected to the felling of the trees but also that it felt like a desecration of place that was sacred to her. She explained to me that she viewed Nevern as a place where our plane of reality intersects or connects with another dimension and that it provides a place where she can interact with beings from this other reality that she identifies to other people as fairies. She explained that the castle had been all about aggression and greed and that by

proceeding without addressing her concerns the archaeologists were repeating this pattern of behaviour. She suggested that these fairies may have burnt down the castle and might take some form of vengeance on the archaeologists. In this belief she is supported by folklore: Harte (2004:8, 23) describes fairies as living in mounds and as willing to 'blast' trespassers and despoilers with tumours containing pins or hair. Many archaeologists (e.g. Schadla Hall 2004) ridicule such beliefs, but I have heard no suggestion that Caple or anyone else involved in the excavation behaved discourteously to Ms Orbach and her supporters. However, Caple (p.c. 2010) did state 'We have a responsibility to a narrative based on factual evidence'.



Fig. 35: Castell Henllys Iron Age Fort occupied by protestors (Indymedia UK 2004)

Orbach conducted her protest by organising a petition consisting of 200 signatures and a picnic was held at the site during which ribbons were tied around branches (p.c. Caple 2010). Preliminary excavation began at Easter 2010 and Orbach visited and spoke to Peter Crane who was jointly employed by both Dyfed Archaeology and Pembrokeshire Coast National Park. Caple (p.c. 2010) reported that this conversation had become heated on Ms Orbach's side but she had later apologised and that Crane accepted this apology.

The result of Orbach's protest was that some of the trees earmarked for felling were saved and that the dig was delayed as the risk assessments were re-evaluated. Caple (p.c. 2010) explained that steps had been taken to preserve local flora and that two excavation strategies had been prepared to permit some work to continue even if there was protest action. He told me that his diggers had been instructed to ask any protestors politely not to interfere with their work, but that if they persisted diggers should withdraw and take a break pending further instructions.

5.3.2.4 Engaging with the Protests

Caple (p.c. 2010) explained that he had not met with the protestors but Phil Bennett had spoken to them. Bennett (p.c. 2010) explained that he had collected Orbach from Tir Ysbridol and driven her to Nevern to discuss the situation on site so they could see clearly the features and areas they were talking about. He was keen to stress that the meeting was courteous and that he respected and was sympathetic to her views. Orbach described Bennett as trying to show he was listening to her but without actually listening. She expressed disappointment that the excavation organisers did not meet with her sooner and seemed frustrated that they were unable to see her point of view.

Caple (p.c. 2010) explained to me that he felt it necessary to facilitate public understanding of the past. To this end he suggested that foliage at Nevern needed to be managed to make archaeological features visible. I was told that the dig had funding for eight years and that after that the trenches would be backfilled and returned to grass. I suspect that, along with interpretative panels, this is how the site will be presented once archaeological fieldwork is complete.

At Nevern I was mindful from the earliest approaches to this field study that I would have to be careful to ensure that my enquiries did not exacerbate the situation. Full details of my research tactics and the problems which emerged are covered in section 3.7.2.

5.3.2.5 Theorising Nevern

The contestation of this site has several causal factors. Despite being a community led and supported project (p.c. Caple 2010, p.c. Bennett 2010) Orbach and her supporters obviously feel that their opinions and feelings were not taken into account. This instance of contestation demonstrates both an ecological and a spiritual dimension. The ecological concerns appear to have had more popular support than the spiritual ones. It might be argued that Orbach, perhaps harbouring resentment against the National Park Authority over the Tony Wrench roundhouse affair, sees the excavation as opportunity to create problems for them. However, my assessment is that this would be counter to her values and character. She certainly does hold beliefs which the 'archaeological establishment' tends to oppose including the presence of fairies and historicity of Atlantis and I suspect the contempt with which such views are often met within the 'archaeological establishment' (e.g. Schadla-Hall 2004, Mason & Kuo 2006:184-185) will remain a barrier to constructive interaction.

5.4 Theorising Preservation and Protection

This chapter has shown two different situations in which Pagans have campaigned to protect monuments they consider sacred. In the first situation they were campaigning to protect sites from being developed, which begs the question: why do Pagans feel the need to take additional action rather than trusting to laws like the 1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (Her Majesty's Government 1979)? In answering this one must understand that the campaigning Druid groups share a great deal with the anti-capitalist protest movement (See Graeber 2009:262) and therefore consider the government and associated agencies responsible for safeguarding heritage as being, to a greater or lesser extent, in the pockets of big business. They therefore are unwilling to consider archaeologists and heritage professionals wholly reliable or trustworthy to safeguard such sites.

The second situation involves Pagans campaigning against what they see as desecration, destruction or theft of sacred sites. Because they feel a spiritual and emotional link with these sites they are naturally unwilling to see them damaged, altered or removed. In the case of the campaigning Druid Orders the perceived

injustices of the past (especially Stonehenge, see section 4.3.5) combine with the anti-capitalist affiliations mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Lest I give the impression that Pagans are all paragons of protection for ancient sites, I must also note that there have been instances of Pagans damaging sites. Wallis (2003:142-143) describes two cases where ritual groups have attempted to restore or alter stone circles: at Dol Tor in 1993 and at the twelve apostles on Ilkley Moor in 1998. Other monuments such as West Kennett Long Barrow (Wallis 2003:169) and Men-an-Tol in Cornwall (Cornish Ancient Sites Protection Network nd) have been damaged by fires, probably set by similar groups. It should therefore not be surprising that instances of damage such as the painting of Avebury Stones with strange patterns described in section 4.4.4.3 were initially assumed to be the work of 'New Age crazies' (Antiquity 1996:501). The issue of rubbish deposition at sacred sites has been another running sore in the relationship between pilgrims and site managers which is being addressed within the Pagan community (Blain & Wallis 2007:56-59; Restall Orr 1996:26-28).

5.5 Options for the Future

In section 5.1.2 I explained the importance of the preservation (at least by record) of sites performed by archaeological contract firms (Barber et al 2008: 1, 19-21; Carman 1996:140-141; Everill 2009:22-33; Spoerry 1993:13-14). As archaeologists employees with these firms may be expected to be keen to support preservation in situ but I suspect that for archaeologists to have open contact with campaigning groups encouraging them to disrupt building or quarrying operations might lay the archaeologists' employers open to legal action from the developers or cause them to blacklist the archaeological contract firms, thus harming their business viability. However, if there has not been some unofficial contact between these groups then I would consider it only a matter of time before there is.

In the case of campaigns against archaeological excavation of sites, I suspect accommodations might be harder to accomplish. In section 5.3.1.2 I referred to Brennan's (2004:26) explanation of the necessity of excavating the 'Seahenge'

timber circle. But Champion (2000) and Watson (2005) record how managing community relations went badly wrong. Archaeologists overseas have succeeded in establishing good relations with stakeholder communities (Coleman 2013:156-175; Carmichael et al 1994:5-7; Davidson 1995:3-5; McDavid 2002:310-312, 2009:217-234; O'Regan 1994:95-106). I therefore argue that open debate and better community involvement are key in avoiding campaigns against digs. I suggest that the lack of recurring protest at Nevern is partially a result of higher levels of community support for the dig and consequent alienation of protestors if they had persisted but also on pro-active engagement with protestors by Phil Bennett of the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park. Widespread community support for archaeological fieldwork therefore appears to be a vital factor in avoiding contestation. To garner such support, research plans need to be formulated to encourage community awareness and involvement. Where budgets allow I would encourage an expansion to the practice of employing outreach officers to engage with local people and visitors before and during the dig. Another option would be to involve outreach projects initiated by organisations such as the Institute for Archaeologists and the Council for British Archaeology.

Chapter 6: Sites – Representation and Ownership

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I shall complete my investigation into contestation of sites between Pagans and the archaeological and heritage professions by concentrating on ideological contestation of sites. The sites in question may be accessible for ritual use and free from threats of damage or destruction or removal but are contested in terms of ownership and representation/ interpretation. A key concept in these issues is that of stakeholdership, but ownership and representation also need to be defined or explained. In this area of contestation, archaeologists may be on one side and Pagans on the other, with heritage professionals caught in the middle.

6.1.1 Ownership, Stakeholdership and Representation

Carman (2005:29) explains that '*private* property provides exclusive rights; *common* property provides shared rights; under *state* property all rights are abrogated to national government; while *open access* provides very poorly defined rights'. He explains that property rights require those people who are not owners to observe all rules pertaining to that property by the owner(s) or their agents (Carman 2005:30, 120). However, Skeates (2000:39) points out that classifying something as property provides legal protection from unauthorised appropriation. Boyd (2012:176-193) adds the concept of cognitive ownership identifying the sense of powerful connection and care for a place that an emotional or cultural attachment brings. I also include a sense of spiritual connection to a site in the factors which might bring about a sense of cognitive ownership. Calls for Stonehenge to be 'taken back' (Cooper 2010:153) or to be handed to the Pagans (Jenkins 2006) reveal such a feeling of ownership of sites based not on property laws but rather in terms of spiritual connections or moral terms which I shall examine in section 6.4.

A simple dictionary definition of stakeholder would be 'an independent party with whom each of those who make a wager deposits the money etc.' (Pearsall & Trumble 2003:1408) but this definition lacks relevance when used in a heritage management context. When heritage professionals refer to stakeholders, they refer to individuals or

groups with an interest (stake) in a site, issue, display or other aspect of heritage. Carman (2005:84, 90-98) points out that heritage sites are likely to have multiple stakeholders regardless of who or what organisation legally owns them and that stakeholdership is not restricted to users. Stakes may be: financial, if a stakeholder has money invested in the site or benefits financially from the site; dutiful, if a stakeholder has a duty of responsibility for the site; academic, if the stakeholder seeks to learn from the site; emotional, if the stakeholder cares about the site or spiritual, if the stakeholder feels a spiritual connection with the site or uses it in their spirituality. The management of Stonehenge has tended to privilege the stakeholders with financial duties and, to a lesser extent, those with academic and educational duties over others. Only in the last fifteen years or so has it recognised minority spiritual stakeholdership outside of the Abrahamic faiths. Boyd (2012:172) argues that stakeholdership is an unhelpful concept since it is used to deny cognitive ownership, a point I shall address in section 6.4.3.

Tarlow (2001:61) cites Spivak (1990:108-109) to explain that representation: can refer to standing or speaking for, e.g. as a politician represents his or her constituency, or it can refer to an artistic interpretation or depiction. In this thesis I refer to the latter role of representation as interpretation. The means employed in interpreting sites include: guide books, pamphlets, boards and panels, audio handsets or headsets, pictures and paintings, employed or volunteer guides, videos, interactive computerised audio/visual displays. The routes of paths and the opening or closing of views around sites may also be seen as an aspect of the representation of those sites (Copeland 2004:137-139). The second definition of representation provides a reminder that the choice to promote, marginalise or omit narratives takes on a highly political significance when we remember the importance of narratives in the construction of identity (an issue which will be examined in more detail in section 9.2). It also ties in with the degrees of influence, recognition or ownership accorded to different stakeholder groups.

6.1.2 Defining Earth Mysteries

In the previous chapter I recorded that Buster Nolan (p.c. 2009) supported an interpretation of the Seahenge timber circle as a device to prevent coastal erosion

using polarities and vortices. These ideas come within the broad definition of Earth Mysteries. Paul Devereux (2000:1, 51-52), former editor of the *Ley Hunter*, describes the term as 'an area of enquiry encompassing many approaches (multi-disciplinary) but also includes different bases or ways of working (multi-mode)' and he explains that 'Earth Mysteries researchers have looked at associations with natural phenomena... in the siting of ancient monuments'. Earth Mysteries also include a range of spiritual and quasi-scientific beliefs, many of which relate to ancient sites and form part of Pagan beliefs regarding them. One of the key concepts in Earth Mysteries is that of Ley Lines. The concept of Ley Lines derives largely from Alfred Watkins' (1974) book *The Old Straight Track* first published in 1925. In it he postulates that many ancient sites and older churches and abbeys are built on ancient track ways (Watkins 1974:214). John Michell (1969) expanded on Watkins' ideas proposing that the sites along the leys were set out to empower them using subtle energy currents flowing through the Earth's surface. Paul Devereux championed these ideas until the 1980s when he began to see them more as 'spirit paths for Shamanic flight' (Stout 2006:22).

6.1.3 Earth Mysteries in Contemporary Paganism

Having established the ideas and interpretations covered by the term Earth Mysteries it is necessary to understand how they are incorporated into contemporary Paganism. The archaeologist Aubrey Burl (1979:81) describes Watkins' notion of leys as having been reinterpreted as a 'network of telepathic rays, of telluric energy for the spiritual and physical re-energising of the people'. Tortorello (2012) quotes Druid Ivan McBeth as describing stone circles (both ancient and recently erected) as being used to draw dragons along ley lines so that Pagans can have beneficial interactions with them. Not too dissimilarly, (as seen in section 5.3.2.3) Emma Orbach (p.c. 2010), of the Tir Ysbridol eco-village, described the site of a mediaeval castle as being a dimensional portal through which highly evolved beings, which she also described as faeries, could interact with people. She views these beings as hugely beneficial to the spiritual development of the human race. Her ideas resonate with the New Age concept of 'activation' of sacred sites to bring about a shift in consciousness around the world thus ensuring worldwide peace and harmony (Ivakhiv 2001:85; p.c. Daughton 2012).

In interviews, several Pagan contributors mentioned they felt excluded by the fact that the interpretation of sacred/ancient sites told the archaeological narratives of those sites but largely or completely ignore the mythology and contemporary beliefs focused on them. This is particularly well exemplified by issues at Stonehenge described subsequently in this chapter. My own interviews with Druid campaigners left me with a strong impression that some of them would like to see Stonehenge given over to management by Druids as indeed one of Cooper's (2010:153) interviewees told him.

Archaeological approaches to Earth Mysteries have been varied but the 'establishment' line has varied from sceptical to openly hostile. Skeates (2000:77) explains that 'archaeologists, well-trained in scepticism, have generally rejected the beliefs of both indigenous and New Age groups as irrelevant and even dangerous'. Aubrey Burl (1979:78) distinguishes folklore (to which he does ascribe value) from what he describes as 'fakelore' which he defines as a 'hotchpotch of wishful thinking and sometimes of downright lies with which some writers today distort the past' He describes the idea of ley lines (Burl 1979:80) as 'the most lunatic of ideas about prehistoric monuments'. Stout (2006:7) chronicles the history of archaeological interactions with Earth Mysteries from the battle between O.G.S. Crawford and Alfred Watkins over ley lines, Lethbridge's ideas on ancient UFOs (Stout 2006:13), Daniel's campaign against the Druids (1992:25, 28, 34, 42, 51, 59, 126, 130, 173) to Bender's pro-Pagan stance (Stout 2006:21, 32) and Chris Tilley and Ian Hodder's more polydiox approach (Stout 2006:33). He explains that archaeologists have become more inclusive and more willing to consider less obvious possibilities in interpreting evidence of the past. However, the line between orthodox archaeology and authorised heritage discourses (explained in more detail in section 6.1.5) on the one hand and alternative or fringe archaeology and Earth Mysteries still exists despite some blurring.

6.1.4 Community

In section 1.2.1 I explained the difference between society (gesellschaft) and community (gemeinschaft) with communities traditionally possessing a local connection but in contemporary examples sharing an interest or identity and

sometimes being geographically diffuse. I argued that contemporary Pagans, heritage professionals and archaeologists each form their own communities. In this chapter I shall be talking about community ownership and community outreach. It is quite common to talk about 'the community' in contexts which tend primarily to include local people but also visitors to a given area. Community outreach can be more focused on particular ethnic, cultural or religious groups and I shall be arguing in this thesis that archaeologists and heritage professionals may benefit from thinking more carefully about outreach to the Pagan community.

6.1.5 Public Archaeology and Heritage

Discourses on heritage are many and varied but Smith (2006:29-34) suggests the existence of an Authorised Heritage Discourse, seemingly constructed and controlled by heritage managers and heritage agencies with the intention of suppressing unorthodox ideas and maximising tourism revenue. Jane Lennon (2007) critiques this idea accusing Smith of creating 'arcane jargon... for professionals and experts which excludes everyone else'. In section 1.2.4.1 I recorded that Hewison (1987:43-45) proposed that criteria for determining heritage value are imposed by heritage organisations and governments to facilitate tourism and that Urry (1990:110) challenged this assertion suggesting that heritage value is determined by the consumer and that managers react to demand. I believe that both points of view have some value but that concepts of what constitutes heritage and relative importance of aspects of it are being continually renegotiated and shaped by both consumers and managers in a discursive manner. It may also be the case that without some kind of discourse defining heritage, material culture of social value will be harder to protect through legislation and for government and NGOs to source funds for.

The question therefore arises: who are the consumers of archaeology and heritage? Parker Pearson and Pryor (2006:318) refer to an assumption that archaeology only appeals to a 'narrow class niche' but is this really the case? Nick Merriman (1991:42-56, 143-161) attempted to analyse heritage consumers using a random postal survey of 1500 British adults. He found social status to be a significant determining factor with 91% of high status, 83% of middle status, 75% of low status under 60 year olds and 62% of over 60 low status people having visited museums (Merriman 1991:50-

52). However, Merriman's (1991:160) means for ascribing social status was rudimentary and arguable, based as it was on home ownership, vehicle ownership and any education above minimal levels. Similarly other heritage sites were found to be more popular with the higher status than the lower. The survey did not analyse use of museums and other heritage sites according to ethnic identity.

More recently as part of the response to the Alexander Keiller Museum reburial claim (see section 8.5.1) English Heritage and the National Trust commissioned a survey on public attitudes to museums (BDRC nd) which included questions on heritage consumer activity. The survey revealed that 68% of those surveyed visited museums and 38% visited archaeological sites (BDRC nd:5). When the social demographics of those who visited sites were compared it was found that those in the higher social grades 'skilled and managerial' were more likely to be heritage consumers than 'unskilled labourers and unemployed people' (BDRC nd:5). The survey also found that people with a religious faith were less likely to be consumers of heritage (BDRC nd:5). Only 47% of respondents claimed to be interested in archaeology but 73% said they had seen archaeological programmes on television. In this area too there was a social bias with the wealthier more likely to be interested than the 'poorer social grades' (BDRC nd:6).

Although heritage consumers may tend to be from wealthier demographics, there are still significant numbers from poorer groups so any arguments that heritage is only of interest to the wealthy is problematic. Sadly no data seems to be available on how religious and ethnic identity corresponds to use of heritage sites.

Paying for heritage

Timothy (2007:xiv) states that governments have provided generously for heritage but that the post 2008 economic downturn has reduced their generosity and that consequently heritage organisations have looked to other sources of funding to maintain themselves.

- National Museums like the British Museum receive some government funds but receives sponsorship and donations as well (Burnett & Reeve 2001:25).

- Local Museums may be council funded but generally rely on charitable donations to a large extent (Museums Association ndb).
- Statutory Heritage Bodies like English Heritage (ndf) are largely state funded but also raise funds through sponsorship, charitable donations and entrance fees.
- Private museums and heritage sites, whose income usually depends on entrance fees, often have charitable status giving them tax relief (Museums Association ndb) which may be seen as a degree of state support.
- Rescue archaeology is mainly developer funded (Barber et al 2008:31; Carver 2009:365-367; DCMS 2009:22; Spoerry 1993:32-34) although heritage agencies have funded excavation of sites at risk from other threats (Grenville 1993:130).
- Research archaeology tends to be mainly the province of universities which are partially supported by the state through the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC nd) and by subsidised fees (HEFCE nd). Specific projects, e.g. the Cadw funded and Dyfed Archaeological Trust run dig at Pant-y-Butler (see section 7.3.2.1), also receive funding from charitable trusts, research councils and heritage agencies (Grenville 1993:130).

In its Code of Ethics for Museums, the Museums Association (2008:12) asserts that 'Society can expect museums to: Encourage people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment'. To further this aim they require museum managers and staff to:

- Recognise the diversity and complexity of society and uphold the principle of equal opportunities for all
 - Develop and promote the museum to appeal to an ever broader and more varied audience. Aim to provide something of interest to every potential user
 - Respond to the diverse requirements of different cultural groups
 - Take account of present and potential users' ability and willingness to visit if admission or other charges are levied
- (Museums Association 2008:12)

This demonstrates that inclusivity is seen as an important ethical imperative within the heritage sector.

6.1.6 Public Driven Archaeology and Heritage

We have seen in the previous section that much of the heritage sector is driven by profit. In such situations public influence is limited to consumer choice to buy or not to buy with perhaps the occasional customer satisfaction survey one may or may not be invited to participate in. However, it is not unusual for local communities to support or even initiate archaeological research as at Nevern (section 5.3.2) and designation of heritage sites as at Crossbones (in section 5.2.3).

6.1.7 Outreach in Archaeology and Heritage

Smith and Waterton (2009:114) describe outreach using the example of museums employing outreach officers or units to provide 'desired links between communities and the museum'. Merriman (2004:96) describes outreach as provision of services to non-traditional venues and audiences. University of Oxford Museums and Collections (nd) offer free outreach sessions involving handling collections and other 'hands-on activities'. Archaeological contract firms such as Wessex Archaeology (nd) also provide outreach services including presentations, displays, open days and work experience. Even university led archaeological projects include public liaison officers to provide on-site up to the minute interpretation to visiting members of the public as I saw at Nevern in 2010 and at the Stonehenge riverside project in 2005. In section 1.2.1 it was stated that Pagans hold gatherings called moots and that these often include guest speakers. I have seen both alternative and mainstream archaeologists addressing Pagan moots and can thus state confidently that these provide a useful opportunity for archaeologists to undertake outreach work. Arguably McDavid (2002:310-312, 2009:217-234) has gone beyond outreach by incorporating public participation at a fundamental level in her work.

6.2 Case Studies

I shall now look at three case studies to see how issues of ownership and interpretation have played out. In the first I shall examine how Glastonbury has been attributed conflicting meanings by Pagans, Christians, archaeologists, businesses

and local people and how the National Trust has sometimes found itself caught in the middle. The second case study looks at how the ownership and interpretation of the Rollright stones has developed since they were put up for sale in 1997. Finally I shall revisit Stonehenge to explore the extent to which different narratives and interpretations are presented to the visiting public.

6.2.1 Case Study 1: Glastonbury

Glastonbury (GR ST500389) is a small town in Somerset in the west of England and has been described as Britain's 'Holyest Erthe' (Reiser 1974). It is sacred to Christians as well as to Pagans and New Agers as well as being a home and workplace to those who dwell there (Ivakhiv 2001:80, 100-101).

6.2.1.1 Landscape and Character

Glastonbury is located on the Somerset levels, a low lying predominately flat region with some low hills. The location would once have been on the edge of a peaty salt marsh area regularly inundated by the sea. From the 17th century coastal defences and drainage strategies were implemented and many areas which were marginal are now valuable farmland (Rahtz 1993:12-13). Glastonbury nestles between three hills, the highest of which is known as the Tor (GR ST512386), a local word meaning hill. The other two hills are Wearyall or Wirrel Hill and Edmund Hill.

Glastonbury is a lively, provincial English town featuring a profusion of shops catering for New Age and alternative living such as specialist bookshops, vegan cafes and crystal suppliers at the lower end of the High Street. The architecture there is colourful and varied incorporating painted rendering, red brick and limestone architecture.

6.2.1.2 Cultural History

The town's principal attractions consist of the remains of a wealthy Benedictine Abbey (GR ST500389) and the Tor, atop which only the hollow tower survives of St. Michael's Church and at the foot of which lie the Chalice Well Gardens (GR ST507385). The Chalice Well Gardens are centred on a spring beneath which some believe the Holy Grail is buried (Ivakhiv 2001:70). This spring is known both as the



Fig. 36: Map showing location of Glastonbury, GR351138 (Ordnance Survey via Digimap)



Chalice Well after the grail and as the Red Spring due to iron salts in the water staining the surrounding rocks a dark red colour. Across the road is a Victorian stone reservoir built over another spring (GR ST507384). This other spring is known as the White Spring and together the two are considered sacred and healing by Pagans, New Agers and Christians (Ivakhiv 2001:70-71).

The Benedictine Abbey was once Britain's wealthiest (Ivakhiv 2001:76) and was still the second richest when Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries (Ivakhiv 2001:78). Archaeological excavations by Rahtz (1993:54-60) have failed to find any evidence of prehistoric or Roman settlement near the Tor but a sub-Roman enclosure, tentatively identified as a religious settlement has been found. It has become an important site for mainstream Christians and probably the most important pilgrimage site in Britain for mystical Christians and those wishing to adopt a Celtic Christianity (Ivakhiv 2001:100-101). The financial rewards from being a pilgrimage site were important to the mediaeval monks who after a disastrous fire in 1184 claimed to have found the grave of King Arthur in the grounds of the Abbey in 1191 (Ivakhiv 2001:77). Since Arthurian legend had Arthur carried off to the mystical Isle of Avalon after being mortally wounded at the battle of Camlan or Camblam (Monmouth 1966:259-261; Ivakhiv 2001:77), and despite the near certainty that the monastic discovery was fraudulent (Ivakhiv 2001:77), Glastonbury became identified as Avalon. This connection not only contributed massively to the town's interest to mystical and Celtic Christians but also made it attractive to Occultists, Pagans and New Agers (Ivakhiv 2001:95-98). The fact that one of Britain's first Free Festivals (Ivakhiv 2001:82 describes it as the first) was held at nearby Pilton and continues in the not-so-free form of the Glastonbury Festival also makes the town significant for surviving members of the Free Festival Movement.

6.2.1.3 Archaeology

The most significant archaeological sites in and around Glastonbury are probably the abbey followed by the remains of St. Michael's Church atop the Tor but there are also traces of Iron Age settlements at Glastonbury and at nearby Meare (Rahtz 1993:22-24). Rahtz (1993:20-22) also mentions several Neolithic and Bronze Age track ways across the marshes which were well preserved in the waterlogged soils. Another

significant archaeological feature in the area is an earthwork known as Ponters Ball dividing the peninsula of higher ground on which the town lies from the larger area of high ground providing a dry approach to it. Rahtz (1993:25-27) records the discovery of Iron Age pottery at the bottom of the ditch suggesting the earthwork is unlikely to have been dug later than this period. However, Ivakhiv (2001:122) asserts confidently that the earthwork has been dated to no earlier than 1200AD. Rahtz (1993:28) also explains that there is little evidence for Roman activity in the town apart from tiles suggestive of a building on the site of the later abbey. Rahtz (1993:52-54) admits that excavations during 1964-1966 intended to assess when Christian settlement in Glastonbury began were not successful but he records details of an Anglo-Saxon monastic settlement on the Tor and speculates that it subsequently became a retreat for the abbey monks or a daughter house (Rahtz 1993:60, 61, 64).

6.2.1.4 Glastonbury Earth Mysteries

Glastonbury is one of the sites located along the Michael-Mary Ley (Michell 2001:72-73). Indeed Ivakhiv (2001:108) refers to identification of anywhere from four or five to over a hundred ley lines believed to pass through the town. Glastonbury has also been suggested as being the heart chakra of the Earth (Ivakhiv 2001:110). The term chakra refers to seven centres of spiritual energy located along the axis of the human torso and head originating in Hindu and Buddhist traditions but also adopted into some contemporary Pagan beliefs (Crowley 1989:88-93, Pike 2004:105). In the 1930s Katherine Maltwood noticed that certain features on a map including field boundaries, roads and water courses could be interpreted to outline shapes symbolising the signs of the zodiac which she suggested were Neolithic in origin (Ivakhiv 2001:111-112, Rahtz 1993:50). Ivakhiv (2001:112-113) includes criticisms of the zodiac hypothesis focusing on the need to be at high altitude for the shapes to be visible but Rahtz (1993:50) points out that several of the elements of the shapes (such as drainage channels and some roads) can be dated securely to within the last few centuries and also suggests that similar patterns can be discerned on any map at random if one has the imagination to see them.

6.2.1.5 Christian Glastonbury

The town is particularly important to Christians as tradition has it that the first church in Britain was founded there by Joseph of Arimathea in 3 AD and perhaps even bringing the youthful Christ there himself (Anon 1827:8; Ivakhiv 2001:100).

The primary foci for Christian pilgrims to Glastonbury are the holy thorn on Wearyall Hill (GR ST492381) which is believed to have originated from the staff of Joseph of Arimathea and the abbey which is deemed to be the site of Britain's first church (Ivakhiv 2001:74, 100-101, 95). The Chalice Well gardens are more likely to be of interest to the more mystic or Celtic Christians (Ivakhiv 2001:101) due to the story that the Holy Grail is buried in the area and that the water has therefore come into contact with the relic (Ivakhiv 2001:70).

6.2.1.6 Pagan Glastonbury

For Pagans and New Agers alike the Chalice Well is of central importance. Along with the White Spring across the road, it forms one focus whilst the Tor standing over it forms another with its reputation as an entrance to the Otherworld and court of the fairy king (Ivakhiv 2001:105). Ivakhiv (2001:96) also refers to a pair of sacred oak trees known as Gog and Magog. Other attractions for Pagan and New Age visitors include the Goddess temple (GR ST497388), just west of the town centre, as well as New Age and Pagan bookshops, crystal shops and vegetarian cafes on and adjacent to the lower, western end of the High Street. The Arthurian connections to Glastonbury are significant to Pagans because many see King Arthur not as the saviour of Roman Christian Britain but rather as a Pagan chief falsely Christianised (Hutton 2009:178, Hope 1987:197) or the last great Celtic war leader who was also able to unite Christians and Pagans in mutual respect (Snyder 2011:167). This view seems to have emerged, initially in fiction, in the 1980s. The idea's supporters cite hagiographies which depict Arthur as being in conflict with early mediaeval saints such as St. Cadoc, St. Gildas and St. Illtud (Snyder 2011:96).

6.2.1.7 Contested Glastonbury

Like Avebury Glastonbury does not offer clear cut, one on one contestation but rather a shifting web of interactions and oppositions. Much of the contestation is related to

those who see themselves as the original local community resisting what they see as a take-over by incomers. Ivakhiv (2001:81) points out the division between the mainstream traditional residents of Glastonbury and an incoming alternative community. He explains that the division was already clear in the 1920s when the communities were described as Glastonburians and Avalonians. At the beginning of the 21st century this had become Glastonians and Glastafarians. Rahtz (1993:132) likens the competing interpretations and ascribed significances of Glastonbury to those of Stonehenge expressed in Chippindale et al (1990). In fact Rahtz himself (1993:132) lists stakeholder groups such as Christians and townspeople who do not feature (at least not to the same extent) in the ideological or interpretive contestation of Stonehenge.

Some in Glastonbury have been hostile to Pagans and other counter-cultural groups. The church green was fenced off to prevent use as a gathering area (Ivakhiv 2001:67) and a proposal to pedestrianise the town centre became a bitter dispute between local shops catering for all and those catering more for New Age and Pagan clients. Worthington (2005b:203-204) also reports that Mendip District Council prosecuted Allison Colyer, owner of a Christian retreat in the town, for providing refuge for New Age Travellers after the Stoney Cross incident (see section 4.3.5.4) resulting in her receiving a suspended prison sentence. New Age Travellers were not welcome even if they had nowhere else to go.

As previously stated the Tor forms one of the foci for Pagan pilgrims to Glastonbury. Ivakhiv (2001:130) describes protests from the residents of Chilkwell Street, around the Chalice Well corner from the Tor, regarding noisy celebrations atop it. He describes threats to sue the National Trust for failing to uphold its bylaws banning music and camping on its land. The Trust has ignored such demands continuing to permit unrestricted access to the Tor. It can therefore be argued that the National Trust has acted in the interests of the Pagan community in this instance.

6.2.1.8 Archaeologists and Earth Mysteries

Many archaeologists see it as part of their duty as rationalist academics to debunk fallacious ideas about the past with Rahtz (1991:128) describing the town as a

'Mecca of all irrationality' (See also Schadla-Hall 2004). Glastonbury provides an example of many Earth Mysteries ideas and as such provides an obvious arena for the war of words between those who support such ideas and those who refute them. In section 6.2.1.4 I described how Rahtz (1993:50) cast doubt on the hypothesised Glastonbury zodiac. The Pagan assertion that Glastonbury was a Druid sanctuary bounded by the Ponters Ball earthwork (Ivakhiv 2001:105-106), presumably based on Rahtz's (1993:25-27) description of Iron Age pottery there, has been called into question with a date for the earthwork no earlier than 1200 AD (Ivakhiv 2001:122). Field interviews and discourse analysis confirm that some within the Pagan community welcome new evidence and the opportunity to learn more, however others feel that the academic community are attacking their spirituality.

6.2.2 Case Study 2: The Rollright Stones

The Rollright Stones are situated about two and a half miles north-north west of Chipping Norton in Oxfordshire at grid reference SP296308 (fig. 41). They comprise a stone circle known as the King's Men (fig. 38 & 42 below), a standing stone known as the King Stone (fig. 39) and a Portal Dolmen known as the Whispering Knights (fig. 40) (Lambrick 1988:32).



Fig. 38: The Kings Men April 2009 (Author's photograph)

6.2.2.1 Archaeology of the Rollright Stones

The stones were excavated in the late 17th century by an antiquarian named Ralph Sheldon but little record of his findings survive beyond the fact that no human remains were found (Lambrick 1983:11; 1988:7-8). Lambrick's 1981 to 1986 fieldwork is

therefore the primary source on the site. Restoration work involving re-erection of fallen and displaced stones was carried out in 1882 (Lambrick 1988:35) and a major part of Lambrick's research was to discover how accurately this reconstruction had been accomplished. Analysis of the stones themselves supports the contention that the stones were sourced locally, most likely as surface boulders rather than quarried from bedrock.



Fig. 39: The King Stone seen from the north. (Author's photograph)

The Whispering Knights (fig. 40) constitute the earliest element of the Rollright Stones. Lambrick (1988:28, 32) explains that they were first interpreted as the megalithic chamber of a ploughed out long barrow but are now thought to have been a portal dolmen, the most easterly example of such a monument in southern Britain (Blain & Wallis 2007:174). Lambrick (1988:115-116) even suggests that they could predate Cotswold Severn Long Barrows such as West Kennett and Wayland's Smithy. Burl (2000:29) describes an excavation by T.H. Ravenhill which located a piece of human cheekbone within the chamber but found that the presumed long barrow outline was a natural feature. Lambrick (1988:115-116) however, is open to the possibility of a kidney shaped cairn having once existed around the megaliths.



Fig. 40: Whispering Knights viewed from the north. Note vandalised remains of interpretation board.
(Author's photograph)

The Kings Men are thought to date from the later Neolithic (Lambrick 1988:121-124). As a child I was told that a person counting them will never reach the same total twice and antiquarian accounts of their number do indeed vary (Lambrick 1983:6). Unlike Stonehenge and Avebury there is no evidence for a surrounding earthwork. Instead the Kings Men stand on a broad low earthen bank with a wide entrance facing south-south-west along the axis of the monument (Lambrick 1988:37, 41 & 43). Lambrick (1988:41) suggests that when originally erected the stones were closer to forming a perfect circle than at present. His measurement of the circle provided a diameter of 33m but Burl (2000:31) cites Thom as measuring it at 31.6m with a circumference of 99m, equal to 120 of Thom's hypothetical megalithic yards. Lambrick (1988:42) classifies the stones into two categories: pillars and the more plentiful slabs. This description correlates closely with Meaden's (1999:2-6) analysis of the Avebury stones. Lambrick (1988:42) confirms earlier assertions that the inner surface of the Kings Men tends to be smoother than the outward facing surfaces, also suggesting that the stones would have originally constituted a continuous wall. Both Lambrick (1988:42) and Burl (2000:31) mention a possible alignment with the rise of the star Capella. Burl points out that the date for the circle suggested by Thom on this basis was only forty years earlier than subsequent radiocarbon dates but Lambrick still considers the alignment unlikely to be of significance to the builders of the circle.

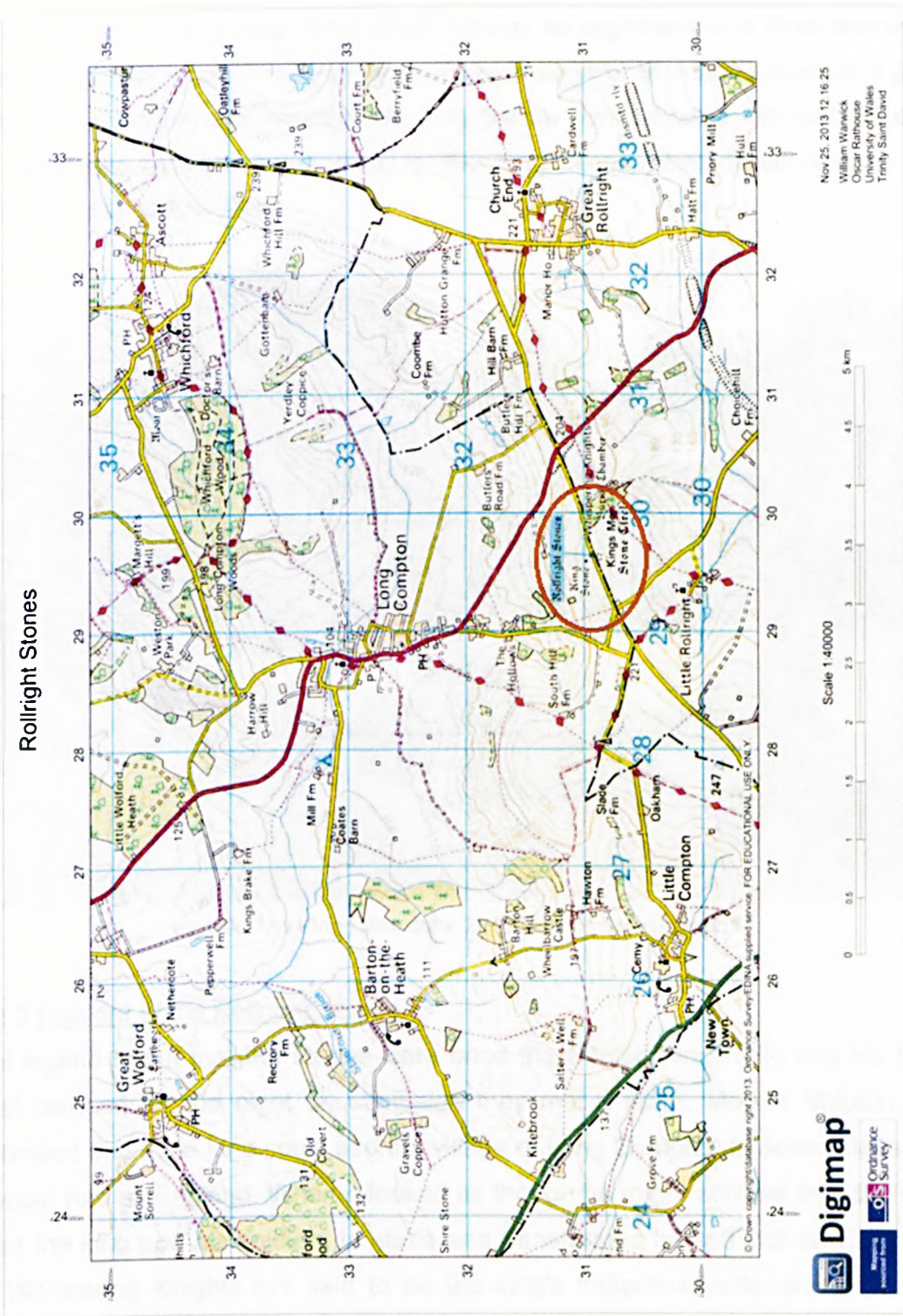


Fig. 41: Location of the Rollright Stones (Ordnance Survey via Digimap)

Lambrick (1988:48) suggests several possible interpretations of the King Stone: an outlying element of the Kings Men circle forming an alignment or a ritual element; a guide post to help locate the Kings Men; the sole survivor of a stone avenue; a grave stone or an element of a hypothetical long barrow. Uncalibrated radiocarbon dates from cremated remains found near to the King Stone gave dates ranging from 1540 \pm 70bc to 1370 \pm 90bc.



Fig. 42: The Kings Men June 2010 (Author's photograph)

6.2.2.2 Folklore of the Rollright Stones

Local legend has it that the stones were once the Danish King Rollo and his army. Whilst camped for the night on campaign they met a witch, Mother Shipton, who prophesied that if the king could see the village of Long Compton in seven steps then he would rule all England. When it looked as though he might achieve this, the witch turned the king and his soldiers to stone and transformed herself into an Elder tree. The Whispering Knights are said to be the king's traitorous lieutenants who were plotting to overthrow him as the curse was cast (Blain & Wallis 2007:175, Burl 2000:9, Cope 1998:238-239, Lambrick 1983:4-5).

6.2.2.3 Ownership

When I visited the Stones in the 1980s and early 1990s, they were owned by Pauline Flick who charged a nominal fee to enter (Blain & Wallis 2007:175). When her partner died in 1997 Ms Flick put them up for auction. Fearing that the Stones would be commercially exploited in an insensitive way, a campaign to purchase the stones was undertaken and the Rollright Trust set up. Blain & Wallis (2007:176-177) cite Karin Attwood (one of the Trustees) explaining that people were afraid that the stones would be closed to the public or turned into an expensive and kitsch theme park. She explains that the Trust quickly received the full support not only of the Pagan community but of other groups including the Church of England. Despite prominent adverts in the Pagan Press and an enthusiastic fundraising campaign in the Pagan community, the Trust failed to raise sufficient funds and two local businessmen with aims similar to those of the Trust purchased the stones. In 2001 the businessmen sold the stones on to the Rollright Trust which has owned and managed them ever since (Blain & Wallis 2007:177).

6.2.2.4 Pagan Activity at the Rollright Stones

In the mid-1990s, when the site was still owned by Ms Flick, I overheard her partner explaining to an incredulous American tourist that the site was still in use by Witches Druids and Pagans. The only people he explained were not welcome were those he described as 'nudists'. Nowadays, the Cotswold Order of Druids (COD) regularly uses the site for ritual (Blain & Wallis 2007:188) and I attended their Summer Solstice ceremony there in June 2010. After my experiences at Stonehenge in December 2008 (see section 3.7.1) I decided to dress in Druid robes (See Fig. 4) I was greeted by and chatted to Pagan acquaintances of mine and to members of the Rollright Trust. Unlike Avebury where the size and topography almost suggests a processional initial phase of ritual, the group did not process around the much smaller Rollright Circle but rather entered directly into it. The lead celebrants positioned themselves in the centre and spirits of east, south, west and north were invoked so that the boundary represented by the stones should be empowered. The Summer Solstice was celebrated in poetry and song after which the spirits were thanked and bade farewell to before the circle was closed and the gathering broke up.



Fig. 43: Defaced interpretive board at the Kings Men (Author's photograph)

6.2.2.5 Vandalism at the Rollright Stones

After the COD Solstice ritual in June 2010 described above, I was fortunate enough to interview one of the trustees of the Rollright Trust. This interviewee asked not to be named but explained that locals had held an unapproved rave there the night before. I

was also told that there had been several cases of vandalism. The attendant's hut which had been at the site when Ms Flick had owned the site was burned down. When this was replaced with a steel box, the lock was squirted with glue. Without a shelter for an attendant there is no way of ensuring the modest entrance fee of £1 is paid although an honesty box is chained to the gate. Interpretive panels had been destroyed (see fig. 43) thwarting attempts to disseminate information about the site. No group has claimed responsibility for these actions and the perpetrators and their agenda remain unknown.

6.2.3 Case Study 3: Interpreting Stonehenge

I have described the contestation of access to Stonehenge in Section 4.3 but there are other Pagan criticisms of the way Stonehenge is managed relating to its interpretation and ownership. Whilst conducting ethnographic interviews with Solstice pilgrims at Stonehenge in December 2008, some Pagan interviewees (e.g. p.c. Grant 2011) voiced strong objection that the way English Heritage sets out the paths and the audio guide almost forces visitors to circle the monument anticlockwise (in Pagan terminology widdershins) which they associate with destructive and disempowering magic (This is explained further in section 6.4.1.1, see also Somers & Pendragon 2010:13).

Barbara Bender (1998:145-171) critiques the unilateral and androcentric interpretation of Stonehenge. The male focussed artwork she particularly deplores has now been removed. Research interviewee Kim Payne (p.c. 2008) remarked that the public interpretation of Stonehenge sidelines or omits Pagan narratives of the site. Members of the public visiting Stonehenge can buy an official English Heritage Guide book (Richards 2005, 2013) or hire a rechargeable audio guide handset. The handset operates by using numbered markers to prompt visitors to access audio descriptions. The guide book does make brief mention of its use as a 'living temple' in 'earth religions and new paganism' and that it had been 'a focus of conflict based on the Summer Solstice' (Richards 2005:46, 2013:51). It also mentions the association of modern Druids with the site for over a century (Richards 2005:46, 2013:51).

The audio tour script in use in 2008 (English heritage unpublished), which was kindly given to me by Peter Carson (the site manager), begins by explaining that the site has been extensively reconstructed in recent decades with stones re-erected and straightened in an attempt to turn back the ravages of time. The script goes on to describe the elements which make up the site and archaeological determinations of their age. It includes some speculation about the purpose of the Aubrey holes and the reasons for bringing the Preseli bluestones all the way from Wales. It explains some of the techniques hypothesised to have been used in erecting the stones. The script points out the midsummer sunrise alignment and remarks that measurement of time must have been important for our agrarian ancestors. It also remarks a little on the geometric layout of the site particularly regarding the station stones. It tells a little about the lifestyle of Late Neolithic Britons and suggests that the stones were raised, at least in part, to emphasise the authority of the ruling elites of the time. The tour mentions how Stonehenge was given to the nation by Cecil Chubb and describes myths that the stones were brought by the wizard Merlin from Ireland as a memorial or that he persuaded the Devil do it for him. It also mentions their place in Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. The script mentions that people have proposed many ideas about what the stones were for and mentions ideas about Stonehenge as an observatory, a calendar, a healing shrine, even that they were brought by extra-terrestrials. The script however, makes absolutely no mention of Ley Lines and spiritual ideas regarding earth energies. It mentions that John Aubrey connected the site to the Druids in the 17th century but dismisses any connection between Stonehenge and Druids. The 2008 Audio script makes no mention of either contemporary Pagan use of the site or the Free Festival and its suppression. In fact it specifically denies any link with Druids. Its replacement has not rectified this omission.

The guide book, written by Julian Richards (2005, 2013), provides a more extensive and in depth description of Stonehenge than the audio tour and is illustrated with photographs, artwork and maps. The guide book does make mention of the erroneous interpretation of the stones as a Druidic temple (Richards 2005:19, 2013:44). It makes brief mention of contemporary Pagans and Druids at Stonehenge and makes a highly oblique reference to the exclusion zone in one sentence

(Richards 2005:46, 2013:51). However, it too makes absolutely no mention of the Free Festival or Earth Mysteries interpretations of the site. Although both the guide book and the audio script mention ideas relating to UFOs, neither of them mentions earth energies, sacred geometry or ley lines. Archaeologists including Daniel (1992:25, 28, 34, 42, 51, 59, 126, 130, 173) and Schadla-Hall (2004:268) have argued that publicly acknowledging Earth Mysteries interpretations and contemporary Pagan stakeholdership would constitute a betrayal of rationality. However, the interpretation of a cathedral or synagogue would be impossible without referring to the spiritual beliefs surrounding them. Indeed I would argue that the suppression of narratives regarding the Free Festival and the exclusion zone are a negation of an important role the monument played in recent social history. Bearing in mind how many Pagans visit Stonehenge as pilgrims and as tourists, it seems absurd to assume there would be a lack of interest in such narratives so a politically driven motive for suppressing these narratives must remain plausible. This ties in closely with Smith & Waterton's (2009:159) recognition that exclusion of historical narratives is exclusion and/or marginalisation of people and that this is often part of a broader social subordination or exclusion of these people.

Cooper (2010:153) quotes one of Arthur's followers as saying 'One day I'll get a bunch of White Horses and me and my knights will ride over that ridge to knock down that fence and take our temple back'. Conversations with Pendragon himself lead me to conclude that he would be keen to see the site in the control of Druids. The basis of Druidic claims for ownership of Stonehenge have not been clearly expressed or examined but are built on a belief that English Heritage has abused and violated Chubb's deed of gift through which the site was gifted to the nation and also on a perceived spiritual ownership through an elective connection with the builders of the monument. Much of the contestation of access described in section 4.3 relates to the public ownership of Stonehenge and the argument put forward by Druids and travellers (e.g. Maughfling 2000a:5) that it has been appropriated as a commodity by English Heritage contrary to the stipulation that the Ministry of Works might charge no more than a shilling per head if required for the upkeep and maintenance of the monument (Worthington 2005a:61). This contention has been implicitly supported by scholars (e.g. Bender 1998:122-123; Gilmour 2007:94) and is also given weight by

articles such as Catling's (2014:23) assertion that Stonehenge accounts for 20% of EH's revenue. My own estimate, based on a BBC News (2011c) report that EH made £50m profit over five years, is that Stonehenge provides 3.7% of English Heritage's income. Although this is more modest, I still accept that Stonehenge provides significantly more money to EH than required for its upkeep. In section 4.3.5.10 I explained the lasting legacy of distrust and bitterness which the exclusion of Pagans at the Summer Solstice has left. It should therefore come as no surprise that some Pagans would like to see Stonehenge taken out of English Heritage's hands.

I argue that interpretation of Stonehenge could be a great deal more inclusive and multi-vocal without compromising English Heritage's scientific epistemology. I suggest Druids, Pagans and Earth Mystics would be satisfied for interpretive material to record that, for instance, 'people believe...' rather than presenting their beliefs as uncontested fact. I would argue that Richards' temporary exhibition on the recent social history of the site be permanently incorporated into the display. Rumours reached me that the excluded narratives of recent social history relating to the Free Festival and the exclusion zone that stopped it might be included in a temporary exhibition at the new Stonehenge visitors centre but I have been unable to find any verification of them. I would hope that this part of the Stonehenge story would form a permanent part of the display there. However, I am profoundly disinclined to support any contention that the ownership and management of Stonehenge might be better in the hands of the Druid leaders than in those of English Heritage. English Heritage is a public body managed by professionals with proven experience and improving multi-vocality while my experience of Druid orders suggests they are often anarchic and lack an awareness of broader issues and interpretations.

6.3 Contesting Interpretations and Ownership

It has been seen that Glastonbury provides a subject of interpretive dispute between Earth Mysteries proponents (many of whom identify as Pagans) and archaeologists as well as being a case where heritage managers may be caught between the desires of Pagans and those of locals and Christian groups. I have described how the Rollright Stones have come into the ownership of a charitable trust but that persons unknown have successfully pursued a campaign of vandalism to prevent the trust

charging admission or posting interpretive boards at the site. Finally I have described how the literature (written and recorded) which English Heritage uses to interpret Stonehenge to visitors excludes beliefs and narratives important to many Pagans implying a marginalisation which some Pagan interviewees feel is discriminatory. Indeed Fiona McLean (2008:286) and the Museums Association (2008:12) suggest that it is an ethical imperative that heritage narratives need to be inclusive.

The Glastonbury case study illustrates how archaeologists and heritage professionals may find themselves caught in the middle between contesting religious groups but it is not unique. At Flag Fen in Peterborough Mike Webber (p.c. 2009) explained that plans for school activities had to be altered due to objections from two site volunteers on grounds of their Christian beliefs. He explained that they told him they would resign if he included Pagan elements such as the burning of a straw filled wicker man and issued a veiled threat that they were not the only Christians in Peterborough. He went on to say that this anti-Pagan feeling among some of his staff had been a factor in turning down a request to hold a Pagan event at the site although a Druidic eisteddfod (arts festival) did go ahead there in 2007. I do not envy him this decision but I argue that Christians uncomfortable with such an event can easily miss it but that for them to prevent others from doing it is absolutist, exclusionary and hence unethical.

Frank Somers and Arthur Pendragon (2010:13) argued that modern Druidry has a strong claim to be seen as a 'descendant tradition' from the Neolithic culture which constructed Stonehenge. They complained that the public interpretation of the site gives no acknowledgement to historic or prehistoric connection of Druids with Stonehenge. They also objected to the fact that English Heritage gives them 'no support what so ever' (Somers & Pendragon 2010:13) during open access times and, as previously mentioned in section 6.2.3, that the audio guide and path layout encourages visitors to circle the site anti-clockwise which they consider problematic for reasons laid out in section 6.4.1.1 below. However following the opening of the new visitors centre in December 2013, a new audio guide has been provided which encourages visitors to circle the monument in a clockwise direction. Somers & Pendragon (2010:13) expressed an expectation that Druid groups should be notified

well in advance of archaeological work undertaken there and be given a chance to challenge the scope of such work. They alleged that English Heritage treat Druids and other Pagan pilgrims as a problem rather than an asset. Somers (p.c. 2010) also accused English Heritage of recruiting academics to their executive board to the exclusion of Pagans although he did acknowledge the presence of one Pagan academic on its board who has since resigned.

Lest it appear that all archaeologists and heritage professionals are wedded to an absolute rejection of non-orthodox narratives, Carman (2005:86-99) describes how several archaeologists have sought to incorporate a plurality of interpretation into their work (See Coleman 2013:156-175; Carmichael et al 1994:5-7; Davidson 1995:3-5; McDavid 2002:310-312, 2009:217-234; O'Regan 1994:95-106; Watkins 2012:663 for more detailed examples). We have also seen in section 5.3.1.6 how the display of Seahenge at Kings Lynn Museum has sought to include Pagan views as well as archaeological ones.

6.4 Theorising Contestation of Ownership and Interpretation

In this section I shall analyse the contestation of ownership and interpretation through the lens of anthropological or sociological theory. In section 6.1.1 I discussed what is actually meant by ownership, stakeholdership and representation. I shall now explore and analyse the reasons for contesting these issues and examine the role of community involvement in them.

6.4.1 Why demand Ownership/Stakeholdership

In this section I shall examine in detail why members of the Pagan community contest ownership of sites or demand recognition as stakeholders in heritage. For ease of examination, I have broken down these reasons into two sections: spiritual and political.

6.4.1.1 Spiritual Reasons

In section 6.3.3 I reported that some Pagans objected to the way the visiting public were spatially directed to circle the monument in an anti-clockwise (widdershins) direction which they saw as disempowering the monument or empowering it in a

negative way. Pagans may see the positive empowerment of such sites as facilitating shifts in human consciousness or energizing their prayers and magical workings (Crowley 1989:114). At the heart of the issue is the fact that these sites are presented to visitors not as sacred but rather as secular monuments of the past. Recognition as stakeholders or owners of such sites is seen by Pagans as a means by which Pagan practices and sacred narratives may be respected.

6.4.1.2 Political Reasons

I would suggest that there is a desire to wrest control from hostile authority or at the very least to show those who do have decision making powers regarding these sites that any attempt to interfere with their freedom of religious expression will be met with vociferous protest. Magliocco (2004:185-204) argues that the perpetuation of a threatening authority and campaigns against it provide a small degree of community cohesion. Furthermore, as seen in section 4.5.1.2, religious groups have interpreted hostility from outsiders as a validation of their religious values. In section 5.4 I stated that the more political counter-cultural Druid groups tend towards an anti-capitalist stance. Thus it should be no surprise that they oppose the commodification of sacred sites as elements of the heritage/tourist industry. Their members tend to be distrustful of big businesses and government. Some are keen proponents of conspiracy theories and many see themselves in the role of poorly equipped tribal Britons facing the well organised, well equipped, massed legions of a soulless imperialist force bent on appropriating and commodifying what they see as their spiritual heritage.

Jarman (1995:135-136), in his study of sectarian division of space in Belfast, identifies a tendency among human beings to claim space as a group and to dominate and control that space. As individuals like to have a home or *pied à terre*, so, I suggest, do groups. Christians, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus and others in the UK tend to use sacred sites owned and operated by their own religious organisations. In Jerusalem (BBC News 2008e) and Ayodhya (BBC News 2010b) ownership of sites has been contested violently. Very few Pagan sacred sites are owned and managed by Pagans in the UK. Druids particularly view Stonehenge as their temple and some would like to control it (Cooper 2010:153).

6.4.2 Theorising Community Involvement and Stakeholdership

Carman (2005:46) critiques Merriman's (1991:1) assertion that the past is the property of everyone pointing out that not everyone is interested in the past. But should this exclude those without an interest? Payne (p.c. 2009) says not. He argues that the remains of the past belong to all. Carman (2005:47) points out that interest does not guarantee access. Many items in museum collections which are of personal interest to me are in storage rather than on display. As an academic I may be able to arrange special access and Mark Graham (p.c. 2012) recounted a case where he and other Pagans were allowed access to human remains to perform ritual near them, however, most Pagans would be unlikely to know that such arrangements were even possible and such access is unlikely to be permitted by all institutions.

Fiona McLean (2008:286) asserts that heritage narratives need to be inclusive and the Museums Association (2008:12) sets out an ethical imperative to 'develop and promote the museum to appeal to an ever broader and more varied audience. Aim to provide something of interest to every potential user' and to 'respond to the diverse requirements of different cultural groups'. Following these ideas, museums such as the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery have adjusted and set out their displays to appeal to a wider audience particularly immigrant and ethnic minority communities.

6.4.3 Suggested Solutions

Sebastian Payne (p.c. 2009) explained to me that English Heritage viewed everyone as a stakeholder in heritage. He explained that English Heritage was responsible to the citizens of the UK via the elected government but that he would prefer to see heritage as the province of all humanity. He was keen to emphasise that this included generations as yet unborn. This duty to provide access to the people of the future is at the heart of the preservation ethos and resonates strongly with the oft repeated (in Pagan circles) adage that we do not inherit the world from our parents but hold it in trust for our children.

In the case of Stonehenge, the land on which the stones stand is legally in the ownership of the government due to the 1918 Deed of Gift by Cecil Chubb (Darvill 2007:273, Worthington 2005a:61). Boyd (2012:193) dismisses objections to legal or

obligatory recognition of cognitive ownership as a sense of bureaucratic repugnance. However, the requirement to consider in detail what might frequently be a bewilderingly diverse array of requirements and agendas would be so time consuming and difficult to negotiate as to render any administration of heritage sites practically impossible. Carman's (2005:117-121) proposal for the de-commodification of heritage assets including Stonehenge echoes calls by counter-cultural political Druid groups for free unrestricted access without fences (Loyal Arthurian Warband 2009; Rayner 2012:72-73). However, this places such sites at risk of vandalism similar to that at Avebury, as described in Section 4.4.3 (see also Antiquity 1996:501; Bender 1998:187-8; Blain and Wallis 2007:55; Green 1997:178), and The Rollright Stones, as described in section 6.2.2.5. Promoting the widest possible recognition of their value is perhaps the most important aim for archaeologists and heritage managers. Timothy (2007:xiii) points out that large numbers of visitors have a corrosive or erosive effect on monuments over long periods of time, that rubbish left can also have a damaging effect and that vandalism, particularly graffiti, causes damage even when removed. Carman (2005:120) suggests that universal recognition of their social value might protect non-owned heritage sites from vandalism and wear. I have reservations about this suggestion because sites where access is unrestricted do suffer problems. Rubbish is left, e.g. Waylands Smithy (Restall Orr 1996:26-8; Damh the Bard 2013), and vandalism occurs, e.g. the aforementioned painting of stones on the Avebury avenue (Antiquity 1996:501; Bender 1998:187-8; Blain & Wallis 2007:55; Green 1997:178) and the lighting of fires in West Kennett Long Barrow (Wallis 2003:169). I argue that universal acceptance of any idea is unlikely and that there will always be people who will damage monuments either deliberately, through selfishness or neglect. It therefore follows that if those alive today wish to pass on these monuments to generations yet to come they need to be protected by restricting access to those who would damage them. This kind of protection costs money and that must be provided either by an entrance charge, sponsorship/advertising or from the public purse.

I suspect that even Pendragon and his followers recognise that they have no realistic hope of gaining exclusive control of the Stones. Somers (p.c. 2010) suggested that Stonehenge ought to be run co-operatively by 'a combination of local and central and

spiritual'. I understand this to mean a committee formed from equal numbers of English Heritage, local council and Druid/Pagan/other spiritual users of Stonehenge. The hardest part of establishing such a committee would be deciding who the spiritual representatives would be. Perhaps the most obvious choice would be to ask Pagan representative bodies such as CoBDO and the Pagan Federation to elect one of their number to participate but there are large numbers of UK Druids and Pagans not affiliated to these bodies and the Pagan vs. Pagan contestation of sites like Avebury (see section 4.4.4.2) suggests that a consensus satisfactory to most would be impossible to achieve.

6.5 Conclusions

Heritage specialists and professionals such as Payne (p.c. 2009), Merriman (1991:1), Harrison (2010:8), Carman (2005:95-98), Carver (2009:33) and Bender (1998:116-131) have asserted that everyone is a stakeholder in heritage and it follows that excluding stakeholders is ethically questionable. Smith (2006:170-171) suggests that omission of narratives relating to ethnic groups contributes to a sense of exclusion from heritage and I suggest that this is as likely to be true for spiritual or religious identity groups as it is for ethnic groups.

Heritage consumers may support taxpayer funding but non-consumers may reject such a system. Right wing governments since 1979, favouring cuts in taxation, have tended towards limiting state funding (Timothy 2007:xiv). The Museums Association (2008:12) stipulates that museums should 'take account of present and potential users' ability and willingness to visit if admission or other charges are levied' recognising that charges can exclude the poorer members of society.

Carman (2005:30-31) suggests that private, government and even mutual ownership implies some degree of exclusion. Stonehenge has certainly been managed in an exclusionary way to varying extents at different times but although Carman's (2005:120) non-property open access approach would allow absolute open access to all, I am concerned that recognition of its social value could ever be universal and that hence damage to the site could not be prevented. I argue that such a management strategy would be likely to eventually degrade the site to the point where it would

exclude future generations. Some interviewees have complained that the current solstice access arrangements are a free-for-all and thus favour the loudest and more aggressive over the more peaceful and spiritual in terms of using the space. Some kind of booking and short period exclusive use might therefore be seen as more inclusive in the broad overview.