

Contested Heritage:
Examining relations between contemporary
Pagan groups and the archaeological and
heritage profession

Volume 2

William Rathouse BA (Hons)

Director of Studies: Dr Penny Dransart Dip Art PCTA MA MSt DPhil
FSA FSA (Scotland)

Second Supervisor: Dr Nick Campion BA MA PhD



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



Chapter 7: Archaeologists. Museum professionals and Human Remains



Fig 44: The author's daughter contemplates a Bronze Age skeleton in the British Museum (Author's photograph)

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I shall examine issues surrounding human remains. I shall briefly explain the fundamental points of why human remains are of value to archaeologists and museum professionals before I go on to examine contestation in the following chapter.

I shall examine why archaeologists and museum professionals are keen to excavate, analyse, store and display human remains, what can be learned from examining these remains and explore the laws, guidelines and policies in place to ensure that remains are treated ethically. I conclude with an examination of how archaeologists and museum professionals conduct their work regarding human remains and how they demonstrate respect for those whose remains they are working with. In chapter 8

I shall examine contemporary Pagan ideas about Ancestors (capitalised to denote the spiritually important dead), how contestation began and how it has been pursued. I shall then analyse the arguments for reburial and counter-arguments favouring retention of remains. In these chapters, I use the term 'contestation of human remains' to describe campaigns by contemporary Pagan (and other) groups to stop excavation of human remains, limit time taken for analysis and/or to rebury previously excavated remains or to influence the way they are displayed.

7.2 The Importance of Human Remains in Archaeology and Heritage

In explaining Pagan and archaeological/heritage interactions over human remains, it is first necessary to examine the use of human remains in archaeology (mortuary archaeology bioarchaeology and osteoarchaeology) and heritage (in the case of human remains, primarily the museum sector). Prehistoric bones in Britain are rare as only occasionally do the soil conditions (e.g. pH and moisture content) favour their preservation for more than two thousand years and preservation of soft tissue is even rarer (Mullhall 2010:34; Chamberlain & Parker Pearson 2004:181). Because of their rarity therefore prehistoric human remains are particularly treasured by archaeologists and museum professionals.

7.2.1 What Human Remains Reveal About the Past

Archaeological examination of graves and human remains has already provided much information about humanity's past. Examination of the remains and goods placed with them can provide evidence of a person's life, religion, cultural affiliations and status (Parker Pearson 1982:101-108; Binford 1972:233) whilst analysis of the grave and surrounding area can yield evidence of cremation, preservation or ritual of interment (Parker Pearson et al 2005:542). For example, examination of Neolithic communal tombs has enabled archaeologists to suggest that spiritual beliefs at the time, were focused on, or mediated through, spiritually important Ancestors (Darvill 2005:63-8; Whittle 2005:66-70; Lynch 2004:14-15; Malone 2004:144; Russell 2002:48; Reilly 2003:151). Parker Pearson (2005:89) suggests cultural change with the first chiefdoms in Britain beginning to emerge in the later Neolithic ca 3000 to 2500 BC on the basis of changes in burial practice. Careful measurement of even fragmentary skeletons can allow determination of sex, height and build (Roberts

2009:144-145). Where skulls are well preserved, an image of what the dead person's face looked like may be created (Richards 1999:53-5, 32-4). Careful measurement and morphological analysis of bones can provide an estimate of age at death. Children's ages can be determined with some accuracy using evidence from teeth and bones (Roberts & Manchester 2005:34-7; Roberts 2009:128-130, 130-136). However, Maples (1989:323) describes determination of age at death of adults as an art rather than a science. Roberts & Manchester (2005:35) suggest that determinations of age on remains of people aged over 70 are not currently possible due to the fact that changes to skeletons, usually degradation, do not occur in a uniform or predictable sequence. When a person died may be determined from typological dating of associated artefacts but the most important scientific technique of determining time of death for ancient remains is carbon 14 or radiocarbon dating (Roberts 2009:214-5). Until 1998 only unburnt bones could be radiocarbon dated but Parker Pearson (2012:200) explains that even cremated bones can now yield a date of death.

Park et al (2010:497) contend that paleopathology (the study of diseases, injuries and their treatment in the past) is one of the main foci of bioarchaeology in Britain. Perhaps the most obvious pathological evidence available from osteoarchaeological material (ancient bones) is that of fractures, although many other ailments including arthritis and osteoporosis can be diagnosed (Roberts & Manchester 2005:84). Where soft tissue survives more detail can be deduced. Bog bodies from Britain and Denmark were found to be carrying parasitic worms in their intestines (Joy 2009:32; Mullhall 2010). Miranda Aldhouse-Green (2001:87) explains that bog bodies such as those from Lindow Moss in Cheshire, Tollund and Grauballe in Denmark show signs of violence providing supporting evidence of tales of human sacrifice in Roman writings such as Lucanus (nd) and Caesar (1982:141). This evidence is not unequivocal and can equally be interpreted as evidence of banditry or blood feuds but it illustrates graphically that these individuals were killed violently (Faulkner 2009:25-26).

A person's diet can be determined by chemical analysis of their bones. Park et al (2010:444) assert that an inadequate diet may leave traces on bones identifiable by

osteoarchaeologists. Trace elements such as strontium and barium along with stable isotopes provide indications of a mainly vegetarian, carnivorous or omnivorous diet. Joy (2009:31) also suggests hair samples gathered from Lindow Man could provide evidence of his general diet through analysis of chemical isotopes indicative of plants, fish or meat. Analysis of preserved gut contents in well preserved bodies can even determine a person's last meal, as with the Ötz valley Iceman (Dickson et al 2000:1844-7) and the Lindow Moss bog body (Joy 2009:29-31; Hillman 1986). Lead in the bones in Romano-British and Mediaeval skeletons has been interpreted as being from pewter and hence evidence of tableware an individual used in life. This in turn may indicate wealth and social status (Parker Pearson 2003:82). Stable isotopes of oxygen and strontium taken into the body as part of the water a person drank are laid down in layers of tooth enamel as a person grows and can provide a record of movement. Carol Chenery of the British Geological Survey (2008) conducted a stable Isotope analysis of tooth enamel from the Bronze Age Amesbury Archer skeleton. She concluded that the man had grown up in central Europe or eastern Scandinavia whilst a companion burial, genetically identified as a close relative (possibly son), was born in southern England and grew up in the Midlands. Therefore it can be seen that mortuary archaeology can provide increasingly detailed narratives of the lives of ancient people.

Bryan Sykes (2002) has pioneered the use of the DNA in our cell nuclei and mitochondria to determine common ancestors. He has theorised that mutations tended to occur at more or less regular intervals allowing him to date divergences of populations and thus hypothesise the routes and timings of human colonisation of the planet in prehistory.

Sometimes human remains can provide clues as to activities or professions undertaken in life. In the case of the Ötz valley Ice man, traces of copper, manganese, nickel and arsenic in his hair indicate that he was active in the smelting of copper and thus someone at the forefront of the technological revolution then beginning in that part of Europe (Fowler 2001:203). Likewise sturdy bone development in the arm bones of skeletons from a mass grave at Towton, where a battle was fought in AD1461 during the Wars of the Roses, suggests that at least

some of the men were archers (Miller 2000:20-35). Chris Knusel and Dr Patrick Ander made magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) scans of Simon Stanley, a modern day archer, and his bone density and size compared with those from the grave. Striking similarities allowed archaeologists to deduce that the dead men were indeed archers (Miller 2000:20-35).

7.2.2 Displaying Human Remains

In this section I shall examine the reasons for putting human remains on display in museums. Whilst religious authority demands that much is taken on faith, scientific and academic study is founded on reproducible or checkable chains of inference (Hitchens 2007:10-11). As academics operating within this scientific macro-methodology, archaeologists need to make data and conclusions available for checking. Remains are stored partially for this purpose with remains on display also being researched. However, the primary purpose of displaying human remains is educational. Ancient skeletons and bog bodies allow both the public and specialist researchers to see for themselves the evidence upon which the narratives archaeologists create are based. They also provide one of the very few socially acceptable contexts for the discussion of mortality, something which, if not a taboo, is seldom spoken of in contemporary British society (Walter 1991:307-8; Fox 2004:374-8). Teaching manuals (e.g. Jackson & Colwell 2002:47-48, 123-126) also suggest that museum displays of human remains such as Egyptian mummies help children to understand and discuss death. I also argue that putting prehistoric human remains on display in museums allows a sort of communion with the visitor's distant ancestors thus providing a strong sense of connection which may be important in the construction of national and local identity. This is an argument I shall explore in more detail in chapter 8.

7.2.3 Why Are Remains Not on Display Retained in Storage?

In this section I shall examine why museums retain stores of human remains that are unlikely ever to be placed on display. These stores were created and are maintained to facilitate research on past individuals and populations and to allow previous analyses and interpretations to be checked and either confirmed or rebutted (Cunliffe et al 2011; Fforde 2004:68-75; Jenkins 2011:1-3). Margaret Clegg (p.c. 2009) of the

British Museum (Natural History), when interviewed, described a research project to assess assertions that modern lifestyle factors such as pollution and diet were a significant factor in the incidence of osteoporosis in menopausal women. Museum stores were able to supply a sufficient number of women's skeletons from both the Mediaeval and Bronze Age periods to permit a representative sample to be analysed. This study showed that the incidence of osteoporosis in these populations was similar to that in contemporary British society, requiring a rethink of the causal factors of this disease. Cheek & Keel (1984:194) consider that 'knowledge gained from scientific data retrieval is valuable to mankind in general' and that therefore 'destruction of the resource is unethical'.

7.3 How Are Remains Treated?

Having assessed what can be learned from human remains, I shall now investigate how archaeologists and museum curators go about working with human remains and how these remains are treated ethically. This will be approached in two sections: the first examines the statutory requirements relating to human remains and the Codes of Professional Ethics to which people working with human remains are expected to adhere; the second section explains, using interviews and participant-observation undertaken specifically for this thesis, how archaeologists and museum professionals actually deal with remains in practice. Archaeologists are primarily concerned with excavating and analysing bones whilst museum and other staff may be more concerned with curating, cataloguing, preserving, storing and interpreting them to the public hence there are different procedures, ethical guidelines and professional Codes of Practice for each.

7.3.1 Law, Ethical Guidelines and Organisation Policies

The way in which archaeologists and museum professionals treat human remains is regulated by law and by guidelines that are either generated by their own professional bodies, by government or by other agencies. Violation of ethical guidelines do not incur legal penalties imposed by the state but are likely to involve disapprobation within the professional community and may result in loss of employment and difficulty in finding other work in the same field. The fact that legislation exists to prevent unnecessary disturbance of graves and to regulate retention of human biological

material is itself strongly suggestive of the values of the society that originated it. Parker Pearson's (2003:183) remark that British attitudes to the dead are 'ambivalent, contradictory and volatile' is borne out by the recent changes in legislation and policy. The drafting and enacting of the Human Tissue Act was the result of public outcry at the retention of body parts for research by the NHS without consent (BBC News 2003; Taylor 2002:43). In the wake of this outcry the Department for Culture Media and Sport issued guidelines and the Ministry of Justice has interpreted licence requirements for the excavation of archaeological remains more strictly than the Home Office had done when it was their responsibility (Cunliffe et al 2011). Additionally the Advisory Panel on Archaeology of Christian Burials in England (APACBE) was formed in 2005 to provide guidelines on excavation of Christian remains and subsequently morphed into the Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Burials in England (APABE) to provide a more universally applicable set of guidelines (Mays nd).

7.3.1.1 Legal Requirements

The most important pieces of legislation for archaeologists dealing with human remains in England and Wales are the 1857 Burial Act and the 2004 Human Tissue Act. In Scotland, Scottish criminal and civil law recognises a 'right of sepulture' (Tarlow 2001:58-59) and describes human remains as sacred no matter when or where they have been interred and tombs and graves are protected by law (Historic Scotland 1997:7; Roberts 2009:26). Archaeological examination of human remains in Northern Ireland is governed by the Historic Monuments and Archaeological Objects (Northern Ireland) Order for 1995 which requires a licence to be procured from the Environment and Heritage Service of Northern Ireland (Roberts 2009:27). Since contemporary Pagan contestation of human remains in the UK has so far been restricted to the jurisdiction of England and Wales, I will concentrate on the legal situation in this jurisdiction.

The 1857 Burial Act was the culmination of a series of Acts of Parliament passed in reaction to the activities of body snatchers or resurrection men who excavated newly buried corpses to sell to anatomists (Fforde 2004:87; Parker Pearson 2003:181, 2012:173). The Act requires that licences to exhume remains from graveyards

controlled by the Church of England be obtained from the Church's Court of the Ordinary (i.e. ordained clergy). Remains not in a recognised burial ground require a government licence. Prior to 2008 such licences were issued by the Home Office but since then the Ministry of Justice has inherited responsibility for issuing them (Cunliffe et al 2011; Parker Pearson 2003:181; Roberts 2009:24). The Ministry of Justice has been considerably stricter in the application of regulations limiting exhumation licenses than the Home Office had been, especially in the requirement to reinter after analysis. As will be seen in section 8.2.3, archaeologists have protested against this stricter application of the law.

The 2004 Human Tissue Act was framed and enacted in response to the public outcry over revelations that British hospitals including John Radcliffe in Oxford (Jenkins 2011:28-32; Taylor 2002:43) Bristol Royal Infirmary and Alder Hey had been retaining whole organs including hearts and brains without the knowledge or consent of the relatives of the deceased (BBC News 2003). The Act therefore stipulates that the collection and analysis of human tissue for analysis requires informed consent of the person prior to death or that of their next of kin after death unless ordered by a Coroner. However, this legislation only relates to those bodies less than 100 years old (Her Majesty's Government 2004).

7.3.1.2 Ethical Guidelines and Professional Codes of Conduct

Whilst legislation provides a framework for the licensing of exhumations, it is left to Codes of Conduct and guidelines to specify most of the detailed procedures for those archaeologists and museum professionals who deal with human remains.

The Vermillion Accord is an international convention agreed at the first Inter-Congress of the World Archaeological Congress at Vermillion, South Dakota. Parker Pearson (2003:185) explains that it was held specifically to address archaeological ethics surrounding treatment of the dead. He records that a number of representatives of colonised ethnic groups were involved in the drafting of the six statements which form the Accord. These statements are:

1. Respect for the mortal remains of the dead shall be accorded to all irrespective of origin, race, religion, nationality, custom and tradition

2. Respect for the wishes of the dead concerning disposition shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful, when they are known or can be reasonably inferred.
3. Respect for the wishes of the local community and of relatives or guardians of the dead shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful.
4. Respect for scientific research value of skeletal, mummified and other human remains (including fossil hominids) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.
5. Agreement on the disposition of fossil, skeletal, mummified and other remains shall be reached by negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education.
6. The express recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science, are legitimate and to be respected, will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honoured.

(World Archaeology Congress 1989)

From the text of the Vermillion Accord it can be seen that community involvement and consultation is paramount but that facilitation of research and the promotion of knowledge are also prioritised.

As previously stated the Department for Culture, Media and Sport issued guidance for the care of human remains in museums in Oct 2005. This document was the product of a government Human Remains Working Group set up in the wake of the Alder Hey scandal and the consequent 2004 Human Tissue Act and also in response to claims for repatriation and reburial from overseas (DCMS 2005:7-9). This is probably the most important guidance document referred to regarding Pagan claims and is cited in English Heritage and the National Trust's response to the Alexander Keiller Museum claim (Thackray & Payne 2009, 2010) as will be explained in chapter 8. It defines its purpose as guiding museums in 'good decision making about human remains'; encouraging 'an ethical approach to the care and handling of human remains', awareness of the consequences of decisions made and good communication between museums and interested parties/stakeholders (DCMS 2005:13). It expresses

the view that whilst controversial to some, research on human remains is important and valuable and also enjoys the backing of government. It lists contributions to knowledge provided by such research as including data on health, disease, death and medicine; human evolution and adaptation; cultures, belief and attitudes (DCMS 2005:8). It explains the legal requirements for treatment of human remains primarily with regard to the Human Tissue Act 2004 (Her Majesty's Government 2004) but also mentions that the influence of the Human Rights Act 1998 may have significance in the disposition of human remains (DCMS 2005:11-12) although Roberts (2009:25) asserts that the Human Rights Act applies only to the living. In particular the document explains that the principle enshrined in the Human Tissue Act, that possession and use of human tissue must always be with consent of the person whose tissue it is or their relatives, has exemptions regarding remains over 100 years old (DCMS 2005:11). It also explains that nine national museums have been given new powers to de-accession remains, but only those less than 1000 years old (DCMS 2005:12). The document goes on to examine the ethical framework within which it advises decisions regarding human remains should be made. These are explained as procedural responsibilities and ethical principles set out as follows:

Procedural responsibilities

1. Rigour – rational, informed, skilled and careful action.
2. Honesty and Integrity – trustworthiness and acting with principles, declaring conflicts of interest, honest and full communication with all interested parties.
3. Sensitivity and cultural understanding – sensitivity and understanding of feelings as well as different religious, spiritual and cultural perspectives.
4. Respect for persons and communities – minimising adverse effects and respecting privacy and confidentiality.
5. Responsible communication, openness and transparency – listening informing and communicating clearly openly and honestly.
6. Fairness – Acting fairly and consistently, giving due weight to the interests of all parties.

Ethical Principles

1. Non-Maleficence – doing no harm.

2. Respect for diversity of belief – respect and tolerance for religious, spiritual and cultural beliefs.
3. Respect for the value of science – especially the scientific value of human remains and the benefits scientific enquiry provides for humanity.
4. Solidarity – co-operation and consensus building.
5. Beneficence – doing good and providing benefits to all.

(DCMS 2005:14-15)

I shall not attempt to précis the whole DCMS guidance document but rather to draw out those parts which are relevant to Pagan contestation of human remains and the considerations and procedures which museum professionals use to evaluate their claims. The DCMS (2005:18-19) document advises that human remains housed in museums should be stored in such a way as to prevent their loss, damage, deterioration or decay. Where culturally acceptable, it encourages marking of bones to ensure their integrity as parts of a skeletal set (DCMS 2005:19). It expresses the fact that members of the public expect and want to see human remains in museums but advises curators to display remains sensitively with due regard to the sensibilities of visitors who may not want to view remains and to ensure that remains are well labelled and protected from harm (DCMS 2005:20). The document encourages the use of remains for research with caveats that research should be done professionally to high standards by qualified persons and that any destructive sampling should only be carried out for good reasons, conforming to the highest standards and must be fully recorded (DCMS 2005:21-22). Regarding claims for repatriation or reburial of remains the guidance document encourages the institution to nominate an appropriately qualified individual to manage the claim and deal with the claimant(s). The museum is advised to obtain full details of the claim especially the identity of the claimant(s), their connection to the remains, which remains are being claimed, the claimant's wishes for the disposition of the remains along with any additional information regarding further claims (DCMS 2005:25). The guidance document (perhaps most importantly) provides recommendations on a selection of criteria, the presence of at least some of which should be required to uphold a claim. These comprise:

- Genealogical descent – if remains are more than 100 years old a closer link than others may be required unless the other descendants support the claim.

- **Common cultural community affiliation** – this requires claimants to demonstrate a shared (continued) belief, customs, dwelling place and/or language between the claimant and the source community of the remains. Without such a shared affiliation, the document states that it would be unusual to accept a claim.
- **Cultural, spiritual and religious significance of the remains** – The guidelines suggest that a claim could be considered purely on these grounds especially if the remains were removed in violation of the claimant community's laws, customs or traditions, or if the correct disposition of the dead is deemed important in that community or if the retention of the remains by the museum perpetuates continued grief or grievance in the claimant community.
- **The age of the remains** – since it is deemed to be hard to demonstrate genealogical, ethnic or cultural continuity far into the past it is advised that claims for remains over 300 years might reasonably be denied and that claims for remains over 500 might reasonably be denied even consideration unless a 'very close and continuous geographical, religious, spiritual and cultural link can be demonstrated' (DCMS 2005:27).
- **Legal status of remains in the museum** – The institution must be legally permitted to de-accession the remains.
- **Scientific, educational and historical value of the remains to the museum and the public** – The guidance document advises that museums might consider that high research, educational or public interest override considerations in favour of de-accession.
- **Disposition of remains if de-accessioned** – Whether remains will be reburied or kept in such a manner as to preserve them in a condition permitting the possibility of future research, education or display.
- **Other options** – Museums are also advised to consider compromises whereby remains might be retained but with claimants exercising some control over their use and curation.
- **Precedent** – Although the guidelines suggest claims be dealt with on a case-by-case basis, they suggest that past cases may be used to inform decision-making.

(DCMS 2005:26-29)

The Institute for Archaeologists (formerly the Institute of Field Archaeologists) publishes a Code of Conduct as part of the Institute's byelaws. This Code of Conduct is based on five principles:

1. A member shall adhere to high standards of ethical and responsible behaviour in the conduct of archaeological affairs.
2. The member has a responsibility for the conservation of the historic environment.
3. The member shall conduct his/her work in such a way that reliable information about the past may be acquired, and shall ensure that the results be properly recorded.
4. The member has responsibility for making available the results of archaeological work with reasonable dispatch.
5. The member shall recognise the aspirations of employees, colleagues and helpers with regard to all matters relating to employment, including career development, health and safety, terms and conditions of employment and equality of opportunity.

(IfA 2010)

The first of these principles has the most obvious relevance to ethical treatment of human remains as it requires archaeologists to refrain from behaving in a way liable to bring the discipline into disrepute and to comply with all laws (as well as treaties, conventions and charters where required) concerning the conduct of archaeological work (section 1.6). Principles 3 and 4 are also relevant since they require archaeologists to manage remains in such a way as to maximise the data obtained from them, facilitate further research and disseminate analysis results quickly. Adherence to this Code of Conduct is a requirement of membership of the IfA and breaches of it, if upheld by an investigation, may result in the transgressor being expelled. This in turn may have consequences for continued employment if an employer requires membership.

The British Association of Biological Anthropologists and Osteoarchaeologists has produced both a Code of Practice and a Code of Ethics. The Code of Practice focuses primarily on how research should be conducted within the bounds of legal requirements, especially health and safety, and to minimise loss of data. However, it does mention that research needs to be conducted with mindfulness of ethics and in a fashion respectful of the remains themselves and of any living descendants. The Code of Ethics (BABAO ndb) emphasises that human remains need to be treated with care, dignity and respect but does not explain how this ought to be achieved.

Museum professionals in the UK can look to two ethical codes. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) publishes an international Code of Ethics (ICOM 2006). ICOM exists to provide representation and communication for and between museums around the world. It also describes itself as 'a leading force in ethical matters' (ICOM nd). The Code of Ethics runs to sixteen pages and describes itself as a 'minimum standard' (ICOM 2006:iv) but the key points are as follows:

- 1 Museums preserve interpret and promote the natural and cultural inheritance of humanity.
- 2 Museums that maintain collections hold them in trust for the benefit of society and its development.
- 3 Museums hold primary evidence for establishing and furthering knowledge.
- 4 Museums provide opportunities for the appreciation, understanding and management of the natural and cultural heritage.
- 5 Museums hold resources that provide opportunities for other public services and benefits.
- 6 Museums work in close collaboration with the communities from which their collections originate as well as those they serve.
- 7 Museums operate in a legal manner.
- 8 Museums operate in a professional manner.

(ICOM 2006:1)

The Code has specific stipulations pertaining to human remains. It states that human remains should only be acquired if they can be accommodated securely and in a

manner respectful by both the standards of the society within which the museum is situated and those of the society or group from which the remains were sourced (ICOM 2006:3). Any research undertaken on human remains in museum collections is required to be conducted in a professional and similarly respectful manner. Human remains may only be exhibited with 'great tact and respect for the feelings of human dignity held by all peoples' (ICOM 2006:8). The Code states that museums should be 'prepared to initiate dialogues for the return of cultural property' (ICOM 2006:9). It also requires that if it can be shown that an item in a museum's collection has been acquired in a manner contravening 'international and national conventions' and if that item constitutes part of the source country's cultural heritage, then the museum should actively co-operate in the return of the item if legally permitted to do so (ICOM 2006:10). The Code also stipulates that museums must 'refrain from any activity that might result in the loss of... scientific data' (ICOM 2006:12).

More specifically relevant for the UK, another Code of Ethics is published by the Museums Association (MA) (Museums Association 2008). The MA describes its purpose as 'to enhance the value of museums to society by sharing knowledge, developing skills, inspiring innovation, and providing leadership' (Museums Association nda). It also aims to 'advocate for museums, set ethical standards and run essential training and professional development for members' (Museums Association nda). It states that British society can expect UK museums to:

- hold collections in trust on behalf of society
- focus on public service
- encourage people to explore collections for inspiration and enjoyment
- consult and involve communities, users and supporters
- acquire items honestly and responsibly
- safeguard the long-term public interest in the collections
- recognise the interests of people who made, used, owned, collected or gave items to the collections
- support the protection of natural and human environments
- research, share and interpret information related to collections, reflecting diverse views

- review performance to innovate and improve
(Museums Association 2008:9)

The Code of Ethics describes itself as being consistent with the ICOM Code of Ethics and states that the MA supports ICOM (Museums Association 2008:5). It requires museums and their staff to operate within the law (Museums Association 2008:8). It also requires museums to respond to claims regarding human remains in a respectful and understanding fashion, citing the DCMS (2005) guidance on Human Remains as the primary source for procedures to assess such claims (Museums Association 2008:17, 18).

7.3.1.3 Organisational Policies on Human Remains

There are far too many organisation specific policies on the treatment of human remains to attempt an exhaustive analysis. To do so would be more than a PhD thesis in itself. I have chosen to exemplify policies used by archaeologists using documents from The British Museum (2006), the National Museum Wales (2006), Oxford Archaeology (Loe 2008) and The Poulton research project (2010).

The British Museum policy (2006) concentrates almost exclusively on dealing with claims for de-accession. It does state that remains on display should always be accompanied by explanatory and contextual information and that in the case of remains over 100 years old only communities with demonstrable cultural continuity may be consulted on whether or not to display remains (British Museum 2006:4). The policy document also requires the museum to publish an inventory of holdings and to ensure research is conducted ethically (British Museum 2006:4). It states that assessment of claims for de-accession of remains over 500 years old should very strongly favour retention since cultural continuity cannot be assumed that far back (British Museum 2006:6) and it implies that any claim on remains over 1000 years old will be rejected (British Museum 2006:2). Overall the policy favours retention of remains and appears to imply that remains will only be de-accessioned if legally required to do so or in exceptional circumstances supported by very strong evidence.

The National Museum Wales (2006) requires its staff to observe the requirements of the Human Tissue Act (HM Government 2004), to acknowledge that human remains were once part of living people and to care for them in a culturally respectful manner. They also endorse the DCMS (2005) guidelines on human remains. They emphasise openness on holdings and conduct of research. The museum guarantees that human remains will only be displayed in a 'culturally appropriate, sensitive and informative manner' (National Museum of Wales 2006). The museum not only states that it is open to claims on foreign remains but intends to be pro-active in repatriation remains. However, it does state that all claims will be assessed according to the DCMS guidelines.

Oxford Archaeology is a contract archaeology company specialising in rescue digs prior to development. Their policy for the treatment of human remains (Loe 2008) is comprehensive and detailed. It covers Health and Safety issues and professional standards in data collection. As to ethics, it recognises the culturally sensitive nature of human remains (Loe 2008:5) and requires staff to treat remains with care, respect and in a manner that does not cause offence (Loe 2008:3). It makes reference to IfA and BABAO standards requiring its staff to follow these guidelines as well as legislation. The policy requires unstratified remains to be reburied after a basic examination. It promises to deal with reburial claims in accordance with the DCMS guidelines (2005) consulting all interested parties and permitting ceremony where practicable (Loe 2008:5-6). The policy stresses a willingness to work in close consultation with any and all interested parties including religious groups and to be pro-active in keeping them informed (Loe 2008:5-7). Overall the policy document demonstrates a strong desire to deal ethically with remains and with the people who feel a strong connection to them. However, those who oppose reburial (e.g. Jenkins and Aburrow) may argue that this puts too much power in the hands of groups and individuals who represent unusual and what they may regard as extreme views.

The Poulton Research Project's *Golden Rules For Human Remains* (2010) begins by asserting that the project will comply with all relevant legislation. It expresses an ideal that remains should not be disturbed or excavated unnecessarily and provides an assurance that all remains that are excavated will be reburied. It requires all

participants in the project to handle remains with care and sensitivity both to ensure that data are not compromised and to respect the dignity of the remains. Based on conversations with a number of Pagan campaigners I would expect this policy to be acceptable to almost all of them. However, some archaeologists (e.g. Cunliffe et al 2011) argue that the blanket reburial assurance is problematical since it prevents new specimens entering the research material archive and thus limits the research that may be carried out upon them which they regard as being contrary to the public interest.

7.3.1.4 Implications of Laws, Codes and Policies

All restrictions limit what is done within the disciplines of archaeology and heritage. Section 7.2.3 and the paragraph immediately above demonstrate that many archaeologists consider the requirement always to rebury remains excavated to be damaging to future research. However, I suggest that laws are not only shaped by public expectations but also shape public expectations of social behaviour. The term 'culturally respectful' (National Museum of Wales 2006) is an interesting one. One may ask if the culture from which the curators draw their concept of respect is their own or that of the people whose bones they are handling. Ideally both should be considered but in the case of prehistoric remains it cannot be ascertained what these ancient cultures deemed to be respectful behaviour to the dead.

7.3.2 How Human Remains Are Treated in Practice

Having examined the rules, guidelines and policies for treating human remains, I sought to examine how they were treated in practice. I shall begin by examining how excavation of human remains is carried out firstly by examining how archaeological textbooks such as Collis 2004 and Parker Pearson 2003 specify the practice should be conducted and then by using participant observation fieldwork of an excavation of Bronze Age cremated remains to provide an experiential (if somewhat anecdotal) account of the process. I shall also use interviewees' accounts of excavation of human remains to provide a broader sample of practices. Unfortunately I was unable to secure a position working with human remains in an analytical or museum context so I am entirely reliant on accounts from interviewees and published material to illustrate how remains are treated in these contexts.

7.3.2.1 Excavating Human Remains

There are several guide books on the archaeological excavation of human remains, most notably Roberts' (2009) *Human remains in Archaeology: A Handbook* and Brickley & McKinley's (2004) *Guidelines to the Standards of Recording Human Remains*. Other sources include John Collis' field manual *Digging Up the Past* (2004:149-57) and Parker Pearson's *Archaeology of Death and Burial* (2003:193-7). Excavation of human remains has become far more well-organised and disciplined than in the past. Bones of individuals are no longer separated but kept together to maintain corporeal integrity (Collis 2004:149). This maintenance of individuality is of course one of the most vital principles of mortuary archaeology today and an important ethical principle in dealing with human remains (Collis 2004; Parker Pearson 2003; p.c. Walker 2010, p.c. Clegg 2009). Archaeological context is largely determined by spatial positioning juxtaposed with associated and nearby artefacts and features (Collis 2004:64-68). It therefore follows that their excavation and removal takes them out of their context; thus they need to be carefully recorded to avoid losing such critically important information. Archaeological excavation may therefore be seen as a destructive process and hence one only to be undertaken when there is an important research aim or the threat of loss or destruction. In turn it follows that archaeological excavations require a well thought out research plan (Collis 2004:21-45; Parker Pearson 2003:198), the old army adage 'prior planning, preparation and practice prevents piss-poor performance' quoted in chapter 3 being relevant once again. Regarding the actual excavation of human remains the most important point to note is the fragility of the remains (Parker Pearson 2003:199; Collis 2004:150).

In my own field research, participating in the excavation of Bronze Age cremated bone (described in detail later in this section) I found that some of the bone was actually less cohesive than the soil surrounding it. Collis (2004:68), Parker Pearson (2003:202) and Roberts (2009:77) all state that skeletons must always be recorded as specific contexts rather than as small finds within a larger context (See also BABAO nda). However, complete skeletons are the exception rather than the rule and disarticulated bones are comparatively common. These disarticulated bones are not

considered a full context but rather treated as small finds. Parker Pearson (2003:202) suggests that burials should be planned at a scale of 1:10 as opposed to other areas, which are normally planned at 1:20. He cautions that gluing fragmentary bones together may affect subsequent chemical analysis and fragile bones are best dried and very gently brushed free of earth while more sturdy bones can be washed with tepid water. For recording purposes he recommends that bones must be marked and labelled with context and skeleton number prior to being bagged (with acid free packing paper if necessary) and placed in special acid free boxes prior to transportation for further analysis (see fig. 45).

Julian Richards (1999:26) wrote 'No matter how many ancient burials you have dealt with, and how professionally detached you are supposed to be, there is always something about a child's grave which provokes feelings of great sadness'. Most archaeologists interviewed were at pains to stress that they were very aware of the humanity of the remains being excavated.

In excavating and analysing human remains, the most important consideration is to avoid loss of any data. A great deal of care is therefore taken to avoid missing any pieces of evidence as well as to avoid accidentally modifying or damaging remains or artefacts (Collis 2004:150). In order to maximise the amount of human biological material available for research and to preserve the integrity of the remains as representing a human individual care is taken to minimise destructive and invasive analytical techniques. For example, especially with preserved bodies, procedures such as computerised tomography (CT) scans and magnetic resonance imagery (MRI) scans are utilised. By using these three dimensional internal imaging techniques alongside surgical techniques such as endoscopy dissection becomes largely redundant (Mullhall 2010:35; Bourke 1986:46). The development of accelerator mass spectroscopy enables radiocarbon analysis to be undertaken using far smaller samples. All radiocarbon dating requires destruction of the samples so this advance means that far less of a person's remains now need to be sacrificed to determine the time of death: for example Aldhouse-Green (2000:71) records that samples weighing 300-500mg were used to determine the date of death of the Red Lady of Paviland. Even if the techniques are not destructive, but most especially

when they are, one ethical imperative is to record accurately the results of the analysis (Collis 2004:150).

As explained in Chapter 3, I decided to employ a combined ethnographic and literary approach to data gathering for this thesis. As part of the ethnographic side of this strategy I considered it important that I should experience excavation of prehistoric human remains. I therefore volunteered to assist on the excavation of a pair of Bronze Age barrows near Cardigan in West Wales at a place called Pant-y-Butler (National Grid Reference SN214466). The research project was designed to record details of the two barrows both threatened by ploughing. The northern barrow was still noticeable but the southern one had already been completely ploughed out (Murphy et al 2010). I joined the dig as a volunteer explaining from the outset my research interests. I was particularly keen to observe and record my own feelings as both an archaeologist and a contemporary Pagan in excavating ancient human remains. I was slightly disappointed to be assigned to work on the ploughed out southern barrow but by the second day we were starting to find fragments of cremated bone including a possible ball joint from a femur. The cremated fragments were extremely fragile, in some cases less cohesive than the clay soil surrounding them. I also found a piece of stone in the shape of a truncated gently tapering cone which I immediately thought might be a phallic symbol. Aware of a possible excess of imagination on my own part I showed it to some of the other volunteers who came to the same conclusion. However, the dig directors did not agree and have labelled the stone (find number 104 in the report) as a rubbing stone (Murphy et al 2004:6). I found, to my slight surprise, that I didn't feel much of a connection to the person whose remains I was handling. I am inclined to believe that this was due to the fragmentary nature of the remains, hardly any being more than a couple of centimetres across. On the third day the site was visited by a couple of metal detectorists who asked 'Are they still there?' in a manner indicating they were referring to the souls, ghosts or spirits of the deceased. I replied that I didn't think so myself, asking what they thought. The man who had asked the original question replied 'I don't know, spend the night camping here and tell me'. I asked a fellow volunteer, also a Lampeter graduate and also inclined to Pagan spirituality what she thought. She replied 'No, Bone is just matter'. On the fourth day Fran Murphy (Dig Director) noticed a linear feature of shale on

edge where I had been trowelling and suggested a grave pit might be present. By the end of the fifth day we had excavated the half of the pit which lay in our original trench, removing large amounts of cremated bone in two distinct layers, and opened an extension to the north of the trench outlining the full extent of the burial pit. Unfortunately I was not able to be present when the remainder of the grave pit was excavated on the sixth day, a Sunday. I was told subsequently that a large amount of bone had been found in two distinct contextual layers and removed for analysis along with some Bronze Age pottery sherds. Most of the rest of the dig was spent working on the other barrow where a possible standing stone had been incorporated into the matrix of the mound but no human remains were discovered. My own feelings while excavating these remains were that there was little of the person or people, whose bones they were, left in them. I didn't feel I was in any way violating their privacy or dignity.

7.3.2.2 Analysis of Human Remains

Margaret Clegg, of London's Natural History Museum, (p.c. 2009) explained that staff there were careful to treat remains with dignity when analysing them. She explained that they avoid bringing out more than one set of remains at a time to prevent mixing of skeletons. She explained that they consider it respectful to be careful who obtains access to remains. It is not only the remains of people of the remote past that are subject to scientific examination.

Analysis of the recently deceased is described as an autopsy or a post-mortem. In England and Wales, these have been carried out by Home Office pathologists to provide a report for a Coroner's Court or alternatively for research purposes (Williams 2010:18). Since the enactment of the 2004 Human Tissue Act, research autopsies have become rare (Williams 2010:18). It is the task of the Coroner to establish cause of death if there is any doubt or if the death is considered unnatural (Williams 2010:18; Directgov nd) and for this reason they have the authority to overrule the wishes of the deceased's next of kin (Williams 2010:124). Michelle Williams, in her book *Down Among the Dead Men* (2010) describes her role as a hospital mortuary attendant. Kris Hughes (founder of the Anglesey Druid Order) is also employed as an anatomical pathology technologist and has suggested that Williams' writing be treated

with some caution. Nevertheless he confirms that part of the attendants' job involves making arrangements for next of kin to view the body of the deceased. Williams describes a series of important ethical imperatives in her work. Perhaps the most important of these is the correct identification of bodies (Williams 2010:12). She describes the standard autopsy process as involving removal of the internal organs from the abdomen and thorax for weighing and, if necessary dissection and further analysis (Williams 2010:12-17). The scalp is peeled back and the skull sawn open to remove the brain, which is also weighed and analysed. She describes an atmosphere of relaxed professionalism with normal social conversation and occasional humorous banter during the post mortems. She suggests the banter between staff is a strategy for coping with stress but that mortuary staff are always careful to treat remains with respect (Williams 2010:227, 117). She explains that banter ceased abruptly when it was discovered that a certain elderly woman had not died naturally (Williams 2010:19) and did not take place at all when a small child was brought in after having been killed in a car accident (Williams 2010:94-5). Hughes explains that he feels obliged, as a servant of the Crown, to perform his mortuary duties to the best of his professional ability but also feels a spiritual duty of care to the dead themselves. He feels the two are not exclusive and no tension exists between his Pagan spirituality and his job (Hughes 2011).

7.3.2.3 Storage

Within the archaeology and museum sector, perhaps the most important issue in the storage of human remains is to keep them in such a way that the remains are safe from decay, deterioration and contamination, the remains also need to be stored in a way that specific remains can be located and easily accessed for research display etc. Collections are often stored in special acid-free cardboard boxes as I was shown in the bone store of one National Museum and as may be seen in the laboratory of the University of Wales: Trinity Saint David (fig. 45 overleaf).

Interviews with museum professionals reveal that most, but not all, members of staff are well aware of the association of the remains with a human individual. They are therefore careful to treat remains with dignity. One informant described a colleague as speaking to bones when transporting them from the bone store to the laboratory.

Whilst the contributor who mentioned this seemed to consider such behaviour a little odd, she certainly didn't disapprove of it. I was certainly unable to find any evidence that museum professionals considered remains to be of little value nor that remains were ever treated with deliberate disrespect. Even those who felt that the bones were inanimate remains of a shell long since vacated expressed a belief that the remains were important by virtue of their rarity and what might be learned from them.



Fig. 45: Osteological specimen boxes in the UWL labs 2009 (Author's photograph)

Other locations where human remains may be stored include religious sites. Clegg (p.c. 2009) remarked that most churches include crypts where the dead are placed. Human remains are also stored in morgues at hospitals for a short while (Hughes 2011; Williams 2010).

When a body is released from the hospital mortuary, it is likely to be taken to an undertaker who may have to store the body for a couple of days until arrangements

are finalised and the funeral rites enacted. Undertakers also have a professional Code of Conduct (National Association of Funeral Directors 1990) but this emphasises duties to the bereaved rather than to the dead themselves. Williams (2010:240) however, describes the best and most respectful undertakers as talking to the deceased.

7.3.2.4 Display

It is not only in museums of archaeology that human remains may be placed on display. Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches will often display relics of saints, which may consist of bones or body parts (Crook 2000:12-18). These relics are displayed to the faithful to encourage faith and devotion and sometimes in the expectation of miracles (Crook 2000:1-2). When discussing my research, family members described an old convent in Sicily where preserved human bodies of wealthy people from the 18th century were displayed to visitors. This site is not unique. I was also shown a photograph (fig. 46) of the ossuary at Sedlec in the Czech Republic where the bones of Capuchin monks were stored before being used to make objets d'art which are now on display to paying visitors. The Capuchin ossuary in Rome has also made artworks of the bones of dead monks, which are on display to tourists (Winton 2003:3).

Both Catholic and Orthodox churches will often display relics of saints which may consist of preserved flesh or bone but equally may be artefacts associated with the saint (Crook 2000:12-18). Walsham (2010:13) describes saintly relics as having a 'capacity to operate as a locus and conduit of power' and asserts that 'they channel redemptive and intercessory forces'. I asked two Roman Catholic interviewees (one an archaeologist, the other a historian) to comment on the parallels between museum display of ancient human remains and the ecclesiastical display of saintly relics. They both explained that they felt the two were different since the motivation of museum display was secular and intended to promote a scientific worldview whereas the use of relics in churches was religiously inspired to promote emulation of saintly behaviour or to facilitate the intercession of the saint in the life of the worshipper. In spite of their objections, I still maintain that the parallel is a significant one since I do not see the secular and spiritual realms as entirely separate. I would argue that the display of

human remains in both cases can be seen as educational, promoting a worldview and shared identity. The display of human relics is not the only parallel between museums and churches or temples. Susan Sheets-Pyenson (1988:5), for example, describes the British Museum (Natural History) in London as ‘a Gothic “Temple to Science”’. Indeed to myself, and I suspect to many others, visiting a museum feels somewhat like a pilgrimage.

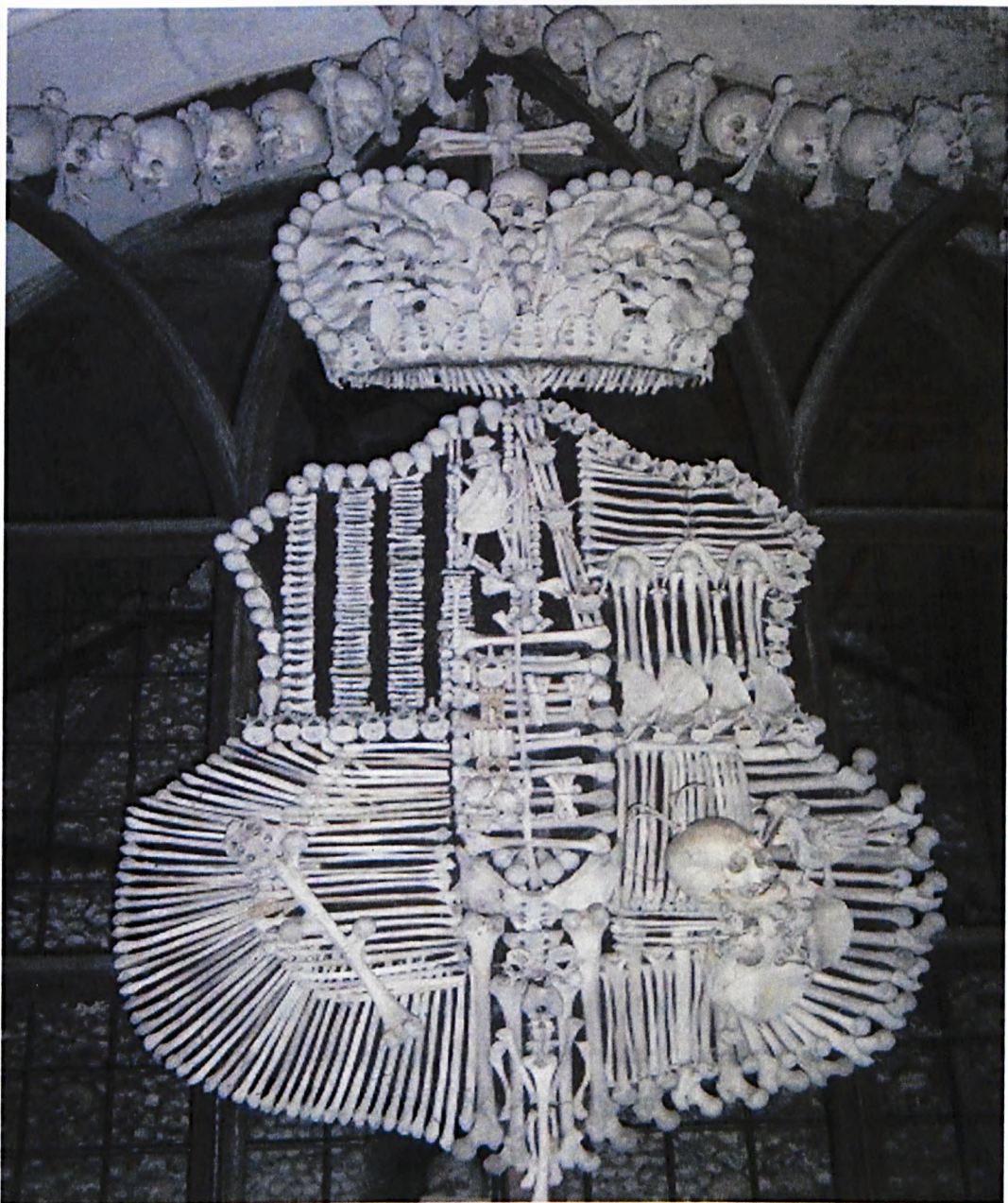


Fig. 46: Sedlec Ossuary coat of arms (Photograph by Helen Brisco)

Public access ossuaries are not restricted to ancient remains. The siege of Verdun in 1916 was among the bloodiest battles of World War 1. At Douamont near Verdun, the bones of 130,000 French and German soldiers who died in this battle were placed in an ossuary where visitors may view the bones of these dead soldiers through windows (Holt & Holt 1998:62-3). This example demonstrates that even the honoured war dead may be placed on public display contradicting the idea that public display is inherently disrespectful.

Not all displayed remains form part of museum collections. One celebrated example is that of Jeremy Bentham, a utilitarian philosopher and philanthropist. In his will he stipulated that his body should be publicly dissected after which his remains should be preserved and brought to committee meetings at University College London. His head is preserved but kept locked away. The rest of his skeleton encased in a wax body is kept on display and is brought to meetings as specified in his will (Chamberlaine & Parker Pearson 2004:169).

Hospitals and medical schools also keep preserved specimens of human tissue, organs and cadavers for training and research. One of the largest of these is the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Physicians in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. I visited the museum with Emily Porth, a researcher comparing the display of human remains with that of animal remains in museums, on the 3rd of August 2010 where she introduced me to Jane Hughes, one of the curatorial staff (Head of Learning and Access). On a tour of the Museum the guide, retired surgeon Lewis Spitz, explained that an unusually large human skeleton belonged to an Irishman named Charles Byrne who had specifically wanted to avoid his body being put on display when he died and had therefore paid a boatman to dispose of it at sea after his death. John Hunter, founder of the Hunterian Museum, however, had paid the boatman more and so obtained possession of Byrne's body. Ms Hughes explained that the museum had received approaches to repatriate and inter Byrne's bones but that the claimants had been unable to demonstrate a familial link: and hence the museum decided the claim did not override the educational and research importance of the skeleton (see also Alberti et al 2009).

A recent development in the display of human remains is Gunther von Hagens' Bodyworlds Exhibition. This comprises human corpses, acquired by him with the stated aim of preservation as anatomical specimens for educational purposes. His 'plastination' process is used to preserve tissue which would otherwise decay making possible a large permanent travelling display of dissected, preserved human bodies. He states that his show aims to 'democratise anatomy' (BBC News 2002b). The major controversy surrounds allegations the bodies may have been procured less than ethically either from prisons in countries with a poor human rights record (BBC News 2004) or by dishonestly overemphasising the educational nature of the display to potential donors (BBC News 2002a). Von Hagens was also criticised for the general layout and presentation of his exhibition which was likened rather to an art installation than a scientific display (Jenkins 2011:113). This perception of the Bodyworlds display as art rather than science is exemplified by bodies in the display being placed in positions such as fencing, doing a high jump and playing a guitar (BBC News 2002a; BBC News 2008c).

Since I was unable to secure a work placement working with human remains in a museum context I was forced to rely on information from interviewees for an insight into how display is organised. Elizabeth Walker of the National Museum Wales in Cardiff explained to me (p.c. 2010) that they demonstrated respect for the remains in the way they were carefully laid out anatomically (unless they had been originally deposited otherwise) and that the museum forbade photography of remains. She told me that any photography of remains was done professionally and that the use of these photographs was carefully controlled.

Archaeological excavations seldom permit public viewing of remains as they emerge. Indeed the standard exhumation licences issued by the Ministry of Justice (previously by the Home Office) require that the excavation is screened (Parker Pearson 2003:198-9; Sayer & Symonds 2004; Collis 2004:149). In his Theoretical Archaeology Group conference paper, Duncan Sayer (2010) explained that he was able to obtain a special Ministry of Justice licence that permitted him to allow members of the public to view the excavation of skeletons in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Furthermore Sayer

explained that the response from the public at the site was almost universally positive. It may also be argued that the opportunity for the public to witness archaeological digs in this way provides a context to the remains, which helps to tell their story thus humanising the dead.

7.3.2.5 De-accessioning, Disposal and Reburial

Many remains excavated by archaeologists are reburied after analysis. By no means all remains go into museum stores. What then are the criteria on which the fate of excavated remains is judged?

Many museums have uncontextualised remains in their collections, which were acquired at a time when curators were less selective or which have become uncontextualised due to administrative errors or disasters such as wartime bombing. Bearing in mind the consequent difficulties in making any use of these remains coupled with the fact that storage of human remains represents an ongoing investment in financial terms, climate controlled storage facilities are not cheap and museums have to operate within limited budgets. De-accession (removing from the museum's collection) is therefore an obvious solution subject to due process to ensure that removal from the collection is justified (ICOM 2006:5; Museum of London 2006:5).

The sale of de-accessioned bones would be problematical both ethically and legally since the Law considers human remains as a non-commodity unless subjected to some process of craft or skill (DCMS 2005:12). Sale of remains or discarding de-accessioned human remains as rubbish would result in negative publicity for any institution doing so. Thus it would rather be a case of finding a suitable guardian for the remains or of cremating or burying them. One anonymous informant explained that, having decided to de-accession bones, a museum may approach other museums to ascertain if they would take over guardianship (Society for Museum Archaeologists 1993:10, 22).

Deposition in an ossuary whilst not unknown in British history has not been common in recent times (Roberts 2009:50; Parker Pearson 2003:50). Parker Pearson

(2003:41) asserted that nearly three quarters (72%) of British people were cremated at the beginning of the 21st century (see also Chamberlaine & Parker Pearson 2004:175) but an interviewee working as an undertaker reported that burial is now becoming more popular due to rising costs of cremation and falling burial costs. Cremation is a recent preference; less than two hundred years ago Dr William Price (a self-identified Druid) found himself in court for cremating the body of his son Iesu Grist (Green 1997:132). It could therefore be deemed inappropriate for us to cremate remains of mediaeval and early modern people who lived at a time when cremation was so aberrant as to be illegal. But what of older remains dating to a time when cremation was practised? The fact that the remains are uncremated may indicate a preference either of the dead individual or, more likely, of their social group. Reburial is therefore the fate of most remains de-accessioned as being of little or no research value.

Fox (2004:374-8) argues that the 'default position' of the English, at least those not firmly of another faith, is to entrust the dead to the Church of England. The Church's position as the state religion of England is probably a significant reason for this. If so, this may explain why some remains have been given Anglican burials (e.g. Servini 1999; BBC News 1999b). I have found few instances of pre-Christian remains being reburied after analysis. I suggest this is because ancient remains are seldom deemed to be without research value. Shallcrass (2004:28-29) describes one case where a woman's remains found in Wiltshire and excavated by Wessex Archaeology were reburied. This individual was buried face down in a wooden plank coffin but the timber proved impossible to date by the tree rings so a radiocarbon determination was made providing a date circa AD500. The Home Office exhumation licence permitted the remains to be 'conveyed to a museum or archive if deemed to be of scientific importance, or reburied in a cemetery. Since these remains were interpreted as being non-Christian, it was successfully argued that a Christian consecrated graveyard was inappropriate and the remains were reinterred in a place close to the original burial site. Jenkins (2011:15-16) points out that much is made of the ethical correctness of reburial and news items (BBC News 2008a, 2009) confirm her assertion that these reburials are generally ritualised. Collections containing sufficient numbers of remains to form a useful sample for statistical research are rare. When large numbers of

remains are excavated, e.g. post mediaeval graveyard clearances, they seldom enter museum stores for long if at all.

7.4 Conclusion

In the next chapter I shall examine how Pagans interact with them and how remains have been and continue to be contested. This chapter has examined how archaeologists and museum professionals (part of the heritage sector) use and interact with human remains. I explained how archaeologists and other specialists in related fields can provide much information about a person's life from excavation and analysis of that person's remains. The accuracy and scope of these data are dependent on the greatest care being taken in meticulous excavation, recording, cleaning, sampling and analysing the remains. Surgical techniques have been employed to protect the appearance and corporeal integrity of curated preserved bodies.

Archaeologists and Museum professionals interviewed expressed a strong awareness that excavated bones were once part of a living person and I was able to experience this awareness in action by participating in the excavation of a pair of Bronze Age barrows. Whilst archaeologists and museum professionals exhibit meticulous care in the disinterment of human remains of all ages, some recent remains are extracted with little care or consideration by cemetery clearance contractors. It is also significant that museums are not the only context in which human remains may be displayed. Crypts, ossuaries, churches and even war memorials may permit visitors to view the remains of the honoured dead. Display in such instances is usually characterised as an act of reverence although, in at least some cases this may be more due to curiosity or even some kind of entertainment.

This chapter has shown that not all human remains excavated by archaeologists are kept in museum or excavation contractors' stores; many are reburied at or near the locations from which they were excavated. This may be publicised as an ethical act but is usually done to avoid the increased storage costs of larger collections. Excavation, analysis, curation and display or reburial of human remains is an emotive issue so it should not be surprising that there are several pieces of legislation and

ethical guidelines covering the treatment of remains. These generally forbid unauthorised and unnecessary disturbance of human remains whilst permitting the archaeological examination of remains if necessary or desirable. Remains are required to be treated respectfully and in a manner which maintains their safety, skeletal or bodily integrity, context and hence their research potential as well as perhaps some vestige of personhood (an issue which will be explored in more detail in chapter 8). Chapter 8 will also explore how human remains from overseas have been contested but in this chapter guidelines on how claims on human remains received by museums are expected to be dealt with have been analysed. These guidelines are intended to help museum professionals to balance the interests of claimants, who may feel that remains have been unacceptably appropriated by strangers and treated in an inappropriate manner by them, against the interests of scientists and academics seeking to expand human knowledge. Importantly the criteria emphasise continuity of affiliation and demonstrable cultural affinity or importance.

In conclusion archaeologists and Museum professionals value human remains highly for the large amount of information they can provide about the lives of people in the past. Their careful and sensitive treatment of these remains is informed and shaped by this desire for reproducible knowledge and also by recognition of their human value. Treatment of human remains is also governed by legal and professional codes which shape the attitudes and practices involved in their treatment.

Chapter 8: Contemporary Pagans and Ancestors



Fig. 47: Arthur Pendragon picketing Stonehenge for return of cremated remains from Aubrey Hole 7
(photograph Shelley 2010)

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I shall examine contemporary Pagan attitudes to ancient human remains and their interactions with archaeologists and museum professionals regarding them. I shall explain how the pre-Christian dead have become conceptualised as Ancestors and are therefore deemed worthy of reverence and respect. In order to provide a context and to explain the origins of Pagan contestation, I shall investigate the contestation of human remains in Australia and the United States. I shall then use the four main instances of Pagan contestation of human remains as case studies to examine how contestation has taken place in recent years. The tactics and approaches to contestation by different Pagan groups will be analysed and I shall complete this chapter with a critical evaluation of the arguments and counter-arguments regarding reburial and display of human remains. I shall also

analyse non-reburial challenges to the way remains are displayed in museums and examine two case studies to reveal how museum professionals have attempted to display remains more sensitively.

8.2 British Pagans and the Concept of Ancestors

The Oxford English Reference Dictionary (Pearsall & Trumble 2003:48) defines an ancestor as 'any (esp. remote) person from whom one is descended'. In common usage, the living are seldom referred to as ancestors. However, in this and subsequent chapters, I am using the capitalised form, Ancestors, to refer to those among the dead who are particularly venerated or who are worshipped or interacted with on a spiritual level. Hardacre (2005:320) explains Ancestor worship as 'rites and beliefs concerning dead kinsmen' but also allows that some groups, including some in Japan, include non-kin among the Ancestors (Hardacre 1987:267). Hall (1995:95, 101-102) describes South African *sangomas* interacting with *lidlolis*, which he describes (1995:x) as ancestral spirits, not of their kin group. Contemporary Pagans are therefore not unique in holding such a concept of Ancestors.

8.2.1 Who Are the Ancestors?

Pagan writer Brynneth Nimue Brown, formerly Colvin (Brown 2012:6-24; Colvin 2006:16), and Restall Orr (2000b:90) divide Ancestors in contemporary Pagan traditions into three categories:

1. Ancestors of blood – kin ancestors who are spiritually significant Ancestors as well;
2. Ancestors of place – people who lived in the same place as the present believer and whose ghosts and memories may be said to echo there;
3. Ancestors of tradition – those people who have influenced the thinking and spirituality of the believer and those who share a perceived identity of Pagan spirituality.

In the literature of the Pagan community there is variation on how these categories are defined. For example, the British Druid Order speaks of 'ancestors of blood' (unpublished:6) and 'ancestors of spirit' (unpublished:21) in part nine of the Bardic section of the Druidic study course that the order runs. Restall Orr (2007b:34)

acknowledges that Lindow Man may not be a genetic ancestor to most modern Pagans but described him as being 'a part of their ancestral environment and as such is one of our dead'. Blain and Wallis (2006:6) describe contemporary Pagans as 'spiritually allied' to prehistoric people. Moshenska (2009:818) describes Pagan ideas of Ancestors as 'an idealised amorphous conglomeration of the dead'. Field interviews suggest this is not wholly inaccurate, although the language seems somewhat pejorative, and it provides a starting point for some unpicking of ideas and beliefs supporting conceptualisation of Ancestors. Conversations with Pagans suggest that the idea that death allows an individual or his/her soul to transcend the limits of the senses and become linked into a wider spiritual reality is not uncommon. Most Pagans do not subscribe to the Abrahamic concept of evil but rather that evil derives from imbalance or ignorance (Crowley 1989:202, 1995:174-176; Jennings 2002:9; Pagan Federation 1992:4). The idea that the Ancestors form an unregimented group of idealised entities is entirely in keeping with Pagan worldviews and not an ill thought out piece of wishful thinking as Moshenska's use of language might be interpreted as suggesting.

8.2.2 Origins of Ancestor Veneration in Contemporary Paganism

Philip Shallcrass (p.c. 2011) states that Ancestors have always played an important part in his spirituality going back into the late 1960s. However, I have been unable to find reference to ancestors in Druid and Wiccan liturgies and theologies prior to the 1990s. Certainly Shamans, drawing on American Indian and Australian Aboriginal ideas (Day 1995:14; Hardacre 2005:323; Wallis 2003:70-71), and Asatruar/Heathens (Gundarsson 1993:106-10) made Ancestors an important part of their spirituality prior to that time. However, as Shamanic techniques and historical authenticity became increasingly popular across the contemporary Pagan scene through the 1990s, the concept of Ancestors and ideas of how to interact with them became more important. Hutton once addressed Shallcrass as 'a Shaman at the core of your being, quite convincingly dressed as a Druid' (Shallcrass 2008). It should therefore be no surprise that along with Emma Restall Orr he was a prominent advocate of Shamanic practices in Druidry. This work was subsequently advanced by John and Caitlin Matthews as 'awenyddion' (which I was fortunate enough to observe in about 2001). They describe awenyddion as early mediaeval Welsh Shamanic practitioners using a

trance state for divinatory insights. Within heathenry Shamanic approaches have been championed by Jenny Blain with her book *The Nine Worlds of Seidr Magic* (2002) and by Brian Bates (1996) in his *Way of Wyrd*. Shamanic trance work and otherworld journeys may be one practice involving Ancestors but the most common reference to them is in the form of a simple invocation as mentioned by Brown (2012:4) and as I have witnessed in many Pagan rituals. Archaeological interpretations of ancient sites such as barrows and stone circles as monuments to ancestors since the 1990s (e.g. Pryor 2003:157, 190-213; Parker Pearson 2012:6-8, 343; Whitley 2002:119) have also contributed to Pagan ideas about Ancestor veneration. Whitley (2002:19-20) argues that the importance of Ancestors in British prehistory has been overemphasised and that it is part of a nationalist discourse which provides a sense of comfort and continuity with the past. He accuses archaeologists of applying a misunderstood concept of ancestors from Australian Aboriginal Culture to the British Neolithic (Whitley 2002:121) but I would argue that this neglects the great effort required to make megalithic tombs and barrows and evidence of bones being stored and removed from them (Hutton 1997a:31; Pryor 2003:190-202).

8.2.3 Why Are They the Ancestors?

If one accepts that Hardacre (2005:321) is correct that almost all spiritualities which venerate Ancestors restrict their definition of Ancestors to lineal kin, then why should contemporary Pagans be different? Perhaps the most obvious answer lies with the narratives of Christian oppression of Pagans (see chapter 1) and that many Pagans would assume their Christian ancestors to be hostile to their spirituality (See Brown 2012:4-5, 113-116). These Christian ancestors therefore become problematical as Ancestors. I would not be surprised if rituals and practices to placate these Christian ancestors emerge over the coming decades but they are unlikely to be revered and held up as examples as positive ancestors. Lewis & Hammer (2007:15) have suggested that contemporary Paganism may be the only religion which does not attempt to give itself authority through historical lineage. I disagree and I would suggest that the adoption of pre-Christian human remains would have, to some degree, a functional purpose of legitimating contemporary Pagans as heirs to the paganisms of the ancient past. Indeed, in her somewhat satirical look at the varieties

of contemporary Pagans, Julia Day (1995:11) observes drily that 'For every ounce of hereditary witch you can have several pounds of pretend ones'. This desire to be seen as a descendant of older Pagans may be construed as an attempt to be more Pagan than others or to claim a position of authority or respect. I would suggest that claiming the remains of ancient pre-Christian people as Ancestors provides both a legitimating connection with the Paganisms of the past and is an expression of perceived shared identity as Pagans.

8.2.4 Implications of Pagan Ancestor 'Worship'

If one then accepts that Pagans are sincere in their devotion to the Ancestors, and I see no reason to doubt that they are, what are the implications? Fox (2004:357) argues that the English are generally suspicious of strong religious faith but religion is still frequently a deeply felt and important motivating factor for human behaviour (e.g. Nagata 2001:493). I argue that contemporary Pagans think of themselves as different from the rest of the UK population in their religiosity, many preferring to speak of spirituality rather than religion. There is still a lingering stigma in some quarters to Paganism with atheists dismissing Pagans as irrational (Hutton p.c. 2010) and Evangelical or fundamentalist Christians accusing them of idolatry or Satanism (Hutton 2001:255, 259-60, 319). Also few (although this is changing) Pagans were raised as Pagans by their families but have chosen or discovered their Pagan spirituality (Day 1995:11; Jennings 2002:15). It is therefore a more difficult choice involving more effort to be a Pagan than to be, for example, an Anglican. Nevertheless some are more devout and more likely to have their spirituality strongly influence their thinking and behaviour. Where such a pervasive faith exists, there is often a deep devotion to related causes such as ecological conservation (Partridge 2004:76). However, conversations over some years lead me to believe that in the case of Pagans (especially Druids) there is often a desire to philosophise (albeit without academic discipline in most cases) hence some room for debate may exist. What contemporary Pagan ideas about Ancestors imply for archaeologists and museum professionals, however, is that there is an absolutely genuine care for the Ancestors and their material remains, unlike the broader apathetic attitude to the dead in British society; which sees councils selling off cemeteries for £1 (Parker

Pearson 2003:125). While many Pagans revere the Ancestors, I have witnessed significant variation on how that reverence is manifested.

8.3 Contestation Overseas

Cressida Fforde (2004:7) suggests that the earliest recorded interest in human origins may be traced back to the works attributed to Hippocrates of Kos dating to the 4th century BC. She describes the heyday of human remains collection as lasting from the late 18th century to early 20th century (Fforde 2004:1). Permission to remove remains of colonised subjects was not deemed important and was seldom sought (Fforde 2004:1). Anatomical samples including skeletons were frequently obtained under circumstances which were, even then, seen as ethically dubious (see section 6.4.1.1). Although former Spanish colonies in South America began to gain independence in the 19th century (Phillips & Phillips 2010:211), the French and British Empires only really crumbled after World War 2 (Parker Pearson 2003:171). Following post-colonial challenges to European cultural hegemony in newly independent African and Asian nations, indigenous peoples of former colonies with white majorities such as Australia, the United States and New Zealand began to press for equal rights with white immigrant populations (Fforde 2004:89-103; Jenkins 2011:13-28; Simpson 2001:178-181). Aboriginal/Native advocacy groups initially concentrated on political self-determination, land ownership and challenging ethnocidal policies of 'Stolen Generations' in Australia (Reid 2006) and 'Boarding Schools' in the USA (Walker & Maynard 1997:338-42). From the 1960s Australian Aboriginal groups began to demand the return for reburial of aboriginal human remains held in museums in Australia and abroad (Fforde 2004:89; Parker Pearson 2003:171). American Indian repatriation and reburial movements were campaigning for legislation from at least 1971 (Fforde 2004:92; Thomas 2000:198-199, 209).

8.3.1 Australian Aboriginal Contestation

The Aboriginal populations of Australia and Tasmania were described by early physical anthropologists as amongst the most primitive races on earth. It was even suggested that they were survivals of Neanderthal populations, on the basis of careful measurement and highly flawed morphological analysis of skulls (Fforde 2004:30, 79). Aboriginal people were often seen as less than fully human, and in some

instances were hunted like animals (Fforde 2004:32). Large numbers of skeletons were appropriated for anatomical collections and museums by scientific adventurers including Klaatsch, Macgillivray and Stirling without any permission from the communities from whom the remains were sourced, in the full knowledge of the distress their actions caused to those communities (Fforde 2004:61). Convincing arguments have been made that the policy of the later colonial and post-independence government up until 1969 was ethnocidal if not genocidal (Reid 2006:6). Perhaps the most infamous instances of treatment of human remains relate to the last two Tasmanian Aborigines without any European ancestry.

8.3.1.1 Truganini and William Lanne

William Lanne and Truganini were the last two wholly (i.e. without any European ancestry) aboriginal Tasmanians (Parker Pearson 2003:176; Fforde 2004:45 & 97; Smith 2004:175). William Lanne died on the 5th of March 1869 and despite instructions from the Colonial Secretary that Lanne's body be 'protected from mutilation' (Fforde 2004:45), Dr William Crowther, of the Hobart General Hospital, appropriated Lanne's skull. Fearing that Crowther would steal the rest of the skeleton members of the Royal Society of Tasmania instructed Dr George Stockell, the house surgeon, to take Lanne's hands and feet (Fforde 2004:45). The remainder of Lanne's body was buried, possibly with another man's skull, on the 6th of March. Stockell is believed to have carefully excavated the grave and removed the body, carefully replacing the coffin. However, later that night Crowther was alleged to have disinterred the coffin and, finding that he was too late, left the grave open with the replacement skull on top of the coffin. Crowther subsequently raided a room in the hospital where Stockell had removed the bones from the flesh of Lanne's body (Fforde 2004:45) and it was even alleged that he had a tobacco pouch made from his skin (Fforde 2004:45; Parker Pearson 2003:176). A court case against Stockell ensued but was dismissed when Crowther refused to give evidence for fear of incriminating himself. What ultimately became of Lanne's remains is unclear but a skull believed to be his had been brought to London and thence to Edinburgh. Records exist describing Lanne's hands and feet being exhibited in Hobart (Fforde 2004:47) but little is certain and it may be hoped that his remains have now been laid

to rest in Tasmania, although it seems unlikely that his remains were ever reunited in a single grave.

Truganini died on the 8th of May 1876, the last Tasmanian Aborigine with no European ancestry. She had expressed a fervent desire for her remains not fall into the hands of scientists. Fforde (2004:97) asserts that she asked to have her body cast into the sea at the deepest part of the D'Entrecasteaux Channel but Parker Pearson (2003:176) suggests she asked for her corpse to be cremated. Either way, neither her wishes nor her body were respected. The Colonial Secretary, anxious to avoid a repetition of the events surrounding William Lanne's burial, but conscious of the perceived importance of preserving the last member of a disappearing race, ordered that she be buried safely but accessibly. After repeated requests by the Royal Society of Tasmania, Truganini's remains were permitted to be disinterred and removed to a place where they could be made available for scientific study (Fforde 2004:98). However, Fforde also records reports that Truganini's body had already been illegally exhumed by the Royal Society before the Colonial Secretary had given his permission in December 1878. In violation of the terms by which permission had been given to excavate her remains, Truganini's skeleton was put on display at the Royal Society's museum. During the 1950s the Anglican Church in Tasmania twice approached the museum asking to rebury the bones but was told that the trustees had no authority to release the skeleton: indeed one of them argued that it would be condemned around the world as a crime against science to dispose of such a rare specimen. In the late 1960s a law student of aboriginal ancestry, Burnum Burnum campaigned to have Truganini's remains released for reburial; accusing the museum of violating her wishes as well as perpetuating oppression of Aboriginal people (Fforde 2004:99). In 1974 the museum offered to have Truganini's bones placed in a mausoleum, where they could still be made available for scientific study; but the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies pushed for her wishes and those of her descendants to be respected (Fforde 2004:99). By 1976 however, increasing pressure from the Tasmanian Aboriginal community and, more broadly, within the Commonwealth had resulted in a change in the law which permitted the museum to release Truganini's bones which were cremated and scattered in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel as she had requested (Fforde 2004:100).

8.3.1.2 Legal Changes

Mulvaney (1991:14) records that by 1975 Australian legislation covering Aboriginal remains, relics and sites was enacted on a state by state basis but in 1984 the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage (Interim Protection) Bill was passed into federal law. It was updated in 1987 to ensure that Aboriginal elders decided the fate of all archaeological remains excavated in Australia and its dependant territories.

8.3.2 American Indians and NAGPRA

Echo-Hawk, a Pawnee Indian spokesman once made the accusation that 'if you desecrate a white grave you wind up sitting in prison but desecrate an Indian grave, you get a PhD' (Thomas 2000:210). From 1971 organisations such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) and American Indians Against Desecration (AIAD) were contesting archaeological excavation of American Indian funerary sites (Jenkins 2011:14, Thomas 2000:198-199, 209). Thomas (2000:210) also remarks that all 50 US states had laws protecting the graveyards used by white people but until the 1990s no protection was afforded to American Indian graves. Fforde (2004:92-94) records how protests and political pressure for federal legislation to protect American Indian graves grew through the 1970s and 1980s.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed and signed into federal law (overriding state laws) by President George H.W. Bush in 1990. This was seen as a great move forward in acknowledging equal rights and human rights for American Indians (Thomas 2000:214). The legislation made tribal consent mandatory for archaeological excavations of human remains on federal land not securely identified as being of European ancestry. Museums receiving federal funding were required to compile detailed inventories of all American Indian human remains, grave goods, funerary and ceremonial objects which were required to be shared with tribal groups who would then be entitled to claim back those remains and items (Thomas 2000:214).

8.3.2.1 Kennewick Man

On the 28th of July 1996 a couple of spectators at a water-sport event found a human skull by the Columbia River near Kennewick in Washington State, USA. The skull was taken to the local police station and then passed on to the County Coroner to establish if a crime had been committed. James Chatters, a physical anthropologist was called in to analyse the skull and assess its age. The shape of the jaw and cranium along with the proximity to a known historic settlement led Chatters to suggest that the skull belonged to a settler of European origin. However, the skull was quickly identified as not having died in the last two hundred years or so. Archaeological survey of the site turned up 350 pieces of bone representing an almost complete skeleton. The skeleton was carefully examined providing an age at death of forty to fifty-five years old, male sex and a height of 170 to 176 cm. Stable isotope analysis provided evidence that Kennewick Man, as the media named him, had subsisted largely on fish. DNA analysis was inconclusive but a stone projectile point associated with a half healed wound in the man's hip was dated to 8500-4500BP (Burke et al 2008:26).

A newspaper report on the 30th of July 1996 prompted the first contact from local American Indian groups but it was not until the 9th of September that the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR), The Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, the Wanapum Band, the Nez Percé Tribe and the Yakama Nation lodged a formal claim under the provisions of NAGPRA. By this time the bones had been radiocarbon dated to 8410 +/- 60 years BP establishing it as one of the five oldest skeletons in North America (Burke et al 2008:27). Since the skeleton was found on land belonging to the US Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), it was within the jurisdiction of NAGPRA to require the skeleton to be handed over to the American Indian claimants 30 days after the second public notice unless a counterclaim was lodged. The public notice was issued on the 24th of September 1996 but within a week the New York Times published an article describing the skeleton as Caucasian. On the 16th of October eight anthropologists took legal action to prevent the US government handing the bones over to the claimants, on the basis that there was insufficient evidence that the remains were of a American Indian person. The following week the Asatru Folk Assembly (a contemporary Pagan group)

filed a claim for possession of the remains (Burke et al 2008:28 Blain & Wallis 2006:5). This group may have been involved in one of the five rituals conducted with the bones which the USACE confirmed to the media in October 1997 and they are recorded as having conducted a ritual at the find site in August 1997 (Burke et al 2008:29). Legal action continues to this day and the matter remains unresolved but the Asatruar withdrew their claim on the 14th of January 2000. At the time of writing (October 2012) the skeleton remains under the guardianship of the US Corps of Engineers and in the care of the Burke Museum, part of the University of Washington, until the dispute can be resolved. The remains are not on display (Burke Museum 2012).

8.3.3 Critiques of Overseas Contestation

I have now briefly looked into the origins of overseas contestation of ancestral remains and examined case study examples. Before proceeding to analyse reasons for Pagan contestation of human remains, I shall briefly set out some of the reasons put forward by Australian Aboriginal and American Indian campaigners for reburial and arguments against by their critics. I encourage the reader to compare these with the Pagan reasons for contestation set out in sections 8.7 and 8.8.

8.3.3.1 Identity Based Reasons

Fforde (2004:159) records that some repatriation claims have been rejected on the basis that they were seen as politically motivated. She counters these criteria for rejecting claims by emphasising the importance to emancipated groups of reasserting a collective identity after colonial oppression and challenging the racial subordination of the colonial era with regard to contestation of human remains (Fforde 2004:157-160). However, Jenkins (2011:37) challenges these criteria as continuing what she sees as the erroneous concept of dividing humans into discrete races. However, native/aboriginal groups are bounded and separated from people of European descent in countries such as Australia and the USA, not just by skin colour and details of body morphology but also by cultural identity (Smith 2004:169; Dick 2011:72).

Certainly such groups have justified grievances, not least in the manner of collection of biological samples for research as seen in section 8.3. It therefore follows that claims to recover remains from museum collections are seen as regaining control of their own heritage, restitution and an assertion of native rights in a post-colonial world (Fforde 2004:159-160; Jenkins 2011:63-69; Simpson 2001:178-181). Armand Minthorne (2008:42) of the Umatilla Indians described the excavation of the skeleton from Kennewick as a desecration and the analysis of the bones to be a further violation. He states that the elders of his tribe teach that 'once a body goes into the ground, it is meant to stay there until the end of time'. Minthorne (2008:43) also asserts that American Indians do not need archaeologists to tell them their own history as it is already known.

8.3.3.2 Spiritual Reasons

An important part of the cultural identity mentioned in the previous section is often a set of spiritual beliefs and practices relating to death and the dead. These may or may not be incorporated into imported world religions, most commonly Christianity (e.g. Reyes-Cortez 2012:108). A common belief around the world is that souls or spirits of the dead or at least of some of them can adversely affect the living if they are not treated with respect and/or love (Hardacre 1987:264-267; King 2008:139). Spiritualities such as American Indian traditions (King 2008:139) incorporate belief that disturbance of remains can affect the afterlife being experienced by the soul or spirit who once inhabited or animated those remains. Not all American Indians support reburial arguments. Thomas (2000:210-211) cites the case of Arthur Parker, a Seneca Indian and an archaeologist, who has asserted that American Indians have been disturbing their own peoples' graves all along.

8.3.3.3 Political Reasons

Thomas (2000:211) records that some archaeologists were dismissive of American Indian reburial claims, believing the activists to be insincere, inauthentic opportunists seeking personal profit. This impression is not restricted purely to archaeologists, a part Cherokee lady attending a UK Pagan camp explained to me that the Cherokee had always engaged co-operatively with people of European ancestry. Their nation she explained was divided into Western and Eastern Bands with the Eastern being

more traditional and the Western more 'Westernised'. She agreed with another interviewee that the Cherokee had profited from constructive dialogue with white people while the Navajo and Lakota had come to be seen as bigots. She explained that the elders she knew saw the reburial campaigners as 'neo-Indians' rather than being driven by traditional values and beliefs. I feel that one must be willing to ask oneself if the political motivation of contestation is any reason to ignore or to devalue those arguments.



Fig. 48: Death, jealous of his rights, stands sentry over this strange burglarious entry
Aquatint by Thomas Rowlandson (Marsden & Nurse 2007:104)

8.4 Contesting Human Remains in the UK

Marsden and Nurse (2007:104) point out using Thomas Rowlandson's 1816 cartoon (fig. 48 above), that criticism of archaeological, or rather antiquarian, investigation of the dead is nothing new. Sociologists such as Jenkins (2011:81) and archaeologists such as Parker Pearson (2012:175) have noted that current contestation of human remains by contemporary Pagans has been inspired by aboriginal groups overseas. The following section will examine how Pagans in the UK came to adopt the idea and comparisons between the British Pagan campaigns and the American Indian and

Australian Aboriginal campaigns will demonstrate some common aims and motivations.

8.4.1 Origins of Contestation

In 1997 the body of the Sioux chief Long Wolf who had died in London whilst performing with Buffalo Bill's Wild West show was repatriated to the United States (Blystone 1997; Hooper-Greenhill 2007:89). Shallcrass (p.c. 2011) explained to me that this campaign made him aware of American Indian campaigns to repatriate and rebury their ancestors. This reinforced his desire to see the lost bones of a Neolithic woman reburied at the southern entrance to Avebury. He explained that this seemed to him to demonstrate a respect for and love of the ancestors that British Pagans would do well to emulate.

Meanwhile at the University of Wales Lampeter, another Druid, Paul Davies was studying for a joint honours BA in Archaeology and Anthropology. One of the modules he undertook examined contemporary issues with archaeology and heritage. It was in this module that he was made aware of American Indian and Australian Aboriginal contestation of their ancestral human remains (p.c. Davies 2009). Davies too felt that UK contemporary Pagans should emulate the respect and reverence of American Indian and Australian Aboriginal campaigners and start to move for reburial of pre-Christian human remains. Davies therefore wrote two articles which Shallcrass published in *The Druid's Voice* which was the journal of the Council of British Druid Orders (CoBDO) (Davies 1997, 1998). In 2002, Shallcrass and Restall Orr agreed to close the BDO. Mourning the death of his wife Shallcrass stepped back from a leading role in the Druid community but has since revived the BDO. In 2003 Restall Orr created a new organisation, The Druid Network (TDN). The following year she started a new organisation focusing on respect for the ancestors which she named Honouring the Ancient Dead (HAD). HAD describes itself (via its website) as creating relationships to ensure that pre-Christian remains are treated with respect (HAD et al 2004-2008). Kit Warwick (p.c. 2009), explained that he had not been aware of other campaigns when he began his campaign to reinter the 'Red Lady of Paviland' in 2006. Paul Davies had been networking for some years and at the same time studying for a postgraduate degree but in 2006 to 2007 was voted onto CoBDO as

reburial officer and began his Avebury campaign. Each of the specific campaigns will now be examined as detailed case studies.

8.5 Case Studies

To illustrate how contestation of human remains in the UK by contemporary Pagan groups has developed and the reaction by the archaeological and heritage/museum professions I shall examine the four most prominent cases to emerge over the last decade as detailed case studies. These case studies comprise: Charlie the Neolithic child's skeleton at Avebury, The Aubrey Hole 7 or Stonehenge Guardians cremated remains, The Red Lady of Paviland and finally Lindow Man.



Fig. 49: Charlie at the Alexander Keiller Museum 2009 (Author's photograph)

8.5.1 Case Study 1: Charlie at Avebury

Charlie is the name given to a three year old child's skeleton excavated by Alexander Keiller from the outer ditch of the causewayed enclosure on Windmill Hill and dated to the earlier Neolithic ca 4000 to 3000BC (Cleal 2008:2; Malone 1989:54-55; Smith

1965:9) (see section 4.4.1 for description of Avebury). Smith (1965:136) attributes deformation of the skull to the pressure of the earth but Malone (1989:55) describes its enlargement as indicative of hydrocephalous (water on the brain). Hers was not the only skeleton found in the ditches of Windmill Hill; another child's and a dog's skeletons were found elsewhere but Charlie herself was buried alongside the bones of a young pig and a young goat (Malone 1989:54).

As shown in fig. 49, 'Charlie' is displayed laid out on a white cloth surrounded by chalk in a glass case at the Alexander Keiller Museum at Avebury (figs. 49 & 50) (NGR SU099700). The skeleton has been placed in the crouched position in which she was found. The museum is owned and run by the National Trust. Its purpose is to house and display finds made by Keiller during his excavations in the Avebury area and to inform, educate and entertain the public (Cleal 1996:192-195).



Fig. 50: The Alexander Keiller Museum at Avebury (Author's Photo)

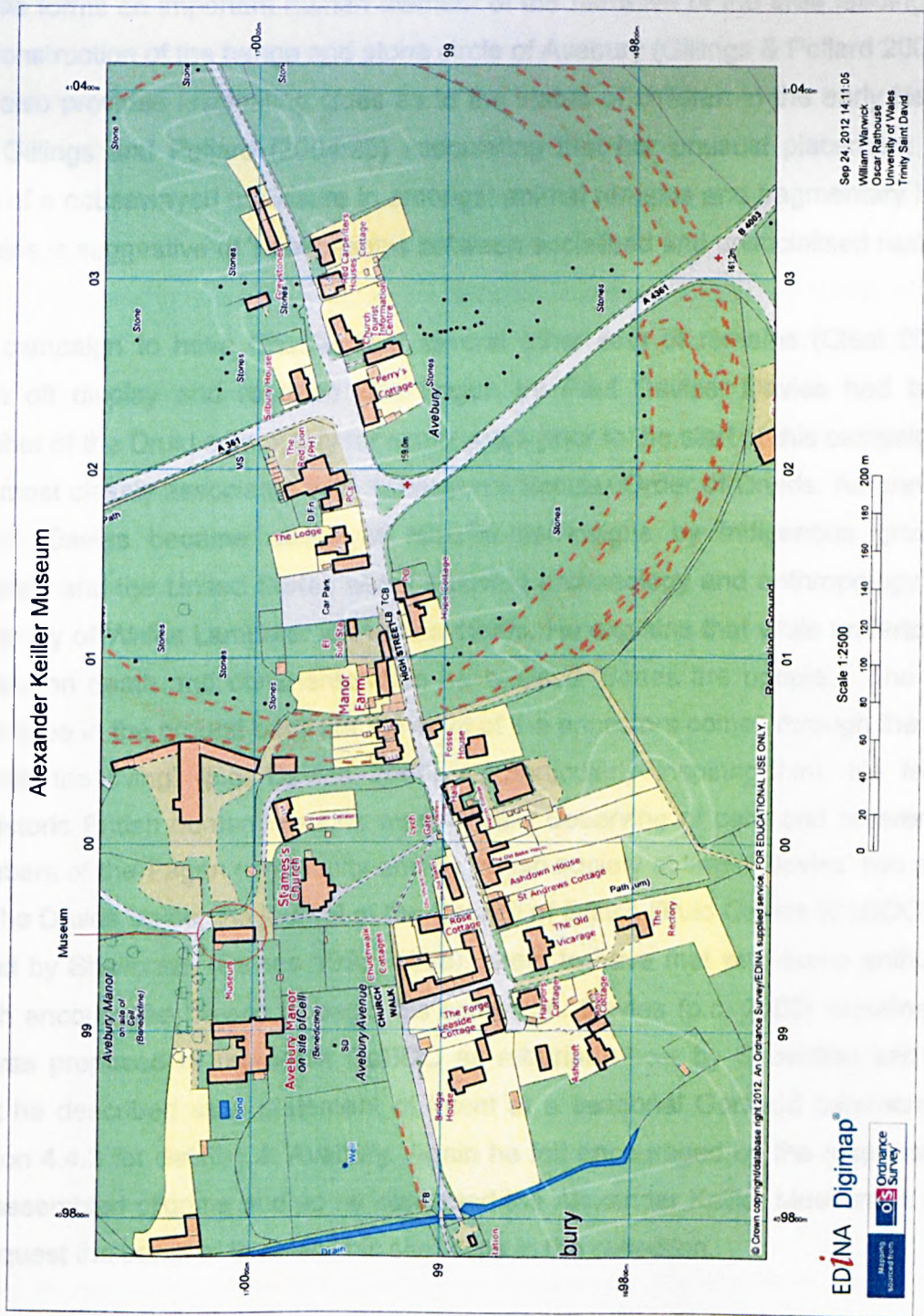


Fig. 51: Map of Avebury showing the location of the Alexander Keiller museum at map reference 995001(Ordnance Survey via Digimap)

Charlie forms an important human element of the narrative of the area leading up to the construction of the henge and stone circle of Avebury (Gillings & Pollard 2004:28). She also provides fascinating clues as to the status of children in the early Neolithic with Gillings and Pollard (2004:28) speculating that her unusual placement in the ditch of a causewayed enclosure in amongst animal remains and fragmentary human remains is suggestive of 'relationships between socialised and unsocialised realms'.

The campaign to have Charlie, and several other sets of remains (Cleal 2008:1), taken off display and reburied was begun by Paul Davies. Davies had been a member of the Druid community for some years prior to the start of this campaign and was most closely associated with Sebastian's Secular Order of Druids. As previously stated, Davies became aware of reburial campaigns by indigenous groups in Australia and the United States whilst studying archaeology and anthropology at the University of Wales Lampeter in the late 1990s. He explains that while undertaking a module on death and commemoration he realised 'Bones are people... The bones need to be in the ground because the spirit of the ancestors comes through the bones to help the living' (p.c. Davies 2009) as particularly inspiring him. He felt that prehistoric British human remains were equally deserving of care and reverence by members of the Pagan community and by British society at large. Davies' two articles for *The Druids Voice*, the journal of the Council of British Druid Orders (CoBDO), then edited by Shallcrass (Davies 1997, 1998), seem to have met with some enthusiasm which encouraged Davies to begin his campaign. Davies (p.c. 2009) explained that he was proposed to represent CoBDO as reburial officer by Sebastian and made what he described as a statement of intent at a seasonal Gorsedd ceremony (see section 4.4.3 for details) at Avebury. Again he felt encouraged by the response from the assembled pilgrims and so he contacted the Alexander Keiller Museum in writing to request the burial of the Neolithic skeletons in the collection.

Davies took nine years between conceiving the idea and beginning his campaign. He explained to me that it didn't feel right or there were other priorities during this time. In my interview with him he mentions that he wanted to avoid 'culture-stealing'. Davies (p.c. 2009) stated that, having previously been elected reburial officer of CoBDO, he

contacted Ros Cleal at the Alexander Keiller Museum on the 24th of June 2006. Maughfling (2009) however, asserts that Davies was specifically requested not to represent CoBDO as reburial officer. Cleal passed the matter on to David Thackray and Sebastian Payne (Chief Archaeologist of the National Trust and Chief Scientist at English Heritage respectively) and several meetings were held with Davies and colleagues representing CoBDO and Thackray and Payne representing the NT and English Heritage between January 2007 and August 2008 (Thackray & Payne 2008:2). At a later CoBDO meeting a dispute between Archdruids came to blows (Fryer 2009). The result of this conflict was a split in CoBDO with Sebastian (until his death in February 2009), Steve Best and Denise Price forming their own council. Davies decided to join this faction since Sebastian had been particularly supportive of his role. If Davies had been CoBDO's reburial officer previously as he suggests, that position ended from this point and Maughfling quickly took action to disavow Davies and his campaign (Maughfling 2009).



Fig. 52: Paul Davies, Denise Price and Steve Best contemplate Charlie at the Alexander Keiller Museum Avebury (Kerton 2007)

After this incident, an alternative Council of British Druid Orders presenting itself as 'CoBDO West' was set up. The response of the original CoBDO was to copyright their

name and threaten legal action (Maughfling 2009). CoBDO, in its statement (Maughfling 2009) on the process, favoured reburial in such a way as to make it possible to re-exhume remains for further research should the need arise. They asserted that all world cultures bury bodies or cremated ashes even though there are a number of cultural groups who do not. Excarnation is practised in several cultures including Buddhists living in the high Himalayas who employ non-Buddhists to butcher bodies and set them out for the vultures to eat (Human Planet 2011), Parsis or Zoroastrians who consider fire, earth and water to be sacred and corpses to be polluting, place them in structures called towers of silence where the bones can be picked clean by vultures and the bones stored (Choksy 2005:10001). Hindus generally desire to have their bodies cremated on the banks of the River Ganges and the ashes then cast into that sacred river (Fuller 1992:207). Cunliffe (2000:108-109) explains that the evidence for treatment of the dead during the Iron Age heyday of the ancient Druids is sparse and contradictory. He acknowledges the possibility that the predominant method employed in the late Iron Age was cremation followed by river deposition but favours excarnation followed by thorough cremation or curation of bones.

Shallcrass, who as editor of the *Druids Voice* had published Davies' original articles on the subject and had maintained a friendship with him, put the matter to a gathering of his order. The assembled members unanimously voted to support the reburial campaign and Shallcrass (2009) consequently wrote to Sebastian Payne at English Heritage expressing the support of his order for Charlie's reburial. HAD, on the other hand, was not able to achieve a consensus among its council members and therefore only issued a vague document expressing a desire to see the remains treated with respect. Pagans, being a diverse community, did not all agree with Davies's campaign. Indeed Yvonne Aburrow disagreed sufficiently strongly to start a pressure group opposed to the campaigns of HAD and Davies' CoBDO West faction. This group was named Pagans for Archaeology (PfA) and will be examined in more detail in section 8.6.5.

English Heritage and the National Trust responded to Davies' campaign by launching a public consultation process to gain an understanding of opinion on the matter. The

results of the consultation demonstrated a large majority (89% of individuals and 81% of groups) in favour of retaining the remains on display (Thackray & Payne 2009:15). The consultation also returned a majority in favour of using the DCMS guidelines to assess such claims with 68% of individuals and 56% of groups supporting the use of these criteria (Thackray & Payne 2009:4-5, 2010:6). Davies' claim failed to meet the criteria for de-accession as laid out in the DCMS guidelines (2005) because: the claimants were unable to show a direct and close genetic connection to Charlie (Thackray & Payne 2009:10); while the claimants might be able to demonstrate cultural significance to the contemporary Pagan community, they were unable to demonstrate cultural continuity between the Neolithic Britons who buried Charlie and that community (Thackray & Payne 2009:11-13, 2010:5-6). There was also strong agreement that the remains had importance for research with 92% of individuals and 81% of groups supporting this position (Thackray & Payne 2009:13-14). The report also described maintaining the remains on display as 'more easily reversible' (English Heritage 2009a) than reburial. It recorded that 9% of individual respondents and 15% of group respondents favoured reburial while 89% of individual respondents and 81% of group respondents favoured retention in the museum allowing access where reasonable for Druid and other groups. Retention with denial of access to groups was not listed as an option (Thackray & Payne 2009:15). Thackray & Payne (2010:5) point out that the consultation responders are a self-selecting sample and Payne (p.c. 2009) expressed the opinion that human remains are the concern and responsibility of the nation (or even all humanity) collectively. A survey was therefore commissioned in which a random sample of UK residents was contacted and interviewed by telephone (BDRC nd). This report shows that 91% of respondents agreed that museums should be allowed to display human remains (BDRC nd:7) and the same percentage agreed that further remains may kept in storage for research (BDRC nd:12). These results are in stark contrast to a much smaller local survey in Cambridgeshire (Carroll 2009:95) which returned 70% in favour of reburial, although of those 71% said that the remains ought to be buried when archaeologists decided they were of no further research value. However, the Cambridgeshire survey did reveal that 79% of respondents expected to see remains in museums and 73% thought it was appropriate (Carroll 2009:95).

Rollo Maughfling (2009) of CoBDO responded to the report to make it absolutely clear that Davies did not represent CoBDO. He suggested that the findings were flawed, in that the division of permanent reburial and reburial with access was unnecessary, with the unwritten implication that this might have been done to split the vote. However, the vote against any kind of reburial was so overwhelming that it would scarcely matter.

Davies (p.c. 2009), Shallcrass (p.c. 2014) and others are firmly of the opinion that the manner in which the questions had been framed was designed to encourage respondents to support continued display of human remains, although I remain unconvinced of this. He pointed out that the DCMS guidelines used to assess the claim made it inevitable that the claim would be refused and were therefore unfair. He has pledged to continue his campaign but has not made any headlines in so doing.

8.5.2 Case Study 2: Stonehenge Human Remains

The Stonehenge Guardians is a name given to an assembly of cremated human remains excavated from Aubrey Hole 7 at Stonehenge which have been the subject of a reburial campaign by Druid groups who hold ceremonies there. Stonehenge has been described in chapter four but its archaeological significance in terms of Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Britain and its status as, arguably, the most sacred site in contemporary British Paganism merit reiterating. Mike Pitts (2000:103) explains that the archaeological investigation of the site has been somewhat haphazard and not particularly well recorded. Prior to recent scientific developments in the field of bio-archaeology, human remains, especially those which were fragmentary or cremated were generally deemed to be of little interest and were usually reinterred. In 1919 an archaeological excavation of Stonehenge led by Col. William Hawley and Robert Newell uncovered several sets of cremated human remains which were stored by Newell until he gained permission to reinter them. These cremated remains were then reburied in Aubrey Hole 7, which he had previously excavated, in January 1935.

The re-excavation of Aubrey Hole 7 (see section 4.3.1 for explanation of Aubrey Holes) and analysis of the cremated remains therein was undertaken as part of the Stonehenge riverside project which was designed to test hypotheses on the use and

symbolism of the wider Stonehenge landscape. These hypotheses, proposed by Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina (1998; see also Parker Pearson 2012:9-13), centre on the idea that Stonehenge was the central monument of a 'Domain of the Ancestors' with Durrington Walls being the centre of the 'Domain of the Living'. They postulated a funerary and initiatory route running from Durrington Walls, along the River Avon to the Stonehenge Avenue then along that avenue to Stonehenge itself. The Stonehenge Riverside Project (SRP) has supported this hypothesis by uncovering a settlement with signs of feasting just outside the Durrington Henge and a track to the river. They also found settings for standing stones where the Stonehenge Avenue meets the River Avon confirming a stepping off place from the river at the end of the avenue as predicted (Parker Pearson 2012:92; University of Sheffield 2009).



Fig. 53: The Aubrey Hole 7 remains as they were excavated between 18th August and 12th September 2008 (Photo by Pat Shelley)

Cultural-historical archaeological theorists of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries had hypothesised that the appearance of individual burials under round

barrows demonstrated an invasion or at least a mass immigration of 'Beaker people' into Britain. In the Processual paradigm of the 1960s and 1970s, this began to be increasingly called into question so that by 1991 Hutton (1997a:16) was confident enough to dismiss the idea of a mass migration of Beaker People as being as absurd as a mass migration of 'Japanese washing machine people in the mid-20th century'. However, after the results of the stable isotope analysis of the Amesbury Archer's teeth revealed that he had originated in central Europe, the Beaker People concept was back in contention. Professor Mike Parker Pearson (p.c. 2006) proposed to carry out similar analyses on as many beaker-associated sets of human remains as possible to provide information on how many people with beaker graves were immigrants and from where they originated. Parker Pearson's team hoped to be able to establish if the remains associated with new material culture in the late Neolithic were native Britons, or migrants from Europe.

In 1950 Atkinson discovered cremated remains among crushed chalk at the bottom of Aubrey Hole 32 and these were curated at Salisbury Museum (Parker Pearson 2012:184-185). From the location among the crushed chalk, Parker Pearson (2012:183-186) presents a strong case that these cremated remains were deposited during the erection of a bluestone circle in the Aubrey Holes. Radiocarbon dating of these remains returned a date of 3030-2880 Cal BC, making this circle coeval with the henge ditch and bank (Parker Pearson 2012:185) and hence part of the earliest phase of Stonehenge itself. The radiocarbon dates from the Aubrey hole 7 remains, whose precise context has been lost, may still serve to support or contest this interpretation but ongoing visual analysis of them may yield data relating to the ages, sexes, pathologies and traumas experienced by the individuals whose bones they were (Parker Pearson 2012:199-202).

Pat Shelley (2010), a member of the SRP staff and tour guide at the stones themselves, explained that prior to the excavation of Aubrey Hole 7, it had been arranged that Frank Somers and another member of Stonehenge Druids would bless the dig on the 18th of August. Parker Pearson (2012:173), however, described the ritual as being to placate the spirits of the ancestors (p.c. Grant 2011) and involving Druids from HAD. They been told of the excavation by Carson, English Heritage's site

manager at Stonehenge, and the ritual was scheduled for 4 o'clock on the 25th of August, prior to the commencement of the Aubrey Hole excavation. This was not at all unusual as the attitude of the archaeologists to this appears from interviews to have been one of polite tolerance, exemplified by statements such as 'we just let them get on with it' (anonymous informant). This ritual was disrupted by Arthur Pendragon (see section 4.2.4 for more information on Pendragon), who telephoned some of his comrades and before long a noisy and aggressive protest was under way (MagicOak 2009). It has been suggested by an anonymous Pagan interviewee, who was present as a tourist, that Arthur was angry at being left out of this and felt that HAD members were in some way trespassing on his territory. According to three informants, two of whom were participating in the excavation and the third was the Pagan tourist, some of the protestors were extremely abusive to the archaeologists. They explained that comments such as 'Grave robbers' and 'How would you like it if we came and dug up your granny?' were shouted at the diggers. One protestor was heard to shout 'There will be blood spilled over this'. Indeed this outburst was acknowledged by Frank Sommers, of the Stonehenge Druids, in my interview with him (p.c. Somers 2010) although he dismissed the incident as being from a peripheral hanger-on who identified himself as modern Templar rather than as a Druid or a Pagan. Parker Pearson (2012:180) writes that visitors were visibly upset by the protests and records that one group of Druids publicly cursed Julian Richards. My Pagan informant told me that he was very upset about such behaviour and made a point of apologising to Parker Pearson for the behaviour of his co-religionists and expressing his hopes that the archaeologists would understand that most Pagans were not like the protestors. Meanwhile Arthur Pendragon was addressing his followers outside the circle with a tirade filmed and posted on the Youtube website (MagicOak 2009). In this speech he acknowledged the importance of using new techniques but expressed vehement opposition to the removal and retention of all the remains. He described anyone who would bless the dig as a 'Quisling' (i.e. a traitor after the Norwegian Nazi collaborator Vidkun Quisling (Young 1980:244)). He went on to assert that the remains were those of great warriors, who were 'talismen' for the site and threatened to 'excommunicate' any Druids who did bless the dig. This threat has not proved to be the anathema to Pagans I had originally expected it to be when I first heard it. The idea that one Pagan can cut others off from their gods was

described to me as impossible by several Pagans I spoke to. Even though it was perceived to be doomed to failure if attempted, the idea was considered anathema. However, the people who were willing to discuss it in these terms were already opposed to Arthur. His followers refused to speak about it, dismissed it as rhetoric or suggested it meant that transgressors would be expelled from his group.

Campaigners for the reburial of these remains have repeatedly asserted that the archaeologists intend to retain remains indefinitely (BBC News 2011b MagicOak 2009, Somers & Pendragon 2011). I have been unable to ascertain how the campaigners received this impression but it was certainly there from the time the remains were excavated as protests began at the commencement of the dig (MagicOak 2009 & anonymous Interviewee). The campaigners were at pains to point out that they were not opposed to the excavation and analysis of remains provided they were reinterred immediately afterwards. They were also keen from the outset to limit analysis time to two years. Somers & Pendragon (2011) explain that the remains should be reburied at Stonehenge for the following reasons:

- they are the most famous ancestors in Europe
- the site is secure with guards on site 24/7
- the soil is non-corrosive
- the burials are already uncontextualised due to previous excavation
- their cremation limits the data which can be extracted
- other remains from Aubrey Hole 32 are available for research
- ancestors are still actively researched
- Parker Pearson has identified Stonehenge as a realm of the ancestors
- About half the bones have been lost by archaeologists since 1925

He also asserts that the Druids who practise at Stonehenge are 'most directly harmed by the absence of our ancestors from there' (Somers & Pendragon 2011) and that their human rights are being ignored.

Stonehenge Druids and the Loyal Arthurian Warband have therefore been actively campaigning to have the remains reburied since they were first excavated. In my first field research trip to Stonehenge at Winter Solstice 2008 I was asked by a Druid,

identified to me as Nick Branson, to sign a petition to limit the research time prior to the reburial of these remains to two years. I explained that I was researching the issue and felt I needed to maintain a neutral position and that to sign such a petition might compromise my neutrality. I found Branson's approach persistent and insistent and interviewees have characterised solicitations for signatures on the petition as aggressive. Such high pressure petition signing has been shown to be problematical on the basis that signatories do not always understand what they are signing to support. This is well illustrated in a television experiment in which people were persuaded to sign a petition to ban water (SuperSteve9219 2006)

Arthur Pendragon had previously picketed Stonehenge requesting visitors to examine the site from the roadside rather than pay English Heritage for entry until the Druids and other revellers were allowed in amongst the stones without restrictions or charge at the Summer Solstice (Pendragon & Stone 2003:85; section 4.3.5.7). Since the excavation of the Aubrey Hole remains he has mounted a new picket (see fig. 47), soliciting signatures for a petition to reinter the remains. Pendragon has also met with Parker Pearson to discuss the issue and has presented a paper to the UCL student archaeological society (Pendragon nd)

The original human remains excavation license issued by the Ministry of Justice when the remains were excavated in 2008 allowed their retention for two years and expired in 2010. The archaeologists sought a five year extension but LAW and Stonehenge Druids opposed the extension writing a detailed submission to the Ministry of Justice (Somers & Pendragon 2010). In this document they claim that refusal to recognise their claim on the remains constitutes religious discrimination and hence breaches their human rights (Somers & Pendragon 2010:12) and that they enjoy considerable public support as evidenced by their petition (Somers & Pendragon 2010:6). They allege institutional prejudice against Druids from archaeologists, government departments, English Heritage and the Church of England, and that the archaeologists holding the bones are abusing their scientific credentials to suppress challenges to their conduct (Somers & Pendragon 2010:11). They criticise the time taken for analysis, suggesting Sheffield University having failed in a perceived duty to arrange sufficient funding, but demonstrate no understanding of the processes

involved in analysis or acquisition of research funding. Restall Orr (2010) also wrote to the Ministry of Justice to oppose the extension asserting that it was unnecessary and that reburial of the remains would not prejudice the findings of the analysis. Following the granting of the extension LAW and Stonehenge Druids sought a judicial review but this was denied by the High Court in August 2011 (BBC News 2011b).

I put it to Somers that he and Pendragon might have their campaign priorities wrong, since Pitts (2009:188) points out that under the current regulations the remains would have to be reburied 'in a burial ground where interments may legally take place' which does not include Stonehenge. He explained that he had established that Wiltshire County Council considered it appropriate to rebury the remains there and that this was backed up by guidelines deriving from the 1857 Burial Act (Her Majesty's Government 1857). Somers & Pendragon (2010:18) suggest that samples totalling no more than 20% of the mass of each individual bone might be retained by the archaeologists as long as the rest is 'returned to the earth at Stonehenge'. My experience of excavating ancient cremated bone at Pant-y-Butler leads me to suggest that decay and the fragility of the fragments while being excavated makes it unlikely that the samples in the hands of the archaeologists total as much as 20% of the original mass of the bones. Thus more than 80% of that mass has remained in the soil of Stonehenge. If one argues that 20% of the whole original body might be retained then the cremated fragments make up significantly less than this amount. Whilst interviewing Frank Somers of the Stonehenge Druids at the Red Lion Pub in Avebury during the Summer Solstice of 2010, he informed me about allegations that archaeologists had negligently damaged the skull of the Amesbury Archer, destroying the facial bones, implying that archaeologists were unfit to be custodians for prehistoric human remains. Somers' website (2010) connects these allegations to Dennis Price, whose 'Eternal Idol' Blog (Price 2010) describes the allegations in detail, with pictures showing a skull being excavated in a complete condition and (allegedly) the same skull with the facial bones having been broken away. A brief examination of Price's (2010) blog indicates his willingness to champion highly speculative ideas and extreme possibilities, which writers such as Schadla Hall (2004) dismiss as alternative or fringe archaeology. It should also be noted that

Roberts (2009:85) points out the extreme fragility of facial bones, suggesting that their collapse should not be taken as evidence of misconduct by the excavators.

Parker Pearson (2012:184-185) has stated that there is already a set of contextualised remains from Aubrey Hole 32 curated by Salisbury Museum. Frank Somers (Somers & Pendragon 2011) makes reference to these remains alleging dishonesty against the Riverside Project and suggesting that the Aubrey Hole 7 remains are not needed since the Hole 32 remains are available. I believe there has been something of a backlash against Arthur's attempts to ensure that the two year maximum time for examination is rigorously enforced, in that a group of senior archaeologists have petitioned the Ministry of Justice to be less rigorous in requiring archaeological remains to be reinterred (Cunliffe et al 2011). This campaign was also publicised in the broader archaeological community by Joshua Pollard at the Theoretical Archaeology Conference at Bristol University in December 2010. This campaign appears to have been successful: Pitts (2011b) reports in his blog that the Ministry of Justice has revised its policy on licensing the excavation and retention of human remains in the light of the campaign by Cunliffe et al (2011). Pendragon (2011b) attempted to have the decision to extend the licence for retention of the remains subjected to a judicial review but this was rejected (BBC News 2011b). It seems likely that further attempts will be made to ensure these remains are reburied when the current licence expires in 2015.

Whilst it was being built news emerged that human remains would form part of the display and campaigners attention shifted to this issue. These remains had been excavated decades earlier and have been loaned by the museums of whose collections they are part. In August 2013, Pendragon took legal action against English Heritage to prevent them putting the remains on display but this was unsuccessful (BBC News 2013c). When the visitors centre opened in December 2013 Pendragon led a picket numbering about sixty people (BBC News 2013c; Western Daily Press 2013). They have demanded that the remains be replaced by replicas and reburied. However, since the bones are not in the keeping of EH any decision to de-accession and rebury them would need to be taken by the museums that hold them.

8.5.3 Case Study 3: The Red Lady of Paviland

The Red Lady of Paviland is the name given to a partial skeleton found in Goats Hole (national grid reference: SS436858 indicated by an arrow in fig. 54), Paviland Caves, on the Gower Peninsula, situated in South Wales to the west of Swansea and south of Llanelli.

Investigation of the skeleton can be traced back to the early 19th century when a group of local antiquarians invited William Buckland, Oxford's first Professor of Geology, Curate of Christchurch and Dean of Westminster, to examine the site. In 1823 he discovered, in a pit of red ochre (iron oxide, which had been sourced locally) a partial skeleton consisting of four ribs, the left humerus, radius and ulna (arm bones), the left side of the pelvis, most of the bones from the left leg along with some lower fragments from the right leg (Aldhouse-Green 2000:21, plate 11.1a, plate 11.1b). No vertebrae or skull fragments associated with the skeleton have been found. The bones were accompanied by periwinkle shells and rods and rings of ivory and mammoth bones were found nearby (Aldhouse-Green 2000:21). The skeleton was taken to the 'Oxford Museum Collection' in whose care it remains (Sommer 2007:267). Buckland initially interpreted the bones as belonging to an excise man or tax collector overpowered by smugglers, however, the interpretation was quickly changed to that of a Roman era prostitute or witch describing the skeleton as 'the Red Lady of Paviland' (Sommer 2007:13).

It was towards the end of the 19th century that William Sollas, a successor of Buckland's, identified the Red Lady as a man and as deriving from the same period as the remains from Cro Magnon in France (Sommer 2007:121). At around the same time Edouard Lartet, a French palaeontologist, used chemical tests to analyse nitrogen levels in the bones. He identified similarities between artefacts associated with the Red Lady and finds from Perigord and Cro Magnon (Sommer 2007:125, 167). Further work by Sollas and Breuil identified the Paviland artefacts as belonging to the Upper Aurignacian and Early Solutrean cultures of the Upper Palaeolithic (about 22,000 to 19,000 years BP) (Sommer 2007:168).

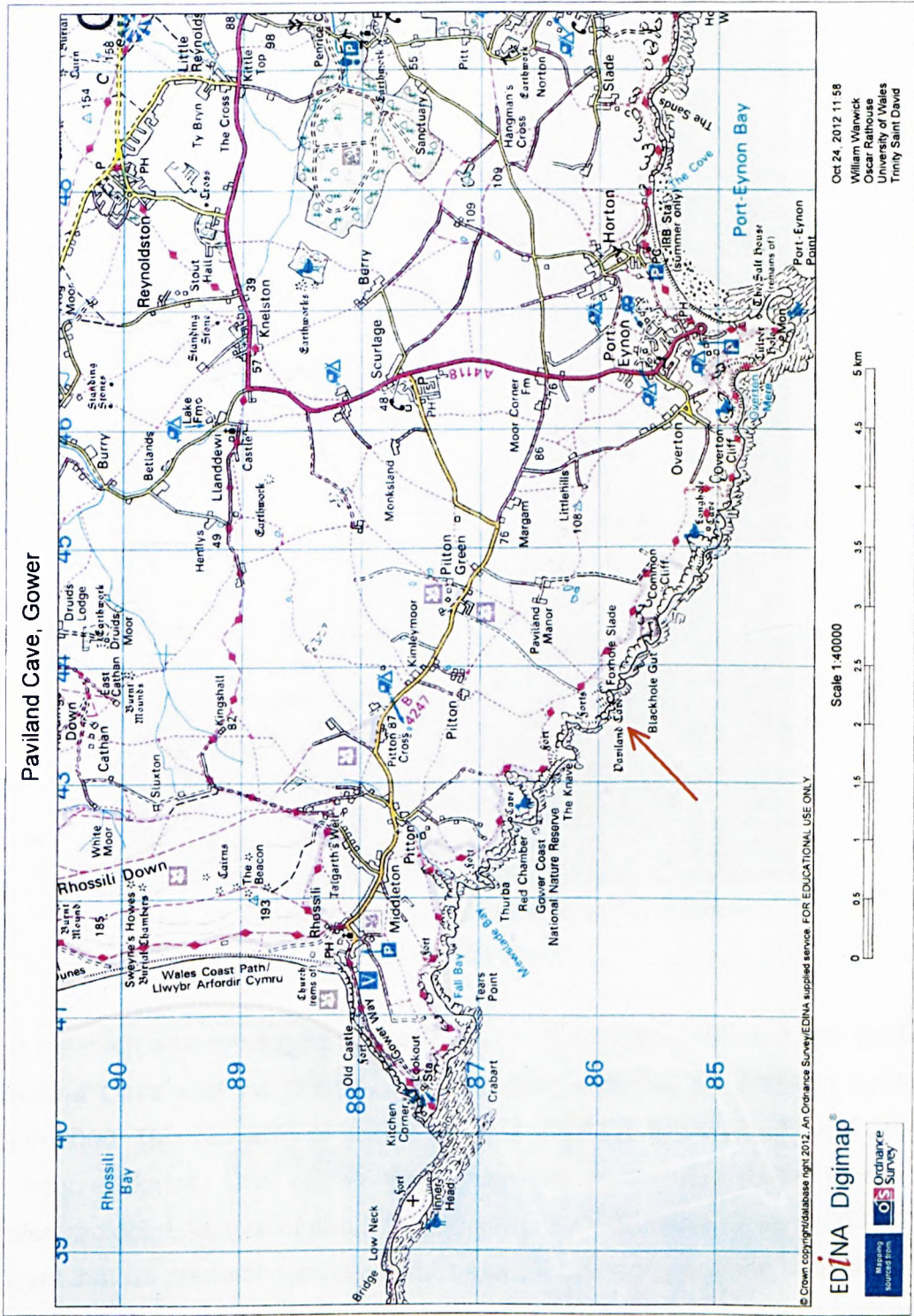


Fig. 54: Map showing Paviland Cave, SS436858 (Ordnance Survey via Digimap)



Fig. 55: Red Lady of Paviland skeleton on display in Oxford
(Author's photograph)

Further research was conducted on the Red Lady from 1995-1999 and was published as *Paviland Cave and the 'Red Lady': A Definitive Report* by Stephen Aldhouse-Green in 2000. This research project included a multi-disciplinary team and provided much new evidence. One of the most important discoveries made was a new calibrated radiocarbon date of about 29,000 years BP (Aldhouse-Green 2000:64). It is significant that his research was based at Newport University and the book includes a forward by the then First Secretary of the Welsh Assembly. This both exemplifies and strengthens the importance of the Red Lady to Wales and Marianne Sommer (2007:267) remarks that 'The dispute about where the red lady belongs, in the Oxford

University Museum of Natural History or in a museum in Wales, is not yet over'. However, this dispute is largely a nationalist issue in Wales rather than a Pagan one. The Oxford Natural History Museum considers the remains to be a valuable part of its collection and is unwilling to de-accession them (Turner 2004). Sommer (2007:265-268) acknowledges that the Red Lady was interred long before Wales became a nation and that the land is likely to have been completely depopulated between the interglacial warm phase when he was laid to rest and the repopulation of Britain after the last glaciation. This, therefore, weakens the claim for the Red Lady to be considered Welsh. Brian Sykes has conducted tests on the Red Lady's Mitochondrial DNA (MtDNA) and declared the ancestry to be a common one in ancient and modern Europe (Aldhouse-Green 2000:77).

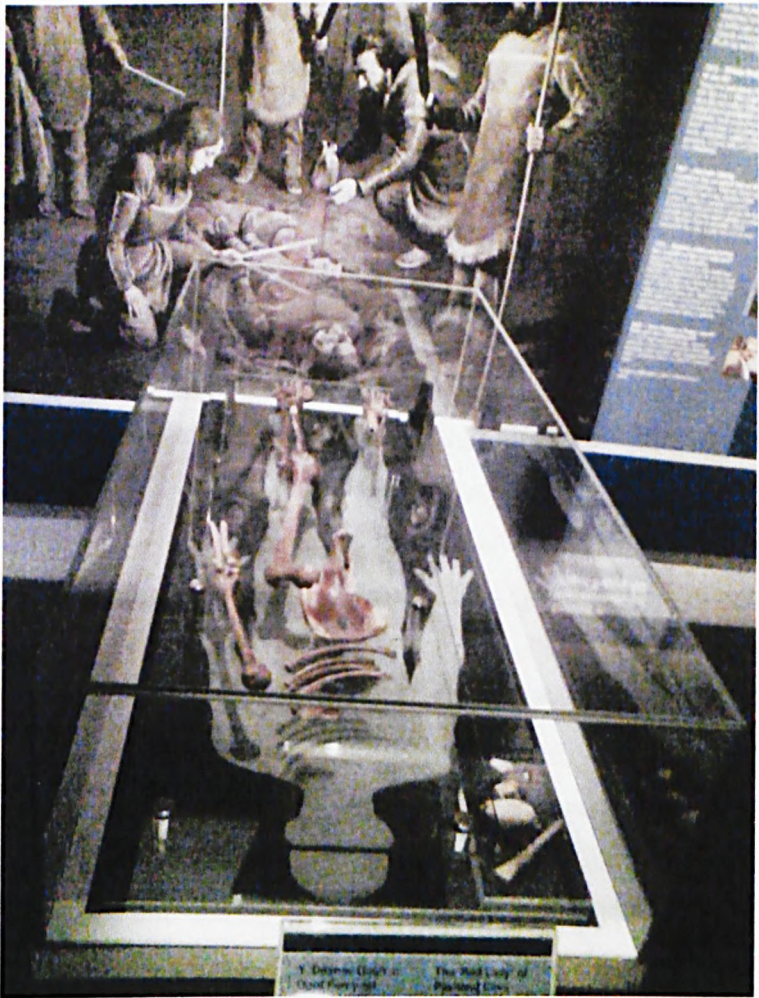


Fig. 56: Facsimile of the bones of the Red Lady on display at the National Museum Wales Cardiff
(Author's photograph)

In 2008 the Red Lady of Paviland was loaned to the National Museum Wales, at Cathays Park in Cardiff, as part of a major gallery redevelopment covering the archaeology of Wales. Julia Edge, writing for an audience of museum professionals (2008), and Mike Pitts, writing for an audience of archaeologists and enthusiasts (2008), both gave the exhibition positive reviews. However, Dan Carpenter's (2008) report published on the HAD website was considerably less complimentary. He begins by criticising the exhibition for not stating explicitly at the door that it contains human remains, before remarking that the display of reproduction skulls demonstrating human evolution are not marked as such and might be taken for the real thing. His paragraphs on the display of the Red Lady are largely descriptive, though he does suggest that more could have been made of the landscape of the Upper Palaeolithic to help visitors to contextualise him as a living person. Perhaps the most significant criticism of the Red Lady's display is that the fact that he was a man was not made sufficiently clear to visitors.

Carpenter then goes on to describe an Early Neolithic bone assemblage from the Penywyrlod burial chamber near Brecon as the most disturbing display. He describes the bones as a haphazard pile of bones with largely illegible descriptive cards tied to them, which he alleges dehumanises the dead. In this I argue that Carpenter is displaying a profound ignorance of Early Neolithic communal burial practices, whereby defleshed bones were placed in tombs according to type of bone rather than individual person. Furthermore, I argue that his criticisms are founded on a profoundly ethnocentric set of values on what constitutes respectful and honourable treatment of the dead. Carpenter criticises the display of a Beaker burial and a Roman sarcophagus for not displaying sufficient information about the people whose bones are displayed but fails to pick up on the fact that while the facial reconstructions of four people from an early Christian cemetery are displayed only photographs of their bones are on show. Carpenter's criticisms contrast with Edge's review (2008), which seems to suggest that too much emphasis is placed on individuals.

The actual bones of the 'red lady' were returned to Oxford in 2009 and facsimile bones are now on display in the National Museum Wales in their place (p.c. Walker

2010). The exhibition prohibits photography of the actual human remains on display but the signs are small and easily missed. Indeed I did not see them until I was asked by a member of staff not to photograph the human remains on display during my visit.

The different modes of display in Oxford (fig. 55) where the skeleton is displayed as semi articulated bones and at Cardiff (fig. 56) where the facsimiles are presented as an articulated skeleton on a body outline feeds into debates regarding personhood and objectification (section 8.7.3.3) and respectful display (section 8.8.1). It bears mention that this is the oldest known burial in the UK (Aldhouse-Green 2000:xxxiii; Hutton 1997a:2) and as such is the earliest set of remains to be contested by Pagans. Aldhouse-Green's (2000:xxxii) assertion that the Paviland skeleton exemplifies a 'founding lineage in palaeolithic Britain' suggests a similar view of the importance of the bones to that demonstrated by Pagan activists.

In 2006, two years prior to the opening of the 'origins' gallery, Druid and Pagan Federation regional organiser Chris Warwick began a campaign to return the Red Lady to Paviland Cave (BBC News 2006). Warwick (p.c. 2009) explained to me that he sees the removal of the bones as an act of desecration and that it is contrary to the wishes of the people who placed the body there. He argues that the only ethical disposition of the bones is to place them back in Goats Cave. Warwick does not oppose display of the remains. He advocates the placement of the bones in a secure glass covered concrete box with access provided by a steel staircase set into the cliff face. Elizabeth Walker, the collections manager at the National Museum Wales, told me (p.c. 2010) that neither she nor her colleagues had been contacted by Warwick although Warwick (2013) has stated otherwise. Warwick's campaign has included instituting a Yahoo email group entitled 'Dead to Rights' (Dead to Rights 2006), a weekend vigil in Paviland Cave and a BBC Radio Wales interview, conducted in September 2006, resulting in a story on the BBC News website (2006).

The strongest objection to Warwick's proposals centre on the massive expense of creating a concrete sarcophagus in Paviland cave. However, there are also problems of ensuring security of the remains in such an isolated location, possible dangers from weathering and erosion, as well as the extreme difficulty of providing disabled access

to the remains. Warwick has not discussed this possibility with the Christopher Beynon and the National Trust who own the land (Aldhouse-Green 2000:xxv) and it is unknown if they would be willing to support the idea.

Since the end of March 2008 the Yahoo group has only had one post relevant to the Red Lady, by a researcher on a similar project although four other posts relevant to reburial discourse have been posted there between then and May 2011. This low level of activity may be interpreted as indicating a shift of focus on the part of campaigners to more high profile groups such as HAD and CoBDO/LAW. Warwick's suggestion that he did not contact the Oxford Museum because HAD had already tried unsuccessfully to speak to them on the subject may be seen as corroborating this hypothesis.

8.5.4 Case Study 4: Lindow Man

Lindow Man is the name given to a head, torso and part of a leg found preserved in peat at Lindow Moss in Cheshire. On the 1st of August 1984 Andy Mould was checking the peat on the conveyor belt prior to processing when he noticed an unusual object, which turned out to be a human leg. The peat cutting operation in that area was immediately stopped and the police notified. Further examination of the area quickly located the torso of a man (Joy 2009:5). Just over a year previously the skull of a woman had been found at the site (Joy 2009:23). The police were keen to investigate these remains as Peter Reyn-Bardt, a man in prison for another offence, had bragged to another prisoner that he had murdered his wife and buried her dismembered corpse at the end of his garden, which backed onto Lindow Moss. When interviewed by the police he initially denied the murder but when presented with the evidence of the skull he gave a full confession (Joy 2009:17; Glob 2004:vii). However, subsequent radiocarbon dating of the skull gave a date of AD 90–440 (Joy 2009:23). The torso provided a radiocarbon date of 2 BC to AD129. Since the Lindow I skull has not been the focus of any contestation I shall focus exclusively on the Lindow II torso and leg in this case study and hereinafter I shall refer to it as Lindow man. Lindow man's remains are part of a class of archaeological human remains known as bog bodies. Aldhouse Green (2001:13), Joy (2009:20) and Glob (2004:15,

144-192) describe them as human bodies deposited in bogs and preserved by the waterlogged conditions therein, which they interpret as being human sacrifices.



Fig. 57: Lindow Man on display in the British Museum (Author's photograph)

Jody Joy, who curates the Lindow Moss body at the British Museum, (2009:32) explains that raised or blanket bogs provide an environment in which sphagnum moss grows. When this moss dies, it releases sphagnan (a sugar) which acts as a natural tanning agent. The oxygen starved (anaerobic) environment of the bog, coupled with the acidic (low pH) of the bog water, acts to preserve soft tissue although the acids tend to eat at the bones.

The date determination places Lindow Man's death at the close of the Iron Age and the beginning of the Roman occupation of Britain. Many continental bog bodies have been identified as human sacrifices (Aldhouse-Green 2001:116-120; Faulkener 2009:26-28; Glob 2004:147; Joy 2009:44-52; Ross 1986:168) e.g. Tollund Man who was found with a noosed leather rope around his neck (Glob 2004:20) and Grauballe

Man, whose throat had been cut practically from ear to ear and so deeply that the gullet was severed (Glob 2004:48). It therefore was an obvious line of enquiry to see if Lindow man had met his death in a similar way.

Joy (2009:27) describes Lindow Man as a healthy, well-groomed individual, five foot eight inches tall and aged about 25 when he was killed. Stead et al (1986:46) describe the analysis of Lindow man using X-rays, CT scans and MRI scans and endoscopic cameras and probes. These investigations showed a catalogue of traumas consisting of a wound to the top of the head resulting in a depressed fracture of the skull penetrating into the brain, possible laceration on the scalp towards the back of the neck, ligature injuries to the neck consistent with garrotting with a twisted thong of sinew discovered around the neck, possible incised wound to the right hand front of the neck, possible stab wound on right upper chest as well as neck and rib fractures (Faulkener 2009:25). Connolly (1985:16-17) argues that doubts over the sinew garrotte and ritualised final meal make combat or robbery more plausible as a cause of death. However, Faulkener (2009:26-27) Aldhouse-Green (2001:51) and Joy (2009:48-52) argue that the similarity of Lindow Man's death and deposition to European bog bodies makes human sacrifice the most likely interpretation.

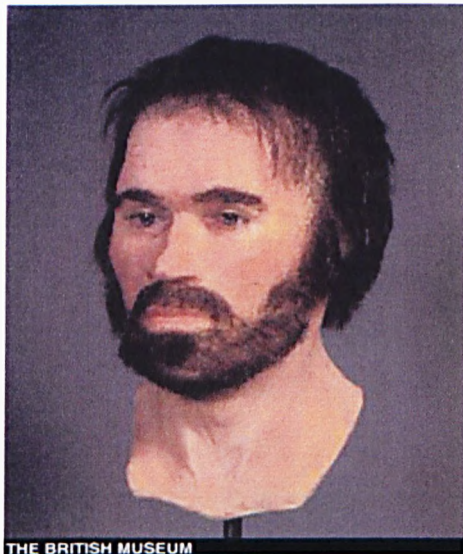


Fig. 58: Lindow Man Facial reconstruction by Richard Neave (British Museum)

In previous years I have seen images of Richard Neave's facial reconstruction (Faulkener 2009:28; Richards 1999:53; fig 58) of Lindow Man on display at the British Museum. On recent visits this image is nowhere to be seen perhaps because Joy (2009:27) questions its accuracy. Even if the accuracy of the image is arguable, I would argue that, unless it is demonstrably unlike our current best estimate of Lindow Man's appearance, the image should be displayed since observation of museum visitors suggests that they spend longer looking at bones with a facial construction than those without them or at facial reconstructions without the bones. Although quantitative data were not recorded, observation took place over about twelve hours at the British museum, Museum of London and National Museum Wales. Typically a visitor might gaze at bones without facial reconstructions for five to ten seconds, and reconstructions without bones for ten to fifteen but bones with reconstructions generally held the gaze for upwards of thirty seconds.

The permanent display of Lindow Man in the British Museum occupies a corner of the hall containing the museum's Iron Age British collection (figs. 57 & 59). He lies on what looks like a gravel surface within a Perspex case which is turned towards the corner so that he is not directly visible from other parts of the room. The visitor therefore is obliged to make a conscious decision to view the body. The extent to which this is a conscious decision based on ethics is debatable since the Barnack skeleton in the adjoining gallery (see Fig. 44) and the Egyptian mummies in another part of the museum are in plain view.

In my interview with Jody Joy, the British Museum's curator of Lindow Man (p.c. 2009) he explained that he would like to be able to display Lindow Man in a similar way to Tollund Man in Denmark, using low light levels, and the Bog bodies display in Dublin (described in more detail in section 9.3.2), where visitors make an informed decision to see the remains. He explained that the British Prehistory gallery had been set out in 1997 by a predecessor of his just before retirement and that it was done in a traditional style he would not have chosen.



Fig. 59: Lindow Man display at the British Museum (Author's photograph)

Between 19 April 2008 and 19 April 2009 Lindow Man was on display at the Manchester University Museum, on loan from the British Museum (Manchester Museum nd). Jenkins (2011:122-123) explains that this was the third time the body had been displayed there, but that on this occasion the museum's deputy director,

Piotr Bienkowski, and Head of Human Cultures, Bryan Sitch, were particularly keen to provide a display which was as inclusive as possible. BBC News (2008b) suggests that the reason for this caution was related to Manchester Museum of Science and Industry's display of Gunther Von Hagens Bodyworlds 4 Exhibition. Whatever the reasons, Bienkowski and Sitch invited stakeholders, including Restall Orr (p.c. 2009) representing HAD, to attend planning meetings about the design of the exhibition.



Fig. 60: Lindow Man exhibition at Manchester University Museum
(Photograph by Bryan Sitch, available from Manchester Museum 2007)

Sitch (2010) explained to me that the museum had already had communications with HAD and that Restall Orr had addressed a conference held there. He explained that the museum was keen for stakeholders to meet and speak to one another and that he was pleasantly surprised that everyone got on well. He explained that the involvement of the Pagan community was criticised on a website entitled Manchester confidential, with contributors describing it as 'airy fairy hippy nonsense' and 'political correctness gone mad' (Sitch 2010) but that he did not share these views. The aims of the exhibition were as follows:

- 1 to engage a new generation of people from Manchester and the north-west with one of Britain's most famous archaeological discoveries
- 2 to stimulate public debate about how human remains are treated in museums and other public institutions
- 3 to display the body in a respectful and sensitive manner
- 4 to explore different interpretations of the body
- 5 the museum also wanted to reflect recent discussion about Lindow Man's dating, the circumstances of his violent death and the interpretation of the evidence.

(Sitch 2010)

I asked him how successful he felt the display had been in achieving these aims and he explained that he felt that it had been particularly successful since 190,000 people had attended; they had received 12,500 feedback cards and seen 25,000 hits on the exhibition blog. He explained that not all of the consultees were entirely happy citing lack of space as a principal reason for this disappointment (Sitch 2010).

Stuart Burch's (2008:46–49) review of the exhibition for the *Museums Journal* praised the exhibitions attempt to draw interest by relating the initial discovery of the body to the lives of local people. He described it as 'fittingly human' and a 'rich display' and welcomed the invitation to debate the ethics of displaying bodies and bones in museum collections. However he suggested more information about the body should have been included and that the exhibition lacked an 'overarching voice'.

One particularly interesting feature of the Lindow Man exhibition was the provision of a box for visitors to place 'offerings' in (fig. 61). This was presented not for granting wishes but rather as a means of showing respect to the remains. Some items deposited appeared to be rubbish (including bottle tops, travel tickets, sweet wrappers, a tissue and pieces of crumpled paper). Sitch (2010) records that the most common form of offering was in the form of money, amounting to a total of over £300, but there were also many comments on the display. These included: a criticism of the low lighting levels; one visitor wrote 'Really sorry they dug you mate – hope they put you back soon'; another, identifying him/herself as 'Phoenix of Druids' wrote

'Blessings Oh Ancient One May the Gods and Goddesses be with you always'; several others expressed sentiments of rest in peace. There were several poems including two signed by well-known Pagan Shaman Gordon 'the Toad' MacLellan. Other votive items included a bent 2p coin wrapped with wire, a replica Roman coin, feathers, seeds, stones and crystals, a painted plaster/dough fish, a Thor's hammer, a clay model of a recumbent woman (see fig. 61) badges and items of jewellery (Sitch 2010). Several of these offerings are noticeably Pagan in character particularly many of the notes and poems. The recumbent female figure and the Thor's hammer are likely to be Pagan, whilst items like feathers and flowers may or may not have been left by people identifying as Pagan. It also bears consideration that people who do not identify themselves as Pagan may have left offerings of a Pagan character, on the basis that Lindow Man came from a pre-Christian culture. The meticulous record of the deposits made by Sitch and his staff is fascinating evidence of how people, and I would argue especially Pagans, interact with human remains in museums. Only a few monetarily valuable items were left, so one may conclude that token gifts were considered acceptable. This echoes Barley's (1995:77-78) descriptions of an African boy shouting about a (non-existent) offering of a cow and a Chinese informant offering the head and tail of a pig to the ancestors in place of a complete animal. This parallel demonstrates not that contemporary Pagans are insincere in their relationship with the ancestors but rather a widespread human inclination to give no more than is necessary or easily affordable. It also suggests that people tend to prioritise the allocation of wealth to provably beneficial projects over the intangible placation or solicitation of the dead. One might argue that the paucity of valuable offerings is explicable by the likelihood that few, if any, museum visitors came with the explicit aim of making offerings and were thus restricted to what they happened to be carrying. This argument makes perfect sense but if anyone felt the need or desire to make a more important offering they were easily able to return with one. The rarity of valuable offerings may also be explained by concerns over the security of such gifts but I argue that this is not likely to be of concern to those motivated by spirituality since the purpose of the gift is twofold: to demonstrate piety by doing without something of use or value, in which case the fate of the offering is unimportant save that the donor does not reclaim it; or to provide the ancestor with something useful to him in which case it is the spiritual analogue of the gift rather than its material

manifestation which is important (Barley 1995:85). Godelier (2002:24) suggests that the utility of offerings is unimportant and that it is more important that offerers give to the recipient something of themselves.



Fig. 61: Offerings box at the Manchester display of Lindow Man (Manchester Museum 2007)

The provision of the offerings box at Manchester Museum may be seen as an initiative to provide opportunities for interactivity with displays but it has provided an interesting opportunity for Pagans to demonstrate their devotion to the ancestors and for academics to study what kinds of offerings are made. There are, however, problems with the widespread provision of such a facility. What would be done with the offerings? I believe Manchester have stored the items offered in this case as part of their collection but with limited space and funding common use of this practice could easily become problematic. Offerings could be treated as waste and recycled or sent to landfill but this may be seen as offensive to some. Burying offerings at sacred places is likely to become problematic quickly too. Pagan community leaders and

polytheologians or theologians such as Restall Orr (1996) have already considered this and have urged people not to leave offerings at sacred places (see section 4.4.4.2).

Jenkins (2011:125) argues that the consultation process on the display of Lindow man at Manchester was less about the ethics of displaying and more an opportunity for political posturing. However, Restall Orr describes the importance of Lindow Man to contemporary Pagans by saying 'even if he is not a genetic ancestor, he is a part of their ancestral environment and as such he is one of our dead. He falls within our spiritual duty of care' (Restall Orr 2007b). However, I believe that the process was a valuable exercise in polyvocality and inclusivity.

There have been few people going on record to say that the Lindow Moss bog body should not be displayed at all. Davies's approach to pre-Christian human remains would certainly not countenance its display and at least one other campaigner has privately explained that their preference would be for reburial. However, no group has, to my knowledge, specifically called for Lindow Man to be reburied.

8.6 Modes of Contestation by Pagans

In this section I shall characterise the Pagan activist groups involved in the contestation of human remains by their protest tactics and ideologies.

8.6.1 CoBDO West

After the ejection of Davies from the Council of British Druid Orders (CoBDO) a new organisation calling itself CoBDO West was set up (Fryer 2009). Davies was reluctant to describe in detail the circumstances surrounding the group but it appears to have disbanded under the threat of legal action from CoBDO over the use of their name. The approaches to contestation adopted by this group in the case of the skeleton known as Charlie in the Alexander Keiller Museum involved attracting media publicity, a protest visit to the museum (see Fig. 52), newspaper interviews, internet networking and dialogue with other Druid organisations.

8.6.2 HAD

In an article in the Pagan Press, Restall Orr (2006:40-42) explains that HAD came about in response to the public consultation process over the new Stonehenge visitors centre and associated road modifications. Its aims are explained in a 'statement of intentions' in which HAD (2004-2008) explains that it does not consider reburial to be mandatory but campaigns to promote respect and honourable treatment for pre-Christian British human remains.

Its structure consists of three layers (Restall Orr 2006): it is governed by a council of Pagan theologians who decide policy; then there is a group of advisors both Pagan and non-Pagan but all professionals who advise the council; the remainder are described as project groups consisting of both members and affiliates. When I spoke to Restall Orr (p.c. 2009), she explained that Paul Davies, Rollo Maughfling and Frank Summers all favoured mandatory reburial; she stressed that this was not HAD's position. She asserted that Pagans for Archaeology (see section 8.6.5) were at the opposite extreme, supporting the status quo and described HAD as being in the middle. She admitted that her own feelings favoured reburial but that HAD is about a non-didactic approach aimed at building a consensus through negotiation. She did suggest that 'non-iconic' remains without context or having been exposed to contamination ought to be reburied. She described HAD as trying to be a voice for Paganism.

HAD has been keen to recruit experts within and outside the Pagan community and to communicate with organisations holding human remains directly and via public media. One such direct contact is in the form of the 'Your Local Museum Project' in which activists are asked to contact their local museum to ask for information on their holdings of human remains. Restall Orr encouraged attendees at the Rainbow 2000 Druid camp 2009, which she had helped start, to get involved and approach museums. She explained that between a third and a half of museums written to had replied. This direct contact with institutions has met with varied success. Manchester Museum has included HAD representatives in the planning of the Lindow Man exhibition as seen in section 8.5.4 but the activist who contacted the Wiltshire Heritage Museum in Devizes seems to have succeeded only in upsetting and

alienating the staff there (anonymous informant) although Restall Orr (p.c. 2009) confidently claims that the museum has large quantities of uncatalogued remains. In talks regarding the work of HAD at Druid events, Restall Orr emphasises networking with Pagan and non-Pagan groups and individuals with the aim of raising awareness and building consensus. HAD has also hosted conferences, including one I attended on the 17th of October 2009 in Leicester featuring speakers from the archaeological and museum professions.

HAD have come in for criticism by those who consider them to have spread themselves too thinly in terms of their intellectual position. Restall Orr's insistence that the organisation should represent a broad a range of opinion has meant that there has been difficulty agreeing positions on issues. It has therefore lost members and found itself the subject of hostility from Frank Sommers of the Stonehenge order of Druids and the Loyal Arthurian Warband (Pendragon 2011a).

8.6.3 LAW, Stonehenge Druids and CoBDO

The Council of British Druid Orders (CoBDO) claims to represent 'all those Druids and Druid pagan groups involved in the rekindling of Druidry as a public national religion' (Maughfling 2007). However, the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids (OBOD), British Druid Order (BDO) and The Druid Network (TDN), three large Druid organisations are not members. It seems to be largely run by Rollo Maughfling with support from Arthur Pendragon, and appears to have a fairly strong anarchistic political agenda. LAW is Arthur Pendragon's group of followers. Its purpose is to campaign or 'fight', through legal means for ecological and Pagan issues. Stonehenge Druids is a group, apparently led by Frank Sommers, which exists to provide a communal identity for Druids who regularly celebrate seasonal and other festivals at Stonehenge.

Arthur Pendragon describes his approach to direct action protests as 'Fluffy but firm' (Pendragon and Stone 2003:149) meaning that they are avowedly non-violent but will attempt to obstruct the operations of their opponents by actions such as picketing (Pendragon & Stone 2003:85), squatting in high profile locations (Pendragon & Stone 2003:106), chaining themselves to vehicles (Pendragon & Stone 2003:126) and courting media attention (Hutton 2007:200; Pendragon & Stone 2003:101, 249).

They aim to operate within the letter of the law, but such a way as to hamper operations and maximise bad publicity for the organisations they oppose.

As described in section 8.5.2, the campaign for reburial and against retention of the Aubrey Hole cremations began when the remains were being excavated. A group from HAD had arranged to perform a ritual prior to their excavation (p.c. Grant 2011). When, Arthur Pendragon and some of his followers arrived. Arthur, apparently misunderstanding the purpose of the HAD ritual, pronounced that he, his order and CoBDO viewed any attempt to bless the dig as a Quisling action and that he would 'excommunicate' anyone so doing (MagicOak 2009). This was followed by vocal protests alongside the dig in which Arthur's followers were reported as behaving abusively towards archaeologists, students and volunteers (Shelley 2010 and two anonymous interviewees). A shout that blood would be spilled if the ancestors were disturbed (Pitts 2009:189; anonymous interviewee; p.c. Sommers 2011) was construed by some as a threat of violence.

Arthur and his followers have always courted media attention in their campaigns (e.g. BBC News 2011b, Pendragon & Stone 2003:101-104) and Arthur has described himself as a 'media tart' (Pendragon & Stone 2003:249). The Loyal Arthurian Warband and associated individuals have maintained a strong and visible presence on social networking sites such as Facebook, where notes were posted for followers and allies to read. Pendragon & Stone (2003:149) characterise LAW's approach as non-violent but prediction of blood being spilled at Stonehenge and 'naming and shaming' of people within the Pagan community who have opposed or even failed to support their stance on reburial (Pendragon 2011b) demonstrates that intimidation and implications of possible violence are not unknown from them. In sections 8.5.2 and 8.6.3 it was recorded that the LAW/CoBDO/Stonehenge Druids campaign to rebury the Aubrey hole cremation remains has involved noisy and aggressive protests involving verbal abuse of archaeologists. Since the excavation of these remains, they have solicited signatures for a petition, sometimes in a manner which might be considered pushy or aggressive. However, it is also worth remembering from section 8.5.2 that petitions may be unreliable measures of popular support for causes (see SuperSteve9219 2006). Possibly Arthur Pendragon's favourite protest tactic is the

use of legal challenges through the courts (e.g. BBC News 2011b; Pendragon 2011b). Such challenges have inevitably proven costly in time and money to his opponents. Lest it appear that Pendragon's tactics have been exclusively confrontational, it should be noted that he has engaged in direct talks with Mike Parker Pearson and has also addressed conferences including one by UCL's archaeological society (Pendragon nd).

8.6.4 Dead to Rights

Dead to Rights seems to have been a single issue campaign set up by Kit Warwick focusing on the Red Lady of Paviland skeleton (see section 8.5.3). The campaign has now lost momentum but did involve Warwick spending a weekend vigil in Paviland cave and a regional radio interview there (BBC News 2006). Warwick (2013) claimed that he had spoken to the National Museum Wales although Walker (p.c. 2010) claimed she had not been approached. In 2009 he explained that he had not been aware of organisations such as HAD (p.c. Warwick 2009) and I have taken this to mean that he is now either pursuing the matter through HAD or leaving the campaign to them. He informed me that he had not contacted the Oxford Natural History Museum because HAD had already tried unsuccessfully to speak to them (Warwick 2013).

8.6.5 Pagans for Archaeology

'Pagans for Archaeology' is pressure group against reburial of pre-Christian human remains. It was set up by respected Wiccan high priestess and writer Yvonne Aburrow in 2008 in response to Davies' campaign to rebury Charlie. Discussions with members reveal a range of motivations from a desire to connect spiritually with the Ancestors through direct visual contact with their bones to a feeling that the reburial lobby is bringing Paganism into disrepute. The group has promoted itself through a blog and through the social networking site Facebook⁴ where it has received over 10,001 'likes' (as at 06 Aug 2012), as opposed to 'The quest for common decency & dignity and honouring our ancient ancestors' which had 5,378 likes ⁵ and HAD who

⁴ http://www.facebook.com/?ref=tn_tnmn#!/pages/Pagans-for-Archaeology/32777950029

⁵ http://www.facebook.com/?ref=tn_tnmn#!/pages/The-quest-for-common-decency-dignity-and-honouring-our-ancient-ancestors/224209497595583

had received 1,629 likes⁶. On 27th June 2009 PfA held a conference at Bristol University involving archaeologists (such as Josh Pollard) and academic researchers of Paganism (including Jenny Blain, Rob Wallis, Graham Harvey and Ronald Hutton) some of whom would consider themselves Pagan. Pagans for Archaeology also wrote a letter to the Minister of Justice (Aburrow 2012) in support of the campaign to relax restrictions on retention of excavated human remains (Cunliffe et al 2011). Pagans for Archaeology has been especially popular among those who lean towards reconstructionism rather than eclecticism, since they tend to want to learn about the past from the dead. They therefore are more likely to actively support the archaeologists and museums professionals who wish to retain human remains and to continue to excavate them.

8.7 Reasons and Arguments For and Against Reburial

The contestation of human remains by contemporary Pagans in the UK, despite being inspired by overseas contestation, does not share all the same motivational factors. Many Pagans are keen to incorporate archaeologically evidenced beliefs and practices into their own beliefs and practices. As such most Pagans, unlike Minthorne's (2008:43) Umatilla elders, look to archaeologists to provide narratives of their ancient past and hence activists are willing to support archaeology in general even if they have problems with funerary archaeology. For ease of reference I have collected the arguments presented by Pagan activists opposed to excavation, analysis, display and/or retention of human remains into three broad categories: spiritual, identity based and ethical.

8.7.1 Spiritual Arguments

The spiritual reasons and arguments supporting and opposing reburial may be subdivided into four categories: those rooted in a dualistic division of body and soul in which the soul's afterlife may be affected by disturbance of remains; monist ideas in which the spirit is indivisible from the corporeal remains; beliefs involving the dead interacting with the sites where they lie and compliance with the beliefs and wishes of

⁶ <http://www.facebook.com/groups/75701374731#!/pages/Honouring-the-Ancient-Dead/82516967114>

the dead. I shall also examine counter-arguments to these points as well as a broader critique of using spiritual arguments in the contestation of human remains.

8.7.1.1 Affecting a Dualist Afterlife

Most spiritual reasons for reburial are generally based on the belief that what is done to their remains can affect the afterlife of the dead. Many, perhaps most, religions and spiritualities in the world espouse a belief that some spirit, soul or consciousness survives death and will experience some kind of afterlife (e.g. Barley 1995:80-83). This afterlife may be immediate, as most modern Anglicans of my acquaintance believe (Luke XXIII.43), or deferred until some future time requiring the spirit to 'sleep' in the deceased body in the meantime (John XI.21-24). Definitely in the latter case it would make sense for there to be consequences for the dead if their remains are broken up or destroyed. However, even if the soul or spirit has left the cadaver behind, the principle of sympathetic magic⁷ may indicate disturbance of remains may have consequences for the soul of the deceased. Sympathetic magic is one of several beliefs described in Frazer's (2000) *Golden Bough* which Hutton (2001:113-117) argues Gerald Gardner incorporated into Wicca. From there it has become a feature of other Pagan spiritualities. In section 4.3.5.7 I reported that Arthur Pendragon perceives himself to be the reincarnation of the historical/mythological character of King Arthur (Pendragon & Stone 2003:38-41, 44-57). The belief in reincarnation is common, although not universal, in contemporary Paganism (Crowley 1995:152) and I therefore question that if the soul is reincarnated in another body how can it be affected by what happens to a body it inhabited in a previous life?

Parker Pearson (2003:171) argues that the dead do not care what is done with their remains but how can such a claim be evidenced if we cannot firmly disprove the existence of an afterlife? The idea that ghost stories support the contention that the dead need to be laid to rest correctly to find peace will tend to be greeted with varying degrees of scepticism, according to each individual's willingness to believe in the existence of ghosts and in an afterlife. However, a common theme in many ghost

⁷ Sympathetic magic is the principle whereby ritually (or otherwise) doing something to an image or a sample of tissue such as hair or fingernail clippings (which may be incorporated into an image for added potency) is believed to bring about a similar or symbolised action occurring to the individual depicted or sampled (Greenwood 2009:46-49, Frazer 2000:38)

stories is that of a restless spirit haunting the place where their remains lie until they are given a proper burial (e.g. Bardens 1997:48-54; Holland 2008:23). If one accepts such tales as factual then it might be deemed to support the hypothesis that disturbance of remains can affect the afterlife a person experiences. Whether or not remains are disturbed, some people live in fear of the dead. In section 8.5.4 I recalled Barley's (1995:77-78) description of placation of the dead in Africa and China (see also Hardacre 1987:264-267). Metcalf & Huntington (1991:101) and Parker Pearson (2012:158) also point out that some rituals are intended to confuse the dead to make it harder for them to return to harm the living.

I have referred to contemporary spiritual beliefs but it may be argued that the beliefs which should be taken into account regarding a person's remains are those of the person him/herself. In the case of remains of pre-Christian people, evidence regarding the beliefs of their cultures must be examined. Both Strabo (nd) and Caesar (1914) described the Gauls as believing that the human soul was indestructible and travelled to another body at death. Samuel Alberti, Piotr Bienkowski, Malcolm J. Chapman, Rose Drew, (2009:140) in their article on the ethics of displaying human remains in museums entitled 'Should we display the dead?' cite the Egyptian story of an exile name Sinuhe, who desires to return to Egypt to die and indeed is exhorted to return for his corpse's sake by the new pharaoh (Hubert 1994:162-163). This implies a belief that only with his body in the land of Egypt could Sinuhe access a desirable afterlife. Although this example suggests that Egyptian people would have objected to having their remains placed on display in other countries, it does not follow that prehistoric Britons would have had similar beliefs.

8.7.1.2 Disturbing the Monist Soul

As explained in section 1.2.3.1, recently a new Pagan doctrine claiming the term animism has emerged. Restall Orr (2012:104), building on ideas put forward by Harvey (2005 192-193), and Angela Grant (a former HAD activist) have explained this belief system in interviews as matter being indivisible from spirit, body inseparable from soul. They situate this metaphysical worldview in opposition to the body and soul dualism they see as a problematical element of Abrahamic religions. Restall Orr (2005) acknowledges that dualism featured in Classical paganism (see also Hardacre

1987:264) and that unity of body and soul is also implied in the gospel of John (XI:21-24) within Christianity. In this thesis I refer to this doctrine as neo-animism because, as York (2005:40) points out, traditional animist practices such as otherworld journeying, spirit guides or servants and soul retrieval only make sense within dualist worldviews. Thus I argue that monist neo-animism is unlikely to have played a part in the pagan spiritualities of the past. Within this neo-animist metaphysical worldview, bones are seen as containing part of the dead person's consciousness until it dissipates into the earth. They view the retention and curation of bones as interfering with this process, which they consider necessary for consciousness held in the matter of the body to dissipate through decay (p.c. Grant 2011; Restall Orr 2012; p.c. Restall Orr 2012; HAD 2012). Aburrow (p.c. 2009) suggests that nature itself preserves remains on occasion and archaeologists and curators are merely continuing what has occurred naturally prior to excavation. Additionally, if all matter has soul or consciousness then animal remains and other non-human beings in museums and elsewhere are, perhaps, equally worthy of special treatment as human remains. Monist ideas of the indivisibility of matter and spirit and especially the implied delocalisation of a person's soul can be critiqued on the basis that amputees do not report severance of part of their soul. A monist worldview would tend to support an anti-abortionist stance considered politically right-wing and thus anathema to many Pagans holding more liberal political views.

8.7.1.3 Sacred Sites and the Dead

Not all spiritual arguments for the reburial of human remains focus on the afterlife of the person whose remains have been excavated. In section 6.6.2, I have shown that campaigns by LAW, CoBDO and Stonehenge Druids have asserted that the cremated remains excavated from Aubrey Hole 7 served as talismanic guardians, suggesting that Stonehenge would only work with its full magical efficacy when the remains of 'The Guardians' were reinterred there (MagicOak 2009).

8.7.1.4 Pagan Values and Aspirations

Does reburial or non-disturbance comply with the hopes and aspirations of the dead? Leahy (2009:10) argues that funerary archaeology serves the interests of the dead by restoring them to memory. Aburrow (2008c) provides evidence from Celtic mythology

that the pre-Christian dead wanted to be remembered. One of the most significant epics of 'Celtic' mythology is the Ulster cycle, which chronicles the life of the great Irish hero Cuchulainn. The core text of this saga is the Tain Bo Cuilgne in which it is written:

'One day a pupil asked him [Cathbad the Druid] what this day would be lucky for. Cathbad said that if a warrior took up arms for the first time that day his name would endure in Ireland as a word signifying mighty acts, and stories about him would last forever. Cuchulainn overheard this. He went to Conchobor [the King of Ulster] and claimed his weapons.'

(Kinsella 1970:84)

Additionally in the Poetic Edda, a corpus of poems from Iceland there is a poem called the Havamal meaning 'The Sayings of the Most High One' that is to say of the chief god Odin. Two verses are relevant to this study:

- 77 Cattle die and kinsmen die
 And so one dies oneself
 But a noble name will never die
 If good renown one gets
- 78 Cattle die and kinsmen die
 And so one dies oneself
 One thing I know that never dies
 The fame of a dead man's deeds

(Bellows 1991:33)

These two quotes demonstrate a desire to be remembered among the male dominated aristocratic elite and arguably throughout pre-Christian northern Europe. I have found little evidence to suggest any different desires among women or the poor but it is at least possible that the aspirations of the male aristocracy may have been shared, albeit with much less expectation of fulfilment, throughout those societies. Tombs, barrows, mounds and other funerary monuments may be interpreted as emphasising continuity, especially of lineages (Fleming 1972:65) but I would favour the idea that their primary purpose was memorialising the dead (Parker Pearson 1982:99, 108) and, perhaps, emphasising their role as Ancestors. Once the cultural narratives surrounding these monuments were forgotten, the associated narratives of the ancestors were lost with them. I would argue that the only way the narratives,

which the above excerpts demonstrate were important to the people of the past, can be at least partially resurrected is through scientific archaeological analysis of their remains. Furthermore, the display of the remains in museums serves to keep the resurrected partial narrative in the minds of people far better than if they were reburied (Bibby 1957:432). Thus, archaeological analysis and display of human remains may be argued to serve the desires of the dead and the Ancestors rather than offending against them.

Bearing in mind that reburial campaigners are opposed to curation of human remains in museums, it is worth noting that the word museum originates with the pagan Greeks, who used it to denote a shrine or temple to the Muses, a sisterhood of goddesses who governed the arts. As such some Pagan interviewees have suggested that museums constitute a sufficiently sacred repository for the remains of pre-Christian people. Museum display may be argued to democratise access to the ancestors in the same way that Von Hagens claims to democratise anatomy (BBC News 2002b). Remains that are buried in the earth might still be accessible to commune with by the spiritually developed but not everyone is able to commune in this way. Museum display definitely provides a kind of communion with the dead available to everyone, including those not able to develop such spiritual abilities. Indeed at least two Pagan interviewees pointed out to me that the word museum has its origin as name for a Pagan temple dedicated to the muses and that as such they felt that museums were highly appropriate places for the remains of dead Pagans to be kept.

8.7.1.5 Spiritual Authority

As stated in section 1.2.3.1, Paganism constitutes a diverse family of spiritualities honouring many different gods in many different ways. It therefore follows that most Pagans espouse a pluralistic, non-dogmatic, non-evangelical spirituality (Crowley 1995:21-24; Harvey 1997:1-2, 216, 223; Shallcrass 2000:3). This may be seen as relativist or pluralist, i.e. all beliefs are equally valid (Blackburn 2003:17-26; Partridge 2002:13; Vardy & Grosch 1999:125-126); or inclusivist, in the religious meaning all belief systems have value but that one's own is superior (Partridge 2002:12-13). Generally speaking most Pagans would agree that intolerance and absolutism have

no place in Paganism (Crowley 1995:24; Harvey 1997:1-2, 216, 223; Restall Orr 2007a:118). The reburial campaign surrounding the Stonehenge guardians or Aubrey Hole 7 remains do not require others to adopt their beliefs and values (evangelical) but do require others to act according to them. This behaviour implies an ideology which is most commonly referred to as fundamentalist but might be better described as anti-secular, quasi-dominionist, or absolutist. I argue that this is the same ideology which prompts fundamentalist Christians in the United States to oppose marriage equality and campaign for abortion to be banned (BBC News 2012a) as well as recent cases of Islamist vigilantes harassing Londoners for not following Islamic rules of behaviour in an area they describe as a Muslim neighbourhood (BBC News 2013b). Ford (2009) questions the right of any minority group to have its views privileged above what he describes as 'the prevailing social consensus'. Consciousness raising and consensus building as advocated by HAD would not be classed as absolutist since there is no coercion. However, campaigns such as the Stonehenge Guardians campaign have involved recourse to law and abusive behaviour which are coercive and could therefore be classed as absolutist and thus incompatible with the core Pagan value of pluralism.

Bearing in mind the anti-dogmatic ideal and the lack of universally recognised 'scriptures' (Harvey 2005:84; Jennings 2002:7-8; York 2005:33), how do Pagans construct their doctrines or values? One can determine several sources including mythology from ancient pagan cultures (albeit generally written down and preserved by Christians), humanist philosophy and the living tradition passed from initiator to initiate (Filan & Kaldera 2013:37-55; Magliocco 2004:24-56). However, the original initiator(s) must have sourced his or her material from somewhere. Hutton (2001:3-204) describes the origins of Wicca as being drawn from a wide variety of sources by Gerald Gardner and his collaborators. These include Classical mythology, traditions of secret societies and ritual magic, folklore of magic and some deliberate invention. Additional sources used by Pagans include archaeological interpretation of pre-Christian societies and ethnographic borrowings from contemporary and recent non-Christian spiritualities. However, the common tendency towards mysticism means that sources of information on belief, cosmology and praxis include spiritual revelation, epiphany or personal gnosis (Cowan 2005:39; Filan & Kaldera 2013:9-29

Van Gulik 2009:12, 14). Discussions and interviews with Pagans reveal a hierarchy of such revelations. Unsubstantiated personal Gnosis or UPG is seen as least reliable since it is simply one person's testimony. Shared personal gnosis, shared gnosis or peer-corroborated personal gnosis whereby two or more people independently experience the same revelation is deemed to carry far more weight (Filan & Kaldera 2013:26-29). If a revelation is subsequently verified it may be deemed a confirmed gnosis, for example if a person experiences a revelation that a relationship is about to break up and it subsequently does so this is seen as a confirmed gnosis. Confirmed gnosis may be seen as conferring a greater reliability in such matters on the person who experienced the revelation (Filan & Kaldera 2013:25). Problems arise in persuading people outside the belief system of the validity of a personal gnosis and dealing with conflicting revelations. Where conflicting gnoses are espoused conflict and schism may ensue (Pizza 2009) but most Pagans are unlikely to be dogmatic about gnoses (Crowley 1995:24).

The arguments about the validity of sources for spiritual doctrine and beliefs lead neatly to the debate over the perceived rationality or irrationality over these doctrines and beliefs. Archaeologists such as Daniel (1992:28, 51, 59, 126, 173) and Schadla Hall (2004:24) have dismissed Pagan claims on sites on the basis of their perceived irrationality. I would argue that dismissal of ideas as irrational implies that the beliefs in question lack a logical thought in their construction and are consequently valueless or absurd. Sperber (1994:40) points out that all worldviews are constructed on fundamental assumptions or beliefs and that perceiving other people's worldviews as irrational is generally due to differences in those basic assumptions or beliefs. Religious faith is generally based, sooner or later, on unprovable assumptions but with the exception of literalist scriptural believers (often referred to as fundamentalists in the Christian tradition) most people in my experience seem to adapt their beliefs to include accepted scientific facts and extrapolate their personal beliefs in a fairly logical fashion. Bearing in mind that religious belief has been noted to provide succour to those in difficulty and inspiration to good works, I argue that even if religious beliefs are founded on assumptions that defy a rational reductionist worldview, then they should not be assumed to be without value.

One conservative Christian interviewee argued that since the official religion of England is Anglican Christianity and other religions, including Pagan ones, are tolerated but have no official status, it is unconstitutional for Pagan views to influence public policy. His argument would require a fundamental change to the ethos of the British state to allow this degree of influence to be wielded. However, the UK consists of more than just England and its constitution is not a single written document but rather comprises many elements including legislation, legal precedent, treaties, charters and tradition (Wade & Bradley 1965:2-21). It can also be argued that exclusion of widely held but non-majority spiritual views is a deficit in the rights of citizenship unjustifiable while those involved still bear the responsibilities of citizens. This could be seen as violating the principle of 'no taxation without representation'. Finally the UK has become increasingly multicultural over the last fifty years or so and bearing these issues in mind this argument can be considered a weak one.

8.7.2 Identity Based Reasons

In section 1.2.1 community was explained as being self-defined and elective with a shared sense of identity. The contemporary Pagan community's sense of identity has been characterised, to some extent at least, in section 1.2.3.1. After Hutton's (1996, 2001, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009) works covering the history of contemporary Paganism (see section 1.2.3.5 for more details) few, if any, Pagans believe that they have a closer genetic relationship to the ancient dead than the majority of native Britons alive today (e.g. Thackray & Payne 2008:3-4). Ideas of shared identity between pre-Christian people whose remains are excavated analysed, stored and/or displayed and contemporary Pagans are based on a perception that contemporary Pagans share a sense of identity with pre-Christian Britons and that they therefore have a stronger connection to the ancient dead than other UK citizens (e.g. Davies 1997:12). These perceptions are intrinsically linked in with the ideas of Ancestors of place and of tradition previously described in section 8.2.1. The other major influence in these arguments is the narrative of oppression and victimisation detailed in section 1.2.3.4.

It is also significant that some contemporary Pagans consider themselves in a similar position to American Indian and Australian Aboriginal groups (e.g. Davies 1998:12), seeing themselves as reviving indigenous pre-Christian spiritualities (Blain & Wallis

2007:9-11). Although I have yet to meet any Pagans who will say so on the record, several interviewees view non-Pagans as oppressive incomers and converts who have cast aside their Pagan heritage and thus have no claim to stakeholdership of the Pagan past. They think of Christians as oppressive colonialists and feel that it is wrong to see the remains of their ancestors in the hands of those they see as hostile colonisers. Therefore they see restitution for perceived colonial oppression as necessitating 'return' of Ancestors. Interviews suggest that this is an unusual view and is felt to be somewhat extreme even by many of those who support reburial although the idea that Pagans and Druids have a stronger connection to the ancient dead and may therefore speak for them seems to have slightly more support. The arguments that archaeological excavation and museum storage or display of human remains fails to show appropriate respect and reverence may also be considered a cultural issue but I shall examine these under the heading of ethical contestation.

Colvin (2006:17) acknowledges that the Pagan concept of Ancestors of tradition may be problematical as they are both elective and unprovable affiliations. Hence it can be argued that claims to speak on behalf of the ancestors such as that made by Davies (1998:10) and others might be seen as arrogant (see also Alberti et al 2009:136). Mutterings to this effect were heard from more than one Pagan research participant. This claim is made on the basis of the belief that contemporary Pagans have a stronger identity connection to the ancient dead than anyone else. Generally speaking, in genetic terms this argument is unsustainable as ancient Britons are genetic ancestors of most modern native Britons whatever their religious or spiritual affiliation. However, in cultural terms, the issue is far less clear. Payne (p.c. 2009) accepts that there is likely to be some cultural legacy of pre-Christian beliefs and practices in folklore but that these, like the genetic legacy of ancient Britons, are not restricted to the contemporary Pagan community but rather a part of British society in general. However, in later Roman Britain where Christianity was an important part of society, the elective identification as Pagan in contrast to Christian may be deemed to have a commonality with contemporary Paganism.

To what extent is and was non-disturbance of the dead a Pagan value? Indeed, bearing in mind that many Pagans constructed their identity in opposition to what they

perceived as an Abrahamic mainstream, what if the principle of non-disturbance turned out to be a Christian value? Bahn (1984:129-130) records that Greek and Roman Legal systems outlawed disturbance of graves but there is no evidence that such a tradition held in prehistoric Britain. However, there is a substantial body of archaeological evidence that human remains were not always left to rest in peace in pre-Christian Britain. Excarnation, secondary deposition in chambered tombs with subsequent removal seems to have been common in the earlier Neolithic (Hutton 1997a:30-33; Pryor 2003:190-191; Reilly 2003:149, 150). Pryor (2003:190-191) argues that the term tomb is misapplied to megalithic monuments of the Neolithic. He suggests that they should be thought of as shrines or temples, rather than resting places for the dead. Both Parker Pearson (2012:119) and Pryor (2003:155) point out that human bone is often recovered from prehistoric domestic contexts. This is in stark contrast to the response of 21st century journalists describing a Swedish woman keeping human bones purchased online in her home as 'creepy' (The Sun 2012). There is certainly an element of salacious sensationalism in the reporting of this story but I argue such would not be the case if this behaviour were not considered deviant. Plutarch (1920) records Gaulish mercenaries in the pay of King Pyrrhus of Epirus pillaging the tombs and scattering the bones of the dead which suggests that Celtic peoples may not have shared the Roman disinclination to disturb the dead. It would be ironic if contemporary Druids were unwittingly pursuing a Roman or Christian cultural tradition.

8.7.3 Ethical

Some campaigners appear to accept that non-Pagans are just as much stakeholders in the fate of ancient human remains and appreciate that they need broad public support to influence government and institutional policies. The approaches taken by campaigners for reburial of the Aubrey Hole 7 remains suggests that they believe that most British people who are not Pagan are unlikely to be sympathetic to the spiritual arguments for reburial, since they have chosen to concentrate on ethical arguments in their publicity.

One solution put forward by groups including BDO and LAW is that replicas could be displayed in museums and the actual remains taken off display and reburied in sealed

boxes to prevent further deterioration (Maughfling 2009). Roberts (2009:29) points out that essential evidence is not recorded in replicas and Goodnow (2006:18-19) argues that museum visitors might feel cheated by being shown pictures or replicas rather than original material. More importantly (as seen in section 7.2.3) museum stores containing large numbers of human remains facilitate epidemiological research (Steckel et al 2006:60-70). Cheek and Keel (1984:194) argue that 'Knowledge gained from scientific data retrieval is valuable to mankind in general... destruction of the resource is unethical... At issue is the freedom to pursue knowledge and scientific enquiry without political pressures and legal restraints'. Lack of legal and ethical research restraints has led to unacceptable human rights abuses such as chemical weapons research on conscripts at Porton Down (Harris & Paxman 1982:176-177); Japanese experiments on Chinese prisoners (Williams & Wallace 1990:50-116) and most infamously the work of SS doctors like Josef Mengele in Nazi concentration camps (Nyiszli 1985; Weigman 2001). However, it has been shown in section 8.7.1 that the contention that the dead may suffer as a result of analysis of their remains is not supported by strong, widely accepted evidence. Section 7.2.3 includes reference to statistical research on ancient human remains with important consequences to health provision to the living.

A significant argument against the large-scale reburial of ancient human remains is that their availability for research is highly beneficial to society as a whole. The best example of this argument is the epidemiological study into the causes of osteoporosis mentioned by Margaret Clegg of the Natural History Museum when I interviewed her (See section 7.2.3).

Alberti et al (2009:136) cite an American Psychiatric Association paper which asserts that the denial and taboo against display of death is likely to exacerbate post-traumatic stress when a loved one dies. It can therefore be argued that museum display of human remains is beneficial to the living in promoting mental as well as physical health. Jenkins (2011:124) describes archaeologists and some Pagans (probably members of HAD) as being in agreement that museum display of human remains helps people to confront this perceived death taboo in contemporary British society.

The Pagan (or Wiccan) ethic usually phrased as 'An it harm none, do what thou wilt' (Crowley 1989:78) or variants thereupon, requires all actions including doing nothing to be considered and assessed. This may be considered to be close to Bentham's (Vardy & Grosch 1999:65) utilitarian ethics which extol choices which bring the greatest pleasure and least pain. Other religions tend towards ethical systems (including ancient pre-Christian ones) which extol adherence to virtues or duties such as those put forward by Kant (1963:36-47), Marcus Aurelius (1998:3-9) and Aristotle (1999:37-40).

8.7.3.1 Equality with Other Religions

A key ethical point regarding the treatment of human remains is the one that demands equal respect for and treatment of remains identified as pre-Christian to those identified as Christian. Warwick (Moss 2011) asserted that Christian remains are not disturbed and Shallcrass (2004:28-29), Brown (2012:193) and Davies (1998:12) have both asserted that remains identified as Christian are routinely re-buried after excavation, which Shallcrass (2004:29) described as 'discrimination against ancient Pagans'. This belief seems to have found some credence in the Pagan community, since several Pagan interviewees expressed a belief that Christian remains are treated with much greater respect than those identified as pre-Christian (see also Brown 2012:193). There does appear to be a greater willingness among museums to put pre-Christian remains on display. I was unable to find Christian remains on display at the Museum of London or the British Museum although pre-Christian remains were on show at both. The National Museum Wales displays the bones of pre-Christian people in its 'Origins – In Search of Early Wales' gallery but only photographs of the bones of four people along with bronze heads based on facial reconstructions taken from the bones (see fig. 62 & fig. 63).

My observations of museum visitors at Cardiff, the British Museum and the Museum of London lead me to believe that they are more likely to stay longer with an exhibit and read more of the information panels, if both bones and facial reconstructions are on display. Bones alone appear to be more attention grabbing than just the facial

reconstructions on display in Cardiff. However, the assumption attested to by several Pagan interviewees that all remains identified as Christian are automatically reburied is clearly incorrect, since Elizabeth Walker at the National Museum Wales, Cardiff was able to show me that most of their stored human remains come from Mediaeval contexts. Likewise much of the human remains at the Museum of London are also Mediaeval. It therefore seems that museums are willing to store Christian remains but may be more reluctant to put them on display than they are to display pre-Christian remains.

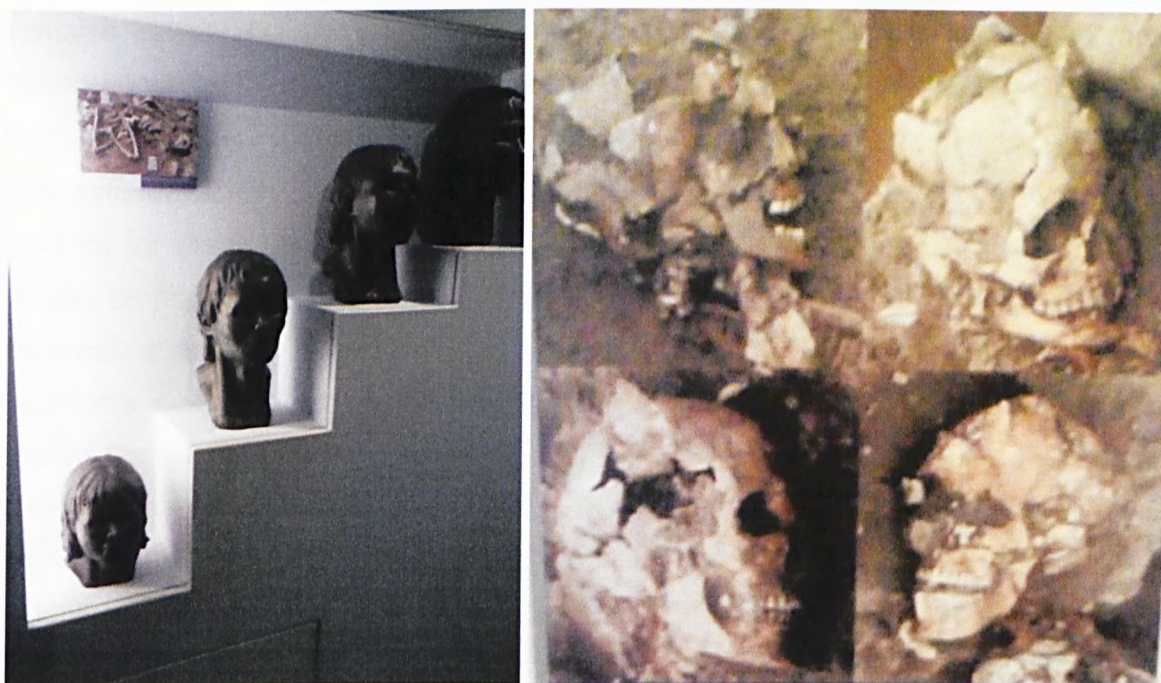


Fig. 62 & 63: Bronze facial reconstructions of early mediaeval people with photographs of their bones in the 'Origins' gallery of the National Museum Wales (Author's photographs)

The assumption that Christian remains are treated with more dignity and respect than those of the pre-Christian past also needs to be challenged. I sought out literature on how Christian remains had been dealt with to test this assertion and interviewed archaeologists who had been involved with excavating Christian remains and Museum professionals who curated them. Every interview with archaeologists I have conducted in which this subject was covered suggests that the religious affiliation of the person whose bones are being uncovered is unlikely to affect how the remains are treated but that the antiquity, rarity and fragility of the remains will affect, to some

extent at least, the care taken in handling the bones. One article particularly caught my attention and that was a piece about graveyard clearance by Duncan Sayer and James Symonds (2004) in the *Journal of Church Archaeology*. In it the authors explain that human remains clearance companies operating with what was then a Home Office (now Ministry of Justice) excavation licence were exhuming bodies from the Sheffield Cathedral graveyard which were not treated with dignity. The Home Office licence required the clearance company to screen the bodies from public view but the 10 ft high screen failed to shield the view from neighbouring office blocks. Workers therefore were upset to see coffins lifted by a mechanical digger and human remains thrown into black plastic bags. Although complaints were made and most would agree that such behaviour violated the licence requirement to effect removal 'with due care and attention to decency' (Sayer & Symonds 2004:56) no prosecution was initiated. Even more worryingly Mike Webber (p.c. 2009) explained that, while working for the Museum of London Archaeology Service in the late 1990s or early 2000s, he had been contracted to record details of a Greater London Church, which he recalled as being dedicated to St. Nicholas, which was to be demolished to make way for a new shopping development. Whilst he and his team were preserving by record the fabric of the church, a company he described as specialist undertakers cleared the surrounding graves rather than members of his team, since the graves were determined to be of little archaeological value. Their contract was twofold: to safely dispose of lead coffins and to remove human remains for reburial elsewhere. He vividly described these undertakers, as lifting out the lead or lead lined coffins and levering off the lids with shovels before removing amazingly well preserved bodies that began to deteriorate as the air hit them. The bodies of children were placed in refuse sacks before being thrown into the back of a van. Adults, since they would not fit in a single bin bag were severed at the waist by blows from spades before being placed in a pair of bin bags and thrown into the van. Presumably this clearance contractor had obtained the same Home Office licence to remove human remains with the same stipulation of due care and attention to decency. I am certain that no archaeologist of my acquaintance would countenance such treatment of human remains and indeed would consider anyone who did to be unworthy of the title archaeologist. According to my informant, a complaint was made to the retired brigadier who was managing the project on behalf of the Church of England, only be

told to 'show a little Dunkirk spirit'. Archaeologists proceeded to complain to the deacon overseeing the area who explained that the church felt that once the soul had departed, what happened to the body was not of much importance.

The existence of the Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Christian Burials in England (APACBE) to advise on treatment of Christian remains incorporating representatives of the Church of England may have served to support the Pagan campaigners assertion but this body has now been superseded by the more inclusive, all embracing, Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Burials in England (APABE) to deal with all mortuary archaeology (White 2009:28-29). However, there does not appear to be any representation of the Pagan community on this panel (Mays nd).

Sedlec Ossuary in the Czech Republic (in section 7.3.2.4) also demonstrates that the remains of Christians are sometimes not only put on display but used to create objets d'art. In section 7.3.2.2 it was noted that the law in England and Wales, and also that in Scotland, requires that the corpses of many people be examined whenever it is deemed necessary to establish a cause of death (Directgov nd; Parker Pearson 2003:183; Williams 2010:124). A typical autopsy was described involving breaking open of the rib cage to extract organs for examination and the sawing open of the skull to allow removal and inspection of the brain (Williams 2010:16-17). Protestors who oppose excavation and examination of ancient human remains are therefore demanding a significantly greater level of reverence for these ancient remains than is accorded to many of the recently deceased.

Jenkins (2011) asserts that the human remains issue has been encouraged by museum professionals placing a desire to appear considerate and be politically correct before their duty to preserve remains for future generations describing the situation as a 'crisis of authority'. She sees this largely as a betrayal of secular values and a betrayal of stewardship responsibilities to all humanity (Jenkins 2011:140-146). Indeed the Museums Association (2008:8) asserts that museums hold artefacts and specimens in trust for society and thus contestation of curation and display of human remains could be argued to be an assault on the secular civil society which provides

the multiculturalism which permits minority religious groups such as Pagans to survive more or less unmolested.

8.7.3.2 Respect and Honour, Dignity and Decency

As previously stated in sections 8.5.2 and 8.6.3, groups contesting retention of cremated remains from Stonehenge have chosen not to build their campaign on specifically Pagan arguments but rather to claim a common ethical principle shared by all religions and those of no faith. As seen in section 7.3.1.1 the laws of England and Wales assume that graves ought not to be disturbed unnecessarily (Fforde 2004:87; Parker Pearson 2003:181; 2012:173; Roberts 2009:26-27) but in Scotland the law enshrines a 'right of sepulture' (Tarlow 2001:58-59) providing a firmer requirement to rebury exhumed remains. When I interviewed him at Winter Solstice 2008, Arthur Pendragon stated 'You don't have to be a Druid or a Pagan to believe in common decency. There is something almost voyeuristic about looking at human remains behind glass. As a Druid I say: let those who we laid to rest stay at rest'. This sound bite has become a recurring theme in his rhetoric and he claims to have support from people across the religious spectrum 'from Anglicans to Zoroastrians' (BBC News 2011b; p.c. Pendragon 2008). They are assuming that the belief that the dead should be respected and the modes in which this respect is manifested are universal but are they (Tarlow 2006:208) and do prevailing cultural attitudes in the UK really favour reburial?

Dictionary definitions give a starting point for building an understanding of the discourses involved. The Oxford English Reference Dictionary provides the following definitions (among other less relevant ones) of honour: 'High respect... adherence to what is right... respect highly... acknowledge' (Pearsall & Trumble 2003:679). Definitions of respect include: 'deferential esteem... regard with deference, esteem or honour... avoid interfering with, harming, degrading, insulting, injuring... treat with consideration... refrain from offending, corrupting' (Pearsall & Trumble 2003:1228). Dictionary definitions may not fully explain the social, cultural and behavioural expectations associated with those words. However, the definition of respect does express an expectation of non-interference and avoidance of harm or offence. HAD has been particularly keen to offer useful definitions of respect and honour. Their

website (www.honour.org.uk) includes a page (HAD et al 2004-2008) containing five opinions of what constitutes respectful treatment of human remains. Restall Orr emphasises the importance of treating the dead as not being absent, in a way that recognises her contention that they are still members of society able to influence people (HAD et al 2004-2008). Bienkowski and Aburrow (HAD et al 2004-8) also emphasise recognition of the personhood of the dead but Grant goes into more detail about reverence, care and not exploiting remains. Grant suggests that respect implies that if remains are not likely to be needed again they should be returned whence they came.

At the end of October 2012, HAD posted its 'Definitions for Honouring the Ancient Dead' (HAD 2012). In this document they set out three fundamental propositions:

- As human beings we have a duty of care towards every other human person
- The ancestral dead retain their personhood as integral and influencing members of the community
- Personhood entails the need for respectful interaction

(HAD 2012)

HAD emphasises the non-commodification of human remains. They assert that harm is 'diminution, degradation or devaluation in a way that causes suffering and that this suffering can be measured spiritually, socially, emotionally, physically or scientifically. HAD (2012) argues that referring to ancient bodies and body parts as human remains is loaded terminology implying a loss of personhood. They also argue that the DCMS understanding of ancestors as being restricted to genetic lineage fails to recognise social and cultural influence on people outside ones immediate kin group. In the section on reburial they dispute the use of the word 'reburial' as one implying irretrievable loss of the bodies or body parts and propose the word 'return' as an alternative. The section goes on to acknowledge that Ancestors need to be remembered lest people forget the lessons of the past but that 'Ancestors should not be exhumed unless circumstances necessitate it' suggesting that necessity should be agreed through consultation. It also asserts that retention of remains cannot be justified and all remains should therefore be reburied after analysis. I argue that this

section contradicts HAD's claim not to advocate reburial in all cases and demonstrates a desire to prevent any new sets of remains entering collections. HAD asserts that 'interaction is respectful when all unnecessary harm is avoided' (HAD 2012:1) but can the dead actually be harmed? Geoffrey Scarre (2006:188-196) argues that even if the dead cannot undergo a real or physical change, they can undergo changes in status or relationships which could be considered harmful such as damage to reputation. He also describes the removal of remains against the explicit wishes of the person whose remains they are as a violation of their wishes. HAD defines harm as causing suffering and claims that this 'harm can be measured spiritually, socially, emotionally, physically or scientifically' (HAD 2012:1). However, it is hard to see how excavation, analysis and display of remains can harm or cause suffering to a dead person, unless you believe their consciousness continues after death and remains connected to those remains. If this were the case then treatment of amputated limbs would be expected to affect the living person from whom it was removed and I have found no record of such distress being recorded.

Archaeologist and museum professional interviewees explained respect for the dead in terms of remembering their humanity and providing accurate information about them. One interviewee also mentioned that giving skeletons and bodies nicknames was not considered good practice. The HAD definitions also discuss reburial stating that 'it is often assumed that reburial is the default position demanded by HAD' (HAD 2012:3) thus implying that this is not the case. However, the document then asserts that remains should only be subject to archaeological excavation if they are going to be disturbed anyway (e.g. by development) and that, although they may be analysed, they should always be reburied. This implies that HAD is opposed to any more prehistoric remains being added to archaeological collections which may serve to polarise opinion in the Pagan community.

Nick Ford (2009) is critical of claims that the dead merit respect and argues that it cannot be known if the prehistoric nameless dead are truly worthy of respect for their qualities and achievements, since no-one knows if a given skeleton belonged to a vicious, cruel criminal or a selfless and generous person.

Barley's (1995:77) description of an African boy shouting at the ancestors to clear off and calling them bastards suggests that, contrary to respect for the dead (even Ancestors) is not universal. However, if one accepts that most British people might agree that the dead ought to be treated with respect, there is still a wide range of opinions in what actually constitutes respect. Nick Ford (2009) acknowledges that what constitutes respectful treatment of the dead is actually a culturally specific value. Despoilation of graves has been a deliberate act of disrespect in the past as exemplified by the exhumation and hanging of Oliver Cromwell after the restoration. Tarlow (2008:73) explains that this was carried out specifically 'to cause harm to his dignity... by violating the norms of bodily privacy and control' but I have also shown (in section 8.7.2) that ancient Britons appear not have had the same qualms about disturbing graves as contemporary Anglicans. Ford (2009) argues that the individual qualities of the prehistoric individuals whose remains are excavated and sometimes displayed cannot be known so any idea that they merit admiration is not appropriate.

Ford (2009) argues that one can respect the dead regardless of what you do with their bones. Another Pagan interviewee explained to me that she had attended a conference at a museum and had arrived early when the cleaner was still doing her rounds. They had struck up a conversation and the cleaner had explained to her that when cleaning the museum's Egyptian galleries each morning she greeted the mummies by name as a gesture of respect. At a Druid conference I related this story, which was greeted by expressions of approval. I then pointed out that to the high status Egyptian being greeted by someone of low status might have been considered offensive in the extreme, to which one delegate pointed out that the intention was respectful and that was the important thing. I replied that to people giving pre-Christian human remains a Christian burial, the intention was highly respectful but that it has been seen as unacceptable by most contemporary Pagan interviewees.

Thomas (2005:3238) states that 'aside from punitive exhibition (desecration of the corpse) in the case of a bad death, when a devalued dead person is deprived of a funeral, the display of the corpse reflects the noblest intentions (valorization of the corpse)'. Thus we see that display can be an act of the greatest reverence. One obvious example is the display of the preserved body of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in Red

Square in Russia which Taylor (2002:15) likens to Ancestor worship. Bahn & Paterson (1986:257) emphasise the political nature of this act as well as recording that it contravened Lenin's own wishes. Chamberlain & Parker Pearson (2004:33-9) argue that the display of Lenin's embalmed body uses the Russian Orthodox tradition of preservation, indicating sanctity and the display of the relics of saints. In section 7.3.2.4 I remarked that saintly relics are put on display in Catholic churches (Crook 2000:12-18; Walsham 2010:13). The remains of highly respected people are put on display in other contexts as well. Examples include the Douamont ossuary near Verdun in France: bones of French and German soldiers slaughtered in the carnage of the battle for Verdun in 1916 are visible through windows to visiting members of the public (Holt & Holt 1998:62-3).

However, it can be argued that the remains of dead kings and queens are not put on display and that there are others who are greatly respected whose remains are displayed. I was inclined to argue that the remains of dead royalty are not displayed because they are not important enough! They do not tell us as much about the national identity or how best to live as the relics of saints or the remains of ancient ancestors. An article in *British Archaeology* (Anon 2012:66) argued that remains of named individuals especially those with identifiable living descendants, e.g. remains believed to be those of Richard III, merit more sensitive treatment than the nameless dead of prehistory. Whilst I agree with the DCMS (2005:26-29; examined in detail in section 7.2.1.1) guidelines on human remains that identified genealogical descent as a criterion for accepting claims relating to the disposition of human remains, I accept that it is ethically problematical automatically to treat remains differently either on the basis of when they died or their social status when alive.

If one looks at ethnographic and historical approaches to spiritual relationships with Ancestors, two broad categories may be discerned: caring for the beloved dead or protection from the angry, jealous or dangerous dead (Hardacre 1987: 263; Harris 1986:53; Thomas 2005:3235). Thomas (2005:3235) explains that the recently deceased may be tied down, mutilated (e.g. by removal of eyes or breaking legs) or deliberately lost by burying the deceased across a river or departing suddenly from the cemetery by a detour. Caciola (1996:16) recalls an incident in the Laxdaela Saga in

which a corpse is excavated and reburied far away after a series of murders are attributed to the dead man. Glob (2004:105, 112) records bog bodies such as those at Haraldskaer, Hingst Fen and Windeby being pinned down with stakes presumably to keep them there just as vampires and revenants were staked down. Unlike these feared and hated dead, beloved ancestors have been brought amongst the living, albeit to prevent them becoming angry and vengeful, as the Merina people of Madagascar do in the Famadihana festival (Graeber 1995:259-261). This practice may be echoed in the British Neolithic (Malone 2004:144).

Pendragon's suggestion that looking at human remains in museums is voyeuristic suggests that his objection is at least partially based on a perceived right to privacy. Kate Fox (2004:407-8), in her ethnographic analysis of Englishness, argues that English people adhere to a system of manners that she describes as negative politeness in which a desire for privacy is assumed to be paramount. I suggest that much of the support for reburial of human remains stems from this particular social indoctrination. She also suggests that this respect for privacy is a hypocritical 'obedience to rules rather than expression of genuine concern' (Fox 2004:407-8). If expectations of a desire for privacy by the living are no more than a social rule based assumption then I suggest it weakens the argument that research should be limited or curtailed on the basis of the privacy of the dead. The human rights organisation Liberty (2009) argues that article 8 of the human rights act provides protection for an individual's right to privacy from intrusion by public bodies but the wording is such that protection will be subject to dominant social values at the time and it may be argued that the Avebury consultative process (Thackray & Payne 2009:15) demonstrates that dominant social values today support the display of human remains in museums. Pendragon's opposition to museum display may also be seen as a legacy of Protestant opposition to the display of saintly relics, ironically on the basis that it was seen as pagan.

Hunter et al (1996:11-13) describe archaeologists having to teach forensic examiners how to deal respectfully with human remains. Prior to and during the investigation of a series of murders in North London by Dennis Nilsen in 1983, bodies were excavated on a grid system and bones sorted according to the square they were found in,

resulting in much contextual evidence being lost and bones from different bodies being mixed together. Archaeologists contested this approach partly on the loss of contextual evidence but also on the failure to respect the corporeal integrity of the remains. Archaeological approaches to investigating human remains may thus be argued to enhance respect to the dead rather than working counter to it.

8.7.3.3 Ownership

Roberts (2009:24, 26) points out that both English and Scottish law state that there is no property in a corpse, i.e. that human remains are not commodity and cannot be owned, sold or stolen. Museums and other archaeological collections are therefore in a position of guardianship rather than ownership of remains. Museum policies on the treatment of human remains examined in section 7.3.1.3 acknowledge this position and require their staff to treat remains in a dignified and respectful manner. HAD emphasises that persons cannot be owned and that they consider human remains not to be objects and that personhood continues 'even beyond the time of living descendants' and by implication beyond any memory of that person's life.

8.7.3.4 Exclusive and Inclusive Rights

In my interview with Sebastian Payne (p.c. 2009) he expressed one of his main objections to reburial in terms of English Heritage wanting to safeguard the inclusive rights of all to have as much access as possible to the material remains of the past from those who sought exclusive rights to control that access. Jenkins (2011:37) also argues that it may be seen as immoral for remains to be claimed by one group at the expense of others.

Perhaps the most important question regarding contestation of human remains relates to the proportion of Pagans who support reburial. If the reburial lobby is merely a loud minority within the community then the legitimacy of this campaign is severely (perhaps fatally) compromised. I have already demonstrated in section 3.3.1 that interviewing a probability sample of UK Pagans would be next to impossible to achieve. However, one indication of relative levels of support might be the number of 'likes' on the respective Facebook (social networking website) pages of the leading campaign groups. In section 8.6.5 I recorded that on 06 Aug 2012 Pagans for

Archaeology had 10,001 likes as opposed to The quest for common decency & dignity and honouring our ancient ancestors with 5,378 and HAD with 1,629 likes on the Facebook social networking website. However, by 26 Aug 2013 the figures had shifted in favour of the reburial lobby with PfA showing 12,202 likes as opposed to the Quest for Common Decency and Dignity and Honouring our Ancient Ancestors showing 12,927 and HAD 1,918. Lest this should be seen as in any way conclusive, Shallcrass (p.c. 2014) points out that he cannot be alone in 'liking' the PFA page on the basis of his being a Pagan who likes archaeology whilst opposing the group's stance on reburial. Equally people may have chosen to 'like' the pages of HAD and the Quest for Common Decency and Dignity without agreeing with their aims and objectives either. Anecdotal impressions of the relative proportions in favour of each will inevitably depend on which Pagan groups one interacts with but my own impression is that a small minority are passionately in favour of reburial, a much larger minority generally supportive of the idea with the majority undecided. Those actively opposed to reburial, I suggest, are also a minority.

In section 8.7.1.5 I have explained that the coercive element of the Stonehenge reburial campaign appears to violate the value of non-evangelicalism which Pagan groups claim to espouse (Crowley 1995:23; Harvey 1997:1-2; Moorey 1996:2). I shall examine underlying social aspects of this issue more fully in section 9.2.1.5 and explore how it may be challenged in section 9.3.7.

8.8 Non-Reburial Challenges

Not all campaigners who object to the way human remains are displayed or archived are demanding reburial. HAD has attempted to stress that it does not automatically equate respect with reburial. Its definitions document (HAD 2012:3) states that 'it is often assumed that reburial is the default position demanded by HAD' implying that this is not the case. The primary focus of such non-reburial campaigns is to emphasise that remains should be treated with respect and honour (HAD 2004-2008). These issues have been examined in general terms in section 8.7.3.2 so I shall now show how these values are hoped to be implemented in practice.

The Lindow Man exhibition case study (Section 8.5.4) demonstrates that HAD representatives were keen to promote a more pluralistic set of interpretations and to provide opportunities to interact with the remains in a spiritual manner as well as in academic or voyeuristic ways.

HAD have not been the only ones to argue for more respectful display. Hugh Kilminster (2003:65, cited in Jenkins 2011:31) suggests that human remains ought to be displayed in separate sections of museums with subdued lighting to encourage visitors to feel respect for the dead.

8.8.1 Objectification Versus Personhood

In their review of the National Museum Wales Origins Gallery (Carpenter 2008) HAD referred to displays of disarticulated bones as disturbing and dehumanising. In an interview, HAD's founder, Emma Restall Orr described the display of human remains in museum cases alongside inanimate artefacts to me as dehumanising or objectifying them. Bienkowski (2006) also criticises museum professionals for taking an exclusively materialistic view of human remains. HAD stresses that the remains are treated in exactly the same way as potsherds, brooches, torcs etc and that this is unethical since it denies the personhood of the Ancestors (p.c. Restall Orr 2009). Historic Scotland's (1997:10-11) guidance on treatment of human remains suggests that remains ought to be kept separate from other finds, suggesting that there is some support for this contention in the archaeological community and that it is being addressed. However, this requirement exempts grave goods which are to be kept with the remains. I shall be exploring the issue of respecting personhood and avoiding objectification further in section 8.8.1 and critiquing the objectification argument in detail in section 8.9.3.

To assess the contention that the museum display of human remains relegates them to the status of objects (Alberti et al 2009:137; Carpenter 2008; HAD et al 2004-2008; HAD 2012), which Jenkins (2011:126) describes as being put forward by HAD regarding Lindow Man, one first needs to examine whether human remains such as skeletons, bog bodies and disarticulated bones are perceived as persons outside of museum display. In order to do this I carried out some field interviews with a range of

people to establish their views on the subject. I found that when asked for a set of criteria to distinguish between persons and objects, almost all participants cited characteristics such as conversation and interaction which, when applied to the dead, would not classify them as persons. Examples from interviewees include: 'People are animate, things are inanimate' 'Knowing someone... imbuing them with feeling (makes them person)'. Kris Hughes, Archdruid of the Anglesey Druid Order, and also an anatomical pathology technologist, wrote 'A recent corpse has features, wrinkles, a smell, it is normally clothed when it arrives. There is more of the vestige of "Person" about it' (Hughes 2011). When asked whether ancient human remains in museums constituted persons or objects opinion divided. Those actively involved in contesting display all described them as persons. Few categorised them as objects although some said that disarticulated bones might be considered as such. The majority of interviewees chose to class human remains in a new category not offered as former-persons. On the basis of this an argument may be proposed that museum display may not be considered to depersonalise remains since death has already done this. This argument may carry less weight since most people I have interviewed are not comfortable with considering the remains as objects either. The allegation that display depersonalises remains must therefore be examined. Organisations such as HAD (Carpenter 2008) have argued that to display human remains alongside the inanimate artefacts of their culture serves to relegate them to the status of just another artefact. However, I would argue that when one meets a living person they are clad in dress which identifies them as individuals and demonstrates affiliation and identity. Restall Orr, in the HAD website, acknowledges that 'to isolate anything is to deny it its memory, identity and value (HAD et al 2004-2008). Furthermore I argue that to remove the human remains from the artefacts which were and are their cultural context is to strip away much of what individuality remains and may, in extremis, be considered akin to compelling someone to introduce themselves to a stranger unclothed.

8.8.2 Case Studies

As Jenkins (2011:15-16) points out, some museum professionals have been proactive in ensuring that remains are displayed with sensitivity and respect. In this

section I shall briefly examine how two museums attempt to employ ethical awareness in their display of human remains:

8.8.2.1 Case Study 1: Dublin Museum

In April 2008, few months before commencing this research I visited the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin where I saw an exhibition entitled 'Kingship and Sacrifice' which included bog bodies from Clonycavan and Oldcroghan. Much effort had gone into planning the exhibition of these bodies in a respectful way. Each set of remains was displayed in a large glass case at about waist height. The lighting was muted and each case separated from the rest of the exhibition by a spiral wall. Within the walls there were benches to allow visitors to sit with the remains but all the interpretative panels explaining what was known about the remains were posted on the outside with photographs of the remains. The display conforms to Kilminster's (2003:65) ideas of what constitutes respectful display. It also responds positively to the assertion that display of remains alongside never living artefacts reduces them to objects (Alberti et al 2009:137; Carpenter 2008; HAD 2012; explained in detail and critiqued in section 8.8.1.1).

8.8.2.2 Case Study 2: Bristol Museum

In December 2010 I visited the Bristol City Museum and examined how they displayed human remains. I was disappointed to see how little British Archaeology was on display. There was a Romano-British coin hoard and a Bronze Age skeleton that formed the centrepiece of a small stand in an area that seemed to be primarily aimed at younger visitors. The stand highlighted the ethical issues surrounding the display of human remains. It provided points of view from archaeologists, curators and students but not from Druids or Pagans. In another part of the museum an Egyptian skeleton was contained in a darkened box. Visitors were required to press a button first illuminating the text explaining that the box contained the skeleton of a man who died 4,600 years ago and reminding the visitor that bodies were once people and are not scientific specimens before requiring the visitor to decide whether or not to press the button a second time to illuminate the bones themselves. There was also a computer generated interactive display in which the visitor has to decide whether to unwrap or x-ray a mummy. Weeks (2008:49) describes this as 'striptease'

and remarks that the final frame leaves parts of the body unrevealed 'out of respect'. I appreciate that it may be seen as respectful to the dead to offer visitors the choice and to make it an informed choice but Jenkins (2011:15-16) argues that it seems worryingly close to propaganda persuading people who may not have thought of remains as requiring this manifestation of respect previously. Weeks (2008:46-49), in her review of the exhibition for the Museums Association journal offers mixed opinions on the display, criticising art installations and describing as daring the willingness to ask questions without providing answers. She provides an assessment which sees the display as thought provoking but does not comment on the possibility that raising awareness of ethical issues to public attention may shape the way visitors may form their opinions regarding the display of human remains.

In both these case studies it may be seen that sensitivity relates less to the dead themselves than to the living, since care is taken to ensure that the living do not see the dead without making a specific choice to do so.

8.8.3 Access to remains for ritual

In the page on reburial in the CoBDO website Maughfling (2009) dismisses the idea that any Pagans or Druids would want to perform ritual with human remains, describing such practices as necromancy and implying that this would be anathema to any Pagan. However, on the HAD website (Graham 2008) and in an interview, Mark Graham described a ritual he performed in a museum involving two prehistoric skulls dredged from a nearby river. Michelle Diedrich, a postgraduate student of archaeology who identifies herself as Pagan argues that curators have an obligation to protect the human remains in their care and that this includes protecting them from being 'used as totems by people who have no real claim to them' (Faulkener 2008:42). These remarks demonstrate that whilst some Pagans would like access to human remains for ritual, others are adamantly opposed to such access for both ethical and spiritual reasons.

8.8.4 Respectful Storage

It is not only display but also the storage of human remains that has come in for criticism from non-reburial campaigners. A repeated comment from such

campaigners is that human remains deserve better than to be stacked in cardboard boxes. Indeed Margaret Clegg at the Natural History Museum in London explained that they were in the process of re-boxing their collected remains in plastic boxes. The rhetoric of the reburial lobby tends to emphasise the use of cardboard for the storage of human remains in museum collections with the implicit value judgement that cardboard is not appropriate as it tends to be used for temporary storage of less important items. However, emerging ecological funeral practices are increasingly using biodegradable materials to make cocoons and caskets for burials from similar materials. There also appears to be a misapprehension that the remains in museums are placed in whatever cardboard box happens to be available rather than the specially sourced acid free card containers which are used (see fig. 45).

8.9 Conclusions

It has been shown that Pagan contestation of human remains has its roots in the post-colonial contestation of remains in Australia and especially in the United States. I have described how ancestor worship or veneration has been identified by popular authors in some other cultures and how aspects of it have been incorporated into contemporary Paganism. The case studies of Charlie at Avebury, The Stonehenge Aubrey Hole 7 remains, The Red Lady of Paviland and Lindow Man have demonstrated how remains have been contested and the reasons for this contestation. I have presented an analysis of the Pagan groups involved in contesting human remains concentrating largely on the tactics employed: largely discursive in the case of HAD as opposed to confrontational and coercive in the case of LAW. Arguments for reburial may include unprovable assertions about interfering with the afterlife or dissipation of souls but these are seldom mentioned by campaigners. Assumptions of differential treatment of Christian remains have been shown to be largely fallacious since museum collections include Christian remains and Churchyard clearance has involved insensitive treatment of the dead. However museums do seem to be less willing to display more recent remains. Allegations that display offends a hypothetical universal standard of what is decent neglects to account for the diversity of human conceptions of appropriate behaviour. Indeed the assertion that display is disrespectful is not only ethnocentric, bearing in mind the reverential display of saints and political leaders, but may also derive from Roman or Protestant

traditions. It can be argued that display democratises access to the dead and some Pagans feel that being able to visit them in museums enhances their spiritual connection to them. It has been argued that reburial demands are a claim for exclusive rights to the dead rather than the inclusive right to visit them. Maintaining collections for research has also facilitated palaeo-epidemiological research with important implications to the living. Arguments that display of remains alongside material culture dehumanises them have been refuted by questioning whether skeletons constitute people and explaining that personhood is largely communicated through material culture. This is by no means a final word on the treatment of human remains and although my own position has become opposed to reburial through this research I acknowledge that some of the arguments in favour of it cannot be dismissed. The next and final chapter of this thesis seeks to bring together issues surrounding human remains and those involving sites to provide an explanation of contestation and suggest ways to proceed in the future.

Chapter 9: Understanding and Addressing Contestation

9.1 Introduction

This thesis seeks to provide an explanation of contestation of heritage and archaeology by contemporary Pagan, and especially Druid, groups. It analyses and assesses the arguments put forward by both sides providing supporting or denying evidence where appropriate. As described in section 3.3.5 I opted for a combined literary and ethnographic approach to data collection in order to maintain an up to date and directly sourced dataset. Dialogue based research also provided better access to reasons for contestation and an opportunity to field-test working hypotheses.

Campaigns regarding human remains and those regarding archaeological/sacred sites are strongly related. Reburial activists often speak of returning the dead to their resting places. Indeed the case of the 'Red Lady' (section 8.5.3) is entirely about place. Perhaps the most important reason sites are considered sacred to Pagans is their association with the Ancestors. In this final chapter I shall bring together these related fields to examine in more detail how they interact with one another and extrapolate the shared issues affecting these situations. I shall assess where strategies in avoiding and resolving contestation have worked and failed in the past and examine options for future management of relations between Pagans and archaeological/heritage professionals.

I shall begin by outlining the concerns and agendas of both the contemporary Pagan community and the archaeological and heritage professions. I shall identify where these agendas harmonise and where they oppose one another and expose how different epistemologies and worldviews make agreements harder to negotiate. I shall show how increasingly broad definitions of stakeholdership in heritage and archaeology are encouraging previously marginalised groups to feel included. Fundamental issues underlying contemporary Pagan contestation of heritage and

archaeology will be examined and proposals for better community relations set out and reviewed. I shall draw out the key issues underpinning both contestation of sites and of human remains to explain the phenomenon of Pagan contestation of heritage and to suggest strategies for resolving it.

9.2 Explaining Contestation

In this section I shall examine explanations and understandings of contestation of both sites and of human remains. I shall demonstrate how intrinsically these issues are connected and how the two issues feed into one another. I shall also identify the unstated underlying attitudes, motivations and agendas that drive and influence the contestation of human remains in Britain.

I shall begin by examining how contentious the whole notion of heritage is. Pratchett et al (2003:325) argue that humans should be categorised not as *Homo Sapiens*, the wise man but rather as *Pan Narrans*, the storytelling chimpanzee. They argue it is not science, technology nor even abstract thought that separates the human mind from the animal mind but rather the way that humans understand and communicate about the world in stories. Narratives are certainly an important part of how people construct a sense of identity (Brockmeier & Carbaugh 2001:1-19). This is an observation that especially rings true of Pagans and of archaeological and heritage professionals. However, the stories are not always compatible. In section 7.3.2.4, I compared museum display of human remains with the display of saintly relics in Catholic churches and suggested that both the church and the museums used remains to promote their worldviews. In section 1.2.4.1 I described Smith's (2008:11) explanation that heritage is not a single thing but rather a series of practices. In section 6.1.5, I examined the concept of an Authorised Heritage Discourse presented by Smith (2006:29-34) as a means by which the heritage sector and heritage agencies control the conceptualisation and management of heritage appears problematic for me. I explained that Hewison's (1987:43-45) top down and Urry's (1990:110) bottom up models for ascribing heritage value, whilst thought provoking, do not reflect the complexity of what I perceive as a mutually discursive construct between managers and consumers. Smith (2006:170-171) also recognises that the omission or subordination of ideas and materials relating to political strife, working class

narratives and unorthodox interpretations not to be driven by a conspiracy to suppress them but rather from a desire to avoid contentious areas by focussing on aesthetic rather than identity based materials and avoiding contentious narratives. Lennon (2007) criticises Smith's 'arcane' language but my main worry about Smith's idea is that I suspect it may be very difficult to protect heritage sites by law or to raise funds to care for them if there is no discourse defining heritage.

Carman (2005:114), Skeates (2000:9) and Smith (2004:10) all suggest that items, places and practices are included as heritage because of their significance in the construction of identity. Where individuals and groups construct their identity in opposition to the mainstream it should not be surprising that interpretations are contested. However, Smith & Waterton (2012:155-166), Skeates (2000:118-124) and Tarlow (2001:58-59) suggest that inclusivity is an essential part of the role of an archaeological/heritage professional in the 21st century and Bienkowski (2013:48) records that minority groups now expect to have their narratives included in the heritage representation of the past. He therefore argues that Pagan narratives should no more be excluded than those of ethnic minorities (Bienkowski 2013:50).

9.2.1 Pagan Assumptions, Attitudes and Agendas

In section 1.2.3.4 I explained that many contemporary Pagans see themselves, with some justification (Hutton 2001:328; Pagan Federation 1996:7; Worthington 2005a:130), as an oppressed and victimised minority. It should therefore be no surprise that an important part of many Pagans' agendas is for their beliefs and practices to be afforded the same respect and consideration as other religions and spiritualities (Davies 1998:12; Pendragon & Stone 2003:106; Somers & Pendragon 2010:4). However, as shown in section 8.7.3.1, many Pagan assumptions regarding respectful treatment of the Christian dead turned out to be inaccurate.

I am sceptical of Jenkins's (2011:80) claim that that not all Pagans have an interest in the ancient past since I have yet to find a Pagan who claims to have no such interest. Indeed I have met several Pagans working in the archaeology sector. These Pagan archaeologists tend to be fairly closeted about their spirituality in their workplaces. Two (anonymous) interviewees told me that they will sometimes talk about such

matters with colleagues they have formed close friendships with but another specifically stated that she feared that if she was outed, she would be discriminated against in the archaeological and academic world.

9.2.1.1 Underlying Motivations for Pagan Contestation of Remains

One important aim of this thesis is to enhance understanding of the underlying motivations for issues of contention between the contemporary Pagan community and the archaeological/heritage profession. In sections 4.5, 5.4, 6.3 and 6.4 the stated reasons why Pagans have contested sites and in sections 8.7 and 8.8 the reasons for contesting human remains have been investigated. In this section I shall identify and bring together other more fundamental beliefs, ideals, narratives and attitudes which contribute to the Pagan contestation of heritage. The human remains issue draws out some significant causes for poor relationships between Pagans and archaeological/heritage professionals. As with the contestation of human remains in the USA and Australia an important motivating factor is the struggle for equal rights and recognition in wider society. In my introduction I described the fear within the Pagan community generated by redtop tabloid exposés and satanic ritual abuse allegations. In chapter 4 I described the suppression of the Stonehenge Free Festival and how New Age Traveller counter-culture conflated with Pagans by many including Kate Fox (2004:388) was violently suppressed by the Thatcher government. Indeed many within the Pagan community acknowledge a significant crossover. I suggest that the more counter-cultural anarchistic side of Druidry exemplified by groups like LAW, Stonehenge Druids and CoBDO but not TDN and BDO represent an important part of the spiritual side of what is left of the New Age Traveller movement. Through these narratives of oppression a victim mentality may be said to exist within the contemporary Pagan movement and especially within the more anarchistic and counter-cultural side of it. The confidence with which young Pagans at the University of Wales: Trinity Saint David practise their spirituality and reports in the press of Pagan police officers being granted leave to celebrate seasonal rituals etc (Phillips 2010) demonstrates that while there may have been some justification for a victim mentality in the 1980s and 1990s there is little justification for it today. The incident at Stonehenge where a young woman invited me to 'Fuck Off' (see section 3.7.1) as well as other stories told to me by research contributors demonstrate that there are

still some who have been left with deep psychological or social scars by the events of the 1980s and 1990s. There are however, those in the Pagan community who believe that whatever the rights and wrongs of the past, it is more important to move on and build for the future. In the words of Nick Ford (p.c. 2009), a respected Polytheist, Pagan theologian, 'This victim mentality makes me want to spit'.

9.2.1.2 Archaeological Complicity in Suppression

In 1985 English Heritage and the National Trust, with government help, suppressed the Stonehenge Free Festival (detailed in section 4.3.5.5). Archaeologists, led by Glyn Daniel (then editor of the influential journal *Antiquity*), had been calling for the Druids to be banned from the site (Daniel 1992:28, 51, 59, 126, 173). Indeed in the decade and a half following the suppression of the Festival everyone was excluded from the monument at the Summer Solstice. Archaeologists ignored police violence, with Daniel (1992:178) describing the Solstice of 1985 thus "the pop festival desecrators were routed and the Midsummer Solstice passed off without any undue incident". Bender (1998:121) records that archaeologists who had demanded Festival-goers be banned from the land surrounding Stonehenge lest they dig holes and damage the archaeological record did not object to police digging a trench to prevent access to that same area. I have not found these particular events to be widely known in the Pagan community but I have encountered scathing opinions of archaeologists among some Pagans especially on the more counter-cultural wing as described in section 9.2.1.4.

9.2.1.3 Asserting Equal Rights

Examples of prejudice and discrimination (see Pagan Federation 1996:7; Hutton 2001: 328; Worthington 2005a:130; La Fontaine 1998:38-55) have given rise to what Ford (p.c. 2010) describes as a victim mentality among contemporary Pagans. My own experience of the Pagan community leaves me in no doubt that there is a perception among Pagans that they are routinely discriminated against. Arguments that Christians would not have been excluded from cathedrals in the way that Pagans were excluded from Stonehenge (Pendragon & Stone 2003:106-8) and the assumption that all Christian remains were reburied while pre-Christian ones were not (Davies 1998:12; Shallcrass 2004:28-29 examined in detail in section 8.7.3.1) have

provided an emotional boost to campaigners who use them to promote the righteousness of their cause.

9.2.1.4 Anti-Intellectualism and Conflicting Worldviews

Throughout fieldwork with Pagans I felt the need to avoid being seen as part of a sceptical mainstream in order to elicit relaxed and honest responses from my contributors. Schadla-Hall (2004:262) expresses a frustration with conspiracy theorists who hold that archaeologists (among others) are withholding evidence from people. Vivianne Crowley (1995:23) admits that Paganism is 'at times anti-intellectual'. In my own fieldwork, I found an example of scepticism towards the 'academic establishment' at the Pagan Federation Wales and West Summer camp in Pembrokeshire (11-13 Sep 2009) where an interviewee spoke scathingly about archaeologists accusing them of covering up evidence including 20ft tall skeletons. Maughfling (2000a:4) characterises Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection as denying 'our divine origins as human beings'. I suggest that this anti-intellectualism and the affinity Pagans feel with pre-Christian people are both important factors in dissatisfaction with remains being kept and used by archaeological and heritage professionals who ridicule their belief in magic and their gods (see section 9.2.2.1 for examples).

Anti-intellectualism surrounding the issue of human remains may be influenced by the strong emotions associated with death, which Metcalf & Huntington (1991:43) point out, are often difficult and painful to endure. Thus it is that many British people seek to distance themselves from death or at least to compartmentalise it and restrict death and the dead to specific geographical and cognitive spaces (Fox 2004:374; Hockey 1990:29; Parker Pearson 1982:110-112; Rapport 2002:310). Mortuary technicians and undertakers are therefore left to work somewhat out of the spotlight. This permits them to develop, and incorporate into working practices, coping strategies which others are unlikely to understand (Williams 2010:19). When the public gaze is turned upon those who deal with death and the dead, there is scope for coping strategies, especially those involving humour, to be misunderstood and consequently for a practitioner's professionalism to be brought into question largely on the basis of what amounts to a cultural misunderstanding (e.g. Fox 2004:375; Williams 2010:117). This

lack of understanding may be a factor in assumptions by some Pagans that archaeologists and museum professionals fail to respect the dead.

9.2.1.5 Control of Identity

American Indian and Australian Aboriginal contestation of human remains and sacred sites has been explained as being partially driven by a desire to feel in control of defining and explaining their own identity rather than having it taught to them by outsiders with their own agendas. In the course of researching this thesis, I did not find any Pagan activists who explain their contestation in these terms but aspects of reburial discourse, e.g. the description of prehistoric funerary archaeology by Davies (1997:12) as 'desecration of Druidic cultural heritage', along with aspirations by some Druids to take control of Stonehenge (Cooper 2010:153) suggest this may be a factor.

9.2.1.6 A Pagan Absolutism?

In section 8.7.1.5 I identified the coercive aspect of the legal action over the Stonehenge human remains and the rhetoric employed by Davies (1997; 1998) as falling into a fundamentalist or, more accurately, absolutist mode. I explained that this kind of ideology, if identified as such, would be unpalatable to most Pagans

Nagata (2001:487-489) and Partridge (2002:20) point out that the term 'fundamentalist' is used in the abjection of others but it has been my experience that religious extremists are seldom challenged and marginalised within their communities in the same way that political extremists might be. I have observed what seems to be a grudging respect among mainstream and more liberal adherents that the extremists are in some way being more true to who they are. The liberals seem to feel like backsliders in comparison (Barr 1977:103). This hypothesis is, at present largely anecdotally founded and I would welcome further research into the idea.

I have found that several interviewees have agreed that while Pendragon's campaigns for access to Stonehenge have been in support of people's freedom, the campaign to take human remains off display is seeking to restrict freedom in a way which runs counter to the intrinsic pluralism of contemporary Paganism mentioned in section 8.7.1.5.

Pendragon (2011b) has deplored the propensity of some to say that someone 'can't possibly be a Pagan or a Druid with a view like that' but has also described, on the same web page, his opponents as not being proper Pagans. Somers & Pendragon (2011) also criticised HAD for failing to actively support their tactics at Stonehenge. In sections 8.7 and 8.8 I have demonstrated that there is much ignorance and misinformation among reburial campaigners. It is also worth considering that while there may be, as Winter (1984:126) says of American Indian campaigners, some who are 'insincere and self-aggrandising', most campaigners are sincere in their motivations.

9.2.2 Archaeological and Heritage Assumptions, Attitudes and Agendas

Smith (2006:299) critiques the representation of heritage describing an Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) (described in detail in section 6.1.5) which, she states, emphasises 'the grand narratives of Western national and elite class experiences'. This in turn suggests a bourgeois conservative conspiracy to suppress working class, minority, foreign and other perspectives. I would certainly support the contention that there is a bias in favour of such interpretations but I would argue that it is not organized or even conscious but rather a product of the large proportion of middle class white males with Western education employed in creating heritage narratives and choosing which narratives are presented to the public. I would also argue (especially after visiting sites such as the Black Country Living Museum and Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery) that this bias is being addressed. I believe the criticisms of Skeates (2000) Carman (2005), Smith (2004, 2006) and Bender (1998), to name but four, have encouraged and inspired heritage managers to be increasingly reflexive and heterodox in their interpretation and decision making. I suggest that this process is likely to increase as larger numbers of women, working class people and members of immigrant communities find employment in the heritage sector and become decision makers. I have yet to see contemporary Pagan narratives included in all but a very few of the interpretative media at the sites they consider most important. However, the public recognition of their sanctity (e.g. fig 16) represents progress in this direction.

9.2.2.1 Underlying Attitudes of Archaeologists and Heritage Professionals

The archaeologists and heritage workers I encountered in the course of this research proved to be a diverse community of people with a wide variety of opinions. I have certainly met several archaeologists and heritage professionals who follow a Pagan spirituality. However, the hegemonic mainstreams of both contract and academic archaeology promote an exclusively scientific epistemology with little, if any, space for unquantifiable, unverifiable hypotheses such as the subtle earth energies and advanced ancient civilisations put forward in *Earth Mysteries*, alternative archaeology and some Pagan worldviews (Schadla Hall 2004, Stout 2006). In section 9.2.4.2 I shall revisit in greater detail how the different epistemologies of contemporary Paganism and archaeology influence their interactions and in sections 9.3.5 to 9.3.8 I shall examine how these issues might be addressed.

During the 1990s, a friend who was a contract archaeologist with the Museum of London Archaeological Service (MoLAS) told me he viewed my Pagan spirituality as ridiculous and founded on lies and half-truths. He explained that as a professional archaeologist with a good knowledge of the past he had severe difficulty taking such groups seriously. Daniel (1992:28, 51, 59, 126, 173) continued a vociferous campaign from the 1950s to the 1980s to exclude contemporary Druids from Stonehenge presenting arguments taken up by Mason & Kuo (2006:184-185) and Schadla-Hall (2004:268). Doeser (2007:24) criticises Druidry as an 'invented tradition' and Sayer (2009:199) dismisses Paganism as being 'as much a lifestyle decision or a vehicle for political protest as it is a belief'. All archaeologists and heritage professionals interviewed in the field research for this thesis were keen to speak in an inclusive way but in several cases slight slips in intonation and facial expression when I first mentioned Pagan groups suggested that they did not take them seriously or harboured prejudices they were unwilling to articulate.

9.2.2.2 Low Value Attribution to Contemporary Paganism

Coleman (2013:167-169) points out that archaeologists perceive Pagan and New Age values and beliefs as of intrinsically less social value than those of the mainstream religions. She cites the philosophers Fisher and Ramsay (2000:162-163) who suggest

that charitable works done by large religions entitles them to be taken seriously to the exclusion of smaller and less wealthy religious organisations. This view may be challenged not merely on the basis of relative ability of the organisations concerned but also on the relative harm they have inflicted on society. Hitchens (2007:173-193) catalogues various violations of human rights and appalling ethical transgressions by large, well-established religious organisations, while Tanya Gold (2010:5), a reporter, describes Pagan witchcraft as being 'most benign'. To judge the relative merits of world religions versus contemporary Paganism would take a thesis in itself and may be considered a problematic exercise since it implicitly passes judgement on whole identity groups. It is also important to remember that the universal declaration of human rights article 18 includes '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). Indeed the IfA (2010:2) code of conduct requires members to 'take account of the legitimate concerns of groups whose material past may be the subject of archaeological investigation' and the Vermillion Accord requires archaeologists to 'acknowledge and recognise indigenous methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing and protecting indigenous cultural heritage' and to 'establish equitable partnerships and relationships between Members and indigenous peoples whose cultural heritage is being investigated'. Most Pagans admit that they are not the sole, or even most privileged heirs or descendants of prehistoric Britons but increasingly heritage managers (e.g. Payne p.c. 2009) and archaeologists (e.g. Ayers p.c. 2009) are recognising a wide range of stakeholdership to whom similar consideration might be afforded wherever possible.

9.2.2.3 Archaeological and Heritage Agendas

Aside from the debates about AHD and inclusion, there are other agendas within the archaeological and heritage sector. Perhaps the most fundamental of these is funding. I consider it likely that most Pagan activists overestimate the funding available to archaeologists and heritage organisations. I have already mentioned the limited government funding heritage quangos receive (English Heritage ndf) but successive governments have pushed for these to be increasingly self-financing (BBC News 2012b). The preservation ethos of heritage is echoed by archaeologists keen to maintain what is seen as a non-renewable resource (Skeates 2000:62) for

future generations of archaeologists and lay enthusiasts. This in turn is an aspect of a broader desire to maintain or increase the availability of archaeological research material which would include sites and human remains (Ambrose & Paine 1993:156; Skeates 2000:109). Finally it bears reiteration that both archaeologists are keen to disseminate factual information and accurate interpretations of evidence as widely as possible whilst challenging what they see as misinformation (e.g. Schadla-Hall 2004:255, 264-265, 269).

9.2.3 Common Ground

Whilst there are undeniably differences in values, aims and priorities between Pagans and members of the archaeological and heritage professions, there are also important areas of agreement.

9.2.3.1 Preservation and Stewardship

In section 5.1.1 I cited a proverb popular with Pagans, 'We do not inherit the earth from our ancestors; we borrow it from our children' (See Quote Investigator 2013 for its origins). When applied to sacred/heritage sites it would seem to be equally appropriate to heritage and archaeological values. As a principle it may be less applicable to human remains, at least to some Pagans, but others would approve of the application. Pagans want to be able to use sacred sites as seen in chapter 4 but also to protect them for future generations as seen in chapter 5.

9.2.3.2 Increasing Understanding and Valuing the Past

Pagan opinion on human remains is more equivocal than that on sites. If social networking pages are truly indicative (section 8.6.5) then a readily apparent majority of Pagans opposing reburial observed early in the research process has given way to a more equal division between those supporting and those opposing. However, few seem to oppose all archaeological examination of ancient human remains so there is at least agreement that there is value in the knowledge that can be gathered from examining remains. Sebastian (2001:126) argues that Pagans may be able to contribute ideas valuable to archaeological interpretations of sacred sites. Following the post-processual fashion for hermeneutic phenomenology, Stout (2006:32) asserts that Sebastian's contention has been echoed by Bender in that Pagan polytheistic,

pantheistic and animistic worldviews may cause them to interact with the landscape and with monuments in a way more analogous to ancient Britons than that of other members of contemporary British society.

In section 6.4.3 I described Carman's (2005:120) suggestion that heritage assets might be classified as non-property. I agree that such a model would eliminate exclusion of current stakeholders. He suggests that unrestricted access will result in either monuments being damaged and destroyed or being protected by universal recognition of their social value (Carman 2005:120). Greater access and an increased sense of shared stakeholdership would, almost certainly, enhance the experience and enjoyment of such sites and greater recognition of the social value of heritage ought to be a primary aim of archaeology and heritage management. However, I argue that an expectation of universal respect of sites might be overoptimistic, especially in the light of damage done to accessible sites like Avebury (Bender 1998:187-8; Blain & Wallis 2007:55; Green 1997:178). Thus I suggest that while a non-property model for heritage assets might democratise access for current stakeholders it risks exclusion of stakeholders as yet unborn through attrition, erosion or abrasion over time as explained in section 5.1.1.

9.2.4 Consequences of Assumptions, Attitudes and Agendas

Disparaging remarks from archaeologists and heritage professionals inevitably damage relations with the Pagan community. Investigations such as the MacPherson report (1998) demonstrate that even if prejudice and dismissal are kept out of overt or public discourse, their presence will shape how people interact with one another. I argue that unless such attitudes, present and past, are challenged and questioned, an atmosphere of distrust and hostility will continue to affect interactions between archaeological/heritage professionals and Pagans.

As previously stated (see sections 9.2.3.2 & 8.6.5) Pagan opinions regarding the treatment of human remains seem to be more or less balanced between the pro and anti-reburial lobbies but if denigration of Paganism by archaeologists and heritage professionals becomes more widely known I would have concerns that those

supporting archaeology will become less keen to speak out or become sidelined with opinion swinging in favour of the reburial lobby.

9.2.4.1 Complicating Factors

There are other issues which serve to either exacerbate the effect of these assumptions, attitudes and agendas on contestation of heritage or to make it harder to reach common understandings. I have identified these issues as: the different epistemologies and the different aims and priorities of Pagan activists and archaeological/heritage professionals.

9.2.4.2 Different Epistemologies

Bienkowski (2013:43) describes 'different concepts of the past and how it can be known', Hutton (2006:247) describes a different idiom of academic and Pagan writing and Stout (2006:30-31) explains conflict between archaeological orthodoxy and Earth Mysteries as deriving from the lack of a common frame of reference or common language known as incommensurability. He explains that the epistemic rules for each are different and if this is true of archaeology and Earth Mysteries then it is certainly true of archaeology and contemporary Paganism. Occultist Dion Fortune (1987:14) expresses this disparity in fundamental epistemology thus: 'Natural science lays its evidence before the five physical senses possessed by every normal human being; occult science makes its appeal to the judgement of senses but rarely to be found developed in human beings... The Philistine is unapproachable because there is no common standpoint from which a start can be made'. Archaeology as an academic discipline, albeit not a 'hard' science, aims to build knowledge using an epistemology of doubt rather than faith based on the scientific method of hypothesis tested by verifiable, reproducible experiment (Hitchens 2007:10-11; Rahtz 1991:10). Tarlow (2006:206-207) points out the issue of incommensurability with regard to contestation of human remains by indigenous groups and Roberts (1979:51) acknowledges that 'resolution of a dispute may be hampered by the absence of shared values' so incommensurability is an important obstacle to deal with if contestation is to be addressed.

The social theorist Seidman (2004:202) wrote 'Post-modern thinkers are heirs to the enlightenment, but critical heirs'. Put another way, the whole basis of the academic and scientific approach is to take nothing for granted, to question everything and to keep on asking questions and challenging assumptions. To some extent at least Pagan challenges and contestation are doing this with regard to Smith's (2006:29-34) authorised heritage discourse. I suggest therefore that the 'heritage and archaeological establishment' may actually profit by listening to and engaging in dialogue and debate with Pagans rather than dismissing such challenges out of hand.

9.2.4.3 Divergent Aims, Divergent Priorities

Both archaeological/heritage professionals and Pagans are keen to preserve sacred/heritage sites for generations yet to come. Both sides want people to be able to visit and enjoy the sites. At least some of the aims converge but the priorities are different. To Pagan campaigners the desire to use the sites for the performance of ritual outweighs the desire to preserve them without any degradation.

In the case of ancient bodies and body parts the aims, at first, seem contradictory: reburial versus research. However, engagement with material from Pagans for Archaeology (Aburrow 2008b, 2008c), HAD (2004-2008, 2012) and even some of LAW's material (Pendragon 2011a, 2011b) shows that Pagan groups are keen to venerate the Ancestors and that they recognise learning about them is an important part of this. I have found no evidence to suggest that archaeologists and museum curators are inclined to disrespect the dead and several anecdotes to suggest that many have a respectful attitude (see section 7.3.2).

9.3 Addressing Contestation

In this section I shall make suggestions on how heritage professionals and archaeologists might address contestation in such a way as to promote a more harmonious relationship between themselves and the Pagan activists who also constitute a small percentage of heritage consumers.

9.3.1 Ignoring Campaigners

The schismatic nature and disunity of the Pagan community (Pizza 2009:248) may suggest that it might be easier to wait until they gave up or until a more tractable group or leader emerges but this would be to ignore the strength of an underlying unity transcending Pagan diversity and dispersal provided, in part at least, by the narratives of oppression and victimisation (see section 1.2.3.4). The longevity of the campaign for access at Stonehenge (see sections 4.3.5.5 and 4.3.5.7) should leave no-one in any doubt that Pagan campaigners are not insincere publicity seekers who will melt away if rebuffed for long enough. Indeed the extent to which narratives of oppression have remained important should demonstrate that denigration of Paganism and denial of consideration afforded to other religious and spiritual groups (e.g. Davies 1998:12; Pendragon & Stone 2003:106; Somers & Pendragon 2010:4) only encourages campaigns for what many Pagans see as equal rights. Somers and Pendragon (2010:5) single out the issue of being ignored for particular complaint.

9.3.2 Challenging Assumptions and Respecting Identity

Blain and Wallis (2007:211) point out that Pagans have been regarded with disdain and described in mocking terms by archaeologists. The way in which we communicate with one another both verbally and in writing can have a serious impact on the effectiveness of communication and on how emotional reactions are generated and managed. Skeates (2000:69-70) refers to the protestors at Seahenge/Holme as 'New Age religious groups and local people' and as 'a New Age alliance of Druids, neo-pagans and eco-warriors'. In section 1.2.3.3 I pointed out that many Pagans, especially those more reconstructionist than eclectic, consider themselves separate from New Agers and some use the term pejoratively. Likewise Aburrow (2008a) refers to the term 'neo-pagan' as problematical since this too has pejorative implications to many Pagans. When archaeologists and heritage professionals address Pagans it would be beneficial if these terms could be avoided. My field research suggests that although this is seldom stated today, some such prejudices may remain. It is also worth noting that HAD (2012:2-3) are keen to contest the use of terms including remains and reburial. In section 9.2.4 I drew upon problems with racism in policing to assert that even unstated prejudices would affect interactions between groups. Blain and Wallis (2007:212-213) suggest that meaningful dialogue is the best way to

overcome prejudice and this needs to be borne in mind by Pagan activists and archaeological/heritage professionals alike. This thesis is intended to provide understanding of contestation and its reasons for both sides as a basis for such a dialogue.

9.3.3 Addressing Contestation of Sites

In chapters 4, 5 and 6, I chose to present issues surrounding sites under the broad headings of access, preservation and interpretation, representation & ownership.

9.3.3.1 Stakeholdership

When I interviewed him, Payne (p.c. 2009) explained that he felt heritage and human remains are the province of everyone and ought to be managed for all regardless of ethnicity, spirituality or even levels of interest. He explained that English Heritage wished to promote inclusive rights of all to access information on the past rather than exclusive rights restricting other people's ability to do so.

As mentioned in section 9.2.2.2, Heritage managers and archaeologists, e.g. Payne (p.c. 2009) and Ayers (p.c. 2009), are increasingly recognising a breadth of stakeholdership that previous generations such as Glyn Daniel appear not to have considered. When interviewed, Payne explained that he saw prehistoric human remains as being of interest and concern not only to all people in Britain but to everyone in the world. Ayers (p.c. 2009) agreed that whoever considers themselves to be stakeholders ought to be treated as such but also appeared to doubt that all who did so really were stakeholders. Payne's (p.c. 2009) assertion of universal stakeholdership in heritage is in keeping with Merriman's (1991:1) idea of the past as property of all. He sees denial of the Avebury reburial request as defending the inclusive rights of all stakeholders against claims of exclusive rights by pressure groups; however, Carman (2005:46) problematises this view on the basis that not everyone is interested in preserving the past. Can it be argued that disinterested parties may be said to have given up their stake? In a democratic state those who do not vote may be considered to have waived their right to decide although they are not denied the vote in subsequent elections. The Avebury consultation demonstrated that

people who had not become actively involved in the debate still had an opinion on the issue.

9.3.3.2 Polyvocality in Archaeological interpretations

In section 6.2.3 I presented Smith & Waterton's (2012:159) assertion that omission of narratives in the interpretation of heritage is to marginalise or exclude people and that this is not trivial and ties in with broader social subordination and exclusion. Although some displays, e.g. Seahenge at Kings Lynne (section 5.3.1.6), Manchester's display of Lindow Man (section 8.5.4) and Bristol's human remains (section 8.8.2.2) do include alternative narratives and Carman (2005:86-99) describes approaches such as collaborative and democratic archaeologies being put into practice (see also McDavid 2000:221-239, 2002:303-314, 2009:217-234). I argue that this practice needs to be more widespread.

McGhee (2008:580) argues that 'if archaeologists choose not to base their interpretations of the past on the basis of oral tradition, religious faith or on the imaginative use of other forms of information, they should have no part in denying others the right to do so'. Conversely Schadla-Hall (2004:255-271) identifies cases where alternative narratives of the past have been used to support political and religious extremism. In section 6.3 I recorded that Carman (2005:86-99) describes approaches by archaeologists including Coleman (2013:156-175), Davidson (1995:3-5), McDavid (2002:310-312, 2009:217-234) O'Regan (1994:95-106) and Watkins (2012:663) to incorporate a variety of narratives into their interpretative work. I argue that alternative narratives and interpretations are of interest to museum and heritage visitors because of their relevance to the diversity of human cultural expression and that therefore they should be included as examples of beliefs surrounding the remains, sites or artefacts being displayed. I would certainly not support the presentation of unlikely interpretations as fact but unless there is demonstrable likelihood of harm being generated by their inclusion they ought not to be excluded on principle.

9.3.4 Addressing Contestation of Human Remains

Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004:12) suggest that agreements made by leaders often fail to address conflict due to the fact that their community members continue to hold antagonistic worldviews and are hence unwilling to support compromises. I argue that where aims and/or desires are diametrically opposed and no middle ground compromise position will be supported, as between those reburial campaigners who view any disturbance of remains as sacrilegious and the biological anthropologists and osteoarchaeologists who contend that research requires freedom to excavate, analyse and curate remains, the only way forward may be to help the more moderate people on both sides to win the more extreme over to their view. Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004:14) recognise that where external opinion perceives one side in a conflict to have been more at fault or more complicit in injustice than the other special steps, such as apologies or reparations may be required.

9.3.4.1 What Archaeologists and Museum Professionals Can Do

As stated in section 9.3.3.2 above presentation of heritage is becoming increasingly inclusive but only within limits proscribed by an academic/scientific worldview. Discourses opposed to including alternative archaeologies, such as Schadla-Hall (2004:256-257, 264-267, 269), seem to suggest that such a worldview is objective and that their inclusion supports absolutist stances. However I argue that this is an absolutist position in itself and that pluralism of perspectives is as intrinsically anti-absolutist as it is possible to be. Furthermore the large scale public interest in non-mainstream cultures, both as participants (see section 1.2.2) and observers (if in doubt a brief examination of television and radio programming not to mention adverts for adventure tourism in magazines will indicate this) shows that the cultural narratives and recent social histories surrounding ancient monuments and human remains would be of interest to the public at large.

Display of human remains is likely to remain a contentious and sensitive issue. However I believe at least some Pagan campaigners will be satisfied to see those remains on display humanised by provision of the most detailed narratives possible. I believe some effort has been done with the inclusion of some detail regarding the skeletons at the new Stonehenge visitors centre. However this is presented as a

series of dry facts rather than a narrative. I would urge display designers to be willing to speculate somewhat but to be honest about what is speculation and what is fact. There are certainly no 'once and for all' solutions so a continuing strategy of listening to concerns and engaging in dialogue will remain essential.

9.3.4.2 What Pagans Can Do

This thesis has shown that some Pagan assumptions are fallacious. Heritage agencies have been caught between other interest groups opposed to Pagan access to sites and the pilgrims who wish to visit them as at Avebury (section 4.4.4.1) and Glastonbury (section 6.2.1.8). Human remains identified as Christian are not always treated sensitively and are certainly not always reburied (section 8.7.3.1). There is certainly much more diversity in the way remains have been treated than some campaigners seem to realise. Indeed bearing in mind bones and bodies on display at places including Douamont and Sedlec Ossuaries, Lenin's Tomb and in Catholic reliquaries assertions that museum display of the dead transgresses a supposed common human standard of decency seems absurdly ethnocentric.

Pagans might be better served not to think in an absolutist countercultural way that all of 'the establishment' is against them and entirely self-serving. This abjection of the other and the coercive tactics employed by LAW in their reburial campaigns are, in my opinion, entirely counter to the pluralism of Paganism and are counter-productive in forging the alliances necessary to effect changes.

Pagans working in archaeology and heritage have appeared in the archaeological press (e.g. Diedrich cited in Faulkener 2008:42) but few have published critiques of reburial activism in the Pagan press. I hope Groups like Pagans for Archaeology and individuals holding similar views can be more vocal in persuading other Pagans to engage less confrontationally with heritage.

9.3.5 Finding a Balance

I suspect writers like Schadla-Hall (2004) and Daniel⁸ (1992:25, 28, 34, 42, 51, 59, 126, 130, 173) who have challenged beliefs they perceive as irrational may have assumed that scientific rationality has become or is becoming a core value in mainstream British culture. I contend that this is by no means certain and that the communications revolution, with the internet at its heart, is rapidly making the whole notion of a cultural mainstream obsolete. Instead I suggest Britain is becoming a society of fractured subcultural groups with disparate values and beliefs. Ideas, which would have been almost universally ridiculed a few years ago, now find support within online groups. Also in section 9.3.4 I cited Sperber's (1994:40) assertion that perceptions of irrationality are generally based on sometimes small differences in fundamental assumptions or beliefs which underlie an equally logical extrapolation leading to widely divergent worldviews.

How then should archaeologists and heritage professionals reach out to those who share an interest in their area of study but may not share the scepticisms of the academic and scientific establishment? One issue to be mindful of is: much heritage and academic archaeology is supported from the public purse (e.g. English Heritage ndf; HEFCE nd) and therefore I believe archaeologists and heritage professionals have a duty of service to the public as a whole. I contend that an important part of this duty is to communicate discoveries and ideas to the public in terms they can understand. Thus it is an essential duty to overcome the barrier of incommensurability and to adjust and adapt published output accordingly. I am not suggesting that scepticism should be compromised but rather that the reasoning behind it is explained and/or justified in everyday terms and, as far as practicable, within the thought structures of the target audience.

9.3.6 Negotiation, Truth and Reconciliation

English Heritage has been held up as a target for particular bitterness being nicknamed 'English Heretics' by several interviewees and the Loyal Arthurian Warband (2009). Roberts (1979:72-79) offers the following models of negotiation:

⁸ Daniel was writing between 1958 and 1985

bilateral, mediated and umpired. There are strong feelings involved in contestation of heritage but face-to-face meetings are still feasible so there is no necessity for a mediator as go-between. Direct bilateral negotiations are also feasible but risk parties walking out or attempting to dominate proceedings. Roberts (1979:77) differentiates between a mediator and an umpire describing the former as being involved in decision-making and the latter as leaving decisions to the parties involved. Since the levels of distrust, especially among Pagans, are high, a mediator sufficiently trusted by all interested parties would probably be hard to find. I would suggest an umpire, perhaps drawn from the judiciary or perhaps an academic respected by all interested parties might be found. Another way in which the archaeological/heritage community in general and English Heritage in particular might attempt to address the legacy of bitterness could be to include Pagan narratives alongside the archaeological narratives at sites like Stonehenge and Avebury. These would work best in the form of social histories of how these sites have been envisioned, used and contested in recent decades. In South Africa, after decades of violence, the minority white apartheid regime came to an end but feelings of resentment and calls for vengeance remained. This was addressed by a 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission', tasked with revealing human rights violations by all parties, exposing the reasons for these behaviours and granting amnesty for the offences committed (Gibson 2006:410-412). Gibson (2006:410) also records that this process has been seen as particularly effective and been employed in other post-conflict situations worldwide. The lessons from this process which may be applied to contestation between archaeological/heritage professionals and Pagans might include acknowledgement of the exclusion from Stonehenge and ethical problems associated with it. Wallis (2003:162) and Coleman (2013:163) record the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Stonehenge but the group's online records reveal minimal engagement from heritage organisations and government agencies and no evidence of activity more recent than 2004 (Stonehenge Peace Process nd). I suggest that engagement with such groups is far more likely to defuse tensions than to inflame them. Inclusion of Pagan narratives, especially recent social histories relating to Stonehenge, is also likely to improve relations.

9.3.7 Opposition to Contestation Within the Pagan Community

It is tempting to consider PfA, HAD, Dead to Rights and LAW as factions within the Pagan community. Indeed, Lewellen (1992:119) points out that conflict tends to give rise to factions but his characterisation of factions as informal, spontaneous and disbanding when the purpose they were founded for has been achieved does not apply well to Pagan groups. LAW in particular has moved from one campaign to the next, retaining a high degree of cohesion. The presence and popularity of Pagans for Archaeology (See sections 8.6.5 and 9.3.3) suggests that there are many within contemporary Paganism who actively oppose those who campaign against the way archaeology is conducted and heritage managed. I have heard claims from Pagan research participants that such campaigns harm the broader acceptance of Paganism into British society.

In section 8.7.1.5 I described the importance of gnosis, epiphany or revelation to some Pagans (Filan & Kaldera 2013:9-29; Van Gulik 2009:12, 14). I explained how gnosés are classified according to reliability or confirmation. Ford (p.c. 2010) suggested that the best way to engage with problematic revelations and their proponents is to engage them in a Socratic dialogue to bring out possible preconceptions and problematic consequences of the revelation.

9.3.7.1 Divergent Druidries

Pizza (2009:248) demonstrates that Pagan groups have also been at least as schismatic as any other form of religion or spirituality. In section 1.2.3.2 I have argued that British contemporary Pagans may be divided into the broad and overlapping categories of reconstructionists and eclectics. Reconstructionists attempt to reconstruct or reinterpret pagan religions of antiquity for the contemporary age using historical and archaeological sources while eclectics are more likely to adopt a more generic Pagan set of beliefs and practices with elements added to, and borrowed from, a variety of sources not necessarily related to one another (Aburrow 2008a, Blain 2004:221; Bonewits 2006:304-305; Filan & Kaldera 2013:162-168). I have also argued that a growing division exists between integrated or less counter-cultural Druid orders like TDN, BDO and OBOD and more counter-cultural Druid orders like LAW, GOD and Stonehenge Druids. The former tend to concentrate on spirituality more

than politics and are more likely to appeal to members who engage positively with society, holding regular paid employment and owning or renting homes while the latter prioritise political activity more and are likely to have a substantial percentage of members who are averse to capitalist economics, disinclined to be in regular paid employment and idealise a nomadic existence. Much of the more confrontational protest about archaeology has been led by this latter group, proponents of what Shallcrass (p.c. 2011) describes as angry political Druidry. Ivakhiv (2001:87-92) writes about anarchistic New Age Travellers deliberately constructing their identity and appearance to offend conservative values by wearing dirty, damaged clothing and cultivating body odour. This mode of appearance is not uncommon among these Druids and their followers. This supports the perception of these Pagans as largely anarchistic and strongly counter-cultural. Merriman (1991:100) records that some see archaeology as 'a luxury, leisure pursuit for the cultivated' which I take to mean a bourgeois way of looking at the past. I suggest that many of the more politically active members of the Druid community see themselves as ideologically opposed to this sector of society.

Another basis on which Pagans may split is evangelical behaviour. Many people, including several interviewees, as well as myself, came to Paganism partially through dissatisfaction with religious dogma which could not evolve to cope with changes in the ethical zeitgeist of contemporary society. It also seemed to us unacceptably arrogant to assume that one religious (or indeed any other ideological) group had a monopoly of truth and a hence a right to impose that vision on other people. With the diverse family of spiritualities honouring many different gods in many different ways, many Pagans see, and continue to idealise, Paganism as pluralistic, non-dogmatic, non-evangelical spirituality (Harvey 1997:1-2, 216, 223). Those who seek to force archaeologists and others to rebury human remains seem to be abandoning these virtues which are fundamental to Paganism and adopting the intolerant evangelical zeal which made the mainstream Abrahamic faiths so unpalatable to many Pagans. I note that Christian and Muslim acquaintances feel that fundamentalists campaigning to ban books, restrict the rights of women and non-heterosexuals, seize power and wage crusades or jihads against those who do not share their scriptural discipline and thereby devalue and pervert their beliefs. I find myself feeling that the quasi-

evangelical zeal and absolutism of some Pagan campaigners for reburial of human remains and control of sites feels similarly unpalatable and I have found that some other Pagans share this view.

9.3.7.2 Addressing Religious Extremism

In sections 8.7.1.5 and 9.2.1.6 I explained that the coercive elements of Pendragon's reburial campaign sought to restrict freedom rather than uphold it as access campaigns had done. I would suggest that religious absolutism tends to reinforce itself with a strong sense of alterity. The most counter-cultural Pagans use the narrative of oppression to emphasise this. Denigration of Pagans as inauthentic and irrational is likely to strengthen this alterity. Opposition to absolutism is most effective from within the identity group using arguments consistent with their worldview.

These issues are being, and will continue to be, addressed within the Pagan community. Groups such as Pagans for Archaeology and unaffiliated individuals have challenged aspects of the discourse of contestation which they feel are inaccurate or counter to their spiritual values.

9.3.8 Continuous Negotiation

Political anthropologists such as Bujra (1973:143) have established that in many human societies conflict is more normal than agreement. This is perhaps unsurprising when one considers the extent to which human ideas vary. I therefore argue that it is unrealistic to expect a permanent and universal agreement on issues of contestation. Roberts (1979:67) asserts that talking is among the most effective means of addressing conflict. He explains that conversation provides a means to alleviate anger and for involved parties to understand each other. He refers to the therapeutic effects of talking but also acknowledges that further problems can arise. Bilateral negotiation (Roberts 1979:69) may be problematical in this situation since there are many points of view and several different agendas operating. Therefore I contend that the best way to address contestation of heritage is continuous engagement and respectful discourse between all interested parties.

9.4 Conclusions

This thesis is the result of four and a half years of research, analysis and writing but it builds on longer personal experience of Pagans, heritage and archaeology. I would remind the reader that I identify myself as a Pagan, as an archaeologist and as a heritage professional and therefore to be mindful of any biases this may generate in my writing despite my efforts to avoid them. As I expected, my research bears out Pryor's (Time Team 1999) assertion that there is much that Pagans and Archaeologists should agree on regarding the importance and the need to learn from the physical remains of the past. Contestation of sites has arisen where they have been perceived to be at risk and where Pagans see themselves as being excluded ideologically or physically. Contestation of human remains was more of a journey of discovery. It is a much more multi-faceted issue. I started the project assuming that curators, researchers and other professionals had detached themselves too much from the emotional and spiritual significance, not to mention the humanity of the bones and bodies they looked after and worked with. I was surprised and happy to find that these professionals were very much aware of the humanity of their charges and felt a strong emotional connection to them. It is a divisive topic both among heritage professionals and Pagans. I am sure the most vociferous campaigners do not speak for all Pagans but concern among Pagans does appear to be increasing. I believe the perceived differential treatment of remains identified as Christian compared to pre-Christian remains is a key issue. Increasing awareness that ancient Europeans wanted to be remembered (section 8.7.1.4) and that some Pagans want to have direct visual connection with the corporeal relics of the Ancestors may also serve to decrease support for reburial.

Motivating factors for contestation are also exacerbated by misunderstanding and poor communications. Blain and Wallis (2007:211) conclude that:

We must take each other seriously, and deconstruct stereotypes, by embarking on productive, collaborative dialogues, involving research ethics and rights, as well as joint stewardship programmes and informed consent protocols.

I agree that challenging negative stereotyping and other forms of prejudice are essential, as is meaningful, courteous and positive dialogue. Indeed I would

characterise the latter as the only likely method to produce understanding and generate a degree of consensus and defuse tensions. Where I part company from Blain and Wallis is that I am unsure how joint stewardship can be implemented with such a diverse community as British Pagans and whether such a move is justified if one accepts universal stakeholdership.

9.5 Final Words

To emphasise that everyone is affected by unsustainable and destructive environmental projects, Pendragon once said: 'There is no them and us, there is only all of us and some of us who haven't yet realised it yet' (Pendragon & Stone 2003:87). I am inclined to take these words more broadly to mean that humans are all in the world together and that much of the conflict between us is founded on alterity, misunderstandings causing dislike of the unlike. Perhaps if we can overcome the tribal instinct behind this peaceful agreements can be negotiated. It is undeniably an idealistic view but one which I feel holds true more often than many people realise. This ideal is at the heart of inclusivity and it needs to be ensured that everyone, Druid, Pagan, archaeologist, Christian, academic, Muslim, atheist, eco-warrior, humanist, politician, or heritage worker, feels they have an input into the care of the built and corporeal relics of our shared past.

10.1 References

- Abbott, M. & Anderson-Whymark, H. 2012. *Stonehenge Laser Scan: Archaeological Analysis Report*, Portsmouth, English Heritage
- Aburrow, Y. 2008a. Stop Calling us NeoPagans. *The Stropky Rabbit*. Available from: <http://stropkyrabbit.blogspot.com/2008/06/stop-calling-us-neopagans.html> [accessed 05 May 2009]
- Aburrow, Y. 2008b. *Pagans for Archaeology –What we stand for*. Available from: <http://archaeopagans.blogspot.com/2008/06/what-we-stand-for.html> [accessed 21 Jul 2009]
- Aburrow, Y. 2008c. *Pagans for Archaeology –Not All Pagans Want Reburial*. Available from: <http://archaeopagans.blogspot.co.uk/2008/10/not-all-pagans-want-reburial.html> [accessed 22 Nov 2012]
- Aburrow, Y. (yaburrow@gmail.com) 13 Nov 2012. *Fwd: Please confirm that you want to send a message to Kenneth Clarke MP* [email to William Rathouse] (brochfaelcanwrtir@yahoo.co.uk)
- acIipDump 2011. *Louis Theroux, the Most Hated Family in America* (3). Available from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SLfBmNttb3Y&feature=relmfu> [accessed 07 Nov 2012]
- ADF 2009. *Our Own Druidry: an introduction to Ár nDraíocht Féin and the Druid Path*, United States of America, ADF
- Agar, M.H. 1996. *The Professional Stranger*, San Diego, New York, Boston, London, Sydney, Tokyo & Toronto; Academic Press
- AHRC, nd. *Arts and Humanities Research council: What We Do*, Available from: <http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/What-We-Do/Pages/What-we-do.aspx> [accessed 14 Mar 2013]
- Alberti, S.J.M.M. Bienkowski, P. Chapman, M.J. & Drew R, 2009. Should we display the dead, *Museum and Society* 7(3) 133-149
- Aldhouse-Green, M. 2001. *Dying for the Gods*, Stroud, Tempus
- Aldhouse-Green, S. 2000. *Paviland Cave and the 'Red Lady': A Definitive Report*, Bristol, Western Academic and Specialist Press Ltd.
- Ambrose, T. & Paine, C. 1993. *Museum Basics*, London & New York, Routledge
- Anahareo 1972. *Grey owl and I: A New Autobiography*, London Peter Davies
- Anon 1827. *The Avalonian Guide to the Town of Glastonbury*, Glastonbury, Wakefield

- Anon. 2012. An Honest Tale Speeds Best, Being Plainly Told, *British Archaeology* (127) 66
- Anon. nd. *Crossbones Graveyard: The Living Herstory*. Available from: <http://www.crossbones.org.uk/#/vigil-and-walks/4527977528> [accessed 10 Sep 2009]
- Antiquity 1996. Reports: The Future of Avebury Again, *Antiquity* 70(269) 501-502
- Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, Minneapolis & London, University of Minnesota Press
- Aristotle. (Trans Irwin, I.) 1999. *Nicomachean Ethics*, Indianapolis, Hackett
- ASA 2011. *Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice*. Available from: <http://www.theasa.org/downloads/ASA%20ethics%20guidelines%202011.pdf> [accessed 26 Jun 12]
- Aurelius, M. 1998. *Meditations*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Ayers, B. 2002. Archaeological Work at Holme-next-the-Sea – Problems and Issues, in Wise, P.J. (Ed) *Public Archaeology: Remains to be Seen*, Colchester, Society of Museum Archaeologists 17-20
- BABAO nda. *Code of Practice*. Available from: <http://www.babao.org.uk/index/ethics-and-standards> [accessed 17 Aug 2012]
- BABAO ndb. *Code of Ethics*. Available from: <http://www.babao.org.uk/index/ethics-and-standards> [accessed 17 Aug 2012]
- Bahn, P. 1984. Do Not Disturb? Archaeology and the rights of the dead, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3(1) 127-139
- Bahn, P. (Ed) 1996. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology*; Cambridge, New York & Melbourne; CUP
- Bahn, P. & Paterson, R.W.K. 1986. The Last Rights: More on Archaeology and the Dead, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5(3) 255-271
- BAJR 2008. Druids and Avebury Reburial. *BAJR forum*. Available from: http://www.bair.org/BAJRForum/topic.asp?TOPIC_ID=1985&whichpage=1 [accessed 18 Jul 09]
- BAJR nd Current Employment Opportunities, Available from: <http://www.bair.org/Employment/UKEmployment.asp> [accessed 31 Oct 2013]
- Barber, B. Carver, J. Hinton, P. & Nixon, T. 2008. *Archaeology and Development – a good practice guide to managing risk and maximising benefit*, London, CIRIA
- Bardens, D. 1997. *Ghosts & Hauntings*, London, Senate

- Barley N. 1995. *Dancing on the Grave: Encounters with Death*, London, John Murray
- Barnatt, J. 1990. *The Henges, Stone Circles and Ringcairns of the Peak District National Park*, Sheffield; Department of Archaeology and Prehistory University of Sheffield
- Barr, J. 1977. *Fundamentalism*, London, SCM Press
- Bar-Tel, D. & Bennink, G.H. 2004. The Nature of Reconciliation as an Outcome and as a Process, in Bar-Siman-Tov (Ed) *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*, New York, Oxford University Press 11-38
- Bates, B. 1996. *The Way of Wyrld*, London, Arrow
- BBC 2009. Update RE Avebury associated with pagan devil worship. *BBC Message boards – Religion*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/mbreligion/F2213239?thread=6664610> [accessed 18 Jun 2009]
- BBC News 1999a. *Protestors Halt 'Seahenge' Removal*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/369940.stm> [accessed 05 Sep 2012]
- BBC News 1999b. *Bronze Age skeleton is reburied at caves*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/480967.stm> [accessed 31 Jan 2012]
- BBC News 2002a. *Corpse show opens to more criticism*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1887976.stm> [accessed 18 May 2011]
- BBC News 2002b. *Controversial body show defended*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1869104.stm> [accessed 18 May 2011]
- BBC News 2003. *Tissue 'Theft' Law Unveiled*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/health/3288955.stm> [accessed 16 May 2011]
- BBC News 2004. *Von Hagens denies using prisoners*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3420483.stm> [accessed 18 May 2011]
- BBC News 2006. *Druid campaign for sacred sites*. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/south_west/5372598.stm [accessed 20 May 2009]
- BBC News 2007. *'No Solstice camping' at Avebury*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/wiltshire/6590731.stm> [accessed 28 Feb 2012]
- BBC News 2008a. *Graves make way for church centre*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/manchester/7654546.stm> [accessed 18 May 2011]
- BBC News 2008b. *Doubt over museum mummy displays*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/manchester/7246893.stm> [accessed 18 May 2011]

- BBC News 2008c. *Bishop condemns corpse exhibition*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/manchester/7228298.stm> [accessed 18 May 2011]
- BBC News 2008d. *Deal Is Agreed in Park Quarry Row*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/derbyshire/7623154.stm> [accessed 24 Sep 2012]
- BBC News 2008e. *Christian infighting in Jerusalem*. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7719843.stm [accessed 27 Feb 2013]
- BBC News 2010a. *Stonehenge visitor centre backed by £10m from lottery*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-wiltshire-11792484> [accessed 08 Mar 2010]
- BBC News 2010b. *Fresh appeal against Ayodhya ruling*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-11989696> [accessed 27 Feb 2013]
- BBC News 2011a. *Q&A Tuition Fees*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-11483638> [accessed 17 Jul 2012]
- BBC News 2011b. *King Arthur Pendragon Loses human Remains Legal Battle*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-wiltshire-14630468> [accessed 23 Aug 2012]
- BBC News 2011c. *Stonehenge 'made £30m from tourism in five years'*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-wiltshire-13201949> [accessed 15 Sep 2014]
- BBC News 2012a. *US evangelicals question Republican ties*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-20649525> [accessed 04 Feb 2013]
- BBC News 2012b. *English Heritage to receive £2.7m education funding*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-17172091> [accessed 22 Mar 2013]
- BBC News 2013a. *Kumbh Mela festival: Preparing for millions*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-20935019> [accessed 24 Jan 2013]
- BBC News 2013b. *Sixth arrest over east London 'vigilante' harassment*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-21292657> [accessed 04 Feb 2013]
- BBC News 2013c. *Stonehenge bones exhibit druid's legal bid*. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-wiltshire-23545168> [accessed 21 Aug 2014]
- BDRC nd. *Research into Issues Surrounding Human Bones in Museums*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/k-o/opinion-survey-results> [accessed 30 Mar 2011]
- Bell, S. 1988. *When Salem came to the Boro': True Story of the Cleveland Child Abuse Case*, London, Pan

- Bellows, H.A. (Trans) 1991. *The Poetic Edda*, Lampeter, Mellen
- Bender B. 1998. *Stonehenge: Making Space*, Oxford & New York, Berg
- Bibby, G. 1957. *The Testimony of the Spade*, London, Collins
- Bienkowski, P. 2006 *Persons, Things and Archaeology: Contrasting world views of minds bodies and death*. Available from:
http://www.museum.manchester.ac.uk/medialibrary/documents/respect/persons_things_and_archaeology.pdf [accessed 30 Jun 2010]
- Bienkowski, P. 2013. Whose Past? Archaeological Knowledge, Community Knowledge, and the Embracing of Conflict, in Scarre, G. & Coningham, R. (Eds) *Appropriating the Past: Philosophical Perspectives in the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge & New York, Cambridge University Press 42-62
- Binford, L.R. 1972. *An archaeological perspective*, New York & London, Seminar Press
- Blackburn, S. 2003. *Ethics: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Blain, J. 2002. *The Nine Worlds of Seidr Magic*, London, Routledge
- Blain, J. 2004. Tracing the In/Authentic Seeress: From Seid-Magic to Stone Circles; in Blain J. Ezzy, D. & Harvey G. (Eds) *Researching Paganisms*; Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York, Toronto & Oxford; Altamira
- Blain, J. Ezzy, D. & Harvey, G. (Eds) 2004. *Researching Paganisms*; Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York, Toronto & Oxford; Altamira
- Blain, J. & Wallis, R. 2007. *Sacred Sites Contested Rites/Rights*, Eastbourne & Portland, Sussex Academic Press
- Blain, J. & Wallis, R. 2006. *The Sanctity of Burial: Pagan views, ancient and modern*. Available from:
<http://www.museum.manchester.ac.uk/aboutus/ourpractice/respect/fileuploadmax10mb.136200.en.pdf> [accessed 30 Jun 2010]
- Bland, R. 2004. The Treasure Act and the Portable Antiquities Scheme: a case study in developing public archaeology, in Merriman, N. (Ed) *Public Archaeology*, London, Routledge, 272-291
- Bland, R. 2005. A pragmatic approach to the problem of portable antiquities: the experience of England and Wales, *Antiquity* 79 (305) 440–447
- Blease-Bourne, A. 2011. *How Can Sacred Sites be Interpreted to Incorporate Multiplicity? An Ethnographic Study*, Ph.D. Sheffield, Sheffield Hallam University

- Blystone, R. 1997. *Chief Long Wolf goes home, 105 years late*. Available from: <http://cgi.cnn.com/WORLD/9709/25/chief.long.wolf/> [accessed 29 May 2012]
- Bolle K.W. 1987. Animism, in Eliade M. (Ed) *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York, MacMillan 296-302
- Bonewits I. 2006. *Bonewits's Essential Guide to Druidism*, New York, Citadel Press
- Bourke, J.B. 1986. The Medical Investigation of Lindow Man, in Stead, I.M. Bourke, J.B. & Brothwell, D (Eds) *Lindow Man: The Body in the Bog*, London, British Museum, 46-51
- Boyd, W.E. 2012. 'A Frame to Hang Clouds On': Cognitive Ownership, Landscape and Heritage Management, in Skeates, R. McDavid, C. & Carman, J. (Eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, Oxford, OUP 172-198
- Brennand, M. 2004. This is why we dug Seahenge, *British Archaeology* (78) 25-29
- Brennand, M. & Taylor, M. 2003. The Survey and Excavation of a Bronze Age Timber Circle at Holme-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, 1998-9, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 69(1) 1-64
- Brickley, M. Miles, A. & Stainer, H. 1999. *The Cross Bones Burial Ground, Redcross Way Southwark London: Archaeological Excavations (1991-1998) for the London Underground Limited Jubilee Line Extension Project*, London, MoLAS & Jubilee Line Extension Project
- Brickley, M. & McKinley, J.I. 2004. *Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains*, s.l., IfA
- British Druid Order. unpublished. *Bardic Course 9 Honouring Our Ancestors*
- British Museum 2006. *British Museum Policy on Human Remains*. Available from: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Human%20Remains%206%20Oct%202006.pdf> [accessed 13 Aug 2012]
- Brockmeier, J. & Carbaugh, D.A. 2001. Introduction, in Brockmeier, J. & Carbaugh, D.A. (Eds) *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins
- Brown, N. 2012. *Druidry and the Ancestors: Finding Our Place in Our Own History*, Alresford, Moon Books
- Bujra, J.M. 1973. The Dynamics of Political Action: A New Look at Factionalism, *American Anthropologist* 75 pp132-152
- Burch, S. 2008. Review of Lindow Man a bog body mystery. *The Museums Journal* 108, (7): 46-49

- Burke, H. Smith, C. Lippert, D. Watkins, J. & Zimmerman, L. (Eds) 2008. *Kennewick Man: Perspectives on the Ancient One*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press
- Burke Museum 2012. *Kennewick Man on Trial*. 2012) Available from: <http://www.burkemuseum.org/kman/> [accessed 30 Oct 2012]
- Burl, A. 1979. *Rings of Stone: The Prehistoric Circles of Britain and Ireland*, London, Frances Lincoln
- Burl, A. 1998a. But a Molehill to a Mountain (part 1), *The Right Times* (1) 12-17
- Burl, A. 1998b. But a Molehill to a Mountain (part 2), *The Right Times* (2) 8-12
- Burl, A. 2000. *The Rollright Stones*, Banbury, Tattooed Kitten
- Burl, A. 2005. *Prehistoric Astronomy and Ritual*, Princes Risborough, Shire
- Burl, A. 2007. *A Brief History of Stonehenge*, London, Robinson
- Burl, A. 2012. *Prehistoric Henges*, Princes Risborough, Shire
- Burnett A. & Reeve J. 2001. *Behind the Scenes at the British Museum*, London, British Museum Press
- Butler, W.E. 1977. *Magic: Its Ritual, Power and Purpose*, London, Aquarian Press
- Caciola, N. 1996. Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture, *Past & Present*, (152) 3-45
- Cadw nd. *Cadw: About Cadw*. Available from: <http://www.cadw.wales.gov.uk/default.asp?id=3&lang=aboutcadw> [accessed 23 Feb 09]
- Caesar, G.I. (Trans. Handford, S.A.) 1982. *The Conquest of Gaul*, London, Penguin
- Caesar, G.I. (Trans. Holmes, T.R.) 1914. *De Bello Gallico Book Six Chapter 14*. Available from: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0001:book=6:chapter=14&highlight=Druids> [accessed 20 Nov 2012]
- Caple, C. nd. *Nevern Castle Interim Excavation Report Summer 2012* [online] (updated nd) Available from: <http://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/archaeology/pdfs/research/10.Nevern2012-SummerInterim.pdf> [accessed 26 Jan 2013]
- Carbonell B.M. (Ed) 2004. *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*; Malden, Oxford & Victoria Blackwell

- Carlyon K. 2001. *Kevin Carlyon – High Priest of British White Witches*. Available from: <http://www.kevwitch.co.uk/> [accessed 18 Jul 09]
- Carman, J. 1996. *Valuing Ancient Things: Archaeology and the Law*, Leicester, Leicester University Press
- Carman, J. 2002. *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction*, London & New York, Continuum
- Carman, J. 2005. *Against Cultural Heritage: Archaeology, Heritage and Ownership*, London, Duckworth
- Carman, J. & Sørensen, M.L.S. 2009. Heritage Studies: An outline, in Sørensen, M.L.S. & Carman, J. (Eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, London & New York, Routledge 11-28
- Carmichael, D. Hubert, J. & Reeves, B. 1994. Introduction, in Carmichael, D.L. Hubert, J. Reeves, B. & Schande, A. (Eds) *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*, London & New York, Routledge 1-8
- Carpenter, D. 2008. *Review of 'Origins: In Search of Early Wales'* [online] (updated nd) Available from: <http://www.honour.org.uk/node/78> [accessed 13 Apr 2010]
- Carr-Gomm, P. 1990. Forward, in Nichols, R. *The Book of Druidry: History, Sites and Wisdom*, Wellingborough; Aquarian
- Carroll, Q. 2009. Returning Remains: A Curators View, in Lewis, M.E. & Clegg, M. (Eds) *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology*, Oxford, BAR
- Carver, M. 2009. *Archaeological Investigation*, London & New York, Routledge
- Catling, C. 2014. Welcome to the New Stonehenge: Making a Neolithic Circle Fit for Purpose, *Current Archaeology* (288) 22-29
- Chagnon, N. 1983. *Yanomamo: The Fierce People*, New York, Holt Rineheart and Winston
- Chamberlaine A.T. & Parker Pearson M. 2004. *Earthly Remains*, London, British Museum Press
- Champion M. 2000. *Seahenge: a contemporary chronicle*, Aylesham, Barnwell's Triangle
- Cheek, A.L. & Keel, B.C. 1984. Value Conflicts in Osteo-Archaeology, in Green, E.L. (Ed) *Ethics and Values in Archaeology*, New York & London, The Free Press, 144-207

Chenery, C. 2008. *Oxygen Isotope Analysis*. Available from: http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/projects/amesbury/tests/oxygen_isotope.html [accessed 21 Mar 2011]

Chippindale, C. 1986. Stoned Henge: Events and Issues at the Summer Solstice 1985, *World Archaeology* 18(1) 38-58

Chippindale, C. 1990. Stonehenge: Academic Claims and Responsibilities, in Chippindale C. Devereux P. Fowler P. Jones R. & Sebastian T. *Who Owns Stonehenge?* London, Batsford 120-138

Chippindale, C. 1994. *Stonehenge Complete*, s.l. Thames & Hudson

Choksy, J.K. 2005. Zoroastrianism, In Jones, L. (Ed in C) *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, London, Thomson Gale, 9988-10008

Cleal, R.M.J. 1996. Interpreting Avebury: The Role of the Alexander Keiller Museum, in Evans, D.M. Salway, P. & Thackray, D. (Eds) *The Remains of Distant Times: Archaeology and the National Trust*, Woodbridge & Rochester, Boydell Press, Society of Antiquaries & the National Trust 192-197

Cleal, R. 2008. Appendix 4: Human Remains from Windmill Hill and West Kennet Avenue, Avebury Parish, Wiltshire, Held by the Alexander Keiller Museum, in Thackray, D. & Payne, S. *Draft Report on the Request for the Reburial of Human Remains from the Alexander Keiller Museum at Avebury*, s.l. English Heritage & The National Trust

Coleman, E.B. 2013. Contesting Religious Claims over Archaeological Sites, in Scarre, G. & Coningham, R. (Eds) *Appropriating the Past: Philosophical Perspectives in the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge & New York, Cambridge University Press 156-175

Collis, J. 2004. *Digging up the Past: An Introduction to Archaeological Excavation*, Stroud, Sutton

Colvin, B. 2006. Hailing Our Ancestors, *White Dragon* (48) 16-17

Connolly, R.C. 1985. Lindow Man – A Prehistoric Bog Corpse in *Anthropology Today* 1(5) 15-17

Constable, J. 2008. The Goose, The Crow and The Cross Bones Portal, *Goddess Pages*, Available from: http://www.goddess-pages.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=542#ixzz2NX1Ccvla [accessed 14 Mar 2013]

Cooper, M.T. 2010. *Contemporary Druidry: A Historical and Ethnographic Study*, Salt Lake City, Sacred Tribes

- Cope J. 1998. *The Modern Antiquarian*, London, Thorsons
- Copeland, T. 2004, Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Constructing insights on-site, in Merriman, N. (Ed) *Public Archaeology*, London, Routledge, 132-144
- Cornish Ancient Sites Protection Network, nd. *Ancient Sites: Damage Report*. Available from: <http://www.cornishancientsites.com/damage-report.htm> [accessed 26 Sep 2012]
- Council of Europe, 1992. *European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage*. Available from: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/143.htm> [accessed 25 May 2012]
- Cowan, D.E. 2005. *Cyberhenge: Pagans on the Internet*, London & New York, Routledge
- Cox, J.L. 2007. *From primitive to indigenous : the academic study of indigenous religions*, Aldershot, Ashgate
- Crook, J. 2000 *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West*, Oxford, Clarendon Press
- Crowley, A. 1986. *Magick in theory and practice*, New York, Dover Publications
- Crowley, V. 1989. *Wicca: The Old Religion in the New Age*, London & San Francisco, Aquarian
- Crowley, V. 1995. *Phoenix from the Flame: Living as a Pagan in the 21st Century*, London & San Francisco, Thorsons
- Crowley, V. 1998. Wicca as Nature Religion, in *Nature Religion Today: Paganism in the Modern World*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 170-179
- Cumberpatch C. & Blinkhorn P. 2001. Clients, Contractors, Curators and Archaeology: Who owns the Past? in Pluciennik M. (Ed) *The Responsibilities of Archaeologists: Archaeology and Ethics*, Oxford, BAR 39-46
- Cunliffe, B. 2000. *Iron Age Britain*, London, Batsford English Heritage
- Cunliffe, B. 2010. *Druids*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Cunliffe, B. Stringer, C. Barker, G. Shennan, S. Fulford M. Wainwright, G. Darvill, T. Evershed R.P. Bell, M. Bradley R. Gamble C. Gilchrist, R. Gosden C. Harding, A. Haselgrove, C. Mattingly, D. Millett, M. Whittle, A. Armit, I. Austin, D. Carver, M. Chamberlain, A. Chapman, B. Crow, J. Dobney, K. Fleming, A. Hamerow, H. Haynes, I. Henderson, J. Heron, C. Hillson, S. Horton, M. Hunter, J. Jones, M. Parker Pearson, M. Pitts, M. Roberts, C.A. Sayer, D. Scarre, C. Williams, H. 2011. Reburial Requirement Impedes Archaeology, letter to *The Guardian*. Available from:

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/science/2011/feb/04/reburial-requirement-impedes-archaeology?intcmp=239> [accessed 18 May 2011]

Dames, M. 1977. *The Avebury Cycle*, London, Thames & Hudson

Damh the Bard. 2013. *The Bardic Blog: Ritual Offerings, Sacred or Debris?* Available from: <http://www.paganmusic.co.uk/blog/?p=1247#comment-1373> [accessed 24 Jan 2013]

Daniel, G. 1992. *Writing for "Antiquity"*, London, Thames & Hudson

Darvill, T. 2003. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Archaeology*, Oxford, OUP

Darvill, T. 2005. *Prehistoric Britain*, London & New York, Routledge

Darvill, T. 2007. *Stonehenge: Biography of a Landscape*, Stroud, Tempus

Darvill, T. & Wainwright, G. 2009. Stonehenge Excavations 2008, *The Antiquaries Journal*, (89) 1-19

Darvill, T. 2012, Archaeology as a Profession, in Skeates, R. McDavid, C. & Carman, J. (Eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, Oxford, OUP 375-394

Davidson, I. 1995. Introduction, in Davidson, I. Lovell Jones, C. & Bancroft, R. (Eds) *Archaeologists and Aborigines Working Together*, Armidale, University of New England Press 3-6

David Wilson Homes, 2012. *Protected Henge/ Railing Details*. Available from: <http://idox.bathnes.gov.uk/WAM/doc/Drawing-540661.pdf?extension=.pdf&id=540661&location=VOLUME2&contentType=application/pdf&pageCount=1> [accessed 07 Oct 2012]

Davie, G. 1994. *Religion in Britain Since 1945: Believing Without Belonging*, Oxford & Cambridge Mass. Blackwell

Davies C. A. 2002. *Reflexive Ethnography: a guide to researching selves and others*, London & New York, Routledge

Davies, O. 2011. *Paganism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, OUP

Davies P. 1997. Respect and Reburial, *The Druids' Voice*, (8) 12-13

Davies P. 1998. Speaking for the Ancestors: The Reburial Issue in Britain and Ireland, *The Druids' Voice*, (9) 10-12

Day J. 1995. *Patchwork of Magic: Living in a Pagan World*, Cheiveley, Capall Bann

DCMS 2005. *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums*, London, HMSO Available from:

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/GuidanceHumanRemains11Oct.pdf> [accessed 21 Nov 2012]

DCMS 2009. *Planning Policy Statement: Consultation*, London, HMSO Available from:
<http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/planningandbuilding/pdf/consultationhistor icpps.pdf> [accessed 21 Nov 2012]

Dead to Rights 2006. *Yahoo Groups – Dead to Rights*. Available from:
http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Dead_to_Rights/?vquid=169688030 [accessed 09 Jul 09]

Detzer, D. 2005. *Donnybrook: The Battle of Bull Run, 1861*, s.l. Harvest Books

Devereux, P. 2000. *The Sacred Place: The Ancient Origin of Holy and Mystical Sites*, London, Cassell & Co

Dick, C. 2011. *The Perils of Identity*, Vancouver, UBC press

Dickson, C. Velloccott, C. & Carew-Jones, O. 1998. *Setting up a Charitable Trust*, s.l. CEM

Dickson, J.H. Oegg, K. Holden T.G. Handley, L.L. O'Connell, T.C. & Preston T. 2000. The omnivorous Tyrolean Iceman: colon contents (meat, cereals, pollen, moss and whipworm) and stable isotope analysis, *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences* 355(1404) 1843-1849

Directgov nd. *Coroners, Post-Mortems and Inquests*. Available from:
http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Governmentcitizensandrights/Death/WhatToDoAfterADeath/DG_066713 [accessed 30 Jan 2012]

Doesser J. 2007. Rationality, Archaeology and Government Policy in Hull D. Grabow S. & Waterton E. (Eds) *Which Past, Whose Future*, Oxford, BAR

Dowd, J.J. & Dowd, L.A. 2003. The Center Holds: From subcultures to social worlds, *Teaching Sociology*, 31 (1) 20-37

Duhig C. 2009. Human remains, archaeologists and pagans: any common ground, *The Archaeologist*, (72) 36-37

Dutton, E. 2012. Going Native, *Fortean Times* (289) 44-49

Edge, J. 2008. Origins: In Search of Early Wales, *Museums Journal* 107 (15) 52-3

Edgeworth M. (Ed) 2006. *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations*; Lanham, New York, Toronto & Oxford, Altamira Press

English Heritage nda. Front Page. *English Heritage*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/> [accessed 23 Feb 09]

English Heritage ndb. About Us. *English Heritage*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/nav.1664> [accessed 23 Feb 09]

English Heritage ndc. Our Proposals for Stonehenge. *English Heritage*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/stonehenge/our-plans/our-proposals/> [accessed 24 Jan 2013]

English Heritage ndd. History of English heritage. *English Heritage*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about/who-we-are/history-of-english-heritage.html> [accessed 21 Sep 2010]

English Heritage nde. Prices and Opening Times for Stonehenge. *English Heritage*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/stonehenge/prices-and-opening-times> [accessed 21 Jan 2013]

English Heritage ndf How We Are Funded, *English Heritage*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about/who-we-are/corporate-information/how-we-are-funded/> [accessed 22 Mar 2013]

English Heritage unpublished. *Stonehenge Audio Tour Script*

English Heritage 2009a. *Avebury Reburial Consultation*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/nav.19819> [accessed 09 Jul 2009]

English Heritage 2009b. *Managing Heritage Assets*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/managing-heritage-assets/> [accessed 14 Nov 2012]

English Heritage 2012. *National Planning Policy Framework*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about/news/eh-responds/national-planning-policy-framework/> [accessed 21 Oct 2013]

Evans C. 1998. Historicism, chronology and straw men: situating Hawkes' 'Ladder of inference' in *Antiquity* (72) 398-404

Evans, E.J. 1998. *Thatcher and Thatcherism*, London & New York, Routledge

Everill, P. 2009. *The Invisible Diggers: A Study of British Commercial Archaeology*, Oxford, Oxbow

Faulkener, N. 2008. Whose Death is it anyway? The human remains controversy, *Current Archaeology* (214) 40-44

Faulkener, N. 2009. Who Killed Lindow Man? *Current Archaeology* (233) 22-8

- Fforde, C. 2004. *Collecting the Dead: Archaeology and the Reburial Issue*, London, Duckworth
- Fife, W. 2005. *Doing Fieldwork: ethnographic methods for research in developing countries and beyond*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan
- Filan, K. & Kaldera, R. 2013. *Talking To The Spirits: Personal Gnosis in Pagan Religion*, Rochester & Toronto, Destiny
- Fisher, A. & Ramsay, H. 2000. Of Art and Blasphemy, Ethical Theory and Moral Practice 3(2) 137-167
- Fleming, A. 1972. Vision and Design: Approaches to Ceremonial Monument Typology, *Man* 7(1) 57-73
- Ford, N. 2009. *The Care of Elderly Souls and the Rights of Bone Fragments to a Quiet Life*. Available from: <http://pagantheologies.pbworks.com/w/page/13622300/The%20Care%20of%20Elderly%20Souls%20and%20the%20Rights%20of%20Bone%20Fragments%20to%20a%20Quiet%20Life> [accessed 21 Nov 2012]
- Fortune, D. 1932. The Golden Tryst, *The Occult Review* 56 p21
- Fortune, D. 1987. *Sane Occultism*, Wellingborough, Aquarian Press
- Fowler, B. 2001. *Iceman: uncovering the life and times of a prehistoric man found in an alpine glacier*, London, Basingstoke & Oxford; Macmillan
- Fowler, P. 1990. Stonehenge in a Democratic Society, in Chippindale, C. Devereux, P. Fowler, P. Jones, R. & Sebastian, T. *Who Owns Stonehenge?* London, Batsford 139-160
- Fox, K. 2004. *Watching the English: The Hidden Rules of English Behaviour*, London, Hodder
- Frazer, Sir J. 2000. *The Golden Bough: A History of Myth and Religion*, London, Chancellor Press
- Friends of Thornborough nda. *Effects of Quarrying*. Available from: http://www.friendsofthornborough.org.uk/effects_of_quarrying.htm [accessed 27 Mar 2012]
- Friends of Thornborough ndb. *Friends of Thornborough Henges – Home Page*. Available from: <http://www.friendsofthornborough.org.uk/index.htm> [accessed 27 Mar 2012]
- Friends of Thornborough ndc. *Friends of Thornborough Henges – Latest News*. Available from: http://www.friendsofthornborough.org.uk/latest_news.htm [accessed 30 Nov 2012]

Fryer J. 2009. Druid Wars: How a drunken row over 4,000-year-old bones is causing chaos in pagan circles. *Daily Mail*. Available from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1127430/Druid-wars-How-drunken-row-4-000-year-old-bones-causing-chaos-pagan-circles.html> [accessed 08 Jun 2009]

Fuller, C.J. 1992. *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India*, Princeton, Princeton University Press

Gibson, J.L. 2006. The Contributions of Truth to Reconciliation: Lessons from South Africa, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(3) 409-432

Gillings, M. & Pollard, J. 2004. *Avebury*, London, Duckworth

Gilmour, T. 2007. *Sustaining heritage: Giving the past a future*, Sydney, Sydney University Press

Glastonbury Order of Druids 1992. Glastonbury Order of Druids, *The Druids' Voice* (1) 29

Glob, P.V. 2004. *The Bog People: Iron Age Man Preserved*, London, Faber

Gobo, G. (Trans: Belton A.) 2008. *Doing Ethnography*, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi & Singapore; Sage

Godelier, M. 2002. Some Things You Give, Some Things You Sell But Some Things You Must Keep for Yourselves: What Mauss Did Not Say About Sacred Objects; in Boynton, E. Goux, J.-J. & Wyshogrod, E. (Eds) *The Enigma of Gift and Sacrifice*; New York; Fordham University Press 19-37

Gold, T. 2010. Of all the silly religions – and I think that all religions are silly – witchcraft is the least dangerous and most benign, *The Guardian* (16 Feb 2010) 5

Golding, F.N. 2000. Stonehenge Past and Future, in Cleere, H. (Ed) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*, London & New York, Routledge

Goodnow, K. 2006. Why and When do Human Remains Matter: Museum Dilemmas, in Lohman, J. & Goodnow, K. (Eds) *Human Remains and Museum Practice*, Paris & London, UNESCO & Museum of London 16-20

Goodwin, N. & Morris, G. 2005a. Interview with Nick Davies, in Worthington, A. (Ed) *The Battle of the Beanfield*, Teignmouth, Enabler, 79-87

Goodwin, N. & Morris, G. 2005b. Interview with Kim Sabido, in Worthington, A. (Ed) *The Battle of the Beanfield*, Teignmouth, Enabler, 88-93

Goodwin, N. & Morris, G. 2005c. Interview with the Earl of Cardigan, in Worthington, A. (Ed) *The Battle of the Beanfield*, Teignmouth, Enabler, 94-108

- Graeber, D. 1995. Dancing with Corpses Reconsidered: An Interpretation of "famadihana" (In Arivonimamo, Madagascar) *American Ethnologist*, 22(2) 258-278
- Graeber, D. 2009. *Direct Action: An Ethnography*, Oakland & Edinburgh, AK Press
- Graham, M. 2008 *Leicestershire Pagans Museum Ritual to Honour the Dead*. Available at <http://www.honour.org.uk/node/241> [accessed 02 May 2011]
- Graham, M. (mark.graham.106902@facebook.com) 10 Mar 2012 2345. Re: *Stonehenge Free Festival* [email to William Rathouse] (william.rathouse@facebook.com)
- Green, M.J. 1997. *Exploring the World of the Druids*, London, Thames & Hudson
- Greenwood, S. 2000. *Magic, Witchcraft and the Otherworld: An Anthropology*; Oxford & New York, Berg
- Greenwood, S. 2003. British Paganism, Morality and the Politics of Knowledge, in Caplan, P. (Ed) *The Ethics of Anthropology: debates and dilemmas*, London & New York, Routledge, 195-209
- Greenwood, S. 2009. *The Anthropology of Magic*, Oxford & New York, Berg
- Grenville, J. 1993. Curation Overview, in Hunter, J. & Ralston, I. (Eds) *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK: An Introduction*, Stroud, Sutton 125-133
- Gross, P.R. 2004. Politics and Science, in Salzano, F.M. & Hurtado, A.M. (Eds) *Lost Paradises and the Ethics of Research and Publication*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press 59-69
- Gundarsson, K. 1993. *Teutonic Religion, Folk Beliefs and Practices in the Northern Tradition*, St Paul, Llewelyn
- HAD 2004-2008. *Statement of Intention – Honouring the Ancient Dead*. Available from: <http://www.honour.org.uk/node/5#aims> [accessed 23 May 2009]
- HAD 2012. *Definitions for Honouring the Ancient Dead*. Available from: http://www.honour.org.uk/system/files/file/HAD%20Definitions%202012_final.pdf [accessed 21 Nov 2012]
- HAD, Restall Orr, E. Bienkowski, P. Peers, L. Aburrow Y. & Grant, A. 2004-2008. *Defining Respect*. Available from: <http://www.honour.org.uk/node/299> [accessed 13 Oct 2009]
- Hall, J. 1995. *Sangoma: My Odyssey into the Spirit World of Africa*, New York & London, Simon & Schuster
- Hardacre, H. 1987. Ancestor Worship, in Eliade, M. (Ed) *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*, New York, MacMillan, 263-268

Hardacre, H. 2005. Ancestor Worship, In Jones, L. (Ed in C) *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, London, Thomson Gale, 320-325

Hardman, C. & Harvey G. (Eds) 1996. *Paganism Today*, Hammersmith & San Francisco, Thorsons

Hardman, C. 2007. "He may be lying but what he says is true": The sacred tradition of don Juan as reported by Carlos Castañeda, anthropologist, trickster, guru, allegorist, in Lewis, J.R. & Hammer, O. (Eds) *The Invention of Sacred Tradition*, Cambridge & New York, Cambridge University Press 38-55

Harding, J. 2003. *Henge Monuments of the British Isles*, Stroud and Mount Pleasant, Tempus

Harris, A. 2010. *Honouring the Outcast Dead: The Cross bones Graveyard*. Available from: http://www.thegreenfuse.org/papers/Cross_Bones/index.htm [accessed 10 Sep 2012]

Harris J.H. 1995. *A Soldier's Pocket Book*, Beverley, Military Pocket Books

Harris, O. 1986. The dead and the devils among the Bolivian Laymi, in Bloch, M. & Parry, J. *Death and the Regeneration of Life*, Cambridge & London, Cambridge University Press 45-73

Harris, R. & Paxman J. 1982. *A Higher Form of Killing*, London, Chatto & Windus

Harrison, R. 2010. *Understanding the politics of Heritage*, Manchester, Manchester University Press

Harte, J. 2004. *Explore Fairy traditions*, Loughborough, Heart of Albion

Hartshorne C. 1987. Pantheism and Panentheism, in Eliade M. (Ed) *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York, MacMillan 165

Harvey G. 1997. *Listening People, Speaking Earth: Contemporary Paganism*, London, Hurst & Co

Harvey G. 2000. Boggarts and Books: Towards an Appreciation of Pagan Spirituality, in Sutcliffe S. & Bowman M. (Eds) *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 155-168

Harvey, G. 2004a. Pagan Studies or the Study of Paganisms? In Blain, J. Ezzy, D. & Harvey, G. (Eds) *Researching Paganisms*; Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York, Toronto & Oxford; Altamira 241-255

Harvey, G. 2004b. Endo-cannibalism in the making of a recent British ancestor, *Mortality* 9(3) 255-267

- Harvey, G. 2005. *Animism: Respecting the Living World*, London, C. Hurst & Co.
- Harvey, G. 2011. Inventing Paganisms: Making Nature, in Lewis, J.R. & Hammer, O. (Eds) *The Invention of Sacred Tradition*, Cambridge, CUP 277-290
- Harvey, G. 2013. *Food, Sex & Strangers: Understanding religion as everyday life*, Durham & Bristol, Acumen
- Haycock, D.B. 2002. *William Stukeley: Science, Religion and Archaeology in Eighteenth Century England*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press
- Hebdige D. 1989. *Subculture: the meaning of style*, London, Routledge
- HEFCE, nd. *HEFCE: What We Do*, Available from <http://www.hefce.ac.uk/whatwedo/> [accessed 14 Mar 2013]
- Henson, D. 2010. Local and national vying for attention in Southwark. 32nd *Theoretical Archaeology Group meeting*, University of Bristol. Theoretical Archaeology Group, 17-19 Dec 2010
- Heritage: The Battle for Britain's Past*. From Old Bones to Precious Stones. BBC 4. 07 Mar 2013
- Her Majesty's Government 1857. *Burial Act 1857*. Available from: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1857/81/pdfs/ukpga_18570081_en.pdf [accessed 09 Dec 2012]
- Her Majesty's Government 1882. *Ancient Monuments Act 1882*. Available from: <http://heritagelaw.org/AMA-1882-> [accessed 11 Jun 2012]
- Her Majesty's Government 1979. *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979*. Available from: <http://legislation.data.gov.uk/ukpga/1979/46/data.htm?wrap=true> [accessed 14 Mar 2012]
- Her Majesty's Government 2004. *Human Tissue Act 2004*. Available from: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/30/pdfs/ukpga_20040030_en.pdf [accessed 18 May 2011]
- Her Majesty's Government nd. *Planning Portal: Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment*. Available from: <http://www.planningportal.gov.uk/planning/planningpolicyandlegislation/previousenglishpolicy/ppgpps/pps5> [accessed 17 Jan 2013]
- Hester, R. 2005. Interview with Deputy Chief Constable Ian Readhead, in Worthington, A. (Ed) *The Battle of the Beanfield*, Teignmouth, Enabler, 139-145
- Hewison, R. 1987. *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, London, Methuen

Hide, L. 2008. King's Lynn Museum, King's Lynn, Norfolk, *Museums Journal* 108(6) 50-51

Hillman G. 1986. Plant Foods in Ancient Diet: The Archaeological Role of Palaeofaeces in General and in Lindow Man's Gut Contents in Particular, in Stead, I.M. Bourke, J.B. & Brothwell, D. (Eds) *Lindow Man: The Body in the Bog*, London, British Museum

Historic Scotland 1997. *The Treatment of Human Remains in Archaeology*, Edinburgh, Historic Scotland

Hitchens, C. 2007. *God is not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything*, New York & Boston, Twelve

Hockey, J. 1990. *Experiences of Death: An Anthropological Account*, Edinburgh & New York, Edinburgh University Press

Hodkinson, P. 2002. *Goth: Identity Style and Subculture*, Oxford & New York, Berg

Holme-next-the-sea 2012. *Holme-next-the-sea: Seahenge*. Available from: <http://www.holme-next-the-sea.co.uk/seahenge.htm> [accessed 04 Sep 2012]

Holland, R. 2008. *Haunted Wales*, Stroud, Landmark Press

Holt, T. & Holt, V. 1998. *Battlefields of the First World War: A Traveller's Guide*, London, Parkgate Books

Holtorf, C. 2007. *Archaeology is a Brand*, Oxford, Archaeopress

Hooper-Greenhill, E. 2007. Interpretive Communities, Strategies and Repertoires, in Watson, S. (Ed) *Museums and Their Communities*, Abingdon & New York, Routledge, 76-94

Hope, M. 1987. *Practical Celtic Magic*, London, Aquarian

Howe, S. 2008. Wiccan Ethics, *Pagan Dawn* (169) 44-45

Hubert, J. 1994. A proper place for the dead: a critical review of the 'reburial' issue, in Layton R. (Ed) *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*, London & New York, Routledge 131-166

Hughes, K. angleseyDruids@hotmail.com 2011. *RE: Mortuary procedures*, [email] Message to William Rathouse (brochfaelcanwrtir@yahoo.co.uk) Sent 13 Apr 2011 22:30,

Human Planet. Mountain People. BBC1. 10 Feb 2011. 2000

- Hunter, J. Roberts, C & Martin, A. 1996. *Studies in Crime: An Introduction to Forensic Archaeology*, London & New York, Routledge
- Hurtado, A.M. & Salzano, F.M. 2004a. Introduction, in Hurtado, A.M. & Salzano, F.M. (Eds) *Lost Paradises and the Ethics of Research and Publication*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press 3-26
- Hurtado, A.M. & Salzano, F.M. 2004b. Conclusions, in Hurtado, A.M. & Salzano, F.M. (Eds) *Lost Paradises and the Ethics of Research and Publication*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press 211-228
- Hutton, R. 1996. The Roots of Modern Paganism, in Harvey, G. & Hardman, C. (Eds) *Paganism Today*, London & San Francisco, Thorsons 3-15
- Hutton, R. 1997a. *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles; Their Nature and Legacy*, Cambridge, Blackwell
- Hutton, R. 1997b. The New Druidry, in *Druidlore* (1) 19-21
- Hutton, R. 1998. The Discovery of the Modern Goddess, in *Nature Religion Today: Paganism in the Modern World*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 89-100
- Hutton, R. 2001. *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Hutton, R. 2006. *Witches, Druids and King Arthur*, London & New York, Hambledon Continuum
- Hutton, R. 2007. *The Druids*, London & New York, Hambledon Continuum
- Hutton, R. 2008. The origins of modern Druidry, in Carr-Gomm P. Hutton R. Cooper G. Greer J.M. Matthews C. Stout A. Rotherham R. & Maertins J. *The Mount Haemus Lectures*, Lewes, Oak Tree Press, 4-26
- Hutton, R. 2009. *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press
- ICOM 2006. *Code of Ethics*. Available from: http://icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Codes/code2006_eng.pdf [accessed 18 May 2011]
- ICOM nd. *ICOM in Brief*. Available from: <http://icom.museum/who-we-are/the-organisation/icom-in-brief.html> [accessed 30 Jan 2012]
- IfA 2010. *Bylaws: Code of Conduct*. Available from: http://www.archaeologists.net/sites/default/files/node-files/code_conduct.pdf [accessed 06 Jan 2011]

IfA nd Jobs Information Service, Available from:
<http://www.archaeologists.net/jis/online> [accessed 31 Oct 2013]

Indymedia UK 2004. *Direct Action Saves the Roundhouse*. Available from:
<http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/04/289349.html?c=on#comments> [accessed 21 Aug 2012]

Ivakhiv, A.J. 2001. *Claiming Sacred Ground: Pilgrims and Politics at Glastonbury and Sedona*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press

Jackson, M. & Colwell, J. 2002. *A Teacher's Handbook of Death*, London, Jessica Kingsley

Jakobsen, M.D. 1999. *Shamanism: Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing*, New York & Oxford, Berghahn

James, N. 2008. Repatriation, display and interpretation, *Antiquity* (82) 770-777

Jarman, N. 1995. Intersecting Belfast, in Bender, B. (Ed) *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, Providence & Oxford, Berg 107-138

Jenkins, S. 2006. *The Guardian: The curse of Stonehenge will remain until it is handed back to the Druids*. Available from:
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2006/jan/27/heritage.society7> [accessed 14 Apr 2011]

Jenkins T. 2009. *The Crisis of Cultural Authority in Museums: Contesting Human Remains in the Collections of Britain*, Ph.D. Canterbury, University of Kent in Canterbury

Jenkins, T. 2011. *Contesting Human Remains in Museum Collections: The Crisis of Cultural Authority*, New York & Abingdon, Routledge

Jennings, P. 2002. *Pagan Paths: A Guide to Wicca, Druidry, Asatru, Shamanism and Other Pagan Practices*; London, Sydney, Auckland and Parktown; Rider

John, nd. Gospel of John, *King James Bible*, Available from:
<http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=John%2011:21-24&version=ERV>
[accessed 13 Mar 2013]

Johnson M. 2006. *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*; Malden, Oxford & Carlton; Blackwell

Jones, P. & Pennick, N. 1995. *A History of Pagan Europe*, London, Routledge

Joy, J. 2009. *Lindow Man*, London, British Museum

Kant, I. 1963. *Lectures on Ethics*, New York, Harper Torchbook

Kauffman, D.T. 1975. (Ed) *Baker's Pocket Dictionary of Religious Terms*, Grand Rapids, Baker

Kennedy, M. 1999. Avebury Stones daubed in GM protest, *The Guardian*. Available from:
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/1999/jun/19/amcrops.am?INTCMP=SRCH>
[accessed 26 Mar 2012]

Kerton, N. 2007. Druids call for burial, *Gazette and Herald*, Available from:
http://www.gazetteandherald.co.uk/news/1164290.Druids_call_for_burial/ [accessed 18 Jul 09]

Kilminster, H. 2003. Visitor Perceptions of Ancient Egyptian Human Remains in Three United Kindom Museums, *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* (14) 57-69

King, T.F. 2008. The Law is an Ass, in Burke, H. Smith, C. Lippert, D. Watkins, J. & Zimmerman, L. (Eds) *Kennewick Man: Perspectives on the Ancient One*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press 138-140

Kinsella, T. 1970. *The Táin*, London & New York, Oxford University Press

La Fontaine, J.S. 1998. *Speak of the Devil: Tales of Satanic Abuse in contemporary England*; Cambridge, New York & Oakleigh, Cambridge University Press

Lambrick, G. 1983. *The Rollright Stones: The Archaeology and Folklore of the Stones and their Surrounding Landscape*, Oxford, Oxford Archaeological Unit

Lambrick, G. 1988. *The Rollright Stones: Megaliths, Monuments and Settlement in the Prehistoric Landscape*, London, Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England

Leahy, K. 2009. Human Remains, letter in *British Archaeology* (105) 10

Leary, T. 1994. *Chaos and Cyberculture*, Berkeley, Ronin

Lennon, J. 2007. Review of 'Uses of Heritage' by Laurajane Smith, *Australian Archaeological Association*. Available from
<http://australianarchaeology.com/journal/review-of-uses-of-heritage-by-laurajane-smith/> [accessed 13 Nov 2014]

Lewellen, T.C. 1992. *Political Anthropology an Introduction*, Westport & London, Bergin & Garvey

Lewis, J.R. & Hammer, O. 2007. *The Invention of Sacred Tradition*, Cambridge & New York, Cambridge University Press

Liberty 2009. *Your Rights - Article 8 - the right to respect for private and family life*. Available from: <http://www.yourrights.org.uk/yourrights/privacy/article-8-the-right-to-respect-for-private-and-family-life-home-and-corresp.html> [accessed 20 Nov 2012]

Licklider, J.C.R. and R.W. Taylor (1968) 'The Computer as a Communication Device', *International Science and Technology* (April)

Little B.J. 2009. Public Archaeology in the United States, in Sørensen, M.L.S. & Carman, J. (Eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, London & New York, Routledge 29-51

Loe, L. 2008. *The Treatment of Human Remains in the Care of Oxford Archaeology: Policy Document*. Available from: http://thehumanjourney.net/images/stories/burials/policy_document.pdf [accessed 20 Jun 2012]

Loyal Arthurian Warband 2009. *Free Stonehenge*. Available from: <http://www.warband.org.uk/free-stonehenge.html> [accessed 07 Nov 2012]

Lucanus, M.A. (Trans Ridley, E.) nd. *Pharsalia*. Available from: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0134%3Abook%3D1%3Acard%3D396> [accessed 29 Jan 2012]

Luhrmann, T.M. 1991. *Persuasions of a Witch's Craft*, Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press

Luke, nd. Gospel of Luke, *King James Bible*, Available from: <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Luke%2023:43&version=ERV> [accessed 13 Mar 2013]

Lynch, F. 2004. *Megalithic Tombs and Long Barrows in Britain*, Princes Risborough, Shire

MacAlister R.A.C. (Trans. & Ed.) 1941. *Lebor Gabala Erenn: The book of the taking of Ireland Part IV*, Dublin, Irish Texts Society

MacPherson, W. 1998. *Sir William Macpherson's Inquiry into the Matters Arising From the Death of Stephen Lawrence on 22 April 1993 to Date, In Order Particularly to Identify the Lessons to Be Learned for the Investigation and Prosecution of Racially Motivated Crimes*. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/special_report/1999/02/99/stephen_lawrence/report/ [accessed 01 Dec 2012]

MagicOak 2009. *Aubrey protest2*. Available from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NfZO0rAfEZg> [accessed Mar 2009]

Magliocco, S. 2004. *Witching Culture: Folklore and Neo-Paganism in America*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press

- Malone, C. 1989. *Avebury*, London, Batsford English Heritage
- Malone, C. 2004. *Neolithic Britain and Ireland*, Stroud, Tempus
- Manchester Museum 2007. *Lindow Man at the Manchester Museum Blog 2010 in review*. Available from: <http://lindowmanchester.wordpress.com/> [accessed 30 Oct 2012]
- Manchester Museum nd. *Lindow Man: a bog body mystery*. Available from: <http://www.museum.manchester.ac.uk/whatson/exhibitions/pastexhibitions/lindowmanabogbodymystery/> [accessed 30 Oct 2012]
- Maples, W.R. 1989. The Practical Application of Age-Estimation Techniques, In Iscan, M.Y. (Ed) *Age Markers in the Human Skeleton*, Springfield, Charles Thomas, 319-324.
- Marcus, G.E. 1995. Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, (24) 95-117
- Marsden, B.M. and Nurse, B. 2007. Opening the Tomb, in Royal Academy, *Making History: Antiquaries in Britain 1707-2007*, London, Royal Academy and Thames & Hudson
- Mattessich, P.W. Monsey, B.R. & Roy, C. 1997. *Community building: what makes it work*, St Paul, Amherst H. Wilder Foundation
- Mason P. & Kuo I. R. 2006. Visitor Management at Stonehenge, UK, in Leek A. & Fyall A. (Eds) *Managing World Heritage Sites*, London & Oxford, Elsevier 181-194
- Maughfling, R. 1997. Druids and Stonehenge, *Druidlore* (1) 8-10
- Maughfling, R. 2000a. Stonehenge and Druidry in the Twenty-first Century, *Druidlore*, (3) 4-6
- Maughfling, R. 2000b. The Fight to Save Seahenge, *Druidlore* (3) 10-13
- Maughfling, R. 2007. All the Orders involved in CoBDO have a common principle, [online] (updated 2010) Available from: <http://www.cobdo.org.uk/index.html> [accessed 25 Nov 2013]
- Maughfling, R. 2009. *CoBDO Reburial Statement* [online] (Updated January 2009) Available from: http://www.cobdo.org.uk/html/reburial_statement.html [accessed 28 Mar 2011]
- Mays, S, nd. *Advisory Panel on Archaeology of Burials in England (APABE)*. Available from: <http://www.archaeologyuk.org/apabe/> [accessed 28 Aug 2012]
- McDavid, C. 2000. Archaeology as Cultural Critique. Pragmatism and the Archaeology of a Southern United States Plantation, in Holtorf, C. & Karlsson, H.

(Eds) *Philosophy and Archaeological Practice: Perspectives for the 21st Century*, Goteborg, Bricoleur Press 221-232

McDavid, C. 2002. Archaeology that Hurts; Descendants that Matter: A Pragmatic Approach to Collaboration in the Public Interpretation of African-American Archaeology, *World Archaeology* 34(2) 303-314

McDavid, C. 2009. The Public Archaeology of African America: Reflections on Pragmatic Methods and Their Results in Sørensen, M.L.S. & Carman, J. (Eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, London & New York, Routledge 217-234

McGhee, R. 2008. Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology, *American Antiquity* 73(4) 579-597

McLean, F. 2008. Museums and the Representation of Identity, in Graham, B.J. & Howard, P. (Eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Aldershot & Burlington, Ashgate 283-296

Meaden T. 1999. *The Secrets of the Avebury Stones, Britain's Greatest Megalithic Temple*, London, Souvenir Press

Merriman, N. 1991. *Beyond the Glass Case: the public, museums and heritage in Britain*, London, Leicester University Press

Merriman, N. 2004. Involving the Public in Museum Archaeology, in Merriman, N. (Ed) *Public Archaeology*, London, Routledge,

Metcalf, P. & Huntington, R. 1991. *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, New York, Cambridge University Press

Michell, J. 1969. *The View Over Atlantis*, London, Sago Press

Michell, J. 2001. *The New View Over Atlantis*, London, Thames & Hudson

Michell, J. 1997. Stonehenge: Its Druids, Custodians, Festivals and Future, *Druidlore* (1) 4-7

Miller, G. 2005. Census Results for Religion Analysed, *Pagan Dawn* (154) 17

Miller, H. 2000. *Secrets of the Dead*, London, Channel Four Books

Minthorne, A. 2008. Human Remains Should be Reburied, in Burke, H. Smith, C. Lippert, D. Watkins, J & Zimmerman, L. (Eds) *Kennewick man: Perspectives on the Ancient One*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press, 42-43

Monmouth, G. (Trans. Thorpe, L.) 1966. *The History of the Kings of Britain*, London & New York, Penguin

Moorey, T. 1996. *Paganism: A Beginner's Guide*, London, Hodder & Stoughton

- Morgan, P. 1992. From Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period, in Hobsbawm, E.J. & Ranger, T.O. (Eds) *The Invention of tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Morgannwg, I. 1998. The Voice Conventional, in Matthews, J. (Ed) *The Bardic Source Book: Inspirational Legacy and Teachings of the Ancient Celts*, London Blandford, 296-309
- Morris, R. 1993. A Public Past: in Swain, H. (Ed) *Rescuing the Historic Environment*, Hertford, Rescue BAT 9-16
- Moshenska, G. 2009. The Reburial Issue in Britain, *Antiquity* (321) 815-20
- Moss, S. 2011. The secrets of Paviland Cave, *The Guardian*, Available from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/science/2011/apr/25/paviland-cave-red-lady> [accessed 14 Mar 2013]
- Mullhall, I. 2010. The Peat Men from Clonycavan and Oldcroghan, *British Archaeology*, (110) 34-9
- Mulvaney, D.L. 1991. Past regained, future lost: the Kow Swamp Pleistocene burials, *Antiquity* (65) 12-21
- Murphy, K. Murphy, F. & Wilson, H. 2010. *Excavation of Two Bronze Age Round Barrows at Pant Y Butler, Llangoedmor, Ceredigion, 2009*, Llandeilo, Dyfed Archaeological Trust.
- Murray, L. 2007. *About CoBDO*. Available from: http://www.cobdo.org.uk/html/about_cobdo.html [accessed 15 Mar 2012]
- Museum of London 2006. *Policy for the care of human remains in Museum of London Collections*. Available from: <http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/Collections-Research/LAARC/Centre-for-Human-Bioarchaeology/Policies/MuseumPolicyonHumanRemains.htm> [accessed 30 Jan 2012]
- Museums Association nda. *Museums Association: About*. Available from: <http://www.museumsassociation.org/about> [accessed 30 Jan 2012]
- Museums Association ndb. *Museums Association: About: Frequently Asked Questions*. Available from: <http://www.museumsassociation.org/about/frequently-asked-questions> [accessed 14 Mar 2013]
- Museums Association 2008. *Code of Ethics for Museums: Ethical principles for all who work for or govern museums in the UK*, London, Museums Association, Available from: <http://www.museumsassociation.org/download?id=15717> [Accessed 14 May 2012]

Mytum, H. & Webster, C. 2001. Survey and Excavation at Henllys Top Field and Cwm Gloyne Enclosures, *Studia Celtica*, (35), 89–108

Nagata, J. 2001. Beyond Theology: Toward an Anthropology of "Fundamentalism", *American Anthropologist* 103(2) 481-98

National Association of Funeral Directors 1990. *Code of Practice*, Solihull, National Association of Funeral Directors

National Museum of Wales 2006. *Collection Management Policies - Policy on Human Remains*. Available from: <http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/1181/> [accessed 13 Aug 2012]

National Trust 2008. *Avebury*, s.l. National Trust

National Trust nda. *About Us*. Available from: <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/about-us/> [accessed 04 Feb 2013]

National Trust ndb. *What We Do*. Available from: <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/what-we-do/> [accessed 05 Sep 2012]

Nolan, B. nd. *The Upside Down Tree Circle*. Available from: <http://www.talkingtrees.net/Seahenge-The-upside-down-tree-Circle> [accessed 20 Jul 09]

North Yorkshire County Council 2011. *Online planning register - Planning application - NY/2011/0242/ENV*. Available from: <https://onlineplanningregister.northyorks.gov.uk/register/PlanAppDisp.aspx?recno=8037> [accessed 30 Nov 2012]

Nyiszli, M. (Trans. Kremer, T. & Seaver, R.) 1985. *Auschwitz*, London, Panther Granada

OBOD nd. *Ethics & Values In Druidry II*. Available from: <http://www.Druidry.org/Druid-way/what-Druidry/ethics-values-Druidry/ethics-values-Druidism> [accessed 01 Dec 2012]

Office for National Statistics 2012. *Religion in England and Wales 2011*. Available from: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_290510.pdf [accessed 12 Dec 2012]

Ordnance Survey 2006. *North Pembrokeshire / Gogledd Sir Benfro*, Southampton, Ordnance Survey

Ordnance Survey 2008. *Marlborough & Savernake Forest*, Southampton, Ordnance Survey

O'Regan, S. 1994. Maori Control of the Maori Heritage, in Gathercole, P. & Lowenthal, D. (Eds) *The Politics of the Past*, London & New York, Routledge 95-106

Oringer, M. 1998-2001. *Jewitchery – Essays: Jewitchery*. Available from: <http://www.jewitchery.com/essays/jewitchery.html> [accessed 18 Jul 09]

Pagan Federation 1992. *The Pagan Federation Information Pack*, London, Pagan Federation

Pagan Federation 1996. Pagan News, *Pagan Dawn* (120) 6-7

Pagan Federation 1997. Pagan News, *Pagan Dawn* (122) 6-7

Pagan Federation nd. *The Pagan Federation*. Available from: <http://www.paganfed.org/intro.php> [accessed 14 Mar 08]

Pagan Warriors 2008. *Pagan Warriors UK Protest Forum*. Available from: <http://paganwarriorsuk.co.uk/> [accessed 20 Jul 09]

Park, V.M. Roberts, C.A. & Jakob, T. 2010. Palaeopathology in Britain: A Critical Analysis of Publications with the Aim of Exploring Recent Trends (1997-2006), *The International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 20(5) 497-507

Parker Pearson, M. 1982. Mortuary Practices, Society and Ideology: An Ethnoarchaeological Study, in Hodder, I. (Ed) *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne & Sydney, Cambridge University Press 99-114

Parker Pearson, M. 2003. *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Stroud, Sutton

Parker Pearson, M. 2005. The Earlier Bronze Age, in Hunter, J. & Ralston, I. (Eds) *The Archaeology of Britain: An introduction from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution*, London & New York, Routledge 77-94

Parker Pearson, M. 2012. *Stonehenge: Exploring the Greatest Stone Age Mystery*, London, New York, Sydney, Toronto & New Delhi; Simon & Schuster

Parker Pearson, M. Chamberlaine, A. Craig, O. Marshall, P. Mulville, P. Smith, H. Chenery, C. Collins, M. Cook, G. Craig, G. Evans, J. Hiller, J. Montgomery, J. Schwenninger, J-L. Taylor, G. & Wess, T. 2005. Evidence for Mummification in Bronze Age Britain, *Antiquity* 79(305) 529-46

Parker Pearson, M. Pollard, J. Richards, C. Thomas, J. Tilley, C. Welham, K. Allen, M. Bennett, W. Field, D. French, C. Linford, N. Payne, A. Robinson, D. & Ruggles, C. 2006. *The Stonehenge Riverside Project: Summary interim Report on the 2006 Season*. Available at: <http://www.shef.ac.uk/content/1/c6/02/21/27/summary-interim-report-2006.pdf> [accessed 01 Dec 2012]

Parker Pearson, M. & Pryor, F. 2006. Visitors and Viewers Welcome? In Hunter, J. & Ralston, I. (Eds) *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK: an introduction*, Stroud, Sutton 316-327

- Parker Pearson, M. & Ramilisonina 1998. Stonehenge for the ancestors: the stones pass on the message, *Antiquity*, 72(276) 308-26
- Parry, G. 2007. Mists of Time, in Royal Academy, *Making History: Antiquaries in Britain 1707-2007*, London, Royal Academy and Thames & Hudson 17-36
- Partridge, C. (Ed) 2002. *Dictionary of Contemporary Religion in the Western World*, Leicester, Inter-Varsity Press
- Partridge, C. 2004. *The Re-Enchantment of the West Vol 2*, London, T&T Clark
- Pearsall & Trumble (Eds) 2003. *Oxford English Reference Dictionary*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Pearson, J. 1998. Assumed Affinities: Wicca and the New Age, in *Nature Religion Today: Paganism in the Modern World*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 45-56
- Pearson, J. 2001. Going Native in Reverse, *Nova Religio*, 5(1) 52-63
- Pendragon, A. 2011a. *Open Letter to H.A.D (Honouring the Ancient Dead)*. Available from: http://www.facebook.com/#!/note.php?note_id=10150431149595192 [accessed 25 Mar 2011]
- Pendragon, A. 2011b. A Write Royal Rant. Available from: <http://www.warband.co.uk/a-write-roval-rant.html> [accessed 01 Nov 2012]
- Pendragon, A. nd. *Resolving the Human Remains Crisis in British Archaeology: The Counter Argument*. Available from: <http://pia-journal.co.uk/article/view/pia.373/434> [accessed 09 Jul 2012]
- Pendragon, A. & Stone, C.J. 2003. *The Trials of Arthur: the life and times of a modern-day king*, London, Element
- Pengelly, J. & Waredale, D. 1992. *Something out of Nothing*, London, The Pagan Federation
- Phillips, M. 2010. Druids as an official religion? Stones of Praise here we come, *Daily Mail* 04 Oct 2010, (available online from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-1317490/Druids-official-religion-Stones-Praise-come.html?ito=feeds-newsxml>)
- Phillips, W.D. & Phillips C.R. 2010. *A Concise History of Spain*, Cambridge & New York, CUP
- Piggott, S. 1968. *The Druids*, London, Thames & Hudson
- Pike, S.M. 2004. Gleanings from the Field: Leftover Tales of Grief and Desire, in Blain, J. Ezzy, D. & Harvey, G. (Eds) *Researching Paganisms*; Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York, Toronto & Oxford; Altamira

Pitts, M. 1996. The Vicar's Dewpond, The National Trust Shop and the Rise of Paganism, in Evans, D.M. Salway, P. & Thackray, D. (Eds) *The Remains of Distant Times: Archaeology and the National Trust*, Woodbridge & Rochester; Boydell Press, Society of Antiquaries & the National Trust

Pitts, M. 2000. *Hengeworld*, London, Century 2000

Pitts, M. 2008. Major New Galleries Open in Cardiff, *British Archaeology*, (98) 6

Pitts, M. 2009. *A year at Stonehenge*, *Antiquity* (83) 184-194

Pitts, M. 2011a. *A Quick Spin Around Stonehenge*. Available from: <http://mikepitts.wordpress.com/category/stonehenge/> [accessed 09 Mar 2012]

Pitts, M. 2011b. *Digging Deeper*. Available from: <http://mikepitts.wordpress.com/2011/08/> [accessed 19 Sep 2012]

Pizza, M. 2009. Schism as Midwife: How Conflict Aided the Birth of a Contemporary Pagan Community, In Lewis, J.R. & Lewis S. (Eds) *Sacred Schisms: How Religions Divide*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 248-261

Pluciennik, M. 2001. Introduction: the responsibilities of archaeologists, in Pluciennik, M. (Ed) *The Responsibilities of Archaeologists: Archaeology and Ethics*, Oxford, BAR 1-8

Plutarch (Trans. Perrin, B.) 1920. *Pyrrhus Ch 26* . Available from: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0060%3Achapter%3D26%3Asection%3D6> [accessed 01 Feb 2013]

Pollard, J. & Reynolds, A. 2002. *Avebury: The biography of a landscape*, Stroud, Tempus

Postins, M.W. 1987. *Stonehenge: Sun, Moon, Wandering Stars*, Kenilworth, BJT Print Services

Poulton Research Project 2010. *Golden Rules For Human Remains*, s.l. Poulton Research Project

Pratchett, T. Stewart, I. & Cohen, J. 2003. *Science of Discworld II: The Globe*, Ebury Press, London, Sydney & Parktown

Price, D. 2010. *Eternal Idol: Unlock the Gates of Janus*. Available from: <http://www.eternalidol.com/?p=4644> [accessed 14 Apr 2011]

Pryor, F. 2002. *Seahenge: a quest for life and death in Bronze Age Britain*, London, HarperCollins

Pryor, F. 2003. *Britain BC: life in Britain and Ireland before the Romans*, London, Harpercollins

- Pullman, P. 2001. *His Dark Materials*, London, Scholastic Press
- Quote Investigator. 2013. *We Do Not Inherit the Earth from Our Ancestors; We Borrow It from Our Children*. Available from: <http://quoteinvestigator.com/2013/01/22/borrow-earth/> [accessed 2014]
- Rahtz, P. 1991. *Invitation to Archaeology*, Oxford and Cambridge, Blackwell
- Rahtz, P. 1993. *Glastonbury*, London, Batsford English Heritage
- Raphael, M. 1999. *Introducing Theology: Discourse on the Goddess*, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press
- Rapport, N. 2002. The Body of the Village Community, in Rapport, N. (Ed) *British Subjects: An Anthropology of Britain*, Oxford & New York, Berg 299-319
- Rathouse, W.W.O. 2007. *Social Stigma and the experience of coming out as Pagan*, unpublished undergraduate coursework, University of Wales: Lampeter.
- Rayner, J. 2012. A Pilgrim's Guide to Stonehenge: The Summer Solstice Celebrations, Winter Solstice and Equinox Dawn Gatherings, Great Britain, Choir Press
- Reid, P. 2006. *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883-1969*. Available from: <http://www.daa.nsw.gov.au/publications/StolenGenerations.pdf> [accessed 01 Apr 2011]
- Reilly, S. 2003. Processing the Dead in Neolithic Orkney, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 22(2) 133-54
- Reiser, O.L. 1974. *This holiest erthe : the Glastonbury zodiac and King Arthur's Camelot*, London, Perennial Books
- Restall Orr, E. 1996. Druids and Barrow-Loads of Trash, *The Druids' Voice* (6) 26-28
- Restall Orr, E. 2000a. Stonehenge: A View from the Moment, *Tooth & Claw* (9) 4-6
- Restall Orr, E. 2000b. *Ritual: A Guide to Life, Love and inspiration*, London, Thorsons
- Restall Orr, E. 2004. *Honouring the Ancient Dead*. Available from: <http://www.honour.org.uk/node/26> [accessed 09 Jul 2009]
- Restall Orr, E. 2005. *A Theology of Reburial*. Available from: <http://www.honour.org.uk/node/31> [accessed 30 Jun 2009]
- Restall Orr, E. 2006. Honouring the Ancient Dead, *Pagan Dawn* (159) 40-42

- Restall Orr, E. 2007a. *Living with Honour: A Pagan Ethics*, Winchester, O Books
- Restall Orr, E 2007b. The Ongoing Tales of Lindow Man, *Pagan Dawn*, (163) 34, Available from: <http://www.honour.org.uk/node/55> [accessed 21 Apr 2009]
- Restall Orr, E. 2010. *Re: Reburial or Retention of Human Remains from Stonehenge*, Available from: <http://www.honour.org.uk/system/files/MOJ+HAD+Response.pdf> [accessed 12 Mar 2013]
- Restall Orr, E. 2012. *The Wakeful World: Animism, Mind and the Self in Nature*, Winchester and Washington, Moon Books
- Reyes-Cortez, M. 2012. Material culture, magic and the Santa Muerte in the cemeteries of a megalopolis, *Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 13(1) 107-131
- Richards, J. 1999. *Meet the Ancestors: Unearthing the evidence that brings us face to face with the past*, London, BBC
- Richards, J 2005. *Stonehenge*, London, English Heritage
- Richards, J. 2013. *Stonehenge*, London, English Heritage
- Robbins, B. 1993. *Secular Vocations: Intellectuals, Professionalism, Culture*, London, Verso
- Roberts, C.A. 2009. *Human Remains in Archaeology: A Handbook*, York CBA
- Roberts, C. & Manchester, K. 2005. *The Archaeology of Disease*, Stroud, Sutton
- Roberts, S. 1979. *Order and Dispute: an introduction to legal anthropology*, Harmondsworth, Penguin
- Ross, A. 1986. Lindow Man and the Celtic Tradition, in Stead, I.M. Bourke, J.B. & Brothwell, D. (Eds) *Lindow Man: The Body in the Bog*, London, Trustees of the British Museum 162-169
- Russell, M. 2002. *Monuments of the British Neolithic: The Roots of Architecture*, Stroud, Tempus
- St. Paul's Cathedral. nd. *Choose your tickets*. Available from: <https://www.stpauls.co.uk/secure/tickets-1.asp> [accessed 24 Jan 2013]
- Salisbury Cathedral. nd. *Tower tours – Salisbury Cathedral*. Available from: <http://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk/visitor.tours.php> [accessed 24 Jan 2013]
- Salway, P. 1996. Introduction, in Evans, D.M. Salway, P. & Thackray, D. (Eds) *The Remains of Distant Times: Archaeology and the National Trust*, Suffolk & Rocester, Boydell Press

- Sayer, D. 2009. Is there a crisis facing British burial archaeology? *Antiquity* 83(319) 199-205
- Sayer, D. 2010. *Bones without barriers: digging cemeteries without hiding*, Theoretical Archaeology Group 2010 conference, Bristol
- Sayer, D. and Symonds, J. 2004. Lost Congregations: the crisis facing later post medieval urban burial grounds, *Church Archaeology* 5&655-61
- Scarre, C. & Scarre, G. (Eds) 2006. *The Ethics of Archaeology: philosophical perspectives on archaeological practice*, Cambridge, CUP
- Scarre, G. 2006. Can Archaeology Harm the Dead?, in Scarre, C. & Scarre, G. (Eds) *The Ethics of Archaeology: philosophical perspectives on archaeological practice*, Cambridge, CUP, 181-198
- Schadla-Hall, T. 2004. The Comforts of Unreason, in Merriman, N. (Ed) *Public Archaeology*, London, Routledge, 255-271
- Sebastion, T. 1990. Triad /\\: the Druid knowledge of Stonehenge, in Chippindale, C. Devereux, P. Fowler, P. Jones, R. Sebastion, T. *Who Owns Stonehenge*, London, Batsford
- Sebastion, Tim 2001. Alternative archaeology: has it happened? in *A Permeability of Boundaries?: New Approaches to the Archaeology of Art, Religion and Folklore* Oxford, British Archaeological Reports 125-135
- Seidman, S. 2004. *Contested Knowledge*, Oxford, Blackwell
- Servini, N. 1999. Pagans in Burial Bust Up, *The Mirror*, 22 Oct 1999, Available from: <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Pagans+in+burial+bust-up.-a060406147> [accessed 20 Nov 2012]
- Shallcrass, P. 1996. Druid News and Views, *The Druids' Voice* (7) 30-34
- Shallcrass, P. 1998. A Priest of the Goddess, in *Nature Religion Today: Paganism in the Modern World*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 157-169
- Shallcrass, P. 2000. *Druidry*, London, Piatkus
- Shallcrass, P. 2004. Respect and Reburial in Action, *Pagan Dawn* (150) 28-29
- Shallcrass, P. 2008. *Re: Druid Shaman*. Available from: <http://www.Druidry.co.uk/forum/the-shamanic-path/Druid-Shaman-t386.html> [accessed 06 Aug 2012]

Shallcrass, P. 2009. *Letter to Sebastian Payne*. Available at <http://www.Druidry.co.uk/BDO%20Reburial%20Response.pdf> [accessed 30 Jun 2010]

Shallcrass, P. (address withheld) 09 Mar 2012. *Re: Stonehenge Free Festival* [email to William Rathouse] (william.rathouse@facebook.com)

Sheets-Pyenson, S. 1988. *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century*, Kingston & Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press

Shelley, P. (Pat_shelley@btinternet.com) 23 Sep 2010. *RE: Stonehenge protests*, [email to William Rathouse] (pg186@lamp.ac.uk)

Simpson, M. 2001. *Making Representations: museums in the post colonial era*, London & New York, Routledge

Sitch, B. (Bryan.Sitch@Manchester.ac.uk) 03 Sep 2010. *RE: Researching contemporary Pagan engagements with heritage*, [email to William Rathouse] (pg186@lamp.ac.uk)

Skeates, R. 2000. *Debating the Archaeological Heritage*, London, Duckworth

Smith, I.F. 1965. *Windmill Hill and Avebury: excavations by Alexander Keiller 1925-1939*, Oxford, Clarendon Press

Smith, L. 2004. *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*, London & New York, Routledge

Smith, L. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*, London & New York, Routledge

Smith, L. & Waterton, E. 2009. *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology*, London, Duckworth

Snyder, C. 2011. *Exploring the world of King Arthur*, London, Thames & Hudson

Society for Museum Archaeologists 1993. *Selection, Retention and Dispersal of Archaeological Collections*. Available from: <http://www.socmusarch.org.uk/docs/selectionretentiondispersalofcollections1.pdf> [accessed 30 Jun 2010]

Sommer, M. 2007. *Bones and Ochre: The Curious Afterlife of the Red Lady of Paviland*, London & Cambridge, Harvard University Press

Somers, F. 2010. *Stonehenge Druids: Did archaeologists deface the archer?* Available from: <http://www.stonehenge-Druids.org/> [accessed 14 Apr 2010]

- Somers, F. & Pendragon, A. 2010. *Formal Response to Dept. of Justice*. Available from: www.warband.org.uk/Formal%20Response%20to%20DoJ%20v1.0.pdf [accessed 10 Jul 2011]
- Somers, F. & Pendragon, A. 2011. *Open Letter to HAD (Honouring the Ancient Dead)*. Available from: http://www.facebook.com/#!/note.php?note_id=10150431 [accessed 07 Mar 2011]
- Souden, D. 1997. *Stonehenge Revealed*, New York, Facts on File
- Sperber, D. 1994. *On Anthropological Knowledge: Three Essays*; Cambridge, New York & Melbourne; Cambridge University Press
- Spivak, G. 1990. Practical Politics of the Open End, in Harasym, S. (Ed) *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Structures, Dialogues*, New York & London, Routledge 95-112
- Spoerry, P. 1993. *Archaeology and Legislation in Britain*, Hertford, British Archaeological Trust
- Starhawk 1999. *The Spiral Dance: a rebirth of the ancient religion of the great goddess*, New York, Harper San Francisco
- Stead, I.M. Bourke, J.B. & Brothwell, D. (Eds) *Lindow Man: The Body in the Bog*, London, Trustees of the British Museum
- Steckel, R. Larsen, C.S. Sciulli, P. & Walker, P. 2006. The Scientific Value of Human Remains in Studying the Global History of Health, in Lohman, J. & Goodnow, K. (Eds) *Human Remains and Museum Practice*, Paris & London, UNESCO & Museum of London 60-70
- Stone, C.J. 1996. *Fierce Dancing: Adventures in the Underground*, London, Faber & Faber
- Stone, P. 2008. Stonehenge – A Final Solution?, in Fairclough, G. Harrison, R. Schofield, J. & Jameson, J.H. jnr. (Eds) *The Heritage Reader*, London & New York, Routledge, 525-535
- Stonehenge Peace Process nd. *Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Stonehenge*. Available from: <http://www.stonehengecampaign.org.uk/greenleaf/trc.htm> [accessed 14 Jan 2013]
- Stout, A. 2006. *What's Real and What is Not: Reflections Upon Archaeology and Earth Mysteries in Britain*, Frome, Runetree
- Stout, A. 2008a. *Creating Prehistory: Druids, Ley Hunters and Archaeologists in Pre-war Britain*, Oxford & Malden, Blackwell

- Stout, A. 2008b. Universal Majesty, Verity & Love Infinite: A Life of George Watson MacGregor Reid, in Carr-Gomm P. Hutton R. Cooper G. Greer J.M. Matthews C. Stout A. Rotherham R. & Maertins J. *The Mount Haemus Lectures*, Lewes, Oak Tree Press, 83-170
- Stukeley, W. 2005. Stonehenge, in Burl, A. & Mortimer, N. (Eds) *Stukeley's Stonehenge*, Newhaven & London, Yale University Press 21-133
- Strabo (trans Hamilton, H.C. & Falconer, W.) nd. *Geography Book IV Chapter 4 Section 4*. Available from: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0239%3Abook%3D4%3Achapter%3D4%3Asection%3D4> [accessed 01 Dec 2012]
- SuperSteve9219 2006. *Penn And Teller Get Hippies To Sign Water Banning Petition*. Available from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yi3erdgVVTw> [accessed 20 May 2011]
- Sykes, B. 2002. *The Seven Daughters of Eve*, London, Corgi
- Tarlow, S. 2001. The Responsibility of Representation, in Pluciennik M. (Ed) *The Responsibilities of Archaeologists: Archaeology and Ethics*, Oxford, BAR 57-64
- Tarlow, S. 2006. Archaeological ethics and the people of the past, in Scarre C. & Scarre G. (Eds) *The Ethics of Archaeology: philosophical perspectives on archaeological practice*, Cambridge, CUP, 199-216
- Tarlow, S. 2008. The Extraordinary History of Oliver Cromwell's Head, in Borié, D. & Robb, J. (Eds) *Past bodies: Body Centred Research in Archaeology*, Oxford, Oxbow
- Taylor, T. 2002. *The Buried Soul: How humans invented death*, London Fourth Estate
- Thackray, D. & Payne, S. 2008. *Draft Report on the Request for the Reburial of Human Remains from the Alexander Keiller Museum at Avebury*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/a-e/draftreport.pdf> [accessed 22 Nov 2012]
- Thackray, D. & Payne, S. 2009. *Report on Consultation on the Request for Reburial of Prehistoric Human Remains from the Alexander Keiller Museum at Avebury*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/p-t/report-on-consultation.pdf> [accessed 30 Mar 2011]
- Thackray, D. & Payne, S. 2010. *Avebury Reburial Request: Summary Report*. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/a-e/avebury-reburial-request-summary.pdf> [accessed 30 Mar 2011]
- Thatcher, M 1995. *The Downing Street Years*, London, HarperCollins

theclevercat 2012. *Druid Ceremony: Summer Solstice at The Rollright Stones*. Available from: <http://theclevercat.hubpages.com/hub/Summer-Solstice-Ceremony#> [accessed 22 Oct 2012]

The Sun, 2012. *I want my man like he is, whether he is dead or alive*. Available from: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4656956/woman-accused-of-hording-skeletons-for-sex.html> [accessed 23 Nov 2012]

This Is Bristol 2009. *Avebury Residents Back Campsite for Solstice*. Available from: <http://www.thisisbristol.co.uk/Pagans-able-camp-Avebury-festivals/story-11305510-detail/story.html> [accessed 28 Feb 2012]

This Is Wiltshire 2009. *This Is Wiltshire – Trust Nears Solution Over Avebury Solstice Campers*. Available from: http://www.thisiswiltshire.co.uk/news/headlines/4111165.Trust_near_solution_over_Avebury_solstice_campers/ [accessed 10 Mar 2010]

Thomas, H. 2000. *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology and the Battle for Native American Identity*, New York, Basic Books

Thomas, L-V. 2005 Funeral Rites: An Overview, in Jones, L. (Ed) *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Detroit, Macmillan Reference

Tierney, J. 2001. *Darkness in El Dorado : how scientists and journalists devastated the Amazon*, New York, Norton

Tilley, C. 1994. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*; Oxford, Berg

Tilley, C. 2004. *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*, Oxford & New York, Berg

Time Team. Special. The Mystery of Sea Henge. Channel 4. 29 Dec 1999

Timothy, D.J. 2007. *Managing Cultural Heritage and Cultural Tourism Resources*, Aldershot & Burlington, Ashgate

Tonnies, F. (Trans Loomis C.P.) 1955. *Community and Association*, London, Routledge

Tortorello, M. 2012. Made by Druids, Loved by Dragons, *New York Times*. Available from: [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/23/garden/your-own-private-stonehenge.html?pagewanted=1&smid=pl-share\[url](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/23/garden/your-own-private-stonehenge.html?pagewanted=1&smid=pl-share[url) [accessed 23 Aug 2012]

Toynbee, P. 1996. A being that works in mysterious ways: Who is to say what is a proper religion? That all-seeing judge of transcendental things, the Charity Commission, *The Independent*. Available from: <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/a-being-that-works-in-mysterious-wavs-1328894.html> [accessed 24 Sep 2012]

Trubshaw, B. 2005. *Sacred Places: Prehistory and the popular imagination*, Loughborough, Heart of Albion

Turner, R. 2004. *Return 'Red Lady' to Wales, English urged*. Available from: <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/page.cfm?objectid=14235936&method=full&siteid=50082> [accessed 11 Nov 2012]

UNESCO 1992. *Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated sites – UNESCO World Heritage Centre*. Available from: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/373> [accessed 10 Mar 2010]

UNESCO 2010. *UNESCO World Heritage Centre Frequently Asked Questions*. Available from: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/faq/#q2> [accessed 14 Mar 2012]

University of Oxford Museums and Collections and *Community Outreach – Bringing the Museums to You*, Available from: <http://www.museums.ox.ac.uk/drupal7/community-outreach> [accessed 21 Mar 2014]

University of Sheffield. 2009. *Archaeologist at University finds 'Bluestonehenge' site*. Available from: <http://www.shef.ac.uk/mediacentre/2009/1363.html> [accessed 14 Apr 2011]

Urry, J. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, London, Sage

Valiente, D. 1993. *Witchcraft for Tomorrow*, London, Robert Hale

Van Gulik, L. 2009. *On the Pagan Parallax: a sociocultural exploration of the tension between eclecticism and traditionalism in contemporary nature religions*. Available from: <http://www.leonvangulik.nl/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/On-the-Pagan-parallax-final-home-version.pdf> [accessed 21 Sep 2012]

Vardy, P. & Grosch, P. 1999. *The Puzzle of Ethics*, London, Fount

Wade, E.C.S. & Bradley, A.W. 1965. *Constitutional Law*, London, Longmans Green & Co Ltd.

Walker, B. & Maynard, J. 1997. *Through Indian Eyes: The Untold History of Native American Peoples*, Pleasantville, New York & Montreal; Readers Digest

Wallis, R. J. 2000. *Queer Shamans: Autoarchaeology and Neo-Shamanism*, in *World Archaeology* 32(2) 252-262

Wallis, R. J. 2003. *Shamans/Neo-Shamans: Ecstasy, Alternative Archaeologies and Contemporary Pagans*, London, Routledge

- Walsham, A. 2010. Introduction: Relics and Remains in Walsham, A. (Ed) *Relics and Remains past and present*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 9-36
- Walter, T. 1991. Modern Death: Taboo or Not Taboo, *Sociology* 25(2) 293-310
- Warwick, C. kitwarwick@yahoo.co.uk. 2003. Re: Dead to Rights and the Red Lady, [email] Message to William Rathouse (brochfaelcanwrtir@yahoo.co.uk) Sent 04 Mar 2013 20:26
- Watkins, A. 1974. *The Old Straight Track*, London, Abacus
- Watson, C. 2005. *Seahenge: an archaeological conundrum*, Swindon, English Heritage
- Weeks, J. 2008. Egypt Gallery, Bristol's City Museum and Art Gallery, *Museums Journal* 108(6) 46-49
- Weigmann, K. 2001. In the Name of Science: The role of biologists in Nazi atrocities: lessons for today's scientists, *EMBO Reports*, 2 (10) 871-5
- Wessex Archaeology and Community and Outreach Services, Available from: <http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/system/files/Outreach.pdf> [accessed 31 Mar 2014]
- Western Daily Press. 2013. Druids protest outside new Stonehenge visitors centre. Available from <http://www.westerndailypress.co.uk/Druids-protest-outside-new-Stonehenge-visitor/story-20337510-detail/story.html> [accessed 25 Aug 2014]
- Whelan, J. 2009. *Land off Wellow Lane, Peasedown St. John, Bath and North East Somerset NGR ST70385692: Results of an archaeological evaluation*, Hindon, AC Archaeology. Available from: <http://idox.bathnes.gov.uk/WAM/doc/Consultation%20Response-337443.pdf?extension=.pdf&id=337443&location=VOLUME2&contentType=application/pdf&pageCount=1> [accessed 07 Oct 2012]
- White, B. 2009. An Advisory Panel for the Archaeology of all burials on England? In *The Archaeologist* (72) 28-29
- Whitley, J. 2002. Too Many Ancestors, *Antiquity* (76) 119-126
- Whittle, A. 2005. The Neolithic Period c. 4000-2500/2200 BC, in Hunter, J. & Ralston, I. (Eds) *The Archaeology of Britain: An introduction from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution*, London & New York, Routledge 58-76
- Williams, P. & Wallace, D. 1990. *Unit 731*, London, Grafton
- Williams, C. 2010. *Down Among the Dead Men: A year in the life of a mortuary technician*, London, Constable

- Wilson, D.M. 1990. *The British Museum: Purpose and Politics*, London, British Museum Publications
- Winter, J.C. 1984. Indian Heritage Preservation and Archaeologists, *American Antiquity* 45(1) 121-131
- Winton, T.E. 2004. *Footprints in Stone: A Psychogeography of Rome*, Available from <http://www.akad.se/Winton.pdf> [accessed 09 Apr 2013]
- Wittgenstein, L. 1933. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, London, Kegan Paul
- World Archaeology Congress 1989. *the Vermillion Accord on Human Remains*. Available from: http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/site/about_ethi.php#code2 [accessed 19 Jun 2012]
- Worthington, A. 2005a. *Stonehenge: Celebration and Subversion*, Loughborough, Alternative Albion
- Worthington, A. (Ed) 2005b. *The Battle of the Beanfield*, Teignmouth, Enabler
- Worthington, A. 2008. *Stonehenge and the summer solstice: past and present*. Available from: <http://www.andyworthington.co.uk/2008/06/21/stonehenge-and-the-summer-solstice-past-and-present/> [accessed 09 Mar 2012]
- Worthington, A. & Dearling 2005. Stonehenge and the Road to the Beanfield, in Worthington, A. (Ed) *The Battle of the Beanfield*, Teignmouth, Enabler 5-25
- Wright, P. 2009. *On Living in an Old Country*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press
- York, M. 1995. *The Emerging Network: A Sociology of the New Age and Neo-Pagan Movements*, Lanham & London, Bowman & Littlefield
- York, M. 2005. *Pagan Theology: Paganism as a World Religion*, New York & London, New York University Press
- Yorkshire Post 2009. *Fate of flock of birds holds up quarrying*. Available from: <http://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/around-yorkshire/local-stories/fate-of-flock-of-birds-holds-up-quarrying-1-2337856> [accessed 30 Nov 2012]
- Young, P 1980. *World War II*, London, New York, Sydney & Toronto; Hamlyn Bison
- Zwi Werblowsky, R.J. 1987. Polytheism, in Eliade M. (Ed) *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York, MacMillan 435-9

10.2 Personal Communications

Aburrow, Yvonne (03 Apr 2009, 26-8 Jun 2009) Yvonne is a Wiccan high priestess and founder of Pagans for Archaeology.

Ayers, Brian (21 Apr 2009) Brian was County Archaeologist for Norfolk at the time of the excavation of the Holme-Next-the-Sea timber circle (aka Seahenge).

Bennett, Phil (06 Jun 06, 19 Oct 2010) Phil was the Chief Archaeological Officer for Pembrokeshire Coast National Park and is now their Manager of Culture and Heritage

Caple, Chris (04 Jul 2010) Chris is a Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at Durham University and Director of the archaeological dig at Nevern Castle

Carson, Peter (21 Dec 2008) Peter was English Heritage's 'Head of Stonehenge'.

Clegg, Margaret (14 Apr 2009) Margaret is responsible for the curation of human remains at the British Museum (Natural History) London and is on the Advisory Panel for the Archaeology of Burials in England (APABE).

Daughton, Eddie (14 Apr 2012) Eddie produced the newsletter for the Stonehenge Free Festival in the 1970s and 1980s.

Davies, Paul (03 Apr 2009) Paul was the Reburial Officer for the Council of British Druid Orders and remains a strident campaigner for reburial of prehistoric human remains.

Ford, Nick (01 May 2009 & 06 Aug 2010) Nick is one of the community leaders of the 'Grey Mare' Pagan camp, a loose collection of largely polytheistic Pagans.

Graham, Mark (July 2012) Mark is Archdruid of the Charnwood Order and attended the Stonehenge Free Festival in the 1980s.

Grant, Angela (18 Aug 2011, 1 Sep 2011) Angela is a former HAD activist and freelance academic researcher

Hanks, Nick (27 Jun 2009) Nick is a field archaeologist working in Western England.

Hutton, Ronald (22 Jun 2010) Ronald is Professor of English History at Bristol University and widely recognised as the leading scholar in the history of contemporary British Paganism.

Joy, Jody (15 Apr 2009) Jody is Curator of the Iron Age collections in the British Museum including the preserved body of Lindow Man.

Nolan, Buster (21 Dec 2008 in person and 21 Apr 2009 by telephone) Buster was one of the leaders of the protest against the excavation of the Seahenge timber circle at Holme-next-the-Sea in Norfolk.

Orbach, Emma (09 Nov 2010) Emma is the founder of the Tir Ysbridol (Spiritual Land) ecological community in Pembrokeshire.

Parker Pearson, Mike (15 Dec 2006) Mike is Professor of Archaeology at UCL specialising in mortuary archaeology and British prehistory.

Payne, Kim (21 Dec 2012) Kim is a regular pilgrim at Stonehenge and defines himself as Druid and as a Templar.

Payne, Sebastian (12 Aug 2009) Sebastian is the Chief Scientist of English Heritage and has overseen the public consultation process over human remains in English Heritage and NT care.

Pendragon, Arthur (21 Dec 2008) Arthur is the titular chief of the Loyal Arthurian Warband, a Druid group dedicated to campaigning for environmental issues and Pagan civil rights.

Rawle, Sid (07 Aug 2009) Sid was one of the community leaders of the Stonehenge Free Festival and has helped to organise camping events for the British Druid Order and the Druid Network.

Restall Orr, Emma (07 Aug 2009) Emma has now retired as Chief of the Druid Network but continues leading Honouring the Ancient Dead, which she founded in 2004 to give contemporary Pagans a voice in the debate over human remains.

Shallcrass, Philip (25 Sep 2011) Philip is founder and leader of the British Druid Order.

Somers, Frank (24 Sep 2010) Frank is the founder of Stonehenge Druids and has worked closely with the Loyal Arthurian Warband. He has been active in campaigning for the reburial of the human remains from Aubrey Hole 7 at Stonehenge.

Walker, Elizabeth (27 Apr 2010) Elizabeth is Collections Manager and Curator of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Archaeology at the National Museum Wales, Cardiff.

Warwick, Chris (Kit) (12 Sep 2009) Kit was the Pagan Federation's regional co-ordinator for South Wales. He also founded the campaign group Dead to Rights.

Webber, Mike (22 Apr 2009) When I interviewed him, Mike was the Education Officer at Flag Fen Archaeology Park. Previously he was an archaeologist working for the Museum of London Archaeology Service.

Appendix 1: Research Questions

As explained in Chapter 3 the number of interviewees and the semi structured nature of the interviews would make full transcripts of all interviews excessive for the length of the thesis. However, to aid the reader in contextualising the responses given by my contributors here are lists of questions I used to remind myself of what needed to be covered in interviews for specific groups. Please note that these question lists were seldom rigidly adhered to but rather served as structural support to conversations and aide memoires for myself as interviewer.

The initial set of interview questions for Pagans not active in contestation were as follows:

1. Explain research aims and solicit informed consent. Establish if anonymity is preferred
2. How would you describe your religious identity or community?
3. Please describe the nature of that identity and/or community
4. Who are the leaders or spokespeople of that community or group?
5. To what extent do they represent the views of their community
6. How important is an awareness of the ancient past in your spirituality?
7. How widespread do you think that view is within the community?
8. How do you view the relationship between Pagans and archaeological/heritage professionals?
9. How has that relationship changed (if at all) in the last two or three decades?
10. How would you like to see this relationship develop in the future?
11. To what extent do you think Pagans should have privileged access to ancient sites?
12. How far should archaeologists go to respect Pagan sensibilities over excavating sites?
13. To what extent should the Pagan community be involved in managing sites?
14. At sites like Avebury, whose needs take precedent, the Pagans or the residents and why?
15. How do you perceive concepts of the soul?
16. What happens when we die?

17. How typical do you think those beliefs are among the broader Pagan community?
18. To what extent does the soul keep a connection with the body after death?
19. Can the treatment of the body affect what happens to the soul after death?
20. If so how does this fit in with ideas of reincarnation?
21. How do you feel ancient remains should be treated?
22. What differences do you think there are in the treatment of Christian remains as opposed to pre-Christian?
23. What evidence is there to support this view?
24. To what extent do you think that archaeologists and museum professionals respect the ancient dead?
25. How would you characterise the display of human remains in terms of respect?
26. How about religious display of bones or corporeal relics in Christianity and other religions?
27. How desirable do you think it is to rebury human remains in museum collections?
28. Why/why not?
29. What arguments for and against reburial are you aware of?
30. How do you assess the value of these arguments?
31. If human remains are displayed, how should it be done and why?
32. If human remains are stored, how should it be done and why?
33. If human remains are reburied, how should it be done and why?
34. Are there any other points you would like to raise about human remains?
35. Who owns or should own human remains?
36. To what extent should heritage sites provide 'alternative interpretations? And recent social histories to the public?
37. To what extent, if at all, does the lack of such interpretations and histories upset you?
38. Are there any other points you would like to make on site access and interpretation, human remains or on archaeological excavation

The aforementioned questions were used for three interviews before being simplified and revised as follows:

1. What is Paganism?
2. Where do you draw the line between Pagans and Non-Pagans?
3. How important is an awareness of the past, i.e. history and archaeology in your spirituality?
4. Who are the community leaders in British Paganism?
5. How well do they represent the interests and views of British Pagans?
6. How do you think the archaeological establishment and the heritage industry view Pagans and Paganism?
7. How important are Ancestors or ancestral spirits in your spirituality?
8. How do you perceive the Ancestors, what constitutes an Ancestor?
9. How do you, as a Pagan, view the archaeological and heritage professions?
10. To what extent do you think other Pagans share these views?
11. What is your view on the archaeological excavation and analysis of the ancient dead?
12. What is your view on the preservation and storage of human remains?
13. What is your view on the museum display of human remains?
14. If human remains are put on display, how should this be done to emphasise respect?
15. What happens to a person when they die?
16. Can the treatment of human remains affect that person's afterlife?
17. How should we decide what to do with human remains?
18. Why do some Pagan community leaders campaign for reburial?
19. Who should officiate at reburial ceremonies?
20. How important is it that we preserve ancient sites for future generations?
21. If ritual use of sites threatens to degrade them, how do we balance the needs of pilgrims against the needs of preservation?
22. In such cases, who should decide on access and who should control it?

The question set devised for osteo-archaeologists and museum curators concerned with human remains was as follows:

1. What is your occupation or employment?

2. What is your experience in osteo-archaeology?
3. To what extent is archaeology important to your identity or self-image?
4. What are your spiritual or religious beliefs and how important are they to your identity or self-image?
5. What are your spiritual beliefs surrounding death and the dead?
6. How do these beliefs affect your osteo-archaeological work?
7. To what extent do human remains merit special treatment in your opinion?
8. To what extent do you treat human remains differently from other archaeological material, e.g. potsherds, and why?
9. To what extent do you feel treatment of dead bodies should be determined by relatives of the deceased and why?
10. If no relatives can be found, who then should decide what happens to a body?
11. In the case of prehistoric human remains who should determine what constitutes correct treatment or disposition and why?
12. To what extent do you think that contemporary Pagans who attempt to act as advocates for the pre-Christian dead should be taken seriously and why?
13. Who or what are archaeologists responsible to and why?
14. To what extent should archaeological information be restricted or disseminated?

In some cases a question set was devised specifically for named interviewees. These are the questions prepared prior to my interview with Frank Sommers:

1. Why oppose an extension to the analysis licence for the Aubrey Hole 7 remains/ Stonehenge Guardians?
2. What do you think of the suggestion that the law, as it stands now, will not allow reburial of 'The Guardians' at Stonehenge?
3. Who should arbitrate over disputes regarding human remains?
4. How do you feel about those in the Pagan community who oppose your campaign and who accuse you of bringing Paganism into disrepute?
5. Where do you stand on the broader issue of pre-Christian human remains?
6. Why do you feel that way?
7. What aspects of the management of Stonehenge are you unhappy with?

8. How would you like to see things change?
9. Who should manage Stonehenge and how? (If no-one, how would that work?)
10. To what extent is your Paganism rooted in the Paganisms of the ancient past?
11. How large a part does archaeology play in informing your spirituality?
12. How do you characterise the way archaeology is practiced in the UK today?
13. How do you understand the process of research and how it is organised and funded?
14. You have suggested that investigation of human remains should be restricted to two years after which reburial should be mandatory, why do you feel this time is sufficient?
15. How do you feel about charges of anti-intellectualism levelled at people involved in this protest?
16. How would you define the term 'Ancestor' in a Druidic context?
17. What are the consequences of failing to respect the ancestors?
18. How do you respond to the argument that putting bones on display is an act of reverence?
19. To archaeologists only the useless spoil is backfilled so from their perspective reburial may be seen as disrespectful. To what extent do you think such views should be taken into consideration?
20. How do you respond to people who dismiss Pagans as irrational?
21. To what extent do you feel that Pagans have a stronger connection to the ancient Britons than the rest of the UK population?
22. To what extent do you feel that Pagans have been oppressed, victimised and harassed over the last few decades?
23. How much does that affect your campaign work?
24. Where do you draw the dividing line between persons and things?
25. So how does that affect the accusation that museum display objectifies them?
26. Eyewitnesses, both Pagan and archaeologists, attest to participants in your campaign verbally abusing and intimidating young archaeologists. How do you feel such an approach is likely to affect your campaign?

The question set prepared for my interview with Sebastian Payne was as follows:

1. Please would you explain your role in English Heritage?
2. Do you feel you are well informed about contemporary Paganism?
 - a. What is your general impression of the broad Pagan community?
 - b. How would you characterise Pagan beliefs?
 - c. How do you think your own spiritual or scientific standpoint affects your views of these groups?
3. Does EH have any general policy regarding relations with religious groups in general and Pagans in particular?
4. Which groups and individuals in the Pagan community have you had most contact with?
 - a. How do you attempt to judge which individuals are actually representing a reasonable sized constituency?
5. What is the latest news on the Avebury reburial consultation?
 - a. What was the rationale behind EH's response to the reburial request?
 - b. To what extent might you be hoping to set a precedent?
6. The Vermillion Accord advocates respectful treatment of human remains. This has been echoed by Pagan groups. In the context of archaeological and heritage treatment of human remains, what do you think constitutes respect and how do we demonstrate it?
7. How does EH assess levels of stakeholdership?
8. Do you have any idea what proportion of heritage consumers might identify as Pagan? To what extent has research been done into this question?
9. If human remains lack contextual information, what are the benefits of curating them?
10. In order to help me understand how resources are managed and human remains treated, how should I go about trying to arrange a work shadowing/work experience scheme?
11. How much of a difference is there in the way Christian remains are treated compared to pre-Christian remains?
12. Christian pilgrims are generally allowed free access to their sacred places, with this in mind, why should Pagans have to pay to enter sites they deem sacred?

13. Bearing in mind how many sites sacred to Pagans EH manage, how strong do you think the case for having non-archaeologically/ heritage trained Pagans involved in EH management.
14. At Stonehenge (and other sites) the information provided to the public does not include reference to alternative (e.g. Earth Mysteries) interpretations of the site. Neither is reference made to recent social histories (e.g. the Free Festival) and its spiritual significance to Pagans. How do you respond to calls for these to be incorporated into the public narrative of the site?
15. How does EH respond to accusations that its entrance fees exceed the stipulations of Cecil Chubb's deed of gift?
16. What lessons did EH learn from the excavation of the Home timber circle?
17. If a similar site was discovered, how would you proceed?
18. How do you see relations between EH and the Pagan community developing over the next couple of decades or in the future?
19. What would you hope to learn from my research?
20. Are there any sources of funding to assist this research available from EH?
21. INFORMED CONSENT – Are you happy for me to use this information in my research
22. Would you like/be willing to review an early draft of a section or sections of my research in order to comment so I can include those comments in my final thesis?

The questions for Emma Orbach regarding her protest at Nevern were as follows:

1. How did the community at Tir Ysbridol come about?
2. Please tell me about the values, ethics, beliefs and spirituality of the community?
3. To what extent do you think the term Pagan applies to people here?
4. Please tell me about your feelings regarding archaeology and heritage?
5. How would you characterise your contacts with heritage and archaeological professionals?
6. I've been told you have had objections regarding the archaeological work at Nevern Castle. Please will you tell me the reasons for them?

7. How do you know the place is a fairly mound or sacred site?
8. How many people do you think consider it as such?
9. Does the archaeological evidence against prehistoric activity here have any relevance to its status as a fairly mound?
10. What would you consider to be the repercussions of disturbing such a site?
11. How might archaeological exploration of the site be conducted in a way which respects your beliefs?
12. How were your concerns addressed?
13. How did you feel about how your concerns/ protests were dealt with?
14. How could they have been better dealt with?

After the complaint made about my enquiries detailed in section 3.7.2, I prepared a new set of questions for the archaeologists and heritage managers involved. The questions prepared for interviewing them are as follows:

1. Please tell me about the archaeological dig at Nevern?
2. Who has opposed or protested about the dig and how have they gone about it?
3. Can you explain the reasons for their protest?
4. Who are the stakeholders?
5. Concerns have been expressed to the UWL archaeology department regarding my investigations, can you explain the nature of these concerns?
6. What makes you think the protest has been forgotten about?
7. Would it not be helpful to have a report on what the protestors are up to and an independent explanation of their motives?
8. What risks might arise from further protest at the site?
9. What strategies have you employed or planned to deal with or avoid protest?

This question set was not used as the conversation with Phil Bennett followed immediately on from his talk for the archaeological society in the course of which and in subsequent questions from the audience he answered many of the questions. My subsequent conversation with him focused more on concerns over whether or not I should interview Ms Orbach.