Alexander Gramsch

'Reflexiveness' in archaeology, nationalism, and Europeanism[1]

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Abstract

'Reflexiveness' is a term used for the growth of discussions in archaeology on its history, epistemology, and social relevance. While much of this reflecting refers to the relation of archaeology and nationalism, leading to insights into the politicisation of archaeological research and presentation to the public and the use of the past for ideological purposes, still we can witness many parallels to the use of prehistory for the creation of a European identity. After briefly commenting on discussions on different nationalisms and national and cultural identity, I will present a short history of ideas of Europe, followed by a consideration of two examples of the attempt to create the lacking founding myth of post-cold-war Europe. In the end, it is argued that a 'Reflexive Theory' should necessarily replace current rather politically motivated 'reflexiveness' and is needed to examine critically the Europeanist notion of European archaeology.

Keywords

Reflexive Theory; nationalism; Europe; Europeanism; historiography; public archaeology

The growth of 'reflexiveness' in archaeology

In archaeology, as in the other humanities, there have been increasing discussions about the epistemological, political, ideological and social backgrounds of their practice. Discourse has emerged about the political preconditions of its own field of production, especially its politicisation in the past, and its relation with nationalism (e.g. Atkinson, Banks and O'Sullivan 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion (eds) 1996; Kohl and Fawcett (eds) 1995), but also about its history (e.g. Jacobs 1996; Olivier 1998; Gustafsson 1999) and current development, and the state of the art (e.g. Kristiansen 1993; Sherratt 1995; LAW 1997; Müller 1998; Siegmund and Zimmermann 2000). These discussions, especially in Germany, increasingly take place in conferences on the relations of prehistoric and classical archaeology to nationalism or fascism (Hofter 1998; Leube 1998; Halle and Schmidt 1999; Theune 1999; Schülke 2000). Recently I have characterised this as the growth of 'reflexiveness' (Gramsch 1999). 'Reflexiveness' can also be related to the 'European question' in archaeology. Among those who have addressed the relation of archaeology and Europe in recent years are Kristiansen (1990), Renfrew (1994), Biehl and Gramsch (1997), Graves-Brown, Jones and Gamble (1996) and Willems (1998). This reflection on epistemology, politics and ideology shows archaeology's concern about its relevance – the question of *whether* archaeology is important, and if it is: why (Wienberg 1999), and how it could 'make the world a better place' (Burström 1999).

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In the following I want to consider the reasons for this development. After briefly discussing 'reflexiveness' in relation to nationalism I want to focus on another field where archaeology's interdependence with society and politics needs reflection, that is its current role in the creation of a common European heritage and cultural identity. Since the publication of Kuhn's *The structure of scientific revolutions* (1962) we have know about the social mechanisms affecting scientific production. A self-reflective approach to archaeology's relation with Europe and to 'Europeanism' is, I think, needed as much as it is to nationalism. After discussing what Europeanism means I will briefly present two examples of creations of the 'European myth'. Both the current 'reflexiveness' as well as 'Europeanism' show that a 'Reflexive Theory' is required in archaeology, that is a sociology of the field of archaeological production.

Archaeology and nationalism

A closer look at the current 'reflexiveness' in archaeology, especially at debates on the politicisation of archaeology, reveals that most articles assume from the start the influence of nationalist ideology on archaeology that leads to distorted pictures of the past and the instrumentalisation of archaeological research for the present (cf. Gramsch 1999).

Drawing on the same sociological and historical sources, mainly Anderson, Gellner, and Hobsbawm, most of these illuminating accounts often lack exhaustive definitions of the analytical terms used, especially nation, nationalism, and ethnicity. No reference is made, for example, to sociological discussions on the current crisis of western European nation-states, distinguishing a 'new nationalism' from the traditional one in Western Europe (Rex 1996; Delanty 1996; see below). Obviously, differing evaluations of the history of national archaeology within one nation-state (e.g. Lillios 1995 and Fabião 1996) proceed from different conceptions of the term nationalism as well as from different paradigms. Archaeologists working as historiographers rather than analysts of material culture do not always produce deep insight. Much of what has been published has been somewhat anecdotal and political. Before being able to reflect on the histories of the discipline a deeper consideration of the political as well as academic reasons for this 'reflexiveness' is required.

After archaeology's loss of academic innocence, in the 1980s and 1990s it also lost its political innocence with the realisation of the discipline's deep involvement in the evolution of nations and nationalism; in creating and maintaining national identities. The establishment of archaeology as an academic discipline was itself, according to Trigger (1989; 1995), unavoidably connected to nationalism. Thus, one reason for the present 'reflexiveness' is an attempt to break free from legacies of the past – especially in Germany, as both Wiwjorra (1996) and Arnold and Haßmann (1995) in their analyses of German nationalist and National-Socialist archaeology have pointed out. Another reason is to prove archaeology's relevance for today's societies. Current socio-political problems and a certain pressure for justification of its existence demand archaeology to contribute to present public debates.

The reasons for the current 'reflexiveness', it may be concluded, are not originally academic but largely political, caused for example by the dissolution of established nation-states or political alliances. I now want to talk about these political developments.[2]

Identity, nationalism and Europe

One of the main problems for European societies during the last decade has been the growing uncertainty about regional, national or supra-national identities, be they cultural or ethnic. In Western Europe this crisis is at least partly the result of increasing migration, but also of a growing separation of state and nation, both being no longer identical (cf. Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1994, 26). This has led both to regionalism and Europeanism; to the search for regional or supra-regional identities expressing themselves in cultural conservatism and a return to old rituals and symbols observed by anthropologists of Europe. This restoration is also explained as the recovery of traditions and their evaluation anew at a time during which the post-war ideal of continuous economical growth and prosperity has been questioned (Boissevain 1994, 43). Many of the young states succeeding the break down of Soviet hegemony, on the other hand, face a crisis with the necessity of creating a new national self-consciousness to replace the internationalist socialist one.

Two kinds of identity may be distinguished here: *national identity* is characterised by a common territory in which the all-embracing state and its institutions are accepted by all. The inhabitants of the territory and members of the state all have common civil rights and duties, they are all citizens.[3] On the other hand, there is *cultural identity*, which is the acceptance of a 'common consciousness', that is one common official language, one common religion, one common set of values, one common heritage and history – usually neglecting regional and social differences. In both understandings, identity also refers to how a society distinguishes itself from others, how it defines its relations to the foreign.

The crisis of Western European states mentioned above leads among other things to a 'new nationalism' (Delanty 1996). This is no longer directed against the neighbours of the state but against the 'others' inside, such as immigrants and minorities, and therefore stresses the *cultural* difference between those 'others' and the 'own culture', usually denoted as 'Western-Christian' ('*abendländisch*'). In Central and Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the young states face the problem of 'old' nationalisms, being ethnic and inclusive rather than cultural and inclusive, in following their search for national identities.

Europeanism, too, is a result of these developments. It can be understood as an effort to overcome the old inclusive and the new exclusive forms of nationalism. With other disciplines, therefore, archaeology today faces the demand to create a non-national, European identity. Europeanism tries to create such a supra-national identity through symbols such as flag, hymn, passport – the same set of symbols used by old nationalisms (Shore 1996, 103), but also through stressing typically European features in history, postulating a common set of values, a common heritage, i.e. a European *cultural identity* under the heading of 'unity in diversity'. Thus, modes of identification are transferred from the national to the European level, leading to separation and exclusion on a wider scale, as will be shown below. Here 'new nationalism' and Europeanism meet. Today we face the 'Europeanisation' of Europe, in the cultural as much as in the economic sphere, that is the force to perceive of every community, cultural expression, or regional development in terms of the 'European question'. This is also true for the humanities as a whole, where we find the 're-emergence of Europe' as a field of study (Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1994).

The political reasons for the 'reflexive turn' in archaeology are, thus, at the same time at least partly responsible for the 'Europeanist turn': archaeology's involvement in creating and maintaining a common cultural base for European identity, writing the 'European Myth' (Schmale 1997a). Therefore, we have to look closer on archaeology's role in this process.

Europeanism and archaeology

First I would like to define Europeanism more clearly in relation to archaeology. Europeanism refers to the conviction of interpreters of pre- and protohistoric material culture that it must be possible to find common European characteristics in their data that account for a lasting European commonness, and which enable the discovery of the emergence of 'Europe' in pre- or protohistory. These interpreters claim the ability to present histories of the 'Europeanness' of prehistoric cultures in Europe.

'Europeanism' is a term also used in historical disciplines in different ways: for example, Napoleon's politics and aims, which have been hailed by many contemporaries as giving birth to Europe, are labelled that way (Möckl 1999); Europeanism is found in the theories of other historians, such as Ernst Troeltsch (1865 – 1923; Cho 1995), or Oswald Spengler (1880 – 1936; Arndt 1995), referring to the 19th century idea of European culture and civilisation (see below) and to the imperial as much as cultural expansion of Europe at that time; and, Europeanism is the key word of a new academic subject at the University of Munich, called '*Europäistik*' (©). As Wolfgang Schmale, responsible for this subject, put it: 'Europeistics' means

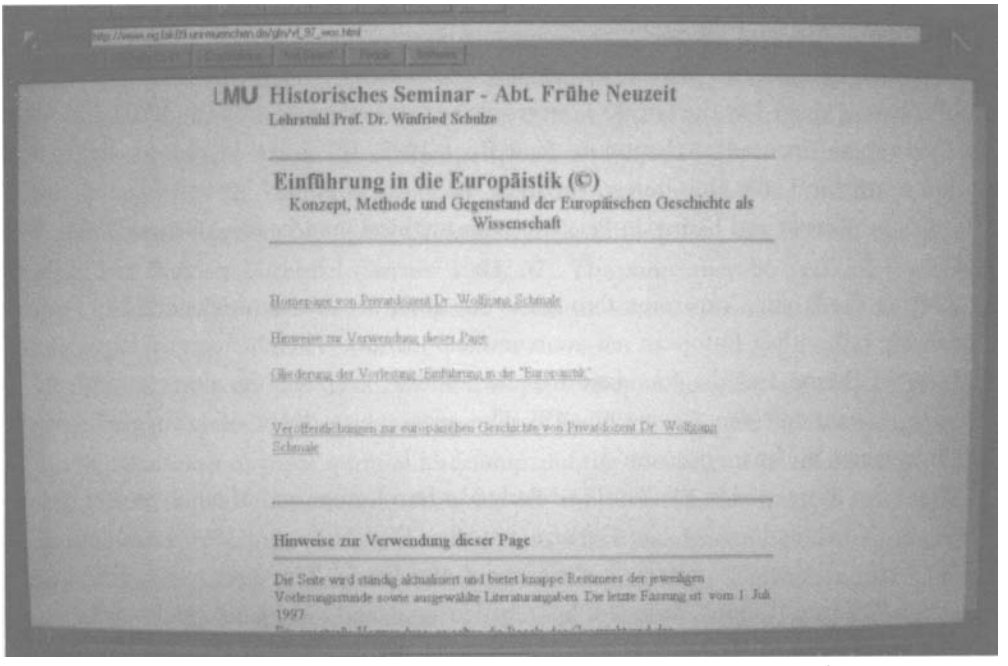

Figure 1. Webpage of the Department of history, University of Munich, announcing the course on 'Europeistics ©'

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to understand of Europe as something transnational, original, the core of which is not made of the addition of nations but which exists for itself. The noun which goes with it to denote persons is 'Europeanists', the corresponding attitude towards Europe is 'Europeanism' (Schmale 1997b – all translations my own).[4] This historical subject '*Europäistik*' therefore tries to develop a new concept of European history which frees it from the primacy of the national-historic matrix.[5] Thus, Europeanism is a concept debated in historical disciplines and, though implicitly, applied in archaeology. There are, however, several problems looming, especially when the endeavour to trace pan-European characteristics is transferred to pre- or protohistory.

Where the creation of a European identity is sought for, the question of what 'Europe' means must be asked. Or, as the British historian Peter Burke asks: 'did Europe exist before 1700?' (Burke 1980).

A short history of ideas of Europe: did Europe exist?

The current idea of Europe is subsumed under the notion of 'unity in diversity'. It is embedded in the belief that some specific entity 'Europe' and a European self-identity exists and that 'history *reveals* schemes for European unity' (Wilson and Dussen 1995, 9; original emphasis). It is the idea of a cultural entity rather than an economic area. This brief summary of the history of ideas of Europe, referring therefore to cultural conceptions, soon makes clear that the term 'Europe' meant very different things in different ages. I don't want to dwell upon its etymology and development in Antiquity, but I think we can say that classical Greek understanding of '*Europa*' was mainly geographical, being one of three regions or continents, together with 'Asia' and 'Libya'. In times of external pressure, such as during the Persian wars, however, 'Europe' gained a political and ideological meaning: 'the opposition between Greece and Persia was viewed by the Greeks as representing that between Europe and Asia, and stood for freedom as opposed to despotism' (den Boer 1995, 16). Later, Herodotus linked this notion to mythical tales, thus instrumentalising the myths politically by equating contemporary groups (Greeks and barbarian Persians) with mythical predecessors (Gehrke 1994, 239-241).

During the Roman expansion through to late antiquity intellectuals referred to Roman citizenship rather than European self-awareness and identity. 'The phenomenal expansion of the city of Rome and the foundation of the Roman Empire were never considered as *European* expansion' (den Boer 1995, 19). The geographical focus of self-regard was the Mediterranean, the 'mare nostrum'.[6]

The term more used in Medieval and Early Modern Europe and of much greater importance was 'Christendom' (cf. the German historian Paul Hübinger 1990). Another, more vague term in historic sources is Occident ('*Abendland*'). The later construction of a Christian-Western Europe founded by Charlemagne and the Romano-Frankish Holy Empire, by those such as Leopold von Ranke (1795 – 1886) for example, was born of the spirit of the quest for peace and order in the post-Napoleonic 19th century. It was an attempt, especially on the part of historians, to conceive of Europe as an entity, the development of

Figure 2. Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886): the medaillon on his grave monument.

which out of the Middle Ages was historically determined, necessary and now to be put into effect.

In the Middle Ages themselves there is only a brief episode of the use of the term 'Europe': Carolingian scholars took up the word to denote the Frankish hegemonic area (Hübinger 1990, 7-8).[7] It was a power-political term referring to a territory, having little to do with our value-laden concept of Europe (den Boer 1995, 26-27; cf. Hamilakis 1995). It declined together with the idea of the unity of the Frankish empire. What tied the people of Western Europe together was Latin Christianity. 'Citizenship was not French, German, or English, but Roman Catholic' (Snyder 1984, 67). The same may be said for Orthodox Europe. Additionally, there were Europeans who understood of themselves as Jews or Muslims.

An identification of Christendom with Europe developed from the late 15th century. This was not only connected with the development of Humanism in the Renaissance, but also with the dissolution of papal spiritual leadership and the movements of reformation which threatened the unity of Christendom. From the 16th and 17th centuries onwards a cultural idea of Europe emerged, along with a political notion, which was born from the cultural consciousness of Humanism and wanted to substitute the older term 'Christendom' (Hübinger 1990, 8).[8] This had become a necessity because of the religious wars, and was to make peace between the quarrelling cultural, political and religious parties possible. However, this cultural concept of 'Europe' perpetuated aspects of the older notion of 'Christendom'. With the claim to universality of Latin Christianity it excluded the eastern, orthodox cultures and, thus,

Eastern Europe from 'Europe'. As Hübinger put it (1990, 10),[9] the border between the Latin and the Greek confession is delimited more sharply than the border of Europe towards the East.

Only around 1700 does 'Europe' come to be more common among diplomats (Burke 1980, den Boer 1995, 43). In the course of Enlightenment 'Europe' became firmly associated with the concept of civilisation. Colonialism and imperialism helped to generate the idea of the necessity of a spread of European civilisation (den Boer, 1995, 64). In the succeeding centuries European superiority was explained by its attainment of the highest level of civilisation.

Following the French revolution the concept of superior European civilisation became enriched with the notion of universal human rights, which formed a part of the claimed European identity and which still legitimate European (or Western) foreign policy and military action.[10] It was at the time of the breakdown of the old European order during and after the Napoleonic wars that historians constructed the notion of a historically determined entity 'Europe', the bitterly felt fragmentation of which must be overcome. However, we should not forget that the much more profound discourse in the 18th and the following centuries was on nationalism and patriotism.[11]

In the 19th and the 20th centuries political thinkers developed different plans for the political unification of Europe, with visions ranging from the 'Europe of Nations' (de Gaulle) to the United States of Europe with common flag and currency (e.g. the 'Charlemagne' (!) suggested by Auguste Comte (1798 – 1857) (Heater 1992, 111)), from the pan-Europeanism of Coudenhove-Kalergi[12] to the German National-Socialist racist notion of the '*Nation Europa*',[13] the envisaged union either being a federation, community, or state (Snyder 1984; Heater 1992; Schmale 1997b).

Notions of Europe prevalent after World War II, in reverting to post-Enlightenment thinking, saw Europe as superior and as giving civilisation to the world: 'this "eurocentric culturalism" can still be traced in aspects of EC cultural affairs' (Bloomfield 1993, 265). Political notions and visions of Europe, especially in the 20th century, require much more consideration than can be given here, though. The effect of the endeavour to unite Europe politically, as has been said above, involves the 'Europeanisation' of Europe and the promotion of the ideology of 'unity in diversity'.

'Europe', thus, is a term embracing a spectrum of different referents and meanings. 'But "Europe" is also a discourse of power ..., a discourse that has increasingly been appropriated by the European Community as a shorthand for itself' (Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1994, 26). Concluding, the ideas of Europe may be grouped into two: first, ideas of a somehow spiritual order, the Europe of Christianity or of Romano-German Culture or of Civilisation; second, the cultural concept of a unity of peoples with common identity and destiny, deriving from a common history and heritage and a common set of values which emerged from this history. This second idea, the unity of diversities, is rather young, compared to the use of 'Europe' in Europe.

Archaeology's role in constructing the European myth

The current cultural conception of 'Europe' is build on the more positive traits of European heritage and history: 'advocates of this kind of "cultural approach" point to Europe's heritage of classical Graeco-Roman civilization, Christianity, the ideas of Enlightenment, and the triumph of Science, Reason, Progress and Democracy as the key markers of this shared European legacy. Significantly, these are all features which European Community officials emphasise as being particularly representative of "the European idea"' (Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1994, 27), thus claiming an idealised cultural heritage for an economic-political organisation. This assumed entity is presented to the (archaeological) public as existing since the early Franks, Celts, or even the Bronze Age. Exhibitions on the prehistory of Europe constitute an element in the public discourse on self-description and images of others taking place in the social field of identity definition.

One example of archaeology's role in constructing the 'European myth', in creating a European identity may be the exhibition on the Merovingians, 'Die Franken – Wegbereiter Europas' (The Franks – Precursors of Europe; Mannheim, Berlin and Paris 1996 – 1997; Wieczorek et al. 1996). The conception of the exhibition in Mannheim and Berlin differed slightly but significantly, and I will refer to the Mannheim exhibition since it was at the Reiss-Museum there that the exhibition was developed. The intention was not only to overcome *nationalist* French and German histories of the Franks and to give a historical explana-

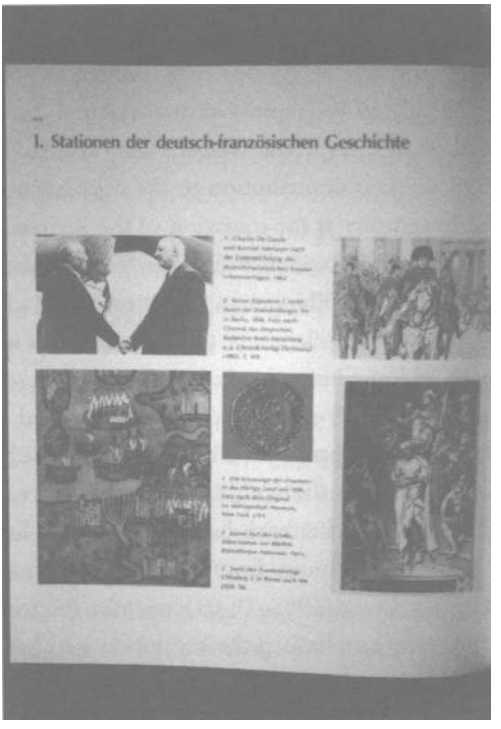

Figure 3. The fathers of Europe as presented in the exhibition and in the catalogue Die Franken – Wegbereiter Europas *(Wieczorek et al. 1996, 814).*

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tion of the necessity of French-German friendship, but also to present the origins of the European community in the baptism of Clovis and the 'multicultural' Merovingian empire.

Before the actual presentation of Frankish material culture starts one has to pass through a small entrance corridor. Here pictures hang side by side: de Gaulle and Adenauer shaking hands, Napoleon, Charlemagne, and Clovis - the precursors of Europe. One of the succeeding exhibition rooms and also the identity of the Frankish empire run under the heading 'From diversity to unity'[14] – following the official European idea. The Merovingian culture is presented as an open, multicultural society, able to integrate foreigners.[15] In the following, the Franks are presented as heirs to Rome and monastic culture as forerunner of Romano-German mixed culture,[16] in line with Ranke's conceptualisation of the Romano-German character of Europe. From here history as well as the exhibition lead via 'Church and state – the route into the Christian Occident'[17] to Western-Christian Europe – another concept of today's European identity. According to this understanding, the states of Europe stand in the Frankish tradition (including England because of the invasion of 1066), and regional particularities also come from the Merovingians (Staab 1996, 21-22).[18] The Europe created by the early Franks, as the exhibition presents it, is unity in diversity, based on Romano-German culture and Latin Christianity. However, as we have seen, these concepts are rather problematic for European unity. Russian Orthodox leaders did and could claim, as Western Christianity did, to be the only true keeper of the faith and of culture. 'In today's world, allegiance to Christendom, the land of true faith, can have no meaning' (Hugh Seton-Watson 1989; quoted in Bloomfield 1993, 265).

We may also say that the modern search for the similarity throughout and for the unifying of Christian-Western Europe implicitly confirms and strengthens this border going through Europe. However, the concept of 'Europe' was understood even more narrowly by Ranke and confined to the postulated Romano-German cultural unity, consciously excluding the Catholic societies of Eastern Europe, the Western Slavs and Baltic people. Archaeology and (proto)history trying to make their contribution to the unification of Europe by presenting Merovingian culture and hegemony as the initiation of the genesis of today's Europe perpetuate the same exclusive notion of Europe. Can Europe be limited to a Romano-German cultural unity or be founded on it? As Hübinger put it in 1954: for a positive justification of the concept of 'Occident' these negative elements, taken from the arsenal of power-political arguments, do not suffice (1990, 13).[19] This revived idea of a Christian-Western Europe based on Romano-German culture effectively excludes not only Latinised as much as Orthodox Eastern Europeans but also the European Jewish cultures, the Islamic contribution to European culture and thinking, and also the Celtic culture of Western Europe. What would Chrétien de Troyes and Wolfram von Eschenbach be without Celtic literature?

Further snares lurk: the assumed continuity from Roman to 'Romano-German' culture is ambiguous. While, as the historian Prinz (1985, 19-21) says, the (nationalistic) Germanophile of the late 19th and early 20th century emphasised the break between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, in order to confront degenerated Late Antiquity with a new beginning in fresh 'Germanity', later a theory of continuity stressed the Romano-German cultural symbiosis and a fluid transition, but neglected Byzantium as a continuing cultural centre and the handing down of classical knowledge by the Arab world.

A second example of archaeology's search for a European identity is the Bronze Age Campaign launched by the European Council with its different public projects, such as the exhibition 'Gods and heroes of the Bronze Age: Europe at the time of Ulysses'.[20] The Bronze Age was chosen as the first period in (pre-) history where large parts of Europe became connected through supra-regional communication systems, leading to the exchange of forms of material culture and ideas, creating a Europe of cultural unity as much as diversity (e.g. Hänsel 1997; Demakopoulou et al. 1999).[21] Childe in his *Dawn of European civilization* (1927 (1925)) had already stated that 'a distinctively European culture had dawned by our Bronze Age' (Childe 1957, xiii).[22] Surely it is true that communication was intensified during that period, but does this allow us to speak of a 'Golden Age' of *Europe*? Or even of the beginning of the history of Europe (Tarschys 1999)?[23] Did 'Europe' and Europeans then exist? That is, did people think of themselves as 'Europeans', as a (pan-tribal) unity? Can the exchange of goods and ideas between some members of prehistoric societies in Europe stand for the beginning of a united Europe as we see it?

Several archaeological problems are connected with this view. First, there is an (over)emphasis on similarity at the cost of regional variety. Differences that may explain much of the dynamics responsible for historic changes during this long period are blurred. Second, other supra-regional cultural regions or communication areas in the Bronze Age could be stressed instead of the European continent, such as the Eastern Mediterranean or the Baltic. Communication and, thus, cultural similarities seem to be much more intensive within these areas than between them. Third, this view projects current conceptions of Europe backwards – as does the Merovingian-exhibition – into a largely non-literate past (for a critique of attempts at relating Homeric literature to older material culture assemblages see Jung 2000).

Exclusively European

'The past', Kristian Kristiansen has said, 'is actually the present-day myth about the coming into existence of the nation states' (1993, 13). Both examples presented here can be seen as attempts at creating the lacking founding-myth of *Europe* (Schmale 1997a; 1997b), replacing or supplementing national myths. Archaeology today supports the creation of a *supra*-national *cultural* identity and unity – despite the fact that the similar role archaeology and the past had 'as creator of national ethnic identity and unity' (Kristiansen 1993, 13) is almost generally criticised. Since the ancient tale of a Phoenician princess abducted by a bull-shaped god obviously doesn't serve modern Europeans for identification (Schmale 1997a, 20), a new myth is constructed (see Gehrke 1994).[24]

One's own worldview is transferred onto past cultures in searching for the origin of one's own group, the Europeans. However, 'a feeling of connection to the past is in fact an expression of an "imagined" subjective continuity which only rarely contains socio-historical reality' (Kristiansen 1993, 18). Rather than emphasising similarities between past cultures, as well as between past and present cultures, an understanding of differences is needed, a perception of past material culture and its bearers as foreign. This must 'lead away from one-sided search-

es for the roots of one's own group of people' (Burström 1999, 25). The implicit assumption that the civilisations of prehistoric Europe should be familiar and intimate to us deprives them of their potential to be different, foreign (Gramsch 2000, 154; cf. Veit 1998). This takes from us the potential to interpret difference and historical process (cf. Veyne 1988).[25]

One of the biggest problems, however, is the exclusiveness of such a picture of prehistoric Europe. The general trend to re-create the past through a heritage industry produces 'an idealised, non-controversial, generally accepted version of the past', since '"traditional" artefacts are displayed and events are staged in part to mark boundaries and (re)establish community solidarity *vis-à-vis* growing numbers of outsiders' (Boissevain 1994, 52). A supra-national search for identity, too, is conservative in character where it favours a closed value-system and a self-contained culture in emphasising a certain cultural heritage, an imagined continuity. This way of creating a common European identity is partial and exclusive.

Conclusion and possibilities

To summarise in brief: first, an increase in reflections on archaeology's social role and its epistemology can be observed for the last decade of the 20th century. Much of this is based on historiographies of the discipline and focuses on the influence of nationalism. At the same time, there has been an attempt to develop a European prehistory over national archaeologies, searching for a European cultural identity in the past.

Second, this growth in reflection in archaeology at least partly stems from the dissolution of epistemological certainties in the social and historical sciences in general. A second reason, however, lies outside academia. This is the crisis of modern societies facing the dissolution of established nation-states and the (re-)emergence of old and new nationalisms, of regionalism, and Europeanism.

Third, attempts to create a non-national cultural identity with the help of archaeology and prehistory in many cases lead to Europeanist conceptions of the past, i.e. the understanding of past structures, processes and societies in terms of post-war and post-cold-war ideas of Europe – despite the insights on politicising archaeology gained from the historiographies. Thus, while Anderson, Gellner, and Hobsbawm broke with the notion that nations are historically necessary organisms arising almost naturally, and that nationalisms are the concomitant of such development, today Europe is often presented as existing since the Bronze Age or even earlier. However, just as nationalism creates nation (Gellner 1983), Europeanism creates Europe. Europeanism as understood here rests on similarly exclusive notions of cultural identity to the new nationalism and is in danger of being as value laden as old nationalisms. At least partly following EU-conceptions of Europe, it defines its identity as unity in diversity, a communication territory in which knowledge and ideas are exchanged, a civilisation clearly set off from others by European achievements such as Western-Christian culture and individual freedom. It is thus as ideologically founded as national archaeologies instead of following from an academic conceptualisation. This process should be labelled 'prehistories of Europe' rather than 'European prehistory' (cf. Hamilakis 1995). Archaeologists of Europe should retain a global perspective and an awareness of other communication areas, past cultural identities and the like.

Fourth, archaeology (or pre- and protohistory) is only one of the humanities reflecting about its relevance and epistemology (e.g. Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1994, Geertz 1997 on anthropology; Bourdieu 1984, 1990, Delanty 1996, Rex 1996 on sociology). It thus needs more than 'a healthy scepticism' (Hamilakis 1995, 227). Archaeology has to relate its historiographies and sociological analyses of its production to a more general history of the humanities, to the development of other academic disciplines and worldviews and their interconnections, i.e. the *episteme* of any period. The partial and exclusive notion of (prehistoric) Europe demands more scientifically motivated reflections: a 'Reflexive Theory' on the field of archaeological production, on the construction of objectives of archaeological research, and on the social and political context of research, interpretation and the presentation of archaeology to the public. Socio-political forces affecting European archaeology have to be considered in a 'Reflexive Theory': national and European legislation; the ways of institutionalising archaeology; the financial and ideological support for the presentation of archaeology to the public, i.e. exhibitions and large-scale campaigns such as the 'European Bronze Age'; and the necessity to prove social relevance. Issues like identity and relations to the foreign may not be restricted to debates on national(ist) archaeologies.

A 'Reflexive Theory' would have to develop, as Bourdieu put it, a historic genealogy of the intellectual structures of archaeological thought (cf. Gramsch (ed.) 2000). However, this 'Reflexive Theory' cannot be developed here but has to emerge through ongoing discourse. Also, it cannot be developed by archaeologists alone but has to be constructed in co-operation with sociologists experienced in analysing the social field of cultural production and the *episteme*. Reflection surely is easier when it is in relation to the history of the discipline, but it is also necessary to shed light on current directions. This even more so because of the political reasons for the current 'reflexiveness'.

Not to be misunderstood, I do not deny the existence of originally European characteristics in the material as well as intellectual culture of European societies. And I welcome the necessary 'reconsideration of the validity of the nation state as the obvious unit of historical analysis' (Fulbrook 1993, 2), the shift from Europe's history and prehistory as a sum of national (pre-)histories to histories and prehistories of Europe as such. However, as Shore (1996) has already criticised, this may not be exercised under the same conditions, questions and methods as the national histories. Also, emphasising similarity rather than differences in the search for a common European (pre)history blurs potential dynamic forces responsible for transformation in that history, neglecting communication with other civilisations means a loss of interpretative potential.

If European (pre-)history is to constitute an alternative framework to the sum of individual national (pre-) histories without being partial and exclusive, we must avoid transfering old conceptions onto this wider frame, sustaining the problems of separation and exclusion on a larger scale. One important conclusion is that a European archaeology or an archaeology of Europe – i.e. the archaeology of different cultures in Europe – has to better integrate Eastern Europe, in a more reciprocal way (cf. Biehl and Gramsch 1997). The least problem is certainly not that pre- and protohistories based on 'European values' exclude Muslims, the Orthodox, and people from former colonies. If, instead, the notion of citizenship, i.e. the will to accept the same set of general rights and duties and socio-political rules, was central

to European identity they would be included as European citizens (cf. Bloomfield 1993).[26] 'Appeals to the cultural heritage of Europe, to a geographical territory, to language, to a dominant ethnic group can only be divisive, demarcating Europeans from each other as well as setting them off from the extra-European world' (Delanty 1996). Archaeology could then refrain from interpreting material culture in terms of 'European values'.

Throughout this paper I have tried to make clear that the thoughts presented have been developed from a German point of view. This standpoint and the attitudes deriving from it towards Europe, Europeanism and a positive history of Europe must be understood against the background of both the German idea of a Holy Roman Empire and the terrible German history of the 20th century. This history fundamentally changed Europe, and it changed conceptions of Europe and of nationalisms. Maybe being German particularly forces one to think vociferously about national or cultural identity. If the hypothesis of Albrecht et al. (1999)[27] that post-war German identity meant *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, the process of coming to terms with the past, but with different orientations in Eastern and Western Germany, is right then the 1990s brought with them the challenging of identity and national consensus in a re-united Germany. Attempts to draw a final stroke or to 'normalise' attitudes towards nationalism also led to calls for new identity myths – either for the German nation or for European culture. The German call for European identity thus is particularly problematic.[28] Considering this turn in historical conception it is even more important for me to argue for a Reflexive Theory in history and prehistory and a critical stance towards Europeanist archaeology.

To be able to write 'open' prehistories instead of reinforcing borderlines within Europe itself and between it and its Mediterranean, Near Eastern or Central Asian neighbours, and to accept diversity without reinforcing regional, national or supra-national exclusive identities a heightened and scientific 'reflexiveness' is needed, an archaeological 'Reflexive Theory' instead of politically motivated reflections. This has to be based on considerations of the histories of archaeological thought and the epistemological backgrounds of the archaeologies of different European regions, schools, and systems, integrating a discussion of trends since 1989. Different regions with different political and historical backgrounds will have different attitudes towards a European archaeology and therefore need much more consideration than the notion of 'unity in diversity' allows. It is still necessary to reconsider the histories of our disciplines, critically incorporating archives, for example, a work that has just begun (e.g. Leube 1998), to uncover past mistakes, to continue to understand social and political mechanisms and involvement, to reflect academically. The job of (pre-)historians is 'Aufklärung und Kritik, ... Mythen und Legenden zu zerstören, nicht zu bilden' (Gehrke 1994, 263-264).

Notes

[1] This article has its roots in two papers on nationalism and Europeanism, one given together with Peter F. Biehl in the section of the German Theorie-AG titled '*Europäismus – Nationalismus: Politisierung und Ideologisierung der Archäologie*' at the 'Tagung des Nordwestdeutschen Altertumsverbandes' in Braunschweig (Germany), 16 September 1997, the other given in the section '*Archaeology and nationalism*' at the 5th Annual Meeting of the EAA in Bournemouth, October 17, 1999. I am grateful to Peter F. Biehl, Achim Leube, David van Reybrouck, and Petra Weihermann as well as the two anonymous referees for making valuable comments on this article.

[2] One of the reasons for archaeologists' reflections on what they are actually doing is the ongoing debate between different schools of thought, usually typified as 'processual' versus 'post-processual', leading, for example, to demands for a reflexive excavation methodology (Hodder 1997). These are reasons inherent to our discipline. However, here I will focus on the larger field of society, politics, and worldview in which archaeological practice takes place.

[3] To define citizenship by common civil rights and duties is a rather new notion: 'up until now citizenship has been primarily defined by birth, and in some cases by blood or ethnic descent as in Germany' (Delanty 1996). This has led to many of the problems immigrant-states face today. Therefore a stronger emphasis on the definition of citizenship by approval of the civil and constitutional laws is called for (cf. Bloomfield 1993).

[4] '"Europäistisch" heißt, Europa als etwas Transnationales, Eigenständiges zu verstehen, dessen Kern nicht aus der Addition von Nationen gebildet wird, sondern für sich selbst besteht. Das dazugehörige Substantiv zur Bezeichnung von Personen lautet "Europäisten", die entsprechende Haltung zu Europa "Europäismus"' (Schmale 1997b).

[5] '... vom Primat der nationalgeschichtlichen Matrix' (Schmale 1997b).

[6] One of the Church Fathers, Orosius († after 418), refers to 'mare nostrum' in his *Historiae adversus paganos* (417/418), he 'thus talks of our sea, but not of *our* Europe' (den Boer 1995, 22).

[7] 'So haben die karolingischen Gelehrten den Begriff "Europa" aufgegriffen, um den fränkischen Hegemonialbezirk zu bezeichnen' (Hübinger 1990, 7-8).

[8] 'Sie hat den zunächst geographisch, dann auch wieder politisch verstandenen Namen Europas mit dem vollen Gehalt an Bildungs- und Kulturwerten erfüllt, der seit der Renaissance aufgeblüht ist .... Dieser Europagedanke ist geboren aus dem Kulturbewusstsein des Humanismus. Er hat seit dem 16. Jahrhundert die Funktion eines geistigen Bandes nicht allein für die in Nationalstaaten zerrissene politische Welt unseres Kontinents zu erfüllen getrachtet, sondern auch einen Ersatz bilden wollen für den älteren Begriff "Christenheit"' (Hübinger 1990, 8).

[9] 'Die Grenze zwischen dem lateinischen und griechischen Bekenntnis ist schärfer bestimmt als die Grenze Europas gegen Osten' (Hübinger 1990, 10).

[10] But strangely, we hardly find this notion in current conceptions of the unified Europe, which otherwise would include minorities, be it immigrant or of long European history such as Jews and Arabs, as Europeans (see above, footnote 3).

[11] Even the 'late nation' Germany had a *Patriotische Gesellschaft* with a patriotic journal

since 1724 (Rathje 1980), and the decades following the 1740s, the years of Enlightenment, already saw an exclusive and aggressive nationalism, '"dunkle", irrationale und machtorientierte Selbstbehauptungswünsche und militante Aggressionsphantasien' of German writers (Herrmann 1996, 12; cf. Blitz 2000).

[12] Richard Nikolaus Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894 – 1972) from the end of World War I to his death published papers, edited a journal and organised congresses on 'Pan-Europa'.

[13] *Nation Europa* was the title of a propaganda journal which the National-Socialists addressed to the intellectuals of the occupied countries (cf. Laughland 1997).

[14] 'Von der Vielfalt zur Einheit ....und dank eines differenzierten Instrumentariums bei der Einbindung der zahlreichen Ethnien vermochte sich eine fränkische Reichsidentität im Sinne von Einheit in der Vielfalt herauszubilden - eine Grundlage noch des europäischen Einigungsprozesses in diesen Tagen' (Wieczorek et al. 1996, text on the cover of the catalogue).

[15] '... eine noch offene fränkische Gesellschaft, ... zur Integration fremder Personen ... fähig'.

[16] 'Das Mönchstum wurde damit Wegbereiter einer germanisch-romanischen Mischkultur'.

[17] 'Kirche und Staat – der Weg ins christliche Abendland'.

[18] 'Die heutigen Staaten Europas von den Pyrenäen bis zur Elbe stehen daher durchaus in einer gemeinfränkischen Tradition ...nachdem die seit dem 9. Jahrhundert in der Normandie französisierten Normannen 1066 England eroberten und dorthin fränkische Traditionen vermittelten ....Aber auch manche regionalen Besonderheiten sind auf die Merowingerzeit zurückzuführen' (Staab 1996, 21-22).

[19] '...zur positiven Begründung der Konzeption des "Abendlandes" in dem Sinne, wie Ranke eine "romanisch-germanische" Welt auffasste, reichen diese negativen, dem Arsenal machtpolitischer Argumente entnommenen Elemente keineswegs aus' (Hübinger 1990, 13).

[20] see http://culture.coe.fr/clt/eng/eae25.htm or http://culture.coe.fr/clt/germ/gexpo25.htm. For further campaigns of the European Council see http://culture.coe.fr/postsummit/pat/en/eintro.htm.

[21] 'Die Bronzezeit ist die erste Periode der Weltgeschichte, in der weiteste Bereiche Europas zusammenwachsen. ...Die Übereinstimmungen fallen sofort auf' (Hänsel 1997, 11). 'Die Einheit Europas in der Bronzezeit kann durch die Verbreitung gleichartiger archäologischer Zeugnisse über weite Gebiete hinweg belegt werden' (Demakopoulou et. al. 1999, 7). However, reservations were also formulated: 'doch kann diese relative Einheit die kulturellen, sozialen, religiösen und wirtschaftlichen Gegensätze nicht verbergen, die zwischen den drei ökologischen Hauptzonen Europas ... in der Bronzezeit bestanden' (Demakopoulou et. al. 1999, 5).

[22] It is interesting to note that Childe characterised 'Europeanness' as such qualities as 'energy, independence, and inventiveness which distinguish the Western world from Egypt, India or China' (1927, xiii-xiv). During the Bronze Age, Europeans became people 'who were masters of their own food supplies, were elaborating their own schools of metallurgy and were linked together by certain commercial relations' (1927, 302). This clearly differs from recent definitions of Europe.

[23] 'Denn es war zu jener Zeit am Beginn der europäischen Geschichte ...dass Europa zum ersten Mal als Einheit erkennbar wurde' (Tarschys 1999, ix).

[24] Gehrke pointed at the '... elementare Funktion des Mythos in der Politik: er war wesentlich und offenbar notwendig für die

Konstituierung und Integration politisch-sozialer Einheiten. Er trägt dazu bei, Identitäten zu stiften' (Gehrke 1994, 241). This is also true for Europeanism.

[25] The French historian Paul Veyne, for example, stresses that Roman civilisation is exotic and very remote from us (1988, 11).

[26] As Bloomfield (1993, 265) complains, (European) Jews and Arabs are even excluded from the EC-supported *History of the European Peoples* by J. Duroselle (1990).

[27] Albrecht et al. (1999) in their new 'effective history' (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) of the Frankfurt Critical Theory assign Horkheimer's and Adorno's school a main part in the finding of a post-war identity in Western Germany as much as in its re-nationalizing. This is explained by the fact that their theories as much as their connections to non-NS-compromised scholars had given a new role to Germans and Germany. Critical Theory, thus, would have been the new integrating factor by opening a chance to overcome the past and at the same time outgrow the fascist past.

[28] 'Sobald die Forderung nach Abschaffung der Nationen als Lehren der deutschen Geschichte an andere Völker oder Staaten herangetragen wird, mutiert sie aber zum Inhalt einer neuen Nationalidee' (Albrecht et al. 1999, 570).

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discussion article

Johanna D. Tzanidaki

Rome, Maastricht and Amsterdam The common European heritage

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Abstract

The proliferation of European Union law and policies and their impact on Member States appear to be issues very much connected with the future of the political union of Europe. Heritage management practice in Member States is also being affected by legal developments promoted by E.U. institutions. This article attempts to assess the E.U.'s growth of interest in cultural heritage matters as part of a broader political context, which involves issues ranging from economic development to 'European' identity. The successful cultural integration of Member States is being pursued by the E.U. on the basis of a common cultural heritage. Does the perceived legal necessity for uniformity in Member State's heritage management pose a danger to the differences and particularities that stem from the diverse pasts in the E.U.?

Keywords

cultural heritage; heritage management; national identity; European Union; legislation

Cultural politics

Since the involvement of the European Community (E.C.) in the cultural sector, heritage has ceased to be an exclusively national matter. The E.C., known as the E.U. since 1993, has always promoted a 'European' distribution of cultural assets within the Community. By putting forward the notion of common European heritage, it aims to provide a solid basis to its future political and economic integration. In all, cultural heritage has occupied a minor part of the bulk of national policy guidelines put forward by the E.U. throughout the years. However, the fact that the E.U. promotes a 'common European identity' based on a 'common European heritage' should not be left unchallenged. Cultural homogeneity is considered essential for the support of the supra-national decision-making framework of the E.U.. Moreover, the use of this idea and its gradual involvement in a number of E.U. policies are issues closely related to the political pursuits of the E.U.

The strategy the E.U. employs for its political aim of unification could be seen as something between the two extreme views of 'cultural internationalism' (universal cultural heritage) and 'cultural nationalism' as these have been defined and analysed by Merryman (1986). Morris has used the term 'continentalist' in describing the view of the past, which idealises Greek antiquity (1994). This term could also be valid in the context of the E.U.'s attitude of promoting the 'European' by de-valuing concepts of national heritage.

Concern for the E.U.'s involvement in heritage matters is part of the general field of research on 'archaeopolitics' as Helskog (1988) has termed it. Green (1984), Cleere (1984),

Lowenthal (1985), Shaw (1986), Layton (1989), Stone (1989) and Smith (1994) have already provided the discipline with academic analysis of this area. Also, a number of archaeologists have acknowledged the political use of heritage by the E.U. (Pluciennik 1998; Wilson 1993). The impact of specific E.U. norms concerning museum practice and ethics in the movement of works of art has also provoked considerable academic attention (Pearce 1992; Palmer and Goyder 1992; Lewis 1992; Warren 1992; Deriarde and Gregorio 1995). Nonetheless, there has been no general discussion of the involvement of E.U. in national heritage politics.

In this paper conclusions will be drawn mainly from primary sources. Official E.U. documents found in the Official Journal of the European Communities or kindly provided to the author by E.U. institutions are extensively used throughout the text to support the argument. These are classified as working documents, and are an important source of information on the activities of the E.C./E.U. because they give insight into the preliminary thinking and views of its institutions. Nonetheless, although these documents are powerful they are also silent. E.U. documents seldom give reasons and motives as to why things are done and on what grounds initiatives have been taken. Information confined to office-meetings is out of reach for the researcher. Also the political culture of the E.U. tends to be silent on cultural matters as the E.U. officially refused any role in the sector before the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993 and any involvement of the non-subsidiary type after that.

'Fortress Europe'

Attempts to unite 'Europe' politically, through war, or through economic co-operation have been numerous.[1] Besides, the definition of 'Europe' constantly changes according to the socio-political framework prevailing from time to time in world politics.[2] The idea of 'Europe' is highly flexible. It has many different meanings and uses rather than a single definition.

Since the establishment of the Council of Europe in 1949, the idea of unity between all 'like-minded' countries of Europe was based on the fact that there is one basic common value among its members and that is 'heritage' (C.o.E., statute 1949). That same idea, taken up by the E.U., serves as a powerful political die. The 'common European heritage' and its constant re-definition provide ground for the E.U.'s existence and future enlargement.[3] Some suggest that the use of heritage in E.U. politics allows adequate space for the existence of national individualities (Lowenthal 1995; Pisani 1989; Panagiotopoulou 1997, 351). Is this true? One has but to view the historical development of the E.U.'s involvement in the cultural sector, in order to gain a clear understanding of the possible answer.

Initially created by six European countries with the Treaty of Rome in 1957, the E.C. aimed at the elimination of all tariffs and the eventual creation of a common market. It was not until 1986 when the Single European Act (E.C., 1987) was signed by E.C. members (twelve by then) that the intention for a political union was expressed. The latter became the aim of a new Treaty governing Community action, the Treaty of Maastricht (E.C., 1993). Till then, the specific domain of competence of the E.C. was limited to economic union. According to the Treaty of Rome (1957, Art. 177 (I)), the Community enjoyed exclusive

authority in specific areas of policy, while in the areas outside its competence, such as culture, the Member States retained their powers and responsibilities.

In the Treaty of Rome the only consideration towards heritage is to be found in article 36. The 'protection of national treasures possessing artistic, historic or archaeological value' can be used as a justification by a Member State for prohibiting or restricting the free movement of goods. No provision existed in that Treaty for E.C. competence in the sector, but that did not stop the Community. From the 1980s it used culture and specifically heritage for two purposes: first as a means for promoting the common destiny of Europe based on its common past[4] and second as a means of promoting tourism[5] and regional development[6] within the E.C.

The changing face of the E.U.

The E.C.'s action towards culture can be divided into six phases according to the Community's definition of it.

THE ECONOMIC FACE OF HERITAGE The first phase (1969-1980) marks the beginning of E.C. involvement in the cultural sector. The Commission, under the guidance of the various Heads of State and Government[7] and a European Parliament initiative,[8] put forward the notion of a common European heritage as a means to promote European solidarity.[9] 'European architectural and natural heritage' was perceived as reflecting 'Europe's cultural identity' (E.C., Council: OJ 1973 point 1). In the process of applying its founding Treaty to the cultural sector[10] the Commission also promoted the free movement of cultural goods and cultural workers. However, Commission action was limited to helping and advising Member States on their national cultural policies rather than imposing any policy itself. This was due to the fact that according to the Treaty of Rome the E.C. did not enjoy any competence in the cultural sector.

The definition of the cultural sector was first given by the Commission as being 'the socio-economic whole formed by persons and undertakings dedicated to the production and distribution/diffusion of cultural goods and services' (E.C., Commission: OJ 1978, 2). Accordingly, Community action was generally aimed at supporting the development of culture by gradually creating a more favourable economic and social environment for it. Culture and cultural goods were not defined, although the Commission made a proposal for the 'formalities at internal Community frontiers...[to]...be simplified' (ibid.) for the free movement of cultural goods. The latter possibly denoted products of modern culture. Harmonisation of national legislation against theft and illicit traffic of cultural goods was also promoted by the Commission.

It seems that the E.C. refrained from defining both heritage and culture for fear of being accused of getting involved in a sector well placed under national authority. However, its constant declaration that cultural policies are a national responsibility[11] and that its action in the cultural sector should not be perceived as cultural policy[12] agreed poorly with its declaration of intention to act in matters such as the preservation of the E.C.'s architectural and artistic heritage.[13] Moreover, the E.C., Economic and Social Committee statement that it 'is necessary to

promote Community policy in the field of cultural heritage, with the appropriate funding' (E.C., Economic and Social Committee: OJ 1979, point 3.2.2.1) is indicative of what the Community considered as 'help' to Member States regarding their national cultural policies.

THE POLITICAL FACE OF HERITAGE The second phase (1981-1985) began with the first legal action as opposed to advice and recommendation in the cultural sector. The 1981 Regulation on temporary movement of goods within the Community, although not specifically concerned with cultural goods, nonetheless involved them too.[14] During these five years of the second phase, the cultural sector served a number of different Community aims. From the economic point of view, two factors played an important role in the exploitation of culture: a) E.C. membership for Greece, Spain and Portugal which strengthened tourism's advantages for the E.C. economy and b) the Community decision to look beyond the single market towards economic and monetary union and eventually political union. Politically the sector provided both a basis for achieving a common European identity and a means of revitalising the E.C.[15]

Culture was not defined by the E.C. although the need for economic and social action in the sector was recognised by both the Parliament and the Commission.[16] The latter, aiming to promote eventual political union, declared that the traditional concept of 'national heritage' should evolve into that of 'Community heritage', since 'works taken to another Community country will less and less be felt as a loss to the country of origin' (E.C., Commission: Bull 1982b). This 'common heritage' was seen as both cause and result of the free trade of 'cultural goods' within the borders of the Community. Both the Parliament and the Commission proposed investment in European architectural heritage conservation projects for the E.C., as that would aid tourism, regional development[17] and employment (E.C., Commission: Bull 1982b, point 19; Mr. Pedini in E.C., Eur. Parl: OJ 1982, 10; Mr. Pruvot ibid., 12; Mr. Lezzi ibid., 14).

Archaeological heritage, therefore, was not seen during the 80's as something to be preserved for its own merits.[18] It was seen as furthering the financial success of tourism, European and international, and at the same time as promoting the notion of 'common heritage' to the Member States' citizens.[19]

THE POPULAR FACE OF HERITAGE The third phase (1986-1992) was a period characterised by a great amount of action within the cultural sector by all Community institutions.[20] Events like the 'European City of Culture' and the 'European Cultural Month' were being promoted in meetings of Ministers of Culture.[21] Accordingly 'democracy, pluralism and the rule of law' became part of E.U. heritage (E.C., Ministers responsible for cultural affairs: OJ 1990). The re-definition of common European heritage represented a clever strategy on the part of the Community in approaching ex-communist states not yet members of the Community (E.C.: Committee of People's Europe 1985, point 3.1).[22]

However 'European cultural heritage' was still restricted to 'the peoples and regions of the Member States' (E.C., Eur. Parl: OJ 1991, point 1). The Community aim during this period was the harmonisation of national systems and laws regarding the protection of cultural heritage in view of the eventual abolition of frontiers to come with the Treaty on European Union.

During this phase, the Commission promoted Community involvement in culture due to

both the interconnection between economy, technology and culture and also the necessary basis of the forthcoming Union in the solidarity of and sense of belonging among its peoples (E.C., Commission: Com 1987, i). The Commission, faced with the target of achieving the Single market on time,[23] made further use of the idea of common European heritage. It did not seem to consider the unlawful movement of cultural objects[24] from one Member State to another, even if that cultural object constituted a national treasure for another Member State, as a great problem since this movement was not going to be 'export' but 'dispatch' (E.C., Commission: Com 1989, p. 12, point 40). Accordingly the 'dispatch' of an object was seen by the Commission as a harmless movement of heritage within the Community, while 'export' was seen as the movement of the object outside the borders of the 'Common European heritage' territory.

THE LEGAL FACE OF HERITAGE The Treaty of Maastricht introduced the fourth phase (1992-1994). With the creation of the European Union, the cultural sector was placed within E.U. competence (article 128). The E.U.'s attempt to harmonise national systems and laws within the E.U. produced the 1992 Council Regulation on the export of cultural goods (E.C., Council: OJ 1992) and the 1993 Council Directive on the return of cultural objects unlawfully removed from the territory of a Member State (E.C., Council: OJ 1993). These are the first two legally binding policies with an impact for national definitions of cultural assets.

In both the aforementioned legal measures, a list of common categories of cultural assets is provided to member States as cases of commercial exemption as far as trade with non-Member States is concerned and as a basis for future possible restitution claims within the E.U.. These goods are cultural heritage as this is defined by the E.C. and as it *should*[25] be defined by Member States. The latter, by adopting the Regulation and the Directive into their national legislation, accordingly comply with the E.C. definition of 'cultural goods'. The Regulation is an export policy measure based on article 113 of the Treaty of Rome, which provides for uniformity in the Community's general export policy. The Directive is an internal market measure and is based on article 100a of the Treaty of Rome which provides for the approximation of laws and the harmonisation of provisions within the Community. By providing for the same list of categories of 'cultural' goods, the two legal measures enhance the concept of 'European heritage' and its contents. A 'hard core' of cultural goods is to be protected under E.U. law. Cultural goods not falling under these categories do not seem to merit E.U. protection and are hence left out of commercial exemption.

According to article 128 of the Treaty of Maastricht, it is 'cultural heritage of European significance' which is to be supported and enhanced by the E.U. in supplementing national action (if necessary). Consequently during this phase the E.U. allocates funds for the restoration of projects possessing 'an historic, architectural, artistic and social value of European importance' and which would yield considerable socio-economic profit (E.C., Commission: Bull 1993a, points 1.2.232 and 1.2.233).[26]

Economic benefits from the cultural sector match political ones in providing a cultural basis for forthcoming European enlargement into central and eastern Europe. The agreements signed on 16 December 1991 between the E.C. and prospective future members of the

Community such as Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia bear witness to this since they include a clause for cultural co-operation (in E.C., Commission: Com 1992, 15).[27]

THE POST-MAASTRICHT FACE OF HERITAGE In the fifth phase (1994–1996) the cultural policy of the E.U. ranged from heritage restoration and art exhibition programmes[28] to the promotion of tourism and mass media projects. In these two years cultural policy received full priority from the Commission[29] in its formulation of Community policy initiatives and as a result Community-subsidised projects became very specific.

A definition of cultural heritage was finally given by the Commission in 1995. 'Common European heritage' is the 'interface between our differences and our similarities, finding expression in movable and non-movable forms' (E.C., Commission: Com 1995, 25). Those forms could be 'archaeology, museums and collections, archives and underwater heritage' (ibid.) and even 'cultural landscapes (groups of cultural and natural goods)' (E.C., Commission: Com 1996b, 14) of 'major' or 'exceptional' heritage and 'European heritage sites' (E.C., Commission: Com 1995, *passim*).

In 1995 the E.U. declared that was 'cultural heritage of importance to Europe' that was to be safeguarded and preserved (E.C., Council and Ministers for Culture: Press release 1995, 6). This seems to put sites of non-European importance in danger as far as much needed preservation and safeguarding are concerned. The criteria for labelling cultural heritage as being of European importance are not clarified due to the political role that heritage plays in the individual Member States and the Community.

Furthermore, one should never fail to remember that what is of European importance changes with changes to both the terms 'cultural heritage' and 'Europe'. As the latter expands politically and geographically the former acquires a greater area of coverage.[30] Moreover, European importance can only be claimed by cultural activities that generate the development of both financial resources and employment in poorly developed regions (E.C., Commission: Com 1996a, 39). The E.U. views culture in general and cultural heritage in particular as a means of regional development.

'European cultural heritage' during this phase became 'Europe's cultural heritage',[31] possessing a dual cultural identity: national and European. It is the latter that the Community seeks to project and enhance. Moreover, all evidence suggests that although the definition of culture and cultural heritage has evolved over time to incorporate as many aspects of culture as possible and to recognise as many individualities (such as regional and local) as possible, it is still used as the means to achieve the political ends pursued by the Union.[32]

THE 'EUROPEAN' FACE OF HERITAGE In the last phase (1996–1999) most activity has involved the implementation of projects already existing in 1993 in 'pilot' form, such as the Raphael programme, which was officially adopted in 1997 (E.C., Council: OJ 1997). Such projects clearly demonstrate the E.U.'s tendency to interfere in national cultural policies not only through financial support[33] and technical assistance but also by formulating and implementing policies on tourism, employment and competition. The cultural sector appears to fall under the rules of competition as they are dictated by the Treaty of Maastricht, due to culture's economic aspects (article 92 (3.d)). Accordingly, the Commission is responsible for

making sure that competition is not impaired in any way and that national economic aid is given towards 'true' cultural purposes.

The Treaty of Amsterdam, in force since 1 May 1999, has set new co-ordinates for the E.U.'s legal competence. The Treaties of Rome and Maastricht have both been amended and incorporated within that new Treaty. In the only article concerning culture (now article 151) the sole change is in fact an addition. In point 4, which reads: 'the Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty', the phrase 'in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures' has been added.

The Treaty of Amsterdam calls for the setting up of a common judicial area to match the E.U.'s single market for goods, services, capital and people (Title VI, Chapter 3, articles 94-97). That provision aims to establish a common approach to judicial questions ranging from immigration to money laundering. Based on this, the E.U. could limit national sovereignty in legislative action concerning heritage even more.

In all, one has but to closely examine the cultural programmes the E.U. promotes to realise the danger facing the individual character of each Member State's culture. This is well illustrated by E.U. approval of the second Cohesion Fund given to Greece and the criteria for its allocation in the cultural sector. According to these, approval is to be given only to those projects enhancing tourism (*Art News* 1997). Thus a restoration project of a cultural heritage site with small possibility of luring tourists (or stimulating regional development), a small Byzantine church in a remote village of Epirus for example, has dismal prospects for funding by both the State and the E.U., unless it miraculously becomes of *European* significance.

European Union: Janus or Medusa?

This paper has attempted to throw some light in why the E.U. has become involved in a sector not specifically within its competence according to its founding Treaty, the meaning of cultural heritage to the E.U., and how the latter manipulates the former. These seem to be aspects of the same issue: the question of competence.

Cultural heritage was not a 'European' concern until 1981. There is a certain political background to ideological development that took place within Community Institutions in order for cultural heritage to become a Community issue. However, the only sources available to the researcher state official decisions and thus attitudes, and not thoughts or discussions explaining the motives and reasons for each policy undertaken by the Community. The latter are confidential and secret and as a result only speculation can be made, though always based on documentary evidence.

It seems apparent that the reasons for Community involvement in the cultural sector have been purely socio-economic. An argument in support of this line of thought is that the European Investment Bank accepted the funding of heritage restoration projects only if this went towards genuine investment and not just routine maintenance (E.C., Commission: Bull. 1982a, 29). Politically, as soon as the Community set the target of its transformation to a Union, it sought to provide a common ground for its members' identification, a common heritage. According to the E.U., the latter should posses a 'European dimension'.

On the other hand, Community initiatives in legislation regarding cultural heritage are of particular importance to the development of the heritage management of its Member

States. These initiatives promote *uniformity* in a sector that is within the competence of its Members. The E.U. has not until now issued any heritage legislation as such. This is prohibited in its Treaties. However, both the Regulation (E.C., Council: OJ 1992) and the Directive (E.C., Council: OJ 1993) concern heritage and more specifically cultural assets. They are obligatory acts aiming at uniformity and approximation respectively of the different national laws of E.U. Member States. Thus, although E.U. heritage legislation does not exist as such, E.U. legislation regarding the cultural heritage does exist.

These two Community initiatives have progressively created common legislation in Member States by favouring the massive approximation of national laws. This progressive homogeneity in heritage policies and laws introduces substantial reforms to national heritage management policies. It seems to secure a minimum standard in guaranteeing protection of the national patrimony to all Member States, while at the same time allowing them to retain the power to define and accordingly protect cultural assets under national law, as part of their national heritage.

However it is only *European* heritage that is being protected by E.U. legislation rather than the various *national*, *regional* or *local* heritages. The characterisation of a cultural asset as local, regional or national heritage by a Member State rests on factors and criteria concerning which the competence of the State operates on the principle of exclusivity and cannot be substituted by the Community. Nonetheless, according to the E.U., a cultural asset of *European significance* should fall within the definition of what is considered as worthy of such protectionist measures.

Whether one sees the E.U. as an economic or geo-political union one should never fail to acknowledge that both national cultures and laws protecting them emanate from distinct and unique historical developments. The promotion and support by the E.U. of a 'common European heritage' is a political Trojan horse. Theories on European integration dictate the use of culture as a 'tying bond' between citizens and the E.U.[34] The fact that a 'common European culture' has not existed in the past and that no ancient or ethnic heritage affiliation unites Europe could be the sole impediment to a true European Union.[35] However, it could also be the panacea for the future successful integration of it.[36]

The use of culture and specifically heritage by the E.U. aims to accommodate not only the different national heritages but also the various regional and local ones into one 'European' heritage. This may be a clever political move on the E.U.'s part in avoiding conflict and separatist tensions within its territory, but it overrides national attitudes and characteristics, which in themselves are part of a Member State's heritage.

The Community may nowhere in its official papers admit that it regulates national policies on culture but one can clearly understand that by controlling and by subsidising national economic aid to cultural affairs, it does exactly that. By promoting policies on other sectors of Community action, which involve culture, it does control it. By discriminating, as far as E.U. economic aid is concerned, between cultural heritage projects of European and non-European significance, it does control it. Finally, all evidence suggests that although the definition of culture and cultural heritage has evolved over time to incorporate as many aspects of culture as possible and to recognise as many individualities (such as regional and local) as possible, it is still being used as the means to achieve the political ends pursued by the Union.

'Common European heritage' in its latest elaborate definition is used to promote regional development, tourism and enlargement as well as the E.U.´s external affairs.

No attempt has been made here to define 'Europe' or the 'common heritage' shared by European States. This paper did, however, endeavour to raise awareness to the fact that the variety of heritages in Europe should not be de-valued for the sake of creating a politically united Europe or even overvalued so as the latter can be based on the 'common features this diversity exhibits'. They should be appreciated, respected and treated accordingly. Multicultural communities can integrate politically even if their differences persist. Legally that means diversity not uniformity.

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Notes

1 See Urwin 1991; Bull 1993; Beloff 1957; Mathijsen 1990; Holland 1994; Louis 1995; Borchardt 1995; Lipgens 1979.

2 See for example Parker 1960; Schmidt 1966; Gladwyn 1966; Kerr 1977, 1-5; Crouch and Marquand 1992, 2; EC, Commission 1994, 5.

3 See also Spence 1994.

4 See for example EC, Commission: EF 1982b; EC, Commission: EF 1983a.

5 EC, Commission: EF 1982a; EC, Ministers of Culture: OJ 1986a,b,c,d; EC, Commission: EF 1987; EC, Commission: EF 1988.

6 See for example EC, Commission: EF 1982b point 19; EC, Commission: EF 1983b; EC, Parliament: OJ 1982, 9-17.

7 See EC, Heads of State and Government 1969; Heads of State and Government 1973.

8 EC, Eur. Parl.: OJ 1974.

9 See characteristically: EC, Commission: OJ 1975; EC, Council: OJ 1977; EC, Commission: Bull 1977; EC, Commission: OJ 1978.

10 See EC, Economic and Social Committee: OJ 1979, point 1.4-1.10.

11 EC, Commission: OJ 1978, 2.

12 EC, Economic and Social Committee: OJ 1979, point 1.10.

13 See EC, Commission: OJ 1978, 2.

14 EC, Council: OJ 1981. This Regulation introduced two different procedures for the temporary movement of goods within the Community. It simplifies formalities in the movement of cultural goods but keeps them in a separate category. However, the Commission (1982) later clarified that the term 'for temporary use' used in this Regulation does not mean that all goods must return to their country of origin since their sale in the country of transport is not prohibited (EC, Commission: Bull 1982b, point 8, footnote, 9).

15 In its attempt to revitalise the EEC, the presidency of the Council stated in 1982, that there is 'no political power without economic power (and) no economic power without political and cultural purpose' (EC, Commission: Bull 1981, point 3.5.1, I).

16 EC, Commission: Bull 1982b, point 5.

17 The funding was proposed to be based on Art. 130 of the Treaty of Rome 'for developing less developed regions' and fell in line with the economic and social reasons of the Community's involvement in this sector.

18 See EC, Commission: Bull 1982a, 29.

19 See also EC, Commission: EF 1983a, 6; EC, Commission: EF 1982a, 1; EC, Committee on a People's Europe 1985, 207.

[20] Ministers of culture held their first meeting in 1984: 'De facto, if not de jure, the EC was in the culture business' (Hebditch 1993, 32).

[21] See EC, Ministers responsible for cultural affairs: OJ 1990.

[22] The EC had already based relations with non-EC countries on, among other things, cultural co-operation since the 1984 LOME III Convention with the ACP (Afro-Carribean and Pacific countries). The LOME Conventions provide financial support to ACP countries in order to encourage self-reliant development. See characteristically LOME IV (1990) arts. 142-144 and 145-160.

[23] According to the deadline of 1992 stated in the Single European Act of 1987.

[24] Works of art and antiques as used in EC, Commission: Com 1989.

[25] See also Goyder 1993, 147.

[26] See also EC, Commission: Bull 1993b, point 1.2.178.

[27] That was enhanced by the 18 May 1990 Ministers of Cultural Affairs decision to hold the 'European Cultural Month' in a European City outside the Community; Cracow 1992, Graz 1993, Budapest 1994, Prague 1995 were the first to host the event (EC, Ministers responsible for cultural affairs: OJ 1992).

[28] Such as the Lisbon photography exhibition aiming to 'raise public awareness of the cultural, social and economic importance of preserving and restoring Europe's architectural heritage' (EC, Commission: Bull 1994, point 1.2.153).

[29] See also EC, Council and Ministers for Culture: Press Release 1994, 3.

[30] According to the Commission itself, the notion of culture has no standard definition as the latter changes according to the school of thought, society and age and thus anything can be included in it (EC, Commission: Com 1996a, 3).

[31] See EC, Commission: Com 1995, 1.

[32] Indicative of that is the Council and Ministers of Culture Resolution on co-operation with the Associated Countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the Cultural Domain. The six Central European States in association agreement with the Community (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovak republic, Bulgaria, Romania) have a 'common interest' with the Community in the cultural sphere according to the Council. Furthermore, the Community programmes concerning culture, such as cultural events, heritage, books and reading are projects 'of major importance' to those countries' integration process into the Union 'and for their future accession' (EC, Council and Ministers for Culture: Press Release 1995, 9).

[33] For EU funding (1996-2000) on cultural programmes under Kaleidoscope ('European day', 'European month' etc.) see EC, Commission: Com 1994, 29. For EU founding (1996-2000) on cultural programmes under Raphael see EC, Commission: Com 1995, 24-38.

[34] See also Wilson 1993, 11;Varenne 1993, 227.

[35] See also Smith 1992, 65- 66.

[36] See also Howe 1995.

discussion

TALKING ABOUT READINGS OF THE PAST: A DELUSIVE DEBATE

Marc-Antoine Kaeser

I would like to begin by saluting these two different but complementary contributions. Compared to the many works, sometimes questionable and often redundant, published in this field, not only are they convincing, but above all, they truly bring something new.

On the issue of the attempted building of a European identity, Tzanidaki does not content herself with vague references to current events, but gives us a useful, well-documented account of the programme and the acts of the EU (EC). Her time sequences are as clear as they are enlightening, and strongly highlight the operating trends, as well as the motives that underlie the action of the EU.

Gramsch steps back and analyses the grounds for the recent movement of reflexivity among archaeologists. This allows him to place the debate within a very firm theoretical framework. He then judiciously proposes an extension of the present debate. I would, however, have preferred to have had more details of the underlying structure of his 'reflexive theory' (see also Gramsch 2000): I find it difficult to understand how it can 'emerge from the ongoing discourse'. On some minor points I disagree with the authors' arguments. Inasmuch as these points are a matter of personal opinion, they do not seem worth discussing further in this comment.

My intention is rather to question the general meaning of all the current debate about the presumed relationships between archaeology and the issue of identity, be it cultural, national, European or regional. Is such an academic debate really useful? Of course, the archaeologists' concerns about the use of the past is praiseworthy. It is much to the credit of the profession, but I have the impression that carried out this way, such a debate will only result in creating a slight uneasiness in the consciences of the least prudent archaeologists.

All things considered, what strikes me in this discussion, is that archaeology as a scientific discipline, professional practice, and research and analytical process, seems virtually absent. Of course, Gramsch incidentally touches on the 'epistemological backgrounds' of the discipline. However, readings of the past seem to be all important, as if archaeology amounted to no more than one of its results (Kaeser 2000). Generally speaking, there seems to be a confusion between the discipline as such, and its field of study. This confusion is all the more disturbing since readings of the past are not the product of archaeology only. These readings to a great extent pre-exist, and can easily do without our discipline. Like many others, the examples presented by Gramsch (the exhibitions on the Franks and on the Bronze Age) illustrate this well: the messages conveyed by these exhibitions could, technically speaking, have been conceived and displayed in the middle of the 19th century (before the development of archaeology as a discipline) without loosing much of their substance.

Consequently, if the search for identity only abused archaeology through readings of the past, the present agitation within academic circles would surely be excessive. Reminding us that all 'possessive pasts' are only constructs (which everyone is supposed to accept nowadays)

would be sufficient, and we could be content, within the discipline, to exert a restraining influence over certain of our colleagues' transgressions. From this point of view, the debate would not only be excessive: it would also be badly placed. For, fundamentally, one must state a priori that the past belongs to everybody. The appropriation and ordering of the past is a political issue. Fortunately, archaeologists cannot claim to bring a unique, 'correct' interpretation of the past. Consequently, as the 'body of archaeologists' does not hold the one and only answer, it would be sterile to debate these issues within the academic world. Such issues must touch us as citizens, and it is within the public domain where we must take a stand — within our democratic framework, using freely available, accessible and popular mediums of communication, rather than scientific reviews. This public debate needs the archaeologist's voice, for, even if he/she cannot claim to be an all-powerful authority, the archaeologist is especially competent in this field.

Despite the author's intention, Tzanidaki's article seems to confirm the futile nature of all our discussions, as archaeologists and anthropologists, about the manipulation of the past and references to identity. Indeed, the author perfectly highlights the worrying characteristics of EU intervention in the cultural sphere. Unlike Tzanidaki's interpretation, however, I do not see these characteristics as resulting from an exaggeratedly uniform, tyrannical and centralizing definition of the 'European identity' — a definition about which specialists could have argued. On the contrary: respect for diversity and an awareness of the enrichment it represents appear to be increasing. Nevertheless, this awareness, being abstract, has not prevented the Union from implementing measures whose effects clearly lead to standardisation. What is worrying in the actions of the EU is not their cultural aims, but the way culture and heritage are treated. The real cause of standardisation is the exploitation of cultural heritage in the service of tourism, and the reduction of culture solely to its economic dimension. In order to resist this process, it is no use pontificating about definitions of identity, be it national or European: we have to fight the subjugation of culture to neoliberal logic.

Returning to the relationships between the question of identity and the readings of the past, I think we can only but approve the programme defined by Gramsch. It would indeed be very useful to start a sociological study of the uses of the past, and to analyse thoroughly the interactions between archaeology and its public. What transpires between the expectations of the public and the production of interpretations by archaeologists? What links the diffusion of such interpretations to how they are received? What influence, finally, do legislation, institutions and financing exert over these interpretations? From this perspective, I believe that resorting to sociology is essential; for here we are dealing with tasks that are not the direct responsability of the archaeological community: it would be preferable if they were undertaken from the outside.

By contrast, our community has an exclusive role to play with regard to another issue, for which only we as archaeologists can bring answers. I refer to the reflection about archaeology, not in its discursive register, but in its cognitive register. Beyond the simple manipulation of the past, in which archaeology very often participated, we must examine the epistemological foundations of our discipline, and detect the cognitive principles or rules which lead it to express itself on the 'identity mode'. It seems to be taken for granted that archaeology is intrinsically dependant upon the construction of identities. According to certain

authorities, 'nationalism (...) is deeply embedded in the very concept of archaeology, in its institutionalization and its development' (Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996, 3); there should be 'an almost unavoidable or natural relationship between archaeology and nationalism' (Kohl and Fawcett 1995, 3; my emphasis).

Is this really the case? Nothing is less certain, and these assertions merit a re-examination as they result from a simplified reading of the history of archaeology. Systematically, and probably under the influence of the monumental *History of archaeological thought* by Bruce Trigger (1989) which nobody deems necessary to question, the discipline of archaeology is placed exclusively in the heritage of the antiquarian tradition. Admittedly, antiquarians followed a fundamentally ethnicist approach, but their legacy represents only one part of what modern archaeology has inherited.

Indeed, archaeology also proceeds from another legacy: the naturalist approach. One cannot reproach the naturalist 'research programme' for having contributed to the building of collective identities, because it focuses not on peoples, but on humanity, considering archaeological cultures as the product of an interaction between society and environment. Though undoubtedly questionable for other reasons, this part of archaeology has at least never had any links with nationalism. It is thus impossible to claim the existence of a *natural* relationship between archaeology and the construction of identity.

As a matter of fact, both these approaches were often confused or combined by many of the first archaeologists in the early stages of our discipline (Coye 1997). They were also the subject of heated confrontations (Kaeser forthcoming). The different outcomes of these confrontations in various institutional contexts, have had significant repercussions on the nature of our contemporary archaeologies. We should therefore study these conflicts and their epistemological consequences on the present expression of our research traditions. That will allow us to assess from what point and to how great an extent our present practice places us within the rationale of identity.

If we want to open a critical debate about archaeology we should not content ourselves with denouncing past mistakes and the faults of others. We must evaluate to which extent these were and still are the result of theoretical and methodological choices, be they conscious or not. It is the only way for us to avoid repeating such mistakes and to make others aware of theirs. Therein lies, in my opinion, the responsibility of the archaeological community.

Note

Translation: Nigel Thew and Milena Miele

ARCHAEOLOGY AND EUROPE: 'REFLEXIVENESS' AND ACTION

Willem J.H. Willems

For more than a decade, since the mid-80s, the context of archaeology has changed rapidly and profoundly all over Europe. We are still in the middle of this development and numer-

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ous recent publications show an increasing awareness of archaeologists about its causes and implications. This is what Gramsch in his paper calls the self-reflexive approach and I join him in his appeal for the development of an archaeological reflexive theory embedded in sociological theory and epistemology. Not only to help us to be better aware of the changing context of our work but also to provide us with the insights and the tools to cope with such change.

The current debate in my opinion has been triggered by the end of the political separation between east and west in 1989 and by the resulting - increased - pace of processes of political unification. It is this part of the debate that Gramsch is concerned with in his analysis of nationalism, identity, and Europeanism in relation to archaeological theory and practice. Tzanidaki's focus on the role of the European Union is a contribution to the same debate in that it uncovers the roots of the uses of the heritage in cultural politics at the national level. However, this is only one major change which has far-reaching effects and there are at least two other relevant developments that need to be considered when discussing changes in archaeology in Europe.

A second major shift was brought about by a growing concern over archaeological resources and the management of the heritage (Willems 1999). Although by no means 'European' in origin, the concerns over the rapidly deteriorating quality and quantity of archaeological sites as a result of modern development, have led to the incorporation of archaeology in the planning process. This has profoundly changed archaeological practices in Europe. The basic principles underlying a proper management of the archaeological heritage have been formulated in the Malta Convention (Council of Europe, 1992) and have found wide acceptance: the convention is now ratified by 18 countries. The implementation of this new standard at the national level has important consequences in many countries and the ensuing debate has centred on issues such as ethics, the relation of research to contract archaeology, evaluating significance, or various aspects of archaeology as a profession. In addition, it has resulted in debates on the organisation of archaeology in European countries and on the legal aspects.

While (in Europe) broadly contemporaneous, these two major changes have no direct causal relation. Both are, however, connected to a third impetus for change that is increasingly visible, which is the awareness of – and demand for – what is often called 'public archaeology' (Schadla-Hall 1999). I understand this to be all aspects related to the interaction between archaeology and the public. It includes aspects of the political role of archaeology as discussed by Gramsch and Tzanidaki, and Gramsch points out the importance of including the presentation of archaeology to the public in his proposed reflexive theory. In other parts of the world, the claims to the heritage of indigenous groups provide a special dimension to this discussion. It is also intimately linked with the issues of 'public benefit' and 'raising awareness', as a direct consequence of the changes in managing the archaeological heritage: as the 'cost' of archaeology increases, so should its 'benefit'. In any case there is now a widespread conviction within the archaeological community of the need for communication and dissemination.

Archaeology in Europe today has indeed lost its innocence and the implication is that we need to be active in two ways. One is the way pointed by Gramsch when he indicates the

need for ongoing discourse. I am not so sure his reflexive theory will simply 'emerge' from this, but in any case it is an essential precondition for archaeology as a social science working in present-day society. If the recent profusion of relevant journals is an indicator, we need not worry too much, at least nor about quantity. Apart from *Antiquity* we have the *European journal of archaeology* that was started in 1993, *Archaeological dialogues* in 1994, *Conservation and Management of archaeological sites* in 1996, *Public archaeology* that was announced for 1999 and begun this year, and the *Journal of cultural heritage* which is to appear later this year.

The other is building the infrastructure of archaeology in Europe. Working in present-day society and coming to grips with the various demands, challenges and pitfalls for our discipline, demands we create a strong infrastructure. There has always been an effective structure where archaeological research is concerned, but now that archaeology is no longer only an academic discipline, it needs additional tools to successfully promote its interests - and those of its practitioners - in other arenas.

The most obvious example is the increasing importance of the European Community for our discipline. Tzanidaki's paper offers very useful insights in this development although, by focusing on EU-involvement in the cultural sector, she disregards many other fields where EU-legislation or policies have an enormous impact on the archaeological heritage, both positively and negatively. An example of the former is the 1997 revised Council Directive (97/11/EC) on the environmental impact assessment, for an example of the latter just think of the effect the EU agricultural policy has had on the survival of archaeological sites!

Also, if we should wish to oppose certain ways in which archaeology is being politicised at the national or at the European level, we need not only to gain a better understanding of what is involved, but we need mechanisms to influence those processes. Fortunately, initiatives have been taken to create an infrastructure in Europe that can serve the needs of the profession.

An important development in this respect has been the founding of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) in 1994. The association is for individual archaeologists and currently has over 1200 members, a number that has been growing rapidly in recent years. Its publications and especially its annual meetings provide a forum for discussion and its organisation is becoming more effective in following up on initiatives by lobbying in Brussels and in some instances by direct actions at the national level. Earlier this year, the EAA has also been given official consultative status with the Council of Europe. In any case, it provides a democratic framework that can be used by the profession. Its 'Code of Practice' (1997) and the 'Principles of Conduct for archaeologists involved in contract archaeological work' (1998) have set standards that have already been used successfully (for the texts, see http://www.e-a-a.org), and the institution in 1999 of a European Archaeological Heritage Prize is intended the heighten the profile of archaeology at the European level.

Only very recently, a second organisation has been created at the European level, which is intended to structure co-operation by the organisations at the national level charged by law with the management of the archaeological heritage in European countries. It has been called the Europae Archaeologiae Consilium (EAC) and its recent inaugural meeting at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg created political interest: several ministers of arts or culture were present and their speeches give an insight in current political attitudes towards the

archaeological heritage (Willems 2000). The publication also includes the EAC's strategic plan (Lüth et al. 2000), which shows that this new group can develop into a formidable organisation that can use official channels and thus operate complementary to the EAA. The Latin name, by the way, was a deliberate choice to avoid any problems with modern languages

There are other, more recent, initiatives as well, such as the emerging European network of professional associations for archaeologists, in which organisations such as the IFA in the UK and the NVvA in the Netherlands meet under the umbrella of the EAA. Obviously, groups such as this can be particularly useful in looking after the interests of the profession, and their co-operation may contribute a great deal to setting standards at a European level.

At the global level, the World Archaeological Congress is providing a useful, though highly politicised, framework for discussion. In any case, its very substantial 'Third World' component provides the essential confrontation between 'European' traditions and approaches and those in other parts of the world. Another relevant organisation in this respect is the recently revived 'International committee on archaeological heritage management' (ICAHM), which is a scientific committee attached to ICOMOS.

The mechanisms for action thus seem to be in place and will hopefully also contribute to a better communication between archaeologists from the different geographical and language areas of Europe. This is not only necessary for joint action, it is at least equally necessary for the discourse on themes such as nationalism and Europeanism and other theoretical issues. Both the theory and the practice of our discipline are quite distinct in the various archaeological communities in Europe, and we have much to learn from each other. Finally, I believe it is vital that the academics and those involved in heritage management and contract archaeology do not go separate ways. When that happens, the two avenues I have described here will not converge and we shall be left with infertile theorising as well as uninspired heritage management and we will be in the hands of politicians and eurocrats. Fortunately, what has been going on in archaeology in Europe the past decade, is reason to believe the future role of archaeology will be a much more positive one.

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