

THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Willem J H Willems



Oxbow Lecture 3

Acknowledgements

The text published here is a slightly adapted version of the paper I gave at the Archaeology in Britain Conference 1997. Unfortunately, it took two years before the paper was published, so I have added some updates. I have also corrected some of the terminology on European Union (EU) legislation and added a number of details on the basis of the discussion following this paper. For easy reference, I have also added two appendices with the texts of Article 128 of the Treaty on the European Union and the *Code of Practice* of the European Association of Archaeologists.

I am grateful to many colleagues in the Netherlands and abroad for discussions on archaeology in a European context. In particular, I would like to thank Roel Brandt, Peter Chowne and Dré van Marrewijk for their comments at various stages when preparing this text. Special thanks are due to Jennifer Moore (IFA) who edited the English text.

Published by

Oxbow Books, Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN

© Willem J H Willems 1999

ISBN 0 900188 79 1

This book is available direct from Oxbow Books, Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN
Phone: 01865-241249; Fax: 01865-794449; Email: oxbow@oxbowbooks.com

and

The David Brown Book Company, PO Box 511, Oakville, CT 06779, USA
Phone: 860-945-9329; Fax: 860-945-9468; Email: david.brown.bk.co@snet.net

and via our website: www.oxbowbooks.com

Printed in Great Britain by
Joshua Horgan, Oxford

The Future of European Archaeology

'Predicting is very difficult, especially the future'

When asked to address the annual conference of the Institute of Field Archaeologists on the subject of the future of European archaeology, the first thing that came to mind was the statement by the Danish scientist Niels Bohr. He was quite correct of course, and as archaeologists have been trained to think about the past, predicting the future may be even more difficult for them. I do not own a crystal ball, so I am not going to make predictions about the future of European archaeology.

I do want, however, to review some trends that I think are very important and discuss possible options, courses of action or desirable solutions for archaeology in a European context. I do not believe in prediction, but I do believe that we, as archaeologists in a rapidly changing Europe, can influence the future of European archaeology and to some extent determine it. For that we have to be aware of what is going on in the world around us and the ways in which our discipline is affected. We have to agree on an assessment of the present situation, on what it is that we want for the future and on a course of action to reach those objectives. In order to achieve this we have to communicate and to cooperate. These are the issues I will be addressing.

I stated above that as archaeologists we have ostensibly been trained to think about the past. There is some truth in that statement, at least as far as academic archaeology as a discipline is concerned. Nowadays many archaeologists (my guess would be that in most European countries this is the vast majority) are not working in university departments but in some branch of heritage management or in private enterprise connected to it. This is a discipline that deals not just with the past but with the present and the future. Organisations for archaeological heritage management, such as the Dutch State Archaeological Service (ROB), like to formulate in policy statements that they are 'creating a future for the past', or alternatively 'providing the future with a past'.

I do not want to imply that those in academic archaeology do not consider, or are unaware of, the present or the future. The reason for making this point is that current discourse on the future of European archaeology seems to be primarily about dealing with the archaeological heritage in a European context and only secondarily about archaeology *per se*. To avoid misunderstanding, I would point out that in my mind the two fields, academic archaeological research and archaeological heritage management are mutually dependent and inseparable. There is a feedback relationship between the two (Figure 1); they are two sides of the same coin, even when seemingly far apart.

Growing interest

There is a growing interest in archaeology in Europe and I would like to explore the reasons for this, which I see as related to the changing role and position of archaeology. As far as academic research is concerned, archaeologists have always worked in an international context; the subject of their work has little or no relation to present day political boundaries or national territories. International collaboration, research projects and conferences are as old as the discipline itself. However, the processes of unification and growing political cooperation in Europe influence archaeology and the community of archaeologists in many other ways.

An important event in this respect was obviously the end of the political separation of eastern and western Europe, which has thoroughly changed patterns of communication and cooperation. Existing barriers have been lifted, at least in principle, but social and economic differences are still a hindrance for colleagues from the former eastern bloc (Slapšak 1993; Janik and Zawadka 1996). On the other hand, the special opportunities and funds created by international organisations and by many western European governments, have boosted new contacts, joint projects and above all discussion and exchange of information. On both sides of the former divide, perceptions and views have changed although, as comments from eastern European colleagues show, the gap is still far from being closed.

A second aspect is encapsulated by the new 'political' role of archaeology at the level of Europe. Over the past decade or so, 'culture' in the European Union is increasingly considered a key dimension of integration and this has had an influence in many fields (Shore 1996). Our discipline, susceptible to political use and sometimes to ideological abuse for nationalistic and other reasons, is now also serving the European idea. Archaeology is obviously well suited to illustrate – and to create public awareness – of concepts such as

'common roots' or the limited relevance of modern political boundaries. A recent example of this is the 'Bronze Age campaign' launched by the Council of Europe a few years ago and officially terminated earlier this year.¹ I have no doubt whatsoever that the various activities in the context of this campaign have been quite beneficial to archaeologists working in the Bronze Age. The reason for the campaign, however, had little to do with Bronze Age research but was primarily intended to promote archaeology and to communicate concepts of common heritage and its management at a European scale. This was the reason behind choosing the Bronze Age. The original proposal for the campaign was made six years ago by Sweden at a conference in Cracow in 1991, and subsequently adopted by the Council of Europe at the *Conference on security and cooperation in Europe* symposium on Cultural Heritage. I remember Margaretha Björnstad, who at that time was the state antiquarian of Sweden, explaining that this period was proposed because neither the Vikings nor the Romans seemed very suitable to promote the concept of a common Europe heritage. The Bronze Age was sufficiently vague and pan-European in character, at the same time having a sufficient number of attractive artefacts to appeal to a global audience.

The decision to stop the campaign also had little to do with research. It was caused by a lack of funds in Strasbourg, and disappointment at the public impact of the campaign. My guess is that if the aspect of raising public awareness had been more of a success, additional funds would have been found to continue the campaign. The result has been that money which would have been available for archaeology is now being spent elsewhere.

This is just one illustration of the way in which archaeology has a role in the political processes of unification in Europe, helping to create a European identity and consciousness. I personally do not have a problem with this and certainly not with this particular example, as long as we remember that we are not 'discovering' the past but are always 'constructing' it. Obviously there are some ethical questions here, perhaps even moral issues, and definitely some conceptual difficulties which the profession has not thoroughly addressed.² I am not at all convinced that generating multiform knowledge about the past, which I hold to be one of the central tasks of our discipline, is served by preconceived ideas about common roots, tending to lead to questionable notions about a shared and unitary past. In that sense I am more at ease with the first article of the Convention of Malta, where the archaeological heritage is more neutrally described as 'a source of European collective memory'. This conveys the idea of archaeological heritage as a source of information, although it remains unclear what precisely is 'European' about it.

This brings me to the third reason for growing involvement with archaeology

at the European level, which is the increased role of the European Union. The position of the EU is ambiguous because even though there is, from a European point of view, an ideological attractiveness in being able to point to a collective past, of using heritage to illustrate all that Europeans have in common, the archaeological heritage is actually experienced from a national point of view as an essential part of the culture of the separate states. That is part of the reason why there has been for a long time only small-scale involvement with heritage by the European Union. However, since the Treaty of Maastricht of 1992, this has changed. We now have Article 128 of the Treaty on the European Union (Appendix 1), which is a major step forward in the sense that the EU has legal competence in the field of culture. The first paragraph of Article 128 says that:

'The community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.'

This text nicely reflects the dilemma, but the article has opened the way for action by the EU which is of major importance. I consider direct involvement of the EU under this article to be very significant but there are several reasons why it has limited impact. Firstly, there is an inherent ambiguity which is strengthened by the principle of subsidiarity. This means that the EU only acts in support of, or by supplementing, action of Member States. Secondly, there are limitations in the treaty which allow the Council only to adopt 'incentive measures' and 'recommendations'. Harmonisation of national law is specifically excluded and even for a relatively light measure, such as a recommendation, the treaty requires unanimity in the Council. In practice, programmes proposed by the Commission have to be approved by the representatives of the member states in the Council. As developments with the *Raphaël* programme have shown (see below), this is not an easy task. A third reason is that the impact of the EU on archaeology is not limited by developments in the fields of culture or education. Education and culture are areas where the EU has carefully designed programmes for archaeology but these are fields which are excluded from binding EU legislation which comes in the form of regulations, directives and decrees by the Council.

There are many other areas, ostensibly unrelated to the cultural sector and in which archaeological considerations play no part in the initial lawmaking process. Nevertheless binding EU legislation is produced which may have positive or negative consequences for archaeology. For example, the EU legislation on environmental impact assessment (Council Directive 85/337/EEC) of 1985, requires an analysis of the effect on the environment of certain projects which

can include archaeological considerations. The importance of this legislation for heritage management may now be greatly enhanced by a Council Directive (97/11/EC of 3 March 1997) amending the earlier directive and specifically including archaeology in its definitions. This illustrates a growing awareness of the importance of archaeology.

The Common Agricultural Policy has been very important from the start of the European Union. The policy, used to stimulate agricultural production, has had an indirect but tremendously negative effect on the survival of archaeological remains all over Europe. In the Netherlands, for example, it has been estimated that since the end of World War II, 33.1% of the then surviving archaeological remains in the soil had disappeared by 1994; and, of that figure, no less than 23.2% was due to the intensification of agriculture (Groenewoudt, Hallewas and Zoetbrood 1994).³ However, there may be options where EU legislation or programmes in this field might be used positively. For example, if a connection can be made between subsidies for farmers to take fields out of production and fields with important archaeological monuments, there could be a very beneficial effect. This could perhaps be done on the basis of the fourth paragraph of the above mentioned Article 128, which states that

'The Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty.'

In this respect, it is noteworthy that the recent European Commission strategy document *Agenda 2000* contains a considerable number of proposals related to changes in the structural funds and common agricultural policy that could be useful. Most notably, in framing its reform proposals the Commission has given a new priority to rural development and wants to make it more environmentally sensitive. I shall return to the subject of EU legislation later on.

Firstly, however, I want to go into another reason for the growing interest in archaeology in a European context, because it is not only the processes of unification and political cooperation in Europe that are at the root of this. Apart from these processes, in which we take part but which are external to our discipline, there is another factor. This is more internal and is directly related to the development of heritage management.

Archaeological heritage management has a long history, at least if one follows the textbooks citing measures taken in various European countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to protect ancient monuments. Indeed it can be said that such examples are early testimony to governments recognising the importance of elements of the archaeological heritage as places of remembrance. However, the care and protection of ancient monuments started

in most European countries in the later part of the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century, with the adoption of Monuments Acts. It is important to note that this is not the same as the modern concept of heritage management. The idea of heritage as a resource which needs to be managed is a recent development, attempting to answer serious threats presented to all archaeological remains in modern society.

I have recently analysed this development in the Netherlands (Willems 1997). Although there are differences between countries, essentially the same stages occur everywhere. There is the early phase, which goes hand-in-hand with the development of archaeology as a discipline, followed by the stage at which Monuments Acts are created. This is combined with a system of national inventories, legal protection and other measures, including the regulation of excavations. Everywhere, the archaeological community was primarily interested in research and documentation aspects. I know this is a simplification, but where a conservation policy existed, that policy was limited to registering and legally, sometimes physically, protecting important individual sites, primarily the visible ones. Archaeological monuments were thus treated as precious individual sites belonging in the national collection. The booming economy in Europe and the resulting disastrous effect on the archaeological heritage caused the same reaction everywhere, in the form of sometimes very large-scale rescue excavations of the 60s and 70s.

The profession recognised the enormous threat to the archaeological heritage and the urgent need for a different approach but this occurred relatively recently, in Europe in the mid 80s. Through conferences such as those organised by the Council of Europe in Florence (1984) and Nice (1987), an international debate arose on these issues where formerly, as observed with some surprise by Henry Cleere in the introduction to his 1984 volume on *Approaches to the archaeological heritage*, this had been lacking (Cleere 1984; Council of Europe 1987 and 1989). In an international context the archaeological debate was about research, not about preservation of the heritage. This lack of international discussion and comparison is not surprising, because the activity of 'caring for monuments' (this is the literal translation of the Dutch word *monumentenzorg* and the German word *Denkmalpflege*) has always been dominated by legal requirements and administrative procedures. These differ greatly from one country to the next and accordingly an exchange of information may not have seemed very relevant. In addition, archaeologists do not usually enjoy debating these issues and in previous decades they could do very little about them. However, international discussion coupled with growing awareness and concern, led to a far-reaching initiative by the Council of Europe, which in turn accelerated the fundamental changes within the discipline itself. I am referring to replacement of the completely

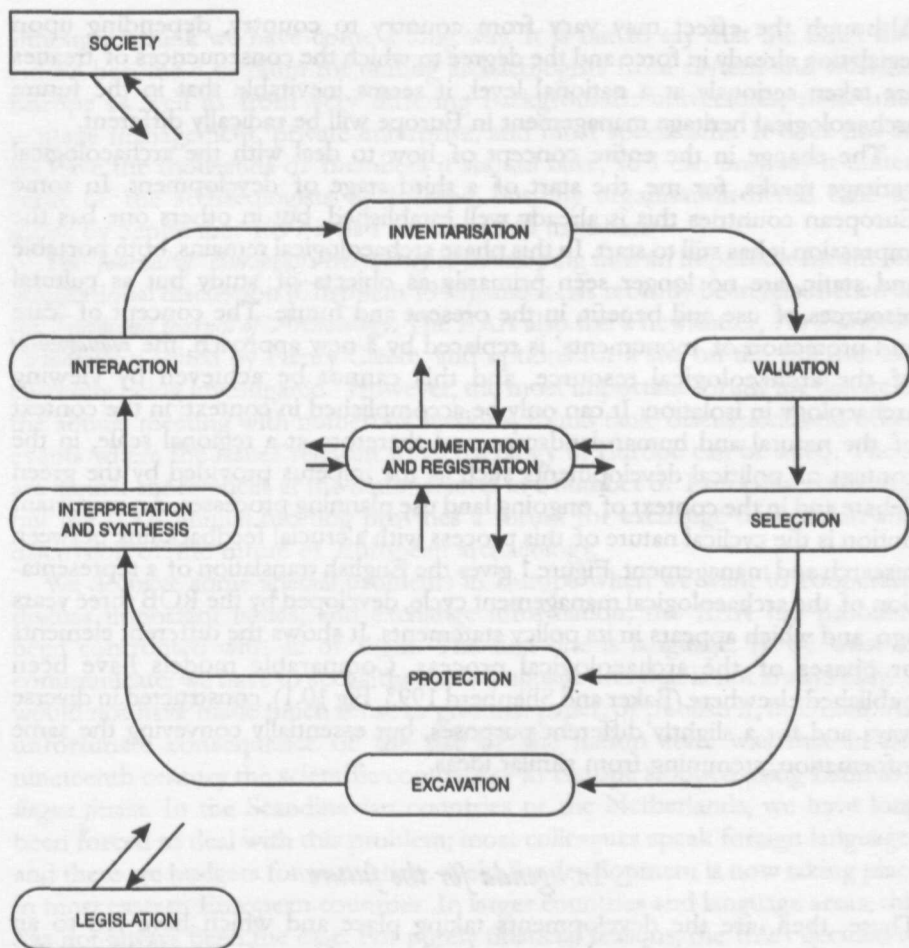


Figure 1

outdated Convention of London of 1969 by a new convention prepared by an international committee of the Council of Europe from 1988 to 1991 and signed by most European countries at Valletta, Malta in January 1992. It has now been ratified by 18 countries (for an up-to-date overview, see <http://www.coc.fr/tabconv/143t.htm>) and is in force in all of them. Only a few states have not signed the convention (Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic and Iceland).

Although the effect may vary from country to country, depending upon legislation already in force and the degree to which the consequences of treaties are taken seriously at a national level, it seems inevitable that in the future archaeological heritage management in Europe will be radically different.

The change in the entire concept of how to deal with the archaeological heritage marks, for me, the start of a third stage of development. In some European countries this is already well established, but in others one has the impression it has still to start. In this phase archaeological remains, both portable and static, are no longer seen primarily as objects of study but as cultural resources of use and benefit, in the present and future. The concept of 'care and protection of monuments' is replaced by a new approach, the *management* of the archaeological resource, and this cannot be achieved by viewing archaeology in isolation. It can only be accomplished in context: in the context of the natural and human landscape and therefore at a regional scale, in the context of political developments such as the impetus provided by the green debate and in the context of ongoing land use planning processes. An important notion is the cyclical nature of this process with a crucial feedback link between research and management. Figure 1 gives the English translation of a representation of the archaeological management cycle, developed by the ROB three years ago, and which appears in its policy statements. It shows the different elements or phases of the archaeological process. Comparable models have been published elsewhere (Baker and Shepherd 1993, Fig 10.1), constructed in diverse ways and for a slightly different purposes, but essentially conveying the same information, stemming from similar ideas.

An agenda for the future

These, then, are the developments taking place and which have led to an increased awareness of and interest in Europe. One of the results of this European awareness among archaeologists has been the founding of the European Association of Archaeologists. The initiative came out of a group who had originally intended to start a *Journal of European Archaeology*, partly in combination with another group consisting of members from the committee which drafted the Convention of Malta. The EAA had its inaugural meeting in Ljubljana in Slovenia in 1994. All the founding members were deeply convinced that the profession should organise itself at the European level with the result that such a very broad organisation would truly unite the archaeologists of Europe.

This was a very ambitious goal and I cannot say that the EAA has reached it,

although I think we have come a long way. It is fair to say that the EAA has indeed become a medium for uniting archaeologists from eastern and western Europe as well as from very differing backgrounds: universities, museums, heritage management, private enterprise, and most specialisms. It does not as yet have the thousands of members it should have, so I can only say it unites some of the archaeologists of Europe, but any organisation needs time to grow; by September 1997 it had attracted 846 members.

The *Journal of European Archaeology* is developing into an important forum for international discussion (Chapman 1995), and it has recently been relaunched as the *European Journal of Archaeology*. The EAA also has a newsletter, *The European Archaeologist* edited by Henry Cleere, and options for a site on the Internet are currently being investigated.⁴ However, the most important forum for debate is the annual meeting with numerous sessions, round table discussions and other events where the issues relevant to archaeology in Europe can be aired. There are annual conferences at the national level in a number of European countries, but the EAA annual meeting provides a forum for exchange of opinion and discussion of the future of European archaeology.

We do have some special problems in Europe when we want to cooperate, discuss important issues, and exchange information; the EAA has probably been confronted with all of them. The first one is language. If we want to communicate, we have to speak the same language and that is not always easy. It would not have made much sense to give this paper, or publish it, in Dutch. An unfortunate consequence of the rise of the nation state was that in the nineteenth century the scientific community in Europe stopped using Latin as a *lingua franca*. In the Scandinavian countries or the Netherlands, we have long been forced to deal with this problem; most colleagues speak foreign languages and there are budgets for translation. A similar development is now taking place in most eastern European countries. In larger countries and language areas, this has not always been the case. For purely financial reasons, the EAA decided to adopt English as its official language, as otherwise the cost of translations would be prohibitive, even with members preparing translations of important documents, such as statutes. During meetings, all major European languages are admitted as long as simultaneous translation is provided.

Notwithstanding this, the language question always comes up. It is an emotional and political problem that cannot be simply resolved and it is not unique to archaeology. If the problem is handled in an insensitive way, it can become a major hindrance to the international cooperation we want to achieve. To give just one example, when I was in Ravenna for the preparations of the 1997 annual meeting, I was shown an angry letter from a French professor, addressed to the Italian organisers. He was complaining about the invitation to

the meeting, which was advertised in English. He reproached his Italian colleagues for 'betraying' their own beautiful language in this way. Although this was an emotional reaction, it has a special background in France where there is specific legislation concerning the mandatory use of the French language.

The point is clear, I hope, and it brings me to the second and related problem, namely cultural differences. In 1996, I attended a workshop on collaborating and negotiating in an international context. The participants were welcomed with a cartoon of a meeting between a group of French and Germans. The point of the cartoon was that the meeting could not succeed. The average tolerance of Germans for a meeting starting late is a little over 3 minutes. In France it is apparently quite acceptable to be at least 10 minutes late for a meeting, so there was no way a meeting between the two nationalities could start successfully. In our discipline, we may be slightly more aware of and tolerate cultural differences, but taking them into account is essential for future cooperation.

Such cultural differences may subtly underlie many problems. For example, the membership of the EAA in various countries varies considerably. There may be objective reasons at play, in that there has been better promotion in one country than in another. However, the way archaeology is organised nationally, its structure, conventions and traditions, in other words the archaeological culture determines how an organisation such as the EAA is viewed. These are problems which can be identified and remedied in due course, but all communication in an international context is effectively determined by cultural differences of which we should be aware, if we want to cooperate successfully.

Although the EAA is largely an organisation of private individuals, it is *not* a body for professional archaeologists at the European level, such as the IFA in Britain. The EAA is primarily for professionals, but in principle anyone can be a member. Nevertheless, at its Annual Business Meeting in September 1997 it adopted a code of practice (Appendix 2), to make explicit the ethical principles to which any European archaeologist and EAA member should adhere. I personally do not expect anyone to be thrown out of the EAA for failing to adhere to the principles. In that sense, the function of the code differs from that of a professional organisation such as the IFA. Similar organisations exist elsewhere, for example the Nederlandse Vereniging van Archeologen (NVvA, the Netherlands Association of Archaeologists) founded in 1996, and the Asociación Profesional de Arqueólogos de España (Querol *et al.* 1995). In principle, the EAA could represent national organisations at the European level.

It is likely, however, that more will have to be done in the not too distant future. The Dutch counterpart of the IFA has been founded because it is

expected that private organisations will be able to work in archaeology in the Netherlands. To some extent this already takes place, but there is no market yet for excavation work. Private excavation is explicitly prohibited by Dutch law, which only allows the State Service (ROB), university departments and municipal archaeologists to excavate. This will all change with the implementation of the Convention of Malta in the Dutch Monuments Act.⁵ As a consequence, we will need a system of quality control, probably provided by guidelines, standards and specifications for archaeological work. In addition, standards will have to be set for commercial and other organisations as well as for individuals, and this is one of the reasons for starting the NVvA.

One consequence of these changes in the existing archaeological order may be that non-Dutch companies will want to do excavation work in the Netherlands. This is one result of the EU regulations on economic competition and tendering which may be an instance where EU regulations, having nothing specifically to do with archaeology, actually have a major effect. This is, however, still uncertain, and I know of reports from Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands where jurists give varying and partially conflicting opinions. One can see that in the future there may well be a need to establish shared views on ethics, professional standards and public accountability at a European level. I followed, with considerable interest, the discussion in the USA, where the Society of Professional Archaeologists was replaced by ROPA, a nationwide Register of Professional Archaeologists (SAA Bulletin 15, 1997).⁶ Although Europe is not a nation, we may well need something similar and the EAA could work with the national associations to organise and maintain a common framework. All these issues of commercialisation, European tendering, development of standards, professional ethics, etc are on the agenda of the EAA meetings for discussion and this is a major function of the organisation. It is important, however, to do more than just talk.

The EAA has been working to develop into an organisation that can represent the interests of archaeology and archaeologists at the European level, with a view to being consulted by the European Union, the Council of Europe or by other international bodies such as the European Bank and the World Bank, which are financing massive development projects in eastern Europe, on issues involving archaeology. The EAA also seeks to function as a pressure group or moral authority. From the very start of the EAA there has always been the idea that eventually it will be a force lobbying in Brussels. I hope that one day we will be able to do this systematically, but at the moment this is rather expensive to handle professionally. Also, at this point in time, I am doubtful if it is worth the cost and the effort, although eventually I feel it will be inevitable because decisions made in Brussels will increasingly be more important and relevant for archaeology.

For the time being, there are the programmes we all know about, such as *Socrates*, which is supported by Directorate General XXII for Education, *Kaleidoscope* and especially the *Raphaël* programmes of the Directorate General X for Culture. I have already referred to the latter, which was approved after discussions that lasted more than two years. On the one hand there was the Commission, who proposed it and received the support of the European Parliament; on the other hand, the Council of Ministers refused to approve the original proposal. Article 128 of the Treaty is one of the articles where the European Parliament has increased powers (codecision) while the Council has to decide unanimously instead of by qualified majority. In combination with the complicated procedure to reach an agreement this leads to a lengthy process. The UK, Germany, the Netherlands and Austria withheld approval, apparently because the objectives of *Raphaël* in the field of cultural heritage were actually within the domain of the member states and therefore the EU should not spend money on them.⁷

There were probably additional reasons, but it is important to note that the opposition was generated at a national level, within the relevant ministries of the governments involved. Despite the obvious importance for archaeology, persuading these governments to be more flexible in negotiations could not be achieved by an independent organisation such as the EAA. In this case, cooperation between national organisations for heritage management, tied into decision-making processes within their national governments, could be more effective. This illustrates that not all things must be achieved in Brussels and it also shows that an organisation of private individuals such as the EAA is not always the most suitable medium to work for the interests of archaeology in Europe.

A similar situation exists in the processes of policymaking within the European Union. Many themes are discussed, including areas where there can be no binding legislation at the European level, and there are various mechanisms by which such discussions take place. There are, for example, the drafting committees employed by the Commission in Brussels. These committees are usually composed of experts who prepare draft documents for the Commission. There are also policy documents which are prepared in other ways, without the explicit or at least the immediate purpose of generating binding legislation. Whatever the case may be, it is very important to influence such discussions early in the process, because this is the stage at which it is most effective. If you have an interest potentially affected by an initiative being discussed, it is very important your interest is mentioned in the drafts as soon as possible. Delay will make it more difficult to get your interest considered later.

Such discussions can be influenced in Brussels, and also at the national level.

It is 'just' a matter of finding out, in time, what is being discussed. A relevant example is the current discussion about the European spatial development perspective (ESDP). The history of the ESDP goes back to a document prepared in Leipzig under the German presidency of the EU in 1994 (European Union 1994, 1997). This was not a coincidence; Germany is a federal country and each of the German *Länder* has its own spatial planning policy. Obviously, like every other country, Germany has a need for an integrated, national planning policy. This is achieved by a permanent conference of the responsible ministers of the *Länder*, which integrates and develops overall plans.

The Leipziger document was an initiative to start a process of consultation, cooperation and development of a spatial policy at the European level. Obviously, this is an important step and two aspects are relevant here. Firstly, it is practically self-evident that any development in spatial planning at the European level is very important to archaeology because of the connection between the management of the archaeological heritage and spatial planning. At the moment, the real meaning of the ESDP initiative is limited because it is not a proposal for European legislation by the Commission and there is no serious money attached. Europe is not a federal country and the role of the European ministers conference is much more restricted than that of the internal German ministers conference. Nevertheless, it is important that the role of the cultural heritage in general and where possible, that of the archaeological heritage in particular, are incorporated in such a document. This led the Dutch State Archaeological Service to consult with the Dutch Ministry for Spatial Planning in order to get into the draft document a statement about the role of the European archaeological heritage. If archaeology is recognised at an early stage, the chances are that its role will also be duly recognised, if and when this growing European cooperation has long-term consequences.

However, the second important aspect is that the ESDP, as far as I am aware, has remained largely outside the view of archaeological heritage management circles since 1994. In the Netherlands, we had not heard of it and were put on its track very late, during the Dutch presidency of the European Union. Only then did we find out about the Leipzig paper and learned that, since 1994, the developing initiative had passed from one country's Ministry for Spatial Planning into the hands of the next. The role of the cultural heritage is definitely recognised in the draft report, but we have not been able to achieve explicit recognition of the specific position of archaeology. However, we were late and acted as the Dutch government institute without backing from colleagues elsewhere. The ministers have agreed that a final ESDP document should be drawn up by the end of the UK presidency of the EU in 1998, so there is still opportunity for improvement.⁸

The ministers also agreed to have an open debate on ESDP issues, so that not only governments and administration can participate, but also non-governmental organisations together with business and academic communities. I have no idea what such a debate could contribute or the influence a transnational forum might have. I am rather sceptical about the real significance of 'public' events like this, but when they do occur it is good to have a non-governmental organisation that can be the voice of a specific interest, in our case the EAA.

I am less sceptical, however, about the *potential* influence that national organisations comparable to my own may have on the process of European decision making, especially if they collaborate and keep each other informed. After all, they are part of the government and belong to a specific ministry, or they are semi-governmental and semi-autonomous, like in England. In any case, they are legally responsible for the management of the archaeological heritage and have all sorts of ties and links with other parts of the government. I do not want to overrate the actual influence that civil servants in a state antiquarian's office or comparable service have, but they do have access where private organisations do not. Once the politically responsible level has taken a decision, the hands of a governmental and legally responsible organisation are tied; civil servants cannot go against political decisions. In those situations, private and non governmental organisations have an advantage.

It is obvious, therefore, that archaeology needs another organisation at the European level, in addition to the EAA and complementing it. In my opinion an association or umbrella structure is needed comprising the organisations which are legally responsible for archaeological heritage management at the national level. Sometimes, as in Britain, Germany or Spain, it must be at a lower level because that lower level is where the cultural autonomy exists. Such an additional association could work successfully where the EAA is less efficient and vice versa. It could provide the backbone for a network of practical cooperation in heritage management.

Fortunately, I am not the only one who thinks along these lines. For two years now, directors of official organisations have been meeting in various contexts and an informal round table has constituted itself. Many state antiquarians, directors, chief archaeologists, etc. will be attending the EAA meetings, so they are party to the round tables where draft proposals for such an organisation are discussed. At a round table discussion on 29 September 1997, attended by delegates from 20 organisations, including all EU countries, the need for structured cooperation at the European level, presumably in the form of a 'standing conference' rather than an 'association' was confirmed unanimously. Further discussion is required before this can be started because

the very different organizational and administrative structures at the national levels need to be taken into account. I am not sure if this is going to work, or how long it will take to start efficient cooperation, but I am convinced that it is something that is potentially very important for the future of European archaeology.⁹

Earlier I mentioned how the EAA might work together with national professional organisations to develop standards and ethics at a European level. This is just one of the many tools that are still lacking if the profession is to become truly European in scope. Again, some of these tools can be more adequately developed by a private and democratic body like the EAA, others may be more easily realised by cooperating heritage management organisations. Let me give you some examples. My institute has started a fairly small project of cooperation with our German brethren in the Rhineland, the *Rheinisches Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege* in Bonn. We have chosen a small region on both sides of the border for a survey project intended to learn to speak each other's professional languages (Deeben, Andrikopoulou-Strack *et al* 1997). There are many spatial developments crossing borders nowadays and we feel we must work together more closely to deal with those. The point is, however, that although literally we speak each others languages, and Dutch and Rhineland archaeology have had fairly close ties for decades, there are major differences between us. Field techniques are comparable but not the same. We discovered that interpretation in the form of categorisation of types of sites had subtle differences that needed to be made explicit. We were confronted with the fact that there are excellent German soil maps and equally excellent Dutch maps, but they do not match. The German and Dutch soil surveys use different criteria so their maps have to be reinterpreted, which is quite complicated. These examples show the deplorable level of international coordination and the formidable barriers which exist when bilateral or multilateral cooperation is attempted. Also, they are problems that seem to have been neglected by academic research and now need to be tackled by heritage management.

Another example is scientific terminology. It would be an immensely valuable research tool right now if databases could be connected, but at some point in the future it will become absolutely necessary for national databases of archaeological sites and finds to exchange data. For that, we shall need core data standards, the development of which the English Royal Commission (now English Heritage) has been undertaking. We shall also need a terminology which is mutually communicable and, most importantly, that is unambiguous. One would expect this to be available, but it is not. In the context of the European Bronze Age campaign I mentioned earlier, it has been possible to start the preparation of a multilingual glossary of archaeological terminology. This was

only achieved because of a smart proposal that limited the chronological scope to the Bronze Age. The glossary has been prepared in English, French, German, Dutch, Danish and Rumanian. Other languages still need to be added, but a start has been made.¹⁰

It is only through cooperation at a European level that such tools will become available. I suspect that in most cases, real progress can only be made when there are more options for financial participation by the EU, although cooperating organisations for heritage management might be able to raise some funds.

A powerful tool may be provided by the new medium for communication which is the Internet. I think it is very important that under the *Socrates* programme, the European Union has recently decided to fund the *Archaeonet*. It is a DG XXII project, and understandably it is primarily aimed at developing and strengthening academic links throughout Europe via the World Wide Web, but I think its effect may become much broader. Heritage management links and a forum for easy communication may well be incorporated in the net, and reaching consensus through communication is essential for future developments.

When I look at the future, I am fairly optimistic because I see in our profession an increased awareness of transnational developments and a general interest in archaeology at the European level. This interest is growing and Europe is on the agenda of our discipline. However, that does not mean that all is well. Beyond the widespread conviction that the archaeological heritage is rapidly deteriorating, I am not at all sure that the archaeologists of Europe share the same views on the challenges that our discipline will have to meet in the next decade or so, or on the priorities. There is a willingness, however, to discuss issues and to cooperate. From the themes that surface when a programme for the EAA meetings is put together, I get the impression there is a growing consensus about major issues. One must not forget that the colleagues participating in these meetings are a particular selection from the total community of archaeologists in Europe, but it does suggest to me that we are getting our priorities right. The increase in the means to communicate available to us now through the *Archaeonet* or EAA are very important. Communication is still difficult, however, because we have problems understanding each other's language, in both a literal and metaphorical sense.

Nevertheless, on the whole there seems to be reason for optimism. Important problems have been identified and mechanisms for concerted action are being developed or are in place. I reiterate I do not know what the future of European archaeology will be and I am not inclined to speculate about it. It is reassuring, however, to know that European archaeologists are working on that future, and that they are doing it together.

REFERENCES

- Baker, D, and Shepherd, I, 1993: Local Authority opportunities, in *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK* (eds J Hunter & I Ralston), 100–114, Bath
- Chapman, J, 1995: Editorial, *Journal of European Archaeology* 3.2, iv–x
- Cleere, H, (ed) 1984: *Approaches to the archaeological heritage*, New directions in archaeology, Cambridge
- Council of Europe, 1985: *Assessment of the effects of certain public and private projects on the environment* Council directive 27 June 1985 (85/337/EEC)
- Council of Europe, 1987: *Archaeology and planning. Report of the Florence Colloquy*, Architectural heritage reports and studies, 5, Strasbourg
- Council of Europe, 1989: *Archaeology and major public works. Report of the Nice Colloquy*, Architectural heritage reports and studies, 12, Strasbourg
- Darvill, T, and A Fulton, 1998: *The Monuments at Risk Survey of England 1995. Main Report*, Bournemouth/London
- Deeben, J, Andrikopoulou-Strack, N *et al*, 1997: Cross-border cooperation in archaeological heritage management: the Niers-Kendel project, in *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Netherlands* (eds W J H Willems, H Kars & D P Hallewas), 282–295, Amersfoort/Assen
- European Union, 1994: *European Spatial Planning. Informal Council of Spatial Planning Ministers, Leipzig, 21/22 September 1994*, Bonn
- European Union, 1997: *European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). First official draft. Meeting of Ministers responsible for spatial planning of the member states of the European Union, Noordwijk 9/10 June 1997*, Den Haag
- Groenewoudt, B J, Hallewas, D P, and Zoetbrood, P A M, 1994: *De degradatie van de archeologische betekenis van de Nederlandse bodem*, Interne Rapporten ROB, 8, Amersfoort
- Janik, L, and Zawadzka, H, 1996: One Europe – one past?, in *Cultural identity and archaeology. The construction of European communities* (eds P Graves-Brown, S Jones and C Gamble), 116–124, London/New York
- Querol, A, *et al*, 1995: The value of archaeological heritage: an analysis by the Professional Association of Spanish Archaeologists (APAE), *Journal of European Archaeology* 3.1, 233–246
- Shore, C, 1996: Imagining the new Europe: identity and heritage in European Community discourse, in *Cultural identity and archaeology. The construction of European communities* (eds P Graves-Brown, S Jones and C Gamble), 96–115, London/New York
- Slapšak, B, 1993: Archaeology and the contemporary myths of the past, *Journal of European Archaeology* 1, 191–195
- Willems, W J H, 1997: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Netherlands: past, present and future, in *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Netherlands* (eds W J H Willems, H Kars and D P Hallewas), 3–34, Amersfoort/Assen

APPENDIX 1

Article 128 of the Treaty on the European Union

- 1 The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.
- 2 Action by the Community shall be aimed at encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas:
 - improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples
 - conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance
 - non-commercial cultural exchanges
 - artistic and literary creation, including in the audiovisual sector
- 3 The Community and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the sphere of culture, in particular the Council of Europe.
- 4 The Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty.
- 5 In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, the Council:
 - acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189b and after consulting the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States. The Council shall act unanimously throughout the procedure referred to in Article 189b;¹¹
 - acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations

APPENDIX 2

European Association of Archaeologists *CODE OF PRACTICE*

Introduction

During the past quarter century archaeology has been transformed from an academic discipline practised largely in universities, with a relatively small proportion of its practitioners working on the management of the archaeological heritage or in museums into a rapidly expanding profession operating at all levels of administration and society and responsible for the expenditure of enormous sums of public and private finance.

Like every other profession – medicine, the law, architecture, engineering, etc – archaeology is now responsible to the public and to the state. Archaeologists have acquired a new level of accountability, which they must demonstrate to those in whose name and with whose money they carry out their work. Following the example set by the established professions, therefore, archaeologists throughout the world have increasingly banded themselves together into professional associations with their own codes of ethics or conduct. Just as medical practitioners abide by their ancient Hippocratic Oath, so archaeologists are now pledging themselves to carrying out their work in accordance with mutually acknowledged rules and standards of conduct.

Many professional archaeological bodies around the world now have their own codes. One of the first of these was the *Code of ethics and standards of performance* of the Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA) in the United States of America, which must be signed by all members. There is a similar requirement for members of the Institute of Field Archaeologists in the United Kingdom to subscribe to the Institute's *Code of conduct*. Similar codes apply or are in the course of being approved in a number of other countries, including Australia, Canada, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden, as well as by other archaeological bodies in the USA.

Initiatives have also been taken in this field at the international level. The International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) worked in the late 1980s on an *International charter on archaeological heritage management*, which was approved by ICOMOS at its General Assembly in Lausanne in 1990, and provides a doctrinal basis for all work relating to the archaeological heritage. The ICAHM charter is orientated primarily at the individual archaeologist and heritage manager. Standards have also been laid down for individual states to observe: at the European level, the Council of Europe was responsible for the promulgation of the *European convention on the protection of the archaeological heritage*, signed at Valletta (Malta) in January 1992.

It was the view of the first Executive Board of the European Association of Archaeologists, confirmed by the 1st Annual Business Meeting held in Santiago de Compostela (Spain) in September 1995, that the Association should have its own code, which all its members would undertake to apply in their work. Drafting was delegated to Dr Henry Cleere (EAA Secretary, 1994–96). The present text, which draws heavily on

codes of ethics and conduct produced by other archaeological bodies, notably the Institute of Field Archaeologists (UK), the American Institute of Archaeology, the Society for American Archaeology, and the Society of Professional Archaeologists (USA), and on the 1990 ICOMOS charter, has been produced following the round table discussion at the 2nd Annual Conference in Riga (Latvia) in September 1996 and subsequent written comments from members, and has been approved by the Executive Board. It has been adopted formally by the 3rd Annual Business Meeting in Ravenna (Italy) on 27 September 1997.

The EAA Code of Practice

Preamble

The archaeological heritage, as defined in Article 1 of the 1992 *European convention on the protection of the archaeological heritage*, is the heritage of all humankind. Archaeology is the study and interpretation of that heritage for the benefit of society as a whole. Archaeologists are the interpreters and stewards of that heritage on behalf of their fellow men and women. The object of this code is to establish standards of conduct for the members of the European Association of Archaeologists to follow in fulfilling their responsibilities, both to the community and to their professional colleagues.

1 Archaeologists and society

- 1.1 All archaeological work should be carried out in the spirit of the *Charter for the management of the archaeological heritage* approved by ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) in 1990.
- 1.2 It is the duty of every archaeologist to ensure the preservation of the archaeological heritage by every legal means.
- 1.3 In achieving that end archaeologists will take active steps to inform the general public at all levels of the objectives and methods of archaeology in general and of individual projects in particular, using all the communication techniques at their disposal.
- 1.4 Where preservation is impossible, archaeologists will ensure that investigations are carried out to the highest professional standards.
- 1.5 In carrying out such projects, archaeologists will wherever possible, and in accordance with any contractual obligations that they may have entered into, carry out prior evaluations of the ecological and social implications of their work for local communities.
- 1.6 Archaeologists will not engage in, or allow their names to be associated with, any form of activity relating to the illicit trade in antiquities and works of art, covered by the 1970 UNESCO *Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export, and transfer of ownership of cultural property*.
- 1.7 Archaeologists will not engage in, or allow their names to be associated with, any activity that impacts on the archaeological heritage which is carried out for

commercial profit which derives directly from or exploits the archaeological heritage itself.

- 1.8 It is the responsibility of archaeologists to draw the attention of the competent authorities to threats to the archaeological heritage, including the plundering of sites and monuments and illicit trade in antiquities, and to use all the means at their disposal to ensure that action is taken in such cases by the competent authorities.

2 *Archaeologists and the profession*

- 2.1 Archaeologists will carry out their work to the highest standards recognised by their professional peers.
- 2.2 Archaeologists have a duty to keep themselves informed of developments in knowledge and methodology relating to their field of specialisation and to techniques of fieldwork, conservation, information dissemination, and related areas.
- 2.3 Archaeologists should not undertake projects for which they are not adequately trained or prepared.
- 2.4 A research design should be formulated as an essential prelude to all projects. Arrangements should also be made before starting projects for the subsequent storage and curation of finds, samples, and records in accessible public repositories (museums, archive collections, etc).
- 2.5 Proper records, prepared in a comprehensible and durable form, should be made of all archaeological projects.
- 2.6 Adequate reports on all projects should be prepared and made accessible to the archaeological community as a whole with the minimum delay through appropriate conventional and/or electronic publishing media, following an initial period of confidentiality not exceeding six calendar months.
- 2.7 Archaeologists will have prior rights of publication in respect of projects for which they are responsible for a reasonable period, not exceeding ten years. During this period they will make their results as widely accessible as possible and will give sympathetic consideration to requests for information from colleagues and students, provided that these do not conflict with the primary right of publication. When the ten-year period has expired, the records should be freely available for analysis and publication by others.
- 2.8 Written permission must be obtained for the use of original material and acknowledgement to the source included in any publication.
- 2.9 In recruiting staff for projects, archaeologists shall not practise any form of discrimination based on sex, religion, age, race, disability, or sexual orientation.
- 2.10 The management of all projects must respect national standards relating to conditions of employment and safety.

NOTES

1. This was early in 1997.
2. This is not to say that such discussion is lacking. It is reflected in various contributions to the *Journal of European archaeology* since 1993, and in a number of papers in the recent publication *Cultural identity and archaeology: The construction of European communities* (Graves Brown *et al.* 1996).
3. Meanwhile, a similar and much more comprehensive study has appeared concerning England (Darvill and Fulton 1998).
4. It became operational in 1999 at <http://www.e-a-a.org>
5. The Dutch parliament passed the ratification law in 1998.
6. ROPA became operational in 1998. For further details, see <http://www.rpanet.org/>
7. The *Raphael* programme will be terminated in 2000. Meanwhile, it has been decided to replace the various programmes for cultural action by a single, framework programme, called the 'Culture 2000 programme'. It will run from 2000–2004 (further information on http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg10/culture/program-2000_en.html)
8. As far as I am aware, this has not been achieved although the latest version names 'the safeguarding of Europe's cultural and natural heritage' as one of the four areas which are relevant to the EU. This is endorsed by comments of various important bodies, such as the Committee of the Regions (1999/C93/07).
9. Continued discussion has meanwhile led to the creation of an international association called the 'European Archaeologiae Consilium' (EAC) which will have its inaugural meeting in November 1999 at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France.
10. The glossary will be published by the Council of Europe in 1999.
11. The reference to Article 189b means that in this case the codecision-procedure applies, that allows the European Parliament to veto a Council decision. This procedure has been modified by the recent Treaty of Amsterdam, which will further strengthen the position of the EP when the treaty comes into force.