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Corresponding Author	Family Name	Carman	
	Particle		
	Given Name	John	
	Suffix		
	Division	Bloody Meadows Project, Institute of Archaeology & Antiquity	
	Organization	University of Birmingham	
	Address	B15 2TT, Edgbaston, Birmingham, UK	
	Email	j.carman@bham.ac.uk	
Author	Family Name	Carman	
	Particle		
	Given Name	Patricia	
	Suffix		
	Division	Bloody Meadows Project, Institute of Archaeology & Antiquity	
	Organization	University of Birmingham	
	Address	B15 2TT, Edgbaston, Birmingham, UK	
	Email		
Abstract	historic battlefields of a Our aim is specifically	ody Meadows Project ¹ (Carman and Carman 2006a, b, 2007, 2009) is to investigat all periods, and we choose to do so from a broadly 'phenomenological' perspective not to recreate what the battlefield was like on the day of battle or the events of that ore the historicity of particular kinds of places through the experience of being there	

Chapter 7 Walking the Line Between Past and Present: 'Doing' Phenomenology on Historic Battlefields

John Carman and Patricia Carman

Introduction

The purpose of the Bloody Meadows Project¹ (Carman and Carman 2006a, b, 2007, 6 2009) is to investigate historic battlefields of all periods, and we choose to do so from a broadly 'phenomenological' perspective. Our aim is specifically not to recreate what the battlefield was like on the day of battle or the events of that day, but rather to explore the historicity of particular kinds of places through the experience of being there. 11

[AU1]

Following Tilley (1994) and others, a phenomenological approach to the study of 12 landscapes as taken by archaeologists has generally been limited to the monumental 13 'ritual' landscapes of European prehistory. The approach is, however, also of more 14 general relevance to any encultured space, especially any marked as a particular 15 kind of space. Tilley justifies taking a phenomenological approach to landscapes as 16 follows: 17

[What] is clear [from the ethnographic record] is the symbolic, ancestral, and temporal significance18of landscape [to peoples]. The landscape is continually being encultured, bringing things19into meaning as part of a symbolic process by which human consciousness makes the physical20reality of the natural environment into an intelligible and socialised form.21

(Tilley 1994:67) 22

As he emphasises, the enculturation of landscape turns it from mere topography 23 to a 'place': "Cultural markers [such as monuments or the memory of large-scale 24 violence are used] to create a new sense of place.... An already encultured landscape 25 becomes refashioned, its meanings now controlled by the imposition of [a new] 26 cultural form" (Tilley 1994:208). 27

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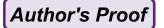
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J. Carman (🖂) • P. Carman

Bloody Meadows Project, Institute of Archaeology & Antiquity, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT, UK e-mail: j.carman@bham.ac.uk

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The typical interpretive device in battlefield research is the battlefield plan 28 (see e.g. English Heritage 1995), which is presented as an objective view from 29 above, divorced from the action. But as Tilley also emphasises, place is not some-30 thing that can be understood 'objectively': 31

Looking at the two-dimensional plane of the modern topographic map with sites [or artefact 32 scatters] plotted on it, it is quite impossible to envisage the landscape in which these places 33 are embedded. The representation fails, and cannot substitute for being there, being in 34 place. [The] process of observation requires time and a feeling for the place. 35

36

(Tilley 1994:75)

The same is true of the traditional battlefield plan: it cannot substitute for direct 37 experience nor for movement through the space. We therefore draw upon the ideas 38 of prehistoric archaeologists who are developing ways of utilising the idea that the 39 way of moving through particular kinds of spaces can be considered a form of ritual 40 or performance (Carman 1999:242; Pearson 1998). For example, Barrett writes of 41 prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire, England, that 42

for the distinctions [between people] to have operated... it was necessary for people to 43 44 move between these [architectural] regions; to enter and leave each other's presence, to observe passively or to act, to lead processions or to follow. The practice of social life 45 is thus... performed.

46

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(Barrett 1994:29)

Here, ritual activity is considered as a form of 'acted out' discourse (Barrett 48 1991:5; Thomas 1991 34), focusing on the physicality and (apparent) 'objectivity' 49 of actions (Barrett 1991:4-6). Participants in rituals are guided through a series of 50 specific meaningful actions, leading them to make the approved connections 51 between them (Thomas 1991:34). Taking such ideas further, Thomas (1991) and 52 Pearson (1998) argue that the focus of early Bronze Age 'beaker' burial ritual in 53 Britain was on the body of the deceased. Objects which were put into the ground 54 "constituted material signifiers whose role was to ensure that the intended reading 55 of the dead person was made by the audience [at] the funeral" (Thomas 1991:34). 56 Here, the space of the grave itself acted as the 'stage' of a theatrical performance 57 (Pearson 1998:36–37). Mourners thus became active participants in the funerary 58 ritual (Thomas 1991:39), players in the drama as well as spectators (Pearson 1998). 59 The often slow and deliberate movements of bodies of troops across the space of a 60 battlefield, frequently in defiance of common-sense, have obvious ritual conno-61 tations. The same is true of aspects such as drill, the proper use of equipment, 62 standardised formations, and the focus on the capture of enemy standards and 63 correctly worn regalia (Keeley 1996:62-63). 64

Putting these two styles of approach together, gaining a feeling for the place as a 65 place and a focus on how one moves through it in performance, one can perhaps 66 gain a specific sense of what a particular historic battlefield represents in terms of 67 experience and meaning. The purpose of the Bloody Meadows project is thus not so 68 much an attempt to recreate what an individual battlefield was like on the day of 69 battle (or indeed the events of the battle). It is rather to establish a meaning for the 70

- Author's Proof
 - 7 Walking the Line Between Past and Present...

historicity of the place in the present: hence our simultaneous concern both for 71 an understanding of the nature of war in the past and preservation and public interpretation in the present. 73

It is for these reasons that the Bloody Meadows Project looks very specifically 74 at the kind of place where the battle was fought. The majority of archaeologists 75 working on battlefields spend their time looking at the ground, trying to find the 76 material left behind by the action. We instead spend time looking up and around us, 77 at the shape of the space itself. A close focus on the shape of the space allows 78 differences of choice across space and through time to become evident. In taking 79 such an approach, and in being deliberately aware of both past and present in a 80 particular place, we walk the line that lies between the past and the present, where 81 neither dominates the other. Instead, they interact in interesting and challenging 82 ways. It is not a search for an experience of being in the past, but rather an experi-83 ence in the present which reflects and derives from the contribution of history to that 84 place. In the case of a historic battlefield, it is not an experience of ancient slaughter, 85 but an experience of a place in the present as read through its history as manifested 86 in material form. This history inevitably includes the event of the battle that was 87 fought there, but not exclusively. 88

Investigating Battlefields as Historic Places

The primary data source used in the Bloody Meadows Project is the physical 90 landscape of the place where warfare was practised. Drawing upon the work of 91 previous scholars – who have identified the locations of many battlefields from the 92 past – we focus upon the landscape itself to ask specific questions (Table 7.1). The 93 answers can be ordered as set out in Table 7.2. 94

In Table 7.2, the *rules of war* cover such things as the degree of mutual agreement needed before fighting could commence, whether the two sides were required 96 to see each other as 'legitimate' enemies or whether anyone could participate in a 97 battle, some assessment of the level of violence employed, and how (if at all) the 98 battlesite was remembered afterwards. They are a measure of how 'formal' battle 99 was regarded and how distinctive from other forms of conflict at that time. 100

The characteristics of the battlefield landscape are addressed in order to identify 101 features present in the battlespace and how they were used by combatants. This 102 gives some insight into attitudes to the battlefield as a place. The query as to whether 103 structured formations were present (such as ordered columns or lines of troops) 104 gives a clue to how participants moved through the battlefield space: if the landscape 105 is seen as architecture, so too can the forces engaged be seen as a kind of 'mobile 106 architecture'. The point is not merely to note those features present and used by 107 combatants, as military historians might, but also and especially those features present 108 but not used, and those present today but not on the day. 109

t1.2	Of battlesites as historic places	Of battlesites as heritage	
t1.3 t1.4 t1.5 t1.6 t1.7 t1.8 t1.9 t1.10 t1.11 t1.12 t1.13 t1.14 t1.15 t1.16 t1.17 t1.18 t1.19	 How clearly bounded is the battlefield space (does it have clear boundaries, such as impassable ground or a water obstacle)? Is it located on high or low ground relative to the surrounding space? What kind of use (other than for war) was the site put to, if any? Is it near or distant from settlement? Is it visible from settlement? Does the ground contain particular types of landscape features – natural or built – which play a part in the battlefield action? What features present in the landscape (if any) played no part in the battlefield action? 	 Was the battlefield subsequently marked by a monument or memorial in any way? If 'yes' Where is it in relation to the battlesite? What form does it take? Who or what does it commemorate? Who raised it? When was it raised? Is there any indication of the specific audience it is intended to address? What does it say about the relations of commemorator or commemorate to the battlesite? Are links made with other sites or to other events? To what use(s) has the battlefield been put, and what is it used for today? 	

t1.1 **Table 7.1** Bloody Meadows Project: research questions

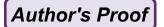
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t2.1	Table 7.2	Parameters	for study	ing battlefields
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12.1	Table 7.2 Tarameters for studying battericlus		
t2.2	Rules of war	Battlefield architecture	
t2.3	Agreement to fight: Y/N	Features present	
t2.4	Mutual recognition as "legitimate" enemies: Y/N	Type of feature used	
t2.5	Level of violence: High, medium, low	Type of feature not used	
t2.6	Marking of battle-site	Use of terrain	
t2.7		As cover	
t2.8		To impede visibility	
t2.9		To impede movement	
t2.10	Participants	Structured formations: Y/N	
t2.11	Functional aspects		
t2.12	Dysfunctional aspects		

The two final sections attempt to summarise our expectations as filtered through an understanding of 'good military practice' derived from military writings (as in the concept of "inherent military probability" discussed by Keegan (1976:33–34)). It is, we believe, the *dysfunctional* behaviour (that is, the apparent mistakes or omissions) which can give a clue to cultural attitudes and expectations of the battlefield space which differ from our own. In applying this analysis to distinctive examples of warfare from various periods, the differences between periods become evident.

In approaching the landscapes that are our object, we use what we have called the archaeologist's eye' – that is, the capacity of a trained landscape archaeologist



to interpret space and to identify (especially manufactured) features in landscapes 119 otherwise unfamiliar to them - to reach an understanding of the spaces of battle. 120 By approaching such sites with a structured set of questions and by recording data 121 in a standard format (Table 7.2) it becomes possible to recognise what such 122 sites have in common and how they differ from one another. This in turn allows 123 the identification of the types of location favoured as battlesites in particular periods 124 of history, and these can be related to other aspects of the battle as recorded by 125 historians – including the type of participants, the nature of the conflict of which the 126 battle is a part, and the flow of the action. Overall, it presents an opportunity to gain 127 a direct insight into the ideological factors guiding warfare practice in that period 128 and to compare them with those guiding warfare practice in a different period. 129

The Marking of Battlefields

Many battlefields are marked by the erection of monuments of stone or concrete 131 which are solid and enduring. Others are marked in other ways: by more ephemeral 132 signs of memory, such as the names given to places and features, or local traditions 133 which ascribe particular events to particular points in the landscape. Others again 134 are marked by the actions of officialdom in recognising the site as of particular 135 historical interest and importance: the traditional manner is to place an interpretive 136 sign at a prominent viewspot and perhaps to construct a circular walk or drive to visit 137 the locations deemed important to an understanding of the events of the battle and 138 its landscape context. Officialdom may also - as in the case of the English Heritage 139 Register - mark the site out on a map, providing it with a convenient border and 140 edge, allowing preservation and management within and less control without. 141

All such ways of marking battlesites – and others – indicate the way in which the 142 site is perceived in the present; and to whom, and in what way, it is conceived to 143 be important. The purpose of investigating these aspects of battlefields is to gain an 144 insight into the contemporary meanings ascribed to such places. The purpose of 145 combining such interests with research into the battlesite as a historic landscape in 146 its own right is to relate the two: to find out if particular kinds of historic places are 147 treated in one set of ways, while others are treated the same or differently, and to 148 what extent, by whom and for what purpose. 149

Battlefields as Cemeteries and Memorials

The archaeological study of monuments to the dead and how war is commemorated 151 is an area that has come to the fore in recent years (e.g. Borg 1991). Much of this 152 has focussed on monuments to the wars of the last century – especially the First and 153 Second World Wars (Winter 1995) and as part of the developing academic interest in 154 collective social memory (e.g. Connerton 1989). According to some, the memorialisation 155

130

of the dead of World War One was a process of de-personalisation at the service of 156 a sense of national unity (Parker Pearson 1982): lists of named casualties gave way 157 to monuments commemorating an anonymous 'The Glorious Dead' or simply 'The 158 Fallen': and annual acts of remembrance denied the opportunity for a consideration 159 of the experience or purpose of war (Bushaway 1992). On the other hand, it has 160 been pointed out that the majority of war memorials constructed after World 161 War One "were initiatives which came from the people rather than the politi-162 cians.... [Their] erection was instigated by the bereaved public" (Tarlow 1999:162-163 163). They represented a response to the loss that had been suffered by large 164 numbers of the population and who wished to find some way of marking and coming 165 to terms with that loss. This emphasis on bereavement represents another strand to 166 some recent archaeological work: a focus not only on the physical aspects of 167 remains, but also on the emotional content of particular kinds of object (see also 168 Tarlow 1999). In looking at monuments to the dead from this point of view, the 169 question of who they were for comes particularly to the forefront and opens up a 170 sensitivity to the meanings they carry. 171

172 Battlefield Preservation

The idea of preserving battlefields as important historic places is a relatively new 173 one in Europe. The first Register of Historic Battlefields in Europe was produced in 174 England, and has been subject to criticism for treating such places purely as histori-175 cal phenomena, where the primary sources are written and where the location, its 176 extent, and any physical evidence of conflict it may contain is of secondary concern 177 (Foard 2001). These concerns have been partly addressed in recent Scottish historic 178 environment policy (Historic Scotland 2009) where the archaeological potential of 179 such sites is specifically addressed, and similar initiatives in Wales and Ireland are 180 likely to follow suit. Nevertheless, in both the Scottish and English cases, the fact 181 that a battlefield is included in the *Register* should be taken into account for devel-182 opment control purposes under relevant official guidance does not equate with full 183 legal protection in the same manner as scheduled monuments and sites. In other 184 parts of Europe, however, gaining official recognition for historic battlefields is a 185 process barely begun. 186

This situation contrasts with the position in, for example, the USA, where bat-187 tlefields considered worthy of note are taken into full legal protection and 188 stewardship by responsible agencies under the aegis of the American Battlefield 189 Protection Program of the Federal National Park Service (American Battlefield 190 Protection Program 2009). A series of Federal laws relating to the preservation 191 and protection of historic battlefields have been passed, primarily to provide funding 192 programmes for suitable initiatives, and the most important battlesites of American 193 history - especially those from the Revolutionary and Civil wars - have been taken 194 into State care by the National Park Service under various designations. 195

Author's Proof

Investigating Battlefields as Places in the Present

The interest of the Bloody Meadows Project in the way battlefields are subsequently 197 marked (whether soon after the battle or a considerable time later) is reflected 198 particularly in the research questions (Table 7.1). 199

We are always fully conscious that marking a site is not the only measure of 200 its importance or interest. Failure to mark a site can itself constitute a statement: 201 sometimes this will be a representation of a lack of recognition of any importance 202 or significance the site may carry for certain people, but other times a more positive 203 omission with a purpose to it. By looking closely at such sites and the monuments 204 and other marks they bear it is possible to come to an understanding of the meanings 205 they carry in our own time, which can make a contribution to the study of collective 206 memory (Connerton 1989; Foote 1997; Jones 2007). 207

These are also reflected in the purposes for which such sites are used. Battlefields 208 from the past rarely offer much in the way of an obvious physical legacy. Where 209 earthwork defences were constructed, or the fighting resulted in significant changes 210 to the shape of the land, these traces may persist to become part of later uses. In those 211 cases where archaeological investigation has been carried out, the archaeology has 212 most often consisted of human remains buried at the site. More recent research 213 has revealed the presence of scatters of material across the battlespace – most typically 214 for battles of the firearms era, bullets and bullet casings (Haecker and Mauck 1997; 215 Scott et al. 1989); for earlier periods, attachments to clothing which may have been 216 torn off in the struggle (Sutherland 2001). Since such remains are generally invisible 217 to the naked human eye, however, the landscape of such places has been seen as 'empty' 218 of archaeology and therefore available for other uses. These uses may extend to 219 the provision of park and amenity spaces, the historical significance of the location 220 giving it an extra attractiveness to visitors. At Northampton, for instance, the space 221 of the battlefield has been converted into the municipal golf course; at Quebec 222 in Canada the site of the conflict of 1759 has been used as a site of recreation 223 since the beginning of the twentieth century. Hence our reason for asking about 224 the subsequent uses of the site up to the present. From this we can ascertain the 225 various uses over time to which the space has been put – other than, or at least as well 226 as, for war making – and from this gain some insight into the meanings the level of 227 significance the place has acquired over time. 228

Choosing Sites for Research

229

The focus of the Bloody Meadows Project is upon the older and perhaps less 230 well known sites of violence in the past. We deliberately stop short of the twentieth 231 century since a wide variety of research is already being conducted into the warfare of our own age (Saunders 2001; Schofield et al. 2002; Schofield 2005) and modern 233 battlefields tend to be both very large and very well promoted. In addition, twentieth 234

century warfare has disconcertingly extended from the surface of our globe into other 235 realms: into the air; under the sea; into the most inhospitable regions of the world. 236 such as mountain ranges, jungles, deserts, the arctic and antarctic; and even into 237 outer space. It has also gone beyond the physical into more conceptual regions: 238 into the relations of government to people (as opposed to being limited to the 239 concerns of a specific 'warrior' caste); into the realm of science and technology; 240 and, with the rise of the computer, into the so-called 'infosphere' and electronically-241 generated cyberspace (Carman 2002). The battles of our age can be said to have no 242 limits or boundaries: they frequently cannot be seen or measured, nor physically 243 controlled. Unlike the warfare of previous ages, they do not occupy a particular 244 location but are at once nowhere and everywhere. Their understanding thus lies 245 beyond the methodology of this particular project, and we leave them to others with 246 more appropriate styles of approach. 247

In general, the purpose of battle has been held to be the achievement of some 248 kind of decision. However, as Wiegley (1991) has pointed out, the battles of the 249 era from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries were for the most part indecisive. 250 What we tend to remember are those battles that can be held to be in some sense to 251 have resulted in a clear decision: for instance, by forcing a change of strategy upon 252 one side in a conflict; by closing off a military or political option during the course 253 of a conflict; or by bringing about the final defeat of one nation by another and thus 254 an end – however temporarily sometimes – to a conflict. But the majority of battles 255 do not achieve such decisiveness: instead they lead to more violence elsewhere 256 at a later time. These battles, which are more readily and more easily forgotten, 257 represent the majority of battles fought and the more typical form of battle in any 258 period of history. What their study has to tell us is less about the outcome of wars 259 and the political and social changes they engender than what war was generally 260 like in that period and how the people involved perceived and understood the role 261 of war in their lives. By focussing on such less spectacular and less historically 262 significant events we gain a different kind of insight into war in the past than from 263 much military history. 264

265 Standing in Empty Spaces

Historic battlefields are locations where events once took place. They are now 266 places marked by those events and accordingly of interest to students of those 267 events. To study them is to stand in a place today, dreaming of an event of yesterday, 268 an event that has passed and is gone. All one can do is stand and look, and that -269 put simply and bluntly - is the methodology of the Bloody Meadows Project. 270 But there is more to looking than inactivity, and to look effectively one must also 271 take note and respond to the images that present themselves. That too is part of the 272 methodology of the Bloody Meadows Project. 273

For us, taking this approach means walking through the space with a keen eye to the different periods of history – and different human uses of the space – represented





Fig. 7.1 Northampton Street, St Albans, Hertfordshire, England. Site of a battle in 1455

by buildings, monuments, street plans, different kinds of land-use, and different 276 shapes of ground. The result is a kind of 'time travel' - not a one-way trip into a singular 277 and particular past and back, but a real journey through various times, where 278 different pasts and an immediate present are met in juxtaposition. Places have 279 histories that are evident in the experiences of them, and it is in experiencing 280 them as places that the histories become evident. The place has meaning because 281 it has a history and that history is manifested in the material evidences of its past 282 which testify to interesting and different pasts. These material things create the 283 drama of the place which is the experience of its history in the present. 284

It is this historicity that such a 'phenomenological' approach to historic battlefields 285 can produce. In taking such an approach, and in being deliberately aware of both 286 past and present in a particular place, the line that lies between the past and the present 287 is walked, where neither dominates the other. Instead, they interact in interesting 288 and challenging ways, as illustrated in the following three examples (Fig. 7.1). 289

[AU2]

St Albans, Hertfordshire, UK, 1455

For the first battle at St Albans in 1455 King Henry VI gathered his forces in the 291 centre of the town, where the wide main market street, as today, was suitable 292 for the mustering of an army. The opposing army launched an attack that travelled 293 up the narrow streets towards the centre of the town. Barricades were thrown 294 down and the defenders retreated towards the town centre (Carman and Carman 295

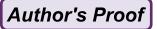




Fig. 7.2 'Bloody Ditch', Roundway Down, Wiltshire, England. Site of a battle in 1643

2006:97-100. Some of the buildings present today were those standing on the day 296 of battle, and passing up these streets today, you still enter the town centre quite 297 suddenly, going from quiet residential side-streets into the bustling market area. 298 Nearby, a new shopping precinct overlies what were household garden plots on the 299 day of the battle. Its internal arrangement reflects the narrow alleys that criss-crossed 300 the area in the fifteenth century: efforts to negotiate one's way around and out of 301 this confusing space perhaps reflects the soldiers' efforts to climb over fences 302 and through hedges. In both streets and shopping precinct, the effect is somewhat 303 similar to that likely to have been experienced on the day of battle (Fig. $7 \ge$). 304

305 Roundway Down, Wiltshire, UK, 1643

The landscape of Roundway Down is typical of its region in the southern part of 306 Britain: rolling chalk downland with mostly gentle slopes although cut by steeper 307 scarps. Roundway Hill itself is a rough isosceles triangle in shape with two long 308 sides to north and south and the higher and broader eastern end immediately above 309 the battlefield. To the south lies the town of Devizes, masked by a lower rise of 310 ground, and linked by a route that climbs the steep southern slope of Roundway 311 Hill. The land was mostly open grazing in the seventeenth century: the ploughed 312 ground that makes up the rest of today's landscape is much more recent in origin. 313 Roundway Down is today peaceful countryside: agricultural, tamed, gentle and 314 empty. To see the battlefield you must walk around it and gaze at it from some distance 315 away, for there is no right of way through it. 316





Fig. 7.3 The modern University at Elviña, Galicia, Spain. Site of the battle of Corunna 1809

For 2 km above the eastern end of Roundway Hill the ground rises gently, but 317 suddenly it falls almost sheer for 100 m; down this near vertical slope fleeing cavalry 318 tumbled and fell, horse and rider, unable to stop or rein in. Walkers today going 319 slowly on foot also come across it with frightening suddenness: one moment the 320 ground is flat, the next it falls away into bottomlessness, hidden by trees. What it was 321 like for fast-moving riders – the panicked screaming of horses and riders; the attempt 322 to pull up only to be pushed on by those coming from behind; the fear, confusion 323 and noise - can at least be guessed at when you are there. The bottom of the slope 324 still bears the memory of the event: it is today called the Bloody Ditch (Fig. 7β). 325

Corunna/Elviña, Galicia, Spain 1809

The battle of Corunna – or as it is known locally, Elviña – was fought by a retreating 327 British army before taking ship from Spain in 1809. The contending armies were 328 formed on two parallel ridges about six kilometres south of the city, and most of the 329 fighting took place on the slopes of the higher and steeper southern ridge on which 330 the French army stood. The most fierce fighting took place in and around the village 331 of Elviña, which changed hands several times. The vernacular stone buildings of the 332 village still hug the steep slopes of the hill and the original core of the settlement 333 remains much as it must have been on the day. From within the settlement, due to 334 foreshortened lines of sight and impeding buildings, a sense of the surrounding 335

landscape is difficult to grasp: little can be seen except the village itself. The modern

337 Elviña church lies across the valley, providing a view of the main area where fighting

took place. From here it is possible to gain a good view across the flat ground of

the valley between the two main ridges and the arable fields occupying it. The small

size of the fields and the vernacular buildings set amongst them indicate little change

in this landscape since 1809; although on the hills above the encroachments are very clear of the expanding city and especially the new University which has been built

station of the expanding erry and espectanty the new oniversity which has been built specifically here because of the significance of the site in local historical memory.

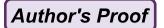
344 Answering Some Criticisms of Phenomenology

The three preceding examples are intended to emphasise that ours is not a search for 345 an experience of being in the past, but rather an experience in the present which 346 simultaneously reflects and derives from the contribution of history to a particular 347 place. In the case of a historic battlefield, it is not an experience of ancient slaughter. 348 but an experience of a particular place in the present as read through its history as 349 manifested in material form. This history inevitably includes the event of the battle 350 that was fought there - and indeed is what attracts us to explore that place - but not 351 exclusively. It is that experience of being in the place that is captured. 352

We have been accused in one review of our work of going to places so we can 353 'dream' the past (Foard 2006). This is a common charge against phenomenologi-354 cally-derived studies in archaeology. Trigger (2006:474–475) has referred to it as a 355 'contemplative' or 'intuitive' style of archaeology reliant on assumptions about a 356 common 'human nature' and a shared bodily experience that crosses cultural bound-357 aries. He points out that anthropology has "empirically demonstrated that cultural 358 differences are sufficiently great as to make it unlikely that [phenomenological 359 approaches] could control for ethnocentrism and produce reliable results" (Trigger 360 2006:474): he also accuses phenomenological approaches of relying upon subjec-361 tive feeling (Trigger 2006:477). 362

By contrast, we believe that our work demonstrates the utility of an approach to 363 landscapes based upon phenomenology: moreover, by applying this approach to 364 historic landscapes we show the usefulness of the approach beyond the study of 365 prehistory. Our approach is based entirely upon the notion that those attitudes 366 towards and the expectations of landscape in the past were different from those 367 held by people in the twenty-first century: if they were not different we would have 368 nothing to say. We believe our approach seeks out and identifies those differences 369 by using an explicitly modern Western mode of investigation of space and comparing 370 it with the use of that space made by people in the past. It is from noting the manner 371 in which space, objects and landscape features are used or any failure to use them 372 as we would today that these differences emerge. 373

Where objects that were present in the past and would be available for use in the present – especially for military purposes, such as facilitating or impeding movement,



for concealment or for protection – but were not used for these purposes, it can be inferred that the objects were not seen as useful. This in turn indicates a measure of difference between the past and the present. We also compare the uses of space in one historical period from those of another, revealing other differences in attitude and expectation. 380

Trees and Buildings

Woodland can offer a place to hide troops, may be an area to avoid or simply provide 382 a source of raw material. In the medieval battlefields we have studied, the wood-383 land areas were avoided by troops and if present at all provided a boundary to the 384 battlefield space. The trees themselves were sometimes a source for the material 385 used to construct barricades protecting the defenders' position. The specifics of 386 particular circumstances seem to determine the role of woodland in battle: as an incon-387 venience or an asset, as a landscape feature or as merely a number of individual 388 trees. The manner in which woodland is treated by soldiers in different periods 389 may indicate how such features are perceived more generally in that period: our 390 work suggests that trees are more likely to be seen as woodland landscape features 391 (that is, as woods or forests) in more recent periods, and more as sources of material 392 (that is, merely a collection of individual trees) in earlier times. Either: but not both at 393 the same time. There is scope for more research here. 394

Churches and chapels are a significant and common feature in any European 395 landscape; accordingly their presence in the battlefield space may not be remark-396 able, and also as what is very often the largest stone structure in their area they 397 may inevitably attract attention. Frequently, however, they were ancillary to the 398 battlefield action, and specifically avoided by combatants during the fighting. 399 Monasteries too frequently stand just off the space of medieval battles. The fighting 400 avoided these places, but they provided rescue for the wounded and medical aid 401 once the fighting was over. We think it significant that of our sample of medieval 402 battlefields, almost all are known to be close to or involve churches and monasteries 403 while less than half more modern sites do. Fighting penetrates only one such 404 structure in the medieval period while a majority in the modern period are in the 405 centre of the fighting. This suggests a change of attitude towards such places over 406 time: that while churches and church foundations are not to be fought in or over in 407 the medieval period, their presence nearby is desired or expected; while in later 408 times they form merely another part of the battlefield space and no longer command 409 special respect. Non-church buildings are relatively rare in the medieval battlefield 410 landscape unless the battle takes place through urban space. The incorporation 411 of settlements into battlefields in later periods increases the number of buildings 412 present and such buildings are more likely to be used as part of the fighting, indicating 413 another change of attitude to landscape features. 414

415 Conclusion

We believe that by choosing to examine landscapes that were used for a very 416 particular kind of purpose in the past makes the identification and examination of 417 differences in attitude and expectation as revealed by differences in use more 418 reliable, and that they therefore reveal real differences between various periods of 419 history and those periods and our own. The differences in expectation and 420 understanding of landscapes thus derived can then be taken up by others who are 421 interested in understanding the use and attitudes towards space of people in the past. 422 Elsewhere (Carman and Carman 2006a, b, 2007, 2009) we have given details of our 423 results and more detailed consideration of what we think we have and have not 424 achieved. Here we wish to emphasise that we believe those results to be meaningful, 425 and that taking our phenomenologically-derived approach to particular places of 426 experience in the past demonstrates the value of such approaches. However, to do 427 so is neither simple nor straightforward: it is a case of constant awareness of one's 428 situatedness in the present while attempting to compare that with a known past. 429

Ours is not an effort to 'dream' a past, but to compare the past and the present -430 and different pasts with each other and with the present – in a meaningful way that 431 opens up possibilities for understanding the difference of the past from the present. 432 As Tilley puts it, it is about "being there, being in place" (Tilley 1994:75) in the 433 present but being simultaneously aware of that place's past. Accordingly, our 434 research is very largely not about the past at all, but about studying the past as a set 435 of contemporary practices (Shanks and Tilley 1987a, b; Edgeworth 2006). We firmly 436 locate ourselves in the present – and use knowledge of the past as a counterpoint to 437 expose the peculiarities of the modern experience of space and place. 438

439 Notes

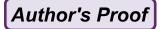
 The Bloody Meadows Project is co-directed by the authors and was instigated in 1998. It derives from their joint interests in landscapes as particular kinds of entity, in war as a subject of archaeological enquiry, and as an opportunity to use archaeology to contribute to significant debates of our time. The project studies battlefields from all historic periods and is not limited by geographical region.

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Author Queries

Chapter No.: 7 0001486240

Queries	Details Required	Author's Response
AU1	Kindly include the references "Tilley (1994), Keegan (1976) and Carman and Carman (2006)" in the reference list.	
AU2	Please confirm if the citations inserted for Figs. 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 is okay.	

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