Excavation to Exhibition

Interpreting Archaeology to the Public in Scotland and Europe

The building of a reconstructed crannog aimed to address specific research question but also to serve as an educational resource as a part of the Scottish Crannog Centre.

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Background

Archaeology, once the province of academic specialists, is now firmly in the public domain, largely due to the rise in media coverage and the massive surge in internet usage in the last 10 years which makes knowledge transfer quicker and easier than ever before. In Britain, the history of public involvement dates back at least as far as the 19th century through the interest of wealthy antiquarians and collectors who acted as voluntary researchers and who were important to the development of the discipline.

Indeed, it was the discovery of ancient remains in the 19th century in Switzerland when lake levels dropped to an abnormally low level that sparked interest in lake dwellings in that country and throughout Europe and resulted in two major publications by Scottish archaeologist Robert Munro (Munro 1882, 1890). Since then, pile dwellings built in open water have been recorded in both marine and freshwater environments around the world. In Scotland and Ireland these sites are known as crannogs and while there are hundreds throughout these countries dating from the Neolithic period to the 17th century the extent of the resource is still not known and a great deal of survey work is still required.

In Scotland, archaeology developed into a true scientific discipline throughout the 20th century but although the country has some 6,000 river systems and 30,000 lochs (Maitland et al 1994), sites located in and under the water were basically ignored until the latter half of the century when the development of diving techniques made underwater investigation possible. Only five crannogs were excavated between 1900 and 1970, in all cases when lochs were drained for agricultural or industrial purposes.

Since then, three large lochs in Scotland, Loch Awe, Loch Tay and Loch Lomond, have been systematically surveyed by teams of professionals working with volunteers and 48 crannogs have been discovered. However, even very small lochs often have one or more crannogs. Substantial work has taken place in Loch Tay, Perthshire after survey in 1979 discovered the remains

Fig 1. Reconstructed crannog in its natural setting by the shores of Loch Tay.
of 18 sites (Dixon 1982). The work there is ongoing and includes underwater excavations at the early Iron Age site of ‘Oakbank Crannog’ (Dixon 2004a), shoreline and underwater survey of the perimeter of the loch (Dixon 2005), the radiocarbon dating of 15 of the crannogs (Dixon et al 2007) and, recently, the discovery of a stretch of drowned Neolithic woodland along the northern edge of the loch (Dixon 2005).

Fig. 2 House floor discovered during underwater excavations at the Early Iron Age site of Oakbank Crannog.

These research projects are carried out under the auspices of the Scottish Trust for Underwater Archaeology (STUA), registered charity SCO18414, which was created by the authors in 1989 to promote and progress studies in underwater archaeology in Scotland and to try to ensure that submerged cultural resources are recognised in strategic policies and frameworks involving the nation’s heritage in coastal and inland waters. The STUAs surveys and excavations provide opportunities for public involvement in a variety of subjects, and new discoveries attract the attention of the media. The work in Loch Tay and elsewhere in Scotland continues with the aim of recording and understanding the distribution, construction and function of loch dwellings, interpreting the lifestyle of their inhabitants, and placing them in the context of other types of settlement throughout the country.

While the STUA has undertaken surveys throughout Scotland, it is best known for the excavation of the Early Iron Age site of Oakbank Crannog in Loch Tay, and the reconstruction of a loch dwelling (Fig. 1) based on the evidence from that site (Dixon 2004a). Oakbank Crannog was originally built of timber, utilising piles driven into the loch bed to create a platform above the water supporting a settlement. Structural remains include an Iron Age house floor (Fig. 2) covered with bracken and ferns; stakes and piles that supported the woven hazel walls and roof of the house; and 40 elm and oak stumps mark the remains of a walkway which led to the shore. Artefacts such as a cultivation implement, animal bones, fruit, nuts, and well-preserved plant remains provide clear evidence of a farming lifestyle with substantial reliance on the exploitation of the surrounding natural environment, while discoveries of wooden utensils, fir candles (light sticks) and even a tiny whistle indicate a detailed knowledge of the properties of species of wood chosen for specific purposes.

Development of the Scottish Crannog Centre

The superb preservation of organic materials at Oakbank Crannog motivated the experimental reconstruction of a full-sized crannog based on the archaeological evidence from the site. The building of the reconstructed crannog aimed to address specific issues raised during the excavations at Oakbank Crannog, to rediscover ancient technology, and to serve as an educational resource and platform for public archaeology as the focal point of the Scottish Crannog Centre near Kenmore at the east end of Loch Tay.

While the remains at Oakbank represent several phases of occupation and periods of rebuilding, the site has not survived as a complete house. Elements of the building that could be recreated with confidence included the construction of the floor (Fig. 3), the walls made of hazel hurdles and the general outline of the piles supporting the house. What was unknown was the method of driving the piles into the loch bed (Fig. 4) and how they were connected to the framework of the house.

While experimental archaeological techniques were used as much as possible in the creation of the new crannog some compromises were necessary, largely due to the lack of financial support for the project and then to building control regulations governing structures open to the public. Experiments included using a replica axe to fell and point trees, learning how to manoeuvre 12 metre long trunks on wooden rollers, lifting them up into position, and discovering the simple method of twisting the piles to drill them into the loch bed. Further experiments discovered the properties of nettles and other fibres used to make cordage, and a professional thatcher provided training in layering and securing the bundles of reed thatch chosen to cover the roof. As the original roof did not survive at Oakbank Crannog, the thatch that would have been used in the past is a subject of debate. Based on plant evidence, it would seem that a combination of bracken and rushes may have been used. The decision to compromise and use reed thatch from the nearby river was governed by the purely practical consideration of greater durability. (Since then, however, the Centre has demonstrated thatching with other materials such as bracken, straw, and heather).

While we call it a recreation or a reconstruction, it is not an exact reproduction because there is not enough evidence to enable us to establish that. It is presented as just one example of one type of crannog in a woodland environment, based on the evidence available so far, recognising that crannogs from other time periods in other places were not necessarily built in the same way. Visitors are told the facts about what is based on discovery at Oakbank, and what is speculation based on common sense. As the excavation is still on-going, the presenters admit that the interpretation of the construction might change. This creates a desire in the visitors for the archaeologists to get to the bottom of the site as soon as possible and encourages them to return periodically to hear about new discoveries.
Ten years on, the building still stands as a living experiment, providing useful data on structural performance and longevity. No one knew how it would withstand the elements and, to a lesser extent, the wear and tear of footfall. The average lifespan of the timber uprights has been an unpleasant surprise with those particularly in the outer ring lasting for less than 5 years in some cases. The structure is primarily made of alder trees as in the original, but oak would have been much more durable. The platform decking, also made of alder, has been replaced on all parts outside but the same timbers inside are still in almost perfect condition even with some 200,000 visitors walking on them since they were laid. Given the need for continual maintenance due to its highly exposed position, the footprint of the building is now beginning to resemble the archaeological site on which it is based. If the house were permanently occupied, the similarity would be even greater.

This living experiment fuels the questions, and imaginations, of the public. They are curious and stimulated to discover more about another culture and society. How long did it take to build? How long did it last? How often does it require fixing? How did they build it? Why didn't they just build it on land? The crannog is therefore an important interpretive tool that helps to put other tools such as original artefacts and environmental evidence in a meaningful context.

Public Interpretation: LiveARCH

While the reconstruction is the most prominent feature of the Scottish Crannog Centre (www.crannog.co.uk) the overall complex functions as an educational and increasingly experimental centre while trying to meet the needs and expectations of its wide range of visitors. An exhibition hall houses artefacts, short video presentations and interpretive panels introducing the theme of crannogs and underwater archaeology; the excavation of Oakbank Crannog in particular; and early Iron Age lifestyle interpretation based on artefacts and the scientific analysis of plant and pollen remains. There is also a section for new research projects and new discoveries. Outside, there is an interactive area featuring demonstrations of ancient technology and crafts based on evidence obtained from underwater excavations and an area reserved for experimental cooking, wood-working, and other activities.

Given the link between archaeology and the crannog reconstruction and the desire to be as authentic as possible, the Scottish Crannog Centre is similar to other open air museums in the UK and Europe who have reconstructed buildings and who aim to educate or inform the public or particular interest groups. As a member of EXARC (European Exchange on Archaeological Research and Communication – www.exarc.eu), the Scottish Crannog Centre was invited to collaborate in a Culture 2000 project called LiveARCH with museums involved in similar issues of archaeological interpretation, experimental archaeology and all aspects of presentation to the public. Sponored by EXARC, LiveARCH aims to further pan-European interest in history through all forms of live interpretation and interaction with visitors, and to enhance the quality of living history museums through exchanges of experience, best practice, academic and practical training and by exchanges of staff between the partners throughout the three-year project period. Further, it is hoped to develop a framework of quality standards for public interpretation and scientific experiment with rigorous attention to the archaeological evidence on which this type of museum is founded. Additional information will continue to be added to the website at www.livearch.eu throughout the project and beyond.

The first meeting to convene the €1.4 million project took place in January 2007 in the Netherlands where the official contract of collaboration was signed between the leading party Historisch Openlucht Museum Eindhoven and seven colleague museums. Each partner has been allocated a particular theme to coordinate and develop in the coming years with the project ending in November, 2009. The project partners and their primary areas of study are:

- Pfalzbaumeuseum Unteruhldingen, Germany – Events Coordination;
- Matrica Múzeum és Régészeti Park, Hungary – The Dialogue of Knowledge;
- Comune di Modena - Museo Civico Archeologico Etnologico, Italy – Exhibition & Catalogue: Past Knowledge Brought to Life;
- Araisi Lake Fortress Foundation, Latvia – Skills Training;
- Historisch Openlucht Museum Eindhoven, the Netherlands – Staff Exchange and Website Coordination;
- Lofotr - the Viking museum at Borg, Norway – Marketing and Communication;
- The Scottish Crannog Centre, Scotland – The Dialogue with Visitors;
- Foundation Fotevikens Maritima Centrum, Sweden – Quality and Sustainability Development.

Fig. 3. Alder floor timbers of the reconstruction based on original floor from Oakbank Crannog.

Fig. 5 Verity Walker of Interpretaction and members of LiveARCH ‘waulking’ the cloth.
REPORTS

The first workshop was hosted by the Scottish Crannog Centre in Pitlochry, Perthshire from 14-18 March, 2007 focusing on the Dialogue with Visitors. The aim of the workshop was to share (benchmark) visitor feedback and current methods of engaging with the public; to consider the potential benefits of live interpretation - particularly in the first person as an alternative to the third person; and to begin to build a knowledge-based interpretive toolkit which opens air and living history museums may use to inform the public in as authentic and memorable a manner as possible. The sessions included a day of short presentations from speakers from the UK and Europe concerning a broad range of heritage interpretation issues ranging from visitor expectations to reconstructions and public outreach, and culminated with the Annual General Meeting of EXARC.

Live Interpretation Seminar

The March workshop included a provocative one-day intensive seminar in live interpretation and museum theatre led by Verity Walker of Interpretation (www.interpretaction.com) and actors from the Walking Theatre Company (www.thewalkingtheatrecompany.co.uk). These presentations covered the principles of interpretation as a form of communication, the importance of preparing the visitor for a first person experience, and the importance of an agreed terminology and approach forming interpretive layering.

Simulating a Scottish woman using just a scarf as a prop in a scenario where a coach party arrives at a small rural cultural museum, Verity demonstrated the classic principles of ‘pro-voke’ (to stimulate a response); ‘reveal’ (surprise, inform, delight); and ‘relate’ (meeting the audience halfway). She engaged the group immediately by speaking a local dialect and explaining that the party was going to ‘discover’ the Scottish tweed industry – by learning a song to accompany the traditional motion of ‘waulking’ or seasoning the cloth. She immediately and convincingly engaged all 33 LiveARCH participants in singing in Gaelic and banging the table, working a scarf as though it were a long bolt of tweed cloth. (Fig. 5)

The importance and methods of assessing visitors as an audience was discussed, highlighting the need to judge body language and facial expression and to create an expectation of role play. If there is no subtle introduction or preparation, many visitors can become alienated and uncomfortable, not understanding the role they should be playing. Equally, not all guides, presenters or craftworkers are comfortable with this method of delivery, in which case a natural 3rd person explanation works best. However, as no professional acting experience is required, 1st person interpretation is often practiced by confident, well-informed and very enthusiastic amateurs. Verity also highlighted the importance of clearly distinguishing between the two roles to avoid confusion. Methods recommended for changing from 1st to 3rd person or vice versa include using a visible device such as a piece of cloth, stepping to one side, or simply pausing in conversation.

As an alternative, or as a feature of special events, many museums are hiring professional actors to depict a theme, battle or historical event. These may work to a script or improvised, but inevitably they directly involve the audience in some way. Actors Sadie Dixon-Spain and Campbell Hughes of the Walking Theatre Company performed a Scottish drama for the workshop about the murder of the Clan Lamont by the notorious Clan Campbell (Fig. 6). Although the language used was a challenge for the participants, all recognised the potentially memorable impact such a living history performance may have on an audience and the difference between this type of theatre and re-enactment.

The seminar concluded with a discussion on commonly used and confused terms such as living history and re-enactment. Living history is usually associated with authentic events or period lifestyle portrayal in an authentic setting with costumed presenters. Re-enactment usually emphasizes costume and battle, is not necessarily well-informed or accurate, and generally indirectly engages visitors from a distance. Verity highlighted the work carried out by IMTAL-Europe (www.imtal-europe.org) to standardise such expressions to avoid confusion and to prevent misleading false impressions about the nature of a particular type of experience. Recognising that different words have different meanings in different countries, the LiveARCH partners hope to agree a set of standard terms to address this challenge.

The Dialogue with the Visitors

The 3 day LiveARCH workshop enabled the partners to compare how each museum interprets its subjects and relates to their visitors as well as how they evaluate and monitor their performance by visitor feedback surveys. Issues of quality and authenticity are considered to be of paramount importance, and analysis of standard surveys used by all of the partners will enable greater comparison of the key indicators as to what visitors like and dislike in the short term. This in turn will help determine the lasting impact of the museums on the visitors’ experience in the longer term.

As portraying living history or live interpretation is a focal part or an aim of most of the museums, the amount of parallel activity between the partners is not surprising. The nature of the dialogue (as opposed to monologue) with visitors also varies according to the size of the Centre. LiveARCH’s 8 partner museums range from sites presenting one period in history or prehistory with just one reconstruction set in less than a hectare of ground to those which interpret multiple periods with several reconstructions in large parks. The level of staffing and resources available must also be considered and what works in some centres may not work or be appropriate in others. However, in addition to Verity Walker’s methods, some of the commonly used techniques for informing and engaging visitors identified during the workshop are presented here.

Guided Tours: Live Interpretation (3rd person)

Most of the museums offer occasional or regular guided tours by either costumed personnel or those wearing some form of uniform to distinguish them from the public. Costumed staff may lead visitors throughout the site or may be stationed in or near a reconstruction. Whether in costume or uniform, generally they present information to the visitors acting as modern specialists, but they are also able to invite questions and build an even closer rapport with their audience. If
they wear period costume, the costume is used as another type of artefact. Quality issues arise as to the authenticity of the clothing and the evidence upon which it is based. Research and visitor feedback indicates that hybrid clothing, where period influence is mixed with modern clothes, is not as well received by visitors (or specialists) as is fully authentic costume. The quality of training of the guides is also an issue, particularly in the case of enthusiastic amateurs not directly involved with the research upon which the museum, reconstruction, period lifestyle, or artefact is based. The extent of the rapport established between guide and visitors may depend on tour timings, but all partners agree that a two-way dialogue is preferable to a mini-lecture.

**Stationed Staff/guided tours: Live Interpretation (1st person)**

Very few of the partners interact with their visitors in the first person as described above, but some enjoy speaking to them as though the guides are living in the past and cannot recognise any modern influence. The benefit is that this method almost always directly engages visitors and encourages them to role play as well.

**Craftworkers & Experimental Specialists**

These specialists focus on their craft and interact with visitors as experts to pupils, relating archaeological discovery and scientific analysis to experimental reproductions, hopefully in a language readily understandable by the public. Hands-on involvement makes this easier, but where specialists are not used to communicating with a popular audience, often a guide who is trained in science or archaeology and who is used to communicating with the public can ‘translate’ the complex concepts being described into more readily understandable language. The visitors are intrigued then and become inspired to learn more, instead of being intimidated and feeling inadequate or simply bored through lack of comprehension.

**Visitor Participation: Live-in Opportunities**

Providing costumes and tools or accessories for children and families helps to establish a rapport immediately and begins the sense of role-play even if the visitors are not requested or required to engage in dialogue. It creates a more memorable experience for all ages, and this is enhanced if the individuals or groups can take an active part in making or cooking something. This has resource implications for the museum and in some cases the practice might have to be reserved for school parties only, or even limited to one off events.

For museums with more than one reconstruction, live-in opportunities provide an ideal way for visitors or schools to experience the past. The value of this experience lies in the consistency of authenticity throughout, from gathering wood and lighting the fire without matches (Fig. 7) to having to cook period food using period utensils without modern intervention.

**Re-enactment and Special Events**

Many museums hire re-enactors for special events to attract large numbers of visitors. While not necessarily authentic, the groups are colourful, dramatic and generally loud. If the focal activity can be followed up with the opportunity for more direct visitor engagement, such as speaking to soldiers or trying out their weapons or armour, the impact on the visitor is greater, more informative, and tends to last longer. In this case the onus is on the re-enactor to inform in a responsible manner, to avoid conveying false information. Museums large enough to house re-enactors in one or more of their reconstructions benefit from longer term involvement with the public.

Amateurs, actors and re-enactors can be brought together to stage community events which raise awareness of a particular period or culture, or living history through the ages. The first fair of this nature was held in Scotland in 2006 under the banner of ‘Invasion Perth’ which attracted about 5,000 visitors and 20 re-enactors and museum groups. While deemed a success by the participants, the free two-day event is not being repeated in 2007. The sponsor’s evaluation considered the economic impact on the local area, but there was no attempt to determine the overall cultural value or impact on the spectators. However, when interviewed the public had several suggestions for improvement including appropriate music, more associated craft workers, themed food authentically cooked, and more direct involvement with the visitors.

In other words, battles were fun but they wanted a broader range of displays.

**Technology: Audio guides and MP3’s**

The LiveARCH partners could not agree on the suitability of using audio guides or MP3 players, but recognised it is important to keep up to date with technological developments if they want to attract young visitors. Methods of learning are constantly evolve developments if they want to attract young visitors. Methods of learning are constantly evolving, and visitor feedback allows museums to adapt new technologies and ideas as they develop.

**Community events held in other countries include parades and carnivals highlighting key episodes in history or what is featured in specific museums. These events serve as investments for the future, bookmarked by visitors looking for a place to take friends and family on a holiday.**
changing, and personal video clips, podcasts and blogs are the norm for communicat-
ing to large global audiences. However, audio interpreta-
tion is a remote form of commu-
nication and places the
visitor in a vacuum, detached not only from a human guide
but also from fellow visitors, creating more of a virtual ex-
perience than an interactive one. Nevertheless, it has a
place in some museums and must be considered along
with all the other methods of interpretation in the develop-
ment of a useful toolkit.

Conclusion

The first LiveARCH meeting was a great success in terms of
interaction between the partic-
ipating groups. Contacts and
friendships were created that
will last for a long time and
which will hopefully result in
more developed themes and
activities as the groups learn
drom each other throughout
the project. Many issues were
discussed and aired with frank
and open comments that,
while not always to everyone's liking, brought a wide range of
problems and topics to the at-
tention of all personnel from
staff and students to the direc-
tors in the groups.

From the point of view of the
Scottish Crannog Centre it
was both enlightening and
informative to present our
centre and its work to like-
mined individuals who have
confronted the same prob-
lems and overcome them in
different ways. The necessi-
ty of authenticity and rigour
was a common theme and the
methods of presenting com-
plicated archaeological mes-
gages to the public was of im-
portance to all.

We look forward to working
with the LiveARCH partners
and other EXARC members
into the future and passing
on our shared experience and
developments to the many
other living history museums
throughout Europe.

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Summary

Von der Ausgrabung zur
Ausstellung: Zur öffentlichen
Darstellung von Archäologie
in Schottland und Europa

Die Schottische Vereinigung
für Unterwasser-Archäologie (The Scottish Trust for Underwater
Archaeology, STUA) hat eine
Vielszahl von Prospekten in
mehreren „Lochs“ genannten
Seen Schottlands durchgeführt;
vor allem ist die Vereinigung aber
bekannt für ihre Ausgrabung des
früheisenzeitlichen Fundplatzes
von Oakbank Crannog im
Loch Tay sowie für die dort auf
Grundlage der Grabungsergebnisse
erstellten Rekonstruktion des
Siedlungsplatzes. Die Anlage
der rekonstruierten, „Crannog“
genannten Inselniedung
hatte die Klärung diverser
Fragen zu ursächlichen
Handwerken und Techniken zum Ziel,
die während der Ausgrabung
aufgetaucht waren; außerdem stand
die Nutzung als pädagogische
Einrichtung und Platzführung
 âm die Öffentlichkeit gerichtete
Archäologie im Zentrum bei
der Errichtung des Schottischen
Crannog Zentrums bei Kenmore
am Ostufer des Lochs Tay. Obwohl

Des fouilles à l’Exposition: Présentation de l’archéologie au
public en Ecosse et en Europe

Scottish Trust for Underwater
Archaeology (STUA) entreprend
les fouilles de lochs dans toute
l’Écosse, cependant reconu, il est
grâce aux fouilles du gisement
d’Oakbank Crannog en loch de
Tay, daté du Premier Âge du Fer,