

An Archæological Life:

PAPERS IN HONOUR OF JAY HALL

Sean Ulm and Ian Lilley (eds)

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Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit
The University of Queensland
Brisbane

Front Cover: Jay at Platypus Rockshelter, 1977 (Photograph: Rae Sheridan).

Back Cover: Jay fondling a stone artefact (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, IMG_1151).

Frontispiece (p.ii): Jay examining bone points at Platypus Rockshelter, July 1981 (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, IMG_1148).

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Preface

The editors discussed the idea of this festschrift over many years and many glasses of red wine around campfires, in pubs and at social gatherings. We often talked about Jay's impact on archaeology, applied as well as academic, clear in the range of publications and reports that are listed at the end of the volume. We mused, too, about the way that many of Jay's former students, in particular, had gone out onto the archaeological landscape branded with a particular UQ-style of archaeology. We wanted to explore where some of these journeys had ended up through contributions to this volume. The 20 contributions and 31 contributors included in the volume capture some of those journeys in a range of studies ranging from considerations of ritual agency on the Mayan periphery and social interaction in the remote Pacific to reduction sequences in central Australia and bodies under football stadiums.

When Jay announced his impending retirement for mid-2007 we implemented our idea to ask former students and colleagues to contribute to this volume, only to have it come together in the final two months before the official celebrations to mark Jay's retirement on 29 September 2006 ('Jay Day'). For making this project possible we owe a great deal of thanks to the contributors for putting up with our (often unreasonable) demands to turn things around to keep the volume on track. Thanks to all. In particular we thank other members of the 'Jay Day' organising committee – Tam Smith, Jon Prangnell and Gail Robertson – for their support.

Publication of this volume has been made possible through the support of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit at the University of Queensland. We thank Michael Williams for supporting this project from its genesis around the campfire in his country.

For help with tracking down and supplying photographs we thank Jim Allen (La Trobe University), Bryce Barker (University of Southern Queensland), Diana Lilley (Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland), David Madsen (University of Texas), Ian McNiven (Monash University), Rae Sheridan, Renae Weder (Utah Division of State History) and the Department of Anthropology, University of Utah.

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Antje Noll worked tirelessly to track down obscure references and redraw many of the figures which appear in this volume, the latter task assisted by Nathan Woolford. Jill Reid gave up yet more weekends to help bring yet another long project to completion in the last panicked months. Jill, Antje and Geraldine Mate also proof read parts of the completed manuscript. Jon Prangnell and Tam Smith (University of Queensland Archaeological Services Unit) and Mike Rowland and Karen Murphy (Department of Natural Resources, Mines and Water) cross-checked lists of unpublished reports.

Sean Ulm and Ian Lilley
September 2006

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Jay Hall – From Scatology to Eschatology

Jim Allen

I'd like to go back to San Jacinto drainage now and stratify it by natural environmental zones. I'd either survey it all, or I'd sample it by transects or small quadrats. On each site I'd do a controlled surface pickup. And I'd use a Brainerd-Robinson matrix or Pearson's r to define groups of related sites sharing lots of design elements. I'd construct a site typology: towns, villages, hamlets, camps. I'd test one site of each type, the shallow ones by random quadrats and the deep ones by transects. Each site would be excavated by natural levels, and I'd use house floors, storage pits, activity areas, and so on as my units of collection. We'd sample a series of houses for tools, seeds, pollen, and bones, and set up a contingency table to compare them; search for craft areas, to get a handle on specialization and divisions of labour; get age, sex, and burial association on every skeleton, and the context of every ritual item. We'd quantify the data on traded goods, and study the context to see what mechanisms were moving it. A catchment analysis would be performed on each site, using chi-square to see which environmental factors were being selected for. Each level of the hierarchy would be studied by nearest-neighbor method to see what the spacing was, and changes in the pattern over time would be studied with a Markov model to see if we could detect any of the rules.

The skeptical graduate student in *The Early Mesoamerican Village* (Flannery 1976:372).

I first met Jay at the 1978 Kioloa conference that led to the first Australian Archaeological Association meeting at Falls Creek the following year. He was not presenting a paper himself but I became aware of him from comments he made during the first morning session. I knew he had been appointed to the University of Queensland (UQ) a couple of years earlier and asked Rhys Jones what he did. 'He studies old shit.' 'Don't we all?' I asked. 'No,' said Rhys, 'he studies old SHIT; he's a palaeoscatologist.' Whether it was this exotic specialism or his propensity to sit up late arguing archaeology or his generosity with the Jim Beam (Figure 1), Jay was immediately part of the small but growing coterie of professional archaeologists in Australia.



Figure 1. Jay and Jim at the 1978 Kioloa conference (Photograph: Jim Allen).

Jay's arrival in Australia in June 1976 to begin the archaeology programme in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at UQ (in this paper I ignore a number of generic departmental name changes over the years and use only this designation) marked two important events in the history of archaeology in this country. Firstly it provided a local focus for archaeology north of the Tweed River, thus continuing to expand the discipline beyond the dominant Sydney-Canberra axis (of 62 listed participants at Kioloa only 11 were not from Sydney or Canberra (Johnson 1980)). Secondly Jay was an important addition to the tiny number of American-trained archaeologists practising in Australia at that time (only Dan Witter,

Paul Ossa and Jim O’Connell immediately spring to my mind) and he provided a significant check to the influence of what was then called the ‘Cambridge connection’, an argued dominance of Cambridge-trained archaeologists working in Australia (Murray and White 1981, 1982; cf. Allen and Jones 1983). Indeed, because of Jay’s fundamental role in developing the archaeology teaching at UQ, that school became and remained the most ‘American’ among Australian archaeology departments in its philosophy and methodology. This, and the four field approach used at UQ in turn produced several generations of scholars who continue to influence archaeological thinking in this country. Perhaps most interesting is that few of these became strict processualists (Sean Ulm: *‘Jay’s students continue to transgress all sorts of traditional disciplinary boundaries and hold amazingly divergent views, often about the same things’*).

Scatological Studies

Jay was born in Maidenhead in the United Kingdom in February 1944, and spent much of his childhood in New Zealand, but did his undergraduate degree at the University of Utah (Figure 2). He toyed with psychology but settled on archaeology, later explaining his choice simply as ‘man ain’t rat’. He graduated *magna cum laude* in 1970, having written a thesis on the recovery of parasite ova from Great Basin coprolites (or palaeofaeces, as he called the non-silicified forms). He married Alice in the same year. In those days he was Henry Johnson but a friend in Price, Utah, called him H.J. By the time he reached Australia it had shortened to Jay (he still gets John in some places). Jay stayed at the University of Utah and completed an MA in 1972, studying diet and diseases represented in coprolites from the eastern Utah early Fremont site of Clyde’s Cavern. Jay’s archaeological career in Utah was shaped by the irascible Jesse Jennings, who greatly influenced his archaeological style and ideas. Jay still refers to him affectionately as ‘that old curmudgeon’.

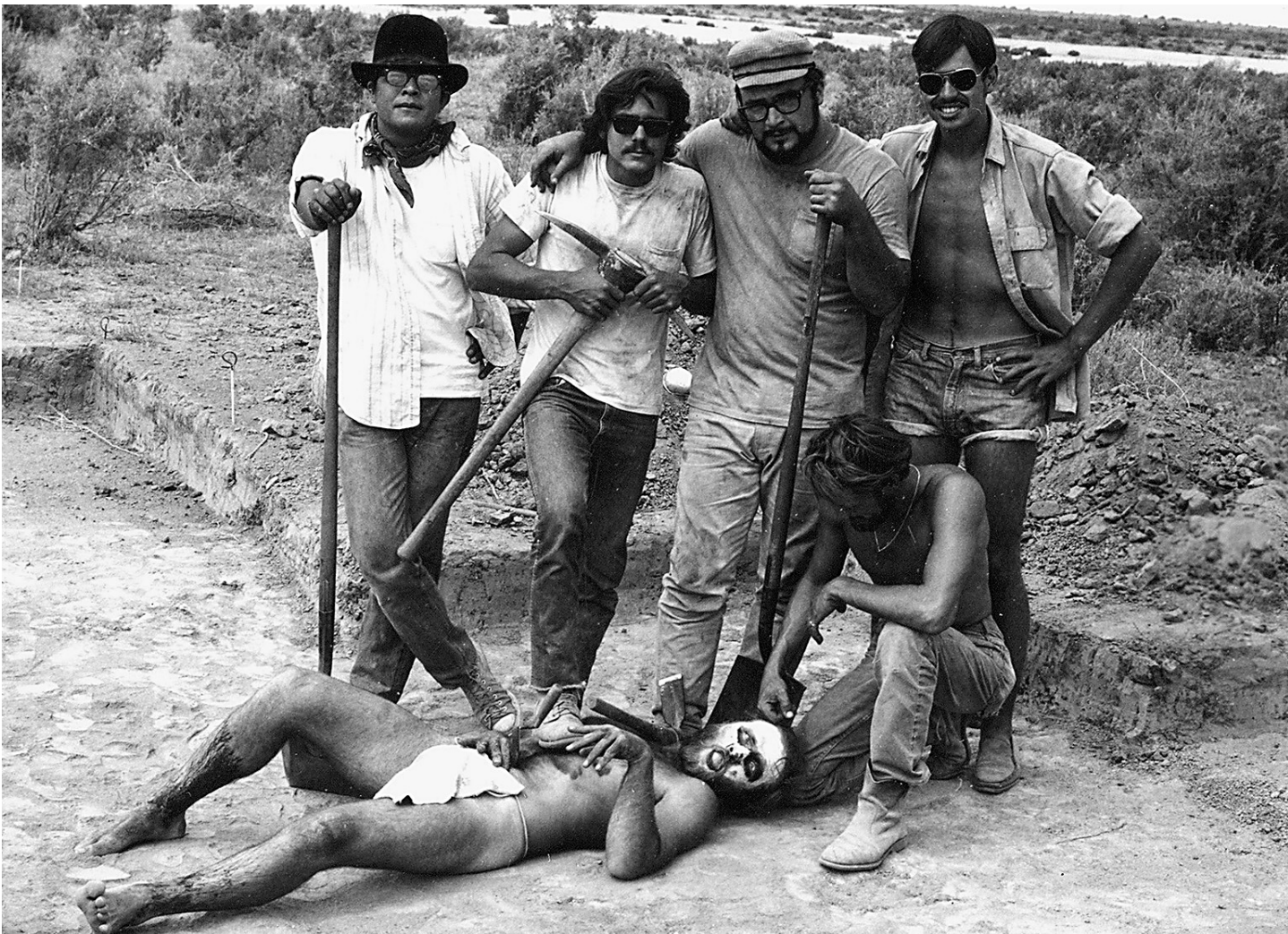


Figure 2. Bear River, Utah, c.1970. Back row (L-R): Hamilton Benson IV, Jim Zeidler, Jim Adovasio and Richard Allen. Front row (L-R): Bobby Lee Hosa and Jay (Photograph: Department of Anthropology, University of Utah).



Figure 3. David Rhode and Jay keep on an eye on the backhoe operator removing backdirt from the mouth of Danger Cave, western Utah, USA, 1986 (Photograph: David Madsen).

Jay moved to the University of Chicago to do his PhD, with Leslie G. Freeman, writing a thesis on coprolite samples from the Anasazi pueblo called Antelope House, in the Canyon de Chelly in Arizona (the degree was completed in 1979; 1970s students at UQ recount how he was seldom seen at social functions before his doctoral testamur was paraded one evening in the university staff club, then the social transformation occurred). During his time as a graduate student in Chicago, Jay achieved some notoriety by taking on the French archaeological establishment. Henry de Lumley had claimed that more than 400 human coprolites at the 400,000 year old Terra Amata site in southern France contained pollen grains that indicated seasonal use of the site in spring. Some coprolite experts doubted these claims and samples were sent to Jay and his Youngstown colleague Gary Fry. With the certainty and directness of Kent Flannery's skeptical graduate student, Jay pronounced, 'There is absolutely nothing about these specimens that suggests that they are fossilized excrement', a dismissal that became a quotable quote (e.g. Trevor-Deutsch and Bryant 1978; Tyldesley and Bahn 1983).

Although initiating archaeology courses in the University of Queensland was an important change in direction for Jay, by 1980 he reported that he had put together the 'makings of a coprolite laboratory' on campus (Hall 1980:84) and that while continuing to analyse samples from California he was now working on coprolites from Ken's Cave in Queensland and Devil's Lair from Western Australia, as well as sites in the Solomon Islands.

In 1980 Jay became a visitor in the Prehistory Department in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University (ANU), invited by Rhys Jones to analyse 22 supposed human palaeofaeces from the enclosed chamber of the south cave at Rocky Cape. In the event they turned out to be scats from *Sarcophilus harrisii*, the Tasmanian Devil (Hall and Jones 1990). An interesting outcome was that it could be argued that since the devils were preying on human food scraps in the cave, Jones' (1971:589) original prediction that these palaeofaeces could shed light on ancient human diet remained valid, even though the immediate samples were now demonstrated to be non-human in origin.

During the 1980s, although he published a few more papers on palaeoscatology, wider teaching and research responsibilities gradually separated Jay from such specialist studies. But not entirely. In 1980 Jay had examined dog coprolite samples that had been previously prepared by an Auckland MA student.

The samples were from Kohika, a late Maori lake village in New Zealand's Bay of Plenty. A brief report by Jay was included as an appendix in the student's thesis (Williams 1980). More recently he was able to update this work and report the identification of parasite eggs in these coprolites, in a fascinating chapter that demonstrates the ways in which palaeoscatology can inform of prehistoric human diet, site environment, health, seasonality and even chronology. The Kohika coprolites could be shown to be prehistoric because they lacked what are now abundant and widely dispersed pollens from *Pinus* and the narrow-leaved plantain, both European introductions (Irwin *et al.* 2004).

Jay also continued to work in Utah throughout the 1980s, including undertaking excavations with David Madsen at the important site of Danger Cave (Figure 3).

Finally, it would be remiss of me not to point out that Jay's association with palaeoscatology has been the source of endless humour over the years. It was Jay himself who noted that the identification of the Tasmanian Devil as the progenitor of the Rocky Cape scats was the product of exhaustive elimination. But my own favourite concerns Jay's 1980 sojourn in Canberra. Wal Ambrose was building his house at Garran at the time and someone found a cement extrusion from a broken three-hole brick. Rounded at one end and tapered at the other, in size and shape it was the perfect replica of a human faeces. The existence of this 'coprolite' was brought up in conversation at morning tea and Jay immediately expressed interest in seeing it. Put in a plastic bag with a fictitious site, square and layer designation, it was produced at lunch time. At afternoon tea Jay admitted defeat. 'I can't understand it,' Jay said, 'it looks like the person ate nothing but sand.'

Inevitably in the early 1990s when the pop song *Scatman* was high on the charts Jay inherited the epithet from his undergraduates. Despite its appalling lack of metre or rhyme or evident intelligence, some ex-students from that time can still remember the verse:

I hear you all ask 'bout the meaning of scat.
Well I'm the professor and all I can tell you is
While you're still sleepin' the saints are still weepin' cause
Things you call dead haven't yet had the chance to be born.
I'm the Scatman (Scatman John 1995).

Queensland, Teaching and the Moreton Region Archaeological Project

Jay was an undergraduate when the Binfords' influential *New Perspectives in Archaeology* was published in 1968. He thus arrived in Australia as a true disciple of the New Archaeology. While to me Jay has remained an unapologetic processualist throughout his professional career, in conversations others have pointed to Jay's increasing readiness in the last decade or two to embrace social explanations. For example, people cite discussions of social fissioning and dolphin commensualism around Moreton Bay (Hall 1999, Hall 2000; Ulm and Hall 1996). In disagreeing I would note simply Jay's own explanation about fissioning. Bowen (1989) had argued that increasing population density on Stradbroke Island resulted in social tensions that led to fissioning – a truly social explanation. Jay (Hall 2000:211) preferred to explain it processually, and even cited Binford to do it: 'adaptation is always a local problem, and selective pressures favoring new cultural forms result from non-equilibrium conditions in the local ecosystem' (Binford 1972:431). For Jay 'the 'Ngugi' simply moved to familiar and relatively vacant land [on Moreton Island] and settled permanently' (Hall 2000:211). Such a move inferred a previous adaptive shift to intensifying marine resource production. Whether or not social tensions were involved was not the important point, for the same reasons as Gordon Childe eschewed religious explanations of past behaviour – they were not encapsulated in the archaeological record. Equally, Jay's appeal to dolphin commensualism was not an idle hypothesis but one based on local ecology and Moreton Bay dolphin behaviour. As Binford had stressed, Jay's interpretation emphasised a local solution to a local problem and one restricted to Moreton and Stradbroke Islands for clear ecological reasons.

Whatever the merits of this debate, processualism was the intellectual background with which Jay moved easily into the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, where linguist Bruce Rigsby had been appointed to the Chair of Anthropology the year before. His colleagues then included the Australian anthropologist Malcolm Calley, anthropological theorist Peter Koepping and ethnologist Peter Lauer.

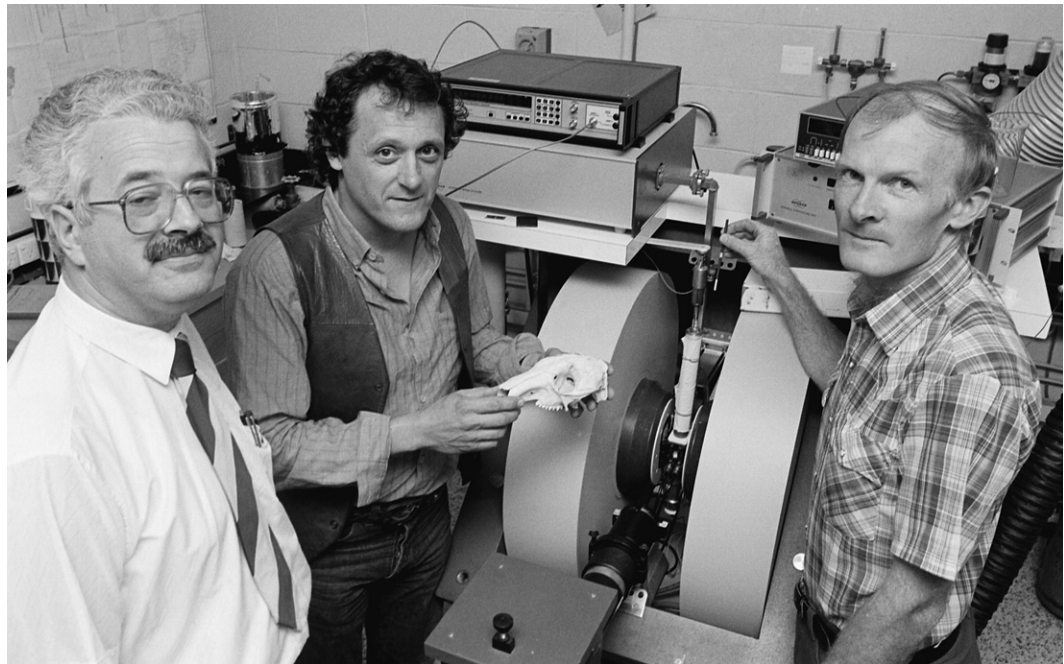


Figure 4. Electron spin resonance (ESR) analysis, May 1988. L-R: Peter Pomery, Jay and David Hunter (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, IMG_1153).

Jay's responsibility was to develop the archaeology courses. Armed with Phil Phillips' 1955 adage, 'new world archaeology is anthropology or it is nothing', and a copy of Marvin Harris' (1975) *Culture, People, Nature: An Introduction to General Anthropology*, the four field system in UQ suited Jay's philosophy and style. Undergraduates started with a year of general anthropology before specialising in archaeology. The emphasis was on method and practice, and Honours students were encouraged to do laboratory and fieldwork theses over library theses. After 18 months student numbers warranted expansion and Mike Rowland began as a tutor in 1978; shortly after Ian Johnson was appointed as postdoctoral fellow where he introduced students to that brand new research tool, the computer. Jay's hand could be seen in both appointments. In 1983 he initiated courses in biological anthropology, taught by himself and Leonn Satterthwait, who had joined the department in 1981.

Jay's gift as a teacher has been his ability to direct his students into situations where they would learn for themselves. He would take any topical issue and have the students dissect the problem, consider the methodologies and data involved and recombine them to create new understandings (Sean Ulm: 'Jay always steered me to the right questions to ask without telling me the answers, or perhaps even knowing the answers').

Jay embraced a commitment to building and maintaining a strong department that has continued for 30 years and is as undiminished now as when he started. With his philosophy of archaeology and his own interest in scatology Jay maintained an agenda to develop specialised studies and archaeological science, such as the work on starch grains with Su Davies and Richard Fullagar and his strong support for Tom Loy's residue analyses (Figure 4). This has continued most recently to the appointments of Marshall Weisler and Andy Fairbairn to the academic staff and Chris Clarkson, Carol Lentfer and Jenny Khan to postdoctoral fellowships. But ultimately the important part of these projects and appointments for Jay was passing these skills on to his students and exposing them to the breadth of archaeological science.

Paradoxically, these sorts of research directions continued to separate archaeology at UQ (and elsewhere) from other areas of anthropology. This, coupled with the philosophical and financial constraints that have plagued Australian universities in the last two decades have seen the four field system diminish and Jay has reluctantly contributed to this weakening in his endeavours to shore up archaeological teaching at UQ. While intellectually discomforted by these events and his participation in them, he leaves archaeology at UQ amongst the strongest and healthiest centres for teaching the discipline in Australia.

Jay and I always shared the view that the best way to teach archaeology was to do it. During 1976 he established an informal group of undergraduates, grandiosely named them the Brisbane Archaeological



Figure 5. Jay and Ian McNiven undertaking salvage excavations at Platypus Rockshelter, July 1981 (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, IMG_1147).

Research Group (BARG) and dispatched them to dredge up information – archaeological, environmental, historical and anthropological – that could contribute to a prehistory of the Brisbane region. Every few weeks they would meet at Jay's house to compare notes and drink beer. They discovered that the region had a rich Aboriginal history and a high archaeological potential that was rapidly being threatened by development. Jay claimed this exercise was determined by the meagre availability of research funds and justified it with the Jennings quote that 'archaeology begins in your own backyard' (Hall 1988:2) (Ian Lilley insists that more frequently it was '*archaeology, like charity, begins at home*'). But by mid-1977 BARG had segued into MRAP (Moreton Region Archaeological Project) and with hindsight one can see how Jay's processualism and its appeal to scientific method and hypothesis testing directed him towards defining prehistoric settlement patterns and land-use within the Moreton Region.

Arguably MRAP has been Jay's single most significant contribution to Queensland archaeology and the teaching of archaeology in UQ. It started with a simple but patterned set of aims: to *systematically* locate and record sites and collect data in order to develop a cultural chronology. This in turn would allow the reconstruction of cultural patterning, particularly in subsistence and settlement systems which would lead to the use of these results to address current problems. Three gross environmental zones – offshore islands, the coastal strip known as 'wallum' and the subcoastal zone up to the eastern escarpment – were defined on the bases of biogeography and ethnohistory, but archaeological research within them also depended on logistics and the priorities of salvage. This was 'real world' archaeology where sites for excavation were chosen as much on the imminent threats of sand mining, dam building or airport construction as for the most logical archaeological questions that should be being asked. By mid-1979 the project had its first ARGs funding and by 1980, less than four years after Jay's first archaeology lecture, he could report two completed BA Honours (Draper and Lilley) and the start of two MAs (Lilley and Robins) and three BA Honours (Donoghue, Richardson and Walters). By 1987 Jay could boast the recording of more than 1000 sites in the Moreton Region and the excavation of about 40 of these.

While one of these sites, Wallen Wallen Creek, had been occupied more or less continuously for 20,000 years, no other dated site was older than c.6000 years. Ian McNiven makes the point that at this time schools of archaeology elsewhere in the country would not have undertaken such an intensive examination of mainly late Holocene shell middens; that this was a product of Jay's theoretical armoury. MRAP achieved what it set out to do. It was set up to challenge and counter what was known as 'cowboy'



Figure 6. Jay and students sieving at Platypus Rockshelter, July 1981 (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, IMG_1145).



Figure 7. The crew from the 1988 excavation season at Bushranger's Cave. Back row (L-R): Bryce Barker, Kathy Frankland, Ian McNiven, Su Davies, Paul McInnes, Fiona Mowatt, Peter Hiscock, Scott Mitchell and Jay. Front row (L-R): Jim Smith and Greg Bowen (Photograph: Bryce Barker).



Figure 8. Jay picks a bone at Platypus Rockshelter, July 1981 (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, IMG_1148).

archaeology, the sometimes serendipitous exploration of Australian archaeology that had especially characterised the discipline in the 1960s and early 1970s. Importantly, Jay did not set out to replace Australian culture history and functionalism with processualism. In MRAP Jay used all three to begin forging a more distinctive Australian archaeology.

And of course, Jay was at the coal face. With students he began excavating the late Holocene site of Platypus Rockshelter in 1977, an excavation that continued seasonally until 1981 (Figures 5-6, 8). The site was eventually drowned by the Wivenhoe Dam in 1985. As well as substantial papers under his name (Hall *et al.* 1988; Hall and Hiscock 1988; Hiscock and Hall 1988a) the site provided data for theses on stone technology and residues on the stone artefacts and bone points. I understand that as I write, material from the site is again under active study.

In 1982 Jay began work on the early Holocene Bushranger's Cave, some 700m above sea-level

in Lamington National Park on the Queensland-New South Wales border (Figure 7). Here Jay documented social and economic reorganisation that intensified in the last 2500 years and saw that the site reflected activities that could be linked to its location at the boundaries of socially linked clans in the ethnographic present (Hall 1986; Hiscock and Hall 1988b). Bushranger's Cave remains the oldest subcoastal site identified by MRAP and again provided a range of data for multiple Honours theses.

The list goes on and is extensive. Jay re-excavated Laila Haglund's Sandstone Point site in the mid-1980s; Minner Dint was one of Jay's early excavations on Moreton Island, as was Toulkerrie on Moreton's southwest coast. This latter excavation led to further excavations by Walters and later Bowen. But perhaps it was the excavations at the new Brisbane airport in 1984 and 1987 (Hall and Lilley 1987) that crystallised Jay's thoughts about past Aboriginal responses to the marine transgression. This site, situated on a palaeo-shoreline some 5km from today's shoreline, was first occupied in the early to mid-Holocene and provided evidence to support Jay's view that the proliferation of middens in the area dating to less than 2000 years showed not so much the intensive late Holocene use of a new environment as a continuous adjustment during periods of rapid environmental change by people who had always used the coast. In Binfordian terms this was a predictable pattern of human adaptation to non-equilibrium conditions in the local ecosystem.

These and others of Jay's Queensland excavations provided data for dozens of theses from BA Honours to PhD and continue to do so today. Many things flowed from MRAP, not the least being that it became a model for similar regional pieces of research, such as McNiven's Cooloola Region Archaeological Project (deliberately chosen for its unfortunate acronym in order to acknowledge Jay's research interest) and to an extent La Trobe's Southern Forests Archaeological Project. I now consider some of the incidental outcomes of Jay's intensive fieldwork at this time.

Field Teaching

When asked, all of Jay's students I've ever talked to identify UQ field trips as the experiences that compelled them to archaeology. Jay's commitment to hands-on archaeology began immediately in 1976 with informal weekend site excursions but MRAP allowed the development of a second year course called Field Archaeology where field training was formalised (Figure 9). Undergraduates would be dragooned to work for students doing BA Honours fieldwork all under the watchful eye of Uncle Jay. Here they learned the meaning of the Hall aphorism 'never let study get in the way of your education'.



Figure 9. Jay with a second year undergraduate class at Cooloolool, 1983 (Photograph: Ian J. McNiven).

They learned that fieldwork was fun, but that good archaeology came first. A stickler for detailed notes and records, Jay adopted Jennings' 'FS' field specimen numbering system for every bag that came out of the field (Ian McNiven: *'It used to drive us all nuts!'*). Worse was Roger Miller's 'King of the Road' always Jay's first song when he picked up the guitar at night (Ian Walters (affectionately): *'I came to hate it; it's still seared into my brain'*).

Although keen to develop an Australian archaeology, Jay's persona did not relinquish all of his good ol' boy habits. When you were thirsty you drank beer, when socialising you drank spirits. On one occasion in a bar in Bundaberg Jay asked the barman for a 'B&B' and got a blank look. 'Bourbon and Benedictine,' he explained, and it became the order of the night. Ian McNiven was back there a year later. On the wall a painted sign read, 'B&B, latest drink from the US'.

Jay's field philosophy, work hard and play hard, engendered great coherence and loyalty among his graduate students. Jay created a research environment that taught them that archaeology was not competitive and many of them recall the camaraderie of the graduate student group, the free exchange of ideas, how they helped each other out on fieldwork and how they socialised together. In particular they remember how Jay engineered the 'three part seminar'. Jay would attract all sorts of interesting people from elsewhere to come to talk about their research; the first part would be the formal presentation, then to the University staff club, then somewhere for dinner (Ian McNiven: *'I loved it.'*). Sometimes a fourth part was added until Alice chased them out of the Hall house.

***QAR* and UQASU**

Inevitably, the way Jay steered Queensland archaeology after it was introduced as an academic discipline at UQ resulted in a rapid increase in data. Theses and site reports proliferated and Jay remained mindful of another Jennings admonition that an archaeologist's obligation to his/her discipline is to publish field and laboratory findings as soon as possible. Since much of the new Queensland data was yet to be directed to wider questions of Australian and world prehistory it had little appeal to international journals. Jay bit the bullet and in 1984 the first issue of *Queensland Archaeological Research (QAR)* appeared under his editorship. It appeared annually until 1992 and occasionally since then, still with Jay as Editor.

Jay's editorial policy was straightforward. *QAR* had only one requisite. Papers had to be about archaeology in Queensland, a policy that has never varied. In method or theory, papers could appeal to any school of thought, they might be descriptive or analytical, prehistoric or historic. Its pages read like a who's who of Queensland archaeology. Archaeologists represented there include: Barker, Beaton, Campbell, Cribb, David, Flood, Godwin, Gorecki, Hiscock, Horsfall, Huchet, Lauer, Lilley, Loy, McNiven, Morwood, Prangnell, Robins, Ross, Satterthwait, Trezise, Ulm and Walters among many others (including Jay himself on numerous occasions). Few, if any, of this group would not be in Jay's intellectual debt.

QAR is a tribute to Jay's commitment to putting Queensland archaeology on the map, to his students, and to getting the data out there, as Jennings had instructed him to do and as he now continued to

instruct his students to do (Ian McNiven: *'QAR was an important vehicle for Jay's postgrads to get our research out there. We deluded ourselves that every paper would become a classic but at least the data got out'*) (I am reminded of a conversation with Roger Green a few years ago, where he remarked that the only 20+ year old papers of his that he saw cited these days were the data papers, so just be patient, Ian!).

At the same time Jay encouraged his students to get their ideas beyond Queensland, both in publishing elsewhere (the contents lists of *Australian Archaeology* are particularly informative in this regard) and always having a coterie of graduate students presenting papers at the Australian Archaeological Association annual meetings. Jay rarely missed a conference and has remained a strong supporter of the Association. He was its Secretary in 1980 and President in 1985.

Paradoxically *QAR* eventually marked a major disappointment for Jay. The last annual volume, Volume 9, appeared in 1992 and it was not until 1996 that Volume 10 appeared. The single reason was that manuscripts had dried up. The world had changed. By the 1990s the innocence of a discipline that had blossomed on the excitement of its own success had been replaced in large part across the country by political infighting, poorly understood but loudly proselytised notions of post-processual theory, and budgetary tightening in universities, especially in the humanities and social sciences. In his 1996 *QAR* editorial Jay lamented the fact that postgraduates 'wanted to publish less substantive overviews in international journals before committing themselves to what they perceived as the 'boring' task of preparing descriptive manuscripts concerning the substance of the archaeological record.' But, aware of the inevitable outcomes of economic rationalism in universities, most students saw that discharging their responsibility to the data had little payoff when competing for a diminishing number of jobs in a discipline being increasingly questioned about its own relevance. Fieldwork, indeed any data-based archaeological research, had grown increasingly unfashionable. Many of the true believers began moving their research offshore.

Like *QAR*, the University of Queensland Archaeological Services Unit (UQASU) was a Jay Hall product of the mid-1980s that developed out of MRAP. Having identified the dangers to the archaeological record posed by the rapidly growing human population in southeast Queensland, the inevitable corollary was that salvage work would not only increase but increase beyond the capacity of the academic archaeologists in Brisbane to accommodate it.

As MRAP took off, not all pieces of necessary salvage were appropriate to student projects so Jay hit upon the idea of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology setting up its own consulting arm. Initially this met with opposition in the Department because people there believed that the pursuits of truth and learning on the one hand and commercialism on the other were incompatible (Ian Lilley: *'The Department went into meltdown over the idea. How times have changed'*). Undeterred, Jay set up a private company called Archaeological Associates with Richard Robins and Ian Lilley. This operated successfully until Lilley left for ANU in 1983, when the business was wound up. Whether or not the success of Archaeological Associates won over the Departmental doubters, UQASU was formed shortly after.



Figure 10. UQASU excavations at the Tower Mill, Wickham Terrace, Brisbane, December 1990. L-R: Daryl Guse, Lord Mayor Sallyanne Atkinson, Jay and Sean Ulm (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, IMG_1152).

As it developed, UQASU provided new opportunities for postgraduates to broaden their professional training and skills and for undergraduates to get field experience, especially when MRAP slowed down. It provided useful income, and sometimes turned up unexpected information. One night Jay and Ian McNiven met a bloke in a pub while doing a pipeline survey in central Queensland. He claimed to know about Aboriginal artefacts and the conversation turned to bone points. Ian, the fresh young graduate, saw it as a chance to enlighten him on the typology of points – short ones, long ones, double-ended ones, and so on. The man looked somewhat crestfallen. 'I just put all the ones



Figure 11. Jay and René Viel examining slides of excavations from Copan, Honduras, December 1997 (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, 0629-060).

with red parrot feather tassels in one group and the ones with white parrot feather tassels in another,' he said. Once their mouths had closed again, Jay and Ian went off the next day to survey blacksoil plains, but thinking about artefact caches in the nearby mountains (Ian McNiven: *'River terrace stone artefact scatters never looked as mundane as on that day'*).

UQASU remains today a viable and respectable archaeological consulting unit in the University of Queensland (Figure 10).

Copan

After nearly two decades of continuing development, the character and general directions of archaeology at UQ had been well established. Expansion of the teaching staff, particularly with the appointments of Australianists Harry Lourandos and Annie Ross freed Jay from the immediate restraints of teaching Australian courses and supervising an increasing number of graduate students undertaking thesis research in Australian contexts.

Thus Jay encouraged Mesoamericanist René Viel to apply for a UQ re-entry scholarship that he started in the beginning of 1991 (René delights in pointing out that these scholarships were designed specifically for women whose academic careers had been interrupted by family responsibilities). This seems to me to have reflected an urge in Jay to get back into the site formation complexities of house floors, storage pits, activity areas and so on, and in the following Australian summer Jay and Alice visited René at the Honduran site of Copan for the first time. Jay perceived that his Australian experience of stratigraphy, taphonomy and site formation processes provided him with the tools to understand the neglected early phases of settlement at Copan. Jay's change of research direction was sealed. With René, Jay began an investigation into the Mayan Preclassic period at Copan, a project that has yielded a series of important papers and which continues to the present (Figure 11).

As ever, this research drew a consequent response in Jay's teaching and Mesoamerican archaeology was added to the syllabus. Jay also dealt creatively with growing problems with the Field Archaeology course.

TARDIS

The increasingly litigious and bureaucratic theatre of archaeology in Australia in the 1990s, coupled with increasing student numbers, placed increasing pressure on Jay to abandon Field Archaeology. Aboriginal communities grew less willing to have sites used for training, obtaining government permits



Figure 12. Jay makes a fashion statement at the TARDIS site during construction. L-R: Jim Smith, Sue O'Connor, Jon Prangnell and Jay (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, IMG_1141).

grew more complicated, an increasing number of students had work and family commitments that did not allow for field excursions, universities were growing increasingly edgy about insurance implications for students away from the campus, costs were escalating. Importantly as well, students saw that professional careers in archaeology were no longer limited to Australia and wanted broader learning experiences. However Jay was loathe to abandon the field course. He continued to believe that students learned archaeology not only in the classroom but importantly also in the field, in a group, interacting with the physical data and solving the specific problems of data retrieval, analysis and interpretation.

Jay set about creating TARDIS – Teaching Archaeological Research Discipline In Simulation. Jay, as ever, delighted in the acronym (Figure 12). Of course this one was borrowed and adapted from Dr Who, although I always thought that the original – Time And Relative Dimensions In Space – was equally appropriate for a 25m² site containing elements of the African Lower Palaeolithic, the French Middle Palaeolithic, the Ukrainian Upper Palaeolithic, the Mesoamerican Formative and a generic European Bronze Age, all contained on a Brisbane campus. Students still excavate, analyse and interpret, and especially still take detailed field notes and use the FS recording system for every bag that comes off the site, and, yes, it still drives them nuts, but student numbers have quadrupled.

Largely as a result of the success of TARDIS, in 1999 and 2001 Jay received commendations for teaching excellence in UQ and in 2002 he was awarded the University of Queensland Teaching Excellence Award and the \$10,000 prize (Figure 13). However, not content to rest on his laurels, in the last couple of years he and colleagues have begun to develop the application of scientific visualisation technology to archaeological field research records and in 2005 the team received an ARC Special Initiatives grant to continue this work.

Eschatology

The original Greek word, *ἔσχατος* means last, and although eschatology now has an appropriated biblical meaning, my use here is more literal – the study of the last things. I use it to conclude this history by re-emphasising the archaeological philosophy from which Jay has seldom deviated. In his paper with Jones on the Rocky Cape palaeofaeces, Jay recounts how as a young child listening to his grandmother read Defoe's *Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* he was puzzled about how Crusoe could determine the presence of humans on the island from footprints in the sand. The cause and effect relationship eluded him until later when he made footprints in sand and mud and realised how he might infer the prior presence of people and other animals by the ephemeral evidence in the disturbed sand.

Archaeological remains are the last things, the last direct expressions that are extant of past human behaviours. Unlike written records, that by their very nature are meant to convey messages into the



Figure 13. UQ Excellence in Teaching and Learning Awards, Customs House, November 2002. From rear descending stairs: Margaret Shapiro, Debra Henly, Elizabeth Ward, Carole Ferrier, David Radcliffe, Victor Callan, Peter Newcombe, Maree Smith, Jay, Bruce Muirhead, Simon Cool, Ian Cameron and Mehmet Kazil (Photograph: Office of Marketing and Communications, University of Queensland, 4641-020).

future, archaeological evidence does this unwittingly, in almost every case without intentional bias for its future interpretation. While the models and paradigms with which we interpret archaeological data may reflect our own intellectual baggage, the data themselves are almost always bias neutral and by concentrating on the data we can hope to approach the past more objectively.

For Jay this is what archaeology has always been about – embracing the physical reality of the archaeological record and reconstructing past human behaviour from it. Moreover it has always been for Jay a simple eschatological proposition: ‘we perceive the entire archaeological record as a kind of death assemblage, whose once living context may be glimpsed through the development of methodology which links our observations with theory’ (Hall and Jones 1990:220).

Yes.

Postscript

Hey mate, maybe it's time to spend more time on the dock of the bay with some muddies and a NZ sav blanc? Perhaps we could plan a little foray back to the Rio San Jacinto drainage ...? Ian Walters says thanks for all the fish.

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