# Reflections on Thirty Years of the Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology with Bernardo

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## Introduction

This chapter is avowedly different from the other contributions to this Festschrift volume in honor of A. Bernard Knapp (aka Bernardo)<sup>1</sup> – for two reasons. The first is that, while all of the authors in this volume of course know him in one capacity or another, for me he has been a close friend and almost daily (virtual) colleague over almost four decades, and I should like to write about and acknowledge that long and very personal working relationship. In one sense, this is repayment of a personal debt, since Bernardo took the time and trouble to travel all the way from Cyprus to Providence, RI several years ago for a conference in my own honor, and then contributed an excellent paper to the Festschrift that followed (Knapp 2018a), a volume in the Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology series that he himself founded many years ago<sup>2</sup>. There is a second reason, however. When Sturt Manning was thinking about an event in Bernardo's honor, and turned for advice to Peter van Dommelen and myself – his long-time collaborators as co-editors of the *Journal* of Mediterranean Archaeology, and (in Peter's case) a former fellow faculty member in the Dept. of Archaeology at Glasgow University – we quickly agreed that any conference for him, and the resultant book, should be centered around the Cypriot archaeology that has dominated his career. But neither Peter nor I work on Cyprus, and so, out of necessity, our chapters would have to be different. As I contemplated my contribution, I realized that there was an opening for me to highlight a very significant aspect of Bernardo's career, one that we would be remiss not to acknowledge and honor in a volume such as this.

We are all aware of his contributions to Cypriot archaeology over the past 40 years (*exactly* 40 years, in fact, since the completion of his Berkeley PhD dissertation, 'A Re-examination of the Interpretation of Cypriote Material Culture in the MCIII-LCI Period in the Light of Textual Data' [Knapp 1979]): countless articles, chapters and reviews, and many books, including his two monographs on Cypriot



pre- and proto-prehistory, one for Oxford and one for Cambridge, have authoritatively defined the field for the current age (Knapp 2008; 2013). Bernardo, moreover, has also been astute in spotting newly-developing topics and capturing them in influential books and edited volumes: the *Annales* perspective in archaeology (Knapp 1992); the social archaeology of mining communities (Knapp *et al.* 1998); the archaeology of landscape (Ashmore and Knapp 1999); mobility, materiality and identity (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010); seafaring and the Mediterranean connections of sea-borne trade (Knapp and Demesticha 2017; Knapp 2018b); and so on. Not forgetting, of course, the recent (and huge) *Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, co-edited with Peter van Dommelen (2014). All this (and more) is a significant body of work, one that has had an impact on Cypriot archaeology, but also far beyond it.

Here, though, I want to draw attention to something perhaps less prominent, but which has been going on in the background for the past 31 years, and which I suggest is in fact among Bernardo's most important contributions to archaeology. I refer, of course, to the journal that he founded, the Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology, the first issue of which appeared in June 1988 – and of which he has been the editor or co-editor ever since. That longevity, in itself, is a remarkable achievement. The journal Antiquity was at one time notable for having been edited during its first six decades by just two gentlemen (O.G.S. Crawford and Glyn Daniel); but now Bernardo, along with John Humphrey at the Journal of Roman Archaeology (also founded in 1988), has surpassed even their records, and Knapp and Humphrey must surely now be the longest-serving journal editors in the history of archaeology. These days, for better or worse, journal editors in archaeology are generally appointed, by their controlling imprints, to very much shorter terms. *JMA* continues to buck that trend. Having myself served as co-editor of *JMA* from a couple of years after its inception until today, I have experienced the pleasures and the pains – certainly the privilege of working with Bernardo to establish JMA as the landmark journal in the field it covers. In what follows, I offer a brief summary and a few comments on JMA's creation, history, guiding principles and character. I do so in order to acknowledge and draw attention to Bernardo's focus and energy, over more than three decades, in pursuing his vision of a theoretically-informed journal that engages with all regions and periods of the Mediterranean.

# A Little JMA History

Looking back to the very beginning, Bernardo's decision to try to establish an ambitious new journal was an act of bravado, and success was far from guaranteed. For one thing, he had, at that time, no permanent academic position – that came only in the mid-1990s at the University of Glasgow, when he was already in his fifties – and over the previous dozen years had held a variety of fellowships and research assistantships in Sydney (Australia), Nicosia (Cyprus) and Cambridge (England).



For another thing, the publisher he persuaded to produce and distribute *JMA* was an unlikely one - Sheffield Academic Press, a small academic imprint attached to the Department of Biblical Studies at the University of Sheffield, itself launched only in the mid-1980s, and mainly focused on publications in religious studies, not archaeology. Their business model was rather amateur, and at the outset their ability to publish, market and distribute a journal in a field entirely new to them was far from proven. For financial reasons, *JMA*'s design in those early years was modest: a limit of 128 pages per issue and a small, 6 × 8-inch page-format, making it feel almost like a slim book of poetry that one could slip into a pocket (Figure 1.1a). This lasted only half a dozen years, until the press was bought out by the far larger Continuum publishing group, which owned and produced JMA for the next nine years (Figure 1.1b). This was not an entirely happy relationship, and the co-editors were relieved when, in 2003, Janet Joyce, a senior editor at Continuum, left to form her own publishing house, Equinox, taking JMA with her, in the process giving it an attractive new design (Figure 1.1c) and, in 2012, coincident with the journal's 25th anniversary, moving to unlimited full-color illustration.



Figure 1.1 Cover designs for *JMA* under its three successive publishers: (left) Sheffield Academic Press; (center) Continuum; and (right) Equinox.

If *JMA* is now both fairly stable and successful, this could not have been predicted at the outset. Not all journals in fact succeed. The data presented in a recent article in the journal *Scientometrics*, on trends in academic journal growth (Gu and Blackmore 2016), illustrate not only the relentless, almost exponential pace at which new journals are coming into existence (the total has been growing at 3.5% annually), but also their failure rates. For example, in 1988 – the year *JMA* was created – a total of 489 new journals in all fields started publishing, but by 2015, 61 of these had become inactive (Gu and Blackmore 2016: table 4). Moreover, there has been increasing competition within the field of Mediterranean studies. A Google Ngram<sup>3</sup> plot of the incidence of the phrase 'Mediterranean archaeology' in publications



of the twentieth century (Figure 1.2) indicates a sharp uptick, in fact exponential growth, from almost exactly the point at which *JMA* was founded. That coincidence, of course, is serendipitous. Nonetheless, the wider context is that increasing numbers of scholars at this time – not only in archaeology, but also well beyond it – were finding the Mediterranean, *as a whole*, a useful framework for their work, and this is reflected in the active growth of journals and monograph series to serve their interests.

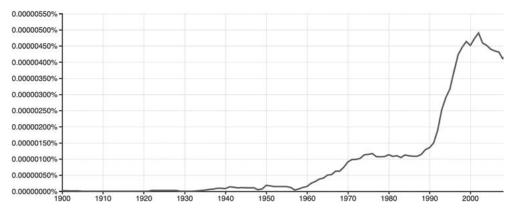


Figure 1.2 Google Ngram charting changes in the occurrence of the term 'Mediterranean archaeology' in publications during the twentieth century.

This development was explored some years ago by Susan Alcock, in her chapter in William Harris's book Rethinking the Mediterranean, amusingly entitled 'Alphabet soup in the Mediterranean Basin: the emergence of the Mediterranean serial' (Alcock 2005). This is not the place to go into the details of her analysis: Table 1.1, listing the journals and serials she examined, gets across the main point. While there were few such Mediterranean publications prior to the 1980s (and several, shown here in square brackets, were failures), there was marked growth from that time onward, some of course much more influential than others. Alcock's coverage (2005: table 13.1) ended in 2005, but, inevitably, further journals have appeared since then; some recent additions are listed at the foot of Table 1.1. Of course, her evaluation was deliberately limited to publications that included the word 'Mediterranean', but there are others whose remit also implicitly embraces the entire basin: a good example is another prominent journal (as already noted, created precisely when JMA was), the Journal of Roman Archaeology. The larger point, however, is that JMA was launched into an increasingly competitive publishing environment, and it needed a distinctive voice to survive.

Yet there was even competition alarmingly close to home. For three years in the mid-1980s, Bernardo held a Research Fellowship in the Dept. of Archaeology at Sydney University in Australia. And in 1987, while formulating plans to get *JMA* off the ground, he learned that certain other members of his Department, disconcertingly, also had ideas of creating a new journal, to be called *Mediterranean* 



Archaeology. After some initial consternation and worries about whether the field of Mediterranean archaeology could actually sustain two new journals, the problem resolved itself. It turned out that the full title of the journal was to be *The Australian and New Zealand Journal for Mediterranean Archaeology*, and it was launched, like *JMA*, in 1988. It has since developed mainly as a medium through which archaeologists in Australasia report on their research and fieldwork in the Mediterranean region, and publish on Mediterranean materials held in antipodean collections – completely different, in other words, from *JMA*'s remit.

Table 1.1 Mediterranean-themed journals and serials analyzed by Alcock (2005), with some more recent additions; items shown in square brackets have ceased publication.

Title	Launch date
Méditerranée (Aix-en-Provence)	1960-
Bulletin of Mediterranean Archaeology (Cincinnati, Ohio)	[1975–78]
Peuples Méditerranéens	1977–
Mediterranean Studies (Malta)	[1978-80]
Scripta Mediterranea (Toronto)	1980–
Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology (Xanthi, Greece)	[1981, 1990–91]
Mediterranean Historical Review (London)	1986–
Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean	1988–
Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology (Sheffield)	1988–
Mediterranean Archaeology (Australia/New Zealand)	1988–
Mediterranean Studies (Journal of the Mediterranean Studies Association)	1989–
Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean (Warsaw)	1989–
Mediterranean Quarterly: A Journal of Global Affairs (Washington)	1990-
Journal of Mediterranean Studies (Malta)	1991–
Mediterranean Politics (London)	1994–
Mediterranean Journal of Human Rights (Padova)	1997–
Mediterraneo Antico: Economie, società, culture (Pisa/Rome)	1998–
Mediterranean Prehistory Online (Italy)	1998–
Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry (Rhodes, Greece)	2001-
Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences (Warsaw, Open Access)	2012-
Journal of East Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies (Penn State)	2013-
Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies (Athens)	2015-

# Why JMA? The Wider Disciplinary Context

I now turn briefly to the intellectual disciplinary setting of *JMA*'s launch. Bernardo and I must have had many conversations, both before and after 1988, on the topic



of 'why JMA?'. For personal reasons, I was a very frequent visitor to Australia during JMA's first decade, and often met with him there during his fellowships in Sydney. Between 1989 and 1991, I saw him almost daily in his capacity as the Cambridge-based archaeological research assistant to the major Leverhulme/British Academy project Bronze Age Trade in the Aegean and Adjacent Areas (Gale 1991), a position that led to our co-authorship of the monograph Provenience Studies and Bronze Age Cyprus: Production, Exchange, and Politico-economic Change (Knapp and Cherry 1994 – the present author's sole contribution to Cypriot prehistory). Nonetheless, I do not now closely recall our conversations about JMA, other than that it seemed at the time the right thing, indeed an exciting thing, to do.

The 1970s and 1980s were turbulent times in archaeology, in which – to write autobiographically for a moment – I was fortunate to be involved first-hand. I was an informal student of Lewis Binford at the University of New Mexico during the early 1970s, moving back to the UK to become a doctoral student of Colin Renfrew later in the decade; Renfrew and I were both subsequently appointed to archaeological positions at the University of Cambridge in 1980, where I became not only his colleague but also Ian Hodder's. Thus, I was an eye-witness both to the fervor of the New Archaeology in the USA and to the beginnings of the postprocessual critique in the UK in the early 1980s. Yet while exciting things were happening in archaeology on the wider stage, the rhetorical scene in much of Europe and the Mediterranean seemed quiet. Indeed, it was precisely because many of the conferences taking place in the UK were so data-focused, and, to put it frankly, dull, that Renfrew and a few others of us initiated the Theoretical Archaeology Group meetings around this time.<sup>4</sup>

It was just a few years prior to JMA's founding that Renfrew delivered his oftcited plenary addresses to the Archaeological Institute of America and the Society for American Archaeology ('The Great Tradition versus the Great Divide' [Renfrew 1980] and 'Divided We Stand' [Renfrew 1983]), in which he issued a clarion call: the urgent need for a rapprochement between the long and rich-data scholarly traditions of archaeology in the Mediterranean and Near East and the problem-oriented and theoretical strengths of current anthropological archaeology. Anthony Snodgrass argued in a similar vein, around this time, when he wrote, in the centennial issue of the American Journal of Archaeology, about 'The New Archaeology and the Classical Archaeologist' (Snodgrass 1985). Such writings, and the responses they elicited (e.g., Dyson 1981), reveal some of the soul-searching challenges of that era: they were, after all, a plea both for Mediterranean (and especially Classical) archaeologists to wake up and pay attention to the wider currents of thought in other, often more theoretically-engaged archaeologies elsewhere, and for New Archaeologists to avail themselves of the vast stock of well-ordered data from the Mediterranean and Europe to test their theories (Snodgrass 1985: 37).

That such ideas were influential in *JMA*'s conception is shown clearly by the fact that Bernardo himself directly referenced these papers, at length, both in his 1988 inaugural *JMA* editorial statement, and again in the December 1990 issue of the



journal, in which he pledged that *JMA* would 'continue to bridge the gap between the Great Tradition and the Great Divide, between history and the social sciences, between processual and post-processual archaeology' (Knapp 1990: 142). Another influential, indeed seismic, event, the year before *JMA* came into being, was the battle over the barring of scholars from apartheid South Africa at the 1986 conference of the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (IUPPS) – a fiasco that led to the creation of *WAC*, the influential World Archaeology Conference, which arguably helped begin to change the focus of archaeology around the globe to one that was more politically aware, diverse and inclusive (Ucko 1987). Yet one more possibly relevant factor is that Bernardo, during these years, was himself increasingly attracted to the comparative, Mediterranean-wide *Annales* perspective of Fernand Braudel, an interest that would lead on to his edited book on the subject (Knapp 1992) and several articles that appeared not long after *JMA* began publication.

All of the foregoing were perhaps just straws in the wind, but I am sure that they were at least part of the context for *JMA*'s launch in 1988. There was pressure – to quote Renfrew's words (1980: 293, 296) – for a fresh and lively sense of problem; an ability to generalize systematically and coherently; recognition that our task is to explain, as well as to reconstruct; and a focus on the processes of long-term change. In short, *JMA* was founded on a platform that provided equal opportunity for both locally-specific data and Mediterranean-wide contextual, suitably-theorized comparison. This has been the journal's mandate since its earliest days. It is one that Bernardo has pursued with unrelenting zeal for over three decades.

# Realizing JMA's Mandate

*JMA* has always adhered to two key criteria of acceptability, posted prominently on the journal's website, and worth quoting here:

The journal publishes material that deals with, amongst others, the social, politico-economic and ideological aspects of local or regional production and development, and of social interaction and change in the Mediterranean. We also encourage contributions dealing with contemporary approaches to gender, agency, identity and landscape, and we welcome material that covers both the theoretical implications and methodological assumptions that can be extrapolated from the relevant archaeological data. Manuscripts submitted for consideration should place equal emphasis on data and theory; preference is given to problem-oriented studies that demonstrate a sound methodological or theoretical framework. In terms of its temporal scope. *JMA* welcomes manuscripts from any period of Mediterranean prehistory and history, from the Palaeolithic to the Early Modern.

Boiled down to their essentials, these criteria are: (i) the need to meld data with a theoretical context for interpretation; and (ii) the necessity of setting one's own locally-situated study within the broader comparative context of Mediterranean archaeology. To give an example of the second requirement, if one is writing about



mortuary analysis, say, or household archaeology in the later Iron Age of the Iberian peninsula, how can the case-study be made to be of use and interest to someone working on similar issues far away, perhaps in the Chalcolithic of the southern Levant?

Doubtless because of long familiarity, these seem to the co-editors to be reasonably clear-cut criteria, but we nevertheless receive many manuscripts that fail to meet them, on numerous grounds. Moreover, JMA does not publish short notes, purely descriptive fieldwork reports, wholly theoretical papers, etc.; the goal is long and thoughtful papers of about 10,000 words (that is, about twice the length of a typical World Archeology article, for example). Many submitted manuscripts are not necessarily unpublishable papers – but just not suitable for *JMA*; consequently, we have about a two-thirds rejection rate. All too often, and sometimes with real regret, we need to send a rejection message that reads something like: 'We do not feel that JMA is the most appropriate journal for a paper of this sort. In saying this, we are not criticizing the paper itself, but expressing our feeling that it does not really represent the type of paper that we publish, or seek to publish, in JMA. Perhaps a more local journal, such as [insert suggestions here], might be more appropriate? Bernardo has been adamant about the application of these criteria, even when his co-editors have occasionally shown signs of wilting under the pressure to fill the next issue. This unwillingness to let standards drop has been one of his signal contributions to the vitality and strength of the journal.

The early days, however, were undeniably difficult, especially in terms of filling the journal with papers that reflected its pan-Mediterranean aspirations. This was perhaps to some extent a consequence of our own areas of archaeological expertise, and thus networks of scholarly affiliation - for Bernardo, Cyprus and the Levant, extending to Egypt and the Near East; for myself, Greece and the Aegean, with some extension into Anatolia and Italy. But the western Mediterranean - Corsica, Sardinia, Mediterranean France, the Balearics, Spain, Portugal, Morocco, Algeria, Libya – was another matter. Looking back on editorial statements from the early days of the journal, one sees how regularly we pleaded for more submissions from these areas. Ultimately, this was an issue that we did not resolve until, in 2006, we eventually brought on board a third co-editor with a research focus in the west -Peter van Dommelen, at the time Bernardo's colleague in Glasgow, and now mine at Brown University. His arrival had an immediate impact on broadening the coverage of *JMA*, as can clearly be seen from some statistics. Figure 1.3 shows the numbers of articles published in the journal's first decade: they are dominated by contributions concerning Greece, the Levant and Cyprus, with just five from Spain and two from west Mediterranean islands. This graph, incidentally, shows only what JMA accepted, not what was received, because at that time, unfortunately, we did not keep track of rejected submissions. We can show a more complete picture in the graph for the past five years of *JMA* (Figure 1.4), in which Iberia, the west Mediterranean islands and Italy all have a much stronger presence. While this is gratifying, there remain pockets of resistance that have always proven difficult to crack. Egyptian



archaeologists, for example, clearly prefer to publish in their own specialist journals; the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* appears to capture the majority of articles in that field; few submissions have been received from the Adriatic area; and North Africa is a black hole – although a massive new synthesis of its Holocene prehistory will help to redress that imbalance (Broodbank and Lucarini 2019).

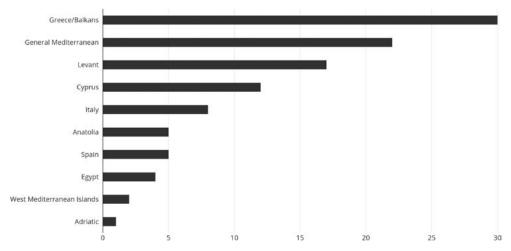


Figure 1.3 Articles published in *JMA* during its first decade (1988–97), by geographical area (graph prepared by Miriam Rothenberg).

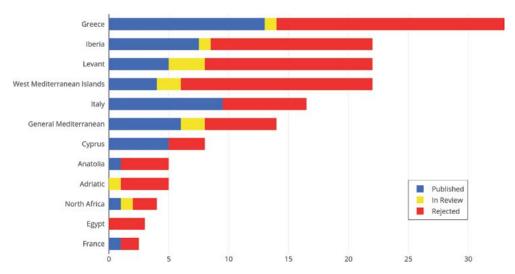


Figure 1.4 Articles published, in review, or rejected by *JMA*, 2015–19, by geographical area (graph prepared by Miriam Rothenberg).



### The Journal that Bernardo Built

In all likelihood, such worries as these, which constantly concern the co-editors – how to judge manuscripts fairly, how to remain true to the journal's mission statement, how to ensure there are sufficient quality manuscripts to fill the next issue – are not of great interest to the readers of this chapter. I conclude, therefore, with a few comments about the *kind* of journal that Bernardo has created and sustained over so many years. Many of those reading this book will probably have had some engagement with him, and therefore know something of his character, which, in my experience, is inseparable from his role as a journal editor: he tends to be very frank, but also dogged in his defense of whatever view he has adopted. Engaging with this has been a part of my life for most of the past 30 years, because there is rarely a day that goes by without some interchange among the co-editors. One might well ask, then: why is the level of communication so intense for a journal that publishes only twice a year, each issue usually containing only five or six long articles (except for those issues also containing a Discussion and Debate section)?

The answer is that *JMA* takes an unusually hands-on approach with its authors. As we all know, with so many archaeological journals now collected under the umbrella of a few very large publishing houses – Taylor and Francis, Springer, and Cambridge University Press, for example – the experience of the author has become increasingly mechanistic and impersonal. Articles are submitted through the publisher's online portal; reviewers assigned, perhaps largely automatically, by reference to a database of potential names; decisions about acceptance based almost entirely on reviews alone; it is not always clear, indeed, that the journal editors have even read the article. Perhaps it has to be so for industrial-strength journals such as the Journal of Archaeological Science, which publishes four to five hundred articles a year, and has even been compelled to spin-off daughter journals to cope with the pressure. JMA has chosen – that is to say, Bernardo chose – to be utterly different. Authors submit their manuscripts directly to the co-editors, not via a portal; we all read all of them; we discuss at length whether to reject without review, send for review, or ask for modifications before review. We have detailed conversations, even arguments, based on our personal knowledge, about the most appropriate reviewers. One of them is always a member of the Editorial Board, carefully chosen for this very purpose: the Board serves an extremely active role and is not merely honorific, as with many other journals. Authors thus typically receive feedback on their papers from the three co-editors and three reviewers, sometimes running to as much as eight or ten pages of comments and suggestions. No doubt this can be overwhelming, both for those authors supremely confident of the self-evident importance of their own scholarship, and also for those for whom this is their first effort to get into print. Still, for authors willing to work with us (which, admittedly, is not all of them) in a back-and-forth manner, it encourages very thoroughgoing revisions, resulting in papers that are both clearer in their arguments and presentation of data,



and closer to achieving *JMA*'s goals of meshing data with theory and of speaking to a Mediterranean-wide readership.

This characterization of *JMA* makes me conclude that it is essentially a 'boutique' journal. Boutique firms generally have a quantitatively modest output (often resulting in exclusivity and high prices, which cannot be said of *JMA*), and that is precisely because of the time invested in close attention to quality and detail. An analogy to brewing may seem odd here, but I nonetheless find it apt. If the bigger journals that crank out hundreds of articles each year are akin to the breweries that mass-produce beers such as Budweiser or Heineken, often rather tasteless and not very distinctive, then *JMA* is more like a small-batch, hand-crafted brewery, at which enormous efforts are devoted to making every bottle as good as it can be, and a pleasure to drink. *JMA* has been Bernardo's baby since its conception, and he has succeeded in raising it to fully-fledged maturity. We gathered in June 2019 in Nicosia to honor Bernardo's many and diverse achievements and contributions, especially in Cypriot archaeology. But I hope it can also be recognized that not the least of his wider contributions to the field has been – and continues to be – his nurturing of the *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* over these past 30 or more years.

# **Acknowledgments**

I am grateful for reactions and comments received from members of the audience at the June 2019 Nicosia conference held in Bernardo's honor. Thanks also to Miriam Rothenberg, Sarah Sharpe and Peter van Dommelen for reading a draft of this chapter.

### **Endnotes**

- 1. An explanation is necessary for the honorand's name in what follows. Professor A. Bernard Knapp is one of those scholars who were saddled with a growing-up name that they outgrew. At the time I first got to know him, everyone called him Bernie. Once he achieved some academic stability and status, he decided that he no longer wished to be known by this childhood name, but by his given name Bernard (other colleagues of mine have followed this same path). Still, to my English ears, Bernard just sounds wrong. Perhaps this is because one of my earliest memories is of my teetotal grandmother reading me a children's book about how St. Bernard dogs (note the English stress) go to the rescue of stranded Alpine travelers in her telling, not with a barrel of brandy, but of hot milk! Since Bernard, for me, is so awkward, years ago some of us compromised by referring to him as Bernardo, which restores the American stress and provides a Mediterranean-sounding twist. In this chapter, then, Bernardo it is.
- 2. I do not discuss Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology (MMA) in this chapter, even though the present book is in fact a volume in that series. While MMA is produced by the same publisher as JMA, uses JMA style guidelines, and adopts a very similar mission statement, it is not as is sometimes wrongly supposed formally a Beiheft of JMA. Founded in 1995, Bernardo serves as the sole Senior Editor of the series, assisted by a small Advisory Board which differs from that of JMA. Although the total number of volumes published to date is not large (16 in 25 years), it should be



- acknowledged that MMA too is a notable contribution by Bernardo to the publication landscape of Mediterranean archaeology.
- 3. The Google Books Ngram Viewer is an online search engine that can plot the frequencies of any word or sets of words using a year-by-year count of those words in sources printed between 1500 and 2008 in Google's English text corpus. While it has many limitations and sources of error, it can be useful in providing a rough snapshot of trends in the use of words or phrases over time.
- 4. The first TAG, a joint meeting of archaeologists from the Universities of Southampton and Sheffield, took place on 9–11 December 1977. I thank Eva Mol for digging out and drawing my attention to the program of that inaugural, tentative mini-conference that led on to so many other TAGs in the UK, and now the USA, over the subsequent four decades.

## **About the Author**

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